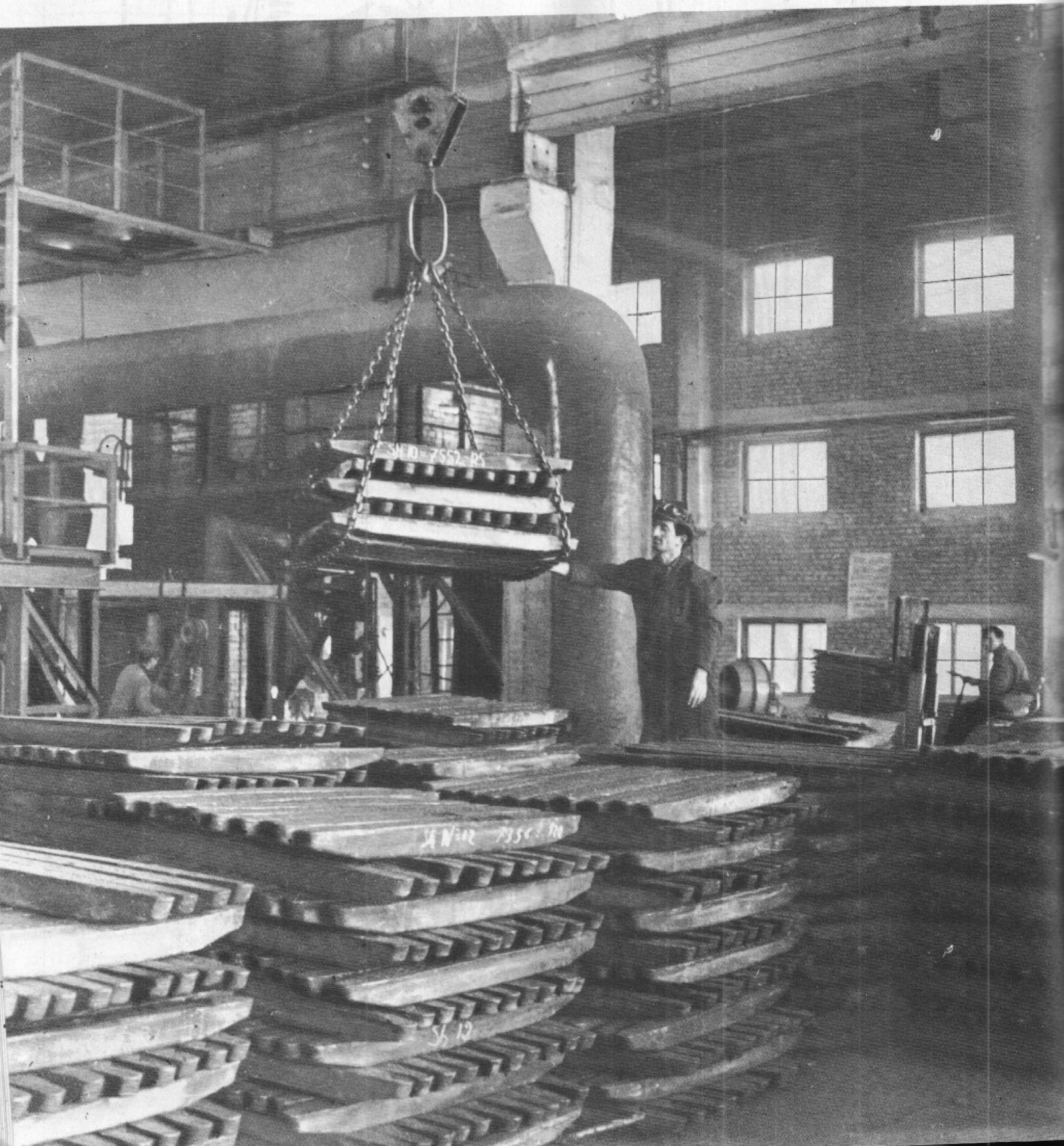


The Production

by QEMAL SHEHU



And The Export

This article discusses the roads of development of our export and shows how in 1975 the rate of its growth will almost double in comparison with 1970

Albania, once a profoundly backward agricultural country, with semi-feudal relations, oppressed and exploited from the national and social viewpoint, has today been transformed into an agricultural-industrial country resolutely advancing on the road of the full construction of the socialist society. During the 28 years of socialist construction in Albania radical transformations have been made, beginning from the destruction of the old relations of private property and the establishment of the new socialist relations of production, with the vigorous development of the productive forces in industry, agriculture and other sectors of the people's economy; these transformations are now continuing with the building of the material-technical base of socialism. In this context are also included the high rates and large proportions of foreign trade and particularly of export. From a country where the technical and power equipment of the economy was very low, where production had a marked and almost completely handicraft character, where no more than 9.3 million kwh of power were produced annually, Albania has today turned into a country with a developed industry and agriculture, into a country where the complete electric reticulation of the cities and villages has been carried out and what is more, electric power is being exported for the first time.

Ready-made products for export from the copper processing factory of Rubik

In terms of time, the period of transformations is comparatively short; in terms of the political, economic and social resultant achieved it constitutes a whole historical epoch.

Our entire socio-economic development is being carried out under the brilliant leadership of the PLA headed by comrade Enver Hoxha. The Party has based and continues to base its policy for the country's allround development on the implementation of the principles of Marxist-Leninist science in a creative manner and in conformity with the specific conditions of our country. The aim and result of this policy in economics find expression in the planned development of the economy and culture of our country, always proceeding from the proportional development of the productive forces, from the perfecting of the socialist relations of production as well as from the strengthening of the country's defensive power.

Precisely the consistent implementation of this policy by our Party of Labour has resulted in the continuous, resolute advance of our country on the road of socialism, and the development of our economy at fast rates, despite the obstacles and difficulties created by the various imperialist-revisionist blockades. The following figures give an indication of this:

In 1970, as compared with 1960, social production increased 2.2 times, total industrial output increased 2.5 times, agricultural production 1.8 times, national

incomes doubled, real incomes per capita of the population increased 1.2 times, goods turnover in foreign trade 1.8 times, etc. These indices, like many others, express very high development rates and clearly show that, in contrast with the desires, aims, slanderous propaganda and hostile actions of the Khrushchevite revisionists to bring our Party and people to their knees, to undermine the development of the economy and the building of socialism in Albania, to present black as white, we have advanced with unwavering determination, defeating their blockade and fiendish plans.

The targets envisaged by the fourth five-year plan (1965-1970) have been realized within 4 years and 7 months. In some key branches of the people's economy the targets of the five-year plan were reached in a still shorter period. Important forward strides have been made in such economic branches as oil, other mineral products, the engineering, chemical and power industries. In 1970, as compared with 1965, oil production increased by 81 per cent, as against the planned 46 per cent, whereas oil processing grew 154 per cent, as against the planned 115-120 per cent. The production of electric power increased 2.8 times as against 2.3 envisaged by the fourth five-year plan. The chemical industry in 1970 increased its output 7 times in comparison with 1965, and the mechanical industry, 3.2 times, whereas the building materials industry increased its output 2.6 times during the same period.

The Albanian underground is very rich in various minerals. The exploitation of mines is carried out also in open skies. In the photo: A view of the Pishkash iron-nickel mine







The vigorous development of the branches of industry also became a powerful backing for the intensification of agricultural production, for the extension of capital construction and for the advancement and further deepening of the technico-scientific revolution.

The economic policy of our party has always aimed at giving priority to the production of the means of production. But at the same time the fast rate of development of consumer goods has not been neglected. Thus, in 1970 as compared with 1965 the light industry output increased by 73 per cent, as against the planned 43-45 per cent; similarly the production of the food industry increased 32 per cent as against the planned 20-24 per cent etc.

In the increase of agricultural production the road of the intensification and reinforcement of the material-technical base has been followed. Consequently, this production in 1970 was 33 per cent larger than in 1965, while the production of field crops was 55 per cent larger. For the same period the production of potatoes increased five-fold, that of sunflowers increased 2.9 times, while vegetable and fruit production increased by 62 and 33 per cent respectively.

The development and strengthening of our people's economy in general and of its key branches in particular has also had the result that the volume of goods turnover of foreign trade has grown by 49 per cent, while export has grown 45 per cent as against the planned 36 per cent. During the fourth five-year plan our country extended the relations of goods exchange with various countries and firms. Today the PR of Albania maintains trade relations with about 40 countries of different social systems.

It must be pointed out that in the whole process of the development of our trade relations with countries with different social systems, our Party and Government have consistently upheld and continue to uphold the principles of non-interference in one another's internal affairs, respect of sovereignty, mutual benefit, strict fulfilment of pledges, etc. The trade relations of our country with other countries have extended and will keep extending always on the basis of these princi-

ples. In this framework the goods turnover in our foreign trade has kept growing, both in volume and in the extension of the range of our export commodities, in the improvement of quality and packing. and the correct trade policy of our country towards other countries.

The increase of our export commodities as well as the improvement of their quality is a result of the strengthening, modernisation and raising of the technical and technological level of the existing industrial branches, of the creation of new branches of industry and of the implementation of the most advanced processes and methods of agrotechnology in agriculture. As a consequence, such commodities as crude oil, liquid bitume, chromium mineral and chromium concentrate, marble, copper wires, glass, fibre slates, tannin extract, cotton blankets, rugs and carpets, pipes, cigarettes, tobacco, fresh and preserved fruit and vegetables, fish preserves, etc., have now become known on foreign markets for their good quality.

Our country has quite a rich flora, and new articles and demands are being continually added to our export. Efforts are now being made to increase the economic efficiency of export, to extend the range of export articles of agricultural origin, as well as the cultivation and processing of ether-oil plants. The results in this direction are satisfactory, meeting the demands of foreign markets with regard to quality and packing.

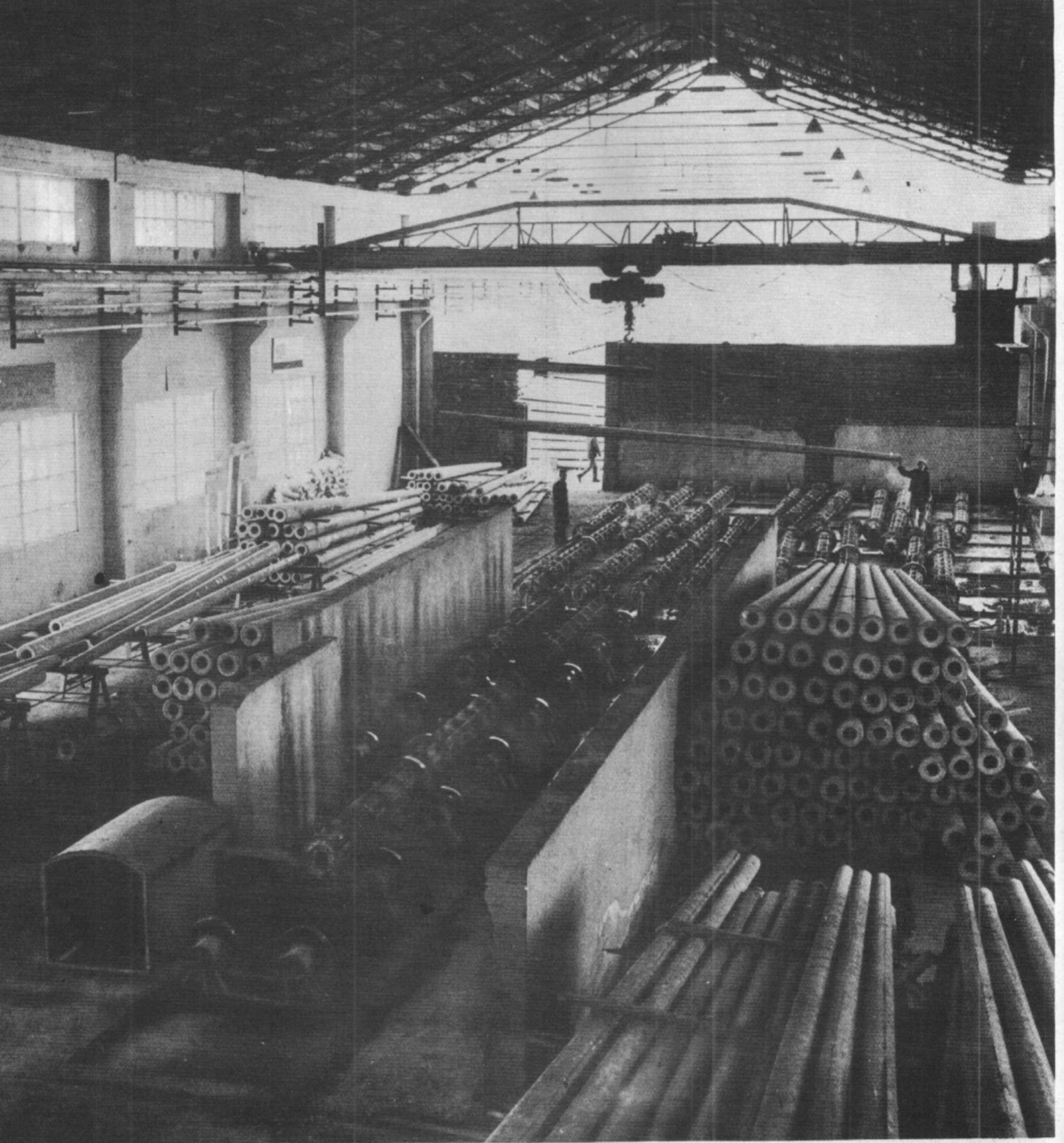
Work has also been going on to secure early fresh vegetables and to cultivate those varieties which are in demand on foreign markets.

