

Albania today

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The working class in Albania is the leading and directing class in the entire life of the country. Led by the Party of Labour of Albania and organized in the Trade Unions, it carries forward the construction of socialism and communism in Albania with its revolutionary impetus.

The People's Power has created for the Albanian working people the conditions to work and, at the same time, to extend their professional and scientific knowledge, by attending parttime and fulltime schools, and integrating theory with practice in life and in laboratories.



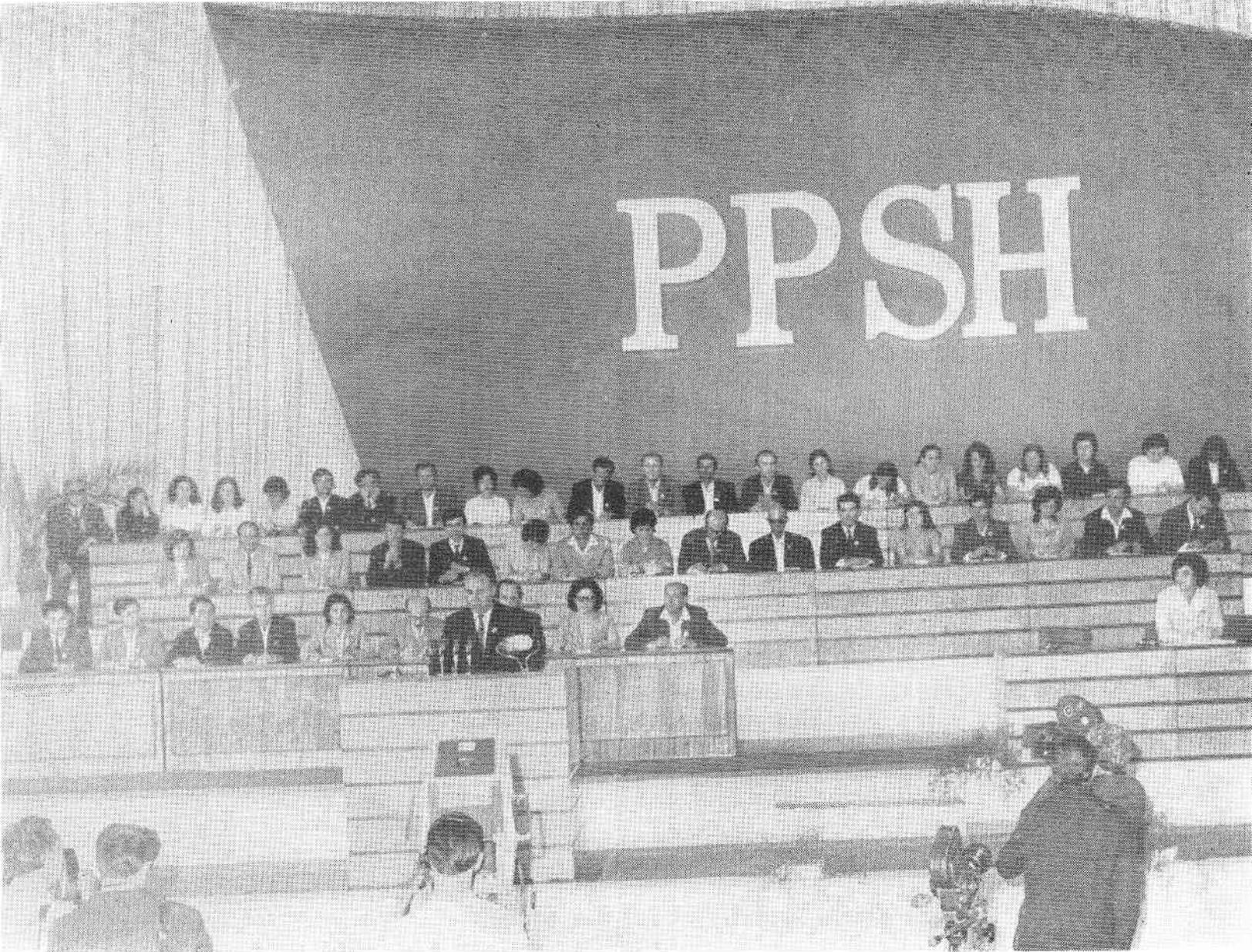
**Albania
today**



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THE 8th CONGRESS OF A



General view of the Presidium, with Pali Miska reading the greeting comrade ENVER HOXHA addressed to the Congress on behalf of the Central Committee of the PLA.

From June 20 to 23 this year, the 8th Congress of Albanian Trade Unions was held in Korça (South Albania).

The Congress examined the activity of the ATV Central Council since the 7th Congress and defined the tasks of the ATV in putting into practice the targets set by the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, which was held in November last year.

Participating in the Congress were 2058 delegates from all over Albania

who represented more than 500,000 members of the Trade Unions, as well as many other invited guests, including Mehmet Shehu, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania, the Members of the Political Bureau and Secretaries of the Central Committee of the PLA. Hysni Kapo and Ramiz Alia, etc.

Also attending the Congress were

LBANIAN TRADE UNIONS



the following foreign delegations: the delegation of the Federation of Trade Unions of Vietnam, led by the Member of the Presidium of this Federation, Wu Tat Ban; the delegation of the Federation of Trade Unions of Laos, led by Buophen Bunsulin, Chief of the Steering Committee of this Federation; the delegation of the African Unity Organisation, led by the Assistant Secretary general of this Organisation Abdulaje Leluma; the delegation of

the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions led by the Undersecretary General of this Confederation Ali Al-Mula; the delegation of the revolutionary trade union militants from Italy, led by Flore Antonio; the delegation of the revolutionary trade union militants from Germany, led by Horst Dieter Koch; the delegation of the Pan-African Congress of Azania, led by the Vice-chairman of the Mission of this Congress for East Africa Do-

nald Moruatshehla; the delegation of the revolutionary trade union militants from Britain, led by Norman Candy; the delegation of the Workers Trade Union Opposition of Spain, led by the Member of the Coordinating Committee of this Organisation, Raimundo Santillana; the delegation of the revolutionary trade union militants from Portugal led by Gida Maria; the delegation of the Trade Union Federation of Palestine led by the

Under-secretary General of this Federation Fahmi Al-Hindi; the delegation of the General Union of the Algerian Workers led by the Member of the National Executive Commission of this Union Ali Lasfer Said; the delegation of the National Union of the Workers of Tanganyika led by the vice-general director of the international Liaison Department of this Union, Mozes Tita; the delegation of the revolutionary trade union militants from Japan, led by Joshihiro Fukaumi; the delegation of the Trade Unions Congress of Zambia led by the Member of the Executive Council of this Congress, Newton Ngambi Muenifumbo; the delegation of the Workers Union of Burundi, led by the Member of the Central Committee of this Union, Mutohera Samson; the delegation of the General Federation of the Trade Unions of Iraq, led by the Chairman of the Trade Unions Federation of Taamim district, Jasim Muhamed Ibrahim; the delegation of the revolutionary trade union militants from Norway, led by Oscar Johansen; the delegation of the Trade Unions Centre SIMPIMITO of Madagascar; the delegation of the revolutionary trade union militants from Finland, led by Marko Aro; the delegation of the revolutionary trade union militants from Chile, led by Jose Gonzales Ramirez; the delegation of the African National Union of Zimbabwe, led by Kezi Mze Pondai.

The president of the Central Council of Albanian Trade Unions, Rita Marko, declared the Congress open. Then, he delivered the report «On the Activity of the Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions and the Tasks of the Trade Unions for the Implementation of the Decisions of the 7th Congress of the Party».

Comrade Enver Hoxha's message of greetings to the Congress, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, was followed with great attention and interest. This message, which was read by the Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA and

vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Pali Miska, aroused indescribable enthusiasm among all present, who rose to their feet, cheering for several minutes for the Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

A report «On the Activity of the Central Audit Commission» was also delivered at the Congress.

There were many contributions to the discussion of the report. The speakers pointed out the great successes which the Albanian working class, organized in the Trade Unions, is achieving in its efforts for the fulfilment of the 6th five year plan and the other tasks set by the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania the revolutionary drive with which it is overcoming the difficulties resulting from the blockade which the imperialists and the revisionists have imposed on Socialist Albania, and made concrete proposals for further improvement of the work of the Trade Unions so that they become even more capable of leading the working class forward on the road of the complete construction of the socialist society.

The Congress was greeted by a group of young pioneers whose beautiful songs, dances and recitations were most moving and created a joyous atmosphere.

The foreign delegations also brought greetings to the Congress. The warm greetings of the foreign friends, the high assessments they made of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha and the Albanian Trade Unions aroused great enthusiasm among those present, who cheered for Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The messages of greetings to the Congress from the Trade Unions of Korea, the Workers Trade Unions of Democratic Cambodia, the Communist Party of Sweden, the communist workers of Uruguay, the militant union of revolutionary workers of Austria «Rote Fahne», the Federation of Trade Unions of Ceylon, the workers' unions of the telephone enterprises, the

electrical enterprises and other trade unions of Bogota, the workers of New Zealand, Indonesia, the Congolese Trade Union Confederation, the Workers' Committee of Proletarian Unity of Venezuela, the Portugal-Albanian Friendship Association, the General Confederation of Workers of the Democratic Republic of Yemen, the General Federation of Workers' Trade Unions of the Arab Republic of Syria, the National Union of the Workers of Guinea Bissau, the Canadian Workers Association, the revolutionary trade unionists from Colombia, and others, were also received with prolonged applause and cheering for M-L and proletarian internationalism.

Then the Congress unanimously approved the relevant decisions about the report «On the Activity of the Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions and the Tasks of the Albanian Trade Unions for the Implementation of the Decisions of the 7th Congress of the PLA», the report of the Central Audit Commission, and some amendments to the Constitution.

Before this, Comrade Rita Marko read out this letter which the Congress received from Comrade Enver Hoxha:

Dear comrades to the 8th Congress of the Albanian Trade Unions!

Despite my ardent desire to take part in that lofty forum of the Albanian Trade Unions, being extremely busy, I was quite unable to come on this occasion. I assure you that all these days of your intensive and fruitful activity to analyse the work carried out and to define the great tasks that await us in the future, my thoughts have been with you, and I have felt as if I were among you, comrade delegates of our heroic working class and the working people of our country.

Having had the honour to be elected as a delegate to this Congress, which is holding its proceedings in the historic city of Korça, the militant spirit and the light of the great lessons of the 7th Congress of the glorious Party of Labour of Albania, like all of you

present there, I too, feel it my duty, to express my full approval and give my vote for those important decisions which you are taking about all the proceedings of the 8th Congress of the Trade Unions.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's letter was greeted with prolonged applause and enthusiastic cheering for the Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

In its final session, the Congress elected the leading organs of the Albanian Trade Unions: the Central Council and the Audit Commission. At a special meeting the Central Council elected the presidium and Comrade Rita Marko as President of the Central Council of the ATU.

On the eve of the 8th Congress of ATU, the leaders of the Party and state who participated in its proceedings paid homage and laid wreaths at the Martyr's Cemetery of the Korça district. Comrades Mehmet Shehu and Hysni Kapo laid a wreath on behalf of Comrade Enver Hoxha. Likewise the foreign delegations which attended the proceedings of the Congress also paid homage and laid wreaths at the Martyrs' Cemetery of the Korça district. One day earlier they were received by the president of the Central Council of ATU, Rita Marko. Also present at the reception, which proceeded in a cordial atmosphere, were the Member of the CC of the PLA, Miti Nito,

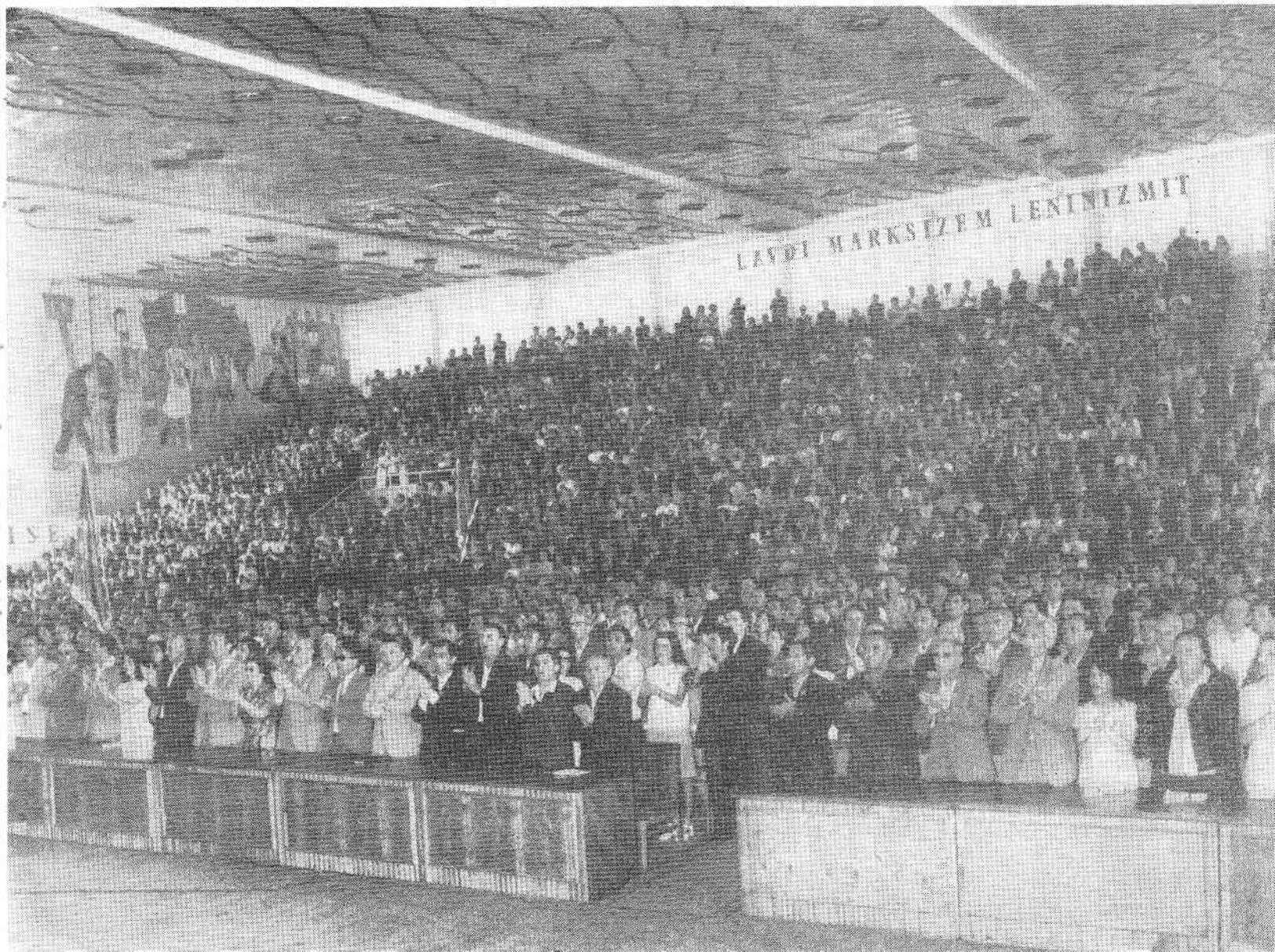
and the Secretary of the Party Committee of Korça District, Enver Halili.

In the afternoon of June 23, a grand rally of the working people of Korça was organized in the city stadium, to mark the conclusion of the proceedings of the 8th Congress of ATU. Thousands of working people from Korça and the nearby villages, delegates and guests to the 8th Congress of ATU, as well as the foreign delegations which attended the Congress, took part in the rally.

On this occasion, the President of the ATU Central Council Rita Marko spoke about the proceedings of the Congress.

Then a concert by amateur and professional groups from all over the country was put on.

A view of the hall in which the 8th Congress of the ATU held its proceedings.



MESSAGE OF GREETINGS OF THE C OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALB

To the 8th Congress of the Albanian Trade Unions

Dear comrades,

It is a great joy for the Party, for its Central Committee and for me personally, on the occasion of the 8th Congress of the Albanian Trade Unions, this marked political event, to convey to you, the delegates who have come from the sectors of industry and agriculture, education and culture, from all the fronts of work and struggle for the construction of socialism, and through you, to all the working people of the country, the most ardent revolutionary greetings. The Party wishes you, comrade delegates and the Albanian Trade Unions, this militant organization in which the working people of our country, builders of the new socialist society and defenders of our glorious Homeland militate, complete success in the proceedings of the Congress.

The holding of your 8th Congress in the historic and beautiful city of Korça has great significance. Korça is a city with an outstanding patriotic past and rich revolutionary traditions in the workers' and communist movement. It was a powerful base of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War. Korça has given the country outstanding patriots who fought with the rifle and the pen for freedom and independence, for knowledge and culture. The first workers' organizations, as well as the first revolutionary political organization of the Albanian working class, the Communist Group of Korça, were created in this city. Here many outstanding communists like Ali Kelmendi, like comrades Miha Lako, Pilo Peristeri and many others, have worked and struggled. These great patriotic and revolutionary traditions have inspired and continue to inspire the working class and all the working people of the Korça region to stand in the forefront of the struggle for the construction of socialism and progress of the Homeland. May these

traditions be a further source of revolutionary inspiration for the success of your Congress!

The 8th Congress of the Trade Unions and the tasks it will set are of special importance not only for your organization, but also for the whole country. It is meeting only a short time after the holding of the 7th Congress of our glorious Party, which made a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the internal and international situation, scientifically summed up the rich revolutionary experience of our Party and people, and drew up a great programme of work for the present and the future of the country.

You comrades bring to the Congress the great drive and enthusiasm of our heroic workers, our revolutionary youth, our courageous women, the people's intelligentsia, the working people of the state farms and the patriotic peasantry, you bring the total mobilization and commitment with which they are working to put into practice the historic decisions of the 7th Congress of the Party.

There is not the slightest doubt that this vigorous, life-giving, revolutionary spirit will characterize the proceedings of your Congress, too, which, on the basis of the decisions of the 7th Congress of the Party, will examine the work of the Trade Unions and charge them with new, greater, more difficult and more fruitful tasks for the education and mobilization of the working people of our country on the brilliant road of socialism.

Loyally adhering to the teachings of the great Lenin that the Trade Unions are schools of communism, the Party has always stressed that their main task has been and still is the communist education of the working people. The Trade Unions have made and are making an invaluable contri-

ENTRAL COMMITTEE

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tribution to the general ideological, political, cultural and professional uplift of our working people. This contribution and this untiring work are expressed in the high level of consciousness which characterizes the working class and all the working people of our country, in their determination and courage to march constantly forward on the road on which the Party is leading them. The Trade Unions are faced with great tasks for the education of the working class, to ensure that it always remains unwavering in its historic mission. The leading role of the working class is a major question of principle, a decisive condition for the maintenance and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and a guarantee for the successful construction of socialist society. Today, there is no important problem of the Party and the state on which the working class does not have its say with complete confidence and certainty. This reality has been sanctioned in the New Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, which guarantees the working class all its rights and recognizes its leading role in our society.

The 7th Congress of the Party laid down the task that in the future, too, the leading role of the working class must be further enhanced and strengthened, that it must take part actively in governing the country, and that, under the leadership of the Party, it must exercise direct control over all sectors, and, with its example, set the tone for the entire life, of the country.

Here the Trade Union organizations have a wide field for educational activity. They also have major tasks for the ceaseless strengthening and steeling of the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry, an alliance which constitutes the fundamental principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the foundation of the unity of the people around the Party.

The fulfilment by the working class and the cooperativist peasantry of their duties to the state and society, the further development of the close, allround ties between town and countryside, the strengthening of the cooperation between industry and agriculture, the education of the city workers with love for the countryside and work in agriculture, the implementation of the programme of the Party for the narrowing of distinctions between

town and countryside, are factors which make the alliance of the working class with the peasantry even stronger and make the unity of the people around the Party even more unbreakable.

For the communist tempering of the new man, the Trade Unions must devote special attention to the education of the working class and the other masses of working people with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, and the teachings of our Party. It is the proletarian ideology, the revolutionary experience of the Party, which make our working people staunch fighters for the revolution and the construction of socialism, which broaden their horizons and give them clear perspectives, and strengthen their confidence in victory. Along with this, education in the revolutionary traditions of the heroic working class with its lofty proletarian virtues, knowledge of the titanic struggle which it, and our entire people, have waged for the construction of socialism in Albania, constitute a great inspiring and mobilizing force, an example which should be followed and enriched.

The Trade Unions link the Party with the masses, carry its line and directives to them, patiently explain the concrete tasks which it puts forward, and bring to the Party the voice of the working people and their opinions and experience of life. In the daily work and efforts for the implementation of the decisions and directives of the Party, they educate the masses to maintain a high level of revolutionary vigilance, to be irreconcilable with the internal and external enemies, with manifestations of alien bourgeois and revisionist ideologies, and any bureaucratic distortions and liberal attitudes, and to wage the class struggle correctly and consistently.

The Trade Unions have an important role in the field of production. It is required of them that they work tirelessly and with a high level of political and ideological consciousness, to ensure that the vigorous creative thinking of the working people is scething everywhere, in the enterprise, in the department and brigade, that the militant spirit is kept high and the socialist emulation developed more and more powerfully. They must strive to ensure the utilization of all the internal possibilities and reserves, to ensure supplementary resources for the economy, more income for the state and more goods for the people.

MESSAGE OF GREETINGS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

With unprecedented enthusiasm our people have set about the work for the fulfilment of the 6th Five-year Plan, which will raise the economy and culture of our country to a higher level, will bring about a further rise in the wellbeing of the masses, and make the defence capacity of the Homeland even stronger. The results which have been achieved in all sectors up to date show that the objectives set by the Party are realistic and fully attainable. From the first year of the Five-year Plan, all the bread grain our country requires was produced, our first iron and steel was poured, production of many articles, items of equipment and machinery, which were imported before, commenced, new mines were opened and the production of minerals increased. However, the difficulties which emerge in our course of development are by no means small, and various shortcomings and weaknesses still exist. But the Party is confident that our working class and all our working people will surmount and conquer them, just as they have done up to now, will struggle in a lofty spirit of heroism and sacrifice to ensure that the plan is not just fulfilled, but overfulfilled.

Our socialist society is vitally interested in seeing the plans of production completely fulfilled in all indices. The oil, chromium, copper, iron-nickel, coal, electric power, bread grain and milk, spare parts and machinery which we produce ourselves, are powerful weapons in the hands of the working class and the people to strengthen the economy and the defence of the country, to raise the wellbeing of the people and increase the prosperity of the country, to cope with blockade and smash the encirclement.

In all their educational, organizational and mobilizing activity, the Trade Unions must bear in mind that the successful realization of the great tasks of the 6th Five-year Plan requires work in a revolutionary spirit and with proletarian discipline, with high productivity and quality everywhere, requires that everybody fulfils his work norms, that everyone places the general interest of the state and the people above everything, that the common property must be constantly protected and strengthened and that a strict regime of savings is implemented in every field by everybody.

Our people are building socialism encircled by savage and perfidious imperialist and revisionist enemies, who are exerting continuous, allround political, ideological, economic and military pressure on our country. They are trying to impede the development of our economy, to destroy the dictatorship of the proletariat, and strangle the revolution in Albania.

Our working class, all the working people of town and countryside, led by their Marxist-Leninist Party, are responding to these furious efforts by further strengthening their unity around the Party, by further enhancing the fiery patriotism which characterizes our people, by raising higher the mobilization at work, raising the spirit of courage, sacrifice and determination, by carrying out their military training and preparation for the defence of the Homeland at the highest level. They are replying to these efforts by implementing the great revolutionary principle of self-reliance, with complete confidence, both in the field of production and in that of defence.

The Trade Unions must preserve and cultivate these rare revolutionary qualities, this indomitable and unyielding character of our people, in all the working people, old and young, women and men. The increase of confidence in the strength of the socialist order and our people's economy, the strengthening of the conviction that the skilful hands and the enlightened minds of our working people can do the impossible, multiply their strength to overcome every obstacle and surmount any difficulty.

Today, the new Socialist Albania has a powerful material-technical base, a developed and stable economy, modern industry and advanced agriculture, and education and culture which are the property of the broad masses of the working people. It has a working class and a people highly trained politically and ideologically, with a high educational, cultural, technical and professional level. This level is expressed in the talent of workers, technicians, and engineers who are building complex and majestic projects such as the Metallurgical Combine, the Fierza Hydro-power Station, the Deep Oil Processing Plant, and many others.

However, the stage reached and the perspectives of the economic and social development of

our country require the further raising of the overall political and ideological level of the working people, the raising of the level of their culture and knowledge. The Trade Unions must devote special care to these problems, must work with might and main for the deepening of the technical-scientific revolution in all sectors, for the dissemination of advanced experience, so that our working people will be innovators in production and militants in the socialist construction.

Comrades,

Today, the peoples of the world are being subjected to allround pressure, to a permanent threat and great danger to their freedom and independence, which comes from the aggressive, expansionist and hegemonic policy of US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, from the diabolical manoeuvres of the international bourgeoisie and the intrigues of world reaction.

At the same time, the big imperialist powers, the entire bourgeois-revisionist world, are caught in the grip of an all-embracing economic and financial, political and social crisis. Inflation, falling production, unemployment, rising prices, etc., are characteristic of this world in its decadence. The bourgeoisie and its apparatus of domination are trying to get out of this grave situation by stepping up the oppression and exploitation at home and by seeking adventures abroad. As a result, international tensions have been raised and the threats to the peoples have increased.

The working class, the communists and the cadres, the youth and the women, the cooperativist peasantry and our people's intelligentsia must see their tasks in close connection with these situations, must struggle to fulfil the plans everywhere, so that the monolithic unity of the people around the Party, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist economy and the defence of the country are strengthened and their revolutionary spirit and fighting readiness are always kept at a high level.

Educated by the Party in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, our working class, and all our working people are following closely and with great sympathy the struggle which the international proletariat is waging against capitalist

exploitation, against the crisis and the danger of fascism, against the arms race and the preparations of the superpowers for war. They rejoice at the successes which the peoples of the world are achieving in their efforts to gain and defend their freedom and independence, to oust neo-colonialism and to establish their complete sovereignty over their national assets.

While fighting resolutely, as always, against imperialism and social-imperialism, against the monopoly bourgeoisie, against modern revisionism and reaction, the Trade Unions must preserve and further strengthen the internationalist solidarity of our working people with the struggle of the world proletariat and the liberation movement of the peoples, support and back up all those who are fighting for the revolution and socialism, for freedom and democracy in the world.

The Central Committee of the Party expresses its conviction that the proceedings of the 8th Congress of the Trade Unions and the decisions it will adopt, will give a further impulse to their allround activity, will add even more to the drive and mobilization at work of the working class, and will raise the level of its revolutionary consciousness and action even higher.

Dear comrades, let the spirit of determination, sacrifice and heroism at work of our glorious working class be raised to a higher level on all fronts! Let the vigour and enthusiasm of the working class, the women and the youth, the masses of working people in town and countryside, to fulfil and overfulfil the plan for 1977 and the entire Five-year Plan, to make our socialist Homeland stronger, more beautiful, more prosperous, burst out powerfully.

Long live our heroic working class!

Long live the Albanian Trade Unions!

Long live our Party!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA
First Secretary
ENVER HOXHA

From the report of RITA MARKO

In his report Rita Marko said among other things:

The period since the 7th Congress of the Albanian Trade Unions has been one of struggle and great victories. The Trade Unions, which unite the working class and the people's intelligentsia in their ranks, have fought with might and main to carry out the decisions and directives of the Party. As always, the working class, at the head of our entire people, under the leadership of the Party, through its resolute work and struggle, has coped with the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade and consistently forged ahead on the road of the construction of socialism. In this struggle, its consciousness as a leading class has been raised still higher, its participation in the running of the country has been extended, its confidence in its own forces has been enhanced and its revolutionary fervour and creative spirit have been strengthened further.

The principled foreign policy of our Party and state, the allround support which it has given the revolutionary proletariat and the peoples of the world who are fighting for freedom, independence and social liberation, the resolute principled stand of our country against imperialism, social-imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction, have raised the international reputation and authority of the Party and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to unprecedented heights.

The 7th Congress of the Party has put great tasks and new responsibilities before our organizations. They require untiring work, a creative spirit, revolutionary tempo and courage in order to solve the key problems of the socialist construction of the country and the defence of the Homeland, to overcome all the difficulties caused by the

imperialist and revisionist blockade and encirclement, by relying on the people's own efforts. The Trade Unions will mobilize all their energies to fulfil these tasks with honour.

Then, Rita Marko spoke about the need for the further mobilization of the working class for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the 6th Five-year Plan, for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland, for raising its consciousness to the level of the historic mission with which the development of society charges it, and the need for the constant strengthening of the Trade Unions and the invigoration of their activity.

Finally, Rita Marko spoke about the resolute stand of the Albanian working class and the Albanian Trade Unions as ardent supporters of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the peoples' liberation movements. In connection with this, he said:

The working class, the Albanian Trade Unions, all the working people of our country, have always loyally supported and carried out the correct and principled Marxist-Leninist line pursued by the Party of Labour of Albania, its foreign policy and its consistent revolutionary stand in the field of international relations. The profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the present international situation and the world revolutionary movement which comrade Enver Hoxha made in his report to the 7th Congress of the Party, the correct principled stand of our Party towards all the problems which are concerning the people today, arm the working class and all the masses of our working people and enable them to have a profound understanding of the complex phenomena of the processes going on in the world today, to find their bearings in any situation, to defend the interests of our socialist

Homeland as well as those of the revolution and the struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence, more effectively and firmly.

While struggling tirelessly for the construction of socialism in Albania, the working class and the Trade Unions of Albania, educated and led by the Party of Labour of Albania, have, at the same time, always been active participants in the international revolutionary workers' movement. In this activity they have been guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, by the spirit of international solidarity of the working people. They have fought to strengthen class and anti-imperialist unity, and have given strong support to the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the other oppressed strata for national and social liberation, for democracy and progress, against the common enemies: US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, the monopoly bourgeoisie and reaction, opportunism, reformism, and modern revisionism.

In our time, the revolution constitutes the fundamental historic task facing the proletariat and peoples of the world. At the centre of world revolutionary processes today stands the working class, and no other social force can perform the hegemonic role of the proletariat, or fulfil its historic mission. From the time of its birth to this day, the working class has been and will continue to be the motive force that carries revolution ahead and drives the wheel of history forward.

The liberation movements of the peoples play an important part in the struggle for the victory of the world revolution. They are closely allied with the proletariat, its great reserve in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and imperialism. These movements are



Comrade Rita Marko reading the report.

striking at the political and economic foundations of imperialism, the international monopoly bourgeoisie and their tools, and helping to tip the balance of forces in favour of revolution.

The working class of the world is helping the anti-imperialist and liberation struggles of the peoples in every way and with all its might. It always takes its stand beside and is solid to the end with all those who fight for the freedom and independence of their own countries, for the preservation and consolidation of their own national sovereignty. This support is an indispensable condition both for the victory of revolution itself and for liberation of the peoples.

A bitter struggle is being waged on a world scale today in the field of ideology, too. In order to divert the proletariat from its revolutionary class struggle and to obscure its perspectives, the bourgeois, revisionist and reformist ideologists are trying to present the capitalist system as «renewed», and are making a great fuss about the alleged de-proletarianization of capitalist society, about the working class turning into a bourgeois class and integrating itself into capitalism. They are propagating the so-called «trade union democracy» and «co-administration» of enterprises, in order to create the impression that through the representation of worker aristocracy and trade unionist leaders in the administrative

councils of the capitalist enterprises, the workers will allegedly become co-owners and co-managers. All the theorizing that, allegedly, the technical scientific revolution makes social revolution unnecessary, and so on, has the same aim.

But the new phenomena which have taken place in the capitalist society and on which they are speculating have changed nothing at all in the class relationships. They have not wiped out exploitation, have not softened the antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, nor altered the historic necessity for the overthrow of the exploiting order, the historic necessity for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat

and the construction of socialist society.

The working class can perform its historic mission only if it is led by its own revolutionary party which is guided by the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism and internationalism, which carries out a proletarian strategy and revolutionary tactics.

With a view to hindering the working class and the proletariat from advancing on the road to their complete emancipation, the bourgeoisie and imperialism are also making use

of the so-called trade unions, the overwhelming majority of which are being manipulated, today, by the bourgeois parties and led by the worker aristocracy. Basing all their activity on class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and the capitalist states, the reformist and revisionist trade unions serve as tools to sabotage the revolutionary struggle of the working people.

At a time when the working class and the other working masses are waging a bitter fight to oppose the efforts of the bourgeoisie to saddle

The Korça people turned into a festivity the days while the 8th Congress of the ATU held its proceedings. Every afternoon, various artistic groups gave performances in the main streets and squares of the town.



them with the burden of the crisis, the reformist and revisionist trade unions are making every effort and using every means to quieten the workers, to keep their class movement under control. Under slogans that the crisis is a transitory phenomenon affecting workers and capitalists alike, etc., the trade unionist leaders have come out openly in defence of the interests of capital. Another expression of the degeneration of the so-called trade unions of the revisionist and socialdemocrat type is their ever more

blatant collaboration with the employers' organizations and the bourgeois government institutions. Many trade union leaders take part in the highest instances of various state organs and serve as spokesmen for the monopolies.

Nowadays, the reactionary trade unions have become a terrain and means for the expansionist activity of the two superpowers in various areas of the world. Through various visits, financial and material aid, the training of cadres, or in other ways, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are seeking to exploit the trade union centres in various countries for their own ends and gain dominance over them, too, as instruments of their hegemonist policy. The activity of such international or continental organizations as the World Federation of Trade Unions, which is a tool in the hands of the Soviet social-imperialists, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, a tool in the hands of US imperialism, or the European Confederation of Trade Unions, which is the offspring of the European Common Market and in the service of the big monopoly bourgeoisie, is evidence of this. But this activity is encountering the ever growing resistance of the working class and the progressive trade unions in various countries, which are ever more sternly condemning the policy of interference in the internal affairs, the policy of dictate and blackmail by the two superpowers, disguised under the tradeunionist label.

Putting into practice the teachings of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, the Albanian Trade Unions have devoted special attention to the question of the development, extension, and consolidation of their ties of friendship and cooperation with progressive and revolutionary trade union organizations on an anti-imperialist class basis, on the basis of fighting solidarity. The fact that at present the Albanian Trade Unions have relations with a large number of national and regional

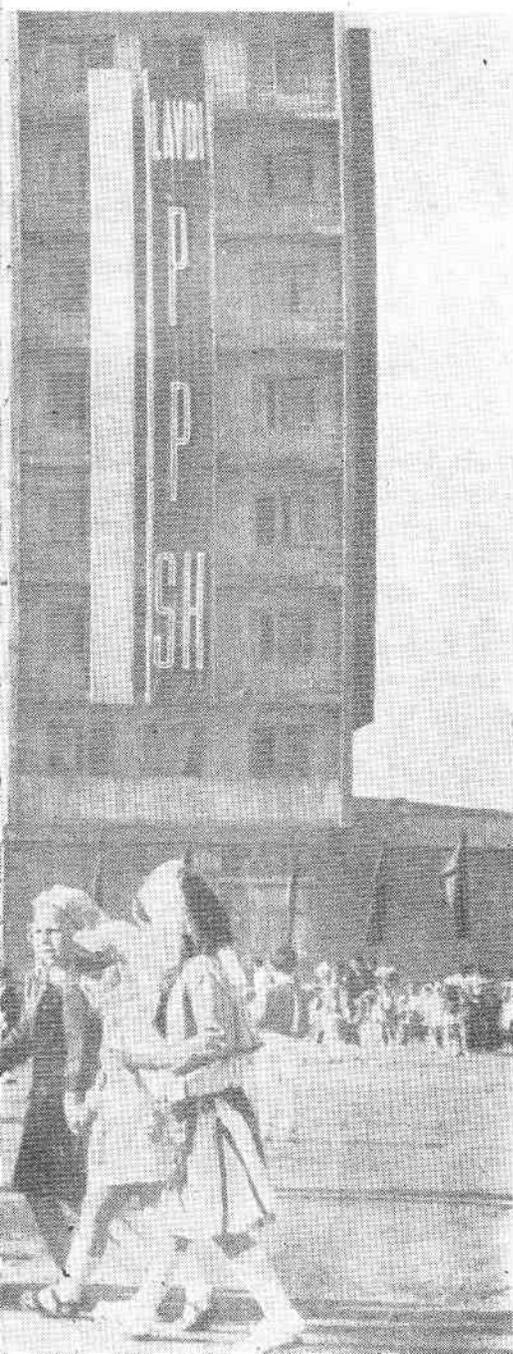
trade union centres, with trade union federations and with revolutionary progressive tradeunionists in nearly 90 countries of the world shows that the working class, the working people of our country and the Albanian Trade Unions have numerous friends and allies all over the world.

The working class and the working people of our country will work consistently to strengthen, as always, on the Marxist-Leninist road, its fraternal friendship with the great Chinese people and the heroic working class of China.

The working class and all the people of our country have actively supported the anti-imperialist liberation struggles of the working people of Asia, Africa, Latin America and their progressive trade unions. We wholeheartedly welcomed the great victory of the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, and we firmly support the liberation struggle of the peoples of Azania, Zimbabwe, Namibia, etc., against the racist regimes, as well as the struggle of the Palestinian people for their undeniable right, and that of all the Arab peoples for the liberation of their territories occupied by the Israeli zionists.

The working people of our country and the Albanian Trade Unions rejoice over and warmly welcome the activity and successes of the Marxist-Leninist parties, their efforts to find the most appropriate forms and ways of organizing the working class, in accordance with the concrete conditions existing in each country.

The working class of our country and the Albanian Trade Unions, guided by the glorious Party of Labour of Albania with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, will, as always, firmly and actively support and stand on the side of the proletariat, the revolutionaries, the working people and the peoples of the whole world, in their struggle for the triumph of the cause of the revolution and socialism, the cause of the people's freedom and independence, thus fulfilling their internationalist duty.



ENVER HOXHA

YOUTH GIVES LIFE AND ANIMATION NEW BLOOD TO THE PARTY

The organisations of the youth are the life-giving tissues, are like the clean lungs of a healthy body which give the Homeland life and vigour. They are those powerful organs which strengthen our Party, which provide new blood for the heart of the people, the Party

Speech at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA on June 7, 1977 on the report presented by the ALYU Central Committee on the education of the youth, and the theses on the report of the 7th Congress of the ALYU.

N TO THE COUNTRY,

THE 7TH CONGRESS OF THE ALBANIAN LABOUR YOUTH UNION WILL BE HELD AT THE END OF SEPTEMBER THIS YEAR. THIS CONGRESS, LIKE ALL THE OTHER CONGRESSES OF THE YOUTH, HAS GREAT IMPORTANCE FOR THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE OF OUR COUNTRY. THEREFORE THE PARTY MUST DEVOTE SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE YOUTH ORGANISATION AND ITS LEADERSHIP, AND GIVE INTENSIVE, WELL-STUDIED, AND CONCRETE ASSISTANCE WITH THE AIM OF MAKING THIS CONGRESS AN OUTSTANDING EVENT IN THE LIFE OF OUR PEOPLE, AND ESPECIALLY THE YOUTH.

THE CONGRESS OF THE YOUTH IS NOT SOMETHING FORMAL, OR JUST A DISPLAY. NO, THIS CONGRESS IS A VERY SERIOUS EVENT, BECAUSE IT HAS THE TASK OF DEFINING THE CLEAR, MOBILISING MARXIST-LENINIST LINE OF THE YOUNGER GENERATION, WHICH IS PLAYING AN IMPORTANT AND DECISIVE ROLE IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM AND THE PRESENTDAY DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEW LIFE. THE ALBANIAN LABOUR YOUTH UNION IS PLAYING AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE EDUCATION OF THE BROAD MASSES OF THE YOUTH AND IS PREPARING THEM SO THAT GRADUALLY THEY WILL ENTER ACTIVE REVOLUTIONARY LIFE IN ALL FIELDS OF THE ACTIVITY OF OUR HOMELAND.

The masses and organisations of the youth are the life-giving tissues, are like the clean lungs of a healthy body which give the Homeland life and vigour. They are those powerful organs which strengthen our Party, which provide new blood for the heart of the people, the Party. When we speak about new blood, we mean all those young men and women of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia, educated in the Marxist-Leninist spirit and ideology, with proletarian discipline, with sincerity, honesty and courage which are valuable characteristics of our people.

For this reason, the congress of the youth, and in general all the rallies of our younger generation, must not be considered only from their festive aspect. Public display, the aspect of beauty and rejoicing, is characteristic of the younger generation. This is necessary for the youth, but it is not only this which must characterize its rallies. Along with these aspects, the mature thinking of the Party must flow among the youth, it must display the necessary seriousness in carrying out the tasks it is faced with, in finding the forms and methods it must use to carry them into effect, the creative thinking of the young men and women who are educated by the Party in schools, factories, the army, in the countryside and elsewhere, must stand out. In this way, their rallies become really joyful as well as fruitful! All these things build up the morale, knowledge, intelligence, courage and heroism, not only of our youth, but also of the whole people, because such a spirit pervades the older people, too, the working people in the factories, the workers in the fields, the men of the pen, and all this is combined in a special harmony which cannot exist except in a

country where socialism is being built, in a country which is led by Marxist-Leninist Party, such as our party.

It is essential that the youth, should be guided in its work by such orientations, not only in the congress, but also now before the congress and all the time. In all its activity, whether study, creative or productive activity, in the schools, factories and fields, in the great national and local actions which it is continually undertaking and carrying out successfully, the youth must always be imbued and tempered with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, with the teachings of our Party, which must, without fail, be made comprehensible to the youth. We must not hear that there are young men and women in our country who do not properly understand the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the theory of our great teachers in all its breadth and profundity. We must ensure that the theory and practice of our Party is understood in the course of its implementation. Practice will develop the creative thinking of young people and their ability to assimilate the Marxist-Leninist theory more easily and to link it with life, with their everyday struggle. So from books and from practice they must succeed in gaining a profound understanding of the laws of our Marxist-Leninist theory.

In other words, it is the task of the Party, through such work, to ensure the future of the country, socialism, which the people are building, the people are defending and the people are developing and driving constantly forward. But these people must always have their sleeves rolled up in order to lay the stones one upon the other, must bind them well together with mortar and steel and hand on this work to the succeeding generations one after





*Comrade ENVER HOXHA
amid a group of youth*

another, so that they advance continuously under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, which they know how to apply in practice, in the development of socialist society. This means that they must be constantly enriching Marxism-Leninism. This is a major objective ahead of our Party. The task falls on us to think deeply about this question and to see to it that the correct ideas of the Party are implanted in the hearts and minds of the young generation.

As the Party has repeatedly stressed, both now and in the future, we must strive to ensure that our youth understands that there will always be difficulties ahead in life, because the struggle for the complete construction of socialism, the struggle to defend the socialist Homeland and the victories achieved, cannot be crowned with success without encountering and fighting against the internal and external enemies. The class struggle must always be waged from our side on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, so that we are neither sectarian nor opportunist.

We must know how to solve the numerous problems facing us correctly, how to distinguish the antagonist contradictions between the people and the enemies from the non-antagonistic contradictions among the people. The resolution of non-antagonistic contradictions among the people is a great, complicated and many-sided task. Maturity and wisdom are required to solve these contradictions in favour of socialism and to the disadvantage of the enemies of the proletariat and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The non-antagonistic contradictions, of which there is a wide range, in the most varied forms, at different places and times, must be observed, studied, corrected, and explained with great patience, because such is their nature. The mark of the ability of the Party and the youth is that they must know how to resolve these contradictions properly, and to achieve this, as I said above, they must work to acquire Marxist-Leninist maturity which creates that good sense, that sound judgement in people, which helps them to cope with and overcome any difficulty they may be faced with. The Party should be carrying on such education among the younger generation right now. It must see to it that this generation is activated in this class struggle, the struggle against the enemies within the country and the struggle against the external enemies.

In this direction, the Party should bear in mind that the work with the youth is very delicate, therefore, it should be vigilant because the class enemies are not only working to sabotage everything at present, but are also striving to undermine the future. In this direction, the youth is one of the fields of their activity. The enemies know that if they manage to influence the youth through their dissipated petty-bourgeois and decadent life, their crazy music and their evil vices, then the future of our people will decay, and the young sapplings, those who will take the place of the old and have to uphold the torch of socialism, will degenerate. Taking account of this, we must ensure that the youth understands the importance of the dictatorship of the proletariat thoroughly and well,

in theory and in practice, understands that the dictatorship of the proletariat is that means which has guaranteed it and the entire people all these advantages, all this happy, prosperous and cultured life, with an extensive, sound and just democracy.

We must work to ensure that the youth does not have only a superficial understanding of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie is trying to describe the dictatorship of the proletariat as the enemy of a «broad democracy», that allegedly exists in the capitalist countries. In fact, in these countries there is only a formal democracy, democracy for the rich and not for the broad working masses, not for the proletariat. The dictatorship in the capitalist countries is comprised of the armed forces and other state apparatuses of compulsion of these countries, which secure the bourgeois-capitalist order, secure the assets of the monopolies against the struggle of the proletariat and the other masses of poor working people of town and countryside, who are exploited to the bone.

We should not think that in our youth, so pure, so heroic and so industrious, so intelligent and cultured, petty bourgeois leftovers do not strike root, external hostile influences do not make themselves felt sometimes. The red apple should always preserve its beautiful colour, and for it not to lose colour and freshness measures must be taken to prevent the worm from eating itself into it. Such should be our care and struggle for our younger generation, the future of our Homeland, the future we are now fighting for with all our forces, for socialism and communism. In all the plants, factories, cooperatives, schools, wherever young people are working and learning, in all the forms and at all levels, we must know how to combine political education, moral education and ideological education in such a manner that we launch into life a youth which is not only qualified and trained technically, but first of all, pure and sound morally, politically and ideologically.

The Party has the duty to use all methods and means to ensure that our youth, which was born and has grown up in socialism, but which has taken part in this magnificent construction carried out in our country, knows about the past of our people, not only about the gloomy economic and political past, but also about the brilliant past, its patriotic and revolutionary traditions. Work must go on ceaselessly in all forms so that these revolutionary and patriotic traditions of our people in all fields are deeply implanted in the hearts and minds of the young people to ensure that while they live and work in the socialist reality, they also appreciate and love this reality, because it is the work of their own blood and sweat and that of our forefathers, thus, every step forward we take becomes many times more valuable. It is vital that we make it clear to the youth that they must never forget that every furrow in this soil has been filled with the blood, sweat and bones of our courageous, freedom-loving, and industrious people.

In many different ways the Party must continuously arouse in the youth the desire to learn and educate themselves, and in order that this lesson may be absorbed

with the greatest zeal, persistence and seriousness, the youth must understand the great aim of learning, which enlightens the individual and gives him a priceless weapon which must be used properly in the general interests of the people, the Homeland and socialism. It must understand that to use learning and knowledge to serve the general interest means that every one must serve wherever the Homeland requires and must work with total selfdenial, even up to the supreme sacrifice if the needs of the people and Homeland require it.

It is not advisable for us to always make everything a bed of roses for the youth, even when it is not a bed of roses, but we must work so that it understands that for a «bed of roses» to be always in bloom it must be kept «free of weeds», «watered», and «hoed», and that when we plant the «roses» they must be looked after. The youth should know, too, that there are all sorts of difficulties of growth for these «roses»; there are diseases and weeds which can infect them and there are «atmospheric agents», which, on many occasions, if we are not careful and do not protect them, will ruin the «rose garden», weaken and wither the «roses» raised with such care. Therefore it remains our permanent duty to acquaint the youth with and accustom it to difficulties, so that it understands these difficulties correctly, both objectively and subjectively, and fights to overcome them with success. Precisely here lies the force of a truly Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary education for the youth.

The Party must always have the youth organisation under its patronage, and must be very careful not to make it a sectarian organisation, but a militant mass organisation. Among the masses of the youth, the Party must use a wide range of methods to do all the things I have touched on briefly above and carry out many other directives it has issued from time to time, so that all this great mass of the youth, ranked in its organisation with an iron discipline, conscious of the tasks with which it is charged, with great enthusiasm to get into these tasks and carry them out properly, merges itself with the people, identifies itself with the people, shares the people's joys and sorrows, is inspired by the people and itself inspires the people.

It is precisely with this form, this impulse, this way of working that the Party should provide the Youth Organization and all the other mass organizations.

When we say that the youth is the future of our country, the Party must think deeply about this and watch over the youth with the greatest care. This means that, it must be envisaged that capable, revolutionary, loyal and cultured young men and women must be brought into the leading positions, the key positions of every sector, and must gradually take the work into their own hands, in close collaboration with their elders. It is the duty of the latter, the older cadres, to teach the young men and women, to train them as their replacements, to treat them with the greatest affection, warmth and care.

We must always have confidence in the rising generation, this healthy generation which is being educated by the Party. We must strive, gradually, to hand the torch on to our young men and women and we can be sure that they will do their job properly. These young people will see that the word and thought of the Party are creative and unforgettable and comprise that great force which makes man capable and equips him with rare virtues in the service of the Homeland.

I agree with the report which the Central Committee of the Youth presented to us on the state of the organisation, and the work of the youth in all its social, economic, educational, cultural and other activities.

In general, we may say that our youth is proceeding resolutely on the right course the Party has set for it. The struggle and the powerful heart beat of the youth is making itself felt throughout the entire life of the country, that beat which comes from a pure and healthy heart, from a brain with sound logic, knowledge and science. Notwithstanding that there are some shortcomings in the work of the youth, that there are some young people with negative attitudes, and of course, this is the struggle for development, in which the clash of the opposites can be seen, one thing comes out clearly: with the passage of time and persistent education, the work of the Party and the youth organisation matures those few of our young people who sometimes do something childish. This work makes them aware of their incorrect actions over some issue or at a given time.

Despite this, the task of the youth organisation and the Party is to do everything possible to keep the youth pure, to protect it from evil influences. And it is known that we can protect the young people from such influences, alien to our society, not by shutting them up within four walls, but by educating them wherever they are living, working and learning, with the morality of the class, with the ideology of the Party. Hence if, through our work, we enable the youth to see things correctly politically, then we shall certainly have fewer undesirable manifestations among the masses of the youth. In comparison with the really commendable work of the youth, these manifestations are not numerous, however they must never be underestimated.

I agree also with the theses of the report which the Central Committee of the Youth presented about the forthcoming Congress and I am sure that this report will be soundly constructed, inspired from start to finish by the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party. In every chapter of the report the correct line of the Party on all the problems to be raised must stand out. The sound and revolutionary defence of this line, in policy, theory and practice, must stand out and mobilize the masses of the youth with great enthusiasm to carry out these directives and this line in practice, so that our socialist Homeland becomes even more prosperous and strong.

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE REVOLUTION

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, to the revolutionary strategy of the Marxist-Leninist movement, struggle against all opportunist deviations which the modern revisionist of all heus are spreading, the revolutionary mobilization of the working class and the peoples against the bourgeoisie and imperialism, serious preparation for the revolution, are the only correct road, the only leading to victory

Analysing the present international situation and the revolutionary processes developing in it, comrade Enver Hoxha declared at the 7th Congress of the PLA: «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.» (E. Hoxha, Report at the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 159).

This important principled thesis is based on the Leninist analysis of imperialism, on the definition given by Lenin of the essence of the present historical epoch, and is inspired by the historic mission of the proletariat to liberate itself and all mankind from any exploitation of man by man, from the capitalist system. It proceeds from a concrete Marxist-Leninist analysis of the major contradictions of our time. The thesis of the 7th Congress of the Party is a reconfirmation of the Marxist-Leninist strategy of the revolution in the present conditions.

I

In his brilliant works on imperialism, V. I. Lenin arrived at the conclusion that imperialism is capitalism in decline and decay, the final phase of capitalism and the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat. Analysing the phenomena which characterise imperialism, he wrote: «...all these factors transform the present stage of capitalist development into an era of proletarian socialist revolution.

That era has dawned.

Objective conditions make it the urgent tasks of the day to prepare the proletariat in every way for the conquest of political power in order to carry out the economic and political measures which are the sum and substance of the socialist revolution.» (V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 24, p. 506, Alb. ed.).

In defining the present epoch, Lenin proceeded from the class criterion. He said that it is important to keep well in mind «which class stands at the hub of one epoch or another, determin-

ing its main content, the main direction of its development, the main characteristics of the historical situation in that epoch, etc.» (V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 21, p. 147, Alb. ed.). Defining the fundamental content of the new historic epoch, as epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolutions, he remained consistently loyal to the teachings of Marx about the historic mission of the proletariat as the new social force which will carry out the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist society of oppression and exploitation and build the new society, the classless communist society.

«The Communist Manifesto» of Marx and Engels and their call «Workers of all countries, unite!» came out to announce that the fundamental contradiction of human society was now that between labour and capital, and the proletariat was called on to resolve it by revolution. With his analysis of imperialism, Lenin showed that the contradictions of capitalist society have reached their culmination and that the world has entered the period of proletarian revolutions and the triumph of socialism.

The great October Socialist Revolution confirmed the brilliant conclusions of Marx and Lenin in practice. After the death of Lenin, too, the international communist movement resolutely adhered to his teachings about the present epoch, adhered to his revolutionary strategy. The triumph of the socialist revolution in a number of other countries confirmed that the Leninist thesis on the present epoch, as the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism, reflects the fundamental law of the development of present day human society. The collapse of the colonial system, the winning of political independence by the overwhelming majority of the countries of Asia, Africa, etc., is another confirmation of the Leninist theory on the epoch and the revolution. The fact that the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution were betrayed in the Soviet Union and a number of former socialist countries does not alter the Leninist thesis on

the character of the present epoch in the least, because this is nothing but a zigzag in the course of the inevitable victory of socialism over capitalism on a world scale.

The Party of Labour of Albania has always consistently upheld these Marxist-Leninist conclusions. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: **«The fundamental features of our epoch, as the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism, of the struggle of two opposing social systems, as the epoch of the proletarian and national-liberation revolutions, of the collapse of imperialism and the liquidation of the colonial system, as the epoch of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world scale, are becoming more pronounced and more clearly obvious each day»** (E. Hoxha, Report at the 5th Congress of the PLA, p. 5).

The Marxist-Leninists have always based their definition of the present epoch and their revolutionary strategy on the analysis of the major social contradictions which characterise this epoch. What are these contradictions? Following the triumph of the Socialist Revolution in Russia, Lenin and Stalin spoke about 4 such contradictions: the contradiction between two opposing systems — socialist and capitalist, the contradiction between labour and capital in the capitalist countries, the contradiction between the oppressed peoples and nations and imperialism, the contradictions between imperialist powers. These are the contradictions which constitute the objective basis of the development of the present-day revolutionary movements, which in their entirety, constitute the great process of the world revolution in our epoch. All present-day world development confirms that since the time of Lenin these contradictions have not waned and disappeared but have become more acute and are more clearly obvious than ever before. Therefore, the recognition and admission of the existence of these contradictions constitute the basis for defining a correct revolutionary strategy.

On the contrary, to deny the existence of these contradictions, to hide

them, to ignore one or the other contradiction, to distort their real content, as various revisionists and opportunists are doing, causes confusion and disorientation in the revolutionary movement, serves as a basis for building up and advocating distorted, pseudo-revolutionary strategy and tactics.

II

At present, there is a great deal of talk about the division of the world into the so-called «first», «second» and «third» worlds, about the «non-aligned world», the world of the «developing countries», the «North» and «South» world, etc. Each of the supporters of these divisions presents his own «theory» as the most correct strategy, which allegedly responds to the real conditions of the present international situation. But as comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 7th Congress, **«All these terms, which refer to various political forces acting in the world today, cover up and do not bring out the class character of these political forces, the fundamental contradictions of our epoch, the key problem which is predominant today on a national and international scale, the ruthless struggle between the bourgeois-imperialist world on the one hand, and socialism, the world proletariat and its natural allies, on the other»** (E. Hoxha, Report at the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 173).

When Marxist-Leninists speak about the world and various countries and classify them, their judgement is according to the principles of dialectical and historical materialism. They judge, first and foremost, from the social-economic order existing in various countries, they judge according to the proletarian class criterion. Precisely from this angle V. I. Lenin in 1921, that is, when only one socialist country existed in the world, Soviet Russia, wrote: **«In the world today there exist two worlds: the old world of capitalism that is in a state of confusion but which will never surrender voluntarily, and the rising new world, which is still very weak, but which will grow, for it is invincible»** (V.I. Lenin, Works,

vol. 33, pp. 153-154, Alb. ed.). On his part, J. V. Stalin, in his well-known article «The Two Camps» published in 1919, also stressed: **«The world has been divided definitely and finally into two camps: the camp of imperialism and the camp of socialism... The struggle between these two camps constitutes the pivot of all life in our time, it characterises all the present internal and external policies of advocates of the old and new world»** (J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 4, p. 226 Alb. ed.).

The view of our Party is that today, too, we should speak about the socialist world, as Lenin and Stalin did, that the Leninist criterion is always correct, as Leninism itself is vital and correct. The argument of the theoreticians of the «three worlds», the «non-aligned world», etc., who have eliminated the existence of socialism from their schemes, referring to the fact of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and some other former socialist countries, hence the disintegration of the socialist camp, is without foundation. It is in complete opposition to the Leninist teachings and the class criterion.

The revisionist betrayal, the return of the Soviet Union and a number of former socialist countries to capitalism, the spreading of modern revisionism widely in the international communist and workers' movement and the splitting of this movement were a heavy blow to the cause of the revolution and socialism. But this by no means implies that socialism was liquidated as a system and that the criterion of the division of the world in two opposing systems must be changed, that the contradiction between socialism and capitalism no longer exists today. Socialism exists and is advancing in the true socialist countries which stand loyal to Marxism-Leninism, such as the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Hence the socialist system, as a system which is opposed to the capitalist system, exists objectively, just as the

contradiction and the life-and-death struggle between it and capitalism exists.

By ignoring socialism as a social system, the so-called «theory of three worlds» ignores the greatest historic victory of the international proletariat, ignores the fundamental contradiction of the time, that between socialism and capitalism. It is clear that such a «theory», which ignores socialism, is anti-Leninist; it leads to the weakening of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the countries where socialism is being built, while calling on the world proletariat not to fight, not to rise in socialist revolution, and this is not to be wondered at: departure from the proletarian class criteria in assessing the situation can lead only to conclusions in opposition to the interests of the revolution and the proletariat.

In his works, Lenin, as the great and consistent Marxist that he was, often analysed the **capitalist world** and the relationship of forces within it. This he did, always **to serve the revolution**, to define the tasks facing the proletariat, the tasks of the communist parties, the tasks of the first socialist state towards the world proletarian revolution, to show who were the genuine allies of the revolution and who were its enemies.

Lenin gives us a brilliant example in this direction in his theses and reports at the 2nd Congress of the Communist International in 1920: **«The revolutionary parties must now 'prove' in practice that they have sufficient understanding and organisation, contact with the exploited masses, and determination and skill to utilise this crisis for a successful, a victorious revolution.**

It is mainly to prepare this 'proof' that we have gathered at this Congress of the Communist International.» (V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 31, p. 280, Alb. ed.).

However, the so-called theory of «three worlds» does not lay down any tasks for the revolution, on the

contrary it «forgets» this. In the scheme of the «three worlds», the fundamental contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie does not exist. Apart from this, another thing that strikes the eye, in this division of the world, is its non-class view of what is called the «third world», its ignoring of classes and the class struggle, its treatment of countries which this theory includes in this world, the regimes which dominate there and various political forces which operate within it as a single entity. It ignores the contradiction between the oppressed peoples and the reactionary and pro-imperialist forces of their own countries.

It is well-known that in the countries exploited by imperialism, in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the freedom-loving peoples are waging a stern struggle for freedom, independence and national sovereignty, against old and new colonialism. This is a just, revolutionary and liberation struggle, which enjoys the unreserved support of the Marxist-Leninists in the true socialist countries, of the world proletariat, of all progressive forces. This struggle is directed — and cannot fail to be directed, against a number of enemies: against the imperialist oppressors, and first and foremost against the two super-powers, as the biggest exploiters and international gendarmes, the most dangerous enemies of all peoples of the world; against the local reactionary bourgeoisie, linked by one thousand and one threads with the foreign imperialists, with this or that superpower, with the international monopolies, which is an enemy of the national freedom and independence; against the still pronounced remnants of feudalism, which rely on the foreign imperialists and are united with the reactionary bourgeoisie against the people's revolution; against the reactionary and fascist regimes, representatives and defenders of the domination of these three enemies.

Therefore it is absurd to pretend

that one must fight only against the external imperialist enemies without, at the same time, fighting and attacking the internal enemies, the allies and collaborators of imperialism, and all those factors which hinder this struggle. To this day there has never been any liberation struggle, no national-democratic and anti-imperialist revolution has taken place, without having internal enemies, reactionaries and traitors, sold-out anti-national elements. All strata of the bourgeoisie without exception, including the compradore bourgeoisie, cannot be identified as anti-imperialist forces, as a basis and factors which carry forward the struggle against imperialism, as the so-called theory of the «three worlds» does. To follow this «theory» means to divert the revolutionary movement from the right road, to abandon the revolution halfway, to separate it from the proletarian revolution in the other countries, to set the struggle of the peoples and the proletariat of those countries on an anti-Marxist and revisionist course.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the national question must always be seen as subsidiary to the cause of the revolution. From this standpoint, the Marxist-Leninists support every movement which is effectively directed against imperialism and serves the general cause of the world proletarian revolution. Lenin stressed: **«The significance of this change is that we, as Communists, should and will support bourgeois-liberation movements in the colonies only when they are genuinely revolutionary, and when their exponents do not hinder our work of educating and organising in a revolutionary spirit the peasantry and the masses of the exploited. If these conditions do not exist, the Communists in these countries must combat the reformist bourgeoisie, to whom the heroes of the Second International also belong»** (V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 31, pp. 266-267, Alb. ed.).

Meanwhile, the advocates of the thesis of the «third world» call liberation movement, moreover even «main

force in the struggle against imperialism», even the bargaining of the King of Saudi Arabia or the Shah of Iran with US oil monopolies, and their arms transactions with the Pentagon, involving billions upon billions of dollars. According to this logic, the oil sheiks, who deposit their oil money in the banks of Wallstreet and the City, are allegedly fighters against imperialism and supporters of the people's struggle which is directed against imperialist domination, while the US imperialists, who sell weapons to the reactionary oppressive regimes of these sheiks, are allegedly supplying them to the «patriotic forces» which are fighting to oust the imperialists from the «golden sands» of Arabia and Presia!

The facts prove that today, the democratic and anti-imperialist liberation revolution can also be waged consistently and carried through to the end only if it is led by the proletariat, with its party at the head, and in alliance with the broad masses of the peasantry and the other anti-imperialist and patriotic forces. As early as 1905, in his book «Two Tactics» Lenin proved with profound arguments that in the conditions of imperialism the characteristic of the democratic-bourgeois revolutions is that the force most interested in carrying these revolutions forward is not the bourgeoisie, which vacillates and has the tendency to unite with the reactionary feudal forces against the revolutionary drive of the masses, but the proletariat, which considers the democratic-bourgeois revolution as an intermediary stage for the transition to the socialist revolution. And the same thing must be said about the national liberation movements of our time. J. V. Stalin stressed that following the October Revolution, **«the epoch of the liberation revolutions in the colonies and dependent countries, the epoch of the awakening of the proletariat of those countries, the epoch of its hegemony in the revolution began»** (J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 10, pp. 237-238, Alb. ed.).

These Leninist teachings assume a special value and importance in the present conditions. Today two tendencies have developed in the world and are acting with a great force, tendencies to which Lenin has drawn our attention: on the one hand, the tendency to the breaking of the national boundaries and the internationalisation of economic and political life on the part of the capitalist monopolies; on the other, the tendency to the strengthening of the struggle for national independence on the part of various countries. Thus, in connection with the first tendency, in many countries liberated from colonialism, the ties of the local bourgeoisie with foreign imperialist capital have not only been preserved, but are being strengthened and extended in many neo-colonialist forms, such as the multinational companies, various economic and financial mergers, and so on and so forth. This bourgeoisie, which occupies key positions in the economic and political life of these countries, and which is growing, is a pro-imperialist force and enemy of the revolutionary and liberation movement.

As for the other tendency, that to the strengthening of the national independence against imperialism in the former colonial countries, it is linked, first of all and mainly, with the increase of the proletariat in those countries. Thus, ever more favourable conditions are being created for the broad and consistent development of the anti-imperialist and democratic revolutions, for the proletariat to lead them, and as a result, for their transition to a higher stage, to the struggle for socialism.

The Marxist-Leninists do not confuse the fervent liberation, revolutionary and socialist aspirations and desires of the peoples and the proletariat of the countries of the so-called «third world» with the aims and policy of the oppressive compradore bourgeoisie of those countries. They know that in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, there are

sound progressive currents in the ranks of the peoples, which will certainly carry their revolutionary struggle forward to the victory.

But to speak in general terms about the so-called «third world» as the main force of the struggle against imperialism and for the revolution, as the supporters of the theory of the «three worlds» are doing, without making any distinction between the genuine anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces and the pro-imperialist, reactionary and fascist forces in power in a number of the developing countries, means a flagrant departure from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and to preach typically opportunist views, causing confusion and disorganisation among the revolutionary forces. In essence, according to the theory of the «three worlds», the peoples of those countries must not fight, for instance, against the bloody fascist dictatorships of Geisel in Brazil and Pinochet in Chile, Suharto in Indonesia, the Shah of Iran or the King of Jordan, etc., because they, allegedly, are part of the «revolutionary motive force which is driving the wheel of world history forward». On the contrary, according to this theory, the peoples and revolutionaries ought to unite with the reactionary forces and regimes of the «third world» and support them, in other words, give up the revolution.

US imperialism, the other capitalist states and Soviet social imperialism have bound the classes which are ruling in the countries of the so-called «third world» to them with a thousand threads. Being dependent on the foreign monopolies and wanting to prolong their domination over the broad masses of their own peoples, these classes are, of course, trying to give the impression as if they allegedly form a democratic bloc of independent states, which aims to exert pressure on US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism and to stop their interference in their internal affairs.

Lenin stressed for the communist parties **«the need constantly to explain**

and expose among the broadest working masses of all countries, and particularly of the backward countries, the deception systematically practised by the imperialist powers, which under the guise of politically independent states, set up states that are wholly dependent upon them economically, financially and militarily.» (V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 31, p. 159, Alb. ed.).

The Party of Labour of Albania has always stood loyal to these immortal teachings of Lenin.

«Regarding the assessment of the policy pursued by various states and governments», stressed comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the PLA, **«the Marxists proceed from the class criterion, from the stands these governments and countries maintain towards imperialism and socialism, towards their own people and reaction. On the basis of these teachings the revolutionary movements and the proletariat build their strategy and tactics, find and unite with their true allies in the struggle against imperialism, the bourgeoisie and reaction. The terms «third world», «non-aligned states» or «developing countries» create the illusion among the broad masses fighting for national and social liberation that a roof has allegedly been found under which to shelter from the threat of the superpowers. These terms conceal the real situation in the majority of these countries, which, in this or that manner, politically, ideologically and economically, are bound to, and depend on, the two superpowers and the former colonial metropolises»** (E. Hoxha, Report at the 7th Congress of PLA, p. 174).

The present theories about the so-called «third world», «non-aligned countries», etc., are intended to curb the revolution and defend capitalism, which must not be hindered in the exercise of its hegemony, but should practice some forms of domination a little more acceptable to the peoples. Despite the difference in labels, the so-called «third world» and «world of the non-aligned» are as alike one ano-

ther as two drops of water. They are guided by the same policy and ideology, one group is so entangled with the other that it is difficult to distinguish which countries are of the «third world» and what distinguishes them from the «non-aligned», and which countries are included in the «non-aligned» and what distinguishes them from those of the «third world».

Efforts are being made to create even another grouping of the so-called «developing countries», in which both the countries of the «third world» and the «non-aligned» are all lumped together. The authors of this theory, too, are covering up the class contradictions, advocating the existing status quo, that nothing must be done to annoy imperialism, social imperialism and the other imperialist powers, on the condition that they provide some «hand-outs» for building up the economies of the «developing countries». According to the authors of this theory, the big powers ought to make some «sacrifices», give something to the hungry, so that they will be able to pick up some sort of livelihood and not raise their heads. In this way, they say, a middle road will be found, «a new international order» will be established, in which all, rich and poor, exploiters and the exploited, will live «without wars», «without armaments», «in unity», «in class peace», in à la Khrushchevite coexistence.

Precisely because of the fact that these three «inventions» have the same content and aims, it is noticed that the «leaderships» of the «non-aligned countries», the «third world» and the «world of the developing countries» are in complete harmony. In unison, they are deceiving the masses, the proletariat, the peoples with their theories and sermons in order to divert them from the revolutionary struggle.

Not only does the theory of the «three worlds» not take account of the contradiction between the two opposing social systems, — socialism and capitalism, or the great contradiction between labour and capital; but nei-

ther does it analyse the other major contradiction, that between the oppressed peoples and world imperialism, which it reduces to the contradiction with the two superpowers only, and indeed mainly with one of them. This «theory» totally ignores the contradiction between the oppressed peoples and nations and the other imperialist powers. What is more, the partisans of the theory of the «three worlds» call for alliance of the «third world» with those imperialist countries and with US imperialism against Soviet social imperialism.

One of the arguments used to justify the division of the world into three worlds is that at the present juncture, the imperialist camp which existed after the Second World War, in which US imperialism had undivided domination, has allegedly disintegrated and ceased to exist, as a result of the unequal development of various imperialisms. The supporters of this «theory» claim that today there can be no talk of a single imperialist world, because on the one hand, the Western imperialists have risen against the US rulers, and on the other hand, a fierce and ever increasing rivalry exists between the two imperialist superpowers — the USA and the Soviet Union.

In the stage of imperialism, as a result of the unequal development of various capitalist countries, the inter-imperialist contradictions exist and become constantly deeper, inter-imperialist alliances, blocs and groupings are created and broken up according to the circumstances and conjunctures. This is the abc of Marxism-Leninism. Lenin has provided ample proof that this typical phenomenon of imperialism, which shows that imperialism, as the final stage of capitalism, is heading irretrievably towards decay, is an objective law. But does this mean that as a result of these contradictions, the imperialist world as a social system has ceased to exist and is divided into several worlds, that the social-economic nature of this or that imperialism has changed? Not at all. The present

day facts speak not of disintegration, of the imperialist world, but of a single world imperialist system, which is characterised today by the existence of two big imperialist blocs; on the one hand, by the Western imperialist bloc, headed by US imperialism, the instruments of which are such inter-imperialist organisms such as NATO, the European Common Market, etc., and on the other hand, by the bloc of the East, dominated by Soviet social imperialism, which has as the instruments of its expansionist, hegemonistic and warmongering policy the Warsaw Treaty and COMECON.

In the scheme of «three worlds», the so-called «second world» includes capitalist and revisionist imperialist countries, which, from the point of view of their social order, have no essential difference either from the two superpowers or from various countries included in the «third world». It is true that the countries of this «world» have definite contradictions with the two superpowers, but they are contradictions of an inter-imperialist character, as are also the contradictions between the two superpowers themselves. In the first place, they are contradictions over markets, spheres of influence, zones for the export of capital and the exploitation of the riches of others, of such imperialism as the West German, Japanese, British, French, Canadian one, etc., with one or the other superpower, as well as with one another.

Certainly, these contradictions weaken the world imperialist system and are in the interest of the struggle of the proletariat and of the peoples. But it is anti-Marxist to identify the contradictions between various imperialist powers and the two superpowers with the struggle of the working masses and peoples against imperialism, for its destruction.

It can never happen that the so-called countries of the «second world», in other words the big monopoly bourgeoisie ruling there, become allies of the oppressed peoples and nations in

the struggle against the two superpowers and world imperialism. History since the Second World War shows clearly that these countries have supported and still support the aggressive policy and acts of US imperialism such as in Korea and Vietnam, the Middle East, Africa, etc. They are ardent defenders of neo-colonialism and of the old order of inequality in international economic relations. The allies of Soviet social imperialism in the «second world» took part, jointly with it, in the occupation of Czechoslovakia and are zealous supporters of its predatory expansionist policy in various zones of the world. The countries of the so-called «second world» are the main economic and military support of the aggressive and expansionist alliances of the two superpowers.

The supporters of the theory of «three worlds» claim that it gives great possibilities for exploitation of inter-imperialist contradictions. The contradictions in the enemy camp should be exploited, but in what way and for what aim? The principle is that they should always be exploited in favour of the revolution, in favour of the peoples and their freedom, in favour of the cause of socialism. The principle is that the exploitation of the contradictions in the ranks of enemies must lead to the intensification and strengthening of the revolutionary and liberation movement, and not to its weakening and dying out, to an ever more active mobilisation of the revolutionary forces in the struggle against the enemies, and especially the main ones, without permitting the creation of any kind of illusion about them among the peoples.

The absolutisation of inter-imperialist contradictions and the underestimation of the basic contradiction, that between the revolution and the counterrevolution, the placing of the exploitation of the contradictions in the enemy camp alone in the centre of the strategy and forgetting the main thing — the increase of the revolu-

tionary spirit and the development of the revolutionary movement of the working people and the peoples, neglecting the preparation of the revolution, are in total opposition to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. It is anti-Marxist to preach unity with the allegedly weaker imperialisms to oppose the stronger, to side with the bourgeoisie of the country to oppose that of another country, under the pretext of exploiting contradictions. Lenin stressed that the tactic of the exploitation of contradictions in the ranks of the enemies should be used to raise and not to reduce the general level of proletarian consciousness, the revolutionary spirit, the capacity of the masses to fight and win (V.I. Lenin, vol. 31, pp. 69-70).

The Party of Labour of Albania has always consistently upheld and upholds these immortal Leninist teachings. **«At these moments of the great crisis of imperialism and modern revisionism»**, says comrade Enver Hoxha, **«we should intensify the struggle against them, should exploit the great contradictions among the enemies properly and correctly in our favour, in favour of the socialist states and peoples who rise in the revolution, must expose them incessantly, and not be satisfied with those so-called concessions which the imperialists and revisionists reluctantly make in order to escape the danger, and take revenge later. Therefore, we must always keep the iron hot and attack them without respite»** (E. Hoxha, Reports and Speeches, 1970-1971, pp. 460-461).

In the presentation of the so-called «second world» which includes mostly capitalist and neo-colonialist countries, which constitute the main supporters of the two superpowers, as the ally of the «third world», allegedly in struggle against US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, the anti-revolutionary and pseudo-anti-imperialist character of the theory of the «three worlds» is quite obvious.

This is an anti-revolutionary «theory» because it preaches social peace,

collaboration with the bourgeoisie, hence giving up the revolution, to the proletariat of Europe, Japan, Canada, etc., who have to fight the monopoly bourgeoisie and the system of exploitation in the countries of the «second world», because the interests of the defence of national independence, and particularly the struggle against Soviet social imperialism, allegedly require this.

This is also a pseudo-anti-imperialist theory because it justifies and supports the neo-colonialist and exploiting policy of the imperialist powers of the «second world» and calls on the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America not to oppose this policy, allegedly for the sake of the struggle against the superpowers. In fact, in this way the anti-imperialist and anti-social imperialist struggle of the peoples of the so-called «third world» and those of the so-called «second world» is weakened and sabotaged.

III

Revolutionary strategy is that which puts the revolution in the centre. **«The strategy and tactics of Leninism»** wrote Stalin, **«constitute the science of leadership of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat»** (J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 155, Alb. ed.).

The Leninist strategy considers the world proletarian revolution as a single process, made up of several great revolutionary trends of our era, at the centre of which stands the international proletariat.

This revolutionary process is going on unceasingly in the countries which are advancing on the road of true socialism as a fierce and irreconcilable struggle between the two roads — socialist and capitalist — to ensure the complete and final triumph of the former over the latter, to bar all the paths to the danger of turning back through counterrevolutionary violence and imperialist aggression or through peaceful bourgeois-revisionist degeneration. The revolutionaries and peoples of

the whole world are watching this struggle with the most active interest, considering it as a vital question for the cause of the revolution and socialism all over the world. They give the socialist countries their full and unrestrained support and backing against any attempt of imperialism against these countries, because in the socialist countries they see a powerful base and centre of the revolution, they see the realisation in practice of the ideals for which they themselves are fighting. Lenin's ideas on the necessity and first-rate importance of the aid and support by the international proletariat for the country where the socialist revolution has triumphed are immortal. But this always implies that we are speaking about a genuinely socialist country, which implements the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism with the utmost vigour and consistently adheres to proletarian internationalism. Otherwise, if it is transformed into a capitalist country, maintaining only a fraudulent «socialist» disguise, it must not be supported.

The revolutionaries and the peoples know that the successes and the struggle of the socialist countries are blows which weaken imperialism, the bourgeoisie and international reaction, that they are a direct aid and support for the revolutionary and liberation struggle of the workers and peoples.

Lenin and Stalin always considered the revolutionary task of the proletariat of a socialist country not only as making every effort to develop socialism in its own country, but also as supporting the revolutionary and liberation movements in the other countries in an all-round way. **«Lenin, never regarded the Republic of Soviets as an aim in itself»**, wrote J. V. Stalin. **«He always regarded it as an indispensable link in strengthening the revolutionary movement in the western and eastern countries, as an indispensable link to facilitate the victory of the workers of the whole world over capital. Lenin knew that this is the only correct concept, not only from**

the international point of view, but also from the point of view of the preservation of the Republic of the Soviets itself» (J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 52, Alb. ed.). Precisely for this reason, a truly socialist country cannot include itself in such groupings as the so-called «third world» or «non-aligned countries», in which any kind of class boundaries have been erased and which serve only to divert the peoples from the road of the struggle against imperialism and for the revolution.

Only the revolutionary, freedom-loving and progressive forces, the revolutionary movement of the working class and the anti-imperialist movement of the oppressed peoples and nations can be true and reliable allies of the socialist countries. Therefore, to preach the division into «three worlds», to ignore the fundamental contradictions of our times, to call on for alliance of the proletariat with the monopoly bourgeoisie and of the oppressed peoples with the imperialist powers of the so-called «second world» is not to the advantage of the international proletariat, the peoples, or the socialist countries. It is anti-Leninist. J. V. Stalin stressed: **«I cannot imagine an occasion such that the interests of our Soviet republic might require our sister parties to make deviations to the right... I cannot imagine how the interests of our republic, which is the basis of the revolutionary proletarian movement in the entire world, could want not the maximum of the revolutionary spirit and political activity of the workers of the West, but the reduction of this activity, the dying down of the revolutionary spirit»** (J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 8, p. 111, Alb. ed.).

In the metropolises of capitalism the process of world proletarian revolution is embodied today in the growing class struggles of the proletariat and the other working and progressive strata against the bourgeois exploitation and oppression, against the attempts of the bourgeoisie to load the burden of the present crisis of the world ca-

pitalist system on to the backs of the working people, against the revival of fascism in this or that form, etc. Amongst the broad masses of the working people, headed by the proletariat, the consciousness is developing more and more each day, that the only way out to escape from the crisis and other evils of capitalism, from the bourgeois exploitation, the fascist violence and imperialist wars, is the socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Life and the facts prove that neither the bourgeoisie nor its open and disguised lackeys, from the social democrats to the modern revisionists, can stop the rising tide of the revolutionary struggle of the masses. **«The present struggle of the world proletariat,»** said comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the PLA, **«once again proves the fundamental thesis of Marxism-Leninism that the working class and its revolutionary struggle in the bourgeois and revisionist world cannot be suppressed either with violence or with demagogy»** (E. Hoxha, Report at the 7th Congress of PLA, p. 159).

The objective conditions are becoming ever more favourable for the revolution in the developed capitalist countries. There the proletarian revolution is now a problem taken up for solution. Quite correctly, the Marxist-Leninist parties, which have taken up the banner of the revolution betrayed and discarded by the revisionists, have undertaken the tasks and set to work seriously to prepare the proletariat and its allies for the coming revolutionary battles, for the overthrow of the bourgeois order. This revolutionary struggle, which is hitting the world capitalist and imperialist system in its main strongholds, enjoys and ought to enjoy the full support of the true socialist countries and of all the revolutionary and freedom-loving peoples throughout the world. But today, the modern revisionists, the supporters of the theory of the «three worlds» and the theoreticians of «non-alignment»,

while saying nothing about the revolution and preparation for it, in fact are trying to sabotage it and to keep the status quo of the capitalist order in existence.

In trying to divert the attention of the proletariat from the revolution, the authors of the theory of the «three worlds» preach that at the present time, the question of the preservation of national independence from the danger of aggression by the superpowers, especially by Soviet social imperialism, which they consider to be the main enemy, is the primary issue. The question of defining which is the main enemy on an international scale at a given time is of great importance for the revolutionary movement. Bearing in mind the course of events, the class analysis of the present situation, our Party stresses that US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, these two superpowers, are **«the main and greatest enemies of the peoples»** today, and as such **«they pose the same danger»** (E. Hoxha, Report at the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 186.).

Soviet social imperialism is a savage, aggressive imperialism, thirsty for expansion, which is pursuing a typically colonialist and neo-colonialist policy, which is based on the power of capital and arms.

In rivalry with US imperialism, this new imperialism is struggling to seize strategic positions and to get its grip on all the regions and continents. It stands out as a fire-extinguisher of the revolution and suppressor of the liberation struggle of the peoples. But this in no way means that the other enemy of the peoples and of the whole world, US imperialism, is less dangerous, as the advocates of the «three worlds» theory claim. Distorting the truth and deceiving the peoples, they claim that US imperialism is allegedly no longer wormongering, that allegedly it has been weakened, is in decline, that it has become a «timid mouse», in a word, US imperialism is turning peaceful. Matters have reached the point that even the US military

presence in various countries, such as Germany, Belgium, Italy, in, Japan and other countries, is being justified and described as a factor for defence. Such views are extremely dangerous to the freedom of the peoples, and the fate of the revolution. Such theses foster illusions about the aggressive, hegemonic and expansionist nature of both US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

The proletariat and the proletarian revolution are faced with the task of overthrowing every imperialism, and especially the two imperialist superpowers. Any imperialism, from its very nature, is always a savage enemy of the proletarian revolution. Therefore, to divide imperialisms into more or less dangerous, from the strategic viewpoint of the world revolution, is wrong. Practice has proved that the two superpowers, to the same degree and to the same extent, represent the main enemy for socialism and the freedom and independence of the nations, the greatest force defending exploiting systems, the direct danger that mankind will be hurled into a third world war. To ignore this great truth, to underestimate the danger of one or the other superpower, or even worse, to call for unity with one superpower against the other is fraught with catastrophic consequences and great dangers to the future of the revolution and the freedom of the peoples.

Of course, it happens and may happen that this or that country is oppressed or directly threatened by one of the superpowers, but this in no way and in no case means that the other superpower does not constitute a danger to that same country, and even less that the other superpower has become a friend of that country. The principle, «the enemy of my enemy is my friend» cannot be applied when it is a matter of the two imperialist superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States of America. These two superpowers are fighting the revolution with every

means, are making every effort to sabotage the revolution and socialism and drown them in blood. The two superpowers are striving to extend their domination and exploitation on various peoples and countries. Experience shows that they launch fierce attacks sometimes on one region and sometimes on another, to extend their bloodthirsty grip on the peoples, that each is striving furiously to replace the other. As soon as the people of some country manage to get rid of the domination of one superpower, the other steps in. The Middle East and Africa provide ample proof of this.

The other major trend of the world revolution in our time is the national liberation movement of the peoples, which is spearheaded against imperialism, neo-colonialism and colonial vestiges. The Marxist-Leninists, the world proletariat are in full solidarity with and render their full support to the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples, regarding it as an extremely important, irreplaceable factor in the development of the world revolutionary process. The Party of Labour of Albania has always supported the peoples who are fighting for their national freedom and independence. **«We stand for the unity of the world proletariat and all the true anti-imperialist and progress-loving forces which, with their struggle, will smash the aggressive plans of the imperialist and social imperialist warmongers. Consistent in their Marxist-Leninist line, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people... in the future, too, will spare no effort and will fight, together with all the other anti-imperialist and anti-social imperialist peoples, with all the Marxist-Leninist parties, all the revolutionaries and the world proletariat, all progressive people, to foil the plans and manoeuvres of the enemies and ensure the triumph of the cause of the freedom and security of the peoples. At every moment our country will be found standing beside all those peoples whose freedom, independence are threatened**

and whose rights are violated» (E. Hoxha, Report at the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 193). Comrade Enver Hoxha, on behalf of the Albanian Party and Government, proclaimed this firm stand also in the speech he made in the People's Assembly in connection with the approval of our new Constitution. «Today,» he said, **«the overwhelming bulk of the peoples of the world are making great efforts and strongly opposing the colonial laws and neo-colonialist domination, those rules, practices, customs, the unequal agreements, old and new, established by the bourgeoisie to maintain the exploitation of the peoples, the hateful distinctions and discrimination in international relations... The progressive peoples and the democratic states that refuse to reconcile themselves to this situation and are fighting to establish their national sovereignty over their own assets and striving to strengthen their political and economic independence, and for equality and justice in international relations, enjoy the full solidarity and support of the Albanian people and State»** (Speech at the People's Assembly, December 27, 1976).

Ever since the time of Lenin, the Marxist-Leninists have always regarded the national liberation struggle of the peoples and nations oppressed at the hands of imperialism, as a powerful ally and great reserve of the world revolution, of the proletariat.

In the countries which have won full or partial political independence, the revolution is at various stages of development and is not faced with the same tasks everywhere. Among them, there are countries which are directly faced with the proletarian revolution, while in many other countries, the tasks of the anti-imperialist national democratic revolution are on the order of the day. But in any case, since this revolution is aimed also against the international bourgeoisie — imperialism, it is an ally and reserve of the world proletarian revolution.

But does this mean that such coun-

tries must remain at the national democratic stage and the revolutionaries should not speak about and prepare for the socialist revolution, for fear that stages may be skipped or cut out and someone may call them Blanquists? Lenin was talking about the need of the transformation of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into socialist revolution in the colonial countries, from the time when the bourgeois-democratic revolutions in these countries were still only in the embryo. In criticising Blanquism, Marx and Engels did not describe either the 1848 Revolution or the Paris Commune as premature. Marxism-Leninism never confuses petty-bourgeois impatience, which leads to the cutting out of stages, with the essential need for the uninterrupted development of the revolution.

Lenin pointed out that the revolution in the colonial and dependent countries must be pushed ahead. Since Lenin's time, great changes have taken place in those countries. In his genius Lenin predicted these changes and his response to them is found in the Leninist theses on the world revolutionary process. The carrying out of the proletarian revolution is a universal law and the main trend of our epoch. All countries without exception, even including Indonesia and Chile, Brasil and Zaire, and so on, must and will go through it regardless of what stages will have to be traversed to get there. If you lose sight of this objective, if you preach the preservation of the status quo and theorise about «avoiding missing out stages», if you forget to fight against Suharto and Pinochet, Geisel and Mobutu, this means that you are for neither the national liberation struggle nor the national democratic revolution.

Europe, too, must and will pass through the proletarian revolution. Whoever loses sight of this perspective, whoever fails to make preparations towards this end, but advocates that the revolution has moved to Asia and Africa and that the European pro-

letariat must join its own «wise and good bourgeoisie» on the pretext of defending national independence, he is in an anti-Leninist position and is for neither the defence of the Homeland nor the freedom of the nation. Whoever «forgets» that both the Warsaw Treaty and NATO must be combatted, that both the COMECON and the Common Market must be rejected, takes their side and becomes their slave.

In the Manifesto of the Communist Party, Marx and Engels wrote: «**A spectre is haunting Europe, the spectre of communism... All the forces of old Europe... have united to wage a holy war on this spectre**». This observation of Marx and Engels' is valid for our days, too. The temporary setback suffered by the revolution because of the revisionist betrayal as well as the economic potential and oppressive military strength which imperialism and social imperialism oppose to the revolutionary movement and ideas of communism have not been able and will never be able to change the course of history, or overcome the great strength of Marxism-Leninism.

Marxism-Leninism is the revolutionary ideology that has entered deep into the consciousness of the proletariat and is exerting an ever greater influence on the broad masses of the peoples who are seeking emancipation. The impact of this theory is so strong that the bourgeois ideologists have always been obliged to reckon with it and have never ceased their efforts to find ways and means to distort Marxism-Leninism and undermine the revolution.

The present-day anti-Leninist theories of the «three worlds», «non-alignment», and so on, are also aimed at undermining the revolution, extinguishing the struggle against imperialism, especially against US imperialism, splitting the Marxist-Leninist movement, the unity of the proletariat advocated by Marx and Lenin, creating all kinds of groupings of anti-Marxist elements to fight the true Marxist-

Leninist parties which stand loyal to Marxism-Leninism, the revolution.

The attempts to analyse situations allegedly in a new way, differently from Lenin and Stalin, to change the revolutionary strategy which the Marxist-Leninist communist movement has always upheld, lead, in devious anti-Marxist ways, to abandoning the fight against imperialism and revisionism. Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, to the revolutionary strategy of the Marxist-Leninist movement, struggle against all opportunist deviations which the modern revisionists of all hues are spreading, the revolutionary mobilisation of the working class and the peoples against the bourgeoisie and imperialism, serious preparation for the revolution, are the only correct road, the only leading to victory.

WE MUST FIGHT, TO THE LAST BEAT OF OUR HEARTS, FOR THE TRIUMPH OF MARXISM-LENINISM

Recently, the 24th volume of the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha was put on sale in Albania. This volume includes speeches, articles and contributions to discussion, of the period from November 1962 to May 1963. The relentless struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania against imperialism and modern revisionism, headed by the Khrushchev, clique occupies an important place in these materials. In regard to the publication of this volume the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» publishes an article by Piro Bitia with the title: «We Must Fight, To The Last Beat Of Our Hearts, For The Triumph Of Marxism-Leninism»

THE SPEECHES, ARTICLES, AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO DISCUSSION WHICH ARE INCLUDED IN THE 24th VOLUME OF THE WORKS OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA (NOVEMBER 1962 TO MAY 1963), ARE ANOTHER CONCENTRATED EXPRESSION OF THE POLITICAL LINE OF OUR PARTY AND THE RELENTLESS STRUGGLE IT HAS WAGED AGAINST IMPERIALISM, HEADED BY U.S. IMPERIALISM, AND AGAINST MODERN REVISIONISM, HEADED BY SOVIET REVISIONISM. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY CONSTITUTE A FURTHER CLARIFICATION AND DEEPENING OF THEORETICAL THINKING ON SUCH IMPORTANT QUESTIONS AS THAT OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, THE QUESTION OF THE PEOPLES' LIBERATION STRUGGLE, THE QUESTION OF WAR AND PEACE, THAT OF THE NECESSITY TO STRUGGLE SIMULTANEOUSLY AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND REVISIONISM, AND THE PRINCIPLES OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM.

Because of this, although 14 years have elapsed, the materials included in this volume retain their full relevance today, and read as though they had been written in response to current problems and tasks. They

are relevant, today, also, because, despite the blows which modern revisionism has received, it is still the main danger for the communist and revolutionary movement, a great and permanent danger for the cause of socialism. They constitute another proof of the correctness of the general line of our Party, which is in complete conformity with the interests of the revolution and socialism in Albania and throughout the world.

From the moment the Khrushchevite group unilaterally proclaimed to the world the differences which were boiling up in the communist movement

at that time, it became clear to every Marxist-Leninist that this open struggle, which was imposed on the Marxist-Leninist parties, had to be carried through to the end, and that any deviation or retreat from it would only be to the benefit of the Khrushchevite modern revisionists.

Not just now, during the past three years, says Comrade Enver Hoxha, but since N. Khrushchev came to the leadership of the Soviet party and state, our Party saw that he had set out on an anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist road. Our Party did not hide its views and criticism on this question from the Soviet leadership, but told it of them according to the Leninist rules and norms. The principled stand of the leadership of our Party annoyed and infuriated the Soviet revisionist leadership. Jointly with the revisionists of other countries they hatched up lies, plans and plots to get rid of our Party, this bone which stuck in their throats. To this end they did everything they could: economic sabotage, political pressure, military threats. They spoke and wrote about the so-called «Albanian problem», which as Comrade Enver Hoxha says, does not exist as such but «... is an aspect of the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism...», it has to do with the general line of the international communist movement..., with the question of on what road should this movement develop - on the road of Marxism-Leninism or that of revisionism».

In the articles and speeches included in this volume Comrade Enver Hoxha re-emphasises the need for the fight to the finish against modern revisionism. He says, «If the genuine communists and real revolutionaries everywhere in the world do not unmask the modern revisionists, they will gain ground... without fail, we must resolutely combat the revisionists». He issues the call, «we must fight for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism as long as our hearts continue to beat».

In order to justify their collaboration with and submission to imperialism and the bourgeoisie, the modern re-

visionists and all opportunists said, and are still saying, that times have changed, that the chiefs of imperialism have become «reasonable», that U.S. imperialism has «lost its teeth», that the triumphs of socialism and the peoples' liberation struggles are so overwhelming that they compel imperialism to adhere to the course of peace, etc., etc. Comrade Enver Hoxha refutes and rejects such deceptive illusions of the opportunists. He says that while it is true that imperialism is not in a position to make everything in the world go the way it would like, this in no way means that it has changed its nature, that it is no longer aggressive, that it can be tamed and will accept advice. Comrade Enver Hoxha makes it clear that it is the peoples, with their revolutionary struggles for freedom, independence, and socialism, which make things difficult for the imperialists and social-imperialists, and not the various bourgeois revisionist bosses, although they have some contradictions amongst themselves.

«The peoples must not only be vigilant and prepare themselves to cope with any aggression or interference by imperialism in general and by U.S. imperialism in particular, but they must also be ready for the revolution, for the seizure of power,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha. «To accept the Khrushchevite views about imperialism,» he continues, «means to lower the peoples' vigilance, to quell the revolutionary drive and struggle of the working class for the overthrow of capitalism and the seizure of power, to reject the socialist revolution». Resolutely defending Marxism-Leninism, he emphasises that the genuine Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries everywhere in the world must prepare to take power by means of force, that the road of revolutionary violence «... not only ensures the triumph of the revolution but also has great advantages in the struggle of the peoples to stop imperialism from launching a war».

Our Party does not consider world war to be absolutely inevitable; the struggle against imperialism has not

been separated from the struggle against revisionism, and vice versa.

Volume 24 of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha once again shows very clearly that our Party has regarded the peoples' national liberation movement against imperialism «as one of the major movements of our time, which undermines the positions of imperialism, weakens it, and narrows the sphere of its domination... as a major ally and a powerful support for the revolutionary struggle of the international working class and for all the socialist countries».

Our Party has supported the people's revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle for national liberation, for freedom, independence and social progress, and moreover, has always considered that internationalist aid for this struggle is an internationalist duty for the genuine socialist countries and the world proletariat. This aid can be real, effective, and consistent only when imperialism and social-imperialism are combatted unconditionally.

While consistently defending the people's anti-imperialist struggle, our Party has unmasked the theories of the Yugoslav and other revisionists about «non-alignment», the policy of «equilibrium», about the struggle for peace as «the most important condition of the struggle for socialism the aim of which is to cast the peoples into passivity, and, finally, into the lap of imperialist powers. N. Khrushchev made the accusation that our Party and all those who were fighting U.S. imperialism in this way, were allegedly only issuing «bombastic statements» and «useless insults» that do imperialism no harm at all. But time has proved conclusively that it is not the all-round exposure of imperialism and its plans for the enslavement of peoples and stern struggle against it, but illusions about it, collaboration with and adaptation to it, that lead to betrayal of the struggle of the revolutionary peoples of the world and all those who are being threatened by imperialism and social-imperialism.

In this period, too, the struggle which the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha

waged was concentrated on the all-round, open exposure of Khrushchevite Soviet revisionism. This was because Soviet revisionism, as revisionism in power, was not only rapidly liquidating the victories of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and leading it to social imperialism, but was committing the gravest crime against the international proletariat, against the revolutionary struggle and socialism in all countries. The concentration of its main blow against Soviet revisionism, at no time hindered the Party from carrying on a resolute, principled struggle against revisionism in general, especially against its most widespread and dangerous trends.

At that time, the struggle against Yugoslav revisionism marked the dividing line between genuine and false Marxist-Leninists, just as it does today. The post-war decisions which had been adopted collectively by the international communist movement, as well as those which N. Khrushchev and his group were obliged to sign at the meeting of 81 parties in Moscow in 1960, and which clearly and explicitly denounced Yugoslav revisionism, had been violated in the most brutal way, contrary to every Leninist principle and norm. The rapprochement, collaboration, and finally, amalgamation, of modern revisionists with the Yugoslav revisionists had been carefully and persistently prepared over a period of years, because a revisionist united front had to be created. This occurred, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, not because the Yugoslav revisionist had changed, «but because the stand of Khrushchev and his group has changed, and they themselves, have gone over to the positions of revisionism».

To N. Khrushchev and his group, the words about modern revisionism, as the main danger for the international communist and workers' movement were only an empty phrase. In reality, they had ceased any struggle, not only against Yugoslav revisionism, but against revisionism as a whole. By that

time, the counter-revolutionary views of the Italian revisionist leader, P. Togliatti, had begun to gain ground even outside Italy. The bourgeois press was the greatest propagator of them. But the revisionists, who called themselves communists and Marxist-Leninists and who were the leaders of parties in the Soviet Union and many other countries, pretended not to notice this. On the contrary, through their silence, and through their contacts and embraces with the Italian revisionists, they smoothed the way for them and all the others in the capitalist countries. Making an analysis of the revisionist course of the Italian revisionist leaders, which was clearly expressed in the theses which they had prepared for their congress at that time, Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote: «... how much are the polemics of the leaders of the C.P. of Italy with the Italian bourgeoisie worth, when they are in agreement on the most fundamental questions and will be even more in agreement tomorrow! They will reduce themselves to servants of American imperialism, just as the leaders of the Italian big bourgeoisie are».

Time has provided complete proof of the accuracy of this analysis. Today, in Europe and America, the bourgeois press itself is putting more and more stress on the fact that the coming to power of «Euro-Communist parties» (they have in mind the revisionist clique of Berlinguer, Marchais, and Carrillo in the first place) is «no tragedy» for the USA, but, on the contrary, would be in its favour. This is because the «Euro-communist» parties have now «passed the test of democracy», their leaders «are serious and worthy of trust», when they speak about the preservation of NATO and for «political pluralism». And every day they are providing proofs of their loyalty to-capital. Carrillo, the Spanish revisionist chief, has stated publicly that the monarchy which Franco created is democratic and useful to Spain. He has decided to drop the flag of the Spanish Republic and has taken up the

banner of Spanish fascism. Every day is confirming what Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 7th Congress of the PLA: that from demands for collaboration with the bourgeoisie, the modern revisionists have become bourgeois themselves; now they are champions of the bourgeois order, soldiers of the counterrevolution.

The open emergence of modern revisionism, stresses Comrade Enver Hoxha, showed that many of the old communist parties had decayed from within. But the genuine revolutionaries arose courageously in struggle, faced up to countless difficulties and obstacles, and in many countries were obliged to shed their blood to open the way for the formation and consolidation of new Marxist-Leninist parties, which are the genuine parties of the revolution and socialism in the world today.

In the articles and contributions to discussion of Comrade Enver Hoxha of those months, we see once again his tremendous confidence in these new, truly revolutionary forces, and the high estimation he makes of their activity. «There are millions of communists and workers in the world», says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «who are fighting in defence of Marxism-Leninism and opposing modern revisionism...» Likewise, in the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha we see how our Party has carried out its internationalist duties.

Volume 24 of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha is another weapon placed in the hands of the Albanian communists and workers in their self-sacrificing struggle for the construction of socialism, for the defence of Marxism-Leninism and its triumph over modern revisionism and opportunism in general. Study of this volume arouses in every conscious person a justified pride in the consistent, profoundly Marxist-Leninist line of our Party of Labour of Albania, which finds its loftiest expression in the Works of our beloved leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

THE ECONOMY OF THE PSR OF ALBANIA IS DEVELOPING AT RAPID AND STABLE RATES

by ABDYL BACKA

**The aim of the policy
of the PLA in the field
of the economy
has always been to ensure
what is required for
extended socialist
reproduction, to strengthen
the independence
of the country in all
directions, to ceaselessly
strengthen
the dictatorship of the
proletariat and the defence
capacity of the Homeland**

1. THE ECONOMY OF THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA HAS ALWAYS BEEN CHARACTERIZED BY HIGH AND STABLE RATES OF DEVELOPMENT, BY ITS VIGOUR AND WIDE-RANGING ACTIVITY IN THE DISCOVERY AND RATIONAL USE OF THE ECONOMIC RESOURCES OF THE COUNTRY. DURING THE WHOLE PERIOD OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION (TAKING 1950 AS THE BASIC YEAR) THE SOCIAL PRODUCT AND THE NATIONAL INCOME HAVE INCREASED AT AN AVERAGE ANNUAL RATE OF 8-10 PER CENT. DURING THIS PERIOD, INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION HAS INCREASED AT AN AVERAGE RATE OF 15 PER CENT AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AT A RATE OF 5.9 PER CENT. EVEN AFTER 1960, WHEN THE KHRUSHCHEVITE REVISIONISTS ORGANIZED THE SAVAGE BLOCKADE AGAINST SOCIALIST ALBANIA, THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY ON THE ROAD OF SOCIALISM CONTINUED TO ADVANCE AT RAPID RATES. IN 1975 AS AGAINST 1960, THE NATIONAL INCOME INCREASED ALMOST THREE FOLD, INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION INCREASED 3.9 TIMES, AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION 2.3 TIMES, THE VOLUME OF FUNDAMENTAL INVESTMENTS 2.9 TIMES, RETAIL GOODS TURN-OVER 2.3 TIMES, THE NUMBER OF HIGHER CADRES 6.4 TIMES, ETC.

On the basis of the directives of the 7th Congress of the PLA, in the 6th five-year plan (1976-1980) further vigorous development of the productive forces will be achieved and all branches and sectors of the people's economy will continue to develop at high rates, basing themselves more firmly on the internal factors of the development of production, on the material and financial resources of the country, as well as by achieving a better harmonization of the various aspects of the process of extended socialist re-

production. In this way, it will be possible to achieve higher rates of increase of social production and national income during the 6th five-year plan than those of the fifth five-year plan (1971-1975).

The fact that the rate of increase of material production has been and is about 3 times higher than the rate of increase of the population, even at a time when the average rate of increase of the population in Albania is among the highest in Europe and the world, is a great success for

the line of the PLA and a result of the selfless work of the broad masses of working people for the implementation of this line. A testimony to this success is the fact that the volume of production and accumulation achieved in each five-year plan has been much greater than that of the previous five-year plan. Thus, in the 6th five-year plan, the total value of industrial production will be greater than the value produced during the first four five-year plans taken together (from 1951 to 1970), agricultural production will be almost equal to the production achieved in the first, second and third five-year plans taken together, while the volume of fundamental investments is expected to be almost equal to the total volume of investments during the 20 year period from 1951 to 1970. From this it is clear that not only has the rate of development been maintained at a high percentage, but that every one percent of increase corresponds to a very great and ever increasing volume of production, and this has constituted the sound material-technical basis for setting out to achieve higher rates in each successive five-year plan.

It is clear that this high rate of development is founded, first of all, on the superiority and vitality of the socialist economic-social order, which are determined by the existence and constant strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, by the existence and strengthening of the socialist social property, by the continuous perfection of the entire system of relations set up on the foundations of this property in a revolutionary way. These are objective factors, which, in their entirety, have created the objective conditions for the whole people's economy to function as a single organism on the basis of the unified state plan. But the historical experience of the socialist construction, the socialist mode of production in general, cannot display their superiority and vitality on their own,

without the great, active role of the subjective factor.

The achievement and maintenance of high and stable rates of development of the economy have not been easy and peaceful, without difficulties and obstacles, without toil and sacrifice, because, as comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed, the path followed by our people and the Party in building socialism has been no smooth, rose-strewn boulevard. It has been an arduous but glorious road which has demanded all the talents, all the courage and heroism, all the strength and determination of the people and the Party of Labour. The entire process of the great and rapid development of production on the road of socialism, and together with this, the revolutionary education of the working people, has always taken place through the recognition and solution of numerous contradictions of the most varied character. We have had and still have to face up to and overcome many difficulties in connection with the development of the productive forces, the fulfilment of the growing needs of the people and the economy, the level of ability and experience in the organization and management of the economy, the intensity of the class struggle for the revolutionary education of the working people in struggle against the «blemishes» from the old society, and especially the severity of the bitter fight against the hostile activity of sabotage and plots of internal and external enemies, and the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade organized against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

But it is precisely against this background, that the grandeur of the ceaseless economic and social progress of our country, the power of the correct line of the Party and the revolutionary activity of the working class and the other working masses for the construction of socialist society and the defence of the victories achieved, stands out more boldly, and this becomes even clearer if we bear in mind what is

happening in the capitalist-revisionist world today. While the economy of Albania is continuing its dynamic development at high and stable rates, the economy of the capitalist and revisionist countries is characterized by a deep-going crisis, lack of stability, further reduction of the already low rates of development, the mass phenomenon of the reduction of the volume of production in the main branches of the economy and the economy as a whole, which worsens the living conditions of the working class and the other working masses in those countries.

2.

The policy of the PLA for the development of the economy at high and stable rates has always had the aim of fulfilling a number of main objective requirements: to ensure what is needed for extended socialist reproduction, to strengthen the independence of the country in all directions, to ceaselessly strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and the defence capacity of the Homeland, to fulfil the needs of the people ever better and raise their wellbeing, relying firmly on the forces and resources of the country. All these objectives constitute a single entity and are inseparable from one another.

On this Marxist-Leninist course, in the interests of the broad working masses and the construction of socialism, step by step, a powerful base for production of the means of production has been created, especially in the branches of energy, mineral raw materials, building materials, means of production for agriculture, the engineering industry, etc. It is an extraordinarily great success for Albania that today the home economy produces all the bread grain required, and over 4/5 of the mass consumption goods the people need. But the 7th Congress of the PLA set new tasks in order to strengthen the independence of the country even more. Thus the acceleration of the rates of development of

production of means of production, ensuring our bread grain requirements from home production every year, meeting 95 per cent of the needs of the country for spare parts from the local industry, increasing exports at higher rates than imports, covering the fund of accumulation to a greater extent than up till now from the national income produced within the country, the fulfilment of more than 90 per cent of the requirements of the population for mass consumption goods, etc., are very important tasks which will further increase the self-sufficiency of the economy.

The aim of all the political, economic and social development of the PSRA on the road of socialism has always been to serve the interests of the people, to make the lives of the people richer in content, more prosperous and happier. «Concern for the constant improvement of the living conditions and cultural level of the whole people has been and remains at the centre of attention of all the activity of the Party», said comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the PLA. Material production, and every other social activity in Albania, are completely subordinate to this aim, which stems from the fundamental economic law of socialism.

On the basis of the continuous increase in social production, consumption by the people has been steadily increased and its structure improved. In our country the average rate of increase of the fund of consumption has been double that of the natural growth of the population. The resources of labour are being activated better and better, so that the average family now has 2-3 members at work. The Party has always worked for the best possible harmonization of the ways to increase the wellbeing, on the basis of maintaining correct proportions between the increase of production and the productivity of the social labour and the real incomes of the working people, the narrowing of differences

between mental and physical work and between town and countryside, and within them.

The 7th Congress of the PLA defined new tasks for the further improvement and raising of the wellbeing of the people. The 6th five-year plan envisages that the real income per head of the population will increase 11-14 per cent, giving greater priority to its increase in the countryside. Retail goods turn-over will increase by 22-25 per cent, the number of people employed by the state and in the cooperatives will increase by 225 thousand people, 65 thousand new houses and flats will be built in town and countryside, 18 thousand students will graduate from the higher schools and 91 thousand others from the secondary schools, etc. Important measures are envisaged in improving the services for the people, aiming at a qualitative improvement of the work of all the working people of service sectors.

These things clearly show the falsity of the claims of bourgeois and revisionist theoreticians, who are striving in a thousand ways to «prove» that allegedly the «idea of high rates» alone, dominates the planned socialist economy, that allegedly, the «criterion of growth» is opposed to the «criterion of wellbeing», etc. Our living reality demonstrates the complete opposite of these claims, through which they try, on the one hand, to depreciate the advantages and possibilities which the socialist order creates for development at high rates, and on the other hand, to justify that catastrophic situation in the field of rates of development which exists in the capitalist and revisionist countries.

In fact, in the capitalist and revisionist countries, where the law of maximum profit through the savage exploitation of the working class and the other working masses by the capital operates with its full force, where ruthless competition prevails, where the only law is the law of the value and the spontaneity of the market,

high rates of development cannot be secured and maintained. There, deformation of and disproportion in the structure of the economy are inevitable characteristic phenomena. The aim of production in capitalism is nothing but the appropriation by the capitalist of the surplus product, the extraction of maximum profits. There, production is not directly in the service of the whole of society, nor even of the majority of the people, but only of a very small proportion of them. Production serves the working masses only indirectly, and only to that extent and in those ways which permit the increase of the exploitation of them by capital. Therefore, in the capitalist and revisionist countries production is divorced from the interests of the people, the working class and the other working masses, and in contradiction to the needs of their consumption. Countless facts, show that the so-called consumer society, lauded to the skies by the servants of the bourgeoisie, is nothing but a society in decadence and decay, which is being ceaselessly eroded by many irreconcilable contradictions, and in which all the chronic ills of capitalist society are showing up more and more clearly. Day by day, life is proving with new facts that capitalism, as a social system which is being eroded by profound contradictions, is incapable of ensuring the maximum profits of the bourgeoisie and, at the same time, of preserving an internal social equilibrium and some sort of stability in the livelihood of the masses.

In the conditions of the rivalry of the two superpowers, the US imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists, the militarization of the economy and the frantic increases in military spending the increasing parasitism of the society and, in general, of the spending of a very large part of the national income for non-productive purposes, the fierce competition among the bourgeois and revisionist industrialized countries, the upheavals in the

economy of the capitalist revisionist world are becoming deeper. To keep their profits intact, the bourgeoisie and the revisionists are striving in every way to find a way out through stepping up the exploitation of the broad working masses, stepping up the exploitation of the «allied», «fraternal» countries and the developing countries, through neo-colonialist methods, and trying to justify this with all kinds of doctrines.

The galloping inflation and the frenzied increase of prices, the increases in taxes, service charges and house rents, the flourishing of the black market, the unemployment in unprecedented proportions, the establishment of strict control over and freezing of the wages of the working people, the seeking of capitalist credits and putting the national assets up for auction, the unequal trade exchanges, the pressure through the monopoly of technology and political and economic expansion are some of the ways and means which the monopoly bourgeoisie, the revisionists, and all the exploiters are employing to saddle the working masses and the peoples with the burden of the crisis. In these conditions, the phenomenon of the polarization of bourgeois and revisionist society into rich and poor is deepening, the means of livelihood and consumption of the working class and the other working masses are being reduced, the contradiction between production and consumption in the capitalist and revisionist countries is becoming even more profound.

3.

The extended reproduction of the social product in socialism, too, takes place on the basis of the economic doctrine of Marx, and especially of his well-known schemes for the realization of the process of reproduction. This is why the PLA is constantly concerned, and applies a correct policy to establish, harmonize, and maintain correct proportions and connections

among the various aspects of extended socialist reproduction, among the factors for the development of material production and among the branches and sub-branches of the people's economy. In the final analysis, this is the decisive field in which, the leading role of the Party in the economy, the scientific Marxist-Leninist character of the planned state management of the economy, and the class content of the process of the reproduction of social production itself, are expressed and concretized.

First, the aim of the economic policy of the PLA has always been to establish correct proportions in the division of the social product, and it has been able to achieve this. It has always maintained an organic and harmonious unity between the product for society and the product for the individual, the fund of accumulation with the fund of consumption, the production of means of production with the production of consumer commodities, while giving priority to fulfilling social interests and implementing the revolutionary principle of self-reliance.

In 1975 as against 1965, the product for society increased about 1.7 times faster than the product for the individual, at a time when the number of working people and their real income have been continuously increasing. The norm of accumulation has been increased gradually, from about 26-27 per cent in the period from 1951 to 1960, to 36 per cent in the fifth five-year plan (1971-1975).

In this process, the role and weight of the national income produced in the country in the entirety of the resources for development has increased. The experience of Albania shows that, it is entirely possible, on the basis of the rapid increase of the national income, as well as by implementing a correct policy in their use, to achieve simultaneously a continuous rise in the real income and the fund of consumption per head of the po-

pulation, along with giving priority to increasing the fund of accumulation and maintaining a relatively high norm of this increase.

The PLA has devoted special attention to the use of the socialist accumulation with high economic-social effectiveness. Upholding the Marxist-Leninist theory of reproduction in general, and especially the law of extended reproduction on the priority increase of the means of production as compared with the increase of production of consumer commodities, it has given precedence to the productive use of accumulation, for the development and strengthening of the material technical base of production. Thus, in 1975 as against 1960, in the industrial production, the means of production (group A) increased 4.6 fold and consumer goods (group B) 3.1 fold. The implementation, in their complexity, of the proportions set by the 6th five-year plan between the sub-divisions of social production, constitutes the essential first requirement for maintaining high rates in the reproduction of the social product now and in the future, to meet the growing purchasing power of the people and to activate the economic resources of the country on a broader scale.

Second, the high rates of economic development have their basis in the policy of the Party to always maintain correct proportions between the branches of our people's economy, having industry, which is the pivot of this policy, as the leading branch, and agriculture as the basic branch of the development of the economy, on the road of the gradual transformation of the country into an industrial-agricultural one, with advanced industry and agriculture. The consistent application of this line has increased the level of the utilization and appreciation of the value of the resources and riches of the country, has ensured the fulfilment of the growing needs of the economy and

the people's, has strengthened the economic independence and the defence capacity of the country, has greatly invigorated all economic and social life and opened reliable prospects for continuous progress, by relying even more heavily on our own forces.

The 7th Congress of the PLA further deepened and enriched the economic policy of the Party for the harmonious and rapid development of all branches of the economy. It set very important targets for the further development of industry, based, first and foremost, on the local mineral resources and fuels and taking measures for their utilization, on increasing the electric power industry at higher rates as against the other branches of heavy processing industry, on vigorous development of the chemical and engineering industries and, further increases in the production of mass consumer goods. In this way, during the 6th five-year plan, industry will be able to provide new, greater possibilities for the rapid development of the other branches, especially for the development of agriculture, and will create new material and financial resources.

In the field of agriculture, the 7th Congress of the Party put forward the task that this branch of vital importance must be raised to a higher level in order to guarantee our bread and the necessary reserves with locally produced grain, to fulfil the needs of the people for foodstuffs, to supply industry with raw materials, and increase exports of agricultural products.

On the basis of these targets and the connections between the two main branches of the economy, as well as the targets for the development of other branches of material production, during the 6th five-year plan, the national income will increase at an average annual rate of 7 per cent, which represents a rate 3.2 times higher than the rate of the increase of the population.

Third, enlightened by the teachings

of Marxism-Leninism and applying them in the concrete conditions of our country, the PLA has based the high rate of development on the increase of the number of working people in the sphere of material production, as well as on the increase of the productivity of social labour, on the most correct harmonization of them as two main factors for increasing social production and the national income.

The most important element in the process of reproduction is man. Therefore the outcome of the reproduction of the social product is greatly dependent on the degree of activation of the able-bodied population in social labour in the sphere of material production, and within it, in most important branches and sectors. A distinguishing feature of the process of reproduction in Albania has been and is the full participation of the labour resources in work and the high rate of increase of workers engaged in the sphere of material production. In 1975 as against 1965 the number of workers in industry, agriculture, and the other branches of material production, had increased about 48 per cent. This factor will be at a high level in the 6th five-year plan, also, ensuring an important part of the increase of the social product.

Fourth, the rate of economic development depends to a large degree, also, on the connections and proportions between the sphere of material production and the non-productive sphere. This is one of the problems of principle and practice, not only for the extended socialist reproduction, but also for the fate of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proportional or non-proportional development of the branches of the economy, the rational use of the resources of labour and the material-technical base, in the most advantageous way, the level of the rates of development, as well as a series of questions of an ideological and social

character, depend to a large degree on what part of resources of labour and materials are directed by society into the development of the two spheres of social activity.

The historical experience of Albania has proved that in the development of various productive and non-productive activities it is essential to be guided by the criterion that the number of working people engaged in material production must always comprise the biggest and main part of the total number of the working people, that the productive sphere must be given precedence in development over the non-productive sphere, that every step taken in the development of the non-productive sphere must be closely linked with the development of the productive sphere, supported by the appropriate material basis and covered by the increase of production and the productivity of labour. Implementing this line, in Albania more than 4/5 of the total number of working people are engaged in the productive sphere, and this constitutes one of the highest levels in the world. Another important fact is that from one five-year plan to another, the specific weight of the number of workers engaged in the branches of material production in relation to the population as a whole has kept increasing. In the structure of the use of the fund of accumulation, too, accumulation used for productive purposes takes the overwhelming bulk of it and its weight has steadily increased. The 6th five-year plan envisages such proportions in the distribution of the resources of labour and materials between the spheres of the social activity as to improve these proportions in favour of productive activity. The struggle to apply these proportions with determination and without concessions, just as the Party has stressed, is another guarantee to ensure the development of the extended socialist reproduction, on the correct course.

The Book

ENVER HOXHA

«Speeches and Articles 1963-1964»

has been published in several foreign languages

The book «Speeches and Articles, 1963-1964», with selected materials from the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, has come out in French, English and Spanish.

Another two such books with selected materials by Comrade Enver Hoxha, one of the 1961-1962 period and the other of the 1965-1966 period, are being printed and will soon be available.

With these three books the reader will have to hand selected materials from the period 1961-1966, as a continuation of the book with materials from the Albanian edition of the 19th Volume of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha (June-December 1960) as well as of the series, «Speeches 1967-1968», «Speeches 1969-1970» and «Speeches 1971-1973», which have been published in the same languages in recent years.

The main theme of the volume «Speeches and Articles, 1963-1964» is the struggle for the political and ideological exposure and defeat of modern revisionism as well as the struggle to strengthen the unity of the international communist and workers movement, problems that are dealt with at length especially in the following documents: «Open Letter to the members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union», «From the speech at the meeting with a delegation of the Communist Party of Brasil», «The testament of P. Togliatti», «The crisis of modern revisionism and the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists», «The results of N. Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia», «Twenty years of new socialist Albania, «Krushchevite revisionism has not disappeared with the fall of Khrushchev», etc.

These works reflect the stern and deep-going struggle between the correct revolutionary line of the PLA and the regressive line of the Soviet revisionist leadership and a number of other parties, the clash between the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the bourgeois-revisionist ideology, as a logical result of the increasing bitterness of the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism on an international scale and the activity of Khrushchev and his followers and successors as they go further down the road of betrayal. They give a Marxist-Leninist reflection of the grave crisis of 1954 in the revisionists' