

Albania today

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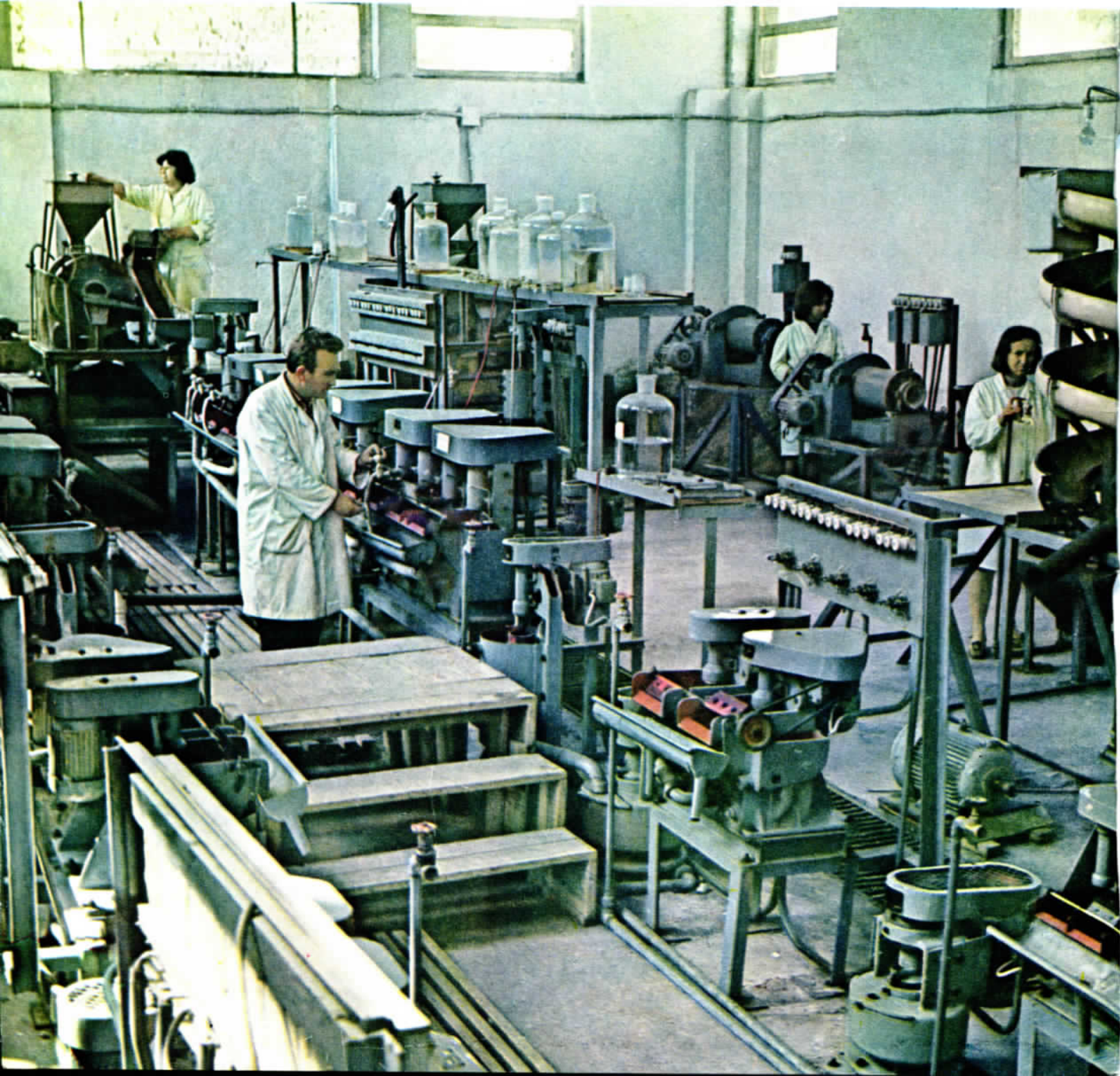
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After more than two months of vacation, on September 1, all the schools in Albania opened for the new school-year 1978-1979. About one third of the population set on the school desks that day. In Albania, together with the youngsters and the young people, thousands of working people of the town and countryside attend part time school. The first day of the new school-year is a day of happiness for all and everybody, but more so for the children who sit for the first time on the school benches. In the photo: The first lesson in an elementary school.

Albania's subsoil is rich in various minerals. Their discovery and extraction is one of the most important tasks under the state plan.

Parallel with its discovery and extraction, work is going on for their upgrading. In this direction, scientific collaborators and workers are making a great contribution with their research work. Partial view of a section in one of the laboratories of the geological institutes.



Albania
today



CONTENTS:

- Proletarian democracy is genuine
democracy* **2** ENVER HOXHA
- Unshaken stand on the positions
of Marxism-Leninism* **18** «ZËRI I POPULLIT»
- Powerful solidarity with the unshakeable
Marxist-Leninist stand
of the PLA and the Albanian people* **24**
- Comrade ENVER HOXHA on the dictatorship
of the proletariat* **30** AGIM POPA
- Chinese warmongering policy and Hua Kuo-feng's
visit to the Balkans* **35** «ZËRI I POPULLIT»
- Savage enemy of the revolution,
the freedom and independence of the peoples* **41** «ZËRI I POPULLIT»
- The capitalist character of the relations
of production in the Soviet Union* **45** ARISTOTEL PANO,
KIÇO KAPETANI
- The proletariat tempers
its class consciousness in fierce battles* **52** IDRIZ DHRAMI
- Press Review* **55**

ENVER HOXHA

PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY

With us, democracy is not a game to mislead. On the contrary it is put into practice. Here one recognized by the law and the other one unified state power, which stems from them. Our state is the state of the dictatorship made the laws and created its own revolutionary style at work, which expresses and defends

COMRADES,

AS YOU HAVE BEEN INFORMED, THE PRESIDUM OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY HAS ISSUED THE DECREE ON THE ELECTION OF THE DEPUTIES TO THE 9TH LEGISLATURE OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY, TO BE HELD ON NOVEMBER 12, THIS YEAR. AT THIS MEETING OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT, WE SHALL TAKE UP THE TASKS FACING OUR ORGANIZATION OVER THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND ITS SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION.

ELECTIONS TO THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY ARE A GREAT POLITICAL EVENT DIRECTLY CONCERNING ALL THE CITIZENS OF OUR REPUBLIC, BECAUSE THEREBY THEY WILL ELECT THE DEPUTIES TO THE SUPREME STATE ORGAN WHICH REPRESENTS AND EXPRESSES THE WILL AND SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE.

IN OUR COUNTRY, ELECTIONS TO THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY HAVE ALWAYS BEEN A POWERFUL MANIFESTATION OF THE UNITY OF THE PEOPLE RALLIED AROUND THE PARTY, OF THEIR DETERMINATION TO DEFEND THE HOMELAND AND PROMOTE THE CAUSE OF SOCIALISM IN ALBANIA. THESE MARKED CHARACTERISTICS WILL BE EXPRESSED EVEN MORE POWERFULLY IN THE FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS, TOO.

It is the duty of the Democratic Front, under the leadership of the Party, to turn this campaign into an all-round political, economic and cultural action of the broad working masses. The election campaign must give rise to even greater enthusiasm and more vigorous drive at work of the working class, the cooperative peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, in order to fulfil tasks in all fields, especially to conclude this year's state plan with success and to make best preparations possible for next year.

At the forthcoming polls the Albanian people will turn out united more than ever around the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, firmly confident of its correctness and determined to carry

it out to the letter. Our people are characterized by their healthy patriotic spirit, immense love for their socialist Homeland, unflinching determination to safeguard its freedom, independence and sovereignty.

The entire Albanian people's unanimous endorsement of, and support for, the stand of our Party and Government towards the counterrevolutionary and anti-Albanian acts of the Chinese revisionist leadership once more testify to their close ties with the Party, their resolve to cope with any difficulty, to break any imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement.

The November elections find our country with a strong economy, a stable and dynamic economy, developing harmoniously and uninterruptedly. This is the result of the correct line pursued by the

Speech delivered at the meeting of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania (September 20, 1978)

CY IS GENUINE DEMOCRACY

***and the people,
re, there is no dual power,
existing de facto, here there is only
in the people and belongs
to the proletariat, which has
no state apparatus, its new method and
serves the interests of the working people***

Party for the all-round development and progress of the country.

In the implementation of the directives of the 7th Congress of the Party, successes have been achieved in the further development of industry, construction and communications. Thanks to the untiring efforts of our talented working class, technicians and engineers, new plants and factories have been set up, articles which formerly used to be imported are being turned out, new complete sets of equipment and machinery are being designed and made, all relying on our own forces. Work on the Metallurgical Complex, the Fierza Hydro-power Station and all the other projects is going on despite the damage caused by the perfidious cessation of aid from China. In opposition to the hostile aims of the Chinese revisionists, the Party has taken measures for the successful completion of all these projects.

Our socialist agriculture has made great progress. As a result of the great work of the cooperative peasantry, assistance from the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the special care of the Party, the area of arable land and the irrigation system have been extended, the use of chemical fertilizers has increased, many crop and livestock raising processes have been mechanized. All this has led to increased yields of all crops. Our agriculture which produces all the necessary quantity of bread grain locally, is better and better

meeting the needs of the people and industry for agricultural and livestock products.

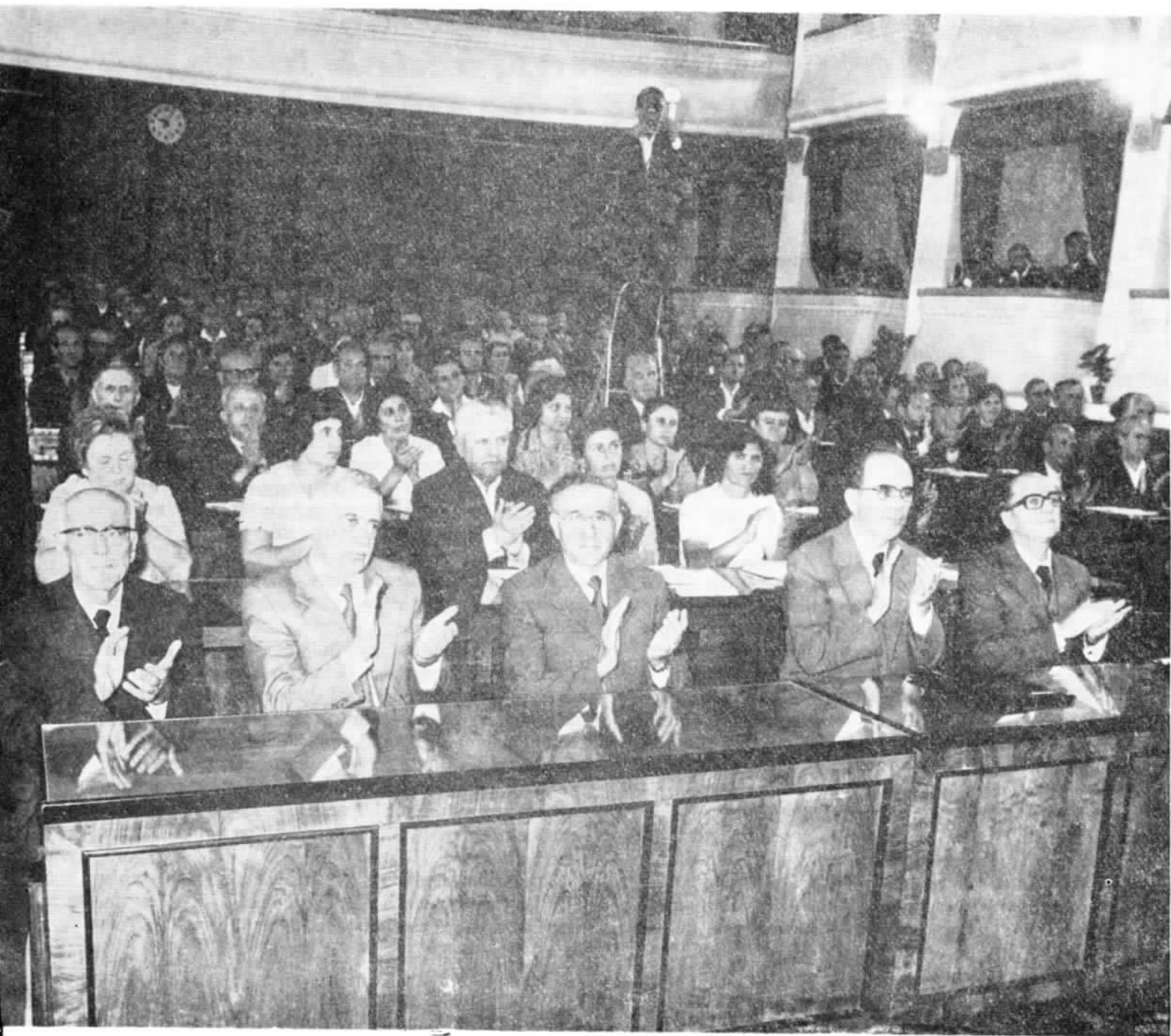
Evidence of our country's healthy situation are the happy and optimistic life of the people, their increased wellbeing, their higher educational and cultural level and their improved health.

The election of the deputies to the People's Assembly find our country stronger than ever. Today, we have an invincible defence. The directive of the Party that the defence of the Homeland is a task above all tasks, is being implemented more and more effectively. Our entire people, in a lofty spirit of patriotism, have undergone and continue to undergo military training to be able to cope with any situation. Albania's land and sea borders and air space are and will be inviolable.

Socialist Albania enjoys today great prestige in the world, it enjoys the sympathy and support of true revolutionaries, of numerous friends and well-wishers in all countries. This is due to the correct, principled and consistent foreign policy our Party and state have always been pursuing, to the firm struggle the Albanian people have been waging against imperialism, social-imperialism, modern revisionism of all descriptions, and against reaction.

The new elections to the People's Assembly will further strengthen the people's state power, born from the glorious National Liberation War

Comrade ENVER HOXHA
*speaking at the meeting of the General Council
of the Democratic Front of Albania*



FRONTI DEMOKRATIK



I SHQIPERIS



ENVER HOXHA

PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY IS GENUINE DEMOCRACY

and tempered in fierce battles for the construction of socialism. With their free and democratic votes the Albanian people will express their determination to preserve the dictatorship of the proletariat, their reliable weapon for the defence of the gains they have achieved, ever pure and powerful, under the leadership of the Party, the great factor guaranteeing the continuous promotion of the cause of socialism in Albania. These elections will, as always, serve the further extension and strengthening of our socialist democracy, which is one of the fundamental features of our state power and entire life.

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The People's Socialist Republic of Albania and our socialist society are radically different from the capitalist and revisionist states and societies in the various countries of the world. In what does this difference consist? In the first place, it consists in the economic base, the social structure and superstructure which reflects this base. In capitalist and revisionist societies the base and the superstructure are built on internal antagonisms, whereas in our socialist society they are free from class antagonisms and, as such, they are constantly perfected.

In our conception of the base and the superstructure, which characterize every socio-economic formation, we are guided by the theoretical principles inherited from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Our Party has correctly mastered and implemented these principles in theory and practice, that is why our country, once economically poor and culturally and educationally backward, has been transformed into a free, independent and sovereign state with a developed socialist economy, an advanced culture, educational system and science, a powerful defence potential and a correct and principled foreign policy.

The connection and interplay between the base and the superstructure, where the principal role is played by the economic base as well as the continuous revolutionization of our socialist superstructure, have convinced our people of the correctness

of the road of progress towards the socialist society. The working class, its Marxist-Leninist vanguard, led us on the road to the construction of socialism, and that is why great successes have been achieved on this road.

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the working class, the cooperative peasantry and other working people exercise power through the representative organs as well as directly. In Albania the mass of the people actively participate in governing the country, in managing the economy, in discussing laws and economic plans, in checking up on the activity of the organs of power, and so on. They have the right to air their views freely on all problems concerning society or themselves. They have been given this right by the Party under the Constitution, therefore, in socialist Albania alone, there can be talk of democracy in the real meaning of the word, which is not only proclaimed in words but guaranteed in deeds as well. These rights are formally proclaimed by the bourgeois and revisionist Constitutions, too, but in reality, they do not guarantee the premises for the implementation of the rights proclaimed. Attacking the bourgeois deception of the so-called equal rights in the capitalist state, Stalin wrote that they

«talk of equality of citizens, but they forget that there can be no genuine equality between boss and worker, between landowner and peasant so long as the former are in possession of wealth and political power in society and the latter are deprived of both, so long as the former are the exploiters and the latter the exploited»¹.

Socialism in our country is being built successfully in the economic, cultural, educational, scientific, defence and other fields, in the interest of the broad masses of the people. Albania is steadily forging ahead towards an advanced socialist society and preserving the sovereignty of the people intact. Our Constitution reads: «All state power in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania derives from and belongs to the working people».

Our Party has always seen to it that our country is free from foreigners in every respect, that

it is fully independent from the outside world and never endangered by the classes which our revolution has deprived of their economic, political and moral power.

Our Marxist-Leninist Party is inspired and nourished by the Marxist-Leninist ideology and its only aim is to raise the wellbeing of the people, to complete the construction of socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The socialist socio-economic system cannot survive without true proletarian democracy, without close and sincere co-operation between the various strata of the working masses which the Party makes conscious. Our society distinguishes itself in that it is governed by the laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist democracy, it is aware that the rights and duties of citizens are based on reconciling the interests of society and the individual, always giving priority to the interests of the society. The priority of the general interest of the society must guide everybody's thoughts and aspirations. For the general interests to take precedence and the blessings of our socialist system be realized, broad participation of the working masses is absolutely necessary in running the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the economy.

We can proudly say that our country is truly socialist. There is no other country in the world where citizens are so equal before the law, where differentials between workers' wages and employees' salaries are so insignificant as in our country. The ratio of remuneration between the worker and the highest ranking functionary is one to two. Foreigners ask: How is it possible that the difference between salaries of high ranking functionaries and workers' wages, is so small? The answer to such a question is not difficult. This happens in our country because the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, with its just laws, has sanctioned Marxist-Leninist principles with regard to remuneration. Referring to this problem, Lenin wrote that the turn from bourgeois democracy to proletarian democracy is *«the abolition... of all monetary privileges to officials, the reduction of the remuneration of all servants of the state to the level of 'workmen's wages'»*² One of the measures taken by the Paris Commune, which Marx laid stress on, was the

reduction of the remuneration of officials. We allow no distortion in the implementation of the principle of remuneration according to the amount of work done, hence there is no, nor will there ever be any, stratum of working people placing themselves above the others and taking decisions according to its desires and interests.

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, not only has the way been barred by law to revisionist tendencies, but great educative work is being done to make people increasingly conscious so that every workman is remunerated according to the quantity and quality of work accomplished. Except for some degenerate elements, the bulk of the members of our society regard purifying their conscience of capitalist leftovers as a great task. In our country love and respect of man for man has been strengthened. Everyone does patient work to help his comrade correct his mistakes and condemns any violation of the laws regulating the juridical relations and socialist norms of our society.

This revolutionary situation has been achieved because there is complete freedom of speech in our country, with thorough and extensive discussions of most varied problems being held by the masses, and true proletarian democracy being implemented in a consistent manner. This accounts for our situation.

Let those who think that allegedly there is no freedom for citizens and no democracy, because there is no plurality of parties and no endless talking in the parliament in Albania, prattle whatever the fancy takes them. With us, comprehensive freedom for the working masses exists in the most appropriate and democratic forms, otherwise the country would not have flourished as it has been doing and the monolithic unity of the people around the Party could not have been achieved. Our Party-people unity is the key to our victories, and it is precisely with the intention of making this golden key rust that the capitalist and revisionist enemies resort to most cynical calumnies.

If some foreigner, bourgeois or revisionist, were to listen to discussions by the representatives of the people in our People's Assembly, he would say: No debate here like in our parliaments, this is not normal. It is true that there is no debate for debate's sake in the People's Assembly, but this does

ENVER HOXHA

PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY IS GENUINE DEMOCRACY

not mean that there is no debate. Political or economic problems taken to the People's Assembly for discussion have previously been thrashed out in fiery and constructive debates and discussions, with related suggestions on the part of the working masses and their organizations, and the deputies have to attend them in order to listen to the voice of the masses and actively contribute to the discussion. There is no smooth sailing, nothing is achieved in peace, as this or that person may wish, or through dictate from above; everything is viewed from the angle of the general interest. So long as problems are discussed and thrashed out before being taken to the highest organ of the people's power for endorsement, why should we engage in debate for debate's sake, shout and scream at each other in our Assembly, only in order «to make a show of democracy», as in the bourgeois parliaments?

It is not true that there is no debate in our organs of state power, either in the People's Assembly or in the people's councils at all levels. Not only in the organs of state power, but even at workers' meetings, when a plan or law is taken up, much discussing takes place in the spirit of a broad popular debate, with people looking for conventional and unconventional means in order to find the most rational solution. Such debates are possible in no country of the capitalist and revisionist world. Hence, in these directions, too, the great superiority of the new, socialist society is evident, and we must always work for its development, strengthening and defence, as the Marxist-Leninist ideology teaches us. It is this society and ideology which make possible the development of the virtues of the people, which create the most convenient conditions for the development of the economy in the general interest, and not in the interest of a class of exploiters. Socialist society and Marxism-Leninism always show the way to finding the most perfect methods of administration of people's material and moral values and placing them in the service of the Homeland.

In all non-socialist socio-economic formations, in all capitalist and revisionist states, society is not led by the working class, and, consequently, not by its revolutionary party nourished by the theory of Marx and Lenin. Various antagonistic classes

exist there, led by their parties, which do not represent the true interests of the masses of the people, but those of the worker aristocracy or the big bourgeoisie. In their political activity, these parties pretend to quarrel with each other, and wage an allegedly «democratic» parliamentary struggle, but the bourgeois parliament «is given up to talk for the special purpose of fooling the common people»³. The states ruled by the political parties of the bourgeoisie, no matter how they try to pass themselves for «democratic», have, in fact, not even a shred of true democracy or freedom, whether individual or social, in their activity.

In some of the non-socialist countries «democracy» is formally expressed in the organization of many parties which, in the course of campaigns for parliamentary elections, through their powerful influence on the working masses, deceiving them and rigging the elections and manipulating their results, manage to send a group of their deputies to parliament. The deputies of these parties are nothing but deceitful politicians specialized in defending the order in power, strengthening the positions of the capitalist state, the trusts and the monopolies. In the parliament, they pretend to stand for «freedom» and «democracy» of their country and people. No matter how much bourgeois deputies engage in idle talk about «human rights», in the final analysis, it is capitalism, the big bourgeoisie, which holds sway and now and then shares power with the middle bourgeoisie and keeps under its rule the proletariat, the poor peasantry and the rest of the working people, such as the artisans and the poor intellectuals, a social stratum whose revolutionary spirit has been weakened by unemployment and hunger. These wretched electors have to decide, as Marx says, «...each three or six years... which member of the ruling class is to misrepresent and oppress the people in parliament...»⁴.

Political parties, whether in power or in the opposition, have set up their own trade unions which they lead in allegedly democratic forms to protests or claims. All protests and claims encouraged by these parties have no political character, they are not intended to overthrow the capitalist order which ruthlessly exploits the working people, but aimed at such insignificant economic

reforms as do no great harm to the bourgeoisie (therefore, at times, it accepts them) and bring no substantial gains to the proletariat and the other oppressed and exploited strata. But all these «claims» are important for the defence of the bourgeois order because, through them, public opinion has the false impression that the working class and the other labouring people have their «free» say under capitalism. In order to be convinced of the deceptive nature of these actions, it is enough to mention that, when the claims of the mass of the people go beyond the guidelines set by political parties, and they insist on having the true freedoms and rights guaranteed to them, then the forces of capitalist law and order step in and drown protests in blood. World history has innumerable facts of this kind.

By referring to their stale arguments alleging that political parties there have their own press, by means of which they can air their views about the country's problems, the state power and its men, the capitalists try to back up their deceptive thesis that allegedly there is «democracy» in their social system. Exposing the «freedom of the press» the bourgeoisie speaks about, Lenin wrote:

«The capitalists... call 'freedom of the press' the situation in which censorship has been abolished and all parties freely publish all kinds of papers. In reality it is not freedom of the press but freedom for the rich, for the bourgeoisie to deceive the oppressed and exploited mass of the people»⁵.

But what is in fact bourgeois democracy? It is a form of the domination by the bourgeoisie, with the rights and freedoms, though proclaimed «for everybody», having an utterly formal and deceptive character, because in the conditions of the existence of private ownership, the socio-economic means which would ensure the actual implementation of these rights and freedoms do not exist. This bourgeois democracy allows you to make criticism of this or that person in the papers, at meetings, or in parliament, you are allowed to criticize the party in office or the government in power, you can talk on and on but this changes nothing, you

cannot but confine yourself to words only, because the capitalist economic and political power, with its apparatus, is ready to hurl itself like a beast upon anyone opposing the ruling class, the financial oligarchy, in deeds. Recalling the cruelty of the French bourgeoisie in its onslaught against the workers, after the June 1848 uprising, F. Engels wrote:

«It was the first time that the bourgeoisie showed to what insane cruelties of revenge it will be goaded the moment the proletariat dares to take its stand against the bourgeoisie as a separate class, with its own interests and demands»⁶.

Can we call «democracy» the form of bourgeois power which relies on the principle that the majority must submit to the minority? Absolutely not. This is democracy in name only, it does not benefit at all the mass of the people. This «democracy» does not ensure any true freedom for the people, it does not make a country independent of other states more powerful politically, economically or militarily. This is due to the fact that this kind of democracy is connected with other more powerful capitalist «democracies» which impose their will. Capital, national or international, imposes its own will, desires and views on the broad working masses. In the capitalist or revisionist countries, when something is presented as stemming from the «will of the working masses», it must be understood that what really lurks behind it is the will of the worker aristocracy.

The laws approved in bourgeois and revisionist parliaments express the will of the ruling class and defend its interests. The parties of capital which make up the parliamentary majority profit from these laws. But the other parties, those which are allegedly in the opposition and often represent the interests of the worker aristocracy and the rich peasants, do not fail to make a profit either. These «opposition» parties, which pretend to stand up against the parties of the parliamentary majority which support big capital, clamour, «criticize», and so on, yet all their clamouring and criticizing does nothing to end unemployment, emigration, or infla-

ENVER HOXHA

PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY IS GENUINE DEMOCRACY

tion. No amount of screaming by the parliamentary opposition can prevent price rises, chaos and degeneration of life, or even crime: killings, hold-ups and kidnappings, going on day and night in the streets, from becoming more and more alarming. And the capitalists and revisionists call this chaos and confusion, this freedom for evil-doers to perpetrate crimes, «genuine democracy»!

In this atmosphere characterized by absence of all morality, lives the notorious bourgeois-democratic power dominated by several bourgeois parties in the capitalist countries, or by one anti-Marxist party in the Soviet Union, Titoite Yugoslavia and some former countries of people's democracy which have turned capitalist.

Up till the time of the spread of Titoite and Khrushchevite modern revisionism, the so-called pluralism was confined to participation of such pseudo-democratic parties — radical, socialist, social-democratic and of many other similar appellations — in the oppressive capitalist power. When the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin was demolished by Khrushchevite revisionism, when Titoism laid the foundations of a capitalist regime in Yugoslavia, the other communist parties, with the exception of the Party of Labour of Albania, degenerated and turned into revisionist, reformist parties seeking close collaboration with the parties of capital, in order to govern the bourgeois-capitalist society. This is openly proclaimed today by the revisionist parties of France, Italy, Spain, Belgium, etc.

No need for explanations to prove that, by sharing state power, many bourgeois, capitalist, revisionist and fascist parties of such capitalist and imperialist countries as the United States of America and others, do not in the least transform their societies from reactionary into progressive societies. On the contrary, under imperialism, the turn is made from democracy to reaction. A society which defends and relies on the exploiting order is neither progressive nor democratic. Likewise, when state power is in the hands of a single party, which does not pursue a Marxist-Leninist line, which is not a party of the proletariat, it can never lead to the construction of socialism. On the contrary, no matter what such a party calls itself, whether

«Marxist» or «Marxist-Leninist», it is in reality a party of the bourgeoisie or a fascist party, which has the duty to see to the financing of private or capitalist state property and to providing for a new class of rulers.

On the face of it, such a party must necessarily preserve some Marxist forms; it seeks to give the power it wields socialist forms and names, but its essence and intentions as well as those of its state are anti-socialist, because its objective is to realize a regressive turn of the country and re-establish capitalism. In this case, the new bourgeoisie gradually assumes power to the detriment of the proletariat and its natural allies. This process has been confirmed in Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union and in many other countries of former people's democracy, where party pluralism does not exist. In these countries capitalism has been re-established in various forms, a class of new exploiters is emerging and growing strong. If the country which goes through this regressive process is big in territory, population, or economic potential, the state of this country turns social-imperialist, and if, on the contrary, the country is small, its state becomes a satellite of world capitalism, dominated by foreign capital and neo-colonialism, which exploit the wealth of this country and the toil of its people. Thus, all the so-called democratic states, whether with a system of pluralism, or one in which a single non-Marxist-Leninist party rules, do not want to substitute the new socialist society for the old exploitative capitalist society. There can be no genuine freedom, democracy, independence or sovereignty for the people in the old society where private ownership and capitalist exploitation exist.

«The dictatorship of the proletariat alone», Lenin teaches, «can emancipate humanity from the oppression of capital, from the lies, falsehood and hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy — democracy for the rich — and establish democracy for the poor, that is, make the blessings of democracy really accessible to the workers and poor peasants...»⁷.

Capitalist exploitation cannot be realized without intensive political propaganda to befuddle

people's minds or without a number of drastic laws to limit the rights of working people to the extreme. The large propaganda apparatus at the disposal of the bourgeoisie is at work every minute of the day against the proletariat and its dictatorship, against the people who have thrown themselves into the struggle for the defence of their rights. The entire economic political potential of the capitalist-revisionist countries is in the hands of a handful of magnates, wealthy people, who have set up an extensive and strong network of state mechanisms in order to maintain their power through violence. The army, the police, agents, courts and other means of class coercion, which severely clamp down on any opposition, individual or collective, on the part of the proletariat and other working people, which stamp out people's revolts, serve this goal.

The bourgeois and revisionist champions of the capitalist state present nationalization of some sectors of the economy, transport, etc., as a symptom of the «transformation» of the capitalist system. In their opinion, this process of «transformation» can go further, provided the proletariat becomes «reasonable» and «modest» in its claims, obeys the traitorous political parties and the trade unions manipulated by the bourgeoisie and the revisionists. These «theoreticians» are reformists, as they hold that the capitalist state can be transformed into a socialist state through reforms. Structural reforms have been carried out by capital in various capitalist, revisionist, or imperialist countries, but all these reforms have not brought about the victory of the revolution and the revolutionaries, on the contrary they have created a situation in which capital escaped its overthrow, and the exploiting class its gravediggers.

Modern revisionism has in the order of the day reformism, which constitutes the essence of its views, theories and practices. Reformism is against the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the overthrow of capitalism through the violent revolution. The driving force of the proletarian revolution is the merciless class struggle by the class of the proletariat and its allies, the poor peasantry and the other oppressed strata, against the bourgeoisie, state monopoly capital, financial capital, whereas

reformism negates the necessity of the class struggle, the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Therefore, reformism is the grave-digger of revolution, it is the opposite of Marxism-Leninism; that is why it has been adopted by the revisionist parties of such countries as the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, China, the former socialist countries as well as all revisionist parties throughout the world. In their efforts to put down the revolution and to distort the basic theses of Marxism-Leninism, some parties, which call themselves «Eurocommunist», have openly rejected the Marxist-Leninist theory. These parties, with the «Communist» Party of Spain in the lead, have abandoned Leninism. The «Communist» Party of Spain has gone so far as to drop the name «Leninist» for the bourgeoisie to understand that now the period of the overthrow of capitalism and the violent take-over of power by the proletariat is supposedly over, that the revisionist parties are being transformed into parties of the bourgeoisie and only too ready to give any other proof in order to win the trust of national and international capital.

Likewise, the question of technological and scientific progress cannot be confused with the revolutionary transformation of society, with the liberation of the proletariat and all working people from the old exploitative system, and with the establishment of the new socialist order. Advanced technology and science are the fruit of the mind of the people, of workers and intellectuals, but under exploitative social orders, technology and science serve the strengthening of the economic, political and ideological positions of ruling classes inside and outside their countries. Development of science and technology, alongside the increase in the number of specialists, cannot heal the ulcers of capitalism, as the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists make out. Experience shows that productive forces may develop and science and technology may progress, but the violent socialist revolution for the transition from capitalism to socialism is irreplaceable.

Our Marxist-Leninist theory has made it quite clear that transition to socialist society is achieved not by remaining within the context of the capi-

ENVER HOXHA

PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY IS GENUINE DEMOCRACY

talist order, but only by overthrowing this order and its institutions from their foundations, by setting up the state power of the proletariat, which is led by its vanguard — the Marxist-Leninist communist party.

The policy of our Party and state support the oppressed rising in revolution, and fights the oppressors who are doomed to disappear as a class. Our Party states openly that the wiping out of the exploiters can be achieved with no other means than through war, violent revolution, and not through reforms of the structure or the superstructure. For the complete and genuine liberation of the working class and all working people of the world to be achieved, it is necessary to overthrow the old power from its foundations, and establish the new state of the proletariat instead.

We are against decentralization of the socialist economy and for an irreconcilable fight against the capitalist-revisionist theory of «self-administration», «self-government of enterprises», which Titoism and its supporters sought to smuggle into our country through the traitors Beqir Balluku, Abdyl Këllezhi, Koço Theodhosi, and others. The socialist economy of our country develops on scientific bases, by a unified general plan, aimed at satisfying the material and cultural needs of society. Our Constitution has it: «The state organizes, manages, and develops all the economic and social life by a unified general plan...».

It is the right and duty of our state to supervise the implementation of this plan at all links and in all indices. This is realized through workers' and peasants' control, through control by the state, the Party and the organizations of the masses, which are forms of proletarian control.

Of course, this effective control is based on complete freedom of criticism and on a high degree of self-criticism, which serve the progress of work, a correct understanding of tasks, and the communist education of people. Checking up on the fulfilment of planned tasks is a complex problem of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the policy of the Party, our Marxist-Leninist ideology, co-ordinated with all the great work done under the leadership of the Party.

The capitalist bourgeoisie and the revisionists

attack us for relying powerfully on the dictatorship of the proletariat. They accuse us communists of allegedly being disregarding of the personality of man in our society! This is a gross calumny meant to cover up the brutal oppression of the proletariat and the working people on the part of capital. Antagonist classes are the source of the oppression of the personality of man and the working masses. On the contrary, if there ever exists a social system which really frees man from anguish, worries, petty feelings, old idealist leftovers, this can be only the socialist social system which wipes out exploiting classes, private ownership, and puts an end to the exploitation of man by man.

The demolition of the power of exploiting classes, which lord it over the working people barbarously, and the establishment of the power of the working class frees man and raises him to a high pedestal, encourages him to work with a will, to give leadership with a pure conscience, to criticize and praise duly. Socialism sets man in a position to feel and see for himself that he is not isolated from the world, that he is a member of a new society, which has as its aim the welfare of the individual within the framework of the development of the entire society. In this society man is raised to his rightful place, on the basis of his ability and the work he does, he is free to work and enjoy the fruit of his toil. Freedom for the individual in our society is inconceivable for the bourgeois, the capitalist or the revisionist, because they measure the personality of man with their own yardstick of the standardization and manipulation of people.

By accepting the independence of the individual from society, the exploiting classes intend to ensure privileges for people of their own class, to enable them to acquire knowledge, to enjoy freedoms and wield competences and rule over the others. Our system has struck at the roots of bourgeois individualism and created unlimited possibilities for the individual and society to develop their abilities and enjoy all constitutional rights and freedoms.

Our course, capitalism and its propaganda are and will be at war with our socialist reality, with our dictatorship of the proletariat, because they

cannot put up with our morality which does not permit the economic, political and moral exploitation of man and his freedoms to be trampled underfoot. But our socialist reality cannot be obscured by any idealistic propaganda and «theory», capitalist or revisionist.

The capitalist world has plunged into a great crisis. The advocates of the bourgeois order, the bourgeois economists and sociologists, compelled by reality, see that the theses of Marx and Lenin on capitalism and imperialism have not grown outdated, that in the present capitalist society capitalism and imperialism are in a process of deterioration, just as Marx and Lenin predicted, but, in order to emerge from the crisis, these champions of the old order loudly advertize the «fight against terrorism», for the prevention of the revolts and the revolution of the masses of the working people against the capitalist order, or the fight against «riots», as they call them. Otherwise, these sociologists and economists of the bourgeoisie cry in despair, capitalism cannot emerge from the crisis and «stabilize» its system.

The capitalist and revisionist countries, where they pretend that man allegedly enjoys all democratic freedoms and «blessings», are seething with mass protests. If there is real freedom and the masses enjoy all material blessings, as they pretend, then why are the millions of people continually turning out in the street and clashing with the police of the bourgeoisie? It is plain that the masses are protesting because their life is far from good, that they suffer economically, politically and in many other directions, therefore they try to overthrow the state which is against genuine democracy.

The bourgeois state of the period of the domination of state monopoly capitalism seeks to give the impression that the law there is made by the parliament, where various parties, allegedly elected by universal suffrage, are represented. But it is common knowledge that the system of elections and the many restrictions imposed on it by law enable only those political parties which are the strongest pillars of capital always to gain the majority in the parliament. The parliamentary game in these countries is a mere masquerade, it is a means serving the power of the bourgeoisie to give the

false impression that there is «democracy», and to present this false democracy as real. The high organs of state power and of the capitalist and revisionist administration are in the hands of the «delegates» of a power which is not sanctioned by law, which formally has nothing to do with the government, but which governs, in fact. This is the power of the big capitalists, who, through the power of their money, have delegated to the government or to the parliament their men-of-all-work to defend their interests from the «trouble-makers», from those who rise in revolt and want to recover the rights which the capitalist have robbed them of. To all this fraud the champions of capitalism and revisionism give the name of «genuine democracy».

Lenin said that, at given moments, the tribune of the bourgeois parliament may be utilized by the revolutionaries as one of the forms of their legal struggle in order to expose the capitalist system. However, at the same time he stressed that this should not create the illusion among the communists and the masses that power can be seized through the parliamentary road.

In the bourgeois-capitalist and revisionist society «parliamentary cretinism» is that form of «democracy» which the bourgeoisie uses to conceal the oppressing nature of its own state power, which it wields through the majority of the seats it secures in elections. But, in addition to state power, the bourgeoisie wields also big extra-state power, that is, through monopolies, trusts, joint companies and their investments inside and outside its own country. This power of big private property constitutes the economic force which appropriates the toil of the working people inside or outside the country and is in a position to buttress the superstructure which suits the rule of ferocious capital better. Bourgeois superstructure is a means for the implementation of a policy of enslavement of the peoples, a military, ideological and political force against the proletariat, the poor peasantry and working intelligentsia, it also endeavours to bring about the degeneration and destruction of the norms of proletarian morality, in order to spread the rotten bourgeois morality in the real meaning of the word.

The bourgeois parliament opens its doors to the «elected», but the dictatorship of the bourgeois-

ENVER HOXHA

PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY IS GENUINE DEMOCRACY

sie does its own job; there they carry on endless discussions, voting follows voting and things continue to the liking of those who make the law, the rich, the owners of trusts, monopolies, and the banks, whose power, the second capitalist state, manipulates the parliament and the government, in spite of the fact that such manipulation is not stipulated by the Constitution in force. Proceeding from these reasons, Lenin wrote:

«In any parliamentary country... the real business of «state» is performed behind the scenes and is carried on by the departments, chancelleries and General Staffs»⁸.

In Albania, the national liberation councils which were created under the leadership of the Party at the time of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War and strengthened after Liberation and during the period of the construction of socialism, are organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, elected by the people and representing the will and desires of working people. The representative organs of the people in the state power are the People's Assembly and people's councils. Under the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania «the representative organs direct and control the activity of all other state organs, which are responsible before them and render account to them».

With us, democracy is not a game to mislead the people, on the contrary it is put into practice. Here, there is no dual power, one recognized by the law and the other existing de facto, here there is only one unified state power, which stems from the people and belongs to them. Our state is the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which has made the laws and created its own revolutionary apparatus, its new method and style at work, which expresses and defends the interests of the working people.

In our country it is not violence which makes people observe the laws of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but their full conviction that the observance of laws benefits them and society. Our people implement the laws in a conscious manner, because they participate on a large scale in their drafting.

In the capitalist and revisionist countries the law is enforced through the savage violence of the bourgeoisie, there cannot be talk of conscious implementation of the laws by the people as long as their content is in open contradiction with the interests of the people. Speaking of the injustice of the bourgeois law, Marx says:

Each paragraph of the Constitution contains its own antithesis... liberty in the general phrase, abrogation of liberty in the marginal note»⁹

The citizen in these countries is a commodity and is treated precisely as a commodity, whereas in our country, the citizen of the Republic is highly appreciated, he plays a great role in society. For the citizen to play this role in a more active manner, it is necessary that he raises himself still higher ideologically, culturally, and scientifically, and becomes conscious of his own role.

Comrades,

The task of the Democratic Front is to ceaselessly fight for the defence and development of our democracy, this major victory of the Party and the people, and to implement the laws and norms regulating socialist life.

It must work unceasingly to solicit the opinion of the masses ever better, to help them have their say on all state and social problems, so that the workers and peasants exercise their control over the state, economic and other organs.

Our Democratic Front is not an amorphous, lifeless organization. On the contrary, it is an organization with such political dynamism as to see every problem from the revolutionary angle and find the most suitable forms for its solution in a revolutionary manner.

The Democratic Front is led by the Party of Labour of Albania, which is the vanguard of the working class and expresses those ideas, those aspirations and that policy which bring benefit to the Albanian people, while it exposes and fights everything which may harm our socialist Homeland. Thus, the policy of the Front is a monolithic, consistent policy, because in the Front there are no antagonist political trends, no various parties de-

fending the interests of different classes. The political struggle of the Front tallies to the hilt with the policy of the Party, with the policy of our socialist state. The policy of the Democratic Front of Albania reflects and supports the revolutionary law of our People's Socialist Republic.

The enemies of our country abroad think that the policy of the Democratic Front of Albania is an inert, stereotyped policy devoid of content. They want the policy of our Front to be a confused and contradictory policy, a product of various tendencies, of contending views and aims, because this alone, they claim, is democracy. These opponents of our Front, our revolutionary organization, are not in a position to understand that when the people are united, as our people are, they can and actually hold correct, clear and unified political views on principles and objectives, and, when we say unified, we mean not a lifeless and stereotyped policy, but a policy which is in a position to give solution to all problems, whether complicated internal problems or very intricate external ones, through debate and discussion.

Where all this strength and maturity of the Democratic Front comes from? Precisely from the fact that the contents of this organization are really democratic, because our Front is an organization of the broad masses led by a Marxist-Leninist Party, which represents the most perfect democracy, the genuine democracy of the proletariat. The proletariat and its party are always in war and in revolution for the construction of a happy society for the people, a free society, a democratic society, a society which with every passing day rises higher and higher in its economic and intellectual development, in its healthy proletarian knowledge and morality. And this is done through continuous creative work, which calls for strenuous efforts and democratic debate.

Our Democratic Front pursues this policy and fights to achieve these objectives. The implementation of such policy cannot be the work of an organization created only for the sake of appearances, whose aim would be to mislead the masses of the people at home and abroad, and to show that there exists a political organization, at a time when such a thing is non-existent.

How does our Democratic Front see world developments? Our Front sees them with a realistic eye. This means that it is orientated by materialistic dialectics, by historical materialism, it relies on our scientific ideology, on Marxism-Leninism. It is precisely this which does not allow the policy of the Party, which is pursued also by the Front, to be a baseless, wavering, pragmatic and unprincipled policy. The policy of the Democratic Front is, therefore, a policy of a class character, and when we say of a class character we mean that it has always present in mind the class struggle being waged within the country and in the international arena, and bases itself on it.

Our Democratic Front encourages sincere love for the peoples of the world and in the first place the peoples seeking liberation, languishing under the bondage and heel of capital. This policy of the Front gives all-out support to these peoples for their aspirations. With its invariably correct, humanitarian and revolutionary word, our Democratic Front never hides the truth about the materialist development of history from the oppressed and exploited peoples and classes of the world, who aspire towards freedom, genuine democracy and sovereignty, it never hides from them the fact that their victory cannot be achieved without fierce class battles, without efforts, leading at times even to bloodshed, against the capitalist oppressors and exploiters. This is the basis of the Marxist-Leninist policy of the Democratic Front, which is also the basis of the policy of our Party of Labour.

The policy of the Front is a policy which supports, and complies with, the interests of the struggle which the world proletariat, the long-suffering and oppressed peasantry, are waging; it supports the struggle of the poor people of the town, the progressive intelligentsia, youth, all those who want to build a dignified, worthy and decent life, to win everything by their sweat, which must not serve to fill the pockets of the thieves, the capitalists.

In our policy we do not budge from these principles. Our Democratic Front cherishes feelings of love for the peoples of the world and so do they. Albania is a typical example of a small country which enjoys great sympathy everywhere in

ENVER HOXHA

PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY IS GENUINE DEMOCRACY

the world, which builds socialism by relying on its own forces, «frying in its own grease», as we Albanians say. Its aim is not to instigate wars, to conquer countries and peoples, hence its people desire to live in terms of friendship with other peoples, that is why their sympathy for the Albanian people is great, all too evident and tangible.

The various peoples of the world live under regimes different from ours; they are not governed by such a regime as the dictatorship of the proletariat which is established in our country. The governments there do not pursue the same policy as ours. Therefore, without budging from its basic principles, our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and consequently, our Democratic Front, with the Party in the lead and inspired by it, is able to make the necessary analyses of the evolving situations in the world, the individual characteristics of the various states, the aims and objectives of these states towards their own peoples, other peoples, and especially our people. This helps build a correct and sound policy, and not a policy based on passing circumstances. Relying on these universal principles, our Party and Democratic Front can distinguish between the degree of the well-wishing aims of one bourgeois state from the degree of the well-wishing aims of another bourgeois state towards Albania and towards other small nations in general, they can assess the danger posed by one big capitalist power in comparison with another big capitalist power, as well as the danger it poses to other smaller capitalist states, they know how to see the great danger posed by the imperialist and social-imperialist superpowers, in general, and to adopt the proper stand towards all of them. The stand adopted by our Party, our socialist state and the Democratic Front of Albania is not opportunist and unfounded, nor is it dictated by somebody else, it is a principled, well-wishing and sincere stand. It is stern and irreconcilable towards enemies, but well-wishing and above-board towards those bourgeois states which pursue a policy of friendship with socialist Albania and adhere to some democratic principles, allow some reforms, and so on, within their own countries. We have our own views on the «democracy» that exists in these countries as well as these

kinds of «reforms», their content and the aim they are instituted for. This is our right which nobody can deny us, just as nobody can prevent us from expressing our views freely. This is what we precisely do when we explain to the peoples theoretically and politically the content of «democracy» and «reforms», their limitations, character, and so on, in a bourgeois state. We do this without interfering in others' internal affairs, because, after all, it is up to the peoples of various countries to judge for themselves the value of these phenomena in their own states.

Nevertheless, our Party and Democratic Front make the necessary distinctions, and they do this to defend not only the interests of their people and country, but those of the other peoples, too, for they never separate the general interests of their country and people from those of the peoples of the world and the world proletariat. Herein lies the great and mighty truth expressed by the policy of our Party and the Democratic Front, herein lies the source of the support the policy of our state enjoys in the world.

Our policy does not resemble the policy of the bourgeois and revisionist capitalist states, which is like the yellow leaf turning to the autumn wind. No, our policy has not turned nor will it ever turn from the principle under which we must and will be brothers with the peoples, united with them for our same aims: true freedom, democracy, sovereignty and independence; we are linked with the peoples in the struggle against the oppressors and exploiters of the peoples, in the struggle against those who instigate and prepare predatory imperialist wars, waged at the expense of the peoples. Ours is an unchanging policy and we will never budge from this policy, whatever the form of government this of that people are under.

Therefore, the declaration by socialist Albania that it wishes to live in good friendship especially with the neighbouring countries, and that it regards their peoples as brothers, is an undeniable truth. We are pleased to see that some leaderships of these and other countries, though under different social regimes, pursue a well-wishing policy towards our country. For its part, the Albanian

proletarian state, too, pursues a well-wishing policy of mutual interest, that is, it duly distinguishes among those various bourgeois states which are progressive and well-disposed to it. We want to have similar relations with all those states, big or small, which respect the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and desire to maintain friendly economic and cultural relations with our country, in spite of the fact that they may be opposed to it on a series of issues, just as we do on a series of questions of principle.

We declare that ill-intentioned relations are always harmful and fraught with danger, and it is difficult to conceal them. Life and the history of mankind have taught our people to be always on their guard against relations behind which perfidy lurks. There are already many individuals or official circles abroad, who know that the Albanian people have always condemned perfidy, for it has never been and is not in their character. We condemned the perfidy and treachery committed by the Titoites, the Soviet revisionists as well as the Chinese revisionist leaders against Marxism-Leninism. Our rupture with these reactionary revisionist groups was due to profound ideological and political reasons and not to trifles. They were not of a national character only, because they affected not only Albania's economic interests, no; they had and have more of an international character, because they violated the great principles for which the peoples, the world proletariat and progressive mankind are fighting.

The policy of our Party and Front has been and is known to young and old at home and abroad, therefore it is not necessary to go in detail about it in this speech. I would only like to drive home especially to some circles abroad that the policy of our Party and the Democratic Front of Albania will not vacillate or depart, however little, from its correct, definite and permanent principles based on Marxism-Leninism. Our policy will always be a class and principled policy complying with the lofty interests of our country, socialism and the liberation struggle of the peoples. Our people will always fight unwaveringly against US imperialism, Soviet socialimperialism and all reactionaries; nobody must cherish the smallest illusion that social-

ist Albania will change its stand towards them. Likewise, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian state will fight and expose Chinese social-imperialism which has taken sides with US imperialism and world reaction in its struggle against the peoples, especially against socialism in Albania.

Besides, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has pursued and pursues a well-wishing policy towards those states which wish our state well, do not seek to harm anybody, just as we do, never trying or intending to harm their peoples, but always wishing to be in harmony and co-operation for the sake of the lofty aims and ardent desires of all the peoples who aspire to liberation, freedom, democracy, independence, sovereignty and socialism.

Comrades,

The campaign for the election of deputies to the People's Assembly is a great political action of our organization of the Democratic Front. On this occasion, let us, together with all the other mass organizations, go all-out to achieve still greater results at work. With firm confidence in the correct line of the Party and the brilliant prospects opened to our people, let the political enthusiasm and mobilization of the workers, peasants, youth, the women, our entire working people, burst out powerfully in this campaign in order to crown these elections with full success.

LONG LIVE OUR HEROIC PEOPLE!
LONG LIVE THE PARTY!
LONG LIVE THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT!

1) J. V. Stalin, *Collected Works*, vol. 14, p. 61. (Alb. ed.).

2) V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 25, p. 495 (Alb. ed.).

3) V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 26, p. 501 (Alb. ed.).

4) K. Marks-F. Engels, *Selected Works*, vol. I, p. 546, Tirana, 1975 (Alb. ed.).

5) V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 25, p. 444 (Alb. ed.).

6) K. Marks - F. Engels, *Selected Works*, vol. I, p. 496, Tirana, 1975 (Alb. ed.).

7) V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 28, pp. 324-425 (Alb. ed.).

8) V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, vol. II, p. 174, Tirana, 1958 (Alb. ed.).

9) K. Marks - F. Engels, *Selected Works*, vol. I, p. 265, Tirana, 1975, (Alb. ed.).

UNSHAKEN STAND ON THE POSITIONS OF MARXISM-LENINISM

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

Through the press our people acquainted themselves with the July 29, 1978 Letter of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council of the People's Republic of China. This historic document of great importance fills the communists and all the working peoples of our country with legitimate pride for the crystal-clear Marxist-Leninist line followed by our Party of Labour, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, its unflinching determination to defend the principled revolutionary and internationalist positions to which our Party has stuck with great consistency at all moments and in all conditions and circumstances. Our entire people once more express their steel-like unity around the Party, its correct Marxist-Leninist line, they express their unflinching resolution to march, in the future, too, on the road of honour and salvation the Party shows them, boldly rejecting and overcoming all hostile pressure, obstacles and blockades from any quarter and by anybody.

The arbitrary decision of the Chinese Government to cut off civil and military aid to and recall all Chinese specialists from Albania was condemned by the communists and all working people of our country with deep indignation as a treacherous anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian act from great power positions, which is aimed to hit and damage the economy and defence potential of our country, to sabotage the cause of the revolution and socialism in Albania, and to undermine the fraternal friendship between the Albanian and Chinese peoples.

Through numerous facts and proofs, the Letter of the CC of the Party of Labour and the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania rejects the efforts of the Chinese leadership to justify this treacherous, hostile and chauvinist act. The so-called «reasons» and «facts» presented in the Chinese note do not hold water. They are nothing but hopeless attempts on the part of the Chinese leaders to cover up the true cause of their anti-Albanian stands, to shift the attention to some economic and technical problems, unscrupulously distorted, at that.

The Letter refutes the chauvinistic megalomania of the Chinese leadership which labour to represent China's aid to Albania as the decisive factor of development in our country, as if all the credit for constructions, industry, agriculture, and every achievement in Albania goes to the Chinese specialists. The Albanian people, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of our country have always highly appraised China's aid to Albania, considering it an internationalist aid of the Chinese people in the service of the general cause of the revolution and socialism in the world. But, says the Letter, this help was not nor could it be, the decisive factor of development in our country. The relentless, persistent and self-denying work and struggle of the Albanian people, under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, for the construction of socialism according to the great Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance has been and remains the decisive factor of all achievement.

The Letter of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the CC of the CP of China and the Chinese Go-

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vernment throws full light on the true causes which prompted the Chinese leadership to such savage hostile acts against socialist Albania. In content and form these acts are a repetition of the savage chauvinistic methods the Yugoslav and Soviet revisionist renegades resorted to earlier against our country and people. These causes lie in the fact that «the Chinese leaders have abandoned Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, have adopted a chauvinistic great power course, have embarked on the road of collaboration and unity with imperialism and the reactionary forces in the world, have given up aid to and support for the revolutionary and liberation forces in the international arena».

With reference to concrete and undeniable historical facts, the Letter proves that serious differences and contradictions over several key problems of principle of the world communist and revolutionary movement had long since emerged between the Party of Labour of Albania and the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

In the first place, they have to do with the stand towards Khrushchevite revisionism and the fight against it. Many facts in the Letter of the CC of the PLA and the Albanian Government prove that at a time when our Party was involved in a tit-for-tat struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism and was consistently and resolutely continuing this struggle, the Chinese leadership wavered, it proved itself unable of assuming a clear-cut stand towards it. Such facts as the attempts of the leadership of the Communist Party of China at giving up polemics with the revisionists as early as 1960, their shifting of the principled ideological struggle to chauvinistic claims and instigation of war in Europe, which appeared with the raising of the border

issues in 1964, their strategy of a united front with the Khrushchevite revisionists, the illusions they cherished after Khrushchev's defenestration, as well as their efforts of reconciliation with the Brezhnev clique, etc. are clear proof of the Chinese waverings. Our Party, which has fought and continues to fight with determination against Khrushchevite revisionism, rose in resolved and comradely opposition to these vacillating and opportunist attitudes which, if accepted, would have spelled catastrophe for the Marxist-Leninist movement.

Differences between the Party of Labour of Albania and the leadership of the Communist Party of China deepened further when the latter invited Nixon to visit China, linked itself with US imperialism and joined the dance of imperialist alliances and rivalries for the redivision of the world, where China, too, claimed its share now that it was abandoning the true socialist countries, the Marxist-Leninist movement, the revolution and the national liberation struggle of the people. Our Party, which waged a relentless and unflinching fight against US imperialism at all times, resolutely opposed this switch-over of China's, stressing that it ran counter to the interests of the revolution, socialism and People's China itself.

The sliding of the Chinese leadership ever deeper into anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary positions and its plans of making China a super-power have now found their concentrated expression in the ill-famed theory of «three worlds», which aims to extinguish the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat and its class struggle by advocating unity with the bourgeoisie and imperialism and preservation of the present statu-quo of capitalist, colonialist and neo-colonialist oppression and exploitation, under the pretext that allegedly it is

not the time for revolution. The theory of «three worlds» fans up the armaments race of the superpowers, backs up the military blocs of US imperialism and instigates an imperialist world war. In its efforts to make a superpower of China, the Chinese leadership has made the imperialist theory of the «third world» its own, and is trying to establish its hegemony on this «world». The application of the theory of «three worlds» had led the Chinese leadership to uniting with the blackest reactionary forces of our times — the US imperialists and other Western imperialist powers, the European monopolies, fascist regimes and feudal landlords, the most rabid militarists and warmongers, as well as various revisionist trends.

It is precisely this anti-Marxist, counter-revolutionary and anti-socialist line which the Chinese leadership has been trying to impose on our Party with all manner of means. And besides bringing economic and ideological pressure to bear on our Party, it has been trying to impose even the line our Party should follow in case of an external aggression against Albania — the implementation of the tactics of partisan warfare in the country and the conclusion of a military alliance with Yugoslavia and Rumania, thus criminally interfering in the internal affairs of Albania. And, as the Letter stresses, «had these condemnable acts, undertaken by the Chinese leadership in collaboration with some Albanian traitors, been carried out, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania as well as its independence and sovereignty would have been liquidated». Our Party resolutely condemned these hostile chauvinistic acts also as «an attempt of a reactionary character on the part of the Chinese leadership to beguile socialist Albania into the trap of warmongering plots through military alliances with the final aim of turning the Balkans into a powder keg, as the Soviet social-imperialists and the US imperialists are trying to do».

This anti-Marxist and chauvinistic great power policy of the Chinese leadership and the flat refusal of our Party and socialist state to submit to the Chinese dictate, or to march on the counter-revolutionary road, are the true causes which impelled the Chinese leadership to take such hostile acts against socialist Albania, which went so far as to brutally cut all civil and military aid to it, at a time when China itself is receiving large credits from US imperialism and world capitalism and is giving aid and credits to such agents as Mobutu and others.

This lays bare before the whole world the fallacy of the Chinese line, the lies the Chinese leadership tries to peddle also to the peoples of the «third world», its chauvinistic plans to subjugate and enslave them.

In the Letter of the CC of the PLA and the Albanian Government, the attempts made by our Party on the Marxist-Leninist road stand out clearly: on the one hand, our Party has made criticism in a comradely spirit, through letters and demands that differences be solved through comradely talks; on the other, it has publicly backed up and supported China in those fundamental questions over which our views coincided, particularly at the most critical moments for China. Whereas the Chinese leadership, on its part, has systematically been against the settlement of differences; it has refused to answer our letters and has been opposed to sending its delegations to the congresses of our Party or to receiving Albanian Party or Government delegations for the discussion of these problems in China. The Chinese leaders wanted only one thing: that our Party and country submit to their conductor's baton.

But the Chinese leaders are grossly mistaken in their chauvinistic reckonings. Never, either in the past, or at present, or even in the future, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people have allowed, or will they ever allow the Chinese leaders, or anybody else, for that matter, to impose an anti-Marxist and treacherous line on them. The unchanging line of our Party of Labour and the Albanian people under its leadership has been and will be the line of the relentless revolutionary struggle for the triumph, construction and defence of socialism in Albania, the line of the internationalist and unreserved support of the revolutionary and liberation struggle, of the triumph, construction and defence of socialism in Albania, the line of the internationalist and unreserved support of the revolutionary and liberation struggle of the proletariat and the freedom-loving peoples in other countries, the line of the tit-for-tat struggle against international imperialism, and in particular, against the two superpowers — US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism and reaction, the line of the principled and uncompromising struggle against modern revisionism of all hues for the defence of the purity of the revolutionary doctrine of Marxism-Leninism.

Our Party did not bow down before the savage

pressures of the Khrushchevite revisionists, on the contrary it raised high the banner of the principled struggle for the unmasking of these renegades. But the mind of the Chinese leaders, clouded by anti-Marxist concepts and great power chauvinism, prevents them from drawing lessons from the past. All the responsibility for their anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian attitudes lies with them.

The malevolent and hostile acts of the Chinese Government towards Albania will cause some difficulties in building the projects contracted with the People's Republic of China and their commissioning on time. But no difficulty, pressure or blockade can stop the advance of our country on the road of the complete construction of socialism. As well as that, now our people have — and even to a higher degree — everything necessary to surmount all obstacles and difficulties caused by the Chinese leadership and to achieve fresh victories in the complete construction of socialism relying on their own forces. A guarantee for this is the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, its corrent and unshaken Marxist-Leninist line, the steel-like militant unity of the people round the Party. Thanks to the consistent implementation of the great principle of self-reliance, our country possess today a modern, developed and stable socialist economy, capable of standing on its own feet, of ensuring the enlarged socialist reproduction at satisfactory rates, the rise of the people's wellbeing and our country's independence and national sovereignty. An entire army of qualified cadres for all branches of the economy has been trained in our country. The defence capacity of our country has reached a high degree of consolidation, and the armed forces of our country, the entire soldier-people, under the leadership of the Party, are in a position to rout and annihilate any aggressor that would dare embark on military adventures against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. At the same time, the just and unflinching struggle of our people, under the leadership of the Party of Labour, for the construction and defence of socialism in Albania, as well as for the great cause of the revolution and liberation of the peoples, enjoys the sympathy, solidarity and growing support of the freedom-loving peoples and all revolutionary forces of the world.

But while expressing our unshakeable confidence in the triumph of our just cause and the

indomitable resolution to carry ahead the complete construction of socialism with all our forces, our Party and people are fully aware that the maximum mobilization of all our forces and reserves are called for in order to successfully cope with and overcome the new difficulties caused by the chauvinistic measure of the Chinese leadership.

First of all, this requires that the ideo-political, explanatory and persuading work of the Party and its levers be raised to a higher level, that all working people, and the communists and cadres, in the first place, actively keep up with the new situations, and respond to them by further strengthening the great Party-people unity, this colossal force against which all enemies of socialist Albania have broken and will break their heads. The ideo-political work of the Party and its levers must, at the same time, serve the further increase of the revolutionary vigilance of the communists and working masses.

Its is necessary for Party work in all its levers to implant a broader, deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance and its application on a national scale as well as in every individual sector and link, on every problem of our socialist economy and the country's defence, among the broad masses of the working people of the city and the countryside.

The consistent implementation of the principle of selfreliance in practice and the overcoming of the difficulties and obstacles raised on our road in the present situations require that the mobilization of all working people and everyone's sense of duty towards himself and his comrade, the good progress of work in general, the precise implementation of tasks, should be raised to an unprecedented level. Let the revolutionary thinking and action of the workers, cooperativists, intellectuals, youth, women, all working people, with the communists in the lead, burst forth powerfully in every cell of our society in order to fulfil and overfulfil tasks, to break the hostile encirclement and blockade of imperialists and revisionists, with which the Chinese leadership, too, has made common cause now.

The further progress on the road of the complete construction of socialism with our own forces, overcoming all the obstacles and difficulties, we are or may be coming up against in the future, now more than ever calls on us to embark with

multiplied forces on our technical-scientific revolution and raise it to a qualitatively new degree.

Coping with arising situations and rigorously implementing the tasks confronting us now, the rapid development of our socialist economy with our own forces raise the imperative necessity of taking effective measures for improving organization and management of the economy, further revolutionizing the method and style of management at all levels, from the basic units of production up to the central departments.

The further strengthening of the defence of the Homeland is a duty above all duties. This calls on the entire people, the working class, the co-operativist peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, youth and women of Albania, our armymen, with the communists in the lead, by implementing the orientations of the 7th Congress of the Party, the 5th Plenum of the Central Committee this year, and the instructions Comrade Enver Hoxha gave in his speech to the students and cadres of the military schools, to rise to their feet as one in order to apply all the

great and vital tasks of the socialist construction and the defence of the Homeland, which are indivisible, with determination and in a highly creative spirit, to further steel the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, as an unconquerable bastion for any enemy or surprise, to maintain it always the radiant beacon of Marxism-Leninism and socialism.

Our country, as the bastion of the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the tested leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania and unwaveringly marching on the road it is shown by the Party, will accomplish its historic mission with honour and to the end, in order to give to the proletariat and the peoples of the world more proof in deeds of the inexhaustible vitality of the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism which enable even a small country, in manyfold imperialist-revisionist encirclement, to be fully in a position to build socialism with success with its own forces, to defend it and carry it ever forward, breaking all blockades and overcoming all obstacles.



PPSH



QENDRIM I PATUNDUR NË POZITAT E MARKSIZËM-LENINIZMIT

Unshakeable stand on the positions of Marxism-Leninism (placard by Z. Mati)

POWERFUL SOLIDARITY WITH THE UNSHAKEABLE MARXIST-LENINIST STAND AND THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE

Through these messages, communist and workers' parties (Marxist-Leninist), friendship associations with our country, organizations of workers, progressive youth and women, progressive political, cultural and social personalities, friends and well-wishers of the PSR of Albania express their great indignation and anger over the arbitrary and hostile act of the Chinese leadership, voice their support for and sympathy with the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people, their complete solidarity with the Letter of the CC of the Party of Labour of Albania

The arbitrary act of the Chinese government cutting economic and military aid to, and calling back Chinese experts from, Albania has aroused deep indignation and anger in the international arena. At the same time, the unshakeable Marxist-Leninist stand of the Party of Labour of Albania and of the Albanian people towards this reactionary, anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian act of the Chinese leadership has met with the broad and powerful support and backing of many friends and well-wishers of our country all over the world. Clear testimony to this are the numerous messages, telegrams, letters and declarations which have been flowing in from various countries of all continents to the Central Committee of the PLA, the First Secretary of the CC of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha, and to institutions and mass organizations of our country.

Through them, communist and workers' parties (Marxist-Leninist), friendship associations with our country, organizations of workers, progressive youth and women, progressive political, cultural and social personalities, friends and well-wishers of the PSR of Albania, express their great indignation and anger over the arbitrary and hostile act of the Chinese leadership, voice their support for and sympathy with the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people, their complete solidarity with the Letter of the CC of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the PSR of Albania to the Central Committee of the CP of China and the Chinese government.

Expressing their full solidarity with the correct, consistent, Marxist-Leninist line of the PLA, Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary forces highly appraise the revolutionary courage of

the PLA with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head. «Albania», says the telegram to Comrade Enver Hoxha and the CC of the PLA from the CC of the Communist Party of Brasil, «is very great thanks to the ideas it defends, the example it sets, the cause it supports. It will mobilize all its material and human resources; it will have also the sympathy and backing up of the oppressed and exploited of all the world in its work for the successful accomplishment of the construction of a new society.

«...Opportunists come and go, revolution advances in Albania and throughout the world, to the final victory of communism».

Albania has not been, is not and will never be isolated. It enjoys the sympathy and broad and strong support of all revolutionaries. «Albania», says the announcement of the Communist Party of Italy (Marxist-Leninist), pub-

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lished in the newspaper «Nuova Unità» central organ of the CP of Italy (Marxist-Leninist), «is not isolated. It has on its side all the revolutionary forces, the proletariat and the peoples of the world, and in the first place, the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties.

«...The Communist Party of Italy (Marxist-Leninist) stands resolutely on the side of the Party of Labour of Albania, which, led by its Central Committee, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at its head, is fighting in the forefront for the victory of Marxism-Leninism, promoting the cause of the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the international communist movement, pursuing an international policy of support for the revolutionary and liberation forces; it stands by the side of Albania, the citadel of socialism in the world.»

After exposing the course of the Chinese leadership of kowtowing and capitulating to the American imperialists, the international bourgeoisie and reactionary forces, the CC of the CP of Japan (M-L) in its telegram addressed to the CC of the PLA, declares in part: «The attack of the Chinese leadership against socialist Albania fosters the counterrevolutionary and anti-socialist intentions of imperialism, the international bourgeoisie and reactionary forces. It is an attack directed against the world proletariat, against the Marxist-Leninist parties throughout the world, against socialism, against all those who are fighting for the revolution, for their freedom, independence and social progress.

The Letter of the CC of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the PSR of Albania addressed to the CC of the CP of China and the Chinese Government, which was published a few days ago, throws light on the road of treason followed by the Chinese leadership. It is another weapon placed in the hands of the revolutionaries all over the world. We express our ardent support for the publication of this letter and appraise it as an important contribution to the international communist movement.»

The National Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), in its telegram, among other things emphasizes: «The Canadian proletariat resolutely stands on the side of the Party of Labour of Albania, on the side of the Albanian people and state who refused to bow down before pressure and blackmail. The Party of Labour of Albania, under the farsighted leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha, was the first to discover Khrushchevite revisionism, to identify its features, and waged a bold struggle against it, as well as a staunch and courageous fight against all attempts of great state chauvinism to bring Albania to its knees. The defence of socialist Albania is our sacred duty».

«The glorious Party of Labour of Albania, led by Comrade Enver Hoxha,» reads the article by Comrade Raul Marco in «Vanguardia Obrera», organ of the CC of the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist), «all along its history has proved that there is no pressure, blackmail or threat which can

subdue it. On the contrary, the Albanian communists, closely bound to their people, have always known how to rise before difficulties and, with courage and valiance, relying on their own forces, to surmount them, they have known how to cope with very difficult junctures and to carry ahead the cause of the construction of socialism, defeating all their enemies in succession. With its staunch and principled stand and with its courage to put these principles into practice, the PLA has won the sympathy and admiration of all the peoples of the world.»

Right is on the side of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, hence the broad support for this just stand everywhere. «The refusal, on the part of the PLA and the Albanian people, to kneel obedience to the Chinese leadership's endeavours at imposing its own anti-Marxist policy on the PLA and on the People's Socialist Republic of Albania,» says the telegram of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) addressed to the CC of the PLA, «constitutes a correct and heroic stand. This stand of the Albanian people is not new; in the past you have refused to submit to the threats and blackmail of the Yugoslav and Soviet revisionists. We are sure that under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha, the present difficulties will be surmounted very soon».

Expressing his admiration for the unshaken determination of the PLA in the defence of the national independ-

ence of our country, Ives Lacoste, professor at the University of Sorbonne in Paris, author of many renowned works on geography, in a letter to the Albanian Embassy in France, among other things, writes, «I feel sincere admiration for a state as Albania, which has not hesitated to formulate its own criticism of the unscrupulous policy which led the PR of China to official recognition and material support for the most reactionary regimes, and in particular, the regime of General Pinochet.

«What a great example this is on the part of a people who defend the sacred principle of national independence! This example has great importance for all the peoples. It is in our interest, the interest of the French people, to publicize the stand of the Albanian people, in these conditions».

The delegation of the CC of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile which was on a visit to Albania, issued a statement in which it condemns the hostile act of the Chinese leadership and expresses its solidarity with the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the PLA. «The Albanian people, led by the Party of Labour of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at their head,» says the statement, «have known how to draw correct lessons from the Yugoslav revisionist degeneration first, and then the Khrushchevite one; they have taken suitable measures to avert the danger of bureaucracy and the degeneration of the Party and state of the dictatorship of the proletariat; they have stuck to the cause of socialist construction on all fronts and in all fields, both in the base and the superstructure; they have defended the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism with determination and supported the liberation struggle of the peoples and the international Marxist-Leninist movement, always proceeding from proletarian internationalism. All these were achieved by the Albanian people with their blood, through their revo-

lutionary struggle, based on the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance».

In their messages of support, their letters and statements, the Marxist-Leninist parties and friends and well-wishers of our country condemn the anti-Albanian and hostile act of the Chinese leadership, strongly expose the source of this ill-intentioned act of the Chinese leadership and its hateful ends. «The Chinese leaders,» says the telegram of the CC of the Communist Party of Ethiopia (Marxist-Leninist), «have violated the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism consistently. By publicizing their utterly pragmatic and reactionary theory of the «three worlds», the Chinese leaders pursue a great power policy. Their present act against the courageous Party and people of Albania is an expression of this reactionary theory and of their deep hatred of the communist Marxist-Leninist movement, of the world proletariat and the oppressed peoples».

Likewise, in the letter sent to the CC of the PLA by the CC of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria, among other things, is said: «These shameful measures are directed not only against socialist Albania, this bastion of proletarian revolution, but at the same time also against the entire Marxist-Leninist movement. That is why not only the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces throughout the world, but also the entire progressive opinion of the world will condemn it with justified scorn».

In exposing the great power course pursued by the Chinese leadership, the CC of the CP of Greece (Marxist-Leninist), in its message of support addressed to the CC of the PLA, stresses: «Our Party calls this act a flagrant and brutal violation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This is an act intended to undermine and poison the friendly ties between the peoples of Albania and China, an act which assists the

efforts of imperialists and revisionists in their plans of encirclement of heroic Albania.

With this act, the Chinese leadership shows that it is following the logic of a great power policy. This speaks of its total lack of power to accept combat in the ideological field, and its shifting the ideological combat to the field of relations between the two countries, according to the treacherous revisionist practice first resorted to by Khrushchev and Brezhnev».

The Chairman of the Denmark-Albania Friendship Association, Ole Nielsen, in his telegram, stresses: «We strongly condemn the hostile, reactionary and anti-Albanian act of the Chinese government. Being acquainted with the facts about small but courageous and valiant Albania and the heroic Albanian people, who have in the past ward off the aggressive assaults of innumerable enemies threatening their national freedom and socialism, we are convinced that socialist Albania will continue its victorious march on the road of socialism, relying on its own forces, under the correct leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at their head. Socialist Albania shines more strongly than ever as a glorious beacon of socialism in the world».

The Marxist-Leninists, the progressive forces and freedom-loving peoples consider the hostile act of the Chinese leadership against Albania an attack against themselves as well, against the revolution and socialism, against the freedom and independence of the peoples. «We the German Marxist-Leninists,» Comrade Ernst Aust, President of the CP of Germany (Marxist-Leninist), stresses, «consider every attack against Albania an attack against ourselves and will counter it tit-for-tat».

In the letter from the delegation of the Communist Party of Colombia (Marxist-Leninist) on the cessation of credits and economic aid and the instant withdrawal of Chinese experts

from Albania on the part of the Chinese Government, among other things, is said: «Albania is not isolated, the proletariat and the revolutionary forces of the world, the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and the forces which want freedom and the independence for the peoples, are with it and in favour of the progressive cause it defends. It is other countries, and not Albania, which go towards isolation more and more every day.

Albania represents today the loftiest example of revolutionary devotion for progressive mankind, and for this it has won support and solidarity. This thing cannot be said or claimed by those who defend a petty cause and who, in pursuit of their ends, link themselves up with the agonizing forces of the capitalist and revisionist reaction, in order to play the same role, sooner or later, namely that of checking the revolution, the role of the furious enemies of socialism. . . We express our full support to you, in our common struggle against American imperialism, revisionism, opportunism, of the Left or the Right, and other world reaction, for the victory of the liberation war of the peoples, the proletarian revolution and the construction of socialism and communism in all countries».

«Socialist Albania,» writes the Turkish newspaper «Hallken kurtullushu jullunda gençlik», «will march with determination on the road of socialism. Throughout its history, the PLA has defended Marxism-Leninism with determination and without compromise. The enemies of socialist Albania are also the enemies of the Turkish youth. Turkish youth is on the same front with socialist Albania, against imperialism, socialimperialism and reaction. Turkish youth is against the pressures and blackmail by the theoreticians of «three worlds», and fights on the same front, side by side with the PLA and the youth of socialist Albania».

After pointing out that the Albanian people and their Party of Labour have

smashed the fierce blockade set up by American imperialism and Soviet revisionism, after expressing, at the same time, the conviction that the chauvinist great power manoeuvres by the Chinese leaders will end up in defeat, the message of support of the Communist Party of Dahomey addressed to Comrade Enver Hoxha and the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania says: «The Communist Party of Dahomey gives its firm support to the PLA and the PSR of Albania. The people of Dahomey have learned that in the south of Europe, in the Balkans, there is a country which rises indomitably in the face of the peoples' enemies and builds socialism courageously relying on its own forces, thus showing the proletariat and the peoples of the world the road of honour. The Albanians are small in number but they are challenging the imperialist, revisionist and reactionary blockade, under the leadership of a Party which unflinchingly relies on the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Today, the hearts of the international proletariat, of the revolutionaries all over the world, of all honest people of Africa, and of the people of Dahomey in particular, beat in unison with that of the heroic Albanian people. Today socialist Albania enjoys the admiration and unshaken support of the international proletariat and of the peoples of the world. Its cause is just and its victory inevitable».

The messages of support, letters and telegrams of the friends and well-wishers of the PSR of Albania express their firm confidence that the hostile act of the Chinese leadership will end up in ignominious failure, and that its pressures and blackmail will never succeed in reducing socialist Albania to obedience. «Our Party, says the statement of the CC of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran, «is confident that the heroic Albanian people, under the leadership of the glorious Party of Labour of Albania, will

frustrate all the imperialist revisionist plots relying on their own forces, and enlightened by Marxism-Leninism they will achieve still greater successes».

In his telegram, the Chairman of the Austria-Albania Friendship Association, stresses: «We express our complete solidarity with the Albanian people in these moments of unprecedented attacks by the Chinese leadership. Khrushchev believed that he would bring Albania to its knees by means of economic blackmail, but he failed in his plans. We have complete confidence that your Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, will give the right answer to the new Khrushchevites».

In an interview which Comrade Eduardo Pires, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Portugal (Reconstructed), who visited our country some time ago, gave to the newspaper «Bandera Vermelha» on the cessation of aid to, and the recalling of experts, from Albania by the Chinese leadership, he says: «The unbreakable unity between the working class and the people of Albania around the PLA with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, is a real fact and no vacant word. This unity is in a position to stand up to any enemy and break it.

«The construction of socialism in Albania will continue because it is based on sound foundations. It is based on the principle of self-reliance, on the maximum utilization of all internal possibilities, of all sources for the independent development of the country. The PLA has constantly pursued this principle right from its founding, and it has also educated the people in this spirit».

The feelings of devotion to and respect for the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people are growing ever stronger among the international proletariat. «Socialist Albania,» says the message of support of the French carpenter, Jacques Delarue, addressed to

Comrade Enver Hoxha and the Party of Labour of Albania, «is not alone. It is the vanguard battalion in the fight against imperialism, against socialimperialism, against reaction and revisionism as well as against opportunists who have recently defected over to the enemy camp. All the peoples of the world are on Albania's side».

In the letters, telegrams and messages of support sent by Marxist-Leninists, progressive and freedom-loving people, there is high appreciation for the contribution made by socialist Albania to the revolutionary movement of the peoples, as well as expressions of confidence in the victory of the just cause of the Albanian people, strong solidarity with the staunch Marxist-Leninist stand of the PLA and the Albanian people. «Socialist Albania, which has been hardened through the fight against pressures by all imperialist-revisionist enemies, and has come off victorious over them, which with its just principled stand has rendered an invaluable contribution to the revolutionary cause of the peoples of the whole world, and has known how to build socialism relying on the heroic spirit of its own people,» the political statement of the CC of the Communist Party of Mexico (Marxist-Leninist) reads, «will surely smash this new pressure.»

«...In its heroic fight, Albania is not

alone. With it are all the peoples who are fighting against aggression, imperialist or socialimperialist, with it are the workers and peasants of the whole world, all the genuine Marxist-Leninists.

The glorious banner of Marxism-Leninism which flies over Albania today, will soon fly over all the world. The wheel of history never goes back. The future belongs to socialism».

The Letter of the CC of the PLA and the Government of the PSR of Albania addressed to the Chinese Government, the just and manly stand of our Party and people are appraised as an inspiring example by the revolutionaries and progressive forces. «We are confident that the tested leadership of the PLA, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at its head,» says the telegram written on behalf of the Communist League of Denmark (Marxist-Leninist) by Comrade Jan Mortensen, «will surmount all difficulties raised by the Chinese leadership and world reaction, and will thus make another brilliant contribution to the struggle for the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism against all the enemies and traitors, and to the complete construction of socialism in Albania.

«We shall keep up our fight also against the new revisionist trend of the counterrevolutionary theory of the «three worlds» and build a genuine

communist Marxist-Leninist party, very much inspired by the heroic deeds and correct stand of the PLA, its daring and wisdom, the great example of the construction of socialism in Albania, the invincible citadel of the revolution».

«Albania is determined to advance on the road of the revolution and the socialist construction relying powerfully on its own forces. In this fight,» writes the Tanzanian newspaper «Mfanyakasi», «Albania has the full support of the progressive forces of all the world because its fight is directed against imperialism and the reactionary forces, for the obliteration of the exploitation of the masses of working people».

With similar strength is expressed the internationalist solidarity with the correct Marxist-Leninist stand of the PLA and the Albanian people in many more messages, letters and telegrams communist and workers' parties (Marxist-Leninist), friendship associations with our country, progressive political, cultural and social personalities, friends and well-wishers of the PSR of Albania from various countries of all continents. Similar letters and messages of solidarity have been sent also by our fraternal fellow-countrymen residing in Turkey, Bulgaria, Egypt, Argentine, the USA, etc.



Every year, the working class of Albania and together with it, the entire people, celebrate the Day of the Innovator. On the occasion, throughout our country people draw the balance-sheet of the work done by the innovators and rationalizers, new pledges are made for more innovations and rationalizations in the future, in keeping with the tasks of the state plan. This year, the Albanian working class come to this Day with greater successes than ever and with bolder pledges. Thus, it responds promptly to the counterrevolutionary, anti-socialist and anti-Albanian attitude of the opportunist leadership of China, which in a treacherous manner cut off all aids and credits to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania because it did not submit to dictate. Photoreporter Niko Xhufka has prepared this photomontage devoted to this Day.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA ON THE DICTATORSHIP OF

«The experience of our free and independent country has shown that without the dictatorship of the proletariat it is impossible to secure the victories of the revolution, to break and overcome the resistance and activity of internal and external enemies, to guarantee the defence of the socialist Homeland, to carry ahead the construction of the socialist and communist society».

ENVER HOXHA

THE VOLUME OF SELECTED WRITINGS FROM THE WORKS OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA WITH THE TITLE «ON THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT», WHICH WAS PUT INTO CIRCULATION SOME TIME AGO, IS A PUBLICATION OF A GREAT THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL VALUE FOR THE COMMUNISTS AND ALL THE WORKING PEOPLE. IT IS CLEAR TESTIMONY TO OUR PARTY'S UNSHAKEN LOYALTY AND THE CREATIVE IMPLEMENTATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF MARXISM-LENINISM OVER THIS CAPITAL AND VITAL PROBLEM OF THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM.

* * *

Our Party has had the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat at the centre of its attention at all times. Holding in view the perspective develop-

AGIM POPA — Professor, Editor-in-chief of the newspaper «Zëri i popullit», organ of the CC the PLA.

ment of the revolution, it has never lost sight of this question, even as early as the Antifascist National Liberation War, when it knew to secure its undivided leadership in this war, when it worked for the setting up of the new people's power on the ruins of the

old power of the foreign invaders and the traitor exploiting classes, when it condemned the Mukje compromise which would have led to the division of power with the bourgeoisie, or when it firmly foiled the plans of the Anglo-American «allies» for invading Albania and restoring the bourgeoisie to power. The period following the liberation of the country, when the people's power began carrying out its functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, up till today, is a period of the ceaseless struggle of the Party for the all-round and consistent construction, consolidation, improvement, strengthening and revolutionization of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is the period of a tit-for-tat struggle which our Party has waged and continues to wage for the defence and safeguard of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country against the repeated attempts and endeavours of the enemies, internal or external, to overthrow it by means of armed force or putsches, or to undermine and liquidate it through peaceful degeneration. All these factors, all this rich historical experience, find their most complete reflection in Comrade Enver Hoxha's writings collected in the volume under the title «On the Dictatorship of the Proletariat».

Over this capital question, our Party has always kept present in mind the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the dictatorship of the proletariat and its historical necessity, as well as the teachings resulting from the experience of our own country and the other countries. «The experience of our free and independent country,» Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, «has shown that without the dictatorship of the proletariat it is impossible to

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by **AGIM POPA**

secure the victories of the revolution, to break and overcome the resistance and activity of internal and external enemies, to guarantee the defence of the socialist Homeland, to carry ahead the construction of the socialist and communist society» (p. 499).

The decisive, historic importance of the dictatorship of the proletariat is also clearly proved by the negative experience of the Soviet Union and some other countries where the «the discarding of the principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat generated revisionism, the most dangerous weapon of the counterrevolution, which led to the destruction of the socialist order, the re-establishment of capitalist bondage, to social-fascism» (p. 670).

Fearing precisely this decisive role of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the fate of socialism, its rabid enemies, including all the renegades, the revisionists and their lackeys, spear-headed against it all their weapons, ranging from violence and fire down to the poisoned arrows of revisionism, and continue to do so today. «That is why,» Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses, «the stand towards the dictatorship of the proletariat has been and remains the touch-stone which divides the proletarian Marxist-Leninists and genuine revolutionaries from all sorts of opportunists and renegades from the working class» (p. 670). For its part, our Party has waged and is determined to wage merciless and uncompromising struggle for the exposure of the anti-Marxist and counterrevolutionary preachings of the modern revisionists, like those of the Soviet revisionists on the «state of the entire people», those of the so-called Eurocommunists and others on «democratic socialism with a human face», of all

those who accept the dictatorship of the proletariat only in words, while abandoning and betraying it in deeds.

* * *

Summing up its experience of the uninterrupted development of the socialist revolution in our country and making a profound study of the causes of the revisionist tragedy and of the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and in some other countries, our Party has drawn and will continue in the future to draw lessons about how to bar all paths to this lethal threat and carry ahead non-stop the cause of the complete construction of socialist and communist society in our country. As Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasizes, our Party proceeds from its unshaken conviction that «complete or partial loss of the dictatorship of the proletariat is by no means a fatality», because, as the historical experience of our country has shown, «it is quite possible for the dictatorship of the proletariat, after being established, to be preserved pure, intact and unshaken at all times and in all its links and directions, developing and becoming perfect continuously» (p. 516).

Comrade Enver Hoxha underlines that it is important, above all and everything, to preserve always intact and ceaselessly strengthen the undivided leadership of the Party in the socialist state, as basic unchangeable principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as an indispensable and fundamental condition, for no sort of duality can be tolerated over this vital question. In this connection, our Party has exposed and rejected as the most flagrant departure from the positions

of Marxism-Leninism and as attempts at justifying the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the revisionist theories and practices denying and eliminating the undivided role of the proletarian party in socialism, beginning with the preachings on the «independence» of the socialist state from the proletarian party and on the party being a merely ideological factor and ending with the opportunist justification of pluralism of political parties in the socialist system. The Party of Labour of Albania, as amply proved in the writings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, will consistently march on the road of the continuous strengthening of the leadership of the Party in every cell of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the whole social life, considering this leadership in its most comprehensive meaning, from the highest forums down to the lowest levels, the basic organizations of the Party and the vanguard role of every single communist, and eradicating and discarding everything which weakens this leadership in the slightest.

The PLA, as Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, has consistently been abiding by Lenin's teachings that the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat does not mean the end of the class struggle, that this dictatorship is the continuation of the class struggle in new forms and conditions, against the forces and traditions of the old society. Under the leadership of the Party, the dictatorship of the proletariat is the decisive weapon for the waging of this class struggle against enemies in the midst of the people from the positions and in the interest of the working class, in order to carry it through to the end, up till the complete and final victory

of the socialist road over the capitalist road, up till the wiping out of all class distinctions and the construction of classless communist society. On the other hand, as the historical experience shows and as Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasizes, «regardless of the field in which the class struggle is waged between the two roads, the socialist road and the capitalist road, in the political or economic, ideological, cultural or military field, in the last analysis, it is a struggle over the question whether the dictatorship of the proletariat will be strengthened or will degenerate and be overthrown, as happened in the Soviet Union and in some other countries» (p. 557). Our Party has rejected as outright anti-Marxist and fraught with very dangerous consequences the theses of the modern revisionists of all hues on the extinction of the class struggle under socialism, on the basis of which they construct their counterrevolutionary theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat being «skipped over», seeking to justify its liquidation. Over this question, too, a deep gap divides the Marxist-Leninists from the revisionists renegades. «To uphold or not to uphold the class struggle,» Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, «to have a thorough or superficial understanding of it, to wage it frontally or in a one-sided manner, to implement it correctly on the revolutionary road, or to weaken it and make concessions over it, this is a vital question, from which the fate of socialism depends. Our enemies want precisely this, namely, to see us relax our vigilance and tone down the class struggle. What must we do? The opposite of their wish. We must strengthen our vigilance and consistently wage the class struggle...» (p. 623).

Consistent implementing the principle of self-reliance in the defence of the socialist Homeland, prohibiting the establishment of foreign military bases and stationing of foreign troops in the territory of our country, integrating the army into the entire armed people, continuously strengthening the leadership and control of the Party in the army, putting proletarian politics in command, and preventing the rifle from commanding the party,

maintaining healthy socialist relations in the Armed Forces, and preventing the creation of military castes, and so on, as roads for the strengthening of the defence and a guarantee against the danger of the transformation of the army from a weapon of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat into a blind tool of the counterrevolution and the bourgeois-revisionist dictatorship, as happened in the Soviet Union and in some other formerly socialist countries, are also a constituent part of vital importance of the revolutionary experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, which is summed up and substantiated with the facts in the writings of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

In the materials comprised in this volume, special attention is devoted to the fundamental question of the relationship between the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist democracy. As Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasizes, our Party has firmly abided and continues to abide by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism to the effect that «the dictatorship of the proletariat itself, just as the latter constitutes the necessary and decisive condition for the existence of genuine democracy for the working people» (p. 671). Comrade Enver Hoxha unmasks and refutes the anti-Marxist preachings of the modern revisionists, who, following in the footsteps of the bourgeois ideologists, the social-democrats and all the anti-communists, raise a great clamour about the alleged suppression of democracy and freedoms in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is nothing other than a slander and falsification. What they want is freedom for the enemies of the people and socialism, for the counterrevolutionaries. However, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, «this sort of democracy was never and will never be allowed by the Party and our dictatorship of the proletariat, in full harmony with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Our socialist democracy is genuine democracy for the people, for the masses of working people, and only for them» (p. 673).

A vivid testimony of our socialist democracy in action is the broad, orga-

nized and effective participation of the masses of working people in the governing of the country in most various forms, their important right of having their say in the solution of the social and state problems, of exercising their control over everyone and everything. Our Party considers this participation, which is growing ever deeper and more comprehensive, as the fundamental direction of the development of socialist democracy, as a great motive force to carry ahead the socialist construction, and at the same time, as one of the most important factors of the defence of our state and society from the threat of bourgeois-revisionist degeneration. And one of the most profound expressions of this effective participation of the masses in the governing of the country is the direct control of the working class and the other masses of working people, under the leadership of the Party, over all state and social activities. Comrade Enver Hoxha proves with incontestable facts that this control constitutes a general and constant principle of our socialist society in every one of its spheres and links, an expression of the exercise of the dictatorship of the proletariat by the working class in alliance with the peasantry, one of the most important directions of the class struggle for ensuring the victory of socialism, preventing the degeneration of socialist order, a great school for the revolutionary education of the working class and the other masses of working people.

Special attention in Comrade Enver Hoxha's writings is attached to the problems of the struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism, as two dangerous enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism.

Historical experience proves that the deep roots of the revisionist regressive and counterrevolutionary process in the Soviet Union and some other former socialist countries should be sought «in the gradual bureaucratization of the socialist state apparatus, its isolation from the people's masses, the creation of a privileged stratum of bureaucrats, the introduction of methods of commandeering, mistrust of, and failure to rely on, the masses...»

the diminished and weakened democracy for the broad masses of working people», because «precisely the spread of bureaucracy created a favourable ground for the usurpation of power by the Khrushchevite revisionist clique» (p. 464). That is why our Party has seen and continues to see the fight against bureaucracy as one of the most important directions of the class struggle. Comrade Enver Hoxha draws the attention on the fact that the fight against bureaucracy should not be reduced to some purely organizational or technical-administrative measures, but it must be deeply understood in its essence as a struggle for bringing state power and its apparatus closer to the broad masses of working people, as a struggle for safeguarding and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, for carrying the socialist revolution through to the end, for barring all paths to the reestablishment of capitalism in our country. A decisive factor for the success of the struggle for the eradication of bureaucracy is the active participation of the broad masses of working people in this struggle. «Bureaucracy,» Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «raises its head and becomes active there where the struggle against it is underrated. It cowers down and keeps a low profile when the voice of the masses is raised powerfully, when their control is rigorously exercised, when the fist of the working class and the Party hits it relentlessly» (p. 595).

In the context of the fight against bureaucracy, for the defence and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, an important place in Comrade Enver Hoxha's writings collected in this volume occupy the problems of the revolutionary tempering of the

cadres and the relationship between the cadres and the masses in order to avert the danger of the bourgeois-revisionist degeneration of the cadres and their transformation from servants of the people into rulers standing above the masses of working people. Likewise, Comrade Enver Hoxha warns of, and shows the ways of the fighting against the danger of bureaucratization of our socialist state, especially the danger from alien concepts which equalize the dictatorship of the proletariat with the administrative apparatuses, the tendency of the latter to absolutizing their role, to placing themselves above the state organs, especially the elected organs, to eliminating the latter, together with the working masses, from effective participation in the governing of the country, to inflating staffs and monopolizing all the work.

Along with the fight against bureaucracy, Comrade Enver Hoxha strongly attracts the attention of the Party, the working class and the masses of working people to the need for a ceaseless fight also against liberalism, as an expression of ideological and political opportunism, of renunciation of the consistent class struggle against the enemies and acceptance of peaceful co-existence with the hostile ideology. The spread of liberalism was precisely one of the main tactics used by imperialism and the revisionists to bring about the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist order in the Soviet Union and in some other countries. Of particular importance is the eradication of liberal and anarchical views on democracy and freedom, on rights and duties of working people in the socialist society. «Some people,» Comrade Enver Hoxha points out,

«think that, living in a democracy, they have only rights and no duties at all, that only the state and the society have obligations towards them, and they never fail to clamour for their rights, considering themselves free to behave and act as they like, to violate discipline at work and discipline in the society, the laws of the state and the norms of society without a care in the world. These very harmful views should be resolutely combated, because they are alien to the principles of socialism» (pp. 770-771).

* * *

These are only some of the major problems of vital importance treated in the volume of Comrade Enver Hoxha's selected writings under the title «On the Dictatorship of the Proletariat». This volume puts in the hands of the communists, and all cadres and working people a great treasure of revolutionary ideas and experience and a sharp ideological weapon for the correct implementation of the line of the Party in their day-to-day struggle for the construction and the defence of socialism in our Homeland.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's words, «under the leadership of the Party and the working class, the masses of the people must always and over everything be ready and on their feet for the defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, its laws, its ideology, its policy, and its achievements. This is the only correct, sound, and salutary road indicated by our Party, which calls on us to implement it to the letter, all without exception» (p. 484), sound as a clarion call and strike a current note.



On September 16, 1942 in the Peza village, in the vicinities of Tirana, the historic Conference of Peza was held, which created the National Liberation Front of Albania at the initiative of the Communist Party of Albania (today the PLA). Under the leadership of the Party, the National Liberation Front, together with the entire people of the country, in the war for the liberation of the country from foreign invaders and their tools, laid the bases of the new people's power. Every year, on the 16th of September, thousands upon thousands of people come to heroic Peza to commemorate this important event. This sculptural group is set up to the memory of this event in Peza.

CHINESE WARMONGERING POLICY AND HUA KUO-FENG'S VISIT TO THE BALKANS

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

By praising «non-alignment», Hua Kuo-feng, who poses as the champion of the «third world», tries to show that his «third world» and the «non-aligned» world are one and the same thing, that the strategy of this world must suit the Chinese policy, that China, Peking, must be its centre. When he criticizes the Soviet socialimperialists of having tried to subject the movement of the non-aligned to their expansionist aims, he actually proves that he is contending with them to achieve the same objectives and the same aims.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND PREMIER OF THE STATE COUNCIL OF CHINA, HUA KUO-FENG HAS JUST ENDED HIS LONG TRIP WHICH TOOK HIM TO RUMANIA AND YUGOSLAVIA. FORMALLY, THIS TRIP WAS PUBLICIZED AS ONE OF A GENERAL CHARACTER, IN RETURN FOR THE OFFICIAL VISITS OF THE RUMANIAN AND YUGOSLAV LEADERS TO CHINA LAST YEAR. BUT JUDGING FROM WHAT HUA KUO-FENG PROCLAIMED FROM PUBLIC TRIBUNES IN BUCHAREST AND BELGRADE AND FROM THE STRESS THE CHINESE PRESS HAS BEEN LAYING RECENTLY ON SOME ASPECTS OF THE CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY, IT FOLLOWS THAT THIS CLAMOROUS TOUR WAS UNDERTAKEN IN PURSUIT OF SINISTER AIMS.

Hua Kuo-feng came to Rumania and Yugoslavia neither to see the high mountains and beautiful plains of the Balkans, nor urged by any special in-

terest in the ancient history of the peoples of this peninsula, nor to acquaint himself with the aspirations and hopes they cherish for the future. He came to the Balkans in pursuit of the same aims as Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Nixon and others

before him. They were profuse in high-sounding pledges about their «friendship» with, and «love» for, the peoples of the Balkans, and abounded in «assurances» for the freedom, independence, prosperity of the countries of this region. But life has shown and continues to show that US imperialism, as well as Soviet imperialism, has sought and is seeking by all manner of means to subjugate the Balkan countries and put them under its hegemony, to turn them into springboards of aggression against other countries, enslave the peoples of this peninsula and hitch them to its war chariot.

«ZËRI I POPULLIT», organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, September 3, 1978.

The Chinese leadership now pursues the same aims. Hua Kuo-feng, too, came to the Balkans not to bring the «spirit of sincere friendship», as he proclaimed at meetings, but to use someone's professions of «friendship» against the other peoples of the Balkans and Europe.

Certainly, exchanges of delegations are a common practice in the relations between various countries and we have no objection to it. But we are against the sinister aims behind this exchange of delegations which are to the detriment of world peace and the peoples who want to live free, independent and sovereign, and are fighting for it.

The «Balkan» talks of the Chinese leaders took place at a time when China has been unfurling the banner of rapprochement and co-operation with US imperialism, the big international bourgeoisie, fascist cliques and the most reactionary groupings in the world, far and wide. They were held at a time when the Chinese leadership is supporting NATO and the Common Market in Europe, the multinationals and United Europe, in order to preserve capitalist oppression and the US hegemony there. They were conducted at a time when in Africa, Asia and Latin America it stands by fascist military juntas, by all those who oppress and exploit the peoples. The political and ideological affinity of the Chinese leaders to such regimes is revealed also by Hua Kuo-feng's visit to Iran. He meets the Shah of Persia and has cordial talks with him at a time when the revolutionaries and working people have risen against the Shah, and bloody clashes are taking place in the streets of Iranian cities. In this situation, by going to Tehran, Hua Kuo-feng wants to give proof of his support for the medieval regime of the Shah. His visit is a grave offence not only to the Iranian people, but also to the entire democratic and progressive public opinion, which has vehemently been condemning the brutal acts of the regime of the Shah against

the population which has risen in revolt.

The Chinese leadership dispatched a top level delegation to Bucharest and Belgrade after having cut off all aid and credits to socialist Albania in a perfidious, brutal, arrogant and unilateral manner for the sole reason that Albania rejected and opposed China's anti-Marxist, counterrevolutionary and pro-imperialist line. Thus, this visit to the Balkans is an act of provocation against Albania and its friendship with the peoples of Yugoslavia and Rumania.

Hua Kuo-feng came to the Balkans at a time when the Chinese leadership, proceeding from its expansionist and hegemonic aims, has instigated the bloody conflict between Cambodia and Vietnam, two neighbouring fraternal countries.

Therefore, no matter how much the Chinese propaganda will publicize Hua Kuo-feng's visit to the Balkans, the peoples cannot fail to see that there are no two different Chinese policies — one imperialist towards Vietnam and one socialist towards Rumania, one hostile and chauvinistic towards Albania and one friendly and sincere towards Yugoslavia, one a policy of interference in Asia and Africa and one a policy of peace in Europe.

The present-day Chinese leadership pursues one and the same policy, a policy clearly defined and consistently put into practice. It is the typically imperialist policy of a superpower, a policy intended to instigate war and achieve world domination.

The foremost aim of the Chinese policy and strategy as a whole is to achieve political unity with US imperialism and other imperialists who are China's allies, for the domination of the world by the United States of America, China and other big capitalist countries. With its present course, China is striving by all manner of means to create its spheres of influence, which it has been lacking in so far. This is also the reason why it has favourably opened itself to the

capitalist countries and has united with the US and other imperialists.

But China's claim for spheres of influence, particularly in the developing countries, in Africa or on other continents, cannot be realized without clashes with other imperialists who have their own interests there, or without further sharpening its contradictions with them. The Chinese leadership is well aware of this, therefore, in joint efforts with the USA, now it is trying to set up a barrier against the expansionist ambitions of Soviet imperialism and to check the consolidation of the latter's positions. With the help of the United States of America, it aims to oppose the imperialist expansion of the Soviet Union so that China can step into its place. The anti-Soviet policy of the Chinese revisionists proceeds from this aim, and by no means from their «concern» or «desire» to defend other countries from the expansion and hegemony of the Soviet social-imperialists, or from their «struggle» for the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

The treaty China signed with Japan recently serves this end, too. It is a treaty which is meant as a barrier against the Soviets in the east of Asia and, at the same time, as a means for an eventual Chinese march on the Soviet Union. US imperialism stands behind the Sino-Japanese Treaty. Decked out in an anti-socialimperialist garb by the Chinese leadership and its partners, this treaty instigates world war.

The expansionist policy of China's leadership is now most evident in Africa where it is engaging in very feverish activities. On this continent it is coming out in support of US imperialism and other capitalist powers, trying to preserve their neo-colonialist positions. Under the guise of protecting the peoples of Africa, little by little and in step with the strengthening of its economy, thanks to the aid it is receiving from the USA and other capitalist countries, China is striving

to create its zones of influence and markets. On its part, China, too, has begun to «assist» some African states but, its «assistance», not unlike that of old imperialists, is not intended for the economic, political, cultural progress of these countries, it is aimed at plundering their riches and subjugating them politically to Chinese hegemony.

Of course, these aims cannot be realized as easily as the Chinese may want, without fierce political, economic and diplomatic clashes, probably even armed clashes, with the other imperialists, who have already entrenched themselves in Africa, or with the Soviet Union, which certainly has not been sitting by with folded arms but, on the contrary, has made all efforts to create its own spheres of influence on that continent. China will meet with great resistance and opposition particularly from the peoples and the progressive leaderships of the African countries.

The other aim of China's foreign policy is to penetrate the Balkans. Ideologically, Albania has long since been engaged in the struggle against the revisionist theses and political line of the Chinese leadership. Its efforts to bring the Chinese leadership on to the correct road of Marxism-Leninism clearly testify to this. When the Chinese leadership realized that they could not handle socialist Albania according to their wishes and dictate from great state positions, when their game of encouraging hostile activities within our country was up, they broke off economic relations with Albania. China has had and continues to have the aim of transforming the Balkans into a springboard, or creating in this part of Europe a political, economic and ideological field, wherefrom it can act in the direction of the revisionist countries such as Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland as well as in the direction of such independent and sovereign states as Greece and Turkey. In this way it wanted to build up

Chinese influence in Europe and counter Soviet influence.

But China's opening to Europe is not confined only to the Balkans. China has declared itself an ardent champion of the European Common Market and United Europe, that is, of the European ensalving capital. Since then it has established relations with the European Common Market, and, what is more, appointed its own representative to this organization, though it does not figure among its members. Allround relations between the capitalist countries of Europe and China are developing in a big way, especially, between China and the European Common Market member countries, and, in particular, the German Federal Republic. Therefore, Europe has become a target both for Soviet and Chinese expansion.

China's opening to Europe, and the creation of a favourable political and ideological area for its activity in the Balkans, are part of the Chinese strategy of instigation of war. The Chinese have been crying themselves hoarse for many years now with warnings about an impending danger of war in Europe, that it is precisely here and nowhere else that socialimperialism will first launch the war. Therefore, they are calling on NATO to increase its military budgets to the extreme, and on the USA to dispatch more troops and neutron bombs to Europe, to lay nuclear mines from the North Pole to the Mediterranean, on the West European countries to dispatch troops and naval fleets to the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean and around Africa, in order to protect the oil and raw materials routes, in order to avoid being caught in difficulties as a result of an impending war.

As the aggressor it is, the Soviet Union may launch the war not only in Europe, but also in the Far East, against its number one enemy, as China declares itself to be. But this cannot happen, the Chinese leaders allege. China will have to work for its «modernization» till the year 2000.

Meanwhile, the superpowers may clash among themselves in Europe, the European peoples may be burnt and killed by nuclear bombs, people may be wiped out by neutron radiation. By the time this catastrophe descends on the world, within 20 years, until the end of the century, China will have been through with its «modernization» programs and become a superpower; then, it will be able to establish its domination over the world without firing a shot!

The open statements of the Chinese leadership to the effect that war between US imperialism and Europe, on the one hand, and Soviet Union, on the other, will be declared by the latter in a very near future, express the Chinese strategy whose aim is to drive the Soviet Union into attacking Europe and avoid Chinese involvement in a war in the Far East. In this context, it is quite clear that the aim of Hua Kuo-feng's coming to the Balkans is to upset the present situation in this area, to set the Balkan peoples at loggerheads and lash up the third world war hysteria. Regarding the Balkans as «a powder keg», just as the European and US imperialists have always done, the Chinese leadership thinks that some «crown prince» can easily be killed here and then war will break out in Europe. The world must not forget Sarajevo.

But the Chinese leadership makes a miscalculation, not because the revisionist Soviet Union is not an aggressive imperialism and does not dream of occupying, oppressing and exploiting the peoples, but because the imperialist Soviet Union will surely attack first that part of the world where its interests are greatest and the link in the chain of the countries it plans to attack is weakest. This is what the Soviet Union is practically doing with its various acts of interference in Africa. In the present-day situation, it is more probable that it will launch its offensive against China rather than against Europe. The war of the So-

viet Union againts NATO would be a large-scale world war, a nuclear war. Besides, the USA wishes and strives to see the two imperialist powers, the Soviet Union and China, clash with and destroy each other first. US imperialism, just as Soviet socialimperialism and China, is well aware of its own interests and knows where it can draw profit from.

Therefore, the calculations of Chinese imperialism to set Europe ablaze, its attempts to instigate war between the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and the United States of America and its allies, on the other, for the sake of its own hegemonic interests, cannot be realized.

But the warmongering plans of the Chinese leaders are unrealizable, also, due to another very important reason, namely, that they meet with resistance and opposition on the part of the anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces, progressive public opinion, the revolutionaries and the patriots everywhere in the world. The peoples of the Balkans and Europe have seen the horrors of the two world wars in their own countries and got wise to it that they must not let themselves fall a prey to the warmongering aims of the Chinese leaders. They know how to defend themselves and how to beat the aggressors.

History teaches the peoples of the Balkans and Europe that reconciliation with the policy of instigation of imperialist war, in the name of whatever aim it is done, spells disaster both for freedom and national independence, and for general security and peace. They can never mistake the fire-brand Hua Kuo-feng brings from Peking to set the war cauldrons boiling in the Balkans and Europe for an olive branch.

They are aware that war on a European and world scale can be avoided not by listening to the ominous Chinese sermons instigating imperialist war, which Lenin considered a crime, but by opposing the aggressive policy and plans of war preparations

by US imperialism, Soviet socialimperialism, and all other imperialisms, including also that of Hua Kuo-feng's China.

Therefore, anyone who joins in, or plays the Chinese game today, not only stands in opposition to the lofty interests of his own people, but also poses new threats to other peoples, joins those who want and instigate war.

In their press reports from Belgrade and Peking the two sides throw flowers to each other and in hackneyed general formulas refer to various problems the two presidents discussed during their lengthy meetings. We do not know in concrete what they spoke about Albania, but we are convinced that they must have spoken also against it. This does not intimidate the Albanian people. They have made and are making it clear that nothing will catch them unawares, nor will they ever be lacking in vigilance. They will foil all anti-Albanian plans, whoever may concoct them, convinced, at the same time, that they will enjoy the support of the Yugoslav people, the Chinese people and certainly, the support of the other peoples of the Balkans.

The aim of Hua Kuo-feng's visit to Yugoslavia, as the official agreements concluded there indicate among other things, was to publicly proclaim the complete and final «reconciliation» between the Communist Party of China and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

In the past, Hua Kuo-feng and his coterie that lead China now, had adopted an allegedly pronounced «critical» position towards Yugoslavia and its home and foreign policy. Whereas now it is precisely the Chinese leaders who are lavishing greatest praise on the Yugoslav revisionist trend and those who lead it. By going to Belgrade like a repentant son asking his father for forgiveness, Hua Kuo-feng seems to have been impatiently waiting for an occasion

to redress the old «wrongs» the leadership of the CP of China had allegedly done to this anti-Marxist trend, and to call it a «genuine Marxist-Leninist» trend in the same way as the new leadership of the CP of China regards itself as being «genuinely Marxist-Leninist», though in reality it is a revisionist leadership. Things were exactly the same as when Khrushchev went on a visit to Belgrade in 1955 and knelt before Tito, putting the «blame» for the criticism of Yugoslav revisionism on Stalin. Now the Chinese leaders too declare that their «erroneous» stand towards Yugoslavia had allegedly been imposed on them by Stalin and the meetings of communist parties. As is seen, when it comes to denigrating Stalin and Marxism-Leninism, the Chinese leaders do not feel ashamed to adopt and repeat by rote Khrushchev's theses and resort to his despicable methods.

By making self-criticism of their «mistakes» and bowing down before the Yugoslavs, the Chinese leaders showed their readiness to accord economic, political, ideological and other aid to Yugoslavia where capitalist «self-administration» has been established.

Hua Kuo-feng laboured to present his visit to Yugoslavia as evidence to the existence of complete ideological unity between the two countries and parties, «which rely on Marxism-Leninism», have «similar experience», wage a «common struggle», etc. In reality, he is seeking unity and union with the traitors to Marxism-Leninism in order to fight socialism and the revolution. Choosing Belgrade, this longstanding centre of modern revisionism, to swear his «loyalty» to Marxism-Leninism, Hua Kuo-feng proves by his own words in what quagmire of opportunism and demagoguery the Chinese leadership is wriggling.

He did not fail to bring forth the policy of «national equality», the League of Communists of Yugoslavia

has been pursuing, as evidence of the «implementation of the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism in the specific conditions of Yugoslavia», either. The Chinese give their support for the policy of the Yugoslav revisionists in the alleged fair solution to the problems of national minorities because the latter need it badly. Chinese logic is strange enough. Mao Tsetung considered the adjustments made after the Second World War in Europe unfair and proposed to have them rectified, while Hua Kuo-feng considers the unjust decisions of the 1913 Conference of Ambassadors of the Great Powers on the Balkans fair. But it should be said that Hua Kuo-feng is not in a position to judge whether or not the questions of national minorities in Yugoslavia have been correctly solved. The national minorities living in Yugoslavia today are in a better position to judge this.

The Peking press, with «Renmin Ribao» in the van, has exhausted the arsenal of Chinese compliments in its description of Hua Kuo-feng's visit to Yugoslavia. The organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China writes, «Hua Kuo-feng's visit to Yugoslavia complies with the aspirations of the peoples of the whole world». This may be the desire of the Chinese leadership, but world public opinion does not share this view. «The collaboration between the two parties has deep roots», «the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is a glorious Party», writes the Chinese newspaper. It is a wonder how these roots grew so deep so soon. But the Chinese propagandists do not feel ashamed to use such hollow-sounding catch-words. They do not feel ashamed, either, to say that the «League of Communists of Yugoslavia applies Marxism-Leninism to, and builds socialism in, Yugoslavia». No revolutionary, no progressive man in the world can accept Yugoslav revisionism which Hua Kuo-feng praises and advertizes as a variant of the theory of the construction of socialism. Far from having

anything in common with the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism, this «socialism» has been refuted by Yugoslavia's everyday practice, which reveals that socialism is not being built there.

Just as the efforts of other opportunists who have engaged in such advertizing so far, Chinese efforts, too, to deck out Yugoslav revisionism in a «socialist» and «Marxist-Leninist» garb, cannot be successful, either.

The tight-rope policy of the Yugoslav leadership has never brought nor will it ever bring any good to the peoples of Yugoslavia. «The great diplomacy» of President Tito, which has transformed Yugoslavia into a dependent, not independent, country, hangs this country on China's hook, on another imperialist power, into which China has been transformed now. The new friendship with China, so «deeply rooted», as «Renmin Ribao» claims, increases the dangers to the peoples of Yugoslavia and the Balkans.

Although the bosom friends of the Yugoslav revisionists see into the dangers arising from this juggling policy of Yugoslavia, they still allow and instigate it. In the present juncture, it seems to them that they are weakening Soviet social-imperialism; and they think that they are all-powerful and capable of avoiding the catastrophe when the time comes and contradictions sharpen. They find it natural for the Soviet naval fleet to ride at anchor at Yugoslav ports, and smile at the Chinese formula of «struggle against hegemonism», which they know who it is addressed to. But the peoples of the world, of Europe and, especially, the Balkan peoples of Greece, Turkey, and Albania do not accept this.

By uniting ideologically and politically with Yugoslavia and Rumania, the Chinese leadership intends to further consolidate and deepen the political and economic positions it has gained in these two countries. In this context, China will play a great role by opening its market to Yugoslavia

and Rumania, which in the grave conditions of the existing crisis and with the great competitive power of the better goods of the capitalist countries, hardly find markets in other countries of the world.

The Chinese delegation concluded a large number of agreements on economic, trade and technical-scientific cooperation with, and made various offers to, both Rumania and Yugoslavia. The Chinese promises seem very «generous» on paper, but practice will show how they will be kept. But even now one thing is clear, namely that the development of this «broad cooperation» as the Chinese propaganda calls it, will be conditioned to a great extent by the influence China will succeed in exercising on these two countries and, especially, by their readiness to do China's bidding. At the same time, the allround ties of Rumania and Yugoslavia with the USA and the Soviet Union do not meet China's ambitions in this field.

In his speeches Hua Kuo-feng used such terms as «friendly relations», «friendship and equality», «mutual aid without strings attached», «non-interference in internal affairs», «no privileges sought», «opposition to dictate», etc. Similar hypocritical and demagogic statements followed all chauvinistic, arbitrary and perfidious acts the Chinese leaders committed against our country. Those who believe them will soon be disillusioned.

During his visit to Rumania and Yugoslavia, Hua Kuo-feng did not speak about the «third world», or the Chinese theory of «three worlds», as he did during Tito's visit to Peking, but he made extensive and eloquent statements about the «non-aligned world». On these questions, Chinese pragmatism seems to prevail over their ideological «principled stand». But the praises lavished on Yugoslavia as «one of the founding countries» of the «non-aligned movement» are a clumsy attempt on the part of the Chinese to cover up their

claims for succession to the leadership of this movement.

The idea of «non-alignment» serves the counterrevolution and the preservation of neo-colonialism. It is an attempt to deceive the peoples while inviting neo-colonialism to cede in regard to some worthless economic reforms, but which are important to those who give such hand-outs. By giving such aims they want the peoples to place themselves completely under neo-colonialist hegemony and submit to it.

By praising «non-alignment», Hua Kuo-feng, who poses as the champion of the «third world», tries to show that his «third world» and the «non-aligned» world are one and the same thing, that the strategy of this world must suit the Chinese policy, that China, Peking, must be its centre. When he criticizes the Soviet social-imperialists of having tried to subject the movement of the non-aligned to their expansionist aims, he actually proves that he is contending with them to achieve the same objectives and the same aims.

But the peoples of the world need neither the theories of the «non-aligned», nor those of «three worlds». These theories, advertized by the bourgeoisie and reaction with so much zeal and care, do not favour the revolution and liberation struggles, but harm them. They do not assist the working masses and peoples in their revolutionary struggle to get rid of oppression and exploitation, to do away with the oppression and enslavement of their nations, to secure their freedom and national sovereignty, but, on the contrary, assist imperialism to preserve the existing statusquo, to strengthen and perpetuate the odious capitalist and colonialist system.

The truth — and we say it openly and frankly, just as we think and judge it — will never destroy the friendship of our people with the Yugoslav and Chinese peoples, or with any other people. The Party of Labour

and the PSR of Albania have never been afraid of airing their views openly, without hiding them behind formulas. The friendly peoples know and appreciate our views.

But while we are defending our correct and principled policy, rumours are being spread from Peking and Belgrade that allegedly Albania's stand assists Soviet socialimperialism. But no one believes these insinuations. With its policy and stand, socialist Albania has proved, and will prove at any time, to be an irreconcilable enemy of Soviet socialimperialism and US imperialism, or any other imperialism. The Albanian people who know very well where the dangers come from, will fight to defend their freedom, independence and sovereignty, and make their contribution also to the defence of their well-wishing and peace-loving neighbours who properly understand our unflinching stand, and the dangers posed by the imperialist powers.

But rumours from Peking and from its friends about socialist Albania having allegedly taken the side of the Soviet Union are spread in order to raise suspicions about the policy of the Albanian proletarian state. The whole world must know and rest assured that Albania does not stretch out a begging hand to any imperialist power, and that Albania's territorial and coastal borders and space are inviolable.

Under its Constitution, socialist Albania does not accept nor will it ever accept credits from any foreign power. But in the capitalist and revisionist world there exists the mentality, which stems from the concrete reality, that no state, whether big or small, can survive without foreign credits. With its example, socialist Albania will put an end to this mentality.

Just as until now, our country will continue to maintain normal trade relations with other states on the basis of mutual benefit. This does

not violate in the slightest the principles sanctioned in our Constitution, but the imperialists, in pursuit of their evil aims, confound trade based on mutual interest with the granting of credits and aid, which are two entirely different things. Hence, their deduction that Albania is isolated and cannot walk on its own. But the opposite is and will be true. Sure of their own forces, unflinchingly confident in their future, and powerfully relying on the support and solidarity of international progressive opinion, the Albanian people, led by their Party of Labour, will boldly surmount all obstacles in their way, and carry the cause of socialism in Albania always forward.

The Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania have long since warned against the intrigues of the superpowers and their attempts to stir up quarrels and conflicts in the Balkans. Comrade Enver Hoxha stated at the 6th Congress of the PLA, in November 1971: «They did not make the Balkans a «powder keg» of themselves. It was the foreigners, the imperialists, who did this in the past, and it was they who held all the detonators in their hands. And they would like to bring about the same situation today. It is the duty of the Balkan peoples to cut all the fuses with the sword, so that peace and security may really be established in the Balkans.

«It is only natural that our peoples need friends. But they should never become tools in the hands of foreigners to the detriment of the interest of any people or of all our peoples jointly.»

These words of Comrade Enver Hoxha express the resolute and consistent stand of the Party, Government and people of Albania, which proceed from their desire and determination to live always in peace and friendship with the peoples of the Balkans and the whole world.

SAVAGE ENEMY OF THE REVOLUTION, THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE PEOPLES

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

Today, as in the past, it is difficult to distinguish where fascism ends and revisionism begins. Czechoslovakia or Vietnam, the Middle East or Africa, regardless of the slogans or banner the occupiers have gone there with - all of them have fallen prey to the darkest forces of reaction and counter-revolution operating in the international arena today

TEN YEARS HAVE GONE BY SINCE THE SOVIET REVISIONIST LEADERS SENT THEIR TROOPS TO OCCUPY CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND ESTABLISH THEIR SAVAGE RULE ON ITS PEOPLE. THIS BARBAROUS AGGRESSION WAS A GREAT AND HEAVY SHOCK TO ALL THE PROGRESSIVE AND PEACE-LOVING WORLD. IT HAS NOT YET DIED OUT NOR IS IT OVERCOME. THE SOVIET TANKS AND TROOPS WHICH STARTED FROM MOSCOW DID NOT STOP IN PRAGUE; THEY ARE FOUND TODAY IN MANY OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA, IN LATIN AMERICA AND ELSEWHERE. THE CZECHOSLOVAK TRAGEDY WAS THE BEGINNING OF SEVERAL TRAGEDIES SOCIAL IMPERIALISM WOULD PLAY ON THE STAGES OF ALL THE CONTINENTS OF THE WORLD.

It showed not in a figurative but concrete manner the high degree of degeneration of modern revisionism and its conversion into an aggressive, invading and enslaving policy and ideology. «Imperialism, fascism, revisionism», wrote our newspaper on August 24th, 1968, «are political con-
-ZËRI I POPULLIT- — organ of the CC of PLA.

cepts and trends different in form, but they rely on their common bourgeois ideology of capitalist exploitation and oppression of peoples. Apart from interventions in other countries, aggression and war, one can expect nothing else from them. Czechoslovakia is the more recent case which re-affirms a fact already proved.»

Today, as in the past, it is difficult

to distinguish where fascism ends and revisionism begins. Czechoslovakia or Vietnam, the Middle East of Africa, regardless of the slogans or banner the occupiers have gone there with, -all of them have fallen a prey to the darkest forces of reaction and counter-revolution operating in the international arena today.

The Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia was the clearest indicator of the unavoidable evolution of revisionism, especially in a great country like the Soviet Union, to its logical conclusion - social-fascism and social-imperialism.

Czechoslovakia's occupation was a direct consequence of the counter-revolutionary overthrow which had taken place in the Soviet Union with

the accession of the revisionist Khrushchev clique to power, the transformation of the Soviet Union into an imperialist power, and its rivalry with the United States of America for division of spheres of influence, and domination of the world. The aggression against Czechoslovakia was the clearest warning to the peoples of Europe and the entire world about the great danger posed by this new imperialism. In particular, the brutal aggression against Czechoslovakia, which was carried out under the flag of the Warsaw Treaty, confirms that this organization, just as NATO, has become a means of imperialist military intervention, a tool in the hands of the Kremlin to protect the chauvinistic and colonialist interests of the empire of the Soviet revisionists, to liquidate the national sovereignty of the Warsaw Treaty member countries.

Our Party, basing itself on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, has made a scientific analysis of the process of the deepening of the revisionist betrayal, has exposed it and warned about its consequences. Socialist Albania, in full accord with its national interests and the principles of proletarian internationalism, denounced the Warsaw Treaty which was transformed into the opposite of what it was meant to be in the beginning. The Party of Labour of Albania has stressed that both the aggressive NATO bloc and the Warsaw Treaty are bases on which the two superpowers — the United States of America and the Soviet Union, carry out their aggressive actions, their plots to subjugate and enslave the other peoples and countries which do not submit to their dictate.

The counter-revolutionary strategy of Khrushchevite revisionism was the strategy of the liquidation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as a proletarian party, and of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of their replacement with the dictatorship of

the new Soviet bourgeoisie, the strategy of the large-scale restoration of capitalism. In the international field, the principal links of this revisionist strategy were military and economic expansion in all directions, sabotage of the revolutionary and liberation movement.

The historic lesson deriving from Czechoslovakia's occupation, and in general from the Soviet revisionist policy, is that betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and adoption of a revisionist course leads, and it cannot be otherwise, sooner or later to the implementation of a social-fascist policy at home and to social-imperialism abroad.

During these ten years from the day of the brutal aggression of the Soviet revisionists and the Warsaw Treaty member countries they manipulate against Czechoslovakia, life has confirmed in incontrovertible manner the correctness of the analysis by the Party of Labour of Albania of the neo-colonialist, predatory, oppressive and aggressive nature of Soviet socialimperialism, of the great danger it poses, together with the other superpower, US imperialism, to the cause of the revolution and socialism, the freedom, independence and security of states and peoples. It is becoming everyday clearer that the «arguments» of Soviet revisionist propaganda to conceal and justify the course followed by the social-fascist and social-imperialist Brezhnev clique are nothing but fraud and demagogy. This holds true also about the propaganda which is being conducted by the Soviet social-imperialists and their lackeys about the «improvement of the situation» in Czechoslovakia, and the «salutary nature of this action». In fact, they have landed in a blind alley, the «healthy situation» they pretend that exists in Czechoslovakia is maintained only by the force of arms. The longer the Soviet invaders will remain in Czechoslovakia, the more they will expose themselves before the peoples as imperialists and

aggressors. The sun cannot be covered with a sieve.

The Soviet social-imperialists undertook their aggression against Czechoslovakia and occupied it with their troops under the pretext that they were going there to defend the interests of socialism against imperialism and the internal reactionary forces. But what sort of socialism would they be defending when they themselves had already destroyed socialism and restored capitalism in the Soviet Union? And, why, after ten years have gone by, Soviet troops of occupation continue to be stationed in Czechoslovakia? Troops of occupation of Soviet social-imperialism are stationed in Czechoslovakia just as they are in Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, etc, not to defend socialism which the revisionist cliques ruling in the Soviet Union and in these countries have wrecked long ago, but in order to keep them under the complete dictate of Moscow, to liquidate even that «limited sovereignty» which was previously accorded by the Soviet revisionist metropolis to them.

Especially since the time of the aggression of Soviet social-imperialism against Czechoslovakia and in order to justify it, the Soviet revisionist leadership is conducting a large-scale demagogical campaign about its alleged struggle against revisionism, against the Dubcek group then, and the «Eurocommunists» and others today. But of what fight against revisionism on the part of the Soviet leadership can they talk when it is known that the anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary theses of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union constituted and constitute the ideological basis of the entire political course followed by Dubcek yesterday and by all the revisionists, including also the Soviet revisionists, today? The «policy» of the Soviet social-fascist clique together with the other groupings of modern revision-

ism has not and cannot in the least have the defence of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, which they all have abandoned and rejected, as their aim. They are all-out to conceal some actions and declarations which bring discredit to the Soviet revisionists, as well as their attempts to follow a line independent from Moscow. It is a polemic between the various revisionist clans, behind which lie the interests of the various bourgeois groupings, especially the contradictions between the Soviet social-imperialists and the western monopoly and imperialist bourgeoisie. The Soviet revisionists and all the other revisionists wage their true fight against Marxism-Leninism, against all the parties and forces which defend it.

The fuss made by all manner of means by the Soviet social-imperialist clique about its «anti-imperialism» is just as demagogical and deceptive. But its brutal aggression against Czechoslovakia ripped apart its mask. With each passing day, life is confirming with new facts that while it swears by all great gods about its determination to «fight against imperialism», the revisionist Soviet Union is itself transformed into a very dangerous imperialist predatory and aggressive superpower, which in rivalry an agreement with US imperialism, is intervening everywhere in order to ensure zones of influence and strategic positions, it is hatching up plots against the peoples, stirring up conflicts and discord among nations, and trying to exercise its control and impose its dictate everywhere it can. Therefore, the manoeuvres of the Kremlin chiefs about the so-called «anti-imperialist front» through which they want to manipulate all those who fight against US imperialism and put them under their control, must be rejected. As the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania stressed, «to unite with this front means to sacrifice the loftiest interests of your country, to expose your people to a great danger, to turn

them into slaves and cannon fodder for the aims of the social-imperialists. The contradictions of the Soviet Union with the United States are not contradictions between socialism and imperialism, as Moscow tries to make out, but contradictions between the great imperialist powers».

The Soviet revisionists together with the US imperialists are making a great fuss about «détente», «peaceful coexistence», «international harmony», «disarmament» and «security», but in practice they continue to spend feverishly hundreds of billions of rubles and dollars for the armaments race, carry out an unrestrained arms' trade, step up military exercises and set up military bases in the territories of other countries, send their fleets on patrol in the seas and oceans, stir up armed conflicts among states and nations, in order to be able to intervene to establish their rule and hegemony.

The Party of Labour of Albania has more than once warned against the false and demagogical slogans resorted to by the imperialist superpowers which are intended to lull into sleep the vigilance of the peoples and weaken their resistance to conspiracies and preparations for war and aggression, to open the road for the establishment of imperialist control and domination over the peoples.

The bitter events of August 1968 — the occupation of Czechoslovakia — call for vigilance against US imperialists, Soviet social-imperialists and the other imperialists who are out for their domination of the world, who in a thousands ways conspire against the freedom and independence of peoples of Europe and the entire world. In order to foster their great power aims and to reach their reactionary objectives, they try to set the peoples at loggerheads with one another, to instigate conflicts and hurl the world into a new war. Under these conditions, not submission, or unprincipled alliances and compromises, or reliance on one imperialism against

the other, but reliance on one's own forces, on the resistance and patriotism of the broad masses of the people, as well as the principled and unflinching fight against US imperialists, Soviet social-imperialists and all the other imperialists, this is the only correct and effective road for the defence of freedom and national independence.

The Albanian people who have resolutely condemned the aggression of Soviet social-imperialism against Czechoslovakia and have waged and continue to wage a relentless and uncompromising struggle against the aggressive and repressive policy of the superpowers, will always be beside the peoples and against anyone, whether imperialist or social-imperialist or promising struggle against the aggression against the freedom and independence of various peoples.

The aggression against Czechoslovakia is another event which confirmed the lesson the Albanian people were always taught, namely that they should always keep their vigilance sharp. The enemies have never, nor will they ever, find them asleep. They keep always the powder dry, and any one who would dare attempt anything against the freedom, independence and sovereignty of our socialist Homeland, will be given the answer he deserves and will fail ignominiously.

The Party of Labour of Albania has more than once emphasized that the capitalist and social-fascist course inside the country and the repressive imperialists, neo-colonialist and chauvinistic policy in the international arena, unavoidably lead to even greater crises and difficulties for Soviet social-imperialism. The development of events has fully confirmed this.

Another expression of this crisis is the fact that during these ten years the international proletariat and the peoples have seen and are seeing ever more clearly that the Soviet Union has been turned into one of the

most dangerous centres of the counter-revolution, imperialism and oppression of the peoples. Therefore, they are ever more raising their vigilance and opposing not only US imperialism, but also Soviet social-imperialism as well. And the latter is ever more coming under their revolutionary blows.

The involvement of the Soviet Union ever deeper in the vortex of competition and rivalry, alliance and capitalist and imperialist bargainings, especially its participation in the headlong armaments' race with US imperialism have caused serious economic and political contradictions, both internal and external, have further deepened the all-round crisis of Soviet social-imperialism.

An expression of this crisis is also the split in the revisionist camp, the

failure of all the attempts of the ruling Soviet social-imperialist clique to subject its revisionist partners to its dictate, the strengthening of their tendencies to a revisionist independence from Moscow and in keeping with the interests of their own bourgeoisie.

The task of the true Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries is to deepen even more this crisis of the Soviet social-imperialism and the entire world imperialism through their relentless fight giving the imperialists no moment of respite. For its part, the Party of Labour of Albania has always proceeded from positions of Marxism-Leninism in waging its principled, consistent and uncompromising struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism which has degenerated into social-fascism and social-impe-

rialism, one of the most dangerous centres of world counter-revolution and imperialism, and considers this as its revolutionary and internationalist task. It has always stressed, just as it did at its 7th Congress, that «any illusion or wavering, however little, in the stand towards the present-day Soviet Union, is fraught with catastrophic consequences for those political forces and movements which continue to believe Moscow's demagoguery and deceptions», that the continuation and broadening of the ideological struggle against modern revisionism» constitutes an important and imperative task for all Marxist-Leninists, for all the true revolutionaries». There is no force in the world which can shake our Party of Labour from these firm Marxist-Leninist positions.

THE CAPITALIST CHARACTER OF THE RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

ARISTOTEL PANO and KIÇO KAPETANI

The degeneration of property relations in the Soviet Union and in other revisionist countries was accompanied and interwoven with the degeneration of the relations of distribution, exchange and management. This degeneration of the elements of the relations of production has been a complete, complicated process, with reciprocal links and influences

«THE SOVIET SOCIETY,» SAID COMRADE ENVER HOXHA AT THE 7th CONGRESS OF THE PARTY, «HAS BECOME BOURGEOIS DOWN TO ITS TINIEST CELLS. CAPITALISM HAS BEEN RESTORED IN ALL FIELDS.» (ENVER HOXHA, REPORT TO THE 7th CONGRESS OF THE PLA, P. 215). THIS CONCLUSION OF OUR PARTY IS THE RESULT OF A THOROUGH ANALYSIS OF THE CONCRETE FACTS, ASPECTS AND DIRECTIONS OF THE WHOLE PROCESS OF THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF CAPITALISM IN THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER REVISIONIST COUNTRIES.

As is known, the process of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries began with the change in the character of the party and the state, with the counterrevolutionary transformation in the field of the political and ideological superstructure, with the betrayal of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and of its teachings on the class struggle, first of all. As a result, the dictatorship of the pro-

letariat was transformed into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a ferocious fascist dictatorship of the new revisionist bourgeoisie, and the Soviet socialist state was transformed into a socialimperialist state.

But, although the process of the capitalist degeneration in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries began with the counterrevolutionary transformations in the field of the superstructure, this did not degenerate spontaneously, outside and independently of the relations of pro-

duction, isolated from the entirety of the economic-social structure. The socialist relations of production in these countries, especially the relations in the field of distribution, had been violated in several separate aspects and directions. Through the extension of the system of bonuses and, in general, the extensive use of supplementary material stimuli, the conditions were created for the birth of differentials and disproportions in the field of distribution, for the creation of the stratum of bureaucrats and technocrats, who, as time confirmed later, became the main social support of the revisionist cliques which usurped the power of the working class in those countries.

Thus, this is a case of reciprocal interdependence and close connection

between the degeneration of the superstructure and that of the base, in which the one drove the other forward, in which each encouraged the other, until, in the end, they assumed their final capitalist form, until capitalist transformations had been effected in all spheres of the political, ideological, economic and cultural life of these countries, until the Soviet society became bourgeois down to its tiniest cells.

The degeneration of the superstructure, and in the first place, the transformation of the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, was carried out and utilized by the Khrushchevite renegade clique for definite aims. The realization of the process enabled this clique to go on to the degeneration of the entire system of socialist relations of production, on a broad scale and at a rapid pace, to their transformation into capitalist relations, to the capitalist transformation of the entire social life of these countries. The degeneration of the superstructure and the degeneration of the economic base in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries have been, by no means, short and immediate processes, but protracted processes, which, in their development, were interconnected with and stimulated one another. The outcome of all these processes was the complete degeneration of the relations of property, distribution, exchange and management, from socialist relations to capitalist relations.

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The core of the entire regressive process of the demolition of the socialist relations of production in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries, is the **degeneration of the property relations**, the transformation of the socialist property into capitalist property of a new type. "The changing of the character of the party and the state, the counterevolutionary transformation in the field of the political and ideological superstructure," Com-

rade Enver Hoxha teaches us, "could not fail to lead to changing the economic base of socialism, too." (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, p. 229).

It is known that the relations of production, and especially the content of state property, alter according to the socio-economic order, according to the class character of the state. Property is the foundation on which the structure and the superstructure of society are erected. Capitalist private property constitutes the economic base of the capitalist state, which, in turn, determines the political and social content of this property.

The state property in the Soviet Union is a form of capitalist private property with a high level of concentration of production and capital. The revisionist bourgeoisie is the real owner of the state enterprises and, with the aid of the state, it exploits the working class and all the masses of working people of the country. Through this exploitation it strengthens its economic positions and, along with this, also, consolidates its political domination.

When we say that the state property in the Soviet Union is one form of the capitalist private property and the Soviet economy has been transformed into a capitalist economy, here we must bear in mind the fact that this type of economy is not of the classical type, but of a special type. The conditions are different from many standpoints, therefore the laws and the categories of the capitalist economy which act in the Soviet economy cannot possibly appear in their classical form, but appear in a special form, although in content they are entirely capitalist. It is a new type only in the road of its birth, in its role and mechanism, while in regard to its essence it is capitalist, just as in all the capitalist countries.

The Soviet economy today is developing on the basis of the laws and categories of the capitalist economy. The principal laws on the basis of which social production is "regulated" are the laws of the capitalist profit

of the revisionist bourgeoisie and the law of value. In conformity with these laws, such categories as commodities, profit, the market, profitability etc., motivate the entire mechanism of the management of enterprises. The character of the Soviet economy is commodity production on a capitalist basis. The connections among enterprises are determined through the market. The production of commodities is carried out, in general, in the form of the free sale for the purpose of profit-making. The means of production are bought and sold without restriction. They have been transformed completely into commodities. Labour power, also, has been transformed into commodity. In these conditions, when the commodity economy prevails and when the labour power is transformed into a commodity, that is, when the producers are freed from the means of production, the economy is bourgeois, it stands and develops on the rails of the bourgeois economy, stressed V. I. Lenin.

The Soviet revisionists declare that the state ownership in the Soviet Union has a social character. It is understandable that for the sake of demagoguery they have not abandoned the Marxist-Leninist phraseology. But this does not change the content of things and phenomena in the least. K. Marx stressed that the question is not who is the nominal owner of the state enterprise, but who pockets the profits from this property. How can such ownership, which preserves very great inequality in the field of the distribution of material blessings among the different classes and strata of society, and which deepens this inequality day by day, be socialist? Can it be socialist ownership when the members of the class of the revisionist bourgeoisie, the directors of the enterprises, and others, have the right to dismiss the workers at will, when they can determine to their own liking the amount of workers' wages and the amount of the profit which they share for themselves, when they have the right to sell the means of production, to develop the free play of prices and capitalist relations

with the other monopoly enterprises, and so on? It is self-evident that such ownership keeps the socialist label only for the sake of demagogy.

The presentation of the property in the Soviet Union in the form of state property in no way negates the exploitation of the working class by the revisionist bourgeoisie, but on the contrary, makes this exploitation still more pronounced and thorough-going. «The present Soviet state as a collective capitalist,» points out Comrade Enver Hoxha, «administers the means of production in the name and in the interests of the new Soviet bourgeoisie. The socialist common ownership has been transformed in a state capitalism of a new type.» (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, p. 229).

The main distinguishing feature of the capitalist ownership in these countries is that the principal means of production are collectively owned by the whole class of the new revisionist capitalists and are employed in their interests by exploiting the working class. Therefore the transformation of the socialist ownership into state capitalist ownership of the new type in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries must be sought, in the first place, in the character of the real economic relations, in the purpose for which the property is used and in the economic categories which reflect its nature. In fact, in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries, the laws and juridical dispositions which express this capitalist transformation have also been changed, though for the sake of demagogy some old juridical expressions are preserved. Because of many political, economic, historical and psychological factors and circumstances the degeneration of ownership in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries, could not be carried into effect through the division of property in the classical manner, by handing over ownership to the individual capitalists. On the contrary, such a thing was brought about by transforming

the socialist property into capitalist state property and placing it in the hands of the new revisionist bourgeoisie. In the final analysis, it matters little to the working class whether the property is in the hands of individual capitalists or in the hands of united capital in the form of state monopolies. In either case exploitation is present, whether it be individual capitalist exploitation or collective capitalist exploitation.

The Marxist-Leninist theory teaches us that «capital is nothing without wage labour, without value, without money, without prices etc.». Therefore the capitalist property relations in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries cannot be analysed apart from analysis of the economic laws and categories on which the capitalist property relationships have been built in these countries. In his work «Capital», Marx, in analysing the essence of capitalist relations of production, emphasizes that these relations have two specific features: in the first place, the development of the commodity-money relations to highest level, in which labour power, too, is transformed into a commodity, and in the second place, the fundamental and direct purpose of production is surplus value. These two features of the capitalist economy are essential to all aspects of the property relationships in these countries and are embodied in all the directions of their allround degeneration.

The character and the content of ownership depend, in the last analysis, on the nature and the character of the state. Those who have the state machine in their hands also own the main means of production, and use the state machine as a powerful weapon to defend and consolidate their economic base and to increase their wealth and their capitalist profits. Speaking about this question, K. Marx stressed that «as long as the wealthy classes remain in power, any nationalization represents not the abolition of exploitation, but only the alteration of its form». Formally and in outward appearance, the state

property in the Soviet Union is called socialist property, but in reality there is nothing socialist about it, either in content or in form. The former socialist property has been alienated by the new Soviet bourgeoisie, which utilizes it as a means of enrichment and capitalist profits, by appropriating the surplus value created by the working class and the masses of working people.

The economic enterprises in these countries have unlimited freedom of action in the fields of production, distribution, capital investments and the use of fundamental funds. The competences which are vested in the directors of the economic unions, the industrial-agrarian complexes and the various enterprises in the use and administration of the means of production, including the right to sell those means; the competences in the field of relations of the exchange and distribution of products, selling them as their narrow interests dictate, in order to accumulate the maximum income and profit, clearly indicate the deep-going decentralization of the economy and its completely capitalist character.

The Soviet revisionists long ago set up joint enterprises, modelled on the capitalist monopolies, both within the Soviet Union and also in the other revisionist countries, thus appropriating part of the surplus value created by the working class and the working people of these countries, too. Such mergers in the form of trusts have been set up in many branches of production, in industry, in trade, in transport, in the extracting and processing industry, in the service sectors etc. Along with them, industrial-agrarian complexes of the capitalist type have been set up, too. All these forms of capitalist complexes and trusts devour many small and middle-sized enterprises which cannot stand up to the struggle of competition. Being unable to withstand this struggle, the latter end up either by merging with the unions of the monopoly type or by going bankrupt.

In the countryside, besides the capitalist collective farm property, which

in essence has the same features and consequences as the property of capitalist farmers in the agriculture of the countries of Western Europe, kulak ownership of land and the other means of production, the property of the collective farmer's private plot is widely predominant, too.

The collective farmer's private plot has gained superiority of development and has long been transformed into an economic-social terrain which ceaselessly gives birth to capitalist elements. The Soviet revisionist press wrote, a short time ago, that «the lifting of restriction on the private economy of collective farmers, workers and officials increased production, and consequently the sale of agricultural products for the market». According to this press, the area of the collective farmer's private plot is now double what it was ten years ago. In 1976, these plots produced over 12 million tons of grain. They carry an important weight on a national scale, and concretely: in the production of potatoes 64 per cent, vegetables 42 per cent, meat 41 per cent, milk over 40 per cent, eggs 65 per cent, wool 20 per cent, and so on. From 1965 onwards, about 1/3 of the labour power in the Soviet agriculture has been engaged directly on the private plots. Besides this, the members of the collective farms spend 1/3 of their working-time working on their private plots. In round figures, the area of these private economies in the Soviet Union amounts to 7.5 million hectares of land.

The transformation of the character of ownership, and together with it, the transformation of labour power into a commodity, the allround extension of the commodity-money relationships, the putting of the categories of capitalist commodity production at the basis of the economy of the revisionist countries, are clearly and concretely summed up in the alteration of the aim of social production. In the revisionist countries, just as in the capitalist countries, the sole aim of production is the drawing of maximum profits for the interests of the revisionist capital-

ist bourgeoisie through the exploitation of the working masses who are divested of the means of production. Speaking of these processes which have taken place in the revisionist countries, at the 5th Congress of the PLA Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed that the revisionists «have proclaimed profit as the sole and absolute purpose of the activity of their enterprises, as the main motor of production» (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 5th Congress of the PLA, p. 79).

One of the important elements in the entire process of the extension and deepening of the capitalist character of the relations of production is the transformation of labour power into a commodity. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that «capitalism is that stage of the development of commodity production in which labour power, too, becomes a commodity». Precisely because this process of transformation of labour power into a commodity has been completed in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries, it is obvious that here we have to do with an economy in which the capitalist laws and categories pervade every aspect of it.

It is known that the economic laws operate through the activity of people. In the Soviet capitalist economy and that of the other revisionist countries, the entire activity of the bourgeois-revisionist class is guided by the principle of drawing the profit. All decisions in connection with investments, with the running of production, with hiring of labour, and so on, are taken proceeding purely and simply from the principle of ensuring the maximum profit by every means and in every way. The main relations of every capitalist enterprise with the state, with the budget, with the banks, and so on, are realized proceeding mainly from the index of profitability. It is self-evident that the revisionist bourgeoisie of all levels endeavours to increase the maximum profit in every way, by increasing the level of exploitation of the working class and the other masses of working people.

The absolutizing of the material stimulus, along with the allround re-establishment of the capitalist laws and categories, such as production prices and average norms of profit, interest or capital etc., are clear expressions of the capitalist character of ownership in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries. As a result of all this the law of competition and anarchy of production prevail everywhere. These capitalist transformations emerge clearly also from an analysis of the concrete data of the Soviet capitalist economy on the norms of capitalist profit and surplus value.

In the recent years, as a result of the increased exploitation of the working people in general, the profits of the bourgeoisie have increased. Thus, in 1976, in the Soviet capitalist industry the norm of profit reached 36 per cent from 27.3 per cent in 1971. The Soviet press has admitted the fact that during the period from 1971 to 1975 a profit of 500 billion rubles was made, which is 1.5 times more than in the period 1966-1970.

With the intensification of work in the Soviet enterprises, which is done to cut down the capitalist costs of production and to increase the profits, thousands of workers are laid off every day. Thus unemployment is another burden with which the masses of working people are saddled. Although the official Soviet organs pretend that there is no one out of work in the Soviet Union, the fact is that this ulcer of every capitalist regime is manifesting itself, with some special features, mainly in its hidden form, in this country, too. The Soviet revisionist press, itself, has admitted that nearly 6 million able-bodied people do not have jobs, that millions of others work only 120-180 days a year, that 10 per cent of the women are leaving the enterprises every year etc. Meanwhile, hundreds of thousands of working people lose a great deal of time by being obliged to go from one enterprise to another to ensure a job. According to the newspaper «Pravda», the «wanderers», as it calls these

people, lose about 70 million work days in industry, 20 million work days in agriculture and 5 million work days in transport, every year.

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The degeneration of property relations in the Soviet Union and in other revisionist countries was accompanied and interwoven with the **degeneration of the relations of distribution, exchange and management.** This degeneration of the elements of the relations of production has been a complete complicated process, with reciprocal links and influences.

The process of the re-establishment of capitalist relations of distribution is characterized by two main aspects: the working class, deprived of the means of production, during the distribution of income, began to receive only the value of its labour power in the form of capitalist wages, while the remainder of the new value created is appropriated by the new revisionist bourgeoisie in the form of surplus value.

The surplus value appropriated by the Soviet bourgeoisie takes different forms. This bourgeoisie itself, as the collective owner of the means of production, transforms a large part of this value into capital of the form of state monopoly capitalism. This part, like the means of production, it owns and appropriates as a class. Another part of the surplus value is distributed individually among the members of the bourgeoisie in the form of fat salaries and many bonuses which have been established for the new Soviet managers, and which are being increased from day to day.

One need only compare the second part of the surplus value, which is appropriated individually by the members of the Soviet bourgeoisie in the forms of «salaries and bonuses» with the wages of an ordinary worker, to understand the exploiting character of the capitalist relations of distribution in the Soviet Union and the other coun-

tries in which state power has been usurped by the revisionist cliques. Today, the salaries and bonuses of the top Soviet managers, without mentioning the élite of the party, the state, the army, the KGB and science, are 15-20 times higher than the wages of the ordinary workers.

The entire system of distribution which exists in the revisionist countries, the great number of supplementary bonuses, which in many cases are unlimited, under the label of «recognition of special merits of the managers», serves the individual appropriation by the new bourgeoisie of a part of the surplus value produced by the unpaid labour of the wage earners in these countries.

The degree of exploitation of the workers in any capitalist economy is measured with the norm of surplus value, which represents the ratio of the surplus value to the variable capital. In the statistics of the revisionist countries in this field, too, the size of the variable capital is falsified by including in it also the salaries of a part of the new Soviet bourgeoisie, which as is known, directly appropriates a part of the surplus value. However, even with these «adjusted» figures from the statistics of the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries, it emerges that the norm of exploitation of the working class in the Soviet Union, during the year 1975, was 25 per cent greater than in 1960.

Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that just as private property gives birth to capitalism every day, every hour, so do «fat salaries» arouse the desire to create large, regular and irregular profits, create the desire to live, to eat, and to dress in the bourgeois manner. Precisely this phenomenon occurred in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries, where, through the extension of «bourgeois right», the capitalist relations of distribution have been established and now the new Soviet bourgeoisie owns private monetary capital of about 90 billion rubles, from which they receive 3-4 billion rubles a year in interest

alone (Planovoje hozjaistvo», No 7, 1976, p. 124).

It must be underlined that the degeneration of the relations of distribution in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries was brought about through gross misrepresentation of the so-called need to strengthen the material stimulus, committing thousands of deliberate distortions and falsifications in this direction. By raising a great to-do about the material stimulus, the revisionists extended the «bourgeois right» which still exists under socialism beyond all limits, bringing about a great quantitative difference in this field. In this way, instead of narrowing the «bourgeois right» in the sphere of distribution, as Lenin instructed, through the extension and accentuation of high disproportions in material stimuli, they completely restored the right of bourgeois exploitation, the luxurious life of the new Soviet bourgeoisie. And at a time when profit and the number of the new bourgeois elements are increasing many times over, the ordinary Soviet citizen is consuming less than the necessary level: in meat and its by-products 29.5 per cent, in milk and its by-products 22.2 per cent, in eggs 26.4 per cent, in vegetables 40.4 per cent, in cotton fabrics 30 per cent, in woolen fabrics 30.5 per cent, in knitwear 50 per cent etc etc. («Ekonomičeskie nauki», No 10, 1976, p. 76). These are the things an average Soviet family goes short of, without mentioning here the real shortages of the other masses of workers and peasants who are lower paid and constitute the majority, for whom life is even more difficult. Along with the degeneration of the relations of distribution, in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries the process of the degeneration of the relations of exchange and of the relations of management has been carried out, also.

The degeneration of the relations of exchange in the revisionist countries is closely connected with the entire process of the degeneration of commodity and money relations. In the sphere

of commodity exchanges, commodities which are characteristic of capitalism such as labour power and the means of production, were introduced. At the same time, in the field of the relations of exchange all the capitalist categories were re-established, such as the predominance of anarchy of production and competition on the market, the establishment of exchanges according to production prices, decentralization and the free movement of prices, the deepening of non-equivalent exchanges, the extension and liberalization of exchanges with the rest of the capitalist world, and so on.

The non-equivalent exchange of goods is seen especially in the relations of exchange between the Soviet Union and the vassal countries. Through this means, Russian socialimperialism exploits the working masses of these countries. On the basis of 1975 figures the deficits incurred by the countries of Eastern Europe in trade exchanges with the Soviet Union calculated in millions of dollars are as follows: East Germany 450, Czechoslovakia 171, Poland 55, Bulgaria 170 and Hungary 56. These deficits in the balance of trade exchanges between these countries and the Soviet Union are a concrete indication of the new-colonialist policy of the Soviet socialimperialists. They are clear evidence of the discriminatory character of the long-term trade protocols which Moscow imposes on the other countries in order to plunder them.

An important role in the re-establishment of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries was played by the counter-revolutionary measures of the revisionist chiefs for the degeneration of the socialist relations of management.

The socialist economy cannot exist and develop without unified and centralized management, without its harmonized development according to a unified state plan, without the broad participation of the working masses, and in the first place, of the working class, in running the country, without the struggle against the manifestations

of bureaucracy and liberalism. Along with the degeneration of property, distribution and exchange, the revisionist traitors also destroyed these fundamental principles of management of the socialist economy, with the result that the management relations also degenerated into capitalist management relations.

"The change in the forms of the organization and administration of the economy into capitalist forms," says Comrade Enver Hoxha, "have created a situation in the Soviet Union just like that in Tito's Yugoslavia." (Enver Hoxha, *Speeches, 1967-1968*, p. 299). Abandonment of centralized and planned development of the economy, the granting of complete autonomy to the economic enterprises on the so-called self-supporting basis, management of the economy according to an anarchic decentralization in which the capitalist levers of the market predominate and make the law, as well as other measures of this kind, led to the complete degeneration of the socialist relations of management into capitalist relations.

The entire activity of enterprises in the revisionist countries is assessed on the basis of the main index, which is the so-called return of profits on the funds invested. The fat bonuses of the new managers in these countries depend solely on the profits returned on the funds invested. The Soviet revisionists admit this openly, saying: "The fundamental principle of the new pay system is that pay and bonuses are determined according to the profits realized. Profit constitutes both the basis for the calculation of the wages and bonus fund and the fundamental source to finance it".

The only regulator of production in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries is the law of value and spontaneity of the market. Another index by which the work enterprises is valued is the volume of sales. This is determined by the state of the market. Thus, in fact it is precisely the spontaneity of the market which regulates production. Meanwhile, the distri-

bution of investments in the Soviet Union is carried out on the basis of the so-called standard co-efficient of capital investments which, in reality, represents the average norm of profit.

Along with these, the category of the capitalist production price, for which the revisionists, with a thousand tricks invent "socialist" names and justifications, operates throughout the whole Soviet economy. Through the decentralization of prices, prices which the enterprises themselves fix, "escalated prices", and so on, in fact, the free play of prices operates completely in various forms. The capitalist category of interest on capital has been established throughout the entire Soviet economy.

In the economic enterprises of the Soviet Union, wholesale prices are built up in such a way as to ensure profit for the completely autonomous enterprises first of all. The capitalist scheme for the construction of production prices has been adopted as a basis for this. Thus, the price of the goods is calculated in this manner: the concrete expenditure (costs) are added to the average profit yield (calculated on the basis of the productive funds and not on the cost) that is, according to the formula $C+V+P$, which, in fact, is the capitalist formula for the average production price, which is intended to ensure equal profits for equal capital. Born on the basis of competition, the building up of prices in this manner contributes to the further deepening of the struggle of competition, which is becoming more open and fiercer between Soviet enterprises. To this must be added the fact that the setting of prices for a large number of products is within the competences of the enterprises themselves, which fix the prices depending on the state of the market. Of course, there are also centralized prices, but these, too, are calculated on the basis of supply and demand, on the basis of the laws of capitalist market.

On the other hand, it must be stressed that the degeneration of management relations is closely connected

with the entire process of the degeneration of the leading cadres. The development of bureaucracy and technocracy among the cadres, their loss of the revolutionary spirit, their deviation from the proletarian principles and transformation into «apparatchiki», created the social foundation in the Soviet Union on which the revisionist clique based itself and on which it is still based today. The degeneration of the cadres, their transformation into all-powerful «apparatchiki», the dying out of the working class control over their activity, transformed the Soviet working class from the leading force of the country into simply a productive force, a mere carrier out of orders, which is mercilessly exploited by the new revisionist bourgeoisie.

In this manner, the degeneration of all the elements of relations of production, considered as a complicated process with reciprocal influences, brought about the complete and final re-establishment of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries. Precisely for this reason, Comrade Enver Hoxha has said that «the modern revisionists have completely destroyed the socialist system in their countries, transforming it into a capitalist system» (Enver Hoxha, Speeches 1972-1973).

The re-establishment of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist

countries has been accompanied by all the negative consequences of the capitalist economy. Despite the forced development of the war economy, a marked fall in the rates of economic development can be seen in the Soviet Union. Thus, in the period from 1971 to 1975, in comparison with the period from 1945 to 1960, the average annual rate of increase in national income declined 2.2 fold, that of industrial production almost 2 fold, and of the agricultural production 2.7 fold. During the period 1965-75 repayments of bank loans to enterprises, which were overdue, increased 2.5 fold. Failure on the part of the Soviet enterprises to liquidate obligations by the due date increased 28 per cent during the period from 1965 to 1975, while the total sum of all unliquidated overdue payments increased 78 per cent.

Now that the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union has been completed, it has resulted in the phenomenon which is characteristic of every capitalist economy, concretely, the increase of maximum profits for the capitalist class and the real decline of the economic effectiveness of social production, seen on the scale of the whole society (measured with the index of national income). Thus, according to some calculations, in the Soviet Union, during the period from 1960 to 1975, the effectiveness of social production

as a whole fell 8.4 per cent, whereas in the branch of industry alone it fell 5.5 per cent.

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In their analysis of the betrayal of the revisionists of the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries, our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha were the first to warn of the re-establishment of capitalism in these countries. At the same time, our Party, consistently following its unerring Marxist-Leninist line, further deepened the measures for the allround revolutionization of life in our country. «Socialist Albania,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the Party, «provides a major example which shows that the emergence of revisionism and return to capitalism are not decreed by fate to be inevitable, as the bourgeois ideologists try to make out. It proves the vitality of socialism, the invincible strength of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, which when they are consistently applied, carry the cause of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat forward with sure steps. The correct understanding of this problem, the dialectical appreciation of it, is of great principled importance and is directly linked with the fate of socialism.» (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p.111).

THE PROLETARIAT ITS CLASS CONSCIENCE IN FIERCE BATTLE

by **IDRIS DHIRAMI**

In spite of all violence, demagogy, and capitulationist theories, the proletariat never desists from its struggle, on the contrary it is waging it on an ever broader front. The deepening general crisis intensifies the capitalist exploitation of the proletariat, exposes the bourgeoisie even more thoroughly, and impels the proletariat to throw itself with courage and determination into struggle, into mass action to demand work, to lift wage freezes to annul anti-worker laws, etc.

THE GENERAL CRISIS WHICH HAS THE CAPITALIST-REVISIONIST WORLD IN ITS IRON GRIP GOES ON DEEPENING WITH EACH PASSING DAY. THERE IS A SLUMP IN PRODUCTION EVERYWHERE. MILLIONS OF WORKERS ARE THROWN INTO THE STREET. IN THE UNITED STATES OVER 8 MILLION ARE UNEMPLOYED. IN BRITAIN ABOUT 2 MILLION. IN ITALY THERE ARE ABOUT 1.8 MILLION UNEMPLOYED UNDER THE AGE OF 23 YEARS. IN FRANCE 1.5 MILLION. ETC. PRICES AND TAXES ARE RISING AT UNCONTROLLABLE RATES. IN THE UNITED STATES, THE ANNUAL RATE OF INCREASE IN THE PRICES OF FOODSTUFFS IS 18 PER CENT. IN ITALY PRICES ARE 14.1 PER CENT HIGHER THAN IN THE PAST YEAR. IN SWEDEN THEY HAVE GONE UP 13.9 PER CENT, IN DENMARK 13.1 PER CENT, ETC.

In the United States, taxes gobble up 50 per cent of the income of the working people, in Sweden 34 per cent, in the German Federal Republic 31.1 per cent, etc. All this has led to a further sharpening of the contradiction between labour and capital, between the bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the proletariat and the other oppressed strata in the capitalist countries, on the other.

The working class and the other working masses are by no means reconciling themselves to this state of things, but raising their voice of revolt against savage capitalist oppression and exploitation. The protest movements, strikes and demonstrations of the international proletariat, their fierce class clashes with the «defenders of public order» have increased and broadened in all the capitalist countries, enveloping one continent after the other, throwing the monopoly bourgeoisie into panic and confusion at seeing its interests directly threatened by this movement. «We are witnessing today,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha, «fierce class clashes between the working people and capital and its state power. The class struggle of the proletariat and other oppressed social strata has assumed so

great proportions both as regards the number of participants and its sharpness that the present period can be compared with the most critical periods the bourgeoisie of the capitalist countries has ever gone through.»

A characteristic of the present revolutionary movement of the proletariat is its mass character. Ever larger detachments of the working class are going over to the barricades of class battles. They reject the «arguments» of the bourgeois and revisionist propaganda on the «dying out of class struggle», «class understanding and harmony» which are allegedly characteristic of the present time in the movement of the working class. Whereas in the years 1970-1975 over 223 million people were involved in class battles, in 1976 about 60 million proletarians went on strikes to defend their legitimate interests. The year 1977, too, was characterized by an even greater turn out of the working class and other working people in strikes, protests and manifestations against the hateful bourgeois and revisionist order. These first six months of 1978 witnessed a new, broader, more powerful and active upsurge of the international proletariat in fierce class battles. Suffice it to mention the strikes of 10 million Italian

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workers, 5 million Spanish workers, among whom 100,000 metallurgists who staged along Madrid's streets a protest march against the savage oppression and exploitation of the bourgeoisie, of 40,000 construction workers against the Moncloa pact, or of the transport workers of Barcelona, etc. In the German Federal Republic there was a powerful strike of the dockers and printers. Millions of Japanese, Indian, British and other proletarians went on strikes and demonstrations.

A distinguishing characteristic feature of all these strikes for economic claims, against mass lay-offs, increase in prices, inflation, etc. was their being interlaced with political actions in defence of democratic rights against the savage fascist oppression of the bourgeois and revisionist state, against imperialism, social-imperialism and reaction. In the United States, the proletariat has risen against the anti-worker Taft-Hartley law which gives the president unlimited power to intervene in labour disputes about collective agreements and to deprive the worker of his right to go on strike «as often as he sees it fit», to dictate the conditions of settling conflicts between workers and capitalists, etc. Through their strikes, the Japanese workers have resolutely demanded the dismantlement of US military bases in Japan. The Spanish workers have risen against the fascist laws and interference with their rights on the part of Juan Carlos' monarcho-fascist regime. Large detachments of the British proletariat are opposing the law «on industrial relations» which limits the right of strike. The strikes of the Italian, West-German, Argentinian, Rhodesian workers, etc., have also a political character.

In most cases, the bourgeois and revisionist propaganda was quick to label these strikes as «wildcat strikes» because they were organized out of control of the worker aristocracy and the reformist and revisionist trade union leaders. These industrial actions were also outstanding for their fierceness, militant and revolutionary spirit. In their strikes and demonstrations, the Italian workers clashed with the police many times. The Spanish, North-Irish, Argentinian or Chilean workers set up barricades to fight the fascist police and soldiers thrown against them. The Iranian, Nicaraguan, South-African and the workers of other countries are doing the same thing.

Through these stern class battles, the solidarity and joint actions of all the working people of various professions have risen to a higher degree. As allies of the proletariat, the peasants, robbed of their land, or ruined by capitalist competition, the student and school youth, the production intelligentsia are also rising in struggle for their rights, because, as is known, the consequences of the crisis lie heavy on them as well. This solidarity and collaboration is going beyond the limits of one country, in many cases strikes assume an international character. The workers of the Ford and Chrysler Motor Companies, which have their filials in many capitalist countries, have organized joint actions and boycotted capitalist production in order to defend their vital rights. The same is happening with the workers of the giant trust «General Motors» who manifested once again their multinational solidarity. The strikes of the British miners were backed up by the Asturian miners in

Spain as well as miners in other countries. Only thanks to the determination and international unity of the various detachments of the working class was the bourgeoisie forced to accede, at least temporarily, to some of their claims.

Frightened by the mounting of the revolutionary movements and actions of the proletariat and the other oppressed strata, the bourgeoisie and the agents in its service, the worker aristocracy, the leaders of the reformist trade unions and the modern revisionists are resorting to all means they can master in order to put down this strike movement, to check the vigour and militant spirit of the working class. For this purpose they are using not only economic but also political means, openly resorting to police and military violence, as is happening today in most capitalist and revisionist countries, by reorganizing and activating fascist organizations and bands. In some capitalist countries, where the bourgeoisie sees itself in jeopardy and unable to contain the upsurge of the powerful revolutionary wave, or to control the situation by the usual means and in the hitherto forms, it prepares the ground to shed all democratic masks, to reestablish all democratic masks, to re-establish also to ideological means which are mainly intended to poison the consciousness of the working class, to disorientate it, to split and sabotage its struggle, to disrupt unity and organization. There are many reactionary reformist and revisionist «theories» in circulation today. Some bourgeois and revisionist theoreticians publicize far and wide that today the new technical-scientific revolution has brought

about «radical changes» in capitalist society where social inequality, especially between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, is being done away with, that as a result of the «deproletarianization» a new «middle class» is emerging which belongs to no classical groupings. These «theoreticians» who feed on the leftovers of the capitalist fable come to the conclusion that, things being as they are, the struggle of the proletariat against the capitalist system and for the seizure of state power on the revolutionary road has also «lost all actual meaning». They pretend that now there is allegedly no longer question of «relations among classes», but of «relations of a homogenous social community». The Italian revisionists are plunging ever deeper in the quagmire of the betrayal of the interests of the working class, they are serving with increasing zeal the interests of the local bourgeoisie, the interests of US imperialism and NATO. The other Eurocommunist renegades, too, Marchais in France and Carrillo in Spain, have openly fallen into line with the anti-worker and anti-revolutionary front of the bourgeoisie. At one step with it are also marching the new opportunists, the advocates of the theory of «three worlds» who in fact call on the working class to give up the revolution, to collaborate with its own reactionary bourgeoisie and even with fascist regimes in the name of the so-called «defence of the homeland».

Practice itself has refuted the counterrevolutionary preachings of the bourgeois-revisionist propaganda. The development of events is showing ever more plainly that capitalist society is not being democratized nor deproletarianized on the contrary its anti-popular character is becoming ever more marked and it is being polarized ever more, while the process of proletarianization is deepening. In the present conditions of the sharpening of the crisis, the fundamental antagonistic contradictions between labour and capital have led to actual and potential upheavals. The powerful strikes and demonstrations in the USA and Britain, in Spain and Italy, in Poland and Japan, in India and Ecuador, Bolivia and other countries are clearly bearing out what Comrade

Enver Hoxha said: «... only when the working class moves, when it lays down work, be it for one day, the entire bourgeoisie is shaken and all its institutions are put on the alert».

The different reformist and revisionist theories on «popular capitalism» and «class harmony», «joint participation in the management of production» and «revolution in management», and others of this kind pursue only one aim: to undermine the revolution, to preserve the bourgeois order of oppression and exploitation through some «structural reforms». The modern revisionists are fiery champions of these theories. Ranging from the Soviet revisionists, the Yugoslav revisionists to the «Eurocommunists», they all have degenerated into social-democrats and are openly rising against the violent revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, collaborating with all the dregs of society, with all sorts of bourgeois parties, even with the Vatican, this hateful centre of religious extremism.

In spite of all violence, demagogy and capitulationist theories, the proletariat never desists from its struggle, on the contrary it is waging it on an ever broader front. The deepening general crisis intensifies the capitalist exploitation of the proletariat, exposes the bourgeoisie even more thoroughly, and impels the proletariat to throw itself with courage and determination into struggle, into mass action to demand work, to lift wage freezes, to annul anti-worker laws, etc. The struggle of the proletariat is being felt with unprecedented force also in the most powerful capitalist country, the United States of America, where the recent miners' strike was the longest in the history of this country. It is being felt also in those countries which the bourgeoisie considered as areas of «permanent calm», as, for instance, Sweden, Finland, Switzerland, etc. All facts go to show that the fundamental contradiction between labour and capital, which has come to the fore among all other contradictions, has sharpened more than ever. «The revolution,» stresses Comrade Enver Hoxha in the speech he delivered to the cadres of the Gjirokastra district, «marches always ahead and the peoples, the proletariat are fighting against ca-

pitalism and against all the political and ideological trends which try to enslave the minds of the broad masses of working people».

In the capitalist-revisionist world the new revolutionary developments confirm the conclusions of the 7th Congress of the Party that objective conditions are maturing more and more with each passing day, that the cause of the revolution and national liberation of peoples is not only an aspiration and perspective, but a problem posed up for solution. In the centre of these revolutionary movements stands the proletariat whose force is becoming evident in the great class battles for liberation from savage capitalist oppression and exploitation. Neither violence of the bourgeoisie, nor demagogy of the modern revisionists about the «peaceful road», nor the sermons of the advocates of the «three worlds» can put down this struggle.

In the stern class struggle of the proletariat against capitalist exploitation and political oppression, a great role is being played by the Marxist-Leninist parties which are affirming themselves strongly. By courageously leading the proletariat in class battles, they are showing it the true road to the triumph of the great cause of the revolution and socialism.

press review

JIMMY CARTER'S WORDS AND THE RACIST REALITY IN THE USA

-BASHKIMI-, Central Organ of the Democratic Front

The United States of America has a population of a little more than 200 million. Of them, twenty-five million are negroes, 12 million are Chicanos (Mexicans and other poor people from Latin-American countries who emigrate to the United States to find a job) and about one million are American Indians.

How do these 38 million people live?

Full two years ago, when Jimmy Carter started his electoral campaign for the presidency of the USA, he admitted that the negroes, Chicanos and Indians were discriminated against, had less income than the whites, lived in totally unsuitable dwellings, etc., etc. After his election Carter promised that he would operate in two main directions: combat the high unemployment rate among the negroes, and struggle for better living and housing conditions for them, without mentioning that he would put an end to all discrimination.

Months, and then years passed by, but Carter's words remained only words. Unemployment did not go down, on the contrary it actually went up, and on an average, among the negroes it is twice as high as among the whites,

whereas, according to official sources, it is three times as high among the young blacks. And these statistics do not include those who have lost all hope of finding a job and do not even figure in the lists of labour offices. If we go by the data furnished by negro organizations, on a whole, over 50 per cent of young negroes are unemployed, whereas in Oakland (California) it is no longer a secret that the figure exceeds 70 per cent.

Official statistics say that the income of negroes, Chicanos and Indians is respectively 59 per cent, 66 per cent and 33 per cent lower than that of whites. As for housing, the American press itself admits that this problem has become more difficult than in the sixties.

As for Carter's promises about putting an end to all discrimination and humiliation of the negro people, they have been forgotten altogether. In the South, racist bands persecute and threaten the negroes so savagely that, as a newspaper writes, few negroes dare show outside the limits of their ghettos. And this is a phenomenon common not only in the South. In Chicago, for example, under open police protection, fascist gangs

parade with swastika flags, iron bars, and posters calling for the wiping out of negroes. Under threats from the fascists, who have the approval of the police, negroes are prohibited entrance to Market Park, one of the green areas of the city.

The situation of 12 million Chicanos is just as miserable. Millions of them, who have illegally entered the United States in search of some kind of occupation, live in slums under the double terror of the police and fascist gangs. This situation is taken advantage of by the employers who sign them up for low paid, mean and long hours' jobs.

The press is writing also about another deplorable phenomenon — the mass abandonment of families, especially by negroes. US statistics show that about 80 per cent of negro husbands and fathers are obliged to leave their wives and children and roam about the United States in the hope of finding a job some day or other and be able to support their families.

These are only some facts witnessing to the poverty, discrimination and humiliation the 38 million negroes, Portoricans or other Latin-American

**press
review**

peasants are forced to suffer at every step in the United States. These facts lay bare the true

face of the so-called American democracy and expose all the falsity and cynicism of the fuss

Jimmy Carter and other US statesmen are raising allegedly in defence of human rights.



CAPITALIST COOPERATION FOR JOINT EXPLOITATION OF WORKERS AND PEOPLES

«ZËRI I POPULLIT», organ of the CC of the PLA —

Merger of international capital, integration of economic life in general, coordination of political, scientific and other activities, independently of the contradictions eroding the capitalist system, are some of the historical tendencies of capitalism in its stage of imperialism. At all the stages of its development, whether on a national, regional, or international scale, this is seen in the creation of multinationals, integrated groups going over national barriers, and others. The degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and in the other countries of Eastern Europe into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the return of capitalist forces to power, helped the transformation of these countries, too, into elements of this process of capitalist integration. A whole series of organisms and institutions, not only military and political, but also economic, have actually been created with the only aim of coordinating the entire activity of the bourgeois society in various fields of life in the East

and in the West. To this end, a whole series of international agreements are also being concluded on «industrial cooperation», «cooperation of production», etc. Likewise, a host of theories have been worked out and are gaining circulation along with concepts in the service of this process, which the two imperialist superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, wish and encourage in order to foster their own hegemonistic interests.

According to assessments from the European Economic Commission at UNO, from 1973 onwards, about 6,000 agreements on trade, payments, cooperation have been concluded between the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe and the capitalist countries of Western Europe, respectively members of the Comecon and the European Common Market. Many agreements of the same nature have also been reached between these countries and the USA, Japan, etc. In connection with this, the Soviet revisionist review «Voprosy Filosofii» writes: «...most

of them are agreements on international cooperation in production and have been concluded during the recent two or three years alone. Thus, about 1,000 such agreements have been signed from the year 1976 on». There is an evident intensification of this process as against 8-10 years ago, when it began to appear as an active phenomenon in relations between the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe, on the one hand, and several capitalist countries on the other.

In the opinion of Soviet revisionist theoreticians, this is a case of «coordinated realization of a whole series of economic functions». There is no longer question of merely economic relations among states within the framework of exchanges of reciprocal profitability, but of coordination of an entire mechanism setting in motion the economy of one or several capitalist countries, of coordination of the gears of a given economic system. Thus, for instance, the Soviet capitalist economy, in the first place, but also that of the

**press
review**

other countries of Eastern Europe where the revisionist cliques hold sway, long before being transformed into capitalist economies fell into line with the historical trend of development of capitalism, integrating themselves ever more quickly into the system of the world capitalist economy, not only in their content but also in their organizational structures.

The new Soviet bourgeoisie are giving widespread circulation to all sorts of sermons and preachings intended to make people believe that such a phenomenon is inevitable, be it only for the fact that, as the Soviet revisionist review «Memo» has it, «mankind continues to exist as one and a whole». This is how they falsify Marxism-Leninism, which says that, true, mankind exists as one and a whole but with the qualification that it is divided into classes. By wiping out all class distinctions, the Khrushchevite revisionists, as all the modern revisionists, in general, intend to cover up the degeneration of their economic base of relations of production as well as the real result of this situation, namely, the integration of their capitalist economy into that of the capitalist-imperialist world economic system. In the last analysis, they also seek to conceal the fact that the new revisionist bourgeoisie not only have been transformed into exploiters of the working class and peoples of their own countries, as well

as other countries through most elaborate neo-colonialist methods, but that they have also for years on end been partners of the international bourgeoisie and reaction in the oppression and exploitation of the working class and peoples, in general. And they are bound to go down this road. The Soviet revisionists have offered themselves for cooperation with their US partners, for example, in fields which, according to «Voprosy Ekonomiki», include «setting up of joint enterprises, cooperation in production... in chemical and extracting industry...» cooperation in «the sphere of processing» raw materials and other spheres, which the Soviet revisionists describe in general as «spheres of constructive cooperation between the two leading superpowers of our time». In this manner, they invest joint capital and, consequently, share in the capitalist profit they make both in the home markets as well as in other markets.

«Industrial cooperation», or even «cooperation in production», is possible between the new revisionists bourgeoisie and the Western bourgeoisie because there is no essential and fundamental objective obstacle to it, because the economic base of the typically capitalist countries and that of the revisionist states is similar. All this cooperation and collaboration is based on the community of their class interests. «Cooperation in pro-

duction», the modern revisionists preach, «presupposes existence of mutual trust between partners.» This is too clear for comment. Mutual trust in the economic field implies mutual trust, in the first place, in the political field as well, because, in the last analysis, politics is the concentrated expression of the economy. The security the modern revisionists want to obtain for the security they give is also linked with their class solidarity with the international bourgeoisie, with their common interests as oppressing and exploiting classes, both on the economic and political plane.

The Khrushchevite revisionists, in an effort to present the integration of their economy into the world capitalist economy as some sort of normal inter-estate relations, at the same time admit that they see economic cooperation and collaboration as «a means for strengthening the technical and scientific potential of production». The Soviet revisionists, and the other modern revisionists themselves after them, declare openly that this is not a «passing phenomenon», but a «long-term policy». This is tantamount to saying that this collaboration and cooperation serves the economic potential of capitalism and its strengthening as an economic-social system.

Facts show that capitalist-revisionist cooperation has a strong counterrevolu-

**press
review**

tionary flavour. Its aim is to strengthen the economic potential of crisis-riddled capitalism, consolidate the shaken political positions of the bour-

geois power, to step up savage oppression and exploitation by the bourgeois-revisionist partners of the work-

ing class and the broad masses of working people, of the various peoples of the world.

■

THE FLAMES OF THE LIBERATION WAR EXTEND IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

«LUFETARI», organ of the Ministry of People's Defence

The flames of the liberation war are rapidly extending in Southern Africa. The peoples of Azania, Zimbabwe and Namibia are waging a determined armed struggle against the racist regimes in power, against their policy of racial discrimination and apartheid. They are resolved to follow this correct revolutionary road, convinced that only in this manner can they gain genuine freedom and independence and break the chains of racialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

In Rhodesia the people's armed struggle against the Smith racist regime began as early as April 28th, 1966. Now it has entered its 13th year. This has been a period of ceaseless actions and important victories both in raising the political awareness of the people and their hatred of the enemy and in the military field, where the Rhodesian racists have sustained one defeat after another.

The successful development of the armed struggle of the Zimbabwean patriots has se-

riously shaken the foundations of this racist regime and its patrons. The patriots have most of the country, especially in the north and the north-east, under control, and are stepping up their military actions even in the outskirts of Salisbury, down to the very lair of the racist regime.

The Namibian patriots, fighting for the liberation of their country, are for 12 years now carrying on their armed struggle. During this time they are becoming ever more aware that freedom and independence can be won only with the gun, in the field of battle. The everyday actions of the Namibian patriots against the South-African occupiers are a clear expression of this determination. The actions of the patriots now extend from the north to the south of the country, even in the strategically important Caprivi Strip.

Likewise, the tragic events of June 16, 1976 in South Africa, when the fascist and racist South-African regime opened fire on and killed

hundreds of Africans in Soweto were not something accidental. On the contrary, they show the determination of the Azanian people to fight and emerge victorious over their racist and imperialist enemies. Despite all the efforts of this bloody regime to subdue the African people, the masses of the Azanian working people have kept the fire of their hatred burning, have resisted the racist policy and the colonialist exploitation by the regime and have pressed on with their struggle, carrying it up to its highest form — the armed struggle. The armed actions of the patriots against military centres and concentrations in Darjeville, in the outskirts of Johannesburg, in Port-Elizabeth, in the vicinity of Soweto and Guguletu are best testimony to this. On the other hand, the wave of protest of the Azanian people has been in constant rise all this time. The recent mass repressions have done nothing but caused a new upsurge of strikes and demonstrations in

**press
review**

various cities of the country, an expression of their inextinguishable resentment against the racist Pretoria regime.

The extension of the armed struggle of the Zimbabwean, Namibian and Azanian patriots is their best reply to the racist and fascist regimes of Rhodesia, South Africa and their imperialist patrons. The facts show that these reactionary forces never for a moment have renounced their claims, on the contrary, they are manoeuvring and doggedly trying to impose racialism and fascism over the peoples of this area. And this is not accidental. This area constitutes an important source of fat profits for the imperialist powers, which pillage the great wealth of its soil and subsoil, sponging on the blood of the African peoples.

But this is only one reason for the imperialist powers to hold on to this area; the other reason lies in its strategic position which has assumed particular importance in the conditions of the rivalry for hegemony between US imperialism and Soviet socialimperialism. From this area they can control the sea routes linking the Atlantic Ocean with the Indian Ocean, and which the bourgeoisie propaganda calls «vitally important arteries» because the oil from the Arab countries, Indonesia, etc. is shipped through them. For these reasons the United States of America, England and other imperialist powers are doing their utmost

to preserve the racist regimes in the south of Africa, they are arming them and, in fact, turning them into partners of the aggressive NATO treaty.

At the same time, the US, British, West-German and other imperialists encourage reactionary alliances between the Israeli Zionists and the South-African racists, between the latter and the dictatorial and reactionary Latin-American regimes, these hated offsprings of international imperialism. Thus, for example, the Israeli Zionists give South Africa part of the arms they take from the United States, and have sent there military specialists in partisan warfare. Likewise, the US imperialists are instigating the South-African racists and the Latin-American cliques to set up a new military bloc similar to NATO in order to control the southern part of the Atlantic better. These facts clearly reveal the aims of the imperialist powers, and especially the intentions of the calls of US and British imperialism for «racial harmony», «conciliation, between the white and the black», or for settling conflicts «on the peaceful road, without war and bloodshed». In fact they are trying to come to the rescue of the racist regimes, attempting to sabotage and put down the armed liberation struggle of the Zimbabwean, Namibian and Azanian peoples, which have encircled them with a ring of fire.

The Soviet social-imperialists, too, are working with might and main against the struggle of the African peoples, against their efforts to shake off the racial and colonial yoke. They pass themselves off as champions of the rights of the Zimbabwean, Namibian and Azanian peoples and clamour that they have no other aim but to support the liberation movements of these peoples, whereas in reality their only concern is to take advantage of any occasion and circumstance in order to stab the liberation movements of these peoples in the back. Through the so-called aid to these movements, they try to get a political and military foothold in Africa, to set up bases in order to strengthen their positions in the rivalry with the US imperialists for the division of the spheres of influence.

A sabotaging role in the liberation movement of the African peoples is being played also by the theory of the so-called «non-aligned world» which is publicized with extraordinary zeal by the Yugoslav revisionists, and the «theory of three worlds». As is also emphasized in the article of «Zëri i popullit» of June 30th, the political and ideological platform advertized by the inventors of these two theories is a strategy aimed at the preservation of the status quo, at diverting the African peoples from the correct road of the revolutionary and liberation struggle, at defend-

press review

ing imperialist and neo-colonialist rule in Africa as well as in other areas and on the other continents. They come to the rescue of the great imperialist powers, to the colonialists of yesterday and the neo-colonialists of today, in order to stop the economic, political and social development of the African peoples.

Both the United States and the Soviet Union, which play the role of the international gendarme, as well as the other imperialist powers stand in awe of the revolutionary and national liberation struggles of the peoples. Therefore, in collusion with each other, they do their utmost to suppress all popular movements in the southern

part of Africa, too. In this context should be seen also the conflicts they cause and fan up in the different parts of this continent, the large contingents of troops they have stationed there, as well as the recent creation by the NATO member countries, at the suggestion of US imperialism, of a force of intervention to which some African countries will contribute in officers and men, whereas US imperialism and the other countries of the aggressive NATO bloc will contribute in dollars, arms, councilors and specialists.

Experience is ever better teaching the peoples of Azania, Zimbabwe and Namibia that if they want to achieve

real national liberation, they must rely on neither superpower, nor on the theory of the «non-aligned world», or the theory of «three worlds», which are showing ever more clearly in practice in whose service they are. Life is also teaching them that the only road to achieve the realization of their aspiration, to wipe out racism and colonialism, to foil the conspiracies of the two superpowers and the other imperialist powers, to attain the triumph of true freedom and independence, goes through the liberation war. That is why these peoples are pressing ahead with their tit-for-tat struggle against their enemies making light of terror, threats and persecutions.

WHAT LIES BEHIND THE MILITARY TAKE-OVER IN BOLIVIA?

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The circumstances in which the coup d'état was staged in Bolivia expose once again the falseness of the so-called «process of democratization and return to civil rule», to which the oligarchies in Latin America and US imperialism are giving ample space in their press organs.

For seven years on end a savage military dictatorship, headed by the fascist General

Banzer, ruled Bolivia. Violence and terror, just as in all other countries of the Latin - American continent where the fascist dictatorships are in power, were the chief means through which this regime kept itself in power. Thus, in the period 1971-1977, about 14,750 people were imprisoned and systematically tortured, whereas 20,000 others fled their country to escape

political persecution. By special decrees, the Banzer clique banned the activity of many trade-union and progressive workers' organizations, denying them the right to strike as well as other democratic rights and freedoms, whereas the state of siege became a routine method of governing the country.

Besides political oppression, the masses of Bolivian work-

**press
review**

ers are also subjected to savage economic exploitation, and this finds its expression in declining income, in increasing unemployment rates, rising cost of living, inflation, and so on. During the period 1971-1974 the cost of living went up by 320 per cent, whereas only during the last year prices soared 15-17 per cent. Bolivia is one of the five countries of Latin America with the lowest level of economic development, one of the poorest in Latin America. The economy of the country is labouring under an all-round crisis. Parallel with its impoverishment, the country's dependence on US imperialism is made more complete, especially with the latter's deep penetration into the political and economic life of Bolivia and systematic plunder of Bolivian national wealth. In 1977, 41 per cent of Bolivia's mineral export went to the USA. The US monopolies own 75 per cent of all foreign capital invested in this country.

Stepped up anti-popular political violence, constantly deepening economic crisis and its grave consequences for the working people, have further raised the discontent and stiffened the opposition of the masses of working people to the regime of Banzer, and imparted a fresh powerful impulse to their class struggle. Almost all this year, many protest actions were organized by the workers, such as the strikes of the miners, the

construction workers, the struggle of the peasants for land, the protest movement of the students, and so on. The struggle of the Bolivian patriots against the fascist regime has assumed its highest form, that of armed resistance, which is constantly growing.

In these conditions, the local oligarchy and US imperialism, which stands behind it are forced to manoeuvre, to declare that the mission of the military dictatorship of Banzer has come to an end, and play the card of democratization and «return to civil rule», with a view to misleading the masses of working people and quelling down their revolt. As early as December last year, Banzer proclaimed a series of measures of liberalization such as allowing the activity of some political parties and trade union organizations, decreeing a partial amnesty for political prisoners, while continuing the occupation of the country's mining areas by the army. At the same time, it proclaimed that presidential elections, the first of this kind since 12 years ago, would be held on July 9.

Elections were carried out in an atmosphere of political banditry, threat and blackmail created by the forces of order against the masses of working people; votes were rigged in order to secure at all cost the victory of the candidate of the military forces. After the polling was over, it emerged that there

were more votes (about 50,000) cast than voters registered. The manipulation of polling operations was so grossly done and so flagrantly evident that the pro-imperialist oligarchical government itself was forced to declare them null and void, and to promise new elections after a period of six months. But the annulment of the elections created a new situation in the country, it worsened the political crisis and further discredited the regime of Banzer, who proved unable to control the situation. In these conditions, the oligarchy had no other way out of this situation than that of staging a coup. And it was Juan Pereda himself, the government candidate, who staged the coup. However, in order to save his face, he was quick to promise that new elections would be held, which, of course, he will permit only when he is sure of winning in them.

The Pereda clique represents and stands for the same oligarchic and imperialist interests as those represented and defended by the Banzer clique. This is borne out by the new repressive measures the new clique in power is taking against the Bolivian working people. In the recent events in Bolivia there is also the hand of US imperialism which pulls the strings behind the scenes, which resorts to all means, methods and wile in order to ensure that its neo-colonialist interests in the countries of Latin America

press review

are not affected, in order to keep this region in its own sphere of influence, in its rivalry with the Soviet social-imperialists for world hegemony.

As for the masses of working people of Bolivia, they entertain no illusion about the

possibility of a change in their situation as a result of the change of guard in the dictatorship, or of the organization at the elections' farse. The true freedom-loving and revolutionary forces in Bolivia have got wise to the fact that their interests are diametrically op-

posed to those of the oligarchy, and that it is only through staunch revolutionary class struggle that they can achieve their complete victory over the military dictatorship and imperialism, that they will ensure their real national and social liberation.

WAR-MONGERING ACTIVITY OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS

— Facts and figures —

A.T.A. (ALBANIAN TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY)

For many years now our Party has been emphasizing that the imperialist powers, and the two superpowers — the United States of America and the Soviet Union in the first place, with all their forces and by all manner of means are preparing for unleashing a new world war, and to this end they carry on a frenzied armaments race, whip up the war hysteria, foster distrust and enmity among the peoples. They have set up military bases everywhere, deployed their troops to various countries to suppress the national liberation struggles of the peoples. The most reactionary fascist cliques of the world today are propped up with their arms and money. Life has confirmed this without the slightest shade of doubt.

In recent times, the news agencies, referring to the studies of a specialized institu-

tion, informed that during 1976 about 400 billion dollars, or to be more precise 398.9 billion dollars, have been spent for military purposes in various countries of the world. Over 90 per cent of this is spent by the «developed countries», that is to say the principal imperialist countries.

The two imperialist superpowers — the United States of America and the Soviet Union, as always, top the list. And their military outlays keep increasing from year to year.

From the same sources, during 1976 the arms trade reached the figure of 13,3 billion dollars as against 12 billion dollars in 1975. In this direction, too, the two superpowers are first on the list:

the USA 5.2 billion dollars,
the Soviet Union 3.7 billion dollars,

the German Federal Republic, France, Britain — about one billion dollars, etc.

The main market of this trade has been, as always during these recent years, the Middle East, where the principal profit-makers have been the reactionary regimes of Israel, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, etc.

A headlong race is going on between the US imperialists and the Soviet socialimperialists, among others, in the field of various missiles with one or multiple nuclear warheads. From the American review «U.S. News and World Report» emerges that about 35 kinds of various missiles: land-land, land-air, air-air, air-land, land-sea and sea-land, capable of hitting targets on land and in the air, etc., are operational today. The Soviet socialimperialists do not lag behind in this field, either.

At the same time, the two imperialist superpowers are arming and propping up pup-

**press
review**

pet, anti-popular and reactionary regimes all over the world. From the above review, the United States, for example, has turned Saudi Arabia, of course next to Israel, into one of the major aggressive military powers in the Middle East. The reactionary Saudi regime has spent billions of dollars on airplanes, tanks, artillery and other US military equipment for its army. Up to 1984, the US involvement in the equipping of the Saudi army is reckoned to exceed 10 billion dollars. And this

shows only part of the ties between the USA and the reactionary Saudi regime at the expense of the people of this country.

Over 6,000 US military advisers and hundreds of civil advisers are engaged in all-round efforts for the modernization of the Saudi army. In fact, according to the «U.S. News and World Report», several thousands of US military and civil specialists are engaged in Saudi Arabia today in modernization, maintenance

and management of 6 big military airfields.

This is only one example. Dollars and rubles, etc. are also pouring into many other countries in which antipopular, reactionary and fascist regimes are supplied and equipped with most varied armaments from the United States and the Soviet Union, not only in order to oppress their own peoples and the other peoples, but also to help realize the expansionist plans of the two superpowers and the other imperialist powers.

MANIFESTATION OF BOURGEOIS-REVISIONIST DEGENERATION AND CORRUPTION

«ZERI I RINISE», *Organ of the CC of the LYUA* -

From July 28 to August 5 this year, Havana was the scene of the 11th World Youth and Students' Festival, where representatives of many reactionary youth organizations of the bourgeois-revisionist, fascist countries participated. This festival was nothing but an ideological, political, cultural and artistic demonstration of the youth of the bourgeois and revisionist countries.

The organizers of the festival came out with several «anti-imperialist» slogans. This was also done by Boris Pastuhov, first Secretary of the Soviet revisionist Komsomol.

But the demagogical character of his statements is revealed by the fact that the true organizers of the festival are the Soviet revisionists, who manipulate the WEDY and the IUS as their tools. How can the 11th Festival in Cuba be represented as an «anti-imperialist action» at a time when it is known that its organizers are aggressors, fascists, and imperialists, when it is known that they are keeping many countries of Eastern Europe occupied, that they, through their fascist-type aggression, invaded Czechoslovakia, that they are armed to the teeth

for wars of aggression, that they set up military bases, hatch up plots and putsches of the fascist reactionary type, send their mercenaries to Africa, collaborate and vie with US imperialism for the domination of the world, that they are precisely the ones who put down the liberation revolutions everywhere in the world, and who have always been calling on the revolutionary and progressive youth and students to stop fighting against the capitalist system, and so on and so forth?

Therefore, the 11th Festival and its demagogical and hypocritical slogans cannot be cal-

press review

led an anti-imperialist action, on the contrary it is an action intended to mislead the masses of youth, to dampen its revolutionary spirit, to confuse it. By organizing this festival in Cuba, the Soviet revisionists aim to poison the revolutionary conscience of the young people in Latin America and in other countries of the world, as well as to undermine and sabotage the revolution and the liberation war everywhere, which they stand in great fear of.

This festival was attended by revisionists of all colours, as well as reactionary, imperialist, fascist organizations which had the questionable privilege of participating in the proceedings of the Preparatory Committee of the Festival. Progressive youth is aware that these reactionary, revisionist, socialdemocrat, and other organizations can by no means fight the imperialists, or help ease tension and avert the danger of a war.

At a time when at the festival there was much talk about «anti-imperialist solidarity», the revisionists and opportunists were seen dancing together with the imperialists and fascists.

The organizers of the festival try in vain to identify the 11th Festival with the previous youth festivals which were tribunes of the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle, and enjoyed great sympathy and popularity among

the progressive youth and students of the world.

All this propaganda and demagoguery is being exposed more and more now, and the revolutionary youth of the world is becoming aware that there was nothing anti-imperialist in the festivals organized in the past two decades. The 11th Festival, too, was a centre of degeneration, disorganization, and corruption of the youth, as it was staged with the precise purpose of diverting youth from the road of the revolution, the road of the struggle against capitalist-revisionist oppression and exploitation. It was a demonstration of ideological and political degeneration, of hideous bourgeois-revisionist fashion. Suffice it to mention that in the program of the 11th Festival figured even such performances as «The Forest of Solidarity», in which young people simulated living in a primitive community, in hippy fashion, which is in vogue today in the bourgeois-revisionist countries.

In this festival, the revisionists, the bourgeoisie, the new opportunists, all those who try to make the youth of the world regress, who intend to further their ends of estranging the younger generation from politics, educating it with the degenerate standards of their bourgeois-revisionist morality, and ultimately consolidating the foundations of their rotten regimes. They

seek to nip in the bud all movements, demonstrations, strikes and protests of the youth and students. The real life of the youth and its prospects find no reflection at all in the festivals organized by the revisionists and the bourgeoisie. What the youth wants can be obtained only through the revolution and socialism. This great truth is confirmed by the fact that the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist and anti-revisionist fight of the youth is now assuming ever broader proportions. It has involved large sections of the progressive youth and students who want to see their aspirations realized. At the 7th Congress of the PLA, among other things, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: «In the countries dominated by capital, the youth constitute a great reserve for the revolution. The mass of the unemployed youth, abandoned and deprived of all hope and prospects by the bourgeoisie, number millions. A great revolt against social injustice is seething among them. Great forces are gathering and building up for revolutionary outbursts. It is up to the Marxist-Leninists to unite the enthusiasm of the youth, its revolutionary aspirations, with the drive and aspirations of the working class, to lead it on the correct course towards the liberation of all society from the yoke of big capital».

In the centuries, the Albanian people have had to fight a fit for tat struggle against numerous and greater enemies, for the defence of their freedom and independence. But they have always emerged victorious even though encircled by such enemies. United as one, the Albanian people have smashed all encirclements and blockades. This distinguishing feature of the Albanian people is the theme of the tableau by the painter Abdurrahim Buza.



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