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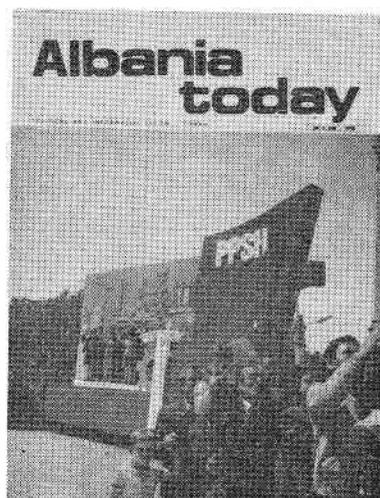
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◀ *The workers of the Capital march past the Party and State leaders proudly and with splendid results on the 1st of May, the day of the workers international solidarity.*

Comrade ENVER HOXHA among the workers of the Clothing enterprise «Bule Naipi» at Gjirokastra.





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CHEEK BY JOWL WITH THE PEOPLE

The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, comrade Enver Hoxha, spent the second half of March in the districts of Gjirokastra and Saranda. The beloved leader of the Albanian Party and people was surrounded by an atmosphere of unprecedented warmth and enthusiasm. On this occasion, tens of thousands of inhabitants of both districts expressed to him once again their boundless love for the Party of Labour of Albania and their unshakeable determination to march boldly on the road of the Party, the arduous but glorious road to socialism and communism

Cheek to jowl with the people, a pleasant and hearty talk at the sycamore-tree in Mashkullora.

In Gjirokastra, where he was born and spent his childhood and youth, comrade Enver Hoxha paid homage at the Martyrs' Cemetery, at the monument to the distinguished fighter in the struggle for the independence of Albania, Çerçiz Topulli, and at that dedicated to the two heroines of the National Liberation War, Bule Naipi and Persefoni Kokëdhima. He also visited the Castle of the city, which now houses the Arms Museum, the «Asim Zeneli» School where he did the first years of his secondary schooling, the Museum Centre and the Obelisk dedicated to all the pioneer teachers of the Albanian school and language, which is erected in the centre of the city, as well as the clothing enterprise named after the heroine, Bule Naipi. He walked through the streets of the museum-city and stopped to visit many families. Wherever he went, comrade Enver Hoxha conversed warmly with working people of various ages and occupations, with workers and cooperativists, with pupils and army men, with young people and pensioners. They spoke about the miserable situation before Liberation, the great progress which has been made and the blessings the Albanian people enjoy today, thanks to the correct and farsighted leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania.

Comrade Enver Hoxha also went to one of the villages in the vicinity of the city, Mashkullora, where 70 years ago, in March 1908, the «çeta» of Albanian patriots led by Çerçiz Topulli clashed with the Ottoman invaders and inflicted great losses to them. The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania also visited the village of Grapsh, in the centre of the Dropull region, in which a Greek minority lives.

In Gjirokastra and Grapsh, comrade Enver Hoxha spoke at broad mass meetings in which thousands of people from all over the region took part.

At the mass meeting in Gjirokastra, comrade Enver Hoxha spoke about the patriotic traditions of the Albanian people, about their heroic work today and major successes they have achieved in all fields.

«Our people,» said comrade Enver Hoxha, «are an immortal people. They created that wonderful vitality, that courage and valour, that determination which enabled them to resist innumerable invasions, to defend and develop their own ancient culture, which influenced the culture of other countries, too. Our people, united as a nation, stood together on these territories, on these mountains, on these plains, in these valleys. They preserved their customs, preserved their culture and language, and developed them further. They were not assimilated either by the culture of the ancient Greeks, the Ottoman culture, or the invasions of the modern times. From all this suffering,» said comrade Enver Hoxha, «our people emerged strong, like Antheus of Greek mythology, because they kept their feet on this land, on this soil, which they loved with all their hearts. These people are one of the greatest treasures. Here, in Gjirokastra we say: «Like father like son.» From

their bosom these people brought forth their Party, the Communist Party of Albania, today the Party of Labour of Albania. I am not going to talk about how the Party was born, how it was formed,» he continued, «but it is important for us to know, and we must always know that this Party was born from the bosom of the people. We, your sons, your daughters, had on our backs the common burden of centuries of misery, poverty, sufferings, which, we, like our forefathers, wanted to shake off. But how would we shake it off? Through struggle. This was the right road for our people, and not for our people alone, but for all the proletariat of the world, for all the peoples, in the revolution. From the experience of the struggles of the proletariat and the peoples, Marx, Engels and Lenin worked out the theory that the old world had to be overthrown and the new, socialist world would be born. The proletariat with its ally, the poor peasantry, had to overthrow the bourgeoisie and seize power. With what? With the rifle, because they don't give up their power in any other way. Our Party was small,» said comrade Enver Hoxha, «but it had in its veins the courage, the valour, the maturity, and wisdom of the people, and above all, of the working class. Our working class was small in numbers, but we have the great theory of Karl Marx and Lenin, which inspired the Party and the Party inspired the people. The yoke of slavery will never be lifted from our necks if we do not remove it with our own hands, it told the people. Freedom is not won without struggle, without sacrifices. The people listened to the Party and the Party listened and still listens to the people. The people and the Party are in complete unity. This the greater victory of our times.»

Comrade Enver Hoxha went on to speak about the innumerable efforts and struggles of our people, of our grandfathers and great-grandfathers against bloodthirsty enemies.

«In 1878,» said comrade Enver Hoxha, «the Meeting of the Albanian League was held in Prizren under the chairmanship of the distinguished patriot, Abdyl Frashëri, the brother of Sami and Naim. It was held in order to defend and unite the Albanian territories, the Albanian nation, to rescue the Albanian people from the Ottoman enslavement, from the enslavement and intrigues of the imperialist powers, from the chauvinists of Serbia and Montenegro, from the Treaty of San Stefano, etc.»

Then, comrade Enver Hoxha informed the participants in the meeting that on that very day the remains of Abdyl Frashëri had been brought back to the Homeland and received with great respect by the people of Korça, Kolonja and Dangëllia.

Comrade Enver Hoxha said, «We are grateful to the Turkish people, who have preserved the remains of the Albanian patriots with respect, as well as to the Turkish government, which facilitated the return of Abdyl's remains to his Homeland, just as we thanked the Greek peo-

ple, who had cared for the remains of Hasan Prishtina, which were handed over to us by the Greek government. We have hopes,» he continued, «that the Turkish people and Turkish government will give us the remains of the great philosopher and patriot, Sami Frashëri, too, who fought heart and soul till the day of his death for this people, for this land, for these mountains, for the hills, for the flocks, about which Naim wrote with such great feeling.»

The leader of the Party and the people said that in the magnificent situation of our country, we must work in order to make our people happier and more contented day by day, must continue to build our new society, to temper our new man of a high political and ideological level who understands things and is conscious of the permanent need to strengthen and defend his socialist Homeland. And this Homeland can be defended only by having a Marxist-Leninist party, steeled and strong like ours, in the leadership.

Further, comrade Enver Hoxha spoke about the great changes that have taken place in our new village, as well as about the love which the young people of the city must display for the countryside, about the benefits it brings to the Homeland and its strengthening.

Then, comrade Enver Hoxha spoke about some problems of the present international situation, of the great economic, political, social and military crisis which has the capitalist-revisionist world in its grip. He emphasized the great and ceaseless struggle which the Party and our people have waged against the two superpowers, American imperialism and Soviet socialimperialism, modern revisionism and reaction. Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that the Party of Labour of Albania long ago made a class analysis of the international situation and openly expressed its opposition to the theory of «three worlds» and that on the so-called non-aligned countries. He went on to speak about the struggle being waged by the international proletariat today against capitalist exploitation, about the growth of the Marxist-Leninist movement, and the rising tide of the struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence.

The meeting ended amidst extraordinary enthusiasm and prolonged cheering by those present for the Party of Labour and comrade Enver Hoxha. After the mass rally, folk songs and dances were performed on the «Çerçiz Topulli» square.

At the meeting organized at Grapsh of the Dropull region, comrade Enver Hoxha, among other things, said:

«Dear comrades, brothers, mothers and sisters of Dropull! I don't know Greek, and I regret that I did not learn the beautiful Greek language when I was a lad at school. Therefore, I shall speak in the Albanian language. Albanian, too, is a beautiful language. It is the language of the Albanian people, of our common Homeland, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

«First, I want to thank you from my heart for your

coming here, so that we can see one another, because we have been longing for this, but I have been with you in heart and mind, and have been following your work and achievements and those of the minority and the whole Gjirokastra region.

«The people of Dropull, the Greek minority and the Albanian people, and especially the people of Gjirokastra, have been linked with each other like flesh to bone, they have loved each other like brothers and sisters. Here, I do not mean those scoundrals, the beys and aghas of Gjirokastra, but I mean the poor people of Dropull and the poor people of Gjirokastra. Our love for the minority population has never diminished. It was tempered and steeled with the founding of our Party of Labour and during the National Liberation War. Our Communist Party, formed by our sons, by the sons of Albania, including the sons of the minority, fought precisely for this unity, for this love among us, which will be strengthened and tempered through the centuries.

«Albanians and the minority people,» said comrade Enver Hoxha, «fought together, sacrificed together, but they won. They won Albania and made it their own, ousted the foreigners, crushed the aghas, crushed the beys, and gave power to the people, for them to make their own law, to build that society for which they had shed their blood, suffered, and toiled. The people, with their glorious Party at the head, built the people's state power, built the socialist society, which we enjoy today.»

Then, comrade Enver Hoxha said, «When we established the people's state power, in connection with the development of agriculture, the Party and the government thought about all the plains of Albania, and especially about the Dropull plain, from the very first days after the liberation of the country. Why did we think about Dropull? The Party thought that we must show that socialism is the great idea of Karl Marx and Lenin, which considers all men as equals, be they Albanians or of the minority. The Albanians had suffered greatly, but the minority people had suffered even more. Therefore,» he emphasized, «the Party and the people's power thought that the minority should be helped first of all. And that is what was done. I don't intend to enumerate here what the Party has done for all of Albania, and especially for Dropull.

«We are proud when we hear of and see the great progress which your whole region has made. We are proud when we see the great yields in wheat, maize, lucerne, tobacco, when we see that cows raised here give good yields of milk and their productivity is increasing. The high yields which you have achieved rejoice us greatly. They strengthen our beloved socialist Homeland.

«We are extremely happy,» stressed comrade Enver Hoxha, «that outstanding fighters have emerged from the bosom of this people — partisans, heroes and heroines of the people, that in our days, too, such sons of the people as Ilija Qiqi and many others have emerged who have not

spared even their lives for the freedom of this people and the construction of socialism. United like flesh to bone with the whole people, they had gone to the remotest regions of the Homeland and there they have contributed their knowledge, which they gained here, in the schools of Dropull, in the schools of Gjirokastra, in the schools of all Albania.

«The communists have worked wholeheartedly to ensure that in every village of Dropull there should be school in the Greek language, and, as a Marxist-Leninist, I say that the Greek language, the mother tongue of the minority people, must be preserved and cultivated. Proletarian internationalism demands this, the Party of Labour of Albania demands this because it is your mother tongue, your children must learn it, and you must not forget it. And you must know and love the Albanian language, the language of our common socialist Homeland, just as ardently, because your sons and daughters will not only work and spread their knowledge here among the minority, but will radiate their knowledge all over their Homeland, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

«It is essential,» comrade Enver Hoxha continued, «that we always have steel unity around our Party, because only the Party brought us into the light, only the ideology of the Party gave us strength, gave us inspiration, courage, opened our eyes and showed us how we must fight, work, unite with each other and build the new life. And the new life is flourishing in our country. We are building socialism successfully. The future of our country will be ever finer. We must temper the unity of the Party with the people. How is this tempering brought about? This tempering is brought about by a thorough grasp of our ideology, by a thorough understanding of proletarian internationalism, by loving each other with a sincere, pure love, by eliminating ill-will and jealousy, by standing together, shoulder to shoulder, just as Marx instructed when he wrote the Manifesto: Proletarians, close your ranks shoulder to shoulder and march together against the bourgeoisie. This is what the Party teaches us Albanians to do, to keep our ranks closed shoulder to shoulder, and to march forward. And in the course of our advance, socialism is built, the country is beautified, the soul of men is beautified. This is the happiness of our people, and we are building this happiness successfully.

«You comrades of the minority,» continued comrade Enver Hoxha, «have a correct political understanding of things and have mastered the ideology of the Party. I can see this not only in general, but also in my comrades of the minority who are in the leadership.

«You peasants have fought for this land,» said comrade Enver Hoxha, «therefore you love it with all your heart and the Party tells you that you should love it with all your heart. The Party will help you with all its might to ensure that, not just what has been created already — you must not be content with this — but an even great plenty is created here. Why do I say this? I say this because we are confident of our own strength. The people led by the

Party, moved the mountains, defeated the enemies. They were many, they were savage, they invaded us, ravaged our country, but we defeated them. As the Party tells us, everything is built through work. And we must combine work with knowledge. We must not neglect the general experience.

«Amongst the beautiful art of Albanian people,» comrade Enver Hoxha stressed, «your art, in your songs and dances, is outstanding. It stands out for its musicality, its beautiful rhythm, its elegance, for what is called cultured art. When performers from Dropull come on the stage, the audiences in the theatres and elsewhere are always delighted. The beautiful things of this people have been brought to light, have been put on the stage, and raised to the level of true art. I congratulate you people of Dropull on your songs and dances, and your beautiful costumes. You must preserve them because they are valuable, not only to you, but also to the whole of socialist Albania. You must preserve your folklore, collect it. It must be written in Greek, and translated into Albanian. The teachers of the minority,» comrade Enver Hoxha stressed, «must collect the legends, songs, the tales of the people of Dropull, must record them, because they are the heritage of our people. They must write the history of this heroic, fighting people, together with that of the Albanian people. Their hardships, their sufferings are lessons. The youngsters, who will live happily in socialism, must not forget them.

Speaking about some problems of the international situation, comrade Enver Hoxha said that American imperialism, Soviet socialimperialism, and world capitalism try to present themselves as strong, as invincible, but they are rotten from within. They are only a handful of people. The peoples are seething with revolution. The people, the proletariat everywhere in the world, in Africa, in Asia, in Oceania, in Europe, in America, are on the move, clashing with the police, with the carabinieri, holding mighty strikes, coming out in the streets, in their millions. What are they demanding? They are demanding the overthrow of the power of capital, demanding bread, because they are hungry, demanding work to do, because they have no jobs. In the world there are 110 million unemployed. Gangsterism and robbery are plain for all to see. The bourgeoisie is finding it hard to rule, because the proletariat and oppressed peoples are fighting. All this leads to the further sharpening of the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the people and imperialism and the internal oppressors, and creates contradictions insoluble under capitalism. These contradictions increase and lead to revolution.

After pointing out how the capitalist bourgeoisie uses the revisionists of the Berlinguer type and workers' aristocracy in order to mislead the proletariat and to quell the revolution, comrade Enver Hoxha said that the two superpowers, American imperialism and Soviet imperialism, are striving to re-divide the wealth of the world. They have contradictions with each other. The one, America, is trying



Among the amateurs of the House of Culture of Gjirokastra.

to maintain and even increase its wealth, that is, to oppress the peoples it is already oppressing, and to oppress other peoples who are awakening, while the other, the Soviet revisionists, want to grab the wealth of the peoples, everywhere in the world, to enslave them so that the Brezhnevs and company can feed and fatten themselves on them. Between these two imperialists there are agreements and contradictions, there is even struggle, but at whose expense? At the expense of the peoples. But the peoples cannot tolerate the situation and are standing up to fight; and this fight will mount, step by step.

«The Party of Labour of Albania,» said comrade Enver Hoxha, «has won extraordinary sympathy among all the peoples, all the proletarians, everywhere, in Africa, in Asia, in North America, in South America, in Europe. The proletarians and the oppressed peoples love the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and interest themselves to find out how such a small country can face up to its many imperialist and revisionist enemies, where its strength lies. They reach the conclusion that this force is the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the Party of Labour of Albania, and the invincible strength of the Albanian people.»

Speaking about the mutual sympathy between the Albanian and the Greek peoples, comrade Enver Hoxha said that we have always loved the Greek people, because they are an honest people, a wise people who have fought for their freedom and independence. We have fought together with the fraternal Greek people in the times gone by, and in modern times. We have united our weapons. The great poet, Naim Frashëri, who studied at the Zosimea college of Janina, has written a beautiful poem about the love and friendship of the Albanian people for the Greek people. Our friendship with the Greek people was sealed with the blood shed for freedom and independence against our common enemies. The present Greek government is in favour of improved relations with Albania and we are improving them. They have always found understanding in the Albanian people and the Albanian government. We have trade and cultural exchanges with Greece. We are neighbours. No evil can come to Greece from our side, and this the Greek people know. The feelings of the Greek people and the Albanian people coincide, and each keeps to his own place, attends to his own business. Only those who consider us as a thorn in their flesh because we tell the truth, because we are progressing, because we know how to defend ourselves from the enemy, dislike the policy of Albania.»

Comrade Enver Hoxha was farewelled from the centre of the higher-type cooperative of Grapsh accompanied with a storm of applause and cheering.

The people of Gjirokastra experienced nine full days of joy aroused by their very warm and cordial meetings with the beloved leader of the Party and the people, comrade Enver Hoxha. Each of the nine days, passed more beautiful than the others. The meetings and conversations of comrade Enver Hoxha with the people of Gjirokastra, with the cadres, the people of Mashkullora and Dropull, with the inhabitants of the «Palorto», «Varosh» and «Hazmurat» quarters, with the martyrs' mothers, with the pupils and staff at the «Asim Zeneli» School, and his valuable advice have aroused enormous enthusiasm in old and young.

The days of comrade Enver Hoxha's visit to the Gjirokastra district turned into an ardent and powerful manifestation of boundless love for our glorious Party and the unbreakable unity of the people around it.

Among the beautiful events that are to come, Gjirokastra and the whole of Albania, will always mention this visit of comrade Enver Hoxha with profound emotion and love. The years will go by, but these happy days will remain engraved in people's minds, hearts.

Comrade Enver Hoxha received a very warm and cordial welcome in the Saranda district, too. In this district, too, his first visit was to the Martyrs' Cemetery. It is set on a beautiful hill commanding a view of the whole town and the blue Ionian Sea. There the beloved leader of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people met many martyrs' parents and relatives with whom he talked

warmly. Then passing through thousands of inhabitants of the town and surrounding villages who had lined the streets to greet him, he went to a beautiful park where the bust of Hasan Tahsini, the outstanding scholar and patriot of the National Renaissance, is set up. Comrade Enver Hoxha laid a wreath and paid homage. Hasan Tasini was a man of allround knowledge, he was the first Rector of the University of Istanbul. But Hasan Tahsini was also a fiery patriot, who, in the second half of the past century, worked for the creation of the Albanian alphabet and the cultural development of his country, Albania, for which he was persecuted and interned by the Sublime Porte.

During his stay in the Saranda District comrade Enver Hoxha paid a visit to Ksamil, a new small town beside the Ionian Sea, where one the finest citrus and olive plantations has been established in recent years. Formerly it was a place of rocks and scrub, but responding to the call of the Party, thousands of youth from all corners of Albania went there and with their tireless work turned that land into a beautiful garden where oranges and lemons, olives and other fruit trees, are flourishing. Now a large group of young people from Saranda and other districts are working at Ksamil.

In the speech he delivered to the working people of Ksamil and many cooperativists of the surrounding villages who had come to meet him, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania gave very valuable advice on the further development of agriculture and animal husbandry in the sunny Saranda district, but he dwelt, in particular, on the tasks which devolve on the people of the Saranda district for the further development of fruit-tree growing as a very important branch of the country's economy.

Speaking of the principled proletarian foreign policy of the Albanian Party and State and their Marxist-Leninist relations with and stands towards the other countries, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania said, «We, Albanians have worked and fought, will struggle and work honestly by the sweat of our own brows. We have been and we are right. We always speak the truth openly, and any one else can like it or lump it as he pleases. This has made Albania strong, this has raised the name of Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania. These are lofty virtues of our people. Capitalism and revisionism trample these virtues underfoot. But there are not only capitalists and revisionists in the world; they are the minority, there are millions and millions of honest people in the world, fighters for the truth. We Albanians have these fighters for freedom as our friends. We love them and they love us. They are all we need, and together with them we are strong, whereas the capitalists are weak. No one loves the swindler, no one loves the double-dealer, no one loves the robber, no one loves the oppressor.

«Nineteen years, I think, have gone by,» comrade Enver Hoxha went on, «since we came to these parts with the Soviet arch-renegade, Nikita Khrushchev. He did not come here to admire the oranges, the fruit-trees, or the olive, which is the tree which symbolizes peace, but to look at the lake of Butrint. As we were standing there, he said: «What are all these excavations here in Butrint for? These things are dead and gone»

«But they are necessary,» I told him, «because they are part of the great culture of mankind.»

«What culture, man?! Something different is needed here,» he said. «What do you think, Rodion Malinovsky,» said Khrushchev turning to the Soviet Minister of Defence, Marshal of the Soviet Union, «what if we set up a submarine base here?»

«Oh,» the Marshal exclaimed, «ochen khorosho!» (very good) «But their hosts were of a different opinion and did not allow the foreigners to decide. The masters of the house did not permit our ports to be turned into naval bases against our neighbours and friendly peoples.»

«As you know, a year later things became very acute between us. Why did they become acute? Because they were revisionists, imperialists. We had long known what they were. Stalin,» said comrade Enver Hoxha, «had known them even earlier and had told them to their faces: You will sell the Soviet Union to imperialism. And it turned out just as Stalin said. We recognised clearly what Khrushchev and company were when they made up to Yugoslav revisionists.»

«Our people,» said comrade Enver Hoxha, «are very patient. There are some scaly animals in Europe today who call themselves communists, who say that others recognised even earlier that Khrushchevites had betrayed Marxism-Leninism. No, no. That is all nonsense. The Party of Labour of Albania was the first to see through and expose the Khrushchevite renegades.»

«The aim of the Soviet revisionists was to enslave Albania and the Albanian people. But they failed. Then they turned to political blackmail and economic pressure, but the Party of Labour of Albania stood up to them cool-headedly and answered them resolutely. Our Party of Labour was neither deceived by their hypocritical smiles nor intimidated by their threats and blackmail. Our Party told Mikoyan and Khrushchev:

«We have ideological and political differences with you. If you go on like this, on this course and with these anti-Marxist methods, then we shall fight you.»

«But they were such arrogant megalomaniacs, so deeply imbued with the feelings of great state, superiority that they thought of us: «What are these irritating flies that pretend that they can bite us!»

«The Party of Labour of Albania told them:

«Watch out you, do not confuse economic and state problems with ideological and political questions, for if you do, so much the worse for you.»

«Oh!,» Mikoyan stared at us in astonishment. «The worse for us?!»

«Yes, the worse for you,» we replied.

«But you will die of starvation,» he said.

«No, we won't die of starvation,» we replied.

«You are going to sell out to the imperialists for 30 pieces of silver,» said Khrushchev.

«Neither Albania nor the Albanians have ever sold out to the imperialists, but you will sell out,» we said. «The Party of Labour of Albania has a right to its own opinion, regardless of whether you think differently.»

«The Soviet revisionist renegades continued this road of betrayal, thinking that we, Albanians, would bow in submission. Far from bowing in submission,» stressed comrade Enver Hoxha, «we were determined not only ourselves, but also those parties and states that would be assailed and attacked by the Khrushchevite revisionists. And the Party of Labour of Albania did this with determination and courage, regardless of any sacrifice; and we came under fire from all the modern revisionists, with the Soviet revisionists at the head. And the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people emerged from this struggle victorious, stronger and more tempered than ever.»

«At the Moscow talks, in which I took part, together with comrades Mehmet, Hysni and Ramiz (Members of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA), they threatened us that we would be the cause of damaging relations with the Soviet Union if we spoke against them at the Meeting of 81 parties, but we told them that no one could deprive us of our right to express our views freely, that they were ruining our relations, and that they must bear full responsibility for this. We also told them that they must honour the contracts and agreements signed by both sides, «otherwise they would cover themselves with disgrace.»

«We will cover ourselves with disgrace?» gasped Mikoyan.

«You will, and very badly at that,» we told them.

«You cannot deceive us by saying that you never cancel contracts, protocols, or agreements. You may not cancel contracts, protocols, or agreements, but you can fail to honour them and carry them out.»

«And that was what they did in fact, until they reached the point of breaking off diplomatic relations.»

«You already know what has happened to the revisionist Soviet Union. It is still on its feet, but it is discredited, it is no longer a Marxist-Leninist state, but a revisionist, capitalist, socialimperialist one. And the whole world knows this today. The Party of Labour of Albania made its contribution to the exposure of this plague. Therefore, no one can play games with the Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania and lead them a dance.»

«The Albanian people have a deep sense of justice. They are people who wish harm to nobody, apart from the enemies of mankind and Marxism-Leninism. The Albanian people and their Party of Labour want to live in

friendship with all those who fight for freedom and independence, for democracy and socialism, in honest and sincere friendship. With Marxist-Leninist we shall live in fraternity and steel-like comradeship. The Albanian state also wants to have normal, friendly, cultural and trade relations with the other states which are not socialist but which have no hostile intentions towards the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

«Any speculation on altering our correct Marxist-Leninist stands in politics, the economy, etc, is in vain. On political and ideological questions we cannot remain silent. Others may think what they like, but our Party stands firm on its Marxist-Leninist ideology. If someone does not like this stand, that is too bad, but it does not alter our position in the least. Any one who thinks that Albania, as a small country, can easily be trampled down, is gravely mistaken. Such an error could prove to be fatal to him.

«In this troubled but revolutionary world,» said comrade Enver Hoxha in conclusion, «our Party is a steel-like citadel. The peoples of the world, the proletariat, the Marxist-Leninists, wherever they are, approve and support the correct line and the heroic, honest and courageous stand of the Party of Labour of Albania.

«Therefore, brothers and sisters, with great confidence in our forces, with great confidence in the correct Marxist-Leninist course on which the Party is leading us, we must go forward, work, create, sweat and make sacrifices, we must be vigilant and ready, always vigilant and ready. The victories achieved and the socialism which we are building and which is advancing in our country, must be defended. He who allows himself to be lulled to sleep is lost. But we Albanians are never caught asleep. Fools fall asleep, but we keep a sharp lookout, we have buckled on the sword, have our finger on the trigger, and the pick in hand, we have filled the country with factories, hydro-power stations, and tractors, and we are going to build even more in the future, to produce even more and better. That is the glorious line of our Party of Labour, built on the basis of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.»

Later, comrade Enver Hoxha visited the ancient city of Butrint.

The director of the museum informed comrade Enver Hoxha about the archaeological studies, excavations and recent discoveries. Lately, he said, 36 inscriptions of decrees, have been unearthed.

Comrade Enver Hoxha showed great interest in the scientific work and gave some very valuable instructions for the future. «You archaeologists and scientists,» said com-



Comrade Enver Hoxha enthusiastically hailed by thousands of inhabitants of Saranda.



rade Enver Hoxha, «must carry out accurate studies. What is Illyrian is Illyrian, what is Roman or Greek, is Roman or Greek. In archaeological excavations not the pick, but the brush, the knife, the scalpel are used, so it is delicate work. Our culture has its specific character and occupies an honoured place among the cultures of ancient peoples. Therefore, we need to carry out studies, to excavate inch by inch. One must engage in restoration, another in sketching, another still in topography, and so on. Comparisons must be made and conclusions drawn about what belongs to our ancient culture and what is borrowed from other cultures, etc.»

At the meeting with the principal cadres of the district, after comrade Enver Hoxha had been informed about the situation, he spoke about the leading role of the Party in all sectors, and especially about the absolute necessity for every communist to master Marxism-Leninism and put into practice the line of the Party, which is the application of Marxism-Leninism in the concrete conditions of the country.

«I am particularly pleased,» he said among other things, «when I see that the Party, with its ceaseless and persistent work, is exerting a continuous influence on raising the ideological level of its members, a thing which is clearly expressed in the successes they have achieved in their work. Of course, to ensure that we are always in the vanguard, we members of the Party always have a great deal to do in this direction, but I observe that all the communists ranging from the rank and file members of the basic organization up to those in the top-level committees and apparatus, are well acquainted with the directions of the Party, and the plenums of the Central Committee, as well as the orientations issued by the Political Bureau and the Secretariat.

«In general, a rise in the ideological-political level of the communists can be seen everywhere in the Party, and this is especially reflected in the meetings and decisions of the basic party organizations. The comrades who contribute to the discussion in the party meetings, link the party directives well with life, with their practice and work. Linking party directives with life, with practice is a question of great importance, for this means to link our theory closely with practice. There can be no proper progress without theory or without the correct analysis and application of this theory in practice. Therefore, the communists must work ceaselessly to know, to learn and thoroughly master our unerring theory, Marxism-Leninism, and the line of our Party. Here I am not speaking of a scholastic study of theory. No, not by any means! We must do everything possible to get away from scholastic forms. Our Marxist-Leninist theory is vivid, revolutionary, always creative and for it to remain such, it must never be taken as something dry, petrified, divorced from concrete rea-

lity. On the contrary it must always serve this developing reality.

«Scholasticism is characteristic of the Middle Ages, of the universities of that time, which based their teaching on the dogmas of the Church, on abstract reasoning, which viewed everything in an idealist manner, as ordained by a heavenly power, and was not based at all on real life. All the philosophers of the Middle Ages had scholasticism as their method of working and thinking. But even at that time there were outstanding, progressive people who fought against this anti-scientific method. Some of the scholars of that time, like Giordano Bruno, Galileo Galilei, Erasmus of Rotterdam, or rebel heretics like the Taborites, or Thomas Muentzer, Jan Hus and others, who rose against the religious obscurantism of that period, suffered terrible persecution from the Inquisition which burnt some of them at the stake. The great Arab philosophers, like Ibn Sinna (Avicenna as the Europeans call him), Ibn Rashid (Averroes) and others, also disturbed the calm waters of mediaeval scholasticism.

«By this I mean it is not the scholastic stand towards and interpretation of reality, of social life that leads to change and progress, but the mastery and creative application of this scientific theory, which is based on the struggle to change society, on dialectical and historical materialism, and the development of class struggle. The whole theory, which represents this struggle, is always in motion, always in struggle, and through the struggle of antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions it carries society forward.»

Concluding, comrade Enver Hoxha said, «as long as we make efforts to gain thorough and correct understanding of the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the line of the Party which is based on it and on the activity of all the communists and people, as long as we feel that we must work even harder and make greater efforts every day to strengthen our Party and our Homeland, I am confident that things will always go well for us».

Comrade Enver Hoxha's talk was listened to with very great attention and interest by those present, who once again warmly greeted comrade Enver Hoxha and expressed their great love for and unwavering loyalty to the glorious Party of Labour of Albania. They assured the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party that they will work with all their strength to implement the historic decisions of the 7th Congress of the Party, the tasks laid down by the recent plenums of the Central Committee and the very important instructions he gave at this meeting.

Comrade Enver Hoxha left Saranda affectionately farewelled by the thousands of working people lining both sides of the streets.

A BROAD AND COMPLICATED FRONT OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

by **RAQI MADHI**

The Leninist theory of the revolution and historical experience show that socialism does not triumph simultaneously in all countries. After its birth, it is encircled by enemies. Between victorious socialism and dying capitalism, a stern and irreconcilable struggle goes on in the ideological field, on a national and international scale

AS IN ALL THE OTHER PROBLEMS OF THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM, THE PLA HAS A RICH EXPERIENCE, ALSO, IN THE QUESTIONS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE. ITS GENERALIZATIONS IN THIS FIELD ARE A VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION TO THE ENRICHMENT OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY, A NEW ILLUMINATION AND FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE THESES OF MARX, ENGELS, LENIN AND STALIN AT A NEW STAGE OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.

The PLA upholds the Marxist-Leninist theses that the class struggle in socialism is waged simultaneously on all fronts and in all directions, in the political, ideological, economic and military fields. **The struggle on the ideological front, as comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 7th Congress of the Party, constitutes one of the principal directions of the class struggle.**

RAQI MADHI — Scientific worker in the Institute of Marxist-Leninist studies at the CC of the PLA.



In socialist society, the ideological struggle is an objective phenomenon, which is conditioned by the development of the socialist construction and by its relationships with the surrounding world.

Along with the destruction of the capitalist political and economic order, the socialist revolution also overturns all the ideological and cultural institutions which support and defend this order. Socialist ideology, as the ideo-

logy of the class in power, becomes the dominant ideology. However, its extension in breadth and depth is an uninterrupted process. In socialism, the hang-overs of the old ideology, the petty-bourgeois psychology and the force of habit linger on for a long time. The socialist construction is in direct conflict with these hang-overs, which constitute a serious obstacle in its road of development. Lenin has emphasized that «when the revolution is carried out, what takes place is not the same as when a man dies, and is put away after his death. When the old society dies, its corpse cannot be put in a coffin and taken to the graveyard. It decomposes amongst us: this corpse putrefies and contaminates us all»¹. That is why the Marxist-Leninist Party wages a ceaseless allround

ideological struggle in order to liberate the working masses from the spiritual enslavement of alien ideologies.

In socialist society, new relations of production are built. But because socialism «cannot be fully mature from the economic view»² these relations still retain traces of capitalist society, such as «bourgeois right». On this basis, it comes about under certain conditions, not only that the remnants of the alien ideology in the consciousness of the working people are revived but also that new negative phenomena emerge if the Party of the working class does not wage a consistent struggle to restrict their emergence for the gradual narrowing of distinctions.

The Leninist theory of the revolution and historical experience show that socialism does not triumph simultaneously in all countries. After its birth, it is encircled by enemies. Between victorious socialism and dying capitalism, a stern and irreconcilable struggle goes on in the ideological field, on a national and international scale. Socialism has to cope with the allround ideological aggression of the bourgeois and revisionist world.

The defence of Marxism-Leninism has been and remains an imperative task of the Marxist-Leninist parties. However, in the conditions of the victory of socialism, this task assumes special significance and breadth. In socialist society, the laws and the principles of the Marxist-Leninist theory find a wide field of application, its various aspects come into operation and their correctness must be confirmed in the practice of socialist construction. This task is accompanied with an allround struggle for the defence and further development of the Marxist-Leninist theory on the basis of the new experience, in struggle against anti-Marxist theories and practices and all the anti-communist propaganda.

In these conditions, not only is the ideological struggle in the period of socialist construction unavoidable, but

it also has a very sharp character. Led by the Marxist-Leninist party, the working class and the working masses wage the ideological struggle against bourgeois and revisionist ideology as a whole, against all remnants and blemishes from the old society and against any other negative phenomenon which may emerge on the basis of them as well as in defence of the victories achieved in the political, military and economic fields, to ensure victory in the ideological field, too, and to build the classless society. The overthrown bourgeoisie, the internal and external enemies of socialism, wage their ideological struggle in order to return to capitalism. «In the final analysis,» says comrade Enver Hoxha, «the ideological struggle has to do with the question of whether socialism and communism will be built and the restoration of capitalism averted, or whether the door will be opened to the dissemination of bourgeois and revisionist ideology and the return to capitalism will be permitted.»³)

The struggle in ideology is all-sided. It is waged against enemies as well as among the people. It is a struggle for the resolution of antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions. Our Party has been and is opposed to the narrow one-sided concepts of the class struggle in ideology, which reduce it to a struggle that is waged mainly among the people. It has stressed that this struggle is directly connected with the defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the preservation, strengthening and development of the socialist economic order, with the strengthening and revolutionization of the party, with the uninterrupted development of the revolution. The contradiction between the Marxist-Leninist proletarian ideology and reactionary bourgeois and revisionist ideology, in every form and wherever it shows up, is an antagonist contradiction. This contradiction finds its expression both in the direct clash with the bourgeois and revisionist ideology and in the struggle which goes

on amongst the people to liberate them from the remnants and influences of alien ideology. Even when the struggle is waged among the people, it contains the two kinds of contradictions. Whereas the contradiction with the bearers of alien ideologies is non-antagonistic, the contradiction with the remnants and the influences of the alien ideology, themselves, is antagonistic. When they are obliged to speak about the need to wage the ideological struggle in socialist society, the revisionist theoreticians treat this struggle in a one-sided manner, as a struggle which is waged only amongst the people and only against certain unimportant remnants of the alien ideologies in the consciousness of the working masses, which do not constitute any danger to the socialist order. By minimizing the importance of the ideological struggle under socialism, in fact, they negate the necessity for it, just as they negate the necessity for the political and economic struggle.

The ideological struggle has its own features which distinguish it from the political and economic struggle. But this fact does not divorce it from them, they act in unity. As early as 1905, Lenin described the efforts to separate the main forms of the class struggle, to oppose them to one another, as wrong from the theoretical standpoint and absurd from the practical standpoint.

Basing itself on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and on the national and international experience, the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania stressed that under socialism, too, the class struggle goes on fiercely in its three forms simultaneously, because the slightest weakening of one front is a deviation from the Marxist-Leninist theory, causes the weakening of the class struggle as a whole, and brings incalculable harm to the cause of the working class and socialism.

The class struggle is complex. It is impossible to find a purely political,

purely ideological, or purely economic struggle.

For the final triumph of the proletarian ideology over the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, not only the ideological struggle but also the political and economic struggle are necessary, just as the tasks on the political and economic front are inconceivable apart from the world outlook, the proletarian ideology of our Party.

The PLA has waged the ideological struggle consistently at all stages of the revolution. However, after the seizure of the power, in the period of the socialist construction, this struggle became more organized, deeper-going and more perfected.

The ideological struggle under socialism is broad. It is waged simultaneously against the remnants of alien ideologies and against the pressure of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, against conservatism and against liberalism, against all the manifestations of idealist and reactionary world outlooks. It is waged on a national and international level. It covers all fields of life: political, social and economic. It is a complicated struggle, because it is waged against enemies, but it is also waged amongst the people, amongst the classes and strata of our own society, including the working class and the Party itself. In the struggle for the construction of socialism, the working class and the masses of working people transform themselves, too.



The ideological struggle constitutes one of the most important and difficult fronts of the struggle against the overthrown bourgeoisie and international imperialism. In 1920, V. I. Lenin stressed: «Our task is to overcome all resistance of the capitalists, not only military and political but also ideological resistance, which is the most deeply-rooted and stubborn resistance»⁴).

Today, in the conditions of the increasing severity of the class struggle on the national and international level, the struggle of the enemies on the ideological front has assumed the form of an organized, large-scale, ideological aggression. In the global policy of imperialism and socialimperialism against Albania, this aggression has a special place. The allround strengthening of its economic, political and military power, the enhancement of its international prestige, and the repeated defeats of the schemes and attempts of the enemies against socialist Albania, make them change tactics frequently. Along with their political and military aggression, they have intensified the struggle on the ideological front with the aim of creating breaches, favourable soil, and support-points for the achievement of their aims by means of the bloodless war. The ideological degeneration of the Soviet Union, and the other revisionist countries aroused the hopes of the enemies and encouraged them to use ideological aggression on a broad scale against us, too. Today this aggression is greater and more dangerous, because the ideological pressure of the revisionists, which acts in the most subtle forms and is cloaked as «Marxist» has been added to it.

Any political and military aggression is necessarily accompanied by ideological aggression, which serves as a precursor, as a means to prepare the terrain for the armed attack.

The long experience of the struggle between socialism and capitalism confirms this completely and this is borne out by the experience of our struggle in defence of the victories achieved.

However, the bitter experience of the degeneration of the Soviet Union and the former socialist countries into bourgeois states of the new type proves that the ideological aggression does not serve only as an associate element of military aggression, which prepares the ground for its action. Under given conditions it may also serve as a direct

means for the realization of the peaceful counter-revolution.

In the armed counter-revolution, armed actions are the main struggle which the enemy uses, while in the peaceful counter-revolution the main form of struggle is that in ideology. In the former case the enemy uses violence as the chief means, in the latter, the degeneration of the party, the cadres and the masses.

The essence of the ideological aggression, as comrade Enver Hoxha has said, lies in the encouragement of liberalism on the whole front. «By instigating liberalism,» comrade Enver Hoxha stressed, «our enemies want us to renounce our principled stand and struggle against modern revisionism, to give up our determined struggle against imperialism, and to open our borders «to the free circulation of people, ideas and culture». They want to spread a liberal and anarchic concept of socialist democracy so as to disrupt our proletarian discipline at work, and undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat. They want our people of culture and the arts to abandon proletarian partisanship in order to open the way to the blossoming of all sorts of decadent bourgeois and revisionist trends. They want all our people, our youth, and all the working people to embrace the degenerate ways of behaviour, tastes and mode of life of the rotten bourgeois-revisionist world.»⁵)

The aim of the enemies is to encourage liberalism, in the first place among those strata of the population which are most susceptible to ideological pressure, especially in the ranks of the youth and the intelligentsia.

Our Party has taken many measures to close the roads to ideological aggression and has carried out an all-sided activity for the revolutionary education and tempering of the masses of working people, in general, and of youth and the intelligentsia, in particular, in order to make them active forces of the revolution, and protect them from the designs and attacks of ene-

mies. In its activity for the education of youth and the intelligentsia, the PLA has taken account of their nature and social position, and has not allowed them to be transformed into reserves of the counter-revolution, as occurred in the revisionist countries.

The enemy groups of the recent years, which were the offspring of the ideological aggression, relied on liberalism and fostered it in every way for their own hostile aims.

While combating liberalism, the PLA has never underrated the struggle against conservatism. Its history is the history of the simultaneous struggle on the two flanks. Liberalism and conservatism are expressions of alien ideology. Although liberalism constitutes the essence of the ideological aggression, this aggression relies equally on conservatism, exploits the backward customs and all the blemishes of the old society, which still linger on in socialism.

Liberalism is an expression of ideological and political opportunism. Under the mask of the new, the modern, it opens the way to concessions to the class enemy, to conciliation with the influences of alien ideologies, with weaknesses and shortcomings. It is acceptance of peaceful coexistence with the enemy ideology.

Conservatism has its origin in the old ideologies which come from past centuries, but it may also draw its source from some practices and forms of work which were correct in their time, but which the progressive development of our life has cast aside. Conservatism hinders our advance and opposes the socialist construction and our ideology.

It hinders when what is outdated does not give way to the new. It opposes in all those instances when it expresses itself through the remnants of alien ideology or puts itself in the service of that ideology.

All the experience of the struggle of our Party against liberalism and conservatism shows that they are two sides of the same medal. Liberalism

is essentially an expression of conservatism in other forms to make it more acceptable. Therefore the struggle against them constitutes a single front against hostile ideology and activity.

Also merging with this front is the struggle against bureaucracy, as a form of thinking and acting in opposition to the interests of the people and socialism, which is founded on idealist concepts and bourgeois ideology. Bureaucracy does great damage to the socialist order and has an extremely dangerous influence on the cadres. Comrade Enver Hoxha, says: «Bureaucrats create a way of thinking and life in the family and society, of a new bourgeoisie within our people's democracy»⁶). The struggle against bureaucracy, says Lenin, is just as complicated as the struggle against the spontaneous petty-bourgeois tide, because bureaucracy infects the working people, and especially the cadres, with all the evils which flow from the bourgeois ideology. Therefore, our Party wages an uninterrupted, all-sided ideological struggle to root out bureaucracy, accompanied with concrete revolutionary measures, directed against both liberalism and conservatism, because, in practice, they do not appear and do not act separately.

The PLA has appreciated the danger posed by these enemies correctly and has combated any sort of distortion or underestimation of its instructions to ensure a consistent ideological struggle against liberalism, bureaucracy and conservatism.

The struggle against the bourgeois-revisionist ideological aggression is a protracted one, therefore it must be waged consistently and continuously. The experience of the ideological struggle which the PLA has been waging shows that the ideological aggression can be overcome and that the restoration of capitalism is not decreed by fate to be inevitable. Socialism has great economic, political and ideological, spiritual and material, potential. If the party of the working class is capable of appreciating and

using this potential, it is transformed into indomitable strength. The correct and uninterrupted waging of the class struggle and the leadership of this struggle by the Marxist-Leninist party are the guarantee that the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and its all-round aggression will be coped with. In this struggle, the activity of the party and of the working masses to block the roads to the ideological aggression and to avoid any influence from it, is of very great importance. This is the course the PLA has followed. It attaches very great importance to ensuring a correct understanding of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, to uncovering the ways and main directions it uses against Albania and to the organized struggle in all directions, and has never allowed this encirclement to endanger our socialist order or hinder its advance.



The Party of Labour of Albania has always considered the struggle against the remnants of alien ideologies, against backward customs and the petty-bourgeois psychology, as one of the most important tasks of the socialist revolution. Its whole history provides the clearest evidence of this concern. The allround development of the ideological and cultural revolution, led by the PLA, has served directly the struggle to uproot the hangovers of alien ideologies.

Due to the socio-economic conditions of Albania, the struggle against the influences of alien ideologies has been an extensive and difficult one. Before liberation, Albania was a backward country, with a very low economic and cultural level. Small-scale private property was the predominant form in Albania and there were pronounced survivals of feudal relations. The foreign invaders had left deep imprints of their ideologies and remnants, of their economic and political forms of state organization in the socio-economic life of Albania.

Led by the PLA, the Albanian people rose in struggle and destroyed the old economic and political organization, but they could not free themselves completely from the remnants of the alien ideologies, from the force of backward customs of the canon law and religion, or from the petty-bourgeois psychology. In the period of the national liberation revolution, some of these survivals were dealt a heavy blow, but the decisive struggle against them was to be waged after the establishment of the people's power, in the process of the socialist transformation of our entire reality. The struggle for socialism shows them up more clearly and makes them more intolerable.

This struggle has gone on during the whole process of the socialist revolution, but after the construction of the economic base of socialism it gained in depth and included all fields of socialist life. The great movements to put the general interest above the personal interest everywhere, the movements against religion, religious prejudices, and backward customs, for the complete emancipation of the woman, etc., constitute a great qualitative leap forward in the struggle against the ugliest manifestations of old ideologies.

These movements were conscious actions on the part of the working masses under the leadership of the PLA, which were determined by the level of maturity of the objective and subjective factors, the result of the deep socialist transformations, and especially of the allround work of the Party for the communist education of the working people.

It is a fact that these movements and their results marked an important victory of the proletarian ideology over the alien ideologies in the consciousness of the masses of working people. In the course of this profound revolutionary process, some of the alien manifestations were eliminated. But those which are left are not few, and they act with different intensities

and forms in different strata and zones and in given circumstances. They still remain a major retrogressive force and constitute a real danger to our socialist society. Therefore, the struggle against them continues. Comrade Enver Hoxha instructs us: «The hangovers from the past in people's consciousness, in their world outlook, cannot be wiped out so easily and quickly; some of them are wiped out or weakened, but others survive and spring up again in new forms if they are not combated.»⁷⁾

The struggle against all ideological remnants must be waged, none of them must be underrated. But this does not mean that at a given moment the blow should not be levelled against the one which constitutes the greatest danger and the main link with which all the other remnants are connected. One of the most dangerous enemies of socialism is the sense of private property and the petty-bourgeois psychology. «We have an extremely hidden enemy, which is more dangerous than many declared counterrevolutionaries... this enemy is the instinctive force of the small proprietor»⁸⁾.

Guided by the teachings of Lenin, the PLA followed the road of the liquidation of small-scale private property and the transformation of the small proprietor into a participant in the socialist collective property. Today the socialist attitude to property and work is characteristic of the Albanian working people.

Nonetheless, even at the present stage of the development, the psychology of the private property has not been completely done away with. Now it is expressed in the mania to take from society more than one contributes to it, to ensure high income at the expense of society and the socialist property.

The sense of private property has the quality that it can infect not only the former small owner, but also the other classes or strata of society which were divested of the means of production, such as the working class,

but it is mostly preserved and has the greatest influence among peasantry and the intelligentsia.

In the countryside, it is fostered among other things, by the existence of the cooperativists' personal plot. In our conditions, the personal plot does not constitute private property. It is meant to help satisfy some economic needs of the cooperativist family. But it carries the danger of the birth of private property if it is transformed into a source of market commodities, a source of trade and speculation. The private property mentality, which is still very strong in the peasant, increases this danger.

Although it does not constitute a class directly linked with one of the forms of property, the intelligentsia does not escape its influence. Even under socialism, the intelligentsia is not free from the sense of the private property. On the contrary, it constitutes a great and special danger to the intelligentsia. This feeling is fostered both by the petty-bourgeois psychology, which does not disappear at once, and by economic factors, especially by the existence of «bourgeois right», which cultivates the feeling of interest in greater gains.

Under socialism, the differences in rewards between workers of physical work and those of mental work are preserved. If these differences escape the control of the Party and the working class and begin to increase, they lead to the creation of privileged individuals and strata and stimulate the revival of the feeling of private property in other forms and ways, which, under given circumstances, can assume great and extremely dangerous proportions. This is why the Party has devoted special attention to the reduction of pay differentials.

The struggle for the eradication of the sense of private property is waged in the ranks of the working class, too. The waging of this struggle correctly is an indispensable condition for the enhancement of the leading role of the working class. It

cannot lead the struggle for the liberation of the working people from alien ideologies without first freeing itself from them, without first accomplishing its own re-education. In Albania, important successes have been achieved in the struggle for the revolutionary education and tempering of the working class. Many hangovers and prejudices which afflicted it in the past have now taken heavy blows. This has contributed to the ever greater enhancement of the leading role of the working class in our socialist society. However, even among the ranks of the working class there are manifestations of the feeling of the private property, and individuals who do not fully live up to the obligations and tasks of their class.

The sense of private property is often entangled and acts jointly with other remnants of old ideologies, such as backward customs, religious prejudices, and others, which, while being products of given economic relations of the past, in the conditions of the liquidation of these relations, are still based on the sense of private property and are reactivated together with and alongside this feeling. As a special expression of reactionary ideology, they constitute another great danger to socialism. «The remnants of the alien ideologies, the feeling of private property and the placing of personal interests above the general interest,» said comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the Party, «constitute that hot-bed in which bourgeois degeneration and revisionist and capitulationist views are born and fostered.»⁹⁾

This conclusion is the result of a thorough analysis of national and international historical experience.

Marx finds one of the main causes of the defeat of the French Revolution of 1848 and the re-establishment of the Bonapartist police regime in the fact that the revolution did not manage to paralyse the retrogressive force of the petty-bourgeois tide, the ignorance and conservatism of the petty-bourgeois strata, especially in

the countryside. Marx sees the patriarchal and petty-bourgeois remnants as a terrible force which leads to the reversing of historical development.

Immediately after the victory of the October Revolution, and bearing in mind the experience of history, Lenin, too, drew the attention of the Party and the working class to the danger which threatened the Soviet state from the petty-bourgeois tide. «If we fail to defeat it,» he stressed, «then, we are doomed to failure, like the French Revolution... and we must look this right in the eye, without comforting ourselves with empty words.»¹⁰⁾

The history of our own days provides other significant examples about the danger of vestiges of alien ideologies. The transformation of the Soviet Union into a capitalist state demonstrated that the revival of vestiges of alien ideologies, and especially of the petty-bourgeois mentality, the sense of private property and putting personal interests above the general interest, are extremely dangerous enemies on which the peaceful counter-revolution is based.

At the same time, however, the history of our days also confirms the teaching of Marx that the revolutionary awakening of toiling masses makes the socialist revolution invincible. The construction of socialism in Albania, the allround activity of our Party for the tempering of the revolutionary consciousness of the masses against all reactionary ideologies, old and new, provides an example of this.

Although a continuous and persistent struggle is waged in our country against ideological hangovers to prevent the bearers of them from putting themselves in opposition to our socialist order, there are occasions when they are reactivated and even transformed into antagonistic contradictions.

Gossip, grudges, bickering and quarrels, which stem from these ideological remnants are expressions of the aggravation of the contradiction between us and the bearers of these hangovers, which, if we do not intervene to

resolve it in time, is liable to turn into an antagonistic contradiction.

Some of the various crimes against socialist property, which are punished by the organs of the dictatorship, are open manifestations of the transformation of non-antagonistic contradictions into antagonistic ones. The most dangerous manifestation of this is the emergence of the enemies of socialism, who act against the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The transformation of alien remnants into active forces of regression does not occur spontaneously. The class enemy inside and outside the country encourages and supports them, while carelessness by the Party and the working class leaves the way open for their reactivation.

The PLA has never permitted the remnants of alien ideologies to be transformed into soil for the birth of revisionism and to endanger the victories of the socialist revolution. It has always fought them sternly and in a well-considered way. At every stage of this struggle it has always taken into consideration the level of the maturity of the objective and subjective conditions. The PLA has waged the struggle against the alien remnants in unity with the masses, and in the course of this struggle, the masses have been further tempered ideologically, have emerged from it stronger and more revolutionary.



Literature, art, education and science, develop and are strengthened through the consistent waging of the class struggle.

The class struggle in each of these fields has its own specific features and manifests itself in various forms, but its main directions are common to all of them.

The PLA activates literature, art, education, and science directly in the class struggle as important auxiliaries for the revolutionary education of the masses of working people and as power-

ful weapons for the construction of socialist society. But the class struggle is also waged in the very bosom of these spheres of spiritual culture against bourgeois and revisionist ideology, against its pressure, influences and remnants. This struggle has an allround character. It is waged among the people to overcome the blemishes and influences of alien ideologies, lack of clarity and vacillations, in order to form healthy concepts and put the workers of literature and art, education and science, in militant positions. It is waged, also, between us and the enemies, in order to cope with the bourgeois-revisionist pressure and to block the way to the penetration of their culture and ideology and rout all their agents in the ranks of the people and the Party.

Through the class struggle, literature, the arts, education and science are strengthened ideologically, are matured and raised to new levels and increase their ability and effectiveness, to act as real auxiliaries of the Party in the construction of socialist society.

After 1960, with the open betrayal by modern revisionism, the class struggle in these fields assumed greater proportions and a more acute character. Apart from the revival and re-activation of old concepts, under the all-round revisionist pressure, other alien concepts began to appear and to be cultivated.

Although the class struggle in the field of culture as a whole became more acute, it was not waged in the same scale, with the same intensity in all directions and sectors of culture. In the beginning, the enemies attacked literature and the arts directly.

Having an allround knowledge of the nature of literature and arts, as a complicated sector of the ideological front, which constitutes a very delicate terrain, and valuing their role and place in society, the PLA has given them special care, has consistently put the people working in literature and art in militant positions and has never permitted them to be turned into a basis for the counter-revolution.

The struggle in the field of literature

and arts has been waged continuously throughout the whole period of socialist construction. For them, as for the entire ideological front, the main danger has been the rightist danger. Albania entered the period of socialist construction with a literature of a new type, which had been born in the heat of the National Liberation War, but was still incompletely formed. Besides this, in the field of literature and the arts, many old concepts and practices from various western bourgeois trends which exerted a powerful influence, were inherited in the field of literature and the arts. Which course were they to take? This question was now placed squarely before them. The PLA gave powerful support to the new literature and arts which were born in the course of the war, and guided them to advance on the road of socialist realism.

Along with the struggle in the field of literature and art, the PLA has waged the class struggle, also, in education and science, considering the entire ideological front as a single front, on which the slightest relaxation of the struggle in one direction causes great harm to the work in the other sectors, too.

In the conditions of the complete construction of socialist society, education and culture are charged with a special role. They cannot play this role properly outside the class struggle.

The major socio-economic transformations and the allround deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution also made the further revolutionization of our school system indispensable.

The revolutionization of our school was, at the same time, a deepening and broadening of the front of the class struggle in the field of education. It represented a new attack by the proletarian ideology on all the hangovers and influences of the old bourgeois and revisionist school, on concepts which kept the school isolated from life, from production, and its aim was to further strengthen the socialist content of the Albanian school. This attack was sup-

ported by the broad masses of working people, but it was opposed by the enemies and encountered resistance from old and new alien concepts.

As a result of the class struggle which has been waged by the PLA in these fields, the Albanian school has achieved great successes and has been shaped as a new type of school, with original features and a popular character. The further revolutionization of the school, however, is a protracted process, just as the struggle for the final victory of the socialist ideology is a protracted one. In practice there are still unsolved problems. Therefore, the implementation of the program of revolutionization will be carried on through a consistent class struggle against bureaucratic, liberal and conservative, technocratic and intellectualist concepts and practices, against the influences of the bourgeois and revisionist schools.

In science, too, the class struggle is an all-sided struggle to ensure that our sciences serve the construction of socialism, the defence of the Homeland, and the communist education of the working masses directly and well. This struggle has been waged against the reactionary influences and concepts of science for the sake of science, of the science for narrow interests. In the course of the revolutionary development of the Albanian science, the struggle has been waged against influences of idealist philosophy as well as against the hangovers and influences of the methodology and methods of reactionary, bourgeois and revisionist science, against liberal, bureaucratic and technocratic concepts. In this struggle, a heavy blow has been struck at manifestations of objectivism and subjectivism, technocracy and intellectualism. However, the struggle goes on.

The heavy blow which has been struck at these negative phenomena should not be considered the end of them. They continue to operate and at given moments they become active and pose a serious danger.

Parallel with the struggle to over-

come the remnants and influences of alien ideology in the field of science, in order to cope successfully with the pressure of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, there must be ceaseless struggle to strengthen the feeling of national pride in science, too, to further strengthen its proletarian partisanship and class tendentiousness, so that it does not remain a simple recorder of the facts, but a powerful weapon which serves the revolutionary action of the working masses.

The class struggle in literature, the art, education and science has been directly linked with one of the main characteristics of them in socialism -- that art, literature, education and science in socialist Albania have become the property of the masses and serve them directly. Their transformation into the property of the people constitutes a vital, but very complicated problem. Many obstacles and difficulties have had to be overcome, many reactionary or inhibiting concepts have had to be resisted.

The aim of bourgeois and revisionist ideology and the activity of enemies has been to withdraw literature, the arts, education and science from under the leadership of the Party and keep them remote from the working masses.

Intellectualist and technocratic concepts shut science within the walls of scientific institutions, reduce its breathing space, keep it far removed from the great problems of the time.

Meanwhile, the old concepts and practices about education, which considered it as the exclusive field of the teacher, the pedagogue, on their part, hinder the realization of the leadership of the Party in the field of education and the direct participation of the masses in the solution of its problems.

Today, in literature and arts, the struggle is going on to raise the level of participation of the working class and the other masses of working people in the solution of problems which have to do with the strengthening of its class content and tendentiousness; in education and science it is to finally smash

the intellectualist, technocratic and bureaucratic concepts which hinder the involvement of the masses in studies, and restrict the participation of the working masses in the solution of the problems linked with the further revolutionization of our school.



The struggle in defence of the Marxist-Leninist theory is one of the permanent manifestations of the struggle of the working class for the triumph of the socialist revolution and the construction of socialist society.

In 1847, speaking of the necessity for the three forms of the struggle of the working class, Engels called the ideological struggle a «theoretical struggle». Engels used this term for a definite reason and not merely for ease of formulation. This constitutes the most important aspect of the ideological struggle. The entire ideological struggle serves the victory of Marxism-Leninism over the bourgeoisie and revisionism, but if the opponent is not defeated in the theoretical field, it is impossible to win the ideological struggle in the other fields.

The struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism is permanent. Capitalism, the bourgeoisie, whether in power or overthrown, and all the enemies of socialism, link their struggle for survival directly with the struggle against the Marxist-Leninist theory, which becomes a weapon in the hands of the working class and the other masses of working people for the revolutionary transformation of society. This struggle against the Marxist-Leninist theory is waged by its enemies in general, it is intensified in given directions and against the fundamental laws of this theory and is concentrated and concretized in the struggle against the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties which defend their revolutionary theory consistently, and which through their activity, confirm its strength and vitality, as well as the brilliant prospects which it opens to social development.

The struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism is a struggle which is waged inside the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class as well as outside it, a struggle which is waged around the problems of the revolution and the socialist construction inside a country and around the fundamental problems of the international communist movement and the victory of the socialist revolution on a world scale.

For this reason, that Marxist-Leninist party which is in a position to apply the Marxist-Leninist theory in a creative manner, to work out and apply a scientific revolutionary general line on this basis and to smash any deviation from the Marxist-Leninist theory and from its general line at any moment and in whatever form it may appear, and which is able to demonstrate the superiority of the communist order over the capitalist order, in theory and practice, carries out its tasks in this field well.

The success and the merit of the PLA are based on the fact that throughout its existence it has been able to grasp the dialectical unity between the external and internal front of the struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism, has known how to link them on a single front, and to fight on the national and international level simultaneously.

The PLA has closely linked the struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism on an international level with that to defend its own Marxist-Leninist line and keep it pure, and preserve its unity. This has helped our Party to temper and arm itself with rich experience, to place itself in the forefront of the struggle for the defence of Marxism-Leninism on an international level and to achieve important victories for itself and for the entire movement.

The continued struggle which the PLA has waged against all anti-party elements and groups and against any deviation from its correct line, has been at the same time, a defence of the Marxist-Leninist theory, too.

In the socialist countries, Marxism-Leninism is defended not only through

the struggle to strengthen the Party, but also in the whole practice of socialist construction. The construction of socialism is not only a confirmation of the correctness of the fundamental laws of scientific socialism, but also a direct defence of it. Under socialism, these laws find an extensive and allround application. But socialism is built in concrete conditions, therefore it is the duty of every party to apply them in a creative manner, in conformity with these conditions. The creative application of these laws brings new experience, a new contribution to the Marxist-Leninist theory.

With their theories of specific socialism, the modern revisionists make a distorted interpretation of the demand for the creative implementation of the Marxist-Leninist theory with the aim of denying the necessity for the operation of its universal laws in all countries. In reality, the so-called creative implementation of the Marxist-Leninist theory by the revisionist parties in power, their theories and practices, as well as their allround failures in the fields of the economy and culture, have provided imperialism with the weapons which are used as means to discredit the Marxist-Leninist theory and scientific socialism.

Therefore the faithful and creative application of the laws of the Marxist-

Leninist theory in the socialist construction is a defence of Marxism-Leninism by each revolutionary party of the working class.

A dialectical connection exists between the creative implementation, development and enrichment of Marxism-Leninism, and defence of it. The creative implementation assures the defence of Marxism-Leninism, while real defence of Marxism-Leninism from the attacks and the danger of revisionism ensures its further development and enrichment.

The entire activity of our Party is a heroic struggle for the defence of Marxism-Leninism, for the victory of socialism and communism.

Revisionism, which emerged in and eroded the foundation of certain parties, was transformed into a strong reactionary international trend. Its activity against Marxism-Leninism on all fronts did great damage to the international communist and workers' movement. A characteristic of the class struggle in the theoretical field on an international scale today is that it is being waged in the conditions of unprecedented ideological confusion which the different variants of revisionism have sown. This confusion is hindering the development of the international communist movement and disrupting the understanding of fundamental ques-

tions of the strategy and tactics of the revolution. In these conditions, the PLA stresses that its responsibilities and tasks in defence of the Marxist-Leninist theory have increased. It made an invaluable contribution through its 7th Congress, which supplied the answers, from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, to the most complicated problems of the present-day development of the socialist revolution and the revolutionary movements in the world, refuting all the revisionist and pseudo-revolutionary theories with scientific argument.

- 1) *V. I. Lenin. Collected Works, vol. 27, p. 501*
- 2) *V. I. Lenin. Collected Works, vol. 25, p. 559*
- 3) *Enver Hoxha. Report to the 5th Congress of the PLA, sec. ed. p. 124*
- 4) *V. I. Lenin. Collected Works, vol. 31, p. 423.*
- 5) *Enver Hoxha. «We must deepen the ideological struggle against the alien manifestations and liberal stands towards them», Tirana 1973, p. 14*
- 6) *Enver Hoxha. Speeches, 1967-1968, p. 56*
- 7) *Enver Hoxha. Speeches, 1967-1968, p. 89*
- 8) *V. I. Lenin. Collected Works, vol. 27, p. 256.*
- 9) *Enver Hoxha. Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 136*
- 10) *V. I. Lenin. Collected Works, vol. 32, p. 329*

THE ALBANIANS CONFRONTED WITH THE EASTERN CRISIS 1878-1881 *by* ALEKS BUDA

1.

FROM THE 30's TO THE 60's OF THE 19th CENTURY, THE ALBANIAN TERRITORIES BECAME THE ARENA OF A GENERAL RESISTANCE EXPRESSED IN DIFFERENT FORMS, AND DIRECTED AGAINST THE SUBLIME PORTE, A RESISTANCE WHICH MOUNTED TO WIDE-SPREAD REGIONAL UPRISINGS.

A NUMBER OF CONTEMPORARY OBSERVERS, AMONG WHOM COMPETENT STUDENTS OF ALBANIAN MATTERS, LIKE I. G. HAHN, HAD A CORRECT UNDERSTANDING OF THE PROFOUND REASONS UNDERLYING THESE MOVEMENTS. IT IS TRUE THAT THE NATIONAL ANTAGONISM WHICH DIVORCED THE ALBANIANS FROM THE OTTOMAN RULERS WAS NOT AGGRAVATED FURTHER, AS IN THE CASE OF THE OTHER BALKAN PEOPLES, AMONG WHOM NATIONAL ANTAGONISM WENT HAND IN HAND WITH SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS ANTAGONISM (BECAUSE IN THEIR MAJORITY THE ALBANIANS WERE OF THE MOSLEM FAITH AND THERE WAS A STRONG FEUDAL-LANDED CLASS IN ALBANIA WHICH WAS LINKED TO THE PORTE WITH A SERIES OF INTERESTS).

However, these facts could only mitigate, but not resolve the sharp contradiction which divided the masses of Albanian peasants and town people from the centralist bureaucratic regime established in Albania with the Tanzimat Reforms, a regime which saddled them with fresh and hateful burdens, imposing on them heavy financial obligations, the compulsory military service, corrupted courts of justice, and so on. The appointment of new functionaries, chiefly foreigners, by the Sublime Porte, removed a number of the Albanian feudal lords from the political scene of the country and pushed them into opposition. All these circumstances contributed to making the Albanian territories a neuralgic point of the Ottoman Empire in those years, the more so if we recall that, armed as they were

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in general, the Albanians constituted an important military force.

The situation inside Albania constituted one of the factors which helped to bring about the further weakening of the Empire in those fatal years. Developments in Albania, in fact, were only a link in the common chain of struggle of the Balkan peoples for liberation from the autocracy of the Porte, and this is how these events were also considered by the more farsighted contemporaries who had a clearer view of the matter.

2.

However, the subjective aspect did not completely respond to the objective reality which was making headway: without a clear and common political program, these armed movements of a mass character and with roots strongly implanted in the people, risked being channelled into lo-

cal, poorly organized actions and eventually defeated as in fact happened. However, as early as the 30's, they demanded that the Albanians be given separate status, a sort of autonomy, making them an exception in the context of the centralizing reforms. This demand, despite its zig-zags, remained, in reality, on the order of the day up till the collapse of the Empire as a key problem in the Albanian-Ottoman relations.

The demands of these movements that the country should be excluded from centralizing reforms did not always mean mere return to the old regime of the pre-Tanzimat period. With the initial demands that the administration in the Albanian regions should be handed over to the local nobility, with the case of the other neighbouring Balkan countries quoted as an informative example, these movements go over to more advanced demands which begin to assume more and more concrete economic-social content, and respond better to the interests of the local bourgeoisie as well as the landed proprietors, who were orientating themselves more and more towards the market economy, and felt to some extent, the impediments raised by the decaying Empire to the free development of the forces of the country.

To assert that the new social forces, the Albanian bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia born from its ranks, were as yet unable to take the situation completely in their hands, or that they were unable to direct, these

*The Albanian League of the years 1878-1881
is the first confrontation of the organized Albanian people with the
Ottoman rulers and with the great powers, which wanted
to turn them into a token of barter, a confrontation also with the expansionist
policy of the neighbouring Balkan states, against which
it defended the national unity of the Albanian people, the
integrity of their land and their right to their own national state*

movements, is a far from negating — as part of foreign historiographers do — the new content which these popular movements are assuming, for they were movements which constituted both the background against which our National Renaissance grew up and developed, and its first stage.

The theoretical elaboration of this experience is the work of a number of distinguished ideologues of the years 1845-1871, an effort unfruitful as yet for the creation of a first united organizational centre in Constantinople, where a large number of the Albanian intelligentsia of that time was gathered.

As N. Veqilharxhi, E. Mitko, and Z. Jubani, conceived it, on the basis of their community of territory, language and history, the Albanians constituted an entity with common economic-political and cultural interests, regardless of the regional division of their country and, more so, of their division into three rival religions, expressions of foreign political and cultural influences. The demands for teaching to be imparted in the mother tongue and for new laws and special economic reforms to be adopted for the Albanians and destined only for the Albanian territories, were complementary to the call for a special status, and the hub of all demands for Albanian territorial autonomy in the framework of the Ottoman Empire.

3.

Obviously, the settling of Albanian affairs was not an exclusive problem

of the Albanians; in the first place, it brought them face to face with the Porte and, consequently, posed the question of what attitude the Porte would maintain and whether the Albanians would find allies on the international plane, in the first place, among their Balkan neighbours, in this confrontation.

The hopes of these Albanian leading figures that the Porte itself would be interested in a solution which, they believed, would not affect the integrity of the Empire, but, on the contrary would contribute to guarantee it, because it would place the Albanian territories in such a position as to cope successfully with the intentions of the neighbouring countries, did not come true at the time of the Constitution of the year 1876, either. Such a solution, if achieved, would spell the beginning of the downfall of the Empire, believed the Great Vizir, Midhat Pasha, renowned for his liberal views. According to the political conception of the Porte, the Moslem Albanians in the West and Arabs in the East should be the pillars of the teocratic Ottoman state, an idea which, in those years, received the first fatal blow precisely by the Albanians.

The plight to which the Porte had reduced Albania, created very favourable circumstances for the ruling circles of the other Balkan states to realize their bold plans of expansion. In the opinion of the rulers of Montenegro, Serbia and others, as

well as of the Russian diplomacy behind them, the incessant uprisings in Albania made this country and the Albanians a very important factor, as the Serbian Prime Minister, Garachanin, for example, put it; but as Abdyl Frashëri said, they saw in the Albanians not their «allies» but their «subjects». Proceeding from an allegedly scientific thesis, which was later proved «theoretically» by Cvijich, on the Albanians constituting an entity of as yet uncrystallized and indefinite nationality, the ruling circles of these countries hatched up plans and concluded agreements about the division of Albanian territories with the powers which defended the status quo prevailing in the international arena, and on the other hand, with Russia giving every possible support to the expansionist policy of the Christian Balkan states with a view to ensuring its own influence and expansion towards the Mediterranean, the Albanian National Movement had no other way, while waiting for a more favourable turn in the international situation, except to leave the Albanians inside the framework of the Ottoman Empire as provided for by the international peace treaties of Paris in 1856, thus guaranteeing to the Albanian people their unity as well as the integrity of their territories, as one of the fundamental conditions for their national existence. This was a realistic solution, the only one possible in these circumstances, compared to the more or less unrealizable plans of making of the small

mountain region of Mirdita, which was up in arms, an «Albanian Piedmont», around which the future Albanian state would be created. But with such a solution it was still impossible to guarantee the autonomy, the union of the Albanian territories into an administrative unity; thus the Albanian problem remained an internal Albanian-Turkish problem. The struggle for the fulfilment of these demands on the internal and international political plane, was a major problem calling for solution, a task which the activists of our Renaissance shouldered and carried further ahead, although they were unable to fulfil it in the years of the Eastern crisis.

We stopped to consider this question at length in order to point out the gap which, in our opinion, exists in the foreign historical literature on Albania and the Eastern crisis: it has the fundamental shortcoming that it does not recognize or, worse still, negates the fact that the Albanian Renaissance, as we said above, had formulated its basic program of attitudes and action long before the outbreak of the Eastern crisis and the Russian-Turkish War.

4.

The events of the war and the total defeat of the Empire, the invasion of the Albanian territories by the military forces of Russia's Balkan allies, the «preliminaries» of peace in Adrianople, and in the end, the Treaty of Santo Stefano, created the conviction in Albania that the collapse of the Empire was impending, that in these circumstances the end of Turkey might also mark the end of Albania.

At these crucial moments an objective was achieved, which despite all efforts, had been unattainable so far: a single organizational centre representing the Albanian national movement was created, the «Central Committee for the Defence of the National Rights of the Albanians» began

its secret activity in Constantinople, with the most progressive forces of the Albanian intelligentsia of the time participating in it.

The Committee was aware that the question on the order of the day was to take in its own hands and direct the mass movement, which, though spontaneous, was unfolding in the Albanian regions affected by the events of the war so as to face up to all the eventualities with its own forces, now that the Turkish army had been put out of action and the forces of the neighbouring countries were invading Albania's border regions.

Another issue which attracted the attention of the Committee was that of the relations with the neighbouring countries and the securing of an eventual ally for the Albanian movement.

The outbreak and the extension of the crisis of the years 1875-1877, in the beginning, had created objective possibilities for the integration of the Albanian insurrectional movement into the common front of the oppressed nationalities which were up in arms in the Balkans. In a number of cases, direct links were established, for instance, between the Mirdita fighters and the Montenegrins. But they were not raised to a higher level, so that after a short time they turned into the opposite direction, became the source of open conflicts. In dividing the Ottoman legacy, the great capitalist powers both when they trumpeted aloud that they were for the preservation of the status quo and when they pretended to be helping the struggle of the oppressed peoples, were, in fact, seeking to further their ends of territorial expansion, or to secure, through the strengthening of their clients, the new Balkan monarchies, more solid political-strategic bases for their further penetration into the Balkans.

However, most of this Ottoman legacy was made up of territories inhabited by Albanians, as well as by the populations of Macedonia, not by Turkish territories. The creation of

the Western Bulgarian Provinces, which Russia had imposed upon the Conference of Constantinople in January 1877, cut out large Albanian inhabited territories reaching up to the Drin River, and this slicing up of the Albanian land was made even worse by the Treaty of Santo Stefano. The course of events of the Montenegrin and Serbian-Turkish War of the years 1876-1878, on the other hand, confirmed that the ruling circles in these countries had in mind more than the liberation and the national unification of their peoples.

The Montenegrin and Serbian troops, which in the course of military operations, had entered territories inhabited by Moslem Albanians, proceeded forthwith to a large action of the depopulation of these territories. Prince Nicholas, who had assured the representatives of the Albanian highlanders of the North in the beginning of the hostilities that he had no claims over the Albanian territories and that he sought only to direct his expansion towards the province of Herzegovina inhabited by a population of the same Slav stock, by the end of the hostilities declared that he would not lay down arms before making the Drin River the southern border of his country. On the other hand, Prince Milan of Serbia did not lag behind, either, and in the beginning of the war, in 1876, he was busily hatching up plans for the annexation of part of Albanian territories as his share of war spoils.

Contributing to the deterioration of the situation the Albanian movement was living through there was also the stand adopted by the great powers towards the Albanian question. The stand towards Albania, expressed in the partition of Albanian territories by the Treaty of Santo Stefano which defined the borders of Bulgaria, Montenegro and Serbia, indicated that Czarist diplomacy found it more profitable to tie up to its policy the Slav states of the Balkans in this manner. But, on the other

hand, the sworn enemies of Russia, namely, Great Britain and Austro-Hungary, which were the advocates of the status quo in the Balkans, were not more inclined towards meeting the demands of the Albanians, either. In the views of this group of great powers, in which Germany, too, was included, Albania was to play the role of a mere token of barter. Lord Derby, the British Foreign Secretary, Bismarck, the German Chancellor, and Waddington, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, offered Albania to Italy in order to keep its attention away from other objectives in which they themselves had an interest such as the Mediterranean Trentino or Tunis. Russia encouraged Italy to land in Albania, for in this manner Austria, which was actually invading Bosnia, would be brought under pressure. Vienna, itself, which in the agreement it had entered with Russia in Reichstadt and Budapest in 1876-1877 had advanced the idea of the creation of an autonomous Albanian principality in case of collapse of Turkey, now preferred to have Albania kept inside the framework of the Ottoman Empire, for as long as the «could not substitute something better for this situation» (Andrassy) — this implying Austrian domination.

5.

In these conditions, the tactic of the Albanian National Movement could not possibly be directed against the Porte alone, as was the case of the other peoples of the Balkans. It had to wage its battle on two fronts: against the aggressive policy of the Balkan monarchies for the defence of territorial integrity and national unity, as well as against the Porte in order to win Albania's autonomy in a united national territory. But none of these aims would be achieved otherwise than with a struggle for the complete affirmation of the principle of nationality against all adverse

factors — the neighbouring governments and the Porte.

As the resultant of all these factors, on June 1878 on the eve of the Berlin Congress, «the Albanian League» was formed. Although in the beginning it had a heterogenous composition, as far as its political and social concepts and orientations were concerned, through a process of inner revolution, it became a strong political organization of the masses, the first pan-Albanian national organization which in its program claimed to represent the entire Albanian nation, as it in fact did. With its name is linked the struggle of the Albanian people for the defence of their national rights in the stormy years of the Eastern crisis.

6.

The Berlin Congress and its decisions did not essentially differ from the Treaty of Santo Stefano in the stand towards the Albanians.

The Congress gave for the first time the Albanians the opportunity to present their demands to an international forum in the memorandums sent in June 1878 from Shkodra to the British Prime Minister Lord Beaconsfield, from Constantinople to the foreign ministers, and from other cities directly to the Congress. There the Albanian demands were expressed in two directions: against any territorial amputation of the Albanian land and for changes in their relations with the Sublime Porte, for the setting up of an international commission *ad hoc* and the drawing up of special «organic rules» — in a word for the recognition of the autonomous status of the Albanian territories.

However, none of these demands was taken into consideration.

The application of territorial changes, with the exception of those provided for Serbia which were carried out in the course of war operations, met with the determined opposition of the Albanians. On the Montenegrin

border the cession of Plava and Gucia, and later, as a compensation, of Hot and Gruda, gave rise to bloody clashes between the Albanians and Montenegrins, and was postponed.

The danger that the situation created in Albania, or as it began to be termed, «the Albanian question» might result in a fresh Balkan war, which hid in itself the threat of a broader international conflict, was in direct opposition with the British and Austrian interests which demanded the «pacification» of the Balkans and the consolidation of the Porte, the more so as events in Albania affected Austrian interests even more closely, as they could not fail to influence events in neighbouring Bosnia which had just been occupied by Austro-Hungary.

It was becoming clear to public opinion that behind the resistance of the Albanians there was something else, something new to official Europe: a powerful Albanian national movement which now was liberating itself from all tutelage, in which the Porte tried to keep it. The idea that the demands of the Albanians did not become less legitimate when the Porte supported them in order to diminish its territorial losses, began to gain ground among international public opinion.

In these conditions, along with the armed struggle, an important task of the Albanian League was to try to break the blockade of silence the Porte had imposed on the Albanian events and the campaign of misinformation which the governments of the Balkan states carried out in order to represent the Albanian movement as a movement of fanaticized islamic mobs and the League of Prizren as an ill-camouflaged organ of the Porte (unfortunately such concepts deprived of all basis continue to subsist, even to this day in a certain literature claiming to be scientific!). An important role was played in this direction by the ideologists of the League, Roman-Catholic Pashko Vasa from Shkodra, Christian-Orthodox Jani Vreto from

Leskovik, Eftim Mitko and Eftim Brandi from Korça, Moslem Shemse-din Samiu from Frashëri, the Arbëresh from Salamina of Greece Kullurioti, the Arbëresh from Calabria De Rada (we give these details in order to show the broad pan-Albanian extension that this intellectual movement had assumed). With correct consistency, the political literature which was born from the heat of this struggle put the Albanian movement there where it had its historical place, among the modern movements for national emancipation and unity.

7.

Facts are stubborn and reality cannot be denied for long. At last the truth began to out in the Albanian question as well. The determined and protracted resistance of the Albanians impressed the great powers directly interested in this question and led them to a somewhat more realistic approach to the «Albanian question». They were seeing that without taking, in one way or another, the Albanian demands into consideration, this centre of conflicts could not be eliminated and the threat of a new international conflagration in the Balkans could not be averted. The first signs of a new orientation were manifest among some British diplomats in 1880. The newly formed liberal cabinet was interested in a rapid success in the Parliament; and Prime-minister Gladstone himself was of the opinion that a quick solution to the Albanian question, for the aggravation of which he held his predecessor, Lord Beaconsfield, responsible, could serve this purpose.

In this stand he was supported by the British ambassadors to the Porte, Layard, and later, Goschen, who were of the opinion that the regulation of border disputes could not be achieved without first satisfying the legitimate demands of the Albanians. Such a solution, however, could not be reached by granting local auton-

my only to the vilayet of Shkodra, as this was in open contradiction to Albanian claims, in the first place, as well as British interests. Proceeding from what was happening in Albania, Goschen stressed that it was clear now that the Albanians «constituted an element which no future political combination in the East could overlook». British policy would profit from the admission of this fact, the ambassador thought, because with the creation of a future Albanian state, with a mainly Moslem population, the further advance of the Russian influence in the Balkans would be checked.

When the Berlin Conference of Ambassadors in June 1880 proved unable to carry the solution of the pending problems further ahead, the British diplomacy tried to raise the Albanian question, starting from the implementation of Article 23 of the Berlin Treaty concerning the administration of provinces. In July and August, the British representative Fitzmorice demanded from the «European Commission for Eastern Rumelia» in Constantinople that the vilayets of «Kosova, Shkodra, Manastir and Ioannina» should be excluded from the draft-law on the administration of the other vilayets of European Turkey. Four purely Albanian sandjaks, which might be united in a «Great Albania», as he put it, could be created here.

But the British proposal met with strong opposition not only on the part of Russia, but also of that of Austro-Hungary. Thus, all the British efforts boiled down to the August 18, 1880 declaration to the Porte which, without binding it down to do anything, said that the commission would have nothing to the contrary if the Porte united the Albanian regions into a single Albanian vilayet — precisely what it was not to the Porte's interest to do. When finally, in November 1880, the «question of Ulqin», which threatened to touch off an international conflict was solved by means of a joint action of the fleets of the great powers and Turkish troops which reduced the

armed resistance of the League and handed this Albanian town over to Montenegro, then the British policy, too, in the person of the same Fitzmorice, joined the other powers in demanding from the Porte the implementation of a «strong course» in Albania.

8.

Right from the first steps of the activity of the «Albanian Committee» and the «League», the idea of the defence of the territorial integrity was connected with the idea of national unity and ran parallel with the demand for autonomy. According to the occasion, now this and now that link of this chain came more to the fore, but all of them were always present in all the activity of the League.

But, while for the defence of territorial integrity, the Albanian movement could rely on a compact internal front which more or less enjoyed also the support of the Porte, the struggle for the achievement of autonomy could not be waged without a political and ideological internal struggle which was carried out in the central and local organizations of the Albanian movement.

The struggle for autonomy was led by a group of people who were termed as «radical» in the reports of contemporary European diplomacy, personalities with progressive political and cultural views. The strength of this group consisted in the fact that behind it stood the broad masses of the people with their deep-rooted hatred towards the Porte, which had not only shown itself powerless in the defence of Albanian territories, but even worse, as they put it, had put them up for auction without asking the true masters of the country — the Albanians. The resentment of the masses against the corrupt bureaucratic system of the Porte was just as great, as they felt its consequences directly on their backs. It was not casual that when agitation against the territorial concessions of the Porte reached its

peak, the hatred of the masses of the people against the organs of Turkish administration broke out at the same time, which led to the closing of the courts of law, the dispersion of the organs of administration, even to the assassination of functionaries of the Porte — as was the case with the killing of Marshal Mehmet Ali Pasha by the people of Gjakova, a thing which recalled the Paris Commune to the diplomatic observers. So much so that one of its leaders, Cluseret, a friend of Pashko Vasa's, who lived as an emigree in Turkey, was considered by these too «sensitive» observers as the true inspirer of the »commu-nard terror in Albania»!

The struggle for the achievement of autonomy had to be waged through consistent efforts against the interference of the Porte, which through his men within the League, the pashas, the turcomans and the reactionary clergy, tried to keep the Albanian League within such limits as were convenient to the Porte in opposing the cession of its territories. When the situation became critical the Porte would tell the Albanians that the Sultan was on the point of issuing a **ferman** on the creation of the united Albanian vilayet, but all these deceptive promises were forgotten as soon as the critical situation was over.

Under these circumstances, the alliance of the various forces on which the Prizren League hinged, went through a series of vacillations. At one moment or another, now this now that wing prevailed, which in some cases led to secession of individual groups from, and reshuffle of the League, to the prevalence of the more progressive regional organizations, like those of Shkodra, Gjirokastra and Ioannina, over the centre. But regardless of these internal and external obstacles, the trend for autonomy went consistently developing on an ascending line, beginning from the first memorandums of June 1878 and the decisions of the League in November 1878, when the common wish of the

Albanian nation to live in a united Albanian vilayet, with Albanian officials and Albanian schools, with their own army and with their administration centre in an Albanian city, was made.

It was according to this basic program that the autonomists went about it during these years. A new culmination point in this direction was the meeting held at Gjirokastra in August 1880, where the demand of Albania's secession from the Porte into a loose connection like that which linked Egypt and Bulgaria with the Sultan as their suzerain, was made. In the meaning the more progressive representatives of the League gave it, it would not be simply secession but a radical turn in the economic, social, and political life of the country. After the example of the bourgeois-democratic states of the time, Albania would become an advanced state, where the rights of all citizens would be respected, regardless of their religion. Were Albania to become free, it would need neither kings, nor princes who suck the blood of the people. Albania would be governed by a sort of democracy, the ideologist of the Albanian movement, Sami Frashëri, wrote in these days, expounding the ideas he would develop later, in his program for the entire national movement and the future Albanian state.

When the last hopes in an action of British diplomacy — the forced cession of Ulqin showed what could be expected from it — vanished, the radical autonomist wing in the League went over to action. In several Albanian cities of Kosova and Dibra the last Turkish officials and officers were driven out and the «Provisional Government» of Albania was proclaimed at the Prizren headquarters of the League. Although in the difficult conditions caused by its conflict with the Porte and its men, within the short time of its existence, the League proved that the Albanians were quite capable of governing themselves. What diplomatic observers (like, for example, the British Consul Blont)

noted was that, in its activities, the League never followed the anti-Christian and anti-Slav discrimination line which its opponents attributed to it.

Frightened by the events in North-eastern Albania which threatened to spread throughout the country, the Porte hastened to patch up its still pending border quarrel with Greece on March 24, 1881, making the very territorial concessions which, relying on the resistance of the Albanians, it had opposed up till that time. In these conditions, the League found itself alone in front of the Porte and its superior military forces which now, after the Greek-Turkish agreement, had their hands free for operations against Albania.

In the end of April 1881, after fierce armed resistance, the Albanian League was defeated, and the Provisional Government dissolved.

The Albanian League, which carried out its activity in the years of the Eastern crisis and which, for the reasons we expounded, lived on only till 1881, constituted a marked event, all the same. As all great historical events, it set huge forces in motion and mobilized the most progressive-minded people of the nation, exerting deep influence on all the modern history of the Albanian people. The Albanian League of the years 1878-1881 is the first confrontation of the organized Albanian people with the Ottoman rulers and the Great Power which wanted to turn them into a token of barter, a confrontation also with the expansionist policy of the Balkan states against which it defended the national unity of the Albanian people, the integrity of their land and their right to their own national state. The aims for which the League fought remained further on the order of the day; the Albanian people realized them in new conditions, just as difficult as those of the great Eastern crisis, in the years of the Balkan War of 1912, with the creation of their independent state, but with a cruelly amputated territory.

THE TECHNICAL-SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION AND ITS SPECIAL FEATURES IN ALBANIA

by VLADIMIR MISJA

THROUGH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DIRECTIVES OF THE PARTY AND THE TEACHINGS OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, IMPORTANT RESULTS HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TECHNICAL-SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION IN ALBANIA WHICH HAVE LED TO THE INCREASE AND PERFECTING OF THE MATERIAL ELEMENTS OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES. THIS REVOLUTION INCLUDES ALL THE BRANCHES OF MATERIAL PRODUCTION AND ALL THE COMPONENTS OF THE PROCESS OF PRODUCTION: THE IMPLEMENTS AND OBJECTS OF LABOUR, THE TECHNOLOGY, THE ENERGY BASE, THE ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT OF PRODUCTION, ETC.

The level of development of the branches of material production and their transforming potential in the field of material resources and the production of material blessings are one of the main indications of the results attained in this direction. In comparison with 1960, in 1976 total social production and investments had increased three times over, industrial production 4.1 times, at a time when the country's population had increased 30 per cent. In 1976 as against 1950,

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the specific weight of industrial production in total social production of all the branches of the national economy had increased about three fold. In this period the level of mechanization, the supply of energy and equipment for the branches of production increased rapidly, the production of a series of new items began, the structure of the branches of the national economy and the technology of production improved, the local processing of raw materials was raised to a higher level, the level of concentration and specialization of production was raised. In this period, in

the sector of industry, geological reserves and other sources of raw materials increased greatly, the industrial production of iron and steel began, the process of differentiation of the branches of industry deepened, and the range of new products increased considerably.

In the sector of industry, the structure of various branches has been improved, and the levels of technical equipment and the productivity of labour have been raised. Albanian industry today is working with new technology, the old artisan forms of work have been eliminated and the forms of organization and management of production are steadily improving. In the sector of agriculture, the application of agrotechnical and zootechnical measures has been improved, the level of organization of production and the mechanization of the work processes has been raised to a higher level, and this has brought about increased agricultural production.

*The technical-scientific revolution
in Albania coincides in time with the socialist
revolution and is an integral part of it. It not only causes changes
in the technical base, but also leads to improvement of the socialist
relations of production and the deepening
and the development of the ideological
and cultural revolution .*

The vigorous increase of the basic funds, the rapid development of industry, and within it, the development of such branches as the power, engineering and chemical industries, the development of which coincides with the main directions of the technical progress, such as electrification, mechanization and the use of chemical methods in the processes of production, have played an important role in deepening the technical-scientific revolution and raising the technical level of production. In 1976 as against 1960, while total industrial production increased 4.1 times over, that of the electric power industry increased 7.5 times over, that of the engineering industry 15.3 times over, and the chemical industry 32.6 times over. As a result of the rapid development of the engineering industry and the raising of the technical level in this branch, the rate of increase of production of machinery to equip the various branches of the national eco-

nomy in the recent years has been four times higher than that of industrial production as a whole. Some

general indices of the rising technical level and the potential of our national economy are given in the table below:

	1960	1970	1976
1. Approximate increase of basic funds (in value) for the whole economy per capita of active population	1.0	2.1	2.9
For the sector of industry alone	1.0	2.2	3.4
2. Proportion of industry in total social production (in percent)	49.0	57.0	62.0
3. Proportion of production of industrial raw materials in the total production of the processing industry (in percent)	26.0	43.0	47.0
4. Increase of industrial production of implements of labour	1.0	6.4	13.5
5. Proportion of the electric power, engineering, chemical, and building materials industry in total industrial production (in percent)	10.0	21.0	28.0
6. Increase of installed capacities of power stations	1.0	3.7	9.0
7. Increase of production of electric power per capita of population	1.0	3.7	5.6

In this process of revolutionary transformations Albanian technical-scientific thinking has entered the road of maturity and rapid development. This development finds its reflection, also, in the numerical growth and the raise of the ideological and professional level of the working class and specialists of medium and higher training, in the extension of the mass movement for innovations and technical progress, in the expansion and strengthening of the experimental base, in the vigorous development of higher schools and institutes of scientific research. In 1976 as against 1960, the number of workers had increased 2.8 fold and that of the working people with high training 7.3 fold, or about 50 fold as against 1950. Whereas in pre-Liberation Albania there were only 380 cadres with higher education, of whom only 95 engineers, economists and higher specialists of agriculture, today several thousand cadres of higher training are directly engaged in scientific research and experimental work in the specialized scientific research institutes and centres, besides tens of thousands of others who are engaged in valuable scientific research work in the different links of production.

These results of the development of the technical-scientific revolution and the rise in the technical level of the various branches of the national economy became possible only in the conditions of the socialist order. However, this technical-scientific revolution and technological advance of our national economy are characterized by certain socio-economic features and consequences which stem from the socialist nature of the socio-economic order. In its sphere of action, the technical-scientific revolution is subject to the laws of the socialist proletarian revolution in the context of which it is developing, as well as to the particular laws of science and technology. The special features and characteristics of the technical-scientific revolution that is being carried

out in Albania stem, in the first place, from the socialist nature of the socio-economic order. Some of the basic features of the technical progress and technical-scientific revolution in Albania are: its proletarian partisanship, its planned character, its uninterrupted development at high rates, its mass character, and the broad participation of the masses in it, etc.

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Developing within the framework of socialist relations, the technical-scientific revolution is guided by the proletarian ideology, which gives it a broad radius of action in the general development of the country. It aims at a development of science and the material-technical base which conforms to the proletarian ideology and the general interests. The principles of Marxism-Leninism, the ideology of the working class, the directives of our Party and the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha are the foundation of this revolution.

In our country, the technical-scientific revolution is subject to the fundamental aim of the socialist production — the ever better fulfilment of the material and cultural needs of the working masses. By raising the economy to a higher scientific and technical level, it helps to improve and lighten working conditions, to narrow the essential distinctions between mental and physical work by more and more enriching physical work with elements of mental work, to narrow the essential distinctions between the countryside and the city, between industry and agriculture.

The working class in power needs not merely the development and growth of production and technology, but that development which ensures the strengthening of the socialist economy, the liquidation of capitalist elements in the economy and the strengthening of the consciousness of

the masses, the strengthening of the defence capacity of the country, and the ceaseless perfecting of the socialist relations of production. Among other things, this requires that we give priority to the ideological and political aspect in the handling and solution of the various problems of technical development, putting the general interest above local, departmental and personal interests, utilizing the internal reserves and the existing technical base to the full, and waging a fierce struggle against bourgeois-revisionist concepts, influences and practices. Firm reliance on Marxist philosophy, mastering and applying it consistently in all practical activity is an absolutely indispensable condition for the development of science and technology. F. Engels stressed: «Say the scientists what they will, philosophy rules them. The question is only whether they want a bad fashionable philosophy to rule them or to be guided by a form of theoretical thinking which is based on the knowledge of the history of thinking and its successes». (F. Engels, «The Dialectics of Nature, p. 242, Alb. ed.). The technical-scientific revolution in the country is not aimed simply at development of the branches of material production and technology of any kind, but at that development which conforms to the ideology and interests of the working class. Proceeding from this class standpoint, the development of the electric power industry in Albania was done in such a way that within a very short time, as early as 1970, electric power was supplied to every village of the country. Here the compelling motive was neither profit nor what is called «economic advantage», but to ensure that qualitative step towards the gradual narrowing of the essential distinctions between the countryside and the city, towards raising the wellbeing of the peasant masses, the ceaseless perfecting of the socialist relations of production and the further intensification of agricultural production.

The reality of the long process of the

technical-scientific revolution provides us with a great deal of convincing evidence and many facts which prove that both technical-scientific discoveries and the application of them and the interpretation of the essence of phenomena are done on the basis of the world outlook of the people who make them and the interests of the class they represent. Hence the historical necessity of the deepening of the class struggle which stems from the opposing class positions and material interests. The class treatment of phenomena on the basis of dialectical materialist analysis, putting proletarian politics and ideology in command, is an essential condition for the further development of the technical-scientific revolution, with the class struggle as its driving force.

The interests and broad participation of the working masses in attaining a high level and rate of development of science and technology, as well as the creation of real conditions for them to engage in technical-scientific creativeness, inventions, and rationalizations are characteristic phenomena of present-day Albania. The content and objectives of this revolution are in complete conformity with their productive activity and the objectives they are striving to achieve, because the socialist revolution serves as a means to fulfil the ever increasing material and cultural needs of the society more and more completely. The accomplishment of this historic mission and the application of the decisive role of the working masses in the development of the technical-scientific revolution are achieved through waging the class struggle against idealist and metaphysical concepts and bureaucratic and liberal practices.

Making a fetish of the role of specialists and underrating the role of the masses is characteristic of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists. According to them, the development of society is not decided by the struggle of the popular masses in their

class battles, but in scientific laboratories and institutions. The revisionist ideologists try to prove that the technical-scientific revolution «has become the main arena of the struggle and contest between the two systems — socialism and capitalism, and that the fate of mankind, the further development of human civilization, depend on the results of this struggle». In opposition to these views, the PLA has stressed that, despite the great importance and role of the technical-scientific revolution, it can never replace the political revolution, and that in every revolution, the working masses play a decisive role.

The PLA has always emphasized that, like any other true revolution, the technical-scientific revolution, too, is carried out by the masses of working people. Consistent with this important principle of the role of the masses in the development of the technical-scientific revolution, the Party at its 7th Congress, stressed once again that «the technical-scientific revolution in our socialist society cannot be carried forward by a few specialized research institutions alone. The activation of the broad masses of workers and peasants, and the cadres and specialists of production is of decisive importance in scientific experimentation. The specialized institutions and centres of scientific work should link their activity more closely with the scientific experimentation of the masses, they should sum up advanced experience and disseminate scientific knowledge among the masses. This is also the way to protect them from the diseases of bureaucracy, technocratism and intellectualism» (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, Tirana 1976, p. 156 of the English ed.).

The direction and development of the technical-scientific revolution calls for the further deepening of the line of the masses in scientific research activity. This not only increases the volume of scientific work in all fields, but also improves its quality and

effective value. We need scientific work that is systematic, organized and focussed on given problems of the economy and culture, and which, at the same time, is led and encouraged by the independent activity of the working masses.

In keeping with the orientations of the PLA, the participation of the broad masses of the working people in the solution of numerous problems of science and technology for the increase and perfecting of production has increased in depth and breadth. During the past five-year period alone, more than 75,000 valuable proposals were made and 9,560 new machines, items of equipment and articles were produced. Extensive work for mass involvement in studies has been carried out by the scientific research institutions in which a large number of collaborators from the base have made valuable contribution to the completion of a number of studies and the carrying out of scientific actions on a national scale.

The development of the technical-scientific revolution calls for the further broadening of mass scientific experimentation and the dissemination of advanced experience. The attainment and application of advanced indices by the broad masses of working people represent in themselves a reserve of the further growth and improvement of socialist production. The extension of mass scientific experimentation and the dissemination of advanced experience, is closely linked with the qualification of the working people, with better organization of technical-scientific information, and making known the methods of scientific work, the extension of publishing activity, etc.

The decisive role of the masses of working people in the technical-scientific revolution is closely linked with the principle of self-reliance which has been implemented by the PLA consistently and continuously, right from its founding. Self-reliance as a law of the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland,

requires, in the first place, that we base ourselves firmly on the creative energies of the masses of the working people, led by the Party.

By implementing the principle of self-reliance consistently and on all fronts major successes have been achieved in Albania in the development of the economy, culture, and science and in the strengthening of its defence capacity. Our economy, today, is in a position to supply over 85 per cent of the needs of the population for mass consumer goods and 90 per cent of the needs for spare parts, relying on its own forces. In 1976 all the needs of the population for bread grain from home production were met for the first time, and the first Albanian steel was poured. The technical-scientific potential of the country has developed to such a stage that we have begun the production of new production lines, factories, and plants with our own forces.

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The planned development of science and technology is another characteristic feature of our technical advance. The development of science and the perfection of technology in the conditions of the socialist economy does not know all those limitations and obstacles which are typical of the capitalist economy. The planning of the application of new technology and the work of scientific research is a component part of the process of planning in all the links and branches of the economy. Not only is such a thing possible, but it is absolutely essential. The planning of technical advance and the work of scientific research, as an organic part of the over-all plan of the economy, is reflected in the plans of individual enterprises and branches of the economy. These plans also define the measures which ensure the improvement of the technical base of the various branches and enterprises. They lay down the themes for

scientific research and experimental work, the indices of mechanization and improvement of the technological processes, the indices of production of new goods, the indices of quality, the measures for the improvement of working conditions, etc.

The application of modern technology in industry, as well as in the other branches of material production, is done in a planned manner. Such a thing is necessary and possible because, as Lenin says, for large-scale machine industry, unlike other industries, planned regulation of production and social control over it is an imperative demand. Technical progress is based on the economic plans and the demands of the laws of our development. «Our state plan,» says comrade Enver Hoxha, «develops and thoroughly utilises all the material and moral assets of the country towards one great single goal: the complete construction of socialism, the improvement and continuous raising of the material and cultural level of the people. The development of our economy proceeds harmoniously, the various grave problems from which the capitalist economy suffers, which are part and parcel of that economy, are unknown to it; it knows no crises of capitalist over-production or unemployment, and the competition on the market is not felt inside the country.» (Enver Hoxha, «On the cooperation and the technical-scientific revolution», 1967, p. 7, Alb. ed.).

The deepening of the technical-scientific revolution and the planned development of our economy are closely linked with the perfecting of the forms of organization of socialist production, in which cooperation holds an important place. This revolution is incompatible with the artisan character in the field of organization of work and production. It calls for a broader concept and a more persistent struggle for the improvement of the forms of organization of social production, which, for their part, create more extensive possibilities for the

application of new technology, for raising the level of qualification and the productivity of labour, for the implementation, on an ever-increasing scale, of the achievements of science and improved organization of the work.

Cooperation, as a close coordination of production activities among various enterprises and branches of the economy, ensures the increase of the range of assortments and new products, the building of new plants, factories and production lines with our own forces, the increase of the productivity of labour and the growth of the internal socialist accumulation. This sort of cooperation is connected with the character of the socialist relations of production and the planned development of the people's economy. In the conditions of the capitalist order, fierce competition prevails, technical-scientific innovations are kept secret or hindered, work is speeded up to the maximum and the exploitation of the working class is intensified.

The strengthening of the material-technical base, the rise in the level of the workers' qualification and the dissemination of the experience accumulated in the development of cooperation have created the real possibilities for building new machines and factories in Albania with local forces and resources. This, in itself, represents a higher and more complex stage of the development of cooperation.

A distinguishing feature of the socialist economy is the uninterrupted and rapid development of the new equipment. This, in turn, influences the growth of social production, the improvement of the structure of the branches of the economy, the raising of the productivity of labour, extension of the range of products and improvement of their quality. The rise in the level of mechanization and the ever more extensive use of machines, the rise of the level of electrification and the use of chemical methods in the processes of produc-

tion, the high rates of construction of new enterprises and the increase in production, the improvement of the structure of the branches, etc. speak of high rates of the development and application of technical progress in our socialist economy. Within a relatively short period, epoch-making strides have been made in the level of development of the technical base in Albania, which passed from the blacksmith's bellows to steel smelting blast furnaces, from the kerosene lamp to powerful electric generating stations, from the wooden plough to modern tractors.

One of the main indices of the high rates of technical progress is the rapid alteration of the structure of social production. The proportion of industrial production in over-all industrial-agricultural production increased from 8 per cent before the war to 65 per cent in 1976. The structure of industrial production itself has undergone qualitative changes. These are evident, in the first place, in the change in the ratio between the production of means of production (group A) and the production of consumer goods (group B), in the systematic and priority development of the processing industry and the industry specializing in the production of implements of labour. For example, in 1976 the proportion of production of the means of production was about 60 per cent against 47 per cent in 1955. On the other hand, within the production of means of production itself there is a progressive tendency which is expressed in the high rates of production of implements of labour, which in the period from 1960 to 1976 were about six times higher than the rates of the production of products for the production needs of enterprises which turn out consumer goods.

Another index of the high rates of technical progress is the increase of the specific weight of those branches of industrial production which constitute the base of the technical progress, such as: the engineering, elec-

tric power, metallurgical, chemical industries, the mines, the building materials industry, etc.

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In the conditions of the socialist economy, technical progress knows no obstacles and has consequences different from those in the capitalist and revisionist countries. The social consequences of the technical-scientific revolution are determined by the nature of the economic and social order. The problems and contradictions of the capitalist world do not have their source in technology and science, but in the capitalist relations of production. In the conditions of the capitalist economy, the application of technique is accompanied by increased unemployment and intensity of labour, with the relative and absolute impoverishment of the working class, etc. Explaining the character of the technical progress in the conditions of the capitalist order, K. Marx pointed out, «We see that the machine, which has such an amazing capacity for reducing man's work and making it more fruitful, leads to starvation and exhaustion... It seems as though even the pure light of science itself cannot shine except against the dark background of ignorance. All our discoveries and our entire progress seem to lead to a point in which the material forces acquire intellectual life,

whereas the life of man is reduced to the level of a limited material force» (K. Marx - F. Engels. Selected Works, vol. I, pp. 331-332, Alb. ed., 1958). These social obstacles and problems, which are connected with technical progress, stem from the antagonist contradictions of the capitalist order.

The situation is entirely different in the socialist order, in which technical progress ensures the ceaseless uplift of the standard of living of the working masses, improved working conditions, the rise in the educational level, etc. Real per capita income has risen continuously in Albania. During the last five-year plan alone the per capita income of the urban population increased by 9 per cent and that of the rural population 20 per cent. During this period, the turn-over of retail goods increased at rates 2-3 times higher than the rate of increase of the population. Notable improvement has been made in the indices of health services. Albania is among the countries with the lowest death rate in Europe, while the average life expectancy has been raised from 38 years of age in 1938 to 68 years of age at present. During this period, the number of qualified workers and workers with higher education increased considerably. The following table illustrates the rapid improvement of indices of the standard of living in Albania:

**THE DYNAMIC OF SOME INDICES OF THE LIVING STANDARDS
IN PSR OF ALBANIA**

	1950	1960	1967
1. National income	1.0	2.5	8.0
2. Turn-over of retail goods	1.0	3.9	9.8
3. Number of pupils and students — of whom:			
in 8-year schools	1.0	1.8	4.0
in middle schools and university	1.0	3.4	17.0
4. Workers graduated from higher schools	1.0	7.0	50.5
5. Number of art and cultural institutions	1.0	6.9	20.0
6. Number of books	1.0	3.7	14.0
7. Number of hospital beds	1.0	1.9	4.0
8. Number of doctors	1.0	3.2	19.8
9. Number of patients examined	1.0	2.6	7.4
10. Death rate per 1,000 inhabitants	14.0	10.4	7.1

The improvements of the indices of the standard of living of the masses of working people in Albania are confirmed not only by the rapid rates of increase but also by their absolute level. Thus, for instance, the number of deaths per thousand inhabitants in 1975 in Albania was 6.5, at a time when the world average was 12.8, the European average was 10.4, while in individual countries it was: in Greece 9.4, Yugoslavia 9.2, Bulgaria 9.1, Italy 9.8, Rumania 10.3, Portugal 10.0 and Spain 8.3. (Population Bulletin of the U. Nation. No. 8, 1976).

In comparing the social consequences of the technical-scientific revolution in Albania and in the capitalist-revisionist world, it must be pointed out that in Albania it leads to the further deepening of socialist democracy and increased participation of the masses in the development and running of the country, while in the capitalist-revisionist world it leads to predatory wars, fascism and reaction.

Another important aspect of the social consequences of the technical-scientific revolution in Albania and in the capitalist-revisionist world, finds its expression in the fact that in the conditions of capitalism this revolution leads to the further deepening of all the contradictions of capitalism and to more severe disturbances of this system. In the conditions of the socialist order the technical-scientific revolution develops through the surmounting of contradictions, but contradictions of an entirely different character from those of the capitalist-revisionist world.

A contradiction which is noticed in our technical-scientific revolution is that existing between the rapid development of our socialist economy and culture, on the one hand, and relative backwardness in the field of scientific research and study, on the other. An illustration to this point may be found in the question of the rational utilization of chemical fertilizers, water reservoirs for irrigation

purposes, selected seeds, farming machinery, and so on. Thus, for example, though in 1976 about 10 times more chemical fertilizers were used in comparison with 1960, as a result of the lack of systematic study of the agro-chemical qualities of the soil, the efficiency of their utilization was about 25 per cent lower than the real existing possibilities. The attenuation and resolution of this contradiction exacts that the instructions of the Party should be implemented in order that the scientific studies and research work should be raised to a general method, which should anticipate anything done and should help in the solution of the problems of the socialist construction of the country.

Another contradiction which is noticed in some other sectors is also that existing between the advanced results achieved in the fields of production, scientific studies and research work, on the one hand, and the relative backwardness in the field of mastering and implementing the advanced technology and results on a broad scale in the practice of our socialist production, on the other. Thus, for example, in the engineering industry we have not yet succeeded in applying the advanced and efficient methods of casting properly. The present practice of our foundries does not match the demands both from the standpoint of their capacities and that of the main technical-economic indices.

In spite of the major achievements made in the field of the numerical growth of qualified workers and cadres as well as of their technical-professional uplift, of the development of the scientific research work, still their level does not respond to the demands raised by the present and perspective development of our economy. Hence, the other contradiction which finds its expression in the discrepancy between the relatively high level of technique and the rates of the technical-scientific advance, on

the one hand, and the relatively low technical-professional level of our working people engaged in the various sectors of the economy, the sector of scientific-research work and in experimentation, on the other.

Another contradiction finds its expression in the fact that while the study-experimenting centres and the technical-scientific forces at the base and in the centre have increased in numbers and have intensified their activities, there still exist many weaknesses in the work for the coordination and better direction of all the scientific-research work on a national scale.

The gradual recognition and resolution of these contradictions and others like them, the constant measures which are adopted in order to carry the development of science and technique further ahead, will help raise the development of the technical-scientific revolution in Albania to a higher level. The recognition and resolution of the contradictions in a correct manner, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist analysis of phenomena from the positions of the class struggle, is essential to the advance of the technical-scientific revolution in socialism.

One of the distinguishing features and superiorities of the technical progress of the socialist economy is the universal character of the application of inventions in all branches and sectors of the people's economy and regions of the country.

Large-scale machine production began its development several centuries ago. However, it did not include all the branches of material production, all the enterprises of the same branch, or all the regions of the country. Uneven development among branches and regions is typical of the capitalist economy. In agriculture, in particular, the use of new machines and technique, the level of use of chemical methods and electrification in the process of production lag far behind existing possibilities.

In the process of the development and improvement of the socialist production during this period, the rise in the technical level in Albania has included all the branches of the people's economy, in a harmonious manner. Agriculture, also, has undergone rapid development. The rise in the technical level of agriculture and the wiping out of the backwardness inherited from the past is an essential condition for the creation of a stable national economy and the continuous rise in the well-being of the masses of working people. Many facts testify

to the profound transformations made in this direction. As a result of providing agriculture with tractors, implements and other machinery, the power available to agriculture has increased and its structure has altered. The level of mechanization, use of chemical methods and irrigation capacity has been raised. Within a short span of time, the historic victory of the complete electrification of the countryside was achieved. The following table shows some of the main indices of the rise in the technical level in agriculture:

	1950	1960	1970	1976
1. Increase of total energy available to agriculture (times)	1.0	2.7	5.7	9.2
2. Structure of the total energy available to agriculture	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
of which:				
motor power (per cent)	10.9	67.5	84.7	91.0
draught animal power	89.1	32	15.3	9.0
3. Increase of number of tractors in 15 Hp units (times)	1	13	30	51
4. Percentage of villages with electric power supply	2	9	100	100
5. Increase in use of chemical fertilizers	1.0	5.4	35.0	55.0
6. Increase in use of insecticides	1.0	8.0	59.8	86.0
7. Increase in use of various seeds	1.0	3.6	6.9	9.5
8. Percentage of arable land under irrigation	10.0	29.0	47.4	50.6
9. Growth of total agricultural production	1.0	1.4	2.6	3.7

Technical progress plays an important role in the rational distribution of production over the territory of the country by including the various resources of different regions of the country in the sphere of industrial processing.

A characteristic of the capitalist order is not only the uneven development of the various branches of the economy but also the uneven development of the productive forces within the territory of the country. This is an inevitable process which becomes ever

more pronounced. Under the socialist order, the conditions are created to ensure a more harmonious development of the productive forces in general, and of industrial production in particular, among the various regions of the country. «Only a society capable of combining the productive forces harmoniously on the basis of a unified general plan,» pointed out F. Engels, «can allow industry to be distributed all over the country in the manner most favourable to its own development and preservation, as well as to

the development of the other elements of production» (F. Engels. «Anti-Dühring», Alb. ed., p. 295).

Through a well-studied distribution of the technical basis of industry the marked disproportions in its development among different regions have been liquidated in comparison with the pre-war period, the disproportion in the level of industrial development of the more developed regions as against the backward regions, has been very greatly reduced. Simultaneously with the rise in the level of industrialization and the liquidation of disproportions of industrial development among different regions, the uninterrupted rise in the indices which characterize wellbeing and the disappearance of the disproportions in this direction have also been ensured.

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The technical-scientific revolution in Albania coincides in time with the socialist revolution and is an integral part of it. Since it is taking place in the context of socialist relations, as a constituent part of the proletarian socialist revolution, its radius of action in its over-all development is very wide. It not only causes changes in the technical base, but also leads to improvement of the socialist relations of production and the deepening and the development of the ideological and cultural revolution. It is realized in unity and close connection with the ideological and cultural revolution. On the other hand, the cultural and ideological revolution itself is presented as a condition for driving the technical and scientific revolution forward and for the resolution of the series of contradictions which have to do, in the first place, with the fulfilment of the needs of the production and the development of science for cadres of a level which responds to the requirements, rates and level of the development of the technical base of our socialist society.

The Albanian people on the workers' International Solidarity Day

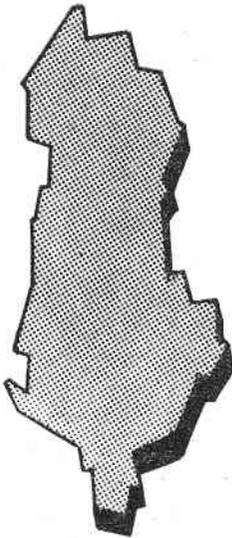
This year, too, the Albanian people celebrated May Day, the workers' International Solidarity Day, in an atmosphere of great enthusiasm, united more than ever around the Party of Labour of Albania with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.

It was the 34th time that the Albanian people celebrated this day in freedom and in their independent Homeland. In the past, just as in the capitalist and revisionist countries today, May Day was for the Albanian workers a day of fierce struggle with the capitalist employers and the forces of order that served them. The rulers of those days tried to suppress the just claims of the Albanian working class by means of the stick and the prison, but they did not achieve their aims. Even in the conditions of the savage terror of ex-King Zog's regime and fascism, the Albanian workers never renounced their just struggle, on the contrary, under the leadership of the communists, at the beginning, and of their Party with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, later, they roused the people in the struggle and revolution, drove the occupiers away, overthrew the feudal-bourgeois state power, and set up the new state power of the workers and peasants, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Only 34 years have gone by since that time, but in this relatively short period colossal changes have taken place in Albania. Loyally following the teachings of the Party of Labour of Albania and of comrade Enver Hoxha, the Albanian working class, in close alliance with the cooperativist peasantry and all the other strata of the people which were liberated for good from the oppression and exploitation by the bourgeoisie and the feudal lords, worked with unexampled drive and changed their country's face. Once

the country of hunger and backwardness, Albania has become a developed and prosperous state. Electric light, which has spread throughout the country, has supplanted the pine torch and the oil lantern. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is among the first states of the world where the complete electrification of the country has been achieved. It is the first country in the world to have done away with taxes and dues, the only country where unemployment does not exist and pay differentials are smallest. The country is full of factories, and combines, workshops and hydro-power stations. Albania now pours its own iron, produces its own steel and most of the consumer goods for its people. The working class has increased 30 times over and its technical and educational level has risen to unprecedented heights. Marshes and swamps have been transformed into well-irrigated and systematized fields; thousands of tractors and other agricultural implements have replaced the wooden ploughs used before Liberation. Formerly a country plunged in deepest darkness, Albania today possesses a very broad system of full-time and part-time schools in which about one third of the population learn free of charge. Now only one of the 27 districts of the country has as many students and teachers as the whole of Albania had 35 years ago. Apart from a great number of eight-year and middle schools, Albania has the University with its filials in many of its districts, the Academy of Sciences as well as a many institutes of scientific research. The number of hospitals and other health institutions has risen to a level that bears no comparison with the past; medical care is free. People live in happiness and joy, therefore the average life expectancy of citizens.

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from 38 years before Liberation, has risen to 68 years, and the number of deaths per 1,000 inhabitants is among the lowest in the world.

The Albanian people recalled all these victories on the occasion of May Day celebration. They rejoice at the victories they have achieved, but they rejoice even more at the prospects of the happy future awaiting them. In the May Day's atmosphere of rejoicing and celebration they expressed their confidence in the future.

As usually traditional manifestations paration for the celebration of the festivity began many days ahead. The workers, cooperativists, students and soldiers started embellishing the centres of work and production, the barracks of army units, the schools and various institutions; in culture homes and various halls professional and amateur groups gave performances and shows; festive matinees and evenings were also organized.

On the eve of May Day the whole of Albania was celebrating. In the main streets and squares of towns there were red flags and posters with slogans praising workers' international solidarity, the Party of Labour of Albania and comrade Enver Hoxha, triumphant Marxism-Leninism, the combative international solidarity of the working class and the masses of the working people fighting against capitalist-revisionist oppression and exploitation, etc.

As usually traditional manifestations of the working people took place in the principal cities on this occasion. A great manifestation took place in Tirana, the capital of socialist Albania. Tens of thousands of working people of all ages and walks of life went cheering past the tribune erected in the Boulevard of «the Martyrs of the Nation», where the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Enver Hoxha, the Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Haxhi Lleshi, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mehmet Shehu, other Party and State leaders, representatives of the mass organizations, the diplomatic corps

accredited to the PSR of Albania as well as foreign delegations who had come to Albania on invitation from the General Council of the Trade Union of Albania had taken their places.

Before the beginning of the manifestation, Simon Stefani, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and First Secretary of the Party Committee for the Tirana District, took the floor. He said:

Working people of Tirana and all Albania!

Dear guests!

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, the Council of Ministers and the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania, of the Party Committee for the Tirana District, I wish You a happy May Day, the great festivity of the proletariat and all the masses of the working people of the world.

Our country celebrates this marked day in an atmosphere of all-round revolutionary enthusiasm and mobilization which has enveloped the entire Albanian people engaged in the work for the implementation of the historic decisions of the 7th Congress of the Party, of the recent plenums of the Central Committee, and the valuable teachings which derive from the speeches comrade Enver Hoxha delivered to the working people of the districts of Gjirokastra and Saranda.

Under the leadership of the Party, relying on its own forces, socialist Albania is marching always forward, upholding the banner of Marxism-Leninism, breaking the imperialist-revisionist blockade. The Albanian people have come to these May Day festivities with fresh victories in all fields. The economy is growing stronger and stronger, the life of the people is becoming happier and happier. The authority and prestige of our country in the international arena is rising continuously.

Whereas our socialist Homeland grows stronger with each passing day, the capitalist-revisionist world is caught ever more in the grip of the

fierce political, economic and social crisis.

Our people express their militant and revolutionary solidarity with the working people of all countries that fight against capitalist oppression and exploitation, they support all the peoples that fight against the plans of imperialism and social-imperialism for hegemony and expansion, as well as against the schemings of all reaction, for freedom, independence and social progress.

On the occasion of May Day, we convey our fraternal and internationalist greetings to the Marxist-Leninists and the true revolutionaries all over the world. We wish them complete victory in their just struggle for the triumph of the cause of the proletariat, the revolution and socialism, against revisionism and opportunism of all hues.

Dear comrades,

The successes with which we have come to this festivity encourage us to achieve even greater victories. Under the leadership of the Party, of its Central Committee with the comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, let us unceasingly strengthen our monolithic unity, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry, carry the socialist economy forward by fulfilling and overfulfilling the targets of the state plan on all indices, develop the class struggle correctly and consistently in all fields, even more sharpen revolutionary vigilance and strengthen the defence capacity of the Homeland!

Let us put in all our forces to make socialist Albania stronger, more beautiful and more prosperous!

Long live our glorious Party of Labour and beloved leader of our Party and people, comrade Enver Hoxha!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

The manifestation was opened by a square of sportsmen who upheld red banners and comrade Enver Hoxha's

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portrait. Then the working people flooded the broad boulevard. Parading past the tribune, by means of posters, diagrams and banderoles they showed the successes they had achieved at work and their determination to march ahead on the difficult, but glorious road of socialism and communism, on which the Party of Labour of Albania and comrade Enver Hoxha are leading them with assurance and wisdom. The parade went on for about one hour and a half, and during this time the boulevard rang with enthusiastic calls and cheers for the Party of Labour of Albania and comrade Enver Hoxha. The working people expressed their loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, their complete solidarity with all the parties and groups of the working class of all countries that stand firmly on the true revolutionary positions, their all-round support for all peoples fighting for liberation and genuine independence against the predatory and war-mongering policy of the super-powers and their lackeys. They resolutely condemned the revisionists of

all hues who, regardless of their Left demagogical phrases, try to put out the revolutionary struggle of the peoples, to benumb their vigilance in front of the imperialist danger, and in this way, lead the world towards new aggressive wars.

The manifestation ended with the International which rang out from the chests of thousands of people present in the Boulevard of the Martyrs of the Nation.

After the parade the working people of Tirana thronged the streets and squares of the capital to continue their manifestation until late in the evening.

Enthusiastic manifestations took place also in the other cities of the country.

This year's May Day festivities once more clearly demonstrated the steel-like unity of the Albanian people with the Party of Labour of Albania led by comrade Enver Hoxha, their loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and their determination to march forward with courage on the road of the revolution.

A marked day for the Albanian people

The enthusiastic atmosphere of the celebration of May Day, the Day of workers' international solidarity, barely subsides when another important event, the 5th May, Martyrs' Day, comes round for the Albanian people. Every year they commemorate with respect the 28,000 martyrs who gave their life in the National Liberation War against the nazi-fascist invaders of and the traitors to the country, as well as all those who shed their blood for the freedom and independence of the Homeland, for the defence of the victories achieved under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head. On this occasion, tens of thousands of working people of all ages and professions pay homage to

and place wreathes of fresh flowers in the Martyrs' Cemeteries, which have been built in the most beautiful sites of the cities and villages, as well as on the busts and monuments which have been erected all over the country to the memory of the fallen.

By honouring the memory of those who made the supreme sacrifice for the freedom and the independence of the Homeland, the Albanian working people express once more their determination to continue the road they began, to carry out their behest in full. On this occasion the working people express once again their profound love and respect for the Party of Labour of Albania and for comrade Enver Hoxha, who with wisdom and confidence led them during the Na-



Placard by photoreporter Niko Xhufka devoted to 5th May, the Martyrs' Day.

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tional Liberation War for the liberation of the Homeland and are leading them in the struggle for the construction of complete socialist society.

Like every other year, this year, too, on the 5th May the activities began in the early morning with visits to the Martyrs' Cemeteries. In Tirana, among to first to pay homage to and lay wreathes of fresh flowers at the Martyrs' Cemetery of the Homeland were the representatives of the Central Committee of the PLA, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers, the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania, the Central Committee of the Labour Youth Union of Albania, the General Council of the Women's Union of Albania, the Ministry of People's Defence, the National Committee of War Veterans of the Albanian people, the Party Committee and Executive Committee of the People's Council of the district, and so on.

Then, homages were paid and wreathes laid by the guests from the Communist Party of Italy (M-L), the Communist Party of Japan (M-L), the Portugese Communist Party (Reconstructed), the delegations of the trade-unions' organizations which participated in the celebrations of the 1st May on the invitation of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Al-

bania as well as by the diplomatic corps accredited in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Yesterday, again, leaders of the Party and the State, representatives of the organizations of the masses, and others, visited the families of the martyrs, where they had very warm talks with the members and other relatives. The guests from the Communist Party of Italy (M-L), the Communist Party of Japan (M-L), the Portugese Communist Party (Reconstructed) also visited martyrs' families.

Meanwhile, thousands of working people, veterans of the National Liberation War, young men and women, armymen, and others, went to the busts and monuments dedicated to the memory of the martyrs where they organized commemorative ceremonies as well as talks about the revolutionary life and activity of the fallen. In the square in front of the bust of the People's Hero, Qemal Stafa, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania and Political Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth of Albania, who was killed on the 5th May, 1942, during fighting with large fascist forces, a concert devoted to the martyrs was given.

Meetings, and talks devoted to the martyrs were organized in work and production centres, in schools, cultural institutions and army units, as well.

The 108th anniversary of the birth of V.I. Lenin in Albania

The Albanian people commemorated Vladimir Ilich Lenin, the great teacher and leader of the international proletariat, with respect and love, on the occasion of the 108th anniversary of his birth.

On this occasion photographic exhibitions and talks on his life and activity were organized in centres of

work and production, agricultural cooperatives, various institutions, schools and military units. In the meetings organized in schools Lenin's modesty and his life as a secondary school student were the theme of many talks.

Many activities dedicated to the 108th anniversary of the birth of V. I.

Lenin were organized in the Capital. Thousands of people of all ages and walks of life, not only from Tirana, but also from other districts of the country, visited the «V. I. Lenin - J. V. Stalin» Museum during these days.

At the museum there were special programs on the life and activity of the great leader of the international proletariat and a series of talks and lectures on the creative application of Lenin's brilliant ideas by the Party

of Labour of Albania. These talks and lectures stressed, in particular, the teachings of V. I. Lenin on the role of the working class and its vanguard, the Party, in the revolution and the construction of socialist society.

Telegram to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Britain (m-l)

Dear comrades,

These days your Party celebrates the tenth anniversary of its founding. This is a day of joy not only for the British Marxist-Leninists but also for all those who aspire to and fight for socialism and communism. We join you on this day of celebration. On behalf of all the communists and the working class of Albania, we extend our revolutionary greetings and the brotherly warm wishes

to you, to all the Marxist-Leninists, as well as to the working class of Britain.

It is a source of great satisfaction to us that the militant internationalist links between our two Parties have developed and grown stronger in conformity with Marxism-Leninism and in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. In our common struggle against imperialism, with US imperialism at

the head, against Soviet social-imperialism, against all reactionaries, we are certain to achieve new victories in the future. Marxism-Leninism will triumph over all enemies, over the revisionists of various colours, be they Titoites, Eurocommunists, or any other trend.

In our common struggle we are determined to further strengthen our unity, the unity with all genuine Marxist-Leninist parties of the world.

Long live the Communist Party of Britain (M-L)!

Glory to the triumphant doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR
OF ALBANIA

Telegram to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada (m-l)

Dear comrades,

On the occasion of the holding of the Special Congress of your Party, we convey to you, to the delegates to the Congress and the Canadian Marxist-Leninists, our revolutionary greetings and those of all the Albanian communists.

We wish your Congress marks a new important step in the constant march forward and consolidation of the Communist Party of Canada (M-L) as a party of the new type, worthy and capable of carrying out its mission as the vanguard of the Canadian proletariat in

the struggle for the triumph of socialism and communism.

On this occasion, the Party of Labour of Albania expresses its support to the revolutionary struggle of the working class and working people of Canada and of all the world against the two superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet socialimperialism, and all reactionaries, for freedom, national independence and for the triumph of socialism. It will always stand shoulder to shoulder with the genuine Marxist-Leninists every-

where in the world, in the struggle against the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, especially against modern revisionism of all hues, in the struggle for the establishment and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

Long live the Special Congress of the Communist Party of Canada (M-L)!

Long live the militant unity of Marxist-Leninists of all the world in the struggle for freedom, national independence and socialism, and may this unity be strengthened!

Glory to the immortal teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR
OF ALBANIA

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Telegram to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania

TIRANA

Dear comrades,

On the occasion of the holding of the Special Congress of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), on behalf of the Canadian delegates and all the Marxist-Leninists, we convey to you, and through you to all the Albanian communists, our heart-felt revolutionary greetings, and sincerely thank you for your militant message of greetings to our Congress.

On this occasion, the Canadian Marxist-Leninists, with renewed forces, promise that they will stand firmly by the side of the glorious Party of Labour of Albania and all the sister Marxist-Leninist parties in the historic struggle of the workers and peoples of the world against imperialism, with US imperialism at the head, Soviet socialimperialism and all reaction, for the victory of the revolution and the triumph of socialism. We pledge our word that we will carry through to the end our struggle for the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, especially against modern revisionism, the chief danger of the workers' and communist movement, in particular, against its present manifestation, the anti-Leninist theory of «three worlds».

Availing ourselves of this occasion, we sincerely thank the glorious Party

of Labour of Albania for its great contribution in the construction of the unity of the international communist Marxist-Leninist movement and in the struggle against all the revisionist and divisive trends.

Once again we greet in a special manner the 7th Congress of the PLA and the report delivered by Comrade Enver Hoxha as well as the great achievements made by the Albanian people under the leadership of the PLA in the revolution and socialist construction.

With renewed forces, we pledge our word that we shall discharge our proletarian internationalist duty and will lead the struggle of the working class and the people of our country to victory for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for freedom, independence and socialism.

Long live the militant unity between the CP of Canada (M-L) and the glorious Party of Labour of Albania!

Long live the militant unity of the Marxist-Leninists of all the world!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

**THE SPECIAL CONGRESS
OF THE CP OF CANADA (M-L)**

Montreal, April 29, 1978

Achievements of the Institute of Language and Literature

The working collective of the Institute of Language and Literature has made an analysis of its scientific and research activity for the year 1977. At the meeting organized on this occasion, besides the scientific workers of the Institute, external collaborators from the various institutes and institutions with

which this Institute coordinates its activity, also took part.

Prof. Aleks Buda, Chairman of the Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania, was present at the meeting. From the reports and papers it emerged that during the year 1977 the working collective of the Institute coped success-

fully with a series of tasks and solved many linguistic and literary problems. The compiling and editing of the Dictionary of the Modern Albanian Language, with about 40.000 entries, has been completed, thus concretising many years of hard work. This work was assessed as one of the major achievements of Albanian linguistics, it is based on Marxist methodology and sound theoretical lexicographic principles and has a high scientific level, presenting a great wealth of words, meanings and phrases, many of them new ones, and making a thorough objective analysis of the structural meaning and use of words, thus giving it a special theoretical and practical value.

In continuation of the compilation of another major scientific work, the Grammar of Contemporary Albanian Literary Language, during the year 1977, the drafting and elaboration of the first part of the syntax, the syntax of the sentences, was completed. Along with this, important monographs and articles on various problems of the contemporary Albanian language in the sphere of phonetics, morphology and syntax were published.

Following a broad discussion, the re-writing of the scientific work the History of Albanian Literature of Socialist Realism, which is the fruit of many years of scientific research was also completed this year. In the process, the work was given an all-embracing character, a better linking of the fundamental processes and laws of development of contemporary Albanian literature was achieved through the form of presentation, and the level of analysis of individual works was raised. The History of Albanian Literature of Socialist Realism gives a complete picture of the development of our literature of socialist realism from its birth up to the year 1977. It was discussed and approved by the Scientific Council of the Institute which assessed it as the most complete synthesis of the road traversed by our literature since Liberation, as a work which is based firmly on the Marxist-Leninist methodology, the documents of the PLA and the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha.

The first volume of the History of the pre-Liberation Albanian Literature is almost completed. After the discussion of a preliminary draft, during 1977 work continued to produce it in its final form. Individual aspects and chapters have been supplemented, its artistic analysis has been deepened, various interpretations have been made more accurate, giving a more complete picture of literary development of the respective periods, the course of the historical development of Albanian literature in close connection with the struggle of the people for freedom and social justice. The work has been supplemented with fresh data from materials discovered in recent years which throw more complete light on the literary activity of individual authors, like Dara, Santori, etc.

Another of the major scientific works on which work has continued during 1977 is the Dialectological Atlas of the Albanian Language.

The continuation of work on Etymological Studies is also of great value to the history of our language. In 1977 the third volume of this work, comprising the words arranged under the letters D and Dh, was completed.

During the year 1977, too, work has continued on the compilation of several terminological dictionaries. Thus, the dictionary of the terminology of political economy (in three languages: Albanian-French-Russian) has been completed, while work is continuing on the dictionary of legal terminology, etc.

Along with these works, the various sectors of the Institute have also carried out monographic studies on individual problems and questions in the field of language and literature.

During the past year, the Orthographic Dictionary of Albanian Language was published. This is a major contribution by linguistic science to the standardization of the Albanian literary language and raising the cultural level of language at school and among the broad masses of the working people, and to the conscious application of the literary standard.

Along with the scientific work, during

1977 there was also a more active scientific life in the various sectors and on the scale of the whole Institute. Scientific seminars, reports and papers on fundamental themes and problems have been of great assistance in raising the theoretical level of the workers of the Institute.

One of the fields of activity of the Institute during the year 1977 was the work to increase the participation of the masses in science. The various sectors have taken fresh steps in this direction. A series of actions were undertaken to enliven and assist the activity of various districts of the country. Scientific study groups were engaged more actively in scientific activities directed by the sectors of the Institute. Continuing the action undertaken by the Sector of Grammar for the collection of toponyms throughout Albania, the Sector of Lexicology and the groups of dialectology of some districts (like those of Kruja, Lezha, etc.) organized a scientific action for the collection of rare words and phrases and the study of dialects according to individual areas. This action was accompanied with methodological-scientific seminars in Fushë-Kruja and Lezha.

In November, 1977 the Sector of Grammar and Dialectology organized the Second National Seminar of Dialectology where 15 reports and papers on general problems and individual aspects of dialectology and onomastics were read. The sectors of literature, also, organized a national seminar with the participation of the leaders of the groups of literature in the districts and the more active external collaborators of the Institute, at the beginning of 1977. At this seminar a report was delivered on the tasks facing literary studies in the light of the decisions of the 7th Congress of the Party and 8 papers were read on the results of scientific research work. The advanced experience of some groups was exchanged there.

The achievements of 1977 in the fields of linguistic and literary studies are a sound basis for the workers of the Institute and its correspondents to carry forward their studies in the field of Albanian philological sciences.

REVISIONIST «THEORIES» OF RESTORED CAPITALISM

by **HEKURAN MARA**

THE DEEP AND ALLROUND COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY AND AGGRESSIVE PROCESS WHICH HAS TAKEN PLACE IN ALL THE COUNTRIES RULED BY THE REVISIONISTS HAS ALREADY LED TO THE ELIMINATION OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE COMPLETE RESTORATION OF CAPITALISM IN THESE COUNTRIES. NOW THE QUESTION ON THE AGENDA FOR THE TRAITOR REVISIONIST RULING CLIQUES AND THEIR IDEOLOGISTS AND APOLOGISTS IS TO INVENT, ELABORATE AND PUBLICIZE «THEORIES», AS DEMAGOGICAL AND DISGUISED AS POSSIBLE, IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN THE RESTORED CAPITALISM, TO PRESENT IT AS «MATURE SOCIALISM», ETC.

All this is intended to disorientate the working class and the other masses of the working people ideologically and politically, to prevent the emergence of doubts in their ranks about what has happened and is happening in these countries, to benumb their vigilance, and revolutionary thinking and action, to avert their blows and, finally, to suppress the proletarian revolution when it breaks out. This is a tactic to gain time, to prolong the existence of the restored capitalism.

Revisionism, like all other kinds of opportunism, is a great evil for the Marxist-Leninist ideology, socialism and the world proletarian revolution. The restoration of capitalism in the countries which were building socialism was prepared and accompanied by the spread of the opportunist ideological trend of modern revisionism. At the head of the modern revisionist front stands Krushchevite revisionism. «Soviet revisionism,» stressed comrade Enver Hoxha

HEKURAN MARA — Professor, member of the Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania.

at the 7th Congress of the PLA, «represents the most completely elaborated theory and practice of the revisionist counter-revolution which has revised the Marxist-Leninist theory in all fields and on all questions» (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, Tirana 1976, p. 224, Engl. ed.).

The frontal attack of Soviet revisionism on the fundamental questions of Marxism-Leninism could not leave the theory and practice of scientific socialism untouched. First, doubts were raised about the truth and scientific value of the fundamental theses of socialism formulated by the classics of Marxism-Leninism, then the revisionists went over openly to abandonment of them and struggle to overturn them, while today they have been replaced with all kinds of «new» revisionist theories, always veiled in the smokescreen of eclecticism and demagogy about «creative» Marxism, in order to conceal the true face of the capitalism they have restored. The Soviet revisionists dress themselves in the cloak of Marxism-Leninism precisely to cover up their betrayal of

Marxism-Leninism, socialism and the proletarian revolution, just as the bourgeoisie and the criminal in bourgeois society do when, in order to cover up their crimes, they don the robe of the «guardian of public order» or the «law-abiding person».

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In the system of «theories» and views of the Soviet revisionists which serve to cover the restored capitalism with a false lustre of socialism, **the question of the historical limits of the period of transition from capitalism to communism occupies an important place.** On the correct solution of this question depends the stand towards a series of fundamental theses of the theory and practice of scientific socialism, the implementation of which is decisive for the preservation and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the continuous advance of the revolution and the construction of socialism and communism, the impossibility of the turn back and the restoration of capitalism.

The Soviet revisionists maintain the view that the period of transition does not extend right up the construction of the classless society, but is a separate period of the transition from capitalism to socialism, which ends with the construction of the economic base of socialism. «The period of transition from capitalism to socialism,» writes the acade-

*The Soviet revisionists dress themselves
in the cloak of Marxism-Leninism precisely
to cover up their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism,
socialism and the proletarian revolution,
just as the bourgeoisie
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they don the robe of the «guardian of public
order» or the «law-abiding persons».*

mician Pyotr Fedoseyev, «begins with the triumph of the socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and ends with the elimination of capitalist private property» (Voprosy Ekonomiki, N° 5, 1975, p. 27). In connection with the same question, the text of political economy of Moscow University says: «In every country the period of transition begins from the moment of the establishment of socialist relations in production» (Kurs Politicheskoy Ekonomii, Izdatelstvo Ekonomika, Moskva, 1974, pp. 8-9).

It is evident that this view is not a chance aberration or simply an «isolated ideological distortion», but a consciously chosen prevailing official view. The reduction by the Soviet revisionists of the period of transition from capitalism to communism to a period that ends with the construction of the economic base of socialism is done for the purpose of justifying the revisionist counter-revolution «theoretically» and denying the class struggle, of justifying the elimination of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its replacement with the dictatorship of the new bourgeoisie, and disguising the restoration of capitalism.

And in fact, they assert that after the completion of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism «the main problem» of «who will win?» is solved, «socialism achieves its complete triumph over capitalism», in the socialist eco-

nomy the struggle between the two roads of development no longer exists, «in the developed socialist society classes disappear and only occupational or social-psychological distinctions between the intelligentsia, the workers and collective farmers remain», etc. etc. («Kurs Politicheskoy Ekonomii, pp. 10, 50, 79). Likewise, according to them, after the establishment of socialist relations of production the class struggle ceases and, therefore, the ideopolitical or socio-economic soil for the possibility of the degeneration of socialism and the restoration of capitalism cannot be created. After this period, according to the Soviet revisionists, «the tendencies of private ownership cease to operate». «the forms of small-scale private production cannot serve as a breeding ground for the emergence of the new capitalist elements in the economy», «the contradictions between socialist production and small-scale production no longer have an antagonistic character», «within the country, any cause for political struggle is eliminated, and the possibility of antagonistic class conflicts and political counter-revolution disappears» (Kurs Politicheskoy Ekonomii, tom. II, Moskva, 1974, pp. 33, 60). As a consequence of all these false, anti-scientific and anti-Marxist argumentations they arrive at the conclusion that «socialism is not a temporary co-existence of immature communism and vestiges of capitalism, but a new, indepen-

dent, mode of production» (Voprosy Ekonomii, N° 6, 1975, p. 27). And finally, the eclectic circle of the revisionist betrayal is completed with the thesis that in the conditions of the so-called developed socialist society, the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer necessary, therefore it is transformed into a state of the entire people.

We need only confront the views of the Soviet revisionists on the period of transition from capitalism to communism with the theses of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, the teachings of our Party and comrade Enver Hoxha to disclose their anti-scientific and anti-Marxist character and their bourgeois capitalist content.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism always treated the period of transition as a very long historical period which extends throughout the whole period of the construction of socialism up to communism, as a whole epoch of the transition from capitalism to communism. Likewise, in broad outline, they also defined the fundamental socio-economic characteristics of this period. Between capitalist and communist society, wrote K. Marx, «lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other» (K. Marx, «Criticism of the Gotha Program», p. 30). On another occasion he writes that the period of transition

from capitalism to communism is «that indispensable step to go on to the elimination of class distinctions in general, to the elimination of all relations of production on which these distinctions are based, to the elimination of all social relations which correspond to these relations of production, to the overthrow of all ideas that stem from these social relations» (K. Marx — F. Engels, Selected Works, Vol. I, p. 226, Alb. ed.).

When he speaks about the society of the period of transition from capitalism to communism, Marx is speaking not about a communist society which is developing on its own communist base, but about a society which has just emerged from capitalist society, a society which, for this reason, still preserves in all directions traces of the old society from the womb of which it has just been born.

Lenin, too, maintained the same stand whenever he dealt with the question of the period of transition from capitalism to communism or individual problems connected with this period. «The transition from capitalist society which, in its development, is moving towards communism, to communist society, cannot be made without a political transition period» (V. I. Lenin Collected Works, vol. 25, p. 540, Alb. ed.). When he deals with this period, Lenin especially stresses that it combines in itself features and qualities of two socio-economic orders, that it is a period of the struggle between capitalism which is dying and communism which is in the process of its birth. Finally, Lenin, like Marx, links the period of transition with the disappearance of classes, and class distinctions in society, and all the relations of production on which these distinctions are based.

Proceeding from the notion of the socio-economic formation as a separate social organism which has its objective laws of birth and development, in which a given mode of production corresponds to a given social class structure and a given superstruc-

ture, the classics of Marxism-Leninism have laid it down that communism is a single socio-economic formation with two phases: with a lower phase — socialism, and a higher phase — full communism.

Hence the anti-Marxist character of the revisionist view, which considers and proclaims socialism as a mode of production in itself and communism as another mode of production, emerges very clearly. Within one economic-social formation there have never been and cannot be two different modes of production. The arbitrary declaration of socialism as a mode of production in itself was necessary to the Soviet revisionists as a «theoretical argument» in order to negate the existence of classes and class struggle in socialism.

The revolutionary experience of the construction of socialism in our country is more and more confirming the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist view that the transition period is the whole historical period of the transition from capitalism to communism. It starts with the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and continues up to the achievement of full communism, until classes are eliminated, until all class distinctions disappear, and classless society is achieved.

In accord with this concept, socialism represents a stage in the transition to communism in which the new socialist relations of production have been established, the exploitation of man by man has been wiped out, antagonistic classes have been eliminated, but non-antagonistic classes exist, class distinctions and contradictions exist, the class struggle exists as the principal motive force, and the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road of development continues according to Lenin's formula «Which will win?» in the base and the superstructure. As long as all these problems have not been resolved, socialism cannot be considered as completely built, and consequently, its triumph cannot be considered as final. For these reasons the socialist re-

volution must continue uninterruptedly during the whole period of the transition from capitalism to communism. In regard to the final triumph of socialism, this question has to do with the development of the world proletarian revolution, with the ratio of forces between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on a world scale. When this ratio has been definitively solved in favour of the proletariat, that is to say, when the proletarian revolution has triumphed and socialism is built completely in all the countries of the world, then its complete victory is turned into a final victory. Under these conditions, there is no longer any danger threatening socialism either within the country or from outside.

The true Marxist-Leninist concept of socialism as the first stage of communism brings to light the sheer falsity of the revisionist view which treats it as a social order of social homogeneity in which class interests and class struggle allegedly no longer exist, in which the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road is no longer waged because the question of «who will win?» has allegedly been finally solved.

During the whole period while socialism is being built and friendly classes exist within it, along with elements of the overthrown classes and the capitalist encirclement, there still remains the possibility of the birth of new bourgeois elements, the possibility of degeneration of socialism, hence also the possibility of the restoration of capitalism. This possibility is not an inevitability. It can be totally averted when the socialist revolution continues uninterruptedly, when the Party of the working class, which leads the entire process of the construction of socialism, bases itself firmly on, and remains loyal to, the triumphant and ever young ideology of Marxism-Leninism. The great historical merit of our Party with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head is that it not only brought our country into the brilliant epoch of the tran-

sition from capitalism to communism, but is also leading it with determination and wisdom in the consistent construction of true socialism. It is self-evident that in the scheme of the Soviet revisionists about socialism or «the developed socialist society», the question of the possibility of degeneration of socialism and the restoration of capitalism is left completely unmentioned, because to speak of it would be like speaking of the noose in the home of the hanged.

Until the final victory of communism is achieved, the historical period of the construction of socialism is characterized by the preservation of the political organization of society in the form of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this period, the dictatorship of the proletariat and its economic, organizational, educational and repressive functions go through a dialectical process of growing stronger and more perfect, which goes on right up until the internal and external conditions for the withering away of the state are created universally.

The view of the Soviet revisionists on the transformation of the dictatorship of the proletariat into the socialized state of the entire people after the construction of the economic base of socialism, when classes still exist, is an anti-Marxist, counter-revolutionary view, to disguise the social-fascist dictatorship established by the revisionist bourgeoisie. In reality, the so-called «state of the entire people», which has been established today in the Soviet Union, is a state without the working class at the head, without the leadership of its party and without the Marxist-Leninist ideology. This type of state represents the political domination of the new bourgeoisie, its dictatorship, which oppresses, enslaves and exploits the working class and the other masses of the working people, which protects the restored capitalist order by force of arms and other means of coercion.

The open abandonment by the Soviet revisionists of the scientific Marxist-Leninist concept of socialism comes out clearly, also, when they proclaim the development of the productive forces as the only decisive factor of its construction. «In the conditions of developed socialism,» write the ideologists of Soviet revisionism, «the problem of the economic efficiency of social production emerges as primary. Raising this efficiency constitutes the decisive condition for the construction of socialism» (Voprosi Ekonomiki, N° 5, 1975, p. 77). This, too, is a very dangerous anti-Marxist view which opens the way to the revisionist counter-revolution. It is aimed at creating and spreading the erroneous idea that such factors as the leadership of the working class and the Marxist-Leninist party, keeping the dictatorship of the proletariat in the hands of the working class to ensure that it is not usurped by new bourgeois elements, the strengthening and perfecting of the socialist relations of production, the waging of the class struggle on all fronts and in all fields at the same time, are allegedly not factors, just as decisive as the development of the productive forces for the fate of the socialist revolution and the construction of socialism.

The negative experience of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union shows unequivocally that the fatal damage did not come from any low level of the development of the productive forces but from the degeneration of the economic base and superstructure, from the replacement of the proletarian political line of the party with a revisionist line. And this same evil may threaten the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism in any country that builds socialism if the emphasis is placed one-sidedly on the development of the productive forces alone, and revisionism is allowed to spread in the superstructure, especially in ideology, and in the base.

The Marxist-Leninist theory and revolutionary practice teach us that true

socialism can be built consistently and can advance successfully towards communism when the revolution and the class struggle are developed ceaselessly in all fields of social life, when they include not only the development of productive forces, but also the strengthening and perfecting, in the correct revolutionary Marxist-Leninist course, of socialist relations of production, when they also include the defence and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and, above all, when they include the preservation of the revolutionary proletarian line, the defence of the purity of the Marxist-Leninist ideology. Otherwise, if the revisionist counter-revolution is allowed to spread, no level of development of the productive forces, however high, can save socialism from the danger of degeneration and the restoration of capitalism. Any illusion created about the role of the productive forces alone in the construction of socialism is fatalistic determinism, a vulgar metaphysical concept of materialism, which history has punished severely.

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Another field of the revision of the theory and practice of scientific socialism on the part of the Soviet revisionists is **their elimination of the dividing line, their confusing of the economic laws of socialism with their methods, forms and practices of management of the economy.** As a result, their analysis of socialism is not based on the relations of production but on their so-called theories and practices of planning, of the total social product and the factors of its growth, of the necessary product and the surplus product, of the criteria for measuring the efficiency of production, etc. The «theories» and views of the Soviet revisionists, which replace the economic laws of socialism with their forms and practices of the management of the economy, represent an entire ideological and political mechanism specially selected to provide «theoretical» justification for the restoration of capitalist practices in the organization and

management of the economy in the Soviet Union.

In the text-book of the political economy of socialism published by the University of Moscow, the analysis of the so-called developed socialist society begins with the planning of production, which is considered as the fundamental relation of socialism, its foundation. Here it is quite obvious that the Soviet revisionists have gone over completely to bourgeois idealist positions, in open opposition to the well-known thesis of historical materialism which says that the most profound secret, the invisible foundation of the whole social structure, should be sought in the relations of production which arise from the type of ownership over the means of production.

The anti-Marxist position of the Soviet revisionists becomes even more clear when they affirm that «the necessity of planning springs from the high level of development of the material and technical base» (Kurs Politicheskoi Ekonomii, p. 110) and that «the technical-scientific revolution, and the utilization of mathematical economic models should be made the foundation of planning» (Voprosi Ekonomiki, N° 5, 1976, p. 30). That these statements are a negation of the law of the planned and proportional development of the economy, is clear from the «arguments» that the revisionists themselves employ on this question.

The Soviet revisionists claim that the law of the proportional development of the economy is a universal law that operates in all socio-economic formations, therefore there can be no special law for socialism. In this connection they usually refer to the known thesis of Marx to the effect that the need for the social division of labour in definite proportions cannot be eliminated from social production in any instance, that only the form of its expression can alter. But with this thesis Marx means that every nation is obliged to expend part of its labour on the production of material blessings and divide the labour in certain proportions. This need Marx considered

as similar to the «laws of nature» which cannot be eliminated.

But can it be claimed on this basis, as the Soviet revisionist do, that Marx was of the opinion that the law of the proportional development of the national economy has operated and continues to operate in all the socio-economic formations? Certainly not! In fact, Marx does speak of the need for the division of social labour in certain proportions for any nation, regardless of its economic-social order, but not of the possibility of this. As is known, the economic law does not comprise only the need, but also the objective possibility through which the need is realized. It is also known that as long as social ownership over the means of production and the dictatorship of the proletariat have not been established, the objective possibility for social labour to be divided in a planned manner and in regulated proportions among the various branches of material production is not created either.

That the law of the proportional development of the economy is a law peculiar to socialism and, therefore, had no possibility of existing, and in fact did not exist prior to socialism, emerges without any doubt also in the case of capitalist production. For this reason, Marx never claimed that the law of the proportional development has operated in the capitalist economy. Let us recall that as early as his work «The Poverty of Philosophy», Marx described the efforts of Proudhon and the other ideologists of the petty bourgeoisie to achieve proportional production, to ensure a correct ratio between supply and demand in the conditions when private ownership of the means of production prevailed, as a reactionary utopia. Consistently pursuing the same line of thought, in the first volume of the «Capital» Marx proved that, in capitalism, the distribution of labour and the means of production among the various branches of social production is regulated only by the interplay of the momentary and arbitrary forces that operate in the market. Of course, here, too, there is

a permanent trend towards the establishment of a balance among the different branches of social production, but this tendency manifests itself only as a reaction against the permanent and continuous upsetting of this balance.

It is known also that Lenin, too, in his time, categorically refuted Struve's attempt to interpret Marx's theory on the realization of social product as a theory of the proportional distribution of labour and means of production in capitalism. In this instance Lenin stresses that, in his theory of the realization of the social product in capitalism, Marx, by means of scientific abstraction, deals with the conditions that must exist for extended reproduction, including the proportional distribution of the product among the different branches of the production, although this in no way means that Marx's theory on the realization of social product presupposes and affirms that the products are, or can be, always distributed in a proportional manner in capitalist society. The proportional distribution of the product is the ideal of capitalist production, but by no means the reality of it. Therefore, the proportions in capitalist production are not established and realized except as an accidental occurrence in the permanent state of disproportion. And when these disproportions reach their ultimate critical point, then the economic crisis breaks out which, through its destructive force, re-establishes some sort of new equilibrium, to open the way for a new cycle of disproportions.

The law of the planned and proportional development of the national economy is born, exists and operates only in the conditions when socialist social ownership over the means of production and the dictatorship of the proletariat prevail. It is exclusively an economic law specific to socialism. Its operation necessarily requires the management of the national economy by the socialist state, that is to say, from a single centre, on the basis of democratic centralism, requires the drawing up and implementation of a unified over-all state plan, based on all the

other economic laws of socialism, in order to attain the objective of socialist production — the fulfilment of the material and cultural needs of the members of society.

The endeavours of the Soviet revisionists to present the law of the planned, proportional development as a universal law that operates in other socio-economic formations, too, is an opportunist view which coincides with the view of the bourgeois apologists of capitalism, who claim that the capitalist economy, too, can be developed and planned in a proportional manner. They need this in order to conceal their going over to methods and practices of «planning» of the capitalist type with demagoguery. If we add to this the creation of branch and inter-branch combines of the monopoly type, with complete economic independence, as well as the going over of enterprises to full economic freedom (to a completely self-supporting basis), we can see the decentralization of the Soviet revisionist economy, which has been turned into a market economy in which the law of profit and the other laws of capitalist production prevail.

The question of the use of commodity and money relations represents a whole system in the «theories» and views of the Soviet revisionists. One of the directions of the revisionist onslaught that was launched following the 20th Congress of the revisionist Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the Marxist-Leninist theoretical legacy in the field of economic science began with the question of commodity production and the law of value, until, step by step, it reached the point of the elaboration of the so-called theory of «market socialism» which serves today as the basis to proclaim profit as «the fundamental criterion of the efficiency of production» in the Soviet economy.

In attacking the Marxist-Leninist view in regard to commodity production in socialism, the Soviet revisionists claim that history knows only two types of social production: the natural economy and the market eco-

nomy. Therefore, they assert, either socialism and an economy without the system of commodity and money relations, or socialism and a market economy with commodity, value, money, economic spontaneity, competition, prices, profits, credits, interest, taxes on the fundamental means, rent, etc, which extend over the whole people's economy. According to the revisionists, any commodity production in socialism is identical with capitalist commodity production. According to them, to assert the existence of commodity production of a special type in socialism means, allegedly, to decide «arbitrarily», contrary to the objective reality.

This view of the Soviet revisionists is refuted, first of all, by the history of the birth and development of commodity production itself and of all the other economic categories related to it. Commodity, money, market are economic categories which do not belong to only one socio-economic formation; they extend beyond the bounds of capitalism and capitalist private ownership in general, they have their beginnings before the emergence of capitalism and capitalist private property. Following the thread of the history of the birth and development of commodity relations shows that in different economic-social formations, they have expressed and still express different relations of production, in accordance with the prevailing form of ownership over the means of production. On the other hand, according to the type of ownership over the means of production, the sphere of operation of commodity and money relations has changed, too. Some of their features have disappeared and others have emerged in their place. For example, in the pre-capitalist formations, commodity relations did not extend over labour power. Later labour power was turned into a commodity and, finally, socialism totally precludes the existence of the labour power as a commodity, along with some other things such as the means of production.

As emerges from the study of the history of commodity production and

the economic categories related to it, there is no ground whatsoever to take commodity production separately from the social formation in which it exists, and, what is more, there is no reason to assert that every kind of commodity production is identical with capitalist commodity production, as the modern revisionists do.

Both in theory and in the practice of our socialist construction it has been proven that commodity production, the relations of commodity production and money relations do not present themselves in the socialist economy with the same nature and the same features as in the conditions of dominance of capitalist private ownership over the means of production, but undergo a radical alteration. In order to make this difference clear, Stalin proved that in socialism there is commodity production of a special type. Precisely this thesis of Stalin's the Soviet revisionists do not accept, in order to give «the right of citizenship» to their bourgeois thesis to the effect that the socialist economy is allegedly a commodity production economy, a market economy. However it is known that the whole essence of the analysis Stalin makes in connection with commodity production in socialism in his work «Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR» is summed up in the disclosure and explanation of the features that disappear or change radically and of those that are preserved in the conditions of the socialist economy.

What are the features of commodity production that are eliminated in the socialist economy? Of course, they are all those features which are connected with the capitalist relations of exploitation and express those relations, such as anarchy of production, spontaneity of the market, competition, the exploitation of man by man, the transformation of commodities and money into capital, surplus value and profit, the price of the product, inflation, crises of overproduction, etc.

Which are those features of commodity production which remain in so-

cialism and continue to develop on a new basis and in new socio-economic conditions? Naturally, only those features that are used to express the economic form of social relations among people in some of the phases of the process of social reproduction, such as value, cost, price, etc.

It is self-evident that commodity and money relations in socialism do not include the base of socialist production. Here the means of production and labour power are not commodities. Therefore, the uniting of the means of production with labour power, as a fundamental economic relation, is not carried out through the act of buying, but directly through the organization of the centralized and planned management of the economy, in the interest of the working people themselves, who are owners of the means of production and direct producers of material blessings at the same time. In this sense, Stalin stressed that in socialism, the sphere of extension of commodity production, of commodity and money relations, is limited, that it does not include in its content either production in general or the means of production. This thesis marks the dividing line between the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint and the revisionist viewpoint on commodity production in socialism. According to this thesis, commodity production in socialism, is production of a special type which history has never known before.

Marx and Engels did not envisage commodity production in socialism, so they did not take up this question to solve it. On this basis, prior to the October Revolution opinions were expressed to the effect that socialism is incompatible with commodity production, and it was accepted as an axiom in socialism. In the period of war communism in the Soviet Union, efforts were made to do away with commodity and money relations. The experience of that period provided convincing proof of the impossibility of the construction of socialism without using commodity production and the economic categories deriving from it. Bas-

ing himself on the experience of war communism, Lenin rejected the dogma of the incompatibility between socialism and commodity production. Lenin linked the elimination of commodity production and of gold as money with the triumph of communism on a world scale.

Proceeding from Lenin's teachings and the historical experience of the construction of socialism up to the end of the forties, Stalin summed up and formulated theoretically a series of questions related to the reasons for the preservation and necessity for the existence of commodity production in socialism, its new features as commodity production of a special type, and the use of commodity and money relations in the socialist economy. The experience of the construction and development of the socialist economy in our country, where Marxism-Leninism is implemented faithfully and in a creative spirit by our Party of Labour, show that Stalin's views on commodity production, which are based on Marxist-Leninist theory, were and still are correct.

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The present-day process of world development as a whole is moving towards the overthrow of capitalism, towards the proletarian revolution and the triumph of communism. «The world is at a stage when the cause of the revolution and national liberation of the peoples is not just an aspiration and a future prospect, but a problem taken up for solution» (Enver Hoxha, Report at the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 159, Engl. ed.).

In the context of this general and unceasing trend towards the revolutionary transformation of the world, the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the other countries ruled by the revisionists represents a zigzag, a violation of the universal laws of development of human society, which cannot abolish the operation of these laws. Therefore, Marxism-Leninism sees

it and describes it as a temporary, passing phenomenon, which will be wiped from the face of the earth with violence, by means of the proletarian revolution.

The revisionist «theories» of restored capitalism have to do not only with the economy, but with all fields of social life, with an offensive against the entire Marxist-Leninist theory and the practice of scientific socialism. Therefore, the task our Party has laid down before us of deepening our knowledge of the roots of Khrushchevite revisionism and its variants, and increasing our criticism and struggle against it and any kind of opportunism, new and old, is a many-sided task. It must include knowledge and criticism of, and struggle against, the fundamental theses which have to do with the ideological preparation for the restoration of capitalism, with the degeneration of the relations of production and the superstructure, with the new exploiting class that is emerging and the class struggle, with the political organization of society and the socio-economic relations which are established by the modern revisionists.

Now that the communists and all the working people of our country have in their hands the broad, thorough, general analyses that the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha have made of the causes and ways of the complete restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries, they are armed to fight even better and with greater success against the whole bourgeois-revisionist ideology and the pressures it exerts on our society and our socialist construction. It is only by means of thorough knowledge and criticism of, and struggle against, the bourgeois-revisionist ideology on all fronts that the purity of Marxism-Leninism can be defended on all the issues of the theory and practice of scientific socialism, that the construction of true socialism can be carried forward in all fields, and that the forms and practices of capitalism, no matter how specific and disguised, can be exposed and the road closed to them.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL DEGENERATION OF THE REVISIONIST PARTIES AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

by **PETRO CIRUNA and PANDI TASE**

Unity, as one of the organizational principles of the Marxist-Leninist party of the new type, is the foundation and source of the invincible strength of the party and its success in the revolutionary struggle to attain the immediate and ultimate objectives of the proletariat

THE TEACHINGS OF MARXISM-LENINISM ON THE NEED TO ORGANIZE THE PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS, AND THE HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA, REFUTE ALL THE VIEWS, THEORIES, AND PRACTICES OF THE VARIOUS OPPORTUNISTS, MODERN REVISIONISTS, AND ANARCHISTS, WHO, WITH THE AIM OF DESTROYING THE PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS AND PREVENTING THE PROLETARIAT FROM CARRYING OUT ITS HISTORIC WORLD MISSION, DISTORT THE TEACHINGS OF MARXISM-LENINISM ABOUT THE PARTY, ITS STRUCTURE AND LIFE.

All the enemies have striven, in one way or another, to deprecate the importance of the organization of the proletarian party, claiming that organization is not of great importance to the party, is valueless, a matter of form, and a bureaucratic issue. However, this means to deny that dialectical

unity which exists between the program, tactics, and organization, means in essence, to liquidate the party, which, from its character, objectives, and role, cannot exist and perform its leading role without steel-like organization.

In order to reject the teachings of Marxism-Leninism about the role and importance of the organization of the party, the enemies of the working class

and Marxism-Leninism, the opportunists and revisionists, old and new, deny the principle of democratic centralism, considering it as unnecessary, as a principle which makes the party bureaucratic, which shrivels the initiative of the mass of party members and hinders their participation in the solution of problems. Under the pretext of alleged democracy and freedom of opinion, some revisionists, who take the liberal-anarchist standpoint, deny the need for centralism in the party and oppose the principle that all the work and activity of the party must be centralized and carried out under the leadership of a single centre. According to these revisionists, the concentration of leadership in a single

PETRO CIRUNA and PANDI TASE
— *Pedagogues at the «V.I. Lenin» Party School.*

centere negates the lower organs, inhibits their initiative, and so on. Therefore, they say, the lower organs should work independently of the centre and be completely autonomous. On the other hand, they consider discipline within the party, the obligatory implementation of decisions, as an unreasonable requirement contrary to democracy, which impedes the initiative of the masses and places them under the dictate of the higher organs or the minority. They deny the need for the participation of every party member, without exception, in one of the basic organizations, and describe the obligatory requirement that they render account for the duties they perform as ultrademocracy, that is, a distortion of democracy.

The ideological and class basis of these revisionist views and theories, which deny the principle of democratic centralism and its requirements, must be sought in bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology — in bourgeois intellectualism, liberalism and anarchism. «It is clear,» taught Lenin, «that to the petty-bourgeois, the organization of the party seems like a monstrous factory and the submission of the part to the whole, of the minority to the majority, like serfdom; while the division of labour under the direction of a centre evokes a tragicomical outcry against people being transformed into wheels and cogs.»

While combating the liberal anarchist views, the PLA has always fought also against the bureaucratic views and practices of the modern revisionists in regard to the principle of democratic centralism. The modern revisionist who are in power, headed by the Soviet revisionists, talk a great deal about democracy within the party and boast that they implement the Leninist principles on the party. But this is far from the truth. In those parties, democratic centralism has been transformed into bureaucratic centralism. Party members who oppose their anti-proletarian line and policy are sub-

jected to reprisals, banishment and prison. The line of the revisionist parties is not the fruit of the participation of the mass of the party members and the working people, but the work of the ruling cliques. The discipline of the party has become mechanical discipline and the mass of the party members submit to decisions of the leadership from fear.

The PLA has exposed and refuted all these views of various revisionists, regardless of the form in which they present them or the boastful phrases and demagoguery used to disguise their anti-Marxist, counterrevolutionary aims and activities. In essence, the views and practices of the modern revisionists, whether of the liberal-anarchist trend or of the bureaucratic revisionist trend, serve the same counter-revolutionary purpose — the elimination of the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class, an aim which the revisionists have achieved in the countries where they are in power.

Unity, as one of the organizational principles of the Marxist-Leninist party of the new type, is the foundation and source of the invincible strength of the party and its success in the revolutionary struggle to attain the immediate and ultimate objectives of the proletariat.

The existence of a single line is one of the most fundamental questions for the party, because it is on this basis that it works out its whole revolutionary strategy and tactics. The party of the working class must not permit the existence within its ranks of groups, factions, and two lines, for which the revisionists, new opportunists, and the anarchists clamour loudly. Since the party has only one aim — the construction of socialism and communism — it can have only one general line, which expresses the interests of the working class, socialism and communism.

It has been and is an outstanding feature of the PLA, during the whole of its existence full of revolutionary strug-

gles, that it has only one line which it has defended in principle and applied in practice, a single, correct, Marxist-Leninist line, in conformity with the concrete conditions of our country: «Our party,» stresses comrade Enver Hoxha, «has never permitted and never will permit the existence of factions in its ranks. It has had and has a single Marxist-Leninist line which it has implemented with determination.»

In order to liberalize and disorganize the party of the working class, the modern revisionists, by one means or another, negate the need for the participation of the party member in one of the basic organizations. The reduction of the requirements for membership of the revisionist parties to the bourgeois parliament, admission to the party, not as individuals but in groups, and in some countries, replacement of the basic party organizations with regional organizations, is clear evidence of the degeneration of these parties in the field of organization. To deny the necessity for the participation of every party member in one of its basic organizations means to be opposed to the organization of the party, to deny the need for the basic organization as its foundation, means to liquidate the party of the proletariat.

The foundation for the building of the PLA has been the Leninist condition that to be a party member one must accept the program and Constitution of the party, must take part in one of its organizations, and pay party dues regularly. But this remains utterly formal if the communist is not an active fighter for the implementation of the line of the party, does not embody in his life and work the qualities of a communist, which are laid down in the Constitution, is not one of the vanguard and is not in the forefront of the masses in the struggle for socialism. Therefore, for the PLA which is a party of struggle and revolution, mere acceptance of its program, tactics, and organizational principles is insuff-

ficient. It requires the realization of these ideas, their application. And in order to put these ideas into practice, the party member must fight at the head of the working class and the working masses. «Only when we join one of the organizations of the party and in this way blend our personal interests with the interests of the party,» says Stalin, «only then can we become party members, and, at the same time, genuine leaders of the army of proletarians.»

The revisionists in power in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries found their support in carrying out the counter-revolution among the officials of the party and state apparatus who had deviated from the road of the working class and the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. «The notorious apparatchiki strangled the Bolshevik party,» said comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the PLA. Today, too, these bureaucrats and technocrats provide wide support for the revisionist cliques in power. That is why the revisionist press devotes great importance to the role and activity of the party apparatuses, putting them above the elected organs.

The propaganda of the modern revisionist that their parties are still, allegedly, parties of the working class, and the window-dressing to make it look as though they apply the Leninist norms and principles, are nothing but demagogy to throw dust in the eyes of the working class and the working masses.

The degeneration of the revisionist parties in ideology and policy led inevitably to degeneration of the social composition of their membership, and this is especially obvious in their leading organs and apparatuses. The doors of these parties have been thrown open to non-proletarian elements.

In every aspect and direction, in the Soviet Union today, a caste of bureaucrats and technocrats, a new bourgeois class, is ruling, and it keeps all the commanding positions and key links of the party, the state, the economy, culture, and so on, firmly in its own hands. During the ten years, 1967 to 1977, according to «Pravda», the number of specialists in the people's economy who are members of the Soviet revisionist party has increased to 3,253,000, or 1.7 fold.

In the Yugoslav League of Communists, as a result of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology which has been made the basis of its activity, the working class and its role are treated in an anti-Marxist way, and the state, classes and the masses likewise. There are many officials, intellectuals, and rich peasants in the Yugoslav League of Communists, while the bulk of those who are leaving the League, whether by voluntary resignation or by expulsion, are workers.

The other revisionist parties, too, are becoming more and more deproletarianized. From the revisionist arsenal of the past, some of the revisionist parties dragged out the idea of one big demo-

cratic party, open to all, a party of reforms and class collaboration, and in order to win the maximum number of votes in the parliamentary elections they have admitted anybody at all into their ranks.

According to their own press, on 15th July, 1976, the Italian revisionist party had more than 1,800,000 members, while at the end of March, 1977, the French revisionist party had about 600,000 members, 50,000 of whom were admitted in the first three months of that year. Characteristic of these parties is the flood of non-proletarian elements of the petty-bourgeoisie, office workers and intellectuals pouring into them.

This building of non-proletarian mass parties has its own theoretical basis and political aims. The preaching by Marchais, Berlinguer, and company about «fraternity in divergence», about the «transition to socialism through reforms», with everybody — bourgeoisie, capitalists, workers, police, the bourgeois army and all — in unity and fraternity, constitutes the theoretical basis of the anti-proletarian policy and the mass character of their bourgeois revisionist parties.

As regards the political aims of these parties, it is clear that, as typically bourgeois, social-democratic, reformist, counterrevolutionary parties, they have placed themselves completely at the service of their own national bourgeoisie and the international bourgeoisie, while, betraying the interests of the proletariat and the revolution.

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THE TENTACLES OF US MONOPOLIES IN EUROPE

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

The development of events following the Second World War shows that the US imperialist monopolies, taking advantage of the weakening of the «old continent», are using every means to achieve the expansionist and hegemonic ambitions, and continue to dominate the world market through the export of capital in the form of investments, loans, credits, etc.

Their huge capital investments secured the economic, political and military hegemony of the US imperialists in Western Europe. And not only in Europe, but also in other areas of the world, because they gradually displaced European capital from its former colonies, establishing the predominance of Washington there. «Though the United States of America is officially outside the Common Market,» said comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the PLA, «through the entanglement of US capital with the capital of each of the member countries, the United States indirectly plays a very great role in it.» It is a fact that US capital is predominant in the multinational companies. According to UN figures for the year 1971, the US capitalists owned more than 52 per cent of the capital invested in the multinational companies, whereas such countries

as France, the German Federal Republic, Canada, Japan, Italy, etc., owned not more than 4 to 8 per cent. Up to 1971, US private capital invested in Western Europe alone amounted to about 29 billion dollars. In 1975 US private and state capital invested in Western and Eastern Europe amounted to about 75 billion dollars.

Apart from companies with entirely American capital, or with 50 per cent of it, in Europe there are many companies in which the US monopolies own less than 50 per cent of the capital. This is not registered, and as a result not subject to taxation by the US government. Likewise, in order to escape taxation, or to reduce it to the minimum, the US companies do not take a good part of their profits back to the USA but reinvest them to expand production in the same country or in their other subsidiaries in Europe, wherever they can draw maximum profits. According to official figures, in 1966 audited US assets in Europe amounted to 16 billion 600 million dollars; whereas in 1977 they exceeded 75 billion dollars. Nevertheless these huge profits appear as audited US assets in Europe.

US companies in Europe have also gained «the right» of the privileged country. They are exempted from cus-

toms duties, transferring their commodities from one country to another duty free. This «right» gives them all the possibilities to compete with European goods and to make huge profits.

In order to escape the eye of the broad masses of the working people who have always expressed their opposition to the interference and expansion of US capital, the monopoly companies of the USA try to camouflage themselves by using local names, appointing local puppet directors, and employing local specialists and workers. The US «Continental Can Company», for example, has only 12 American managers for about 17,000 European workers. According to the very reduced figures of US statistics, which do not coincide with European statistics, especially in regard to the labour power employed in these companies, the capital invested and the profits drawn from them, it emerges that about 9,000 companies with entirely American capital employ more than 3,500,000 European workers. Still according to US figures, more than 800,000 local workers work in the subsidiaries of these companies in Britain, more than 450,000 in France, more than 600,000 in German Federal Republic, more than 400,000 in Italy, etc., all of

them subjected to savage exploitation.

Such large-scale penetration by the US monopolies to the countries of the Common Market and other capitalist countries of Europe has long since enabled US imperialism to secure huge political and economic benefits. This is even clear evidence that, along with the local monopoly bourgeoisie, the US imperialists are among the fiercest oppressors and exploiters of the working class and the broad masses of the working people of the European countries. At the same time, the US imperialists, together with the big bourgeoisie and the reactionary forces of the countries of

the Western Europe, through NATO and the Common Market, are doing everything in their power to strangle any revolutionary movement of the workers and progressive people in this area. By means of these organizations, the US imperialists are violating the national sovereignty of the countries of Western Europe and competing for hegemony and expansion with the other superpower, Soviet social-imperialism.

The working class and the broad masses of working people of the capitalist countries of Europe, in fierce struggle with the bourgeois and revisionist parties, expose and con-

demn the «theories» and practices which justify the economic, political and military interference of US imperialism in Europe. The interests of the proletariat and the broad masses of the working people in Western Europe call for the ever greater strengthening of the struggle against capitalist oppression and exploitation, against the local reactionary bourgeoisie, against the enslaving and expansionist plans of the two superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, against the aggressive blocs of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, as well as the reactionary organizations, the Common Market and COMECON.

THE «GREEN REVOLUTION» INCREASES NEO-COLONIALIST DEPENDENCE

Commentary of the Albanian Telegraph Agency -

In order to increase its profits to the maximum, the monopoly bourgeoisie employs a thousand and one devices to exploit the peoples more and more, especially in other, more backward countries. The old colonial exploitation of these countries has been replaced with more refined neo-colonialist methods of exploitation.

One of these numerous methods is the so-called «green revolution» in agriculture. During the past ten years the bourgeois propaganda; bour-

geois economists and sociologists have been trumpeting about the «prospects» which this kind of «revolution» opens for «increasing production and abolishing hunger». In fact, apart from neo-colonialist penetration, and the exploitation of the labour power of the poor peasantry, the so-called «green revolution» brings nothing of benefit to the countries which accept it. Its advocates, which are mainly the big agricultural monopolies of the industrialized capitalist countries, have already applied their experiments for the

«mechanization of agriculture and the spread of high-yield hybrid seeds» in many backward countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

But what are the results and benefits accruing to the poor peasantry from this neo-colonialist experiment? The truth is that these countries are still markedly backward in the field of agriculture and millions of peasants are unable to secure even sufficient food for themselves. This occurs, in the first place, because a great part of the peasantry have no land and are

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obliged to work for wages in the fields of big landowners and are subjected to oppression and exploitation by the foreign agricultural monopolies, feudal lords and big landowners, the local bourgeoisie and the capitalist state.

In serving the big landowners with the aim of increasing production for the market, the big agricultural monopolies supply the poorer countries with chemical fertilizers, technology, new varieties of seed grain, etc. But these never reach the poor peasants who cannot afford the high prices for them. Even those few peasants who try to use these means, become permanent debtors to the foreign agricultural monopolies and are quickly bankrupted, becoming wage labourers.

According to the figures from the Bank for Asian De-

velopment (BAD) which has undertaken these neo-colonialist experiments, those who have benefitted from the mechanization of agriculture and high yield crops are the big landowners who are closely linked with the foreign monopolies, whereas the poor peasants have been ruined and forced to abandon their land and flock into the big cities where they increase the ranks of the unemployed. Consequently, in the countries where this so-called «green revolution» is allegedly taking place, hundreds of millions of people are existing in poverty, especially in India, Africa, Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, etc.

Through the «green revolution», the big agricultural monopolies also have the objective of raising low-cost crops suitable to the climatic condi-

tions of the different countries, in order to sell them later at very high prices, thus making huge profits. Here are just a few examples to illustrate the plunder carried out by the big capitalist agricultural monopolies: at a time when millions of people in many capitalist countries are on the verge of starvation and simply cannot get food, the capitalists of these countries are selling the inadequate grain crop abroad for the purpose of gaining hard currency. Thus, this year, India is exporting 1,500,000 tons of wheat, Burma is selling tens of thousands of tons of rice abroad, whereas Thailand is selling two million tons of rice to the big agricultural monopolies, at a time when local production has declined and hundreds of thousands of people are unable to secure their food.

THE DEMAGOGY ABOUT DISARMAMENT — A COVER FOR MILITARISM AND WAR PREPARATIONS

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

The US imperialists and the Soviet socialimperialists have intensified their demagogic campaign about disarmament as never before not only by means of propaganda, but also by increasing the number of bilateral meetings, talks and conferences for this purpose. Geneva has become the epicentre of most of these activities. The talks on the so-called limitation of strategic wea-

pons (SALT), the tripartite talks (USA-USSR-Britain) on the alleged complete prohibition of nuclear tests, as well as the more recent American-Soviet talks «on the prohibition of new kinds and systems of weapons of mass extermination», are conducted there. As usual, the fruitless talks on the so-called «mutual balanced reductions in armed forces and armaments» in Central

Europe (MBFAR) are still dragging on in Vienna. Besides these, the two superpowers have also opened new points of contact. In Berne (Switzerland) the talks begun last year in Moscow on the «limitation of military activity in the Indian Ocean» are continuing, whereas in Washington talks are being held about an agreement on «limitation of the arms trade».

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The purpose of all these talks, meetings and conferences on «disarmament», which the superpowers are engaged in, is to create the false impression that they are allegedly «committed in a serious and concrete manner to the cause of achieving disarmament». But the truth is that all these activities have nothing whatever to do with disarmament, therefore nothing of the sort can be expected from them.

Not disarmament, but armament, and unlimited militarization are a general trend of the imperialist-revisionist world today. The United States of America and the Soviet Union, the greatest military powers of our time, have earmarked colossal funds for their war preparations. The military budget of the USA this year exceeds 125 billion dollars, whereas next year it will exceed 130 billion dollars. The Pentagon has also worked out a five-year (1978-1983) plan for military expenditure which provides for a progressive increase of this expenditure, which in 1983 will rise to more than 173 billion dollars. Today 100 big US monopoly companies (not to mention scores of smaller firms) are engaged in war production, fulfilling the many orders placed by the Pentagon.

Disguising its full-scale drive for war preparations under a smokescreen of propaganda that «it will never allow the balance of armed forces and armaments to be changed to

the detriment of its security», the Soviet Union has increased its war expenditure, in recent years, to the same extent as the United States, for the production of the same weapons as the Americans, such as the production of a system of intercontinental missiles with multi-nuclear warheads, the equipment of the Soviet navy with «Delta» class nuclear missile carrying submarines, «Kiev» and «Minsk» class aircraft carriers, etc. In order to cope with the enormous intensity of the arms race, the whole industry of the Soviet Union has been geared to war production — 60 per cent of its total production goes to fulfil military orders.

Another imperialist power which is armed to the teeth and totally militarized is the German Federal Republic — worthy heir to the old German militarism.

Evidence of the rapid progress of the German Federal Republic on the road of war preparations, and of the expansionist policy with hegemonic tendencies of the German revanchists is the fact that from 1970 to 1977 military expenditure there has gone up 65 per cent. The budget of the Bundeswehr for 1977 was 32.4 billion marks, while this year it has reached 35 billion.

Today the superpowers and the other imperialist powers have intensified their campaign of demagoguery about disarmament precisely to cover up their immense intensifica-

tion of the arms race, and the militarization of their economies, to blunt the vigilance of the peoples, to disarm them and keep them morally unprepared to oppose the new war they are preparing.

The Party of Labour of Albania, which has always made a realistic and scientific Marxist-Leninist analysis of international events and phenomena, has always warned of the danger of a new war which the two superpowers and the other imperialist powers are preparing for the world of the fact that the frantic rush to the militarization leads precisely in this direction. However, it also warns of the danger of panic or fatalistic resignation towards war preparations, which are just as dangerous as pacifist euphoria, because they are to the advantage of the imperialist powers by tying the hands of the peoples. «The important thing,» said comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the PLA, «is that the peoples should not fall into fatalism, become passive onlookers and be caught unawares; they must be prepared for the worst and fight to prevent it from occurring.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that imperialism and the warmongers must be weakened through the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples. If an aggressive imperialist war cannot be prevented, then it is the task of the revolutionaries and the proletariat to turn it into a liberation war.»

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review****THE EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET —
AN INSTRUMENT OF THE EXPANSIONIST POLICY
OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM***«PUNA» — Organ of the Central Council of the TUA.*

As a great combination of the West European monopolies and trusts, the European Common Market is a savage enemy of the proletariat, of the revolution and socialism. Though American imperialism is not officially a member of this organization, it plays a very big role in it through its great economic and financial presence, through the interlocking of American capital with that of the member countries of this organization. Wall Street holds the commanding positions in the economic and financial life of the Western Europe and saw to this long before the creation of the Common Market, by means of the notorious enslaving Marshal plan. Within the period 1950-1970, private American capital in Western Europe has increased 14.2 times over. In practice American capital in these countries controls 95 per cent of the integral circuits, 80 per cent of the electronic computers, 55 per cent of the detergents, 30 per cent of automobile production, and so on. In 1976, American investments in this zone amounted to 55 billion dollars, which is equal to about 40 per cent of all the American investments in the world. Hundreds of American companies and their subsidiaries hold key positions in the economic life of

Western European countries, always aiming especially at such sectors as the electronics, oil and military production industries.

The intentions of American imperialism are that the European Common Market should be the economic nucleus of its domination over its so-called allies in the military and political fields, such as the countries of the aggressive NATO bloc. Through the presence of its capital in the economic life of these countries and through its military presence, Washington keeps a tight hold on its so-called allies, thus strengthening its domination of these countries and utilizing them also to serve its hegemonic policy and rivalries in the other regions. «Together with NATO, the Common Market constitutes an organized base and rear area of US imperialism in its rivalry and contest with the other imperialist power, the revisionist Soviet Union,» said comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the Party.

In Western Europe, American imperialism has created such a situation in which its dictate is becoming ever stronger. Through the aggressive NATO military bloc in particular it has its so-called allies

under a tight rein and has succeeded in silencing them. The fact must be stressed that the countries which constitute the common Market are also members of the aggressive NATO bloc (France has withdrawn only from its military structure) and in this way American imperialism has created many links through which it applies its own economic, financial, political, energy, military hegemony. One of the tactics which American imperialism adopts in order to keep its so-called allies in check and to prevent the Common Market from being consolidated, is to incite the members of this organization against each other, continually setting them at loggerheads in the economic, monetary, agricultural, energy, organizational, and other fields. In this way, Washington endeavours to retain its control in the economic and political life of individual countries, as well as in the Common Market, as a whole. The objective of American imperialism is to preserve and strengthen its domination in the Western imperialist bloc, by employing such instruments as NATO, the Common Market etc. In a secret report of an American presidential commission, headed by the multimillionaire, Nelson Rockefeller, and senator Mansfield, the

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White House claimed that the American domination of Western Europe is legitimate, while it described Western Europe as an extension of America.

Of course, it must be said that the hegemonic policy of American imperialism in these countries is favoured, also, by the reactionary course of the

Western European bourgeoisie, the monopolist, and the bourgeois governments. The West European monopoly bourgeoisie regards American imperialism as its ally against the revolutionary movement, against the revolution, which it fears. The European working class, which is savagely oppressed and exploited by the local mo-

nopoly bourgeoisie and by American imperialism, is learning from its own experience the necessity for the struggle against the reactionary local bourgeoisie as well as against American imperialism. Its class interests demand this, and in this struggle it has the support of the proletariat of the whole world.

THE SOVIET SOCIALIMPERIALISTS — ROBBERS OF THE PEOPLES

«BASHKIMI»,

Like any other imperialism, socialimperialism is inconceivable without political oppression and economic exploitation of the proletariat and the other masses of working people inside and outside the country.

The first to fall prey to the imperialist plunder of Soviet socialimperialism were the vassal countries of Eastern Europe, where the revisionist are in power.

Within the framework of Comecon, the Soviet socialimperialists have undermined the industrialization of the member countries. The industry of the «sister» countries has been made completely dependent on raw materials of Soviet origin, such as oil, coal, iron, cotton, etc. For example, the dependence of these countries on Soviet oil is approximately as follows: Bulgaria 95 per cent, Czechoslovakia 94 per cent, East Germany 86 per cent, Poland 76 per cent, Hungary 63 per cent, and so on. This monopolization is a noose

which Soviet socialimperialism has put round the necks of the vassal countries, because in this manner, it has the possibility of supplying raw materials and fuels, in the quantities, at the times, and at the prices, suitable to Soviet socialimperialist interests.

In the name of the «socialist international division of labour», the Soviet socialimperialists have imposed a narrow specialization to suit their own needs, upon the member countries of Comecon. As well as this, in the context of Comecon, with a view to the rapid economic integration of the satellite countries into the Soviet state, the bosses in Moscow have also set up a series of international organizations, such as those for the metallurgical industry, the chemical industry, the «International Investments Bank», etc.

By means of such banks, the Kremlin bosses secure large credits at low interest rates (half the rate paid by the vassal countries), which they

urgently need in order to release funds for armaments, in the framework of the implementation of their policy of expansion and domination.

«Economic aid» through credits, as a form of export of capital, is another means which Soviet socialimperialism uses in order to exploit and plunder the peoples of the vassal countries. When it is provided in the form of direct investments, it is linked with the narrow specialization of the economy of these countries and their increased dependence on the Russian metropolis. Whereas, when it is provided in the form of loans, this aid is linked with the need to prop up the puppet regimes and with the fact that such loans are used to purchase old Soviet goods and equipment at high prices.

Unequal trade is another means which the Soviet social-imperialists use to plunder the peoples of the so-called «large socialist family». Sixty per cent of the foreign trade

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of the socialimperialist Soviet Union is with these countries. Holding a monopoly over raw materials, especially of energy supplies, the Soviet socialimperialists sell them to the vassal countries at higher prices and purchase goods from them at lower prices than those ruling on the world market. Thus, this year Hungary is compelled to pay 80 million rubles more than last year due to an increase of 21 per cent in the price of Soviet oil. All the other vassal countries are in a similar situation.

Soviet socialimperialism exploits and plunders the vassal countries in many other ways, too. It is forcing them to spend a total of 9 billion rubles on the construction of allegedly joint industrial projects or gas pipelines. In fact, these projects are being built on Soviet territory, in the interests of the Soviet Union, with the material and financial means and labour power of the vassal countries.

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Along with the vassal countries of Eastern Europe, and without overlooking the other parts of Europe, the Soviet socialimperialists are also extending their aggressive, expansionist and hegemonic policy to other regions of the world, especially to the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

In order to disguise the enslaving nature of forms of the

export of capital, the Soviet revisionist propaganda tries to present them as «economic aid for development», which, allegedly, the Soviet Union gives other countries to strengthen their economic and political independence «in the struggle against imperialism, etc. In fact, both the aid and credits and the direct investments represent nothing but surplus value (unpaid labour) created by the exploitation of the wage labour of Russian and other workers who are included in the Soviet community. The Soviet socialimperialists gain many political, economic, military, and other advantages from such aid and credits, because:

- they make superprofits through high rates of interest, as well as through high prices for the goods they sell when a condition for granting the credits is that they must be used for purchases of Soviet goods and through low prices for the goods they buy when repayment of the credits is in goods. For example, according to incomplete data, during the last 10 years, the socialimperialist Soviet Union exported a total of 3 billion dollars capital to Africa and, on the other hand, grabbed raw materials worth 4.7 billion dollars, thus making a fat profit;

- they find markets to sell their stocks of outdated goods, especially industrial equipment of obsolete technology, but at prices 20-30 per cent above world prices. From the sale of such industrial articles

to the so-called developing countries, the Russian metropolis made a net profit of 2 billion dollars in 1976 alone;

- they secure supplies of such raw materials as oil, rubber, copper, tin, uranium, cotton, coffee, rice, meat, etc. at prices 20-30 per cent below world market levels. From Africa alone, during the last 10 years they have taken agricultural products worth 11 billion dollars. In the period from 1965 to 1974, these countries have suffered losses of about 2.4 billion dollars from unequal trade with the Soviet socialimperialists;

- they capture markets for the export of arms, which today has become the most profitable business for them. The Soviet Union controls 28 per cent of the world trade in arms. Through their sales of weapons, they are arming the reactionary regimes of these countries to suppress the revolts of the working masses and inciting the outbursts of conflicts with the most diverse motives. And then, under the pretext of settling these conflicts, interfere in the internal affairs of the other peoples, and ensure their permanent neo-colonialist presence in these countries, as they did in Angola and in the border conflict between Somali and Ethiopia;

- they secure the right to build military, naval, and air bases in these countries, as well as port facilities for their naval fleets, which are prowling the seas and oceans,

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openly threatening the sovereignty of the other peoples. Soviet «aid» is chiefly military «aid» (over 70 per cent of it) which is connected with the policy of subjugating these peoples.

The Soviet socialimperialists are pursuing their policy of expansion and domination in these zones in the conditions of their fierce rivalry with the other imperialist powers and especially with the other superpower — American imperialism. In these conditions, the contradictions between the peoples and the oppres-

sed nations, on the one hand, and imperialism especially the two superpowers, the USA and SU, on the other, as well as the contradictions among the imperialist powers, and especially the two superpowers, for spheres of influence, are becoming more acute.

The peoples have experienced on their own backs the predatory and aggressive nature of Soviet socialimperialism, just as they have experienced that of the American imperialists. They are fighting to expose the aggressive policy and plans of Ame-

rican imperialism and Soviet socialimperialism, which as comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 7th Congress of the PLA, «are the biggest and most dangerous aggressive imperialist powers known in history. Individually or together, the superpowers represent, in the same degree and to the same extent, the main enemy of socialism, and freedom and independence of nations, the greatest force defending oppressive and exploiting systems, and the direct threat that mankind will be hurled into a third world war».

PSEUDO-CULTURE IN THE SERVICE OF REVANCHIST AIMS

«DRITA» — *Organ of the League of Writers and Artists of Albania*

The entire capitalist and revisionist world is going through a profound crisis, which is expressed in all aspects of life in political and ideological, military and cultural life, in the structures and superstructures of this system.

A constituent part of this retrogressive process is the decadent and reactionary culture which is being revived, the aim of which is to awake fascism, the nostalgia of the oppressor classes for those dark forces of reaction, such as those of the Third Reich. Along with the freedom of action which the neo-nazis now enjoy in West Germany, and the allround support they receive from monopoly capital, a tidal wave of neo-nazist pro-

paganda is sweeping the country. It begins with the parades of neo-nazis, extends to the publication of books, pamphlets and all sorts of magazines which have fascism and their «heroes» as their main subjects, to films which dwell more than anything else, on the «valour and justice» of the German invaders during the Second World War, to music and other genres.

West German films and television are more and more making heroes those who started the Second World War. The official and non-official propaganda loudly acclaimed the film «Hitler, a career», by the film producer Joachim Fest. Though this film was received with scorn and protests by the people and

progressive public opinion, it was shown for months on end in the cinemas of West German cities. In the framework of this propaganda campaign, the West German television frequently broadcasts documents which, in one way or another, seek to present fascism in the colours most acceptable to the T. V. spectator. On the West German radio such nazi songs as «We Are Advancing to Victory», «Germany Awake», «The Tanks are rolling over Africa», «Silent Night, Holy Night», accompanied with shouts of «Stukas» (Forward), «Launch the torpedoes», and with battle cries, air-raid sirens and all sorts of prayers and calls, are again being heard.

The program entitled «Con-

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cert with music for the Wehrmacht» has been dug out of the archives and is being served up again to the West German listeners; while «artists» such as Qualtinger, recite extracts from Hitler's notorious book, «Mein Kampf» on the radio. As well as this, the West German bourgeois press itself admits, «at no other time since the end of the war have souvenirs of the Hitler period been on sale so extensively». On the West German market, many recordings with music and speeches of the Führer and of his collaborators, Goering and Goebbels, are on sale. American capital is lending a hand in this direction. The American firm «Documentary Series, New York» has produced a series of records, each in large numbers, under the title «Speeches and songs of nazi Germany».

In the field of books and publications, the neo-nazi propaganda has its reserved

place. The book market has been flooded with books which are connected with this period in various ways. Various documents, biographies of nazi generals, memoirs of their collaborators, and even the reminiscences of Hitler's personal physician and photographer, have been published as books and circulate in large editions, not only in West Germany but also in the other western countries. These are books with documents of that time, novels, short stories, down to pocket-size illustrated booklets. Such literature is sold and circulates widely among the ranks of the West German Bundeswehr, among the American armed forces stationed in West Germany, amounting to nearly 200 thousand men as well as among the troops of the aggressive NATO alliance. According to figures from the West German press, one in every five dollars spent in the 216 bookshops serving the NATO for-

ces all over Europe goes for the purchase of books and comics on nazi subjects. Every year these shops of the so-called «Stars and Stripes» army sell about four million comics, thus outdoing even the American pornographic magazine «Play-boy», which is considered as the most popular publication in the American army in Europe and in NATO ranks.

However, all this frenzied neo-nazi propaganda, which has definite aims, is being resolutely combated by the Marxist-Leninists, the proletariat and the masses of working people, who condemn fascism and uphold the revolutionary traditions of the proletariat and people of Germany. This is expressed in their militant actions, in their demonstrations to oppose the activity of the neo-nazi groups and parties, as well as in their total boycott of this pseudo-culture which serves the basest, most inhuman aims.

THE AGGRESSIVE ACTIVITY OF THE TWO IMPERIALIST SUPERPOWERS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN — A DANGER TO THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE PEOPLES OF THIS REGION

«BASHKIMI» —

The US imperialists and the Soviet socialimperialists are doing their utmost to strengthen their presence in the Mediterranean, to interfere in the internal affairs of the countries washed by its

waters and to increase the number of the warships of their aggressive fleets, which are permanently on the prowl in Mediterranean waters. Obviously, the Mediterranean cannot be excluded from the

aggressive global strategy of the two superpowers.

The aim of the strategy of the American imperialists and the Soviet socialimperialists is to encircle this region with their military bases and at-

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tack support bases. In the region of the Mediterranean Sea there are nearly 200 military objects of the USA. The American imperialists together with their instrument of war, the NATO bloc, have 58 support points of varying proportions, missile launching bases, radar equipment, military airfields and bases of nuclear weapons in Italy alone. Likewise, the Soviet social-imperialists also have their bases, cruisers and destroyers, nuclear submarines equipped with telecommanded missiles, etc. in the Mediterranean. The display of strength in the Mediterranean is closely connected with the aggressive pacts, NATO and Warsaw Treaty. Whenever one aggressive bloc carries out military manoeuvres on a broad scale, the other does the same, in order not to lag behind, as well as to avoid even a momentary loss of control over the respective zones of influence. Manoeuvres and demonstrations of strength are carried out by the two superpowers also whenever there is a change in the situation and a rise in tension in the zones around the Mediterranean.

For example, whenever the situation in the Middle East becomes acute, through the instigation of the two superpowers, the American imperialists bring their warships closer to the areas under tension, whereas the Soviet socialimperialists increase the number of their warships by shifting them from their per-

manent bases in the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. The so-called friendly visits of the gunboats of the two superpowers to various Mediterranean ports also have a threatening, warmongering character. Under the pretext of friendly visits the American and Soviet warships sail in and out of the ports of Mediterranean countries and try to stay as long as possible in these ports, in order to turn them, in practice, into permanent anchorage and supply bases. In the first place, these visits are fraught with danger to the freedom and sovereignty of the country which provides port facilities as well as to the other neighbouring countries. To allow the American and Soviet ships access to ports means to create the possibilities for them to carry out repairs and take on supplies, that is, to maintain their readiness. On the other hand, such an action enables them to sail with loaded guns and missiles ready close to the territorial waters of the other countries, thus constituting a constant danger to the independence and genuine security of the peoples of this region.

The superpowers, which are aware that the struggle of the peoples against them is growing stronger day by day, throughout the world, are spreading the psychosis of fear and blackmail everywhere and under the pretext of protection «from the danger from the other», each is

trying to create the dangerous illusion that its presence in the Mediterranean is intended to defend the different peoples or countries. They also aim to blunt the vigilance and lower the morale of the peoples of the region, in order to quell their revolutionary will to fight in defence of their independence and sovereignty. But, however much the superpowers and their allies arm themselves, whatever threats and blackmail they may make, they will never be able to crush the peoples. Just as comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 7th Congress of the Party, «In any country its freedom and independence are dependent mainly on the stand adopted: whether it is determined to live free and on its feet or enslaved and on its knees. When you are determined to live free and stand ready to fight, then the blackmail is knocked back, strength is revived, the peoples' courage mounts, and it is difficult for the aggressor to attack you». Therefore it is necessary to rally all possible forces against the military presence in the Mediterranean of the two superpowers, which are enemies of the independence of the peoples of this zone, to destroy every kind of base they have established and created, because in this way, their influence and strength, which are based on the enslavement of peoples and the countries, are weakened and destroyed.

**press
review****IMPERIALIST MONOPOLIES INTENSIFY
THEIR OPPRESSION AND PLUNDER OF THE WORKING CLASS**

«PUNA»

The increase in activity of the multinational companies and individual monopolies of one or another capitalist country in other regions of the world brings about increased links between the local reactionary bourgeoisie and the foreign imperialist capital, so that the working class is subjected to a double exploitation. The bulk of the profits of the American, British, West German, Japanese, French and other imperialist monopolies, derives from the economic and financial activity of these monopolies in other countries. For example, the American monopoly companies produce 6 times as much in their plants and factories abroad as the USA exports. In 1976, the American monopolies made 22.4 million dollars profit from their activities outside their country. In Latin America alone, 187 American multinational companies have invested 18 billion dollars and their profits exceed 7 billion dollars a year. Similarly, colossal profits are being realized by the other capitalist monopolies such as SIEMENS of West Germany, TOSHIBA of Japan, FIAT of Italy, PHILIPS of Holland, etc.

All the profits made by the imperialist monopolies in the other countries are the result of savage plunder of the workers. The monopolies exploit the cheap labour power in particular. In the conditions of the grave economic crisis which has had the capitalist world in its grip for four years now, and in which unemployment has reached a total of 110 million people, the imperialist monopolies have stepped up their economic activity in other countries. There, they secure cheap labour power, which reduces the cost of production and greatly increases the profits of these monopolies. The American monopolies, which operate in Europe, pay the European worker about 50 per cent less than a worker doing the same job in a factory in the USA.

In order to increase their profits to the maximum in the countries where they operate, it is a practice of the monopoly companies to sack the workers they have and take on new ones at short intervals. In this way, they ensure continuity of the labour force at the lowest wages and avoid any obligations to pay higher wages for seniority or redun-

dancy payments. The American monopoly companies practice short-term contracts of about three months, in order to have their hands free to lay off the workers whenever they like on the slightest pretext.

In all this savage activity against the working class, the foreign monopoly companies are favoured by the policy of the local reactionary bourgeoisie and the bourgeois governments of the countries in which they operate, which not only guarantee the foreign investments, but also allow the foreign companies to exploit the workers to the maximum, exempt them from the payment of taxes, and come to their rescue with police forces in cases of class conflicts.

The reactionary local bourgeoisie has tied itself hand and foot to the foreign monopolies and is an enemy of the revolutionary movements of the proletariat. However, the strikes, demonstrations, rallies and numerous actions of protest, which are taking place continually in all the countries where capital rules, show that the working class and the other working people are opposing it, and are evidence of their rising level of consciousness, in the struggle for freedom and their rights.

Days of happiness and rejoicing for the people of Saranda who had in their midst the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, comrade ENVER HOXHA. Songs and dances in the streets of the town.

Self-sufficiency of bread grain is one of the main tasks which the Party set for the 6th five-year plan. This directive of the Party and the allround efforts of the agricultural workers to make it a reality every year, have inspired the working people of art and culture in their activity.



Albania today



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