Great prospects have been opened to our country under the fifth five-year plan (1971-1975) for the development of the economy and culture. The fulfilment of this plan will result in the further strengthening of our national economy, on the road of Albania's transformation from an agricultural-industrial country into an industrial-agricultural one. In this way our national economy will become more independent, our socialist order will be further strengthened and the material and cultural standards of the population will be raised to a higher level.

The construction during the fifth five-year plan period of many new industrial projects with advanced technological processes and unprecedented production



In the Durrës port ships are loaded with Albanian bitumen for foreign countries



Production of centrifugalized posts for home needs and export

Albania is an exporter of chromium ore. From the Durrës port and through ground channels it goes to the foreign countries demanding it



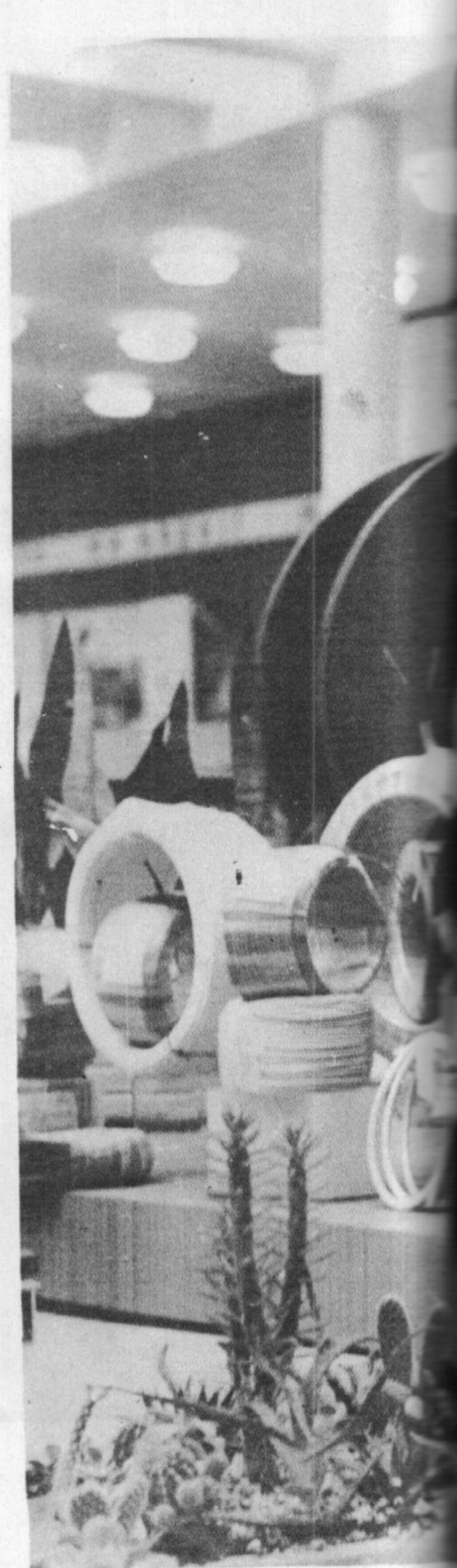
capacities, as well as the extension of the existing plants, will make it possible to produce, and also to export, such commodities as steels, pig-iron, nickels, cobalt, tin shelling, pipes, high quality motor-fuels, etc. Parallel with this, the production of the existing industrial branches will grow. In 1975 as against 1970, oil production will increase by 62-66 per cent, chrome production 122-126 per cent, copper 57-61 per cent, iron-nickel 188-192 per cent, electric power 104-108 per cent, the engineering industry 102-106 per cent, the chemical industry 124-128 per cent, etc. By the end of the year 1975 total industrial output will have grown by 61-66 per cent as compared with the 1970 level, whereas agricultural production will have grown by 65-69 per cent.

The production of agricultural crops such as cotton, tobacco, oil-bearing plants, etc., will show an increase of 70-74 per cent in 1975 as compared with the 1970 level of production, while livestock products and fruit will increase by 60-64 and 73-77 per cent respectively. The high-rate development of social production under the fifth five-year plan will contribute to the further development of export both from the viewpoint of the quantity and the quality of the commodities to be traded in the outside world, and from that of the change of their structure. Thus, during the fifth five-year plan the volume turnover of foreign trade goods will grow by 86 per cent as compared with the fourth five-year plan (1966-1970). The main place in the range of our export articles will be occupied by processed and semi-processed commodities. In 1975 it is envisaged that industrialized commodities will account for over 56 per cent of the total volume of our export.

There is no doubt whatever that in this aspect the structure of import commodities will also undergo important changes. These changes will be in two main directions: On the one hand, the specific weight of such commodities as equipment, machinery, raw materials, etc., will grow, and, on the other, some commodities whose production will be guaranteed locally, by our own forces, will be removed from the import list.

During the fifth five-year plan (1971-1975) the rate of increase of our export will be 67 per cent as against 36 per cent under the fourth five-year plan (1966-1970). A considerable increase will be registered by such commodities as crude oil, the export of which will grow by 52 per cent; oil bitumen, chromium ore, copper wires, tobacco, fresh vegetables, etc. An increase will also be registered in preserved articles of the food industry, wines, cognac, etc. With the completion and putting into operation of a series of new projects and branches of industry, our country will also begin to export such commodities as petrol, petroleum, chromium concentrate, cement, sulphur, sulphuric acid, rolled steel, asbestos, hosiery, etc.

The realisation of the tasks and objectives envisaged by the 5th five-year plan, including the development of our people's economy in general and the increase of the volume of turnover of foreign trade goods in particular, as well as the extension of relations with various countries and firms, contributes to the further strengthening of the material and technical base and of the international authority of socialist Albania which has become a factor of peace and stability in the Balkans and Europe.



From various and latest export products of the copper wire factory in Shkodër. Assortments range from high tension wires to very thin ones



DOCUMENTS

A few days ago the Government of the Republic of Finland, through its memorandum of November 9, 1972, informed the Government of the People's Republic of Albania that on November 22 this year, the proceedings of the preparatory meeting concerning the "general European conference on security and cooperation" will begin in Helsinki. At the same time, the Government of the Republic of Finland invited the Government of the People's Republic of Albania to send its representative to that meeting.

In connection with the above, on November 19, 1972 the Government of the People's Republic of Albania handed to the Government of the Republic of Finland its memorandum of November 18, 1972 which read:

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania, through the memorandum of the Government of the Republic of Finland of November 9, 1972, took notice of the invitation to send its representative to the preparatory meeting which will be held in Helsinki on November 22 this year concerning the "general European conference on security and cooperation". The Government of the People's Republic of Albania, with regard to the above mentioned, would like to point out that long ago and on many occasions it has clearly expressed its viewpoint on the question of European security and, especially, on the holding of a conference for this purpose. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania has also directly informed the Government of the Republic of Finland of this viewpoint. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people correctly understand the legitimate concerns and preoccupations of the European peoples, the Finnish people included, to achieve real security and a stable peace on the European continent. It is only

Memorandum of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania handed to the Government of the Republic of Finland

natural that the peoples of Europe, who during the last decades have been victims of the two world wars and have experienced great suffering and misery, demand the security of their freedom, independence and national sovereignty, and want to live in reciprocal peace, friendship and cooperation.

The Albanian Government has always shown understanding, has appraised the efforts of those European countries which sincerely aim at achieving these lofty objectives, and has not failed to make its contribution in this respect. But before discussing an European security conference it must be made clear who the forces are that threaten and endanger peace and security in Europe, and who the European peoples should be made secure against.

It is already clear that the main danger to peace and security in Europe is represented by the aggressive expansionist policy of the United States of America, the Soviet Union and west German rervanchism. If the peoples of Europe are to be made secure, they should be

made secure against precisely these aggressive forces which represent a danger both at present and for the future. This danger to the European peoples is real and comes from a definite quarter.

The United States of America and the Soviet Union pursue an aggressive hegemonistic policy towards Europe directed against the independence and sovereignty of the states of this continent. They maintain the military blocs of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty which are a permanent base of tension, menace and interference in the internal affairs of the European countries. Numerous US and Soviet troops and military bases have been stationed on the territories of the European countries. Czechoslovakia is still occupied, while the theory of "limited sovereignty" has been transformed into a fundamental principle of the State policy of the Soviet Union to legalize its domination over the peoples of Eastern Europe. The political, economic and other interference of the United States in the internal affairs of Western Europe and the pressures brought to bear on them continue without

interruption. New barriers and obstacles in the economic field and in that of the inter-European trade exchange are being added to the existing ones.

Therefore, judging realistically on the basis of the facts of the present-day situation in Europe, the Albanian Government is of the opinion that the conditions do not exist for the convening of a conference on European security. Such a conference would not serve the development and strengthening of a fruitful cooperation on the basis of equality, non-interference and mutual advantage between the European countries.

The Soviet Union and the United States of America, the main authors and the most active propagandists for the convening of a conference on European security, continue to increase and extend their war fleets dispersed around the European coasts, practising and intensifying the well known "gunboat" policy. The peoples and countries of the European continent cannot be made secure as long as south of it, in the Mediterranean basin, the naval bases of the two superpo-

DOCUMENTS

wers and their war fleets exist and are being extended, constituting a continuous source of tension in this region and a real menace to the independence and sovereignty of the Mediterranean countries. Despite the great propaganda fanfare which the Soviet Union and the United States of America are making in connection with the conclusion of the Bonn-Moscow and Bon-Warsaw treaties, the quadripartite agreement on Berlin and the agreement between the two German states, which have been reached at the instigation and with the direct participation of the two superpowers, the situation in Europe has not in fact undergone any positive change. These treaties have in no way removed the danger posed to the peoples of Europe by the two superpowers and have not eliminated the hegemonistic policy of dictate and interference of the two superpowers. Moreover, they have incited and strengthened the revanchist tendencies in West Germany which the two superpowers are making into their equal partner and first power in Europe. In this way, new contradictions are being added to the old ones in the East and the West. Just as heretofore, the problems left suspended from the second world war remain unsolved and are being further complicated.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania has pointed out on many occasions, and the course of events has fully confirmed that peace and security in Europe and peace and security in the world, are inseparable. Peace and security in Europe cannot be guaranteed as long as, in the Middle East, the imperialist-zionist aggression against the Arab countries continues; as long as the US aggression continues in Vietnam and in the other countries of Indochina; as long as the Soviet Union maintains its concentration of one million troops and large quantities of armaments and war materials on its border with China; as long as, in many regions of the world the imperialist powers threaten the sovereign countries and create grave situations and increase tension.

European security as proposed and formulated by the Soviet Union and the USA is a product of the Soviet-US joint strategy for the domination of the world. It aims at subjugating the European countries and putting them under their hegemony. It is a fact that the plans and procedures of the convening of the

conference on European security took shape and complete form at the Soviet-US summit talks in Moscow. It has already been proved that both the Soviet Union and the United States of America are not concerned about true peace and security in Europe, but about the security and the perpetuation of their spheres of influence on this continent. «The «peace» and «security» they promise to the European countries aim at calming the rear lines to direct the spearhead of their aggressive policy against other areas and regions of the world.

A conference organized and manipulated by the Soviet Union and the United States of America cannot serve and cannot be utilized as a forum where the participants express their views freely and on the basis of equality, and influence its results. Also the hope that a conference, whose strings are in the hands of the two superpowers, would be able to solve European problems in compliance with the legitimate will and aspirations of the European peoples and countries, in compliance with the interests of real security in Europe, is not justifiable, because the two imperialist powers solve the important international problems between themselves and apart from the other states and world public opinion. This behaviour is confirmed by the numerous top secret talks held between them such as the SALT talks and others. Neither superpower will ever make any concession whatsoever outside its hegemonistic interests. Therefore, even those states which think that by taking part in the conference they will be able to ensure economic, political and other benefits, will soon be disillusioned. Any decision, statement or other act of this kind on the non-use of force that might be approved by such a conference, in the present-day conditions would be nothing but a revival of the Briand Kellogs pact, the outcome of which is wellknown. It is also known what respect the big imperialist powers have for international agreements and how they act with regard to them when they no longer suit their expansionist interests.

The convening of a conference on European security at the present time would bring nothing but words and demagoguery, because the Soviet Union and the United States of America in principle and in practice, are implementing the secret diplomacy of lobbying. This is also seen

in the attitude they adopt towards the United Nations Organisation which they have sidetracked from the solution of international problems and which they are preventing from carrying out the tasks for which it was created. This conference would spread harmful illusions about international peace and security and would weaken the vigilance of the European peoples towards the imperialist threats. Moreover, it would serve the realisation of the hegemonistic aims of the two superpowers in Europe. The People's Republic of Albania, which follows a principle and peaceful foreign policy, has always stood and continues to stand in favour of real security and cooperation in Europe, on the basis of non-interference, equality and mutual respect. The Albanian people, who have frequently been a victim of the predatory policy of the imperialist powers and had to make innumerable sacrifices to win their freedom and independence, are greatly interested in the realisation of a true peace and security in Europe. The creation of such conditions is necessary for their independent development and progress, just as it is necessary for the development and progress of all the other European peoples.

The Albanian people, by their irreconcilable struggle against the policy of subversion, dictate, interference and aggression of the two superpowers and their collaborators, have not only clearly shown their determination to live free and independent, and to work in conditions of peace and security, but have also made their modest contribution to the preservation of peace and security in the Balkans and in Europe. The People's Republic of Albania, by withdrawing from the Warsaw Treaty and publicly denouncing the aggressive policy of this bloc, not only defended the freedom and independence of its own country, but at the same time showed that the road of determined opposition to the hegemonistic aggressive policy of imperialism and social-imperialism is the only correct road for the defence of freedom and independence, for the defence of peace and security.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania holds that real security in Europe cannot be reached by means of conferences instigated and organized by the two superpowers. It will be achieved by the efforts of all the peaceloving

European peoples and countries. They must take the question of the defence of their supreme national interests into their own hands. The peoples of Europe will achieve real peace and security by strengthening their national independence and sovereignty, their independent development and the defence capacity of their countries. It is in the vital interest of all the European peoples to be opposed to the aggressive policy of the military blocs on our continent and in the regions adjacent to it, to struggle consistently and through to the end for the liquidation of foreign military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops from their own territories, to unite their efforts with the struggle for peace and security being waged by the other peoples of the world. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania, for the above-mentioned reasons, is against the convening of a conference on European security and will not participate in the multipartite consultations concerning the «general European conference on security and cooperation» which are due to begin in Helsinki on November 22 this year.

Just as in the past, in the future, too, the People's Republic of Albania will be always prepared to cooperate sincerely with other peace-loving European countries and will make its modest contribution to the achievement of real peace, security and cooperation in Europe and in the world.

Identical Imperialist Political Concepts

Analysis of the joint platform of the Soviet-US aggressive and hegemonistic theory and practice in present-day international relations

by **SHABAN MURATI**

The identical character of the U.S. and Soviet foreign policies is now a phenomenon beyond any doubt. And it is logical, for as long as one speaks of an imperialist foreign policy, one must seek its theoretical equivalent. Attentive analysis of present-day Soviet and U.S. political science shows a no less interesting phenomenon: the appearance and development of more and more similar and reconcilable concepts in the field of international relations. The roots of this phenomenon must be sought, first, in the degeneration of Soviet revisionism into social-imperialism, where its concrete imperialist activity recognizes the need of theoretical justification through the most advanced and open imperialist views. Second, this phenomenon is also related to the evergreater consolidation of the Soviet-U.S. alliance; the activation of their strategy for global domination, similarly requires a coordination of the practice and, gradually, the theory of the two superpowers in foreign policy. Despite the endless demagogy of the Moscow revisionists, their imperialist concepts are becoming increasingly evident and what is most striking is the fact that they are becoming increasingly

identical with the political concepts of U.S. imperialism. Thus, one may speak today of identical Soviet-U.S. imperialist concepts in the sphere of international relations.

PIVOT OF BILATERAL HEGEMONY

The Soviet-U.S. alliance is now a reality, with agreement on the bilateral domination of the world as its pivot. In spite of the new elements that enter or disappear from the international scene, it continues to dominate this scene with all its weight and consequences. Nixon's visit to Moscow in May this year clarified this reality even more through the document "Basic principles of mutual relations between the U.S.A. and the U.S.R.R." a document which the peoples of the world rightly saw as a treaty which placed the right of these two states to make the law in the world on juridical basis and gave the force of an international norm. The theoretical essence of this document is the concept that the world must be led by the biggest states, and of course

they confine this to the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Such a thesis is broadly pushed in the Soviet political school (with such authors as A.A. Gromyko, G. Arbatov, N. Arkadiev, etc.) and the U.S. political school (with authors H. Kissinger, H. Morgenthau, G. Kennan, etc). According to them, the place and the role of a given state in the system of international relations depends on the size of its power. In their opinion, anything a given country can achieve through its potential and means is lawful. They even give the force of law to viewpoints which justify hegemonistic ambitions and they seek by threats to convince the peoples that the failure to accept such a legality (concretely speaking, Soviet-U.S. domination) is fatal to the very existence of world peace and security. The Soviet review «New Times» Nr. 22, 1972, in its editorial article devoted to the outcome of the U.S. president's visit to Moscow, wrote as follows: «The situation of the international climate, and the prospects of the solution of controversial questions depend on how relations are worked out between the great states». The Soviet specialist N. Arkadiev, while pointing

out «the special responsibility» of these two countries, says that «the broad circle of international problems depends on the position of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.» The Bulgarian newspaper «Pogled» goes even further and with the rhetoric of a vassal wrote on May 29: «The peoples expect further measures from the two giants to make the fiendish spirit of war innocuous, to secure a peaceful and sunny sky for our beautiful earth». And in American political thought the concept of the world ruled by the big two is clearly concentrated. «The fate of the world - Nixon declared from the United Nations rostrum - depends on the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union». One of the main architects of U.S. foreign policy, Henry Kissinger, in one of his books, views the bipolar world as lawful international order, whose fundamental laws are accepted by the main states; while observer J. Reston speaks of the «tendency to the establishment of a new world order» and greets «the diplomatic activity directed toward influencing the development of this tendency». The concept of a world dominated by the United States and the Soviet Union has a

clear imperialist character. Recognizing only the American and Soviet factor as determining international relations and life, the U.S. and Soviet theoreticians advocate unconditional submission to such an order of settling affairs. It is evident that here we are faced with open efforts to negate the class nature of international relations, the class relations and ties in a given historic epoch, the continuous class struggle on an international scale. The physical and geographical-economic factors are placed above the political and ideological ones which are decisive. We are faced with a borrowing of jungle law (the right of the big and strong over the small and weak) in the sphere of international relations as well, and this is dished up as the morality of the period of triumph of the technical scientific revolution. This common Soviet-U.S. concept does not derive from the greatness but from the unity of their counterrevolutionary strategic objectives to suppress the revolution and socialism. Why wasn't the U.S.-Soviet alliance a reality in the period when the Soviet State was led by Stalin? The size factor was there, but the ideological and political factors were missing, because the then Soviet Union was not aspiring to occupy other countries and oppress the peoples; on the contrary, it was helping the peoples and nations to rid themselves of the imperialist yoke. The revisionist betrayal provided this decisive revisionist factor, then size played its supplementary role and the alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union was moulded as a typical and ambitious imperialist alliance, with not only the peoples being exposed to its ambitions but also those countries of the same social-economic type as Washington and Moscow, irrespective of whether they were described as allies. The well-known mouthpiece of the U.S. monopoly bourgeoisie, the newspaper «New York Times» made this very clear on July 20 when, referring to the U.S. and Soviet policies, it wrote that «the great powers have mutual interests surpassing those of the smaller clients». The weight and danger of this incompatibility of the interests of the Soviet-U.S. alliance with those of other countries are being felt in many capitals, especially after the Nixon-Brezhnev bargainings. «Now, America and Russia - the British newspaper «Daily Telegraph» wrote - have openly

undertaken joint responsibility in their capacity of duumvirate. They have worked out the embryo of the constitution of the superpowers. The Italian press observed that «Italy, France, Germany, filed pas Nixon and Brezhnev like ping-pong balls», while the French newspaper «La Nation» made the remark during Washington's and Moscow's address that «they should not seek to settle problems while ignoring those concerned». No doubt such a deep feeling of uneasiness in other countries is nourished by very strong reasons and reservations backed up by facts.

It is understandable that the viewpoint that the world and world questions must go only through the Soviet-U.S. sieve is closely connected with the viewpoint of recognition and respect of each other's spheres of influence. This has been openly said, in a way unusual for imperialist diplomacy, in the document «Basic principles of mutual relations between the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union» signed by Brezhnev and Nixon. In point 2 of this document it is said: «An indispensable condition for the maintenance and strengthening of the relations between the U.S.A. and the S.U. is the recognition of the security interests of the two sides». The Soviet journalist N. Inozemcev explained it better in «Pravda» on June 9 when he pointed out that «with the joint efforts of the two sides, actual measures were taken ensuring their respect for the interest of each side». While Melvin Laird, U.S. Secretary for Defence, speaks of «hopeful agreements between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. in the frameworks of the coordination of common interests». The recognition of the security interests of the two sides is not difficult to identify with the recognition of their spheres of influence, when it is known that the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. officially extend «the limits of security interests» to all the continents. It is precisely on this basis that the U.S. and Soviet imperialists have embraced the concept of a world with an axis of the bipartite Soviet-U.S. hegemony.

CONJUNCTURE AND STRATEGY

Nixon's visit to Moscow at a time when the United States had just established its fascist blockade against the Democratic

Republic of Vietnam cornered the Kremlin chieftains and their false antiimperialism was once more covered with shame. That visit not only had the pre-election background, so necessary to the White House chief, but as well, Richard Nixon was the mandator and plenipotentiary of the big American monopolies to further consolidate and legalize the Soviet-U.S. ties and collaboration on the basis of solving the outstanding world problems, mainly Viet Nam and the Middle East, according to Soviet-U.S. interests. This was confirmed by the U.S. sea blockade against North Vietnam, as well as by the «no peace no war» tactics imposed by the two superpowers on the Arab East, to the advantage of themselves and Tel Aviv.

The Soviet behaviour on the occasion of the U.S. president's visit also made an impression on the ranks of those who had not yet seen through Moscow's demagoguery about supporting the peoples. There was also a negative reaction within the Soviet Union, where public opinion was made to accept the chieftain of sanguinary U.S. imperialism, Richard Nixon, as an apostle of peace. This reaction was of such a scale that it could not be ignored by the Soviet leadership, which is why they launched an explanation and justification campaign among the people and in the party on the main theme that «The Soviet foreign policy is not based on tactical considerations». In other words, the Soviet Union had no reason to express its concrete solidarity with the struggle of the Vietnamese people, against whom such a flagrant escalation of the violation of their sovereignty had been undertaken, since that was merely a tactical question. Similar political considerations with regard to the cardinal questions of present-day world development, such as those of the national liberation struggles, cannot be other than imperialist-inspired and are based on the concept that the freedom and independence of the small countries must be sacrificed on the altar of strengthening the alliances between the big imperialist states. It is obvious that the stand towards the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people is not a matter of tactics, but one of the strategic line of the policy of a state or party. Moscow's displacement of the order of things brings two affirmations: First, of the

Soviet revisionists' flagrant and final betrayal of the liberation struggles of the peoples, and, second, of soviet foreign policy's strategic counterrevolutionary concepts, the principal one being the development of the bilateral alliance with the United States.

From where does such a political concept derive? Its source should be sought in the Soviet and also in the American philosophy, where one of the most widely embraced trends is typical bourgeois pragmatism, with its motto «that which is useful is true». The U.S. and Soviet theoreticians find a movable and flexible basis in this idealist-subjectivist prism to justify any aggressive action which they undertake separately or jointly in the framework of the Soviet-U.S. alliance. Pragmatism serves them to meet political charges, to wash their hands like Pontius Pilate, and at the same time, to advance towards their broader hegemonistic objectives, camouflaging themselves behind their stated humanitarian aims. The flourishing of pragmatism in a political course is always connected with the anti-Marxist and reactionary nature of the viewpoints and objectives of that course, whether it is manifested in fully developed or embryonic forms. It denies objective reality and, in international relations it denies the existence of the irreconcilable class struggle embodied in the antagonistic contradiction between the peoples on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other hand; it makes concessions to conjunctural tactics in order to gain big and small benefits to the detriment of revolutionary strategy and ideological principles, paving the way for important compromises and concessions, up to the creation of reactionary alliances. The history of the relations of U.S. imperialism with the Soviet revisionists is classical in this respect. It is necessary to point out that the Americans and the Soviets continually flatter each other's pride, mutually appraising and encouraging their «pragmatic and realistic» stands which, translated into a simpler language, means the readiness of each to recognize the right of the partner in co-domination. The Soviet authors materialize this in the ill-famed idea of American «political realism», whereas the American authors hail the «abandoning of ideological motives» by the Soviets. In the Soviet re-

view «MEMO», Nr. 4, 1972, G. Ponomarev writes: «It is admitted that the refusal of confrontation announced by president Nixon and his acceptance of entry into the era of talks, is a delayed and forced semi-admission of the failure of the policy of balance on the verge of war, and a failure of the nuclear threat strategy». In the newspaper «Pravda» of July 13, V. Korionov goes still further. «At the present stage - he says - the imperialist governments are compelled to recognize the foreign policy principles which have been put forward and are defended by socialism». The thesis announced by Nixon as long ago as his inauguration speech, about the «passage from confrontation to talks» is proclaimed as true and they seek to impose it on the peoples. But that is not a renunciation by U.S. imperialism of confrontation with the revolutionary and liberation movements. The Nixon administration's intensification of the aggression in Vietnam and the extension of the flames of war to Laos and Cambodia shows that U.S. imperialism and its chieftains never give up their aggressive and imperialist policy. Washington adopted such a thesis in an attempt to advance more rapidly on the road of collaboration between the imperialist United States and the social-imperialist Soviet Union, always on the condition of promoting the process of allround capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union. «When national structures (read social orders - SH.M.) and the concepts of legality on which they are based are essentially different - H. Kissinger wrote - state officials can meet, but the possibilities of them convincing each other are limited, because they speak different languages». Now, following the Brezhnev-Nixon meeting, which was crowned with a series of open and secret political and military agreements, there is no alternative but to repeat the simple and true conclusion that the American and Soviet social structures, irrespective of their external forms or features deriving from tradition, are identical in their ideological and political essence and their strategic objectives on a world scale correspond. In the Soviet Union there occurred what John Foster Dulles had hoped for - «gradual evolution in the best direction», that is, the overthrow of socialism

through peaceful counterrevolution, and this gradual evolution in domestic policy was reflected, and could not but be reflected, in a precipitous way in foreign policy where an imperialist practice and theory took shape.

DANGER OF «GLOBAL IDEALS»

The American and Soviet theoreticians of international relations give global dimensions to their viewpoints. This means that the norms governing the relations between states must be guided not by ideological nor socio-economic and class considerations, but by global ones, because first of all, according to them, «we are men and states of one and the same planet, and after this we are proletarians and capitalists, socialists and imperialists». The application of cosmopolitan ideas in the field of international relations is obvious, consisting in the negation of every kind of class, social, national, moral and other interest, for the sake of this «global interest», which is an abstract notion invented to serve the concrete aims of the imperialist policy; «men of different classes and world outlooks - the Soviet professor Y. Tunkin writes - unite on the common platform of the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population of the planet. Peaceful coexistence (certainly revisionist - SH. M.) responds not only to the interests of the working class and all the labouring people, but also to the interests of the major part of the bourgeoisie». In the same way the American professor R. Folk, in his book under the pretentious titles of «this endangered planet. Prospects and proposals for human salvation» calls for the submission of the national and social aims of every country, of whatever economic social-formation, to global interests. He goes even further, calling as well for the creation of central political institutions with the status of a world government. The Soviet and American political schools claim that such an orientation of the struggle and efforts of the peoples towards «global» demands is the highest ideal of individuals and nations, and that it brings the much hoped for peace

to the planet which can only find global tranquillity and harmony within this framework, sound like something from the Bible rather than science. However it is obvious that imperialist and revisionist political science does not make these calls out of naivety, but proceeds from well-defined class aims. They do not want the socialist countries to fight against imperialism and social-imperialism, they want the peoples to renounce their struggles for national liberation, they want the international working class to turn away from the proletarian revolution to overthrow the capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie. And it is evident that in this putting down, of every kind of revolutionary and liberation struggle, which the ideologists of the Soviet-U.S. alliance want to impose as a world way of living the voice of the stronger will be heard, in a word, the notorious U.S.A.-S.U. duet. It is by no means accidental that both the Soviet Union and the United States, as «states possessing global passports», spearhead their most furious attacks at the efforts of various countries of the world to preserve their freedom and independence, their national dignity and sovereignty. In the works of such Soviet authors as S. Sanakoyev, E. Novoselcev, etc., national independence and national sovereignty are presented as dangerous bourgeois nationalism, and their defence and development by this or that state, as suicide. Indeed they also put forward a strange «direct proportion»: the more a state abandons its freedom of independent action and submits to the demands of the Soviet policy (for example the East European countries) the more they confirm their national personality. A strange logic: to confirm something by losing it. Similar anathemas are launched by various American authors who consider the abandoning of the national attributes of a people and a country as a necessity of the modern epoch, imposed by the development of the technical-scientific revolution. W. R. Kintner and H. Sicherman, in the book «Technology and international politics», write that «the technical-scientific revolution must lead to the erosion of the sovereignty of the states», whereas according to K. London «sovereignty is the main obstacle on the way to an international productive collaboration». The connections between the one and the

other imperialist viewpoint are easily understood. At the beginning, the smothering of every kind of progressive struggle for the sake of the "global ideals", followed by the renunciation of any kind of national independence or identity. The poison of the global outlook reveals itself. According to these viewpoints, nations must not aspire to radical social transformations; indeed, they must not even present themselves in the system of international relations as nations. And what remains? An irregular movement of former states, like a molecular movement; the creation of favourable conditions for the exercise of the American and Soviet dictate.

The existence and flourishing of American and Soviet imperialist concepts in the field of international relations are explained by their common ideological basis: anti-socialism, hatred for revolution and ambition to dominate the world. It is on this basis that their courses and activity, have been unified; it is on this basis

that concepts are being unified. The manifestation of such a phenomenon shows the large scale of the regressiveness and aggressiveness of the Soviet-U.S. alliance. The peoples and the working class cannot fail to take notice of the emergence of increasingly identical imperialist theories in American and Soviet political policy. Foreign policy is an active factor which exerts a marked influence in the course of social development. Therefore, one of the pressing tasks facing the proletariat is the struggle against the concrete activity of the superpowers and their imperialist concepts in the field of international relations. In his life-time Karl Marx set before the proletariat **"the task of taking possession of the secrets of international policy, investigating the diplomatic activity of governments and, on necessary occasions opposing it with all available means"**. Not in vain did the founder of scientific socialism set forth this thesis and it is just as valid in our day. Foreign policy and interests are mu-

tually interdependent, and inasmuch as there is an irreconcilable contradiction between the interests of the exploiting classes in power and the interests of the working masses, this irreconcilability also remains valid with regard to the relationship between foreign policy and the interests of the working people. Just as there can be no common interests between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in home policy, neither can there be any such common interests in foreign policy. To strive for compatibility in foreign policy means having already realized it in the internal field, and any wavering in foreign policy is an echo of wavering in the internal political and social structure. In this situation it becomes increasingly necessary to master more deeply the Marxist-Leninist theory in the field of international relations in order to wage an irreconcilable, consistent and uncompromising struggle against the imperialist and reactionary concepts in this very important aspect of social life.

The «peaceful coexistence» of the modern revisionists with the religious ideology and its consequences. Political degeneration of the revisionists and their ideological and practical collaboration with the enemies of the revolution and socialism

Modern Revisionism And Religion

by HULUSI HAKO

«Look what is happening in the countries where the revisionists are in power! On the general ground of the bourgeois degeneration, for the sake of the internal and external political conjunctures, indeed using church also for social-imperialist aims, the religious propaganda is extending there, the churches and clergy are increasing, the reactionary and obscurantist old rubbish of the Middle Ages»

ENVER HOXHA

A further rapprochement of the modern revisionists with the religious ideology and clerical organizations has been noticed recently. This process has its own political reasons and causes. The reactionary opportunist political line of the modern revisionists towards the religious ideology, which is aimed at perpetuating religion for the needs and interests of the rule of the revisionist cliques, has yielded its regressive results. All the countries ruled by the revisionists appear before imperialism and the Vatican with a rich balance-sheet of churches and clergymen, publications and other religious activities. The review «Nauka i Religia» (Science and religion) published in Moscow wrote some time ago for example that «...in the high areas of Tajikistan alone, during the last 2-3 years there have been opened about 100 mosques and many holy places». The newspaper «Komsomolskaya Pravda» has written about the increase of the number of baptized children. The review «Voprosi Filosofii» («Questions of Philosophy») says: «...the activity of the religious organizations during the last three or four years has been greatly strengthened... Some believers are more concerned with re-

ligious questions, they have more frequently attended religious ceremonies and, in some regions, the number of members of the religious sects has grown».

In the Soviet Union «holy» books and religious review, books on the history of religion have been and continue to be published; the works of the patriarch and the synod are being published in several volumes. Dozens of dissertations are defended and «scientific» titles are conferred on theologians and priests of religious seminaries and academies.

The Polish and other revisionists, too, are not lagging behind in the competition of turning back to the medieval religious obscurantism. A proverb goes: «If the king eats an egg in the village, the Cabinet Ministers exterminate all the chickens». With regard to the fold of the modern revisionists this means: When the Soviet shakes hands with the pope and bows before him fully 90°, the Polish lies down and kisses his foot. When the Khrushchevian revisionists follow the course of enlivening the religious ideology the French Roger Garaudy is not content with that much, he demands much more from the «Soviet comrades», he proved to be on the question of religion the most revisionist among the revisionists, he also gives theoretical orientations and platforms, for example that «the deepest social roots of religion reside not simply in the exploitation of man by man but in making a fetish of commodity which occurs also in socialism; that «religious faith, precisely because it is a reflection of the existing conditions, can play a different role in different epochs; that «religion is not always a bridle; like any other superstructure it plays a different role according to the concrete conditions; that «God is a force of the transformation of the world», etc. (Garaudy has gone more backward than the 18 century French bourgeoisie which gave an exclusively political, not religious, spirit to its revolution, it almost broke from religion; he has insulted and betrayed the revolutionary traditions of the Communards and the French proletariat). Garaudy cannot say that «the Soviet comrades» have not carried out in practice his teachings.

What speculations and demagogues, deceptions and falsifications the modern revisionists use in order to camouflage

their ties with the darkest and most reactionary forces and ideologies ever known to mankind?

FREEDOM OF RELIGION UNDER THE MASK OF «FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE»

The Khrushchevian revisionists admit: «We have ensured the two sides of the freedom of conscience, the freedom of the religious ideas as well as the freedom of anti-religious ideas».1)

This is an anti-Marxist-Leninist thesis, a flagrant distortion of the meaning of the «freedom of conscience». As is known, this principle in its original meaning and source, constitutes a requirement of the liberal bourgeoisie in the fight against the feudal order, against the arbitrary violation of human conscience and the imposition of religion by the force and political authority of the feudal state.

But this, too, remained only a proclaimed freedom, an unrealized hope, an illusion of the first ideologists of the bourgeoisie. K. Marx has explained to us that for the bourgeoisie the «freedom of conscience» is nothing more than tolerance towards all kinds of the freedom of religious conscience. V.I. Lenin has stressed that in the conditions of the bourgeois rule freedom remains a fiction, it is transformed into a «...freedom of advocating what is convenient to the bourgeoisie, and it is convenient to it to advocate the most reactionary ideas, religions, obscurantism...» (V.I. Lenin, Works, Russian edition, vol. 27, p. 186).

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that religion, in its whole content, existence and extension, represents the greatest restriction, burden and insult of thought, of the human conscience, a serious obstacle in the free human development; it represents the trampling under foot of the dignity, personality and of all the other true human values.

The freedom of conscience in socialism has only one aspect, one direction. We see the real and complete triumph of the principle of the freedom of conscien-

1) L.N. Velikovich «Cerkov i socialnie problemi sovremenosti». M. 1964, p. 60.

ce only through the serious steps of the liberation of the socialist society from the religious old rubbish, and we are working in an organized and systematic way in this direction. The problem arises only as follows: either freedom of conscience or freedom of religion. The existence of religion, the exercise of the religious cult was called by V.I. Lenin not as freedom of conscience, of thought, «but lack of conscience, ignorance, obscurantism». (V.I. Lenin, Works, Russian Edition vol. 10, p. 81). The opportunist policy of the modern revisionists on the religious question is a quite significant indicator of their ideological disintegration and degeneration.

RELIGION – A «TOUCH ME NOT FLOWER!»

The classics of Marxism-Leninism have instructed, in the fight against religious ideologies, in the big job for the atheistic-scientific education, not to offend the feelings of the believers, that is not to carry out precocious administrative operations, not to do prohibitions by order, through intervention or violence, not to use vulgar clumsy methods of work. But we cannot exaggerate with these «not» and the less so with concerning ourselves in not violating in the least the feeling of the believers! This society which respects itself and thinks earnestly of its progress, should find all the means and ways to get rid, as soon as possible, of the religious ideologies, superstitions, backward customs. The peoples by the experience of life, have themselves created vituperations against religion, against «god», against clericalism. Even the following sentences alone: «Marxism-Leninism is incompatible with the religious ideology», «Science does not recognize and does not admit the existence of god», constitute a violation of the religious feeling of the believer. This is a violation on behalf of the respect for the human dignity, for the illumination of reason, just as the operation is carried out on behalf of life. Without these expressions and other scientific and philosophic materials the atheistic-scientific work would have been absolutely impossible.

To affirm that «the freedom of conscience» is enjoyed by the believers to such an extent that it does not violate the rights and feelings of the atheists, and that the atheists enjoy it at a rate which it does not the rights and feelings of the believers» (Nauka i Religia, Nr. 4, 1969), as the revisionists advocate, that means to be guided by an original metaphysical theory of balance; that means, at least, a peaceful ideological coexistence, an eclectic ideological situation. Finally, that means, in fact, to find out a pretext to renounce an offensive, militant, atheistic propaganda. This has been preached by Kautsky through the following idea: «You may be a good christian and a good communist». This has been refuted by V. I. Lenin.

If a truth which was set forth by V. I. Lenin, is «exaggerated» and extended by us beyond the boundaries within which it can really be carried out in practice, it could be changed into an absurdity and, in such conditions, it becomes ridiculous.

By their pretexts and speculations, making of religion almost a «touch me not flower», the modern revisionists realize some reactionary aims: Give a free hand to religion and the clergy, they pose as exceptionally «humanitarian», «democratic» and «liberal» before the eyes of the believers, of backward elements, fattened bureaucrats and disillusioned by life, they create the possibility for «l'Osservatore Romano» of the Vatican to express satisfaction with the fact that «the religious life in the socialist (read: revisionist) countries is developing in a fully normal way». The Vatican rejoices that in the East the doors of churches and the hearts of the believers are being opened to it in order to implant religious obscurantism in them.

In such positions can fall only a rotten, bureaucratized and uncertain state which needs political support and credit from the clergy, from the ecclesiastic institutions, internal and external.

UNSCRUPULOUS FALSIFICATIONS

Marxism-Leninism and the labour movement do not expect and have no reason to show interest in a «positive» evolution of religion. A movement continuing to

need a religious ideology cannot be a labour movement. However, the Khrushchevian revisionists come out today «revealing» that «some atheists in the past were not attaching any importance to the evolution of the religious organizations in socialism», that precisely V. I. Lenin had allegedly shown «special interest in the processes of the renovation of religion», of the «Russian orthodoxy» (Nauka i Religia, Nr. 6, 1969).

This «revelation» crosses the boundaries of a speculation and appears as a pure falsification by professionals. The classics of Marxism-Leninism have not nourished the least of illusion about the religious ideology, they have stressed its reactionary, anti-revolutionary essence and have definitely and unappealably sentenced religion to death. «All the present-day religions and churches, all the sorts of religious communities, – Lenin wrote in his life-time, – are always considered by Marxism as organs of the bourgeois reaction, which defend exploitation and stun the working class» (V. I. Lenin, Works, Russian Edit., vol. 15, p. 455). «Now as well in Europe as in Russia, indeed, even the most sophisticated and benevolent defence and justification of the idea of god, is an approval and justification of reaction». (V. I. Lenin, Works, Russian Edit., vol. 48, p. 232).

The classics of Marxism-Leninism likewise have instructed that the question of religion should never be brought to the forefront or make preliminary bargainings with the believers and set forth conditions as to what should be done with religion in socialism, but this question should be treated of only in accordance with the class struggle, with the problems and tasks set forth by the labour movement, by the revolution and the building of socialism. At present the falsification of the ideas of K. Marx by the revisionists has become a common occurrence. In this competition distinction is claimed also by the French revisionist Roger Garaudy. He has attributed to Marx the viewpoint that «religion is not always restriction». It is not the first time that the renegades and traitors to Marxism-Leninism, for their mean interests and to propagate the most reactionary ideas, brazenly distort the heritage of the classics of the proletarian revolution.

Roger Garaudy has been criticized by his French «comrades»; he is condemned

also by the Soviet revisionists (indeed academician F. Konstantinov himself in the newspaper «Pravda» November 16, 1972) for having allied himself with the bourgeois ideology and for seeking to reconcile Marxism with the Christian religion. But, as the saying goes, «a crow does not put out the eyes of a crow». And what could we say about those who, vying with renegades of the Garaudy type, encourage and bless the unnatural marriage of Marxism with obscurantist clericalism. On this question we should mention the words of F. Engels:

«... The elimination of a greater charlatan often provides only an occasion to a smaller one but more adroit in these affairs, to reiterate, under a new board, all the games of the former».

(F. Engels «Anti-Dühring» p. 45, Albanian edition 1958).

The separation of the church and religion from the state and the school, which is realized de jure and de facto only by socialism constitutes a fatal condemnation for the religious ideology for which the authority and tutelage of the exploiting state are the fundamental support and life-giving source. In socialism religion remains in ideological opposition which, in one way or another, is expressed also in political opposition of the clergy and the church. It is inherent in the fanatic clergymen to preserve a permanent nostalgia for the reactionary political order and to do their utmost to turn it back to power.

What about the stand of the modern revisionists? They «reveal», among other things, a so-called «new political orientation» of the church, they greet it, they are immeasurably filled with enthusiasm and formulate the «arguments» of this phenomenon. «The political support, — they write, — is a new phenomenon in the history of the Russian orthodox church; it is the first and principal particularity of the adaptation of religious organization to socialism» (!) («Nauka i Religia», Nr. 5, 1969).

It seems to the Khrushchevian revisionists as if the Russian church has worked out a «new political orientation», as the trees along a road-side seem to a man rapidly moving in a car. In reality, in the countries ruled by the revisionists, just as in all the exploiting states we

notice, as Marx says, «the treatment of religion in a political way and of politics — in a religious way.» This is incontestably proved by the use of religion as a means of the internal and external political conjunctures, by the exchange of clerical delegations and state personalities, by the holding of official talks and the political ties with the Vatican. The modern revisionists, gravely infected with the bourgeois reactionary idealistic viewpoints, are treating religion as a moral and cultural tradition and source; indeed they are raising it to the pedestal of a national feature. We notice these positions and tendencies in the admissions of the Polish revisionists and their actions in favour of the church, that «People's Poland does not intend to break from the tradition of bright catholicism... For the first time there has been made in Poland another stride in the direction of the recognition of the spiritual values of catholicism by the people's regime».

(Zicie Warszawi, February 1970); in the open considerations of the modern revisionists about the «spiritual pleasure and the calming and comforting action of the icons, crosses and religious dogmas», etc. The open tolerance of the revisionist officials allowed the Polish clericals to celebrate the millenary of the Polish Roman catholic church with the construction of 1.000 new churches at a time when in that country hospitals for the people and schools and kindergartens for children are insufficient. It is in the interest of the new revisionist bourgeoisie to have religion as near to it as possible, but it hesitates to call it by its right name — a political tool; they dish it up and baptize it as a national feature. As such they have used and continue to use it also as a weapon of division and conflict between the peoples.

It is a known fact that religion has not been and can never become a national feature. Therefore it cannot serve as a man indicator of nationality. It is known that while the nation has been historically created and has consolidated its own features of language, territory, economic connection and psychic formation, the religious ideologies have changed and expelled one another during the history of the same nationality, of the same nation, but becoming also means of conquest of a country against another.

With these changes and shifts the religions not only have not proved to be a national feature, but they have not justified even their claim to be "divine", "eternal".

The claims of the theologians include also the proclamation of the "religious demands of men" as a "higher expression of culture". In the spirit of these preachings, some representatives of the revisionist intelligentsia set forth the problem of the relationship between religion and national culture and they are making one concession after another to the religious viewpoint.

Tolerances are followed by encouragements, religious influences and traces in the artistic and cultural creativeness. "The resounding of the bells" — the revisionists admit, — are so much abundant in poetry that they fully resemble as the most widespread expression... In the films "War and Peace", "Ana Karenina" the religious scenes are given protracted and with a feeling of satisfaction... ("Nauka i Religia", Nr. 4, 1972, p. 55): In the "Hearth of Russia", a film about the revolution, the ecclesiastic group of priests heading for the revolutionary military committee, takes the form of a grandiose mass marching... a suggestive religious march, as in the good old days... ("Nauka i Religia", Nr. 4, 1972, p. 81). Almost the whole of the Soviet film "Olesja" is permeated by the dogma of God and fatalism, by dreams, fortune-telling and the cult of life in nature, in the spirit of the "hippies", by fortune-teller and sorcerer activities, by dream disturbances. We notice here a violent invasion of the religious ideology nourished and supported by the revisionist official policy. In fact, the linking of religion with the spiritual and cultural-artistic creativeness is neither natural nor indispensable. True, progressive, socialist culture not only does not need religion at all, but it has developed and continues to develop in struggle against the negative and inhibitive influences of the religious ideology.

The revisionists are concerned with the fabrication of some "bases", historic and current arguments about the change of the social positions of the Russian orthodox church and about the roads it must follow to implant religion in social life in the form of "communist christianity". "The building of the kingdom of Christ

on earth, — the revisionists say with pleasure, — is being linked with every passing day with the communist transformation of the word... Christianity has been adapted, it is in harmony and cooperation with the process of transformation of social relations according to the socialist and communist principles... The Russian orthodox church is no more an instrument of social-economic oppression... it is a tool for the transformation of social relations" ("Nauka i Religia", Nr. 4, 1969), etc.

Mankind has heard the sounds of the bells for centuries as symbols of "divine" threats, sufferings and ominous events. The bell and the clergyman lead only to death. But there come the Khrushchevian revisionists who advocate the paradox of the marching towards communism also under the church sounds and tunes (!). Similar wonders have been unknown so far to the laws of development of nature and society.

Atheism is not an invention of the labour movement, of Marxism Leninism, nor a feature and monopoly of theirs. It has been created since the birth of the religious prejudices and dogmas as an opposing expression of the force of science and materialist thinking. There occurs no essential change whatever of the anti-scientific and reactionary character of religion in socialism, in comparison with its situation and essence in the capitalist society, in the social orders with exploiting classes. The clear-cut, decisive stand of the socialist state, of the Marxist-Leninist party towards the religious problem, the increasingly active critical stand of the entire socialist society towards the religious dogmas and rites is a direct continuation of the protracted century-long struggle of the progressive forces and classes, it is the realization of the aspirations of mankind to liberate itself from the poisonous and blinding opium of religion. To be a Marxist, V.I. Lenin used to instruct, means to be atheist, materialist; it means to be opposed to religion, to fight against it in an active and continuous way.

Revisionism and religion seek one another. They are ideologies of one and the same nature, of one and the same character. The same idealist and reactionary essence and their position of a servant of the imperialist bourgeoisie

make them to be not only in a simple coexistence but also in close and active alliance. The adoption of the religious ideology by the modern revisionists ensures to the latter the support of the army of priests and believers. Their opportunist policy has lured the religious feeling of the fanatics and reactionaries; indeed, their arrogance for the broadest possible extension of religious obscurantism has been further incited. The fanatics, filled somewhat with indignation by the progress of science, and of the previous atheistic-scientific work, are now comforting themselves, they are sprinkling their grudge with the new revisionist holy water of "communist christianity". The "communist christianity" formula appears also as a very much convenient bridge of the imperialist-revisionist ideological ties. Therefore, the imperialist bourgeoisie, reaction, the Vatican fully agree with this formula. Here, religion, the most ancient old rubbish, puts on the uniform of communism.

This formula constitutes a great fraud, an unscrupulous speculation by the modern revisionists. The latter present the existence and flourishing of religion as an aspect of democracy. However, their claims, as well about democratic conditions as about communism, are false and deceitful. "Anyone knowing how to read and write, — V.I. Lenin used to say, — understands that democracy cannot be democracy while they prey God in it". (V. 22, p. 7, Russian Edit.)

* * *

The imperialist states and the modern revisionists, the Vatican and the Russian orthodox church, the reactionary ideologists and theologians have united into a new "holy alliance" and act in all the ways against the working class and Marxism-Leninism, against democracy and socialism, for the economic and spiritual enslavement of the working masses.

But the irresistible tendency of the present-day world development is the struggle for breaking the imperialist-revisionist chains and of mystic and religious obscurantism which consecrate and strengthen these chains.



From the work of the new high tension sub-station in Përmet.
The majority of its builders from the engineering-technical personnel are women

60th Anniversary of Independence and 28th Anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland

The working class, cooperativist peasantry, people's intelligentsia and all the working people of our country held great celebrations on the 60th anniversary of the proclamation of national independence and the 28th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland. These two memorable dates in the history of our people were met with a series of successes in all the fields of life.

Hysni Kapo, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, delivered an important speech.

BANQUET ON THE OCCASION OF THE CELEBRATION

CELEBRATION IN VLORA

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PR of Albania, the Council of Ministers, the Party Committee and the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the Vlorë district organized a meeting of celebration at the "7 Nëntori" cinema hall in Vlorë on November 27, devoted to the 60th anniversary of the proclamation of national independence. The meeting was attended by comrade Enver Hoxha and other Party and State leaders; representatives of mass organisations, veterans of the national liberation struggle, patriots, heroes of socialist labour, workers from production centres, cooperativists of the region and guests from other districts of the country. Also present were Liu Jen Hua, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PR of China to the PR of Albania, the delegation of the Ministry of metallurgy of the PR of China, headed by Chen Shao Kueng, Minister of metallurgy of the PR of China; the delegation of Physical Culture and Sports of the PR of China, headed by Yao Siao Cen, responsible member of the State Committee of Physical Culture and Sports of the PR of China; friends and comrades from the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, the delegation of war veterans of the Algerian Democratic and People's Republic, headed by Mohamed Said Debzi, General Secretary of the Ministry of War Veterans. The meeting was presided over by Petro Dode, first secretary of the district Party Committee. Comrade

The Council of Ministers of the PR of Albania and the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the Vlorë district gave a banquet in the "Adriatik" hotel. Present at the banquet were comrade Enver Hoxha and other Party and State leaders, patriots, war veterans, guests from various regions of the country, heroes of socialist labour, workers from production centres, regional cooperativists, military men and other guests.

Also present were Liu Jen Hua, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PR of China to the PR of Albania; the delegation of the Ministry of metallurgy of the PR of China; the delegation of the Physical Culture and Sports of the PR of China; friends and comrades from fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, as well as the delegation of war veterans of the Algerian Democratic and People's Republic.

The banquet was opened by Petro Dode, first Secretary of the regional Party Committee.

During the banquet, which proceeded in a warm atmosphere of revolutionary unity, comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, delivered a very important speech which is published in this issue of the review.

MEETING OF CELEBRATION IN TIRANA

The General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, the Party Committee of the Tirana district and the Executive Committee of the People's Coun-

cil of the Tirana district organized a meeting of celebration in Tirana on November 28. It was attended by workers from work and production centres, heroes of socialist labour, distinguished workers of various sectors of economy and culture, war veterans, the families of martyrs, military men, women, youths and girls. Also present were Party and State leaders.

The meeting was presided over by Fadil Pacrami, secretary of the Party Committee of the Tirana district. The speech on the occasion was delivered by comrade Xhafer Spahiu, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PR of Albania.

RECEPTION AT THE BRIGADES PALACE

On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the proclamation of independence and the 28th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and of the triumph of the people's revolution, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania gave a reception at the Brigades Palace.

Present at the reception were Haxhi Lleshi, President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and other Party and State leaders, representatives of mass organisations, national liberation war veterans, parents of martyrs, heroes of the people and socialist labour, vanguard workers, military men, workers of art, science, culture and the press and other guests.

Also present were the delegation of the Ministry of Metallurgy of the PR of China, headed by Chen Shao Kueng, Minister of Metallurgy; the Physical Culture and Sports delegation of the PR of China and the delegation of war veterans of the Algerian Democratic and People's Republic. Heads and other members of the diplomatic representations accredited to the People's Republic of Albania were also present.

Comrade Haxhi Lleshi greeted those present on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania.

WREATHS PLACED ON MARTYRS' GRAVES

On November 28, at 0930 a.m. wreaths were laid on the martyrs' graves.

Comrades Enver Hoxha and Hysni Kapo placed a wreath on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party; comrades Haxhi Lleshi and Myslim Peza on behalf of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; comrades Mehmet Shehu and Spiro Koleka on behalf of the Council of Ministers; comrades Ramiz Alia and Abdyl Hakiu on behalf of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania; comrades Sadik Bektashi and Halim Ramohito on behalf of the People's Army; comrades Rita Marko and Mihal Thano on behalf of the Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions, comrades Seit Alikaj and Ervehe Danaj on behalf of the Central Committee of the Albanian Labour Youth Union; comrades Mynevere Osmani and Marika Kasneci on behalf of the General Council of the Albanian Women's Union, comrades Shetqet Peci and Veli Dedi on behalf of the National Committee of the Veterans of the Albanian People's War; comrades Petro Dode and Manxhar Binaj on behalf of the district Party Committee, and comrades Sihat Tozaj and Namik Xhafa on behalf of the Executive Committee of the district People's Council.

Then comrade Enver Hoxha and the other Party and State leaders visited the grave of Ismail Qemal, where comrades Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu placed a wreath on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers, while comrades Petro Dode and Sihat Tozaj

placed a wreath on behalf of the Party Committee and the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the Vlora district.

our sculptors Kristaq Rama, Mumtaz Dhrami and Shaban Hadëri.

A MONUMENT TO INDEPENDENCE UNVEILED

In remembrance of the patriots who laid down their lives either at home or abroad in the struggle for the liberation and independence of Albania, and as a token of gratitude to the contribution of Ismail Qemal and his compatriots who raised the flag in Vlora sixty years ago, the Central Committee of the Party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers decided some time ago to erect a monument to independence, in Vlora. The rostrum set up for the occasion at the pedestal of this magnificent work was occupied by the Party and State leaders led by comrade Enver Hoxha, regional officials, veterans, patriots, friends and other guests.

The meeting was addressed by Spiro Koleka, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA and vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

After the speech, comrade Enver Hoxha, together with a group of patriots unveiled the monument to independence amidst the applause of all present. The monument is the work of

VISITS TO THE FAMILIES OF MARTYRS

On November 29, the beloved leader of our Party and people, comrade Enver Hoxha, accompanied by the first secretary of the regional Party Committee Petro Dode, visited families of martyrs living in Vlora on the celebration days. Comrade Enver Hoxha said, "we rejoice and feel revitalized and inspired when we get together at these bases of the war".

The Party and State leaders, comrades Hysni Kapo, Spiro Koleka, Kadri Hazbiu and Pilo Peristeri, also paid visits to the families of martyrs in Vlora.

AT THE GRAVES OF THE NATION'S MARTYRS

At 10 a.m. on November 29, on the occasion of the 28th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland wreaths were laid on the graves of the nation's martyrs on behalf of the Central Committee of the PLA, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers and other organisations.

Reception at the Central Committee of the PLA

Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA on the afternoon of November 25, received the delegation of the Ministry of Metallurgy of the People's Republic of

China headed by Chen Shao Kueng, Minister of Metallurgy of the PR of China. The reception passed in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere.

The Congress of the Orthography of the Albanian Language

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The Congress of the orthography of the Albanian language, organized at the initiative of the Institute of Linguistics and Literature of the State University of Tirana, held its proceedings in Tirana from November 20 to 25.

The Congress was honoured by the presence of comrade Enver Hoxha and other Party and State leaders.

Participating in the Congress were delegates and guests, Albanian language students from scientific research institutes and higher schools, Albanian language and literature teachers, writers, journalists, workers in the field of publications, public education, veterans, etc., as well as linguists, and Albanian language and literature teachers from among the Albanians living in Yugoslavia from Kossovo, Macedonia and Montenegro, as well as Albanologists from different countries.

OPENING SPEECH OF THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE THOMA DELIANA

The Congress of the orthography of the Albanian language, which is beginning its proceedings in Tirana today, is among the most remarkable events in the scientific and cultural life of the country. This is the second congress in the history of the Albanian language, after that of Manastir which was held in 1908. From that time the development and perfection of the Albanian literary language has traversed a long road full of obstacles. Numerous outstanding students of the language, writers, teachers, patriots, and others, worked with zeal and persistence for the unification, enrichment and perfection of the Albanian literary language. But the aspiration of the progressive-minded people and patriots for a national literary language was not realized nor could it be realized in the past. Only after the triumph of the people's revolution and the establishment of the socialist order, when the econo-

mic and cultural-educational development of our country assumed proportions unprecedented in our national history were very favourable conditions and possibilities created for the creation of a unified national literary language. The Congress will crown the unceasing efforts that have been made by the most advanced representatives of scientific-educational thought in our country in the direction of the unification of our national literary language.

This Congress convenes as the highest national scientific forum for the discussion and adoption of important decisions concerning our literary language and its correct spelling. From this viewpoint the Congress constitutes an event of historic importance to our national culture, to the development of our public education and our socialist school. It reflects the great social, educational and cultural transformations that have occurred in our country, and is an expression of the uninterrupted and high rate of development of Albanological research and studies by the Albanian scientific forces in the post-liberation years. It is no exaggeration to say that the Albanian scholars now have their full and authoritative say in the field of the study of the Albanian literary language and its orthography.

Five years have elapsed since the publication of the draft of the "Rules of the orthography of the Albanian language". During this period great efforts have been made for their application by our schools, the press, institutions and publishing enterprises. This period was necessary for the testing of these rules in practice. During this period there were also numerous discussions at schools, meetings, consultations and scientific circles. The teachers of the Albanian language, through their remarks and suggestions, made a great contribution to the discussion of the rules of orthography, and became the most energetic bearers and implementors of the unified literary norm. The mass debates on the rules of orthography are living testimony to the wide interest shown toward the problem of the unification of our literary language, as one of the main forms

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of our national culture. The unification of orthography is an expression of the unity of language, and the unity of language is an expression of the unity of our nation. Therefore, the importance of this Congress crosses the boundaries of a narrow meeting of specialists; its proceedings are being followed with special interest by the broad masses, teachers, writers, journalists and by all the workers of Albanian culture at home and abroad, because a unified orthography, as the most direct expression of the unified national language, concerns every Albanian who writes the Albanian language and has a national conscience.

During these post-liberation years of the life of our people, in conformity with the deep economic-social and political transformations which lifted the country out of its age-long backwardness and ranked it among the most advanced countries, the Albanian language has reached a high level of development and is today in the stage of its complete crystallization. As a national literary language it is operating in all the spheres of relations between people and is being further perfected in compliance with the requirements of the development of our socialist society. It is also operating successfully in the Albanian schools press and literature of the Albanians living in Yugoslavia (Kosovo, Macedonia and Montenegro), whose representatives are attending this Congress. The norms of this language have also aroused interest among the Arbëresh of Italy. Thus, one of the greatest ambitions of our patriots, fighters for freedom and students of the Albanian language, who worked and strove with so much toil and zeal for the national cause and a common language, is being realized.

The Congress of orthography will also examine and decide on questions directly connected with the work of education. The unification, elaboration and stabilization of the literary norm is realized not only through the subjects of the Albanian language and literature, but also through other subjects. Recognizing the merit which school text-books and practice have had so far

in forming correct linguistic expressions in the pupils, it is necessary to point out that, in the light of the decisions to be adopted by this Congress, the role of our school in this direction should increase even further in the future. And there is no doubt whatever that it is precisely the school which has the historic mission of being on the forefront of this struggle.

As well the schools, our press, radio, literature and other publications have made a considerable contribution to establishing the literary norm, and hence forth, they will be in the frontline of carrying this work further, in a broader and deeper way.

The Congress of the orthography of the Albanian language is holding its proceedings on the threshold of the two outstanding historical festivals of our country and people - the 60th anniversary of the proclamation of independence and the 28th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and of the triumph of the people's revolution. This has special symbolic significance to our Congress, because the struggle for the Albanian language, for a unified language, the struggle to preserve this language from foreign assimilation and to develop it further, has been indissolubly linked with the entire movement, with the battles for our national independence and liberation.

In conclusion, allow me to thank the Party and State leaders with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, for honouring us with their participation in this Congress. Their presence is a clear expression of the concern and support of our Party and State for the development of Albanian science.

The proceedings of the Congress are also being followed by foreign Albanologists who are directly interested in the Albanian language; I avail myself of this opportunity to greet them and welcome them to our country. In particular, allow me to greet the scientists from among the ranks of the Albanians living in Yugoslavia - Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, as well as the Arbëresh of Italy with whom we are linked by our joint efforts for the development and enrichment of our

national literary language. As well allow me to warmly greet the delegates, who, with their knowledge and abilities, have undertaken to perform the great historic mission of this Congress. At the same time I thank all the other participants and, in particular, those who helped to prepare this Congress and who have put their efforts and abilities into the development and progress of our national literary language. Declaring the Congress of the orthography of the Albanian language open, I wish you good work and success!

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The director of the Institute of Linguistics and Literature of the State University of Tirana, prof. Androkli Kostallari, delivered the report: "The Present-day Albanian Literary Language and Some Fundamental Problems of its Orthography. The Congress held its proceeding in plenary sessions and in two sections. At the plenary sessions papers were read by prof. Mahir Domi: "The Phonetic Principle and its Application in the Orthography of Albanian". Prof. Eqrem Çabej: "On Some Questions of the Tradition of the Writing and Orthography of Albanian". "The Road of the Development of the Albanian Literary Language in Kossovo", by Prof. Idriz Ajjet (Prishtinë). Prof. Bedri Dedja read the paper: "About Psychic Acceleration and its Influence on Teaching the Literary Language". Prof. Dhimitër Shuteriqi: "Writers and Orthography". Dr. Remzi Nesimi (Shkup): "The Process of the Unification of the Orthography of Literary Albanian in Macedonia". Doc. Anastas Dodi: "On relations of Orthography with Correct Pronunciation". In special sections 94 papers were read by scientists, Albanian language students, teachers of

the language and literature of our country, representatives of the Albanians living in Yugoslavia (Kossovo, Macedonia, Montenegro) as well as by foreign Albanologists. At the fourth plenary session prof. Androkli Kostallari, on behalf of the Commission for the working out of the Draft Resolution of the Congress, set forth more auxiliary explanations and additions to the Draft-Resolution, which, after discussion, was put to the vote and unanimously approved by the delegates. According to the agenda, at the fifth plenary session the resolution of the Congress was signed by all the delegates. The Director of the Institute of Linguistics and Literature, prof. Androkli Kostallari, delivered the closing speech.

COPIES OF THE RESOLUTION HANDLED OVER

The chairman of the Organizing Committee, prof. Androkli Kostallari, handed over original copies of the resolution approved by the Congress and signed by all the delegates to the representative of the students of the Albanian language from Kossovo, Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Prishtina prof. Idriz Ajjet, and to the representative of the students of the Albanian language from Macedonia, Head of the Chair of the Albanian Language and Literature at the Pedagogical Academy of Shkup, Dr. Remzi Nesim. Present on this occasion were the president of the Albanian Writers' and Artists' Union, Dhimitër Shuteriqi, and the Vice Minister of Education and Culture, Bedri Dedja. Prof. Idriz Ajjet and Dr. Remzi Nesim, on receiving the resolution, extended their thanks for the honour bestowed on them and promised they would work with all their forces for the strict application of the resolution of the Congress of the orthography of the Albanian language.

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The newspaper "Puna", organ of the Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions, of October 13, 1972, in its article entitled: "What is hidden behind the bourgeois-revisionist theories about «democratic nationalizations», points out.

The modern revisionists, as demagogues and deceivers, are conducting an intensive campaign with a view to prettifying the capitalist order and leading the working class astray by their reactionary theories. The Italian, French and other revisionists say that the «democratic nationalization» of the principal means of production and exchange allegedly constitutes one of the greatest elements of the beginning of the changes which must lead to a complete change of the base of the capitalist society. Therefore, in their opinion, the working class should not carry out revolution, but confine itself to «structural reforms».

The article stresses the fact that in France, Italy, Britain and in other capitalist countries various factories, plants and railways have been nationalized, but nevertheless, this has not led to the lessening of the exploitation of the workers. «Nationalizations within the framework of the capitalist order, the article says, do not modify or eliminate the capitalist character of the relations of production, or private property

which underlies the entire bourgeois order».

Only determined revolutionary struggle, the overthrow of the bourgeois order and the establishment of the socialist order, the article concludes, can give true freedom to the working class and the other working people and make them their own masters and masters of their own work».

«The social-reformist theories of the bourgeoisie have the sole aim of hoodwinking the working class» - this is the title of an article published in the newspaper "Puna" of November 7, 1972.

This article exposes the bourgeois theories about so-called «people's capitalism» and the «industrial society». It also exposes the theory of the «managerial revolution». «Irrespective of who administers the enterprise», the article says, «the means of production are the private property of the capitalists, and the managers carry out their will. They are merely large share-holders who secure privileges and large incomes from their posts and appropriate a part of the surplus value created by the workers. Disobedience by the managers would be sufficient for the bosses to dismiss them».

After stressing that all these re-

actionary theories are aimed at arousing illusions among the working people of the capitalist countries and at putting down the class struggle, the article says in conclusion: «There remains only one road of the working class, that of irreconcilable struggle against the monopoly bourgeoisie and its social-democratic and revisionist servants, of closely connecting economic demands with the political struggle and rising in revolutionary action under the guidance of the true Marxist-Leninist parties».

The newspaper "Zëri i Rinisë", organ of the Central Committee of the Albanian Labour Youth Union, of October 18, 1972, in an article entitled: «Brazilian youth in struggle against the dictatorship»

points out that the Brazilian youth, together with the progressive labouring masses, take an active part in the struggle against the dictatorship in power and the intervention of US imperialism in that country.

After quoting numerous facts about demonstrations, strikes and other anti-government and anti-imperialist actions, the article points out: «The revolutionary youth are also taking an active part in the present Brazilian partisan movement; the

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youth are the motive force of the partisan detachments. At the same time, in the town and countryside the revolutionary youth carry out wide activities in support of the armed resistance».

Further on the article talks about the attempts of the fascist dictatorship to liquidate the resistance movement through demagoguery and terror. But the Brazilian workers, peasants and youth have risen against this situation. «Their struggle, under the leadership of the Communist Party (M-L) of Brazil», the article concludes, «is assuming increasingly larger proportions and will develop further, resulting in a combination of the movement of the town with that of the countryside. The Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of Brazil is becoming the organizer of the long-suffering Brazilian people and of their determined struggle for the overthrow of the military junta, Washington's tool, and for the liberation of the country».

In its commentary of October 19, 1972 entitled «The Israeli aggressors are becoming increasingly more arrogant and dangerous», the newspaper «Bashkimi», central organ of the Democratic Front of Albania,

Condemns the provocations and barbarous attacks of the Israeli aggressors against the Lebanon

and Syria. Exposing and condemning the overt and covert support of the two imperialist superpowers for Israel, the article continues: «They (the Israeli aggressors) become increasingly arrogant because they enjoy the backing and support not only of the U.S. imperialists, but of their Soviet allies as well».

Finally, the article stresses that the Arab people, «irrespective of their occasional difficulties, will know how to unite in order to deal a telling blow to the aggressors and thus restore the honour and dignity of the Arab nation».

The newspaper «Zëri i Popullit», organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, on October 20, 1972, carries an article entitled: «The revisionists are doing their utmost to bring about the political and moral degeneration of the youth».

«Since they came to power, and especially during the 60's», the article says, «the revisionists in the Soviet Union and in the other eastern-European countries have sought and continue to seek with all their means to estrange the youth from the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary ideology and policy and to nourish it with their bourgeois-revisionist counter-re-

volutionary world outlook. Thus, the chaos and the deep social political crisis into which these countries have today submerged in a special way and with very grave consequences are also reflected in the situation of the rising generation». The article quotes many examples which show that in the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and in other revisionist countries, bands of jobless youths can be found roaming the streets and terrorizing the population by their acts of banditry and hooliganism, and they have made plunder and robbery of the property of citizens and of state and social property a way of life. This parasitic way of life frequently leads them to still more serious crimes. This degeneration of youth is an aim and a result of the action of the destructive policy implemented by the Khrushchevite revisionists, in regard to the younger generation just as in all fields of life: it is a product of the bourgeois-revisionist degeneration of the society of these countries. «In the programme of their policy for the degeneration of the younger generation, the article says, the Khrushchevite revisionists have always been guided by the aim of preparing a younger generation to be the bearers of their neobourgeois and antisocialist ideas, at having new bourgeois-revisionist elements emerge unceasingly, enemies of socialism and of the dictatorship of the

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proletariat, that will continue to perpetuate their traitorous and counterrevolutionary course. It is easier for the revisionists to control a degenerated and politically disorientated youth. They are not afraid of dissolute persons, hooligans and bearded, long-haired hippies because, as the revisionist press itself has openly said, «they do not pose a threat to the state or political system. They fear the birth of a generation of young revolutionaries, successors of the old revolutionary traditions, like they fear death».

In conclusion the article says that the time will come when the youth in the revisionist countries together with and under the leadership of the working class, «will flood the streets like fiery lava to burn up the rotten counterrevolutionary seeds and everything else rotten and alien to socialism, that has been cultivated by the revisionist betrayal».

The newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» of October 25, in an article entitled «Behind the smokescreen of 'United Europe'», writes:

«Beginning from January 1, 1973, with the admission of Britain Ireland and Denmark, the community of Western European

countries will have nine members. Norway, following the referendum, was compelled to withdraw its candidature. This was a crack in the foundations of «United Europe».

The article mentions the fact that the extension of the European Community brings about new phenomena in the series of political and economic contradictions among its members, and between them and the other imperialist powers. The article points out that there will be an unavoidable struggle between Britain, France and West Germany with each trying to ensure its own hegemony in the fold of this political-economic bloc.

The article points out that the contradictions between the European Community on the one hand and the other imperialist powers on the other and in the first place the United States of America, are just as serious. As comrade Enver Hoxha said, «United Europe, which is being knocked together by West European capital, aims at becoming a new imperialist superpower with claims to hegemony and domination similiar to those of the United States of America and of the Soviet Union».

Finally, the article says that the extension of the «Common Market» is also connected with the objectives of the European bourgeoisie to have united forces to «cope with» its own internal difficulties deriving from the antagonism between labour

and capital, to «prevent» economic crises and inflation and to «put down» the revolutionary movement of the working class and the other labouring masses against the exploiting capitalist order».

The newspaper «Drita», organ of the Albanian Writers' and Artists' Union, in its October 29 issue carries an article entitled: Albanological colloquium of Innsbruck (Austria).

The article says that from September 28 to October 3, 1972 the international Albanological colloquium held its proceedings in Innsbruck, convened on the initiative of the University of this city in memory of the outstanding Austrian albanologist Prof. Dr. Norbert Jokl, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of his tragic death as a victim of the criminal nazi racism. This colloquium was devoted to questions of the Albanian language and had a broad international character. The State University of Tirana was represented by a group of six linguists. The Prishtina University was also widely represented. The main commemorative report on the life and Albanological activity of Prof. Dr. Norbert Jokl was entrusted to the outstanding disciple and successor of his work, Prof. Eqrem Çabej. The report on

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the development of linguistic studies in the People's Republic of Albania was delivered by Prof. Mahir Domi.

In continuation, the article says that the colloquium, which was also described as a congress by some participants, attracted a considerable proportion of foreign Albanologists and a good number of Albanian scholars. The colloquium highly appraised the great and fruitful activity being carried out in our country for the study of the Albanian language, and its results, as well as the weight and authority of the word of the young Albanian science at international scientific forums. «The publication of the conclusions of this colloquium, the article concludes, will be an effective contribution to the development of Albanological studies».

In its November 2 issue the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» carries an article entitled: «U.S. imperialism- a sworn enemy of the Vietnamese people» It says:

The events in Vietnam and Indochina have continually attracted the attention of world public opinion. Special interest has been aroused by the declaration of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on the situation of the Vietnam - U.S. talks. «What catches

one's attention», the article points out, «is the fact that the United States, is making great efforts to sabotage the agreement it had reached previously. The October 26 declaration of the Government of the D.R. of Vietnam showed all the U.S. pledges in detail as well as the unwillingness of the US and its lack of seriousness to keep its promises. This stand of the Nixon Administration is no accident. It is a reflection of the aggressive policy of the USA and of the imperialist morality of the US government.

After having pointed out that the extension of the US aggression and its hideous crimes in Indochina show that the words of the Nixon administration about peace are a complete bluff, the article says that the aggressive policy of US imperialism is unchanging, that it has been and remains a sworn enemy of the Vietnamese people, of their freedom and national independence.

Finally, the article points out: «There is no doubt that the Vietnamese people, always keeping their militant determination alive and intact and raising high their revolutionary heroism, will deal new and more powerful blows to the US aggressors and their tools, they will destroy all the military adventures and diplomatic manoeuvres of the USA and will march always onward to score final victory over the enemies».

«The imperialist gunboat diplomacy in action - is the title of an article published on November 3 in the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit».

The article comments on the military manoeuvres of the aggressive NATO bloc in the Mediterranean and the Adriatic, as well as on those of the other aggressive bloc, SEATO, which were held in the South China Sea.

At the same time the article stresses that the Soviet social imperialists, too, are demonstrating their force with extraordinary zeal. «The demonstration of force by the two imperialist superpowers in various areas of the world», the article says, «is in open opposition to the interests of the security of the freedom and state sovereignty of various peoples and countries. Warships whether American or Soviet, in the Mediterranean and on other seas and oceans, are not symbols of 'peace and cooperation', but means of war and aggression by which the two imperialist superpowers seek to force the freedom-loving peoples and sovereign countries to their knees».

In conclusion the article says: «The Mediterranean peoples have started to become aware of the aims of the imperialist-revisionist fleets and have risen against the tutelage of these gendarmes of the seas; they are resolutely opposed to the pre-

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sence of US and Soviet warships and demand the destruction of foreign military bases on the coastal areas of their countries and the suspension of any kind of aid or facility that these 'uninvited friends' may ask for. Only the adoption and increase of these effective measures, without nourishing any illusion whatever, can contribute to the strengthening of the national sovereignty, peace and freedom of the Mediterranean countries.

In its November 10 issue the newspaper «ZËRI I POPULLIT» carries an article entitled «Nixon's re-election — continuation of the reactionary and aggressive policy of US imperialism».

This article comments on the return of republican Richard Nixon as chief of the White House for another four-year term, following the presidential elections in the USA. It says that the political biography of the US president is already well known. During the period of his administration, US imperialism has openly shown the most fundamental features of its unchanging nature-rabid aggressiveness in foreign policy, and savage oppression and wanton exploitation at home. The extension of its aggressive war in Indochina, its plots against the Arab people and the other

peoples, the strengthening of its counterrevolutionary and aggressive collaboration with the Soviet social imperialists, etc., are closely connected with the name of Nixon, faithful representative of US big monopoly capital.

After pointing out that in the future, too, one can expect nothing but the continuation of the old reactionary and aggressive political course dictated by the objectives of US big capital, the article concludes: «Precisely for these reasons Nixon's stay in the White House for another four years does not promise anything good either to the American people, to the other peoples or to the lowering of international tension. Therefore the peoples should cherish no illusions that there will be any change in the old course of the United States following the new elections. They will enhance their vigilance and will intensify their struggle against the savage enemy — U S imperialism.

The newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» of November 22, commenting on the elections in the German Federal Republic, carries an article entitled: «Brandt — faithful representative of the West German monopoly bourgeoisie».

The article says among other things that it was not in vain that the West German mono-

poly circles broke the monopoly of the Christian-Democrat Party three years ago in favour of the Social-Democrat Party, nor did they elect Brandt to the head of the State for his «realistic» or «liberal» tendencies. They elected him in order to adapt themselves as well as possible to the new political conditions created in Europe and in the world in this period. The counterrevolutionary Soviet-US alliance also created the conditions for a rapprochement of the Moscow social-imperialists with Bonn. The need arose for the Bonn revanchists to have a less compromised man at their head who, through different forms, and methods from those of his predecessors, would pursue the same policy: at home, that of fascistization and militarization, and abroad, of loyalty towards US imperialism, of revanchist objectives and of elevating Federal Germany to the role of «first violin» in Europe. After quoting facts which show that Brandt has pursued precisely such a policy, the article continues: «During these past three years, while preserving and strengthening the alliance with Washington and NATO, Brandt has also orientated his foreign policy towards extension eastwards, with a view to strengthening bridges with the other «superpower» — the Soviet Union, and with the revisionist cliques of Eastern Europe. And this is nothing but the carrying out, in new forms, of the desi-

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res of West German revanchism to become equal partner with the two imperialist superpowers and to emerge as a first power in Europe. These aims are also served by the Bonn-Moscow, Bonn-Warsaw treaties, the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin, the latest agreement between the German States, etc". Further on the article says that the two imperialist superpowers have found in Brandt the man with whom they can communicate better in hatching new plots against the peoples of Europe, against the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic and against the interests of the German people as a whole. Precisely for these reasons Washington and Moscow expressed their great satisfaction with his election to the post of chancellor of the German Federal Republic. The article concludes, "this is why the peoples can cherish no illusions about Brandt's re-election to the head of the Bonn government, irrespective of the aura with which imperialist-revisionist propaganda surrounds this loyal representative of the West German revanchists".

"New round of the secret Soviet-US «SALT» talks" - is the title of an article published on November 25 in the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit».

The article says that the second round of the Soviet-US

talks on the so-called 'limitation of armaments' (SALT) began in Geneva with the aim of complementing the agreements reached during the 31 month proceedings of the «SALT-1» talks. As is known, the results of these talks were the two agreements signed by Brezhnev and Nixon on May 26 following their protracted tête-à-tête talks in Moscow.

The article points out that in reality, these agreements not only failed to limit the armaments race, but on the contrary, they have legalized the competition for quality, for the increase of the striking power of the strategic-nuclear weapons of the two imperialist superpowers through their constant improvement. "The Soviet-US SALT talks are a typical example of the action of the secret diplomacy through which the US imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists are seeking to coordinate their policies, so as to come out on important international issues with a joint stand towards others. Thus, they have also aroused doubts and worries even among the ranks of the partners of the two imperialist superpowers".

In conclusion the article says: "The new SALT talks serve the strengthening of the Soviet-US counterrevolutionary alliance and serve their efforts to apply their aggressive global strategy in practice. Therefore, the vital interests of the independence and freedom of the peoples demand the exposure of the

plots and deceitful agreements which are being hatched by the two «superpowers» in these talks.

«Zëri i Popullit», in its December 10 issue, carries an article entitled: «Inspiration and support to march on the road of still greater successes».

The article says that countless friends and comrades everywhere in the world celebrated jointly with the Albanian people the great November festive days - the 60th anniversary of the proclamation of independence and the 28th anniversary of the liberation of Albania.

After dealing with the allround festive activity which was conducted on this occasion in various countries of the world, the article points out that new socialist Albania which emerged from the heat of the people's revolution, parallel with the successful realization of her national duties, has always performed with honour also her internationalist duties in the struggle for the cause of freedom, peace, and socialism, against the aggressive plans and conspiracies of US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and international reaction. Thanks to her principled and revolutionary foreign policy, new socialist Albania enjoys res-

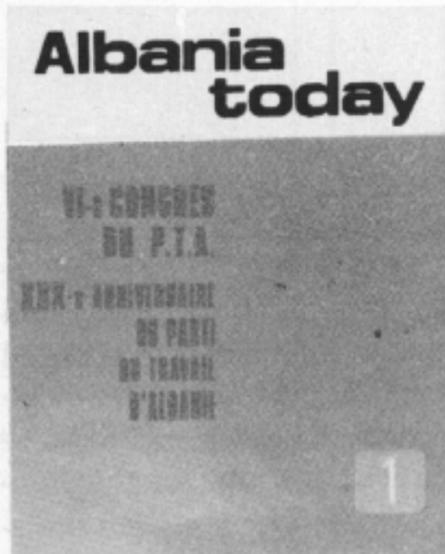
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pect, sympathy and authority on the international arena as never before in her history. "The respect, admiration and sympathy of the comrades and friends of Albania, the article says, are an approval and backing for the revolutionary line of our Party and Government. Through the greetings and activities in the outside world on the occasion of the November festivals there was once more manifested the aid, powerful support and solidarity of great People's China of Mao Tse-tung, of the peoples fighting for national and social liberation, of the Marxist-Leninist parties, of all the revolutionary and progressive men

and women in the world. This support is a new inspiration for the Albanian people to always hold high the red banner of the revolution and socialism, to march onward to still greater victories". Finally, the article says that the Albanian people respond to this internationalist solidarity just as comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out: "The Party and the Albanian people will tirelessly work to carry out with honour their lofty task of full construction of socialism in Albania, they will strive, sparing no forces, so that the banner of socialism and Marxism-Leninism should always flutter undaunted in our homeland. In full unity

with the Communist Party of China, with all the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces, our Party, just as heretofore, will resolutely fight against U.S.-led imperialism and against Soviet-led modern revisionism. The revolutionaries and all the fighters for the freedom and independence of the peoples will always have in the Albanian communists and in the Albanian people loyal and inseparable friends through to the end, sincere brothers as well in happy as in difficult days. We are fighting in one and the same barricade, and in full solidarity we shall always march shoulder to shoulder towards new victories".

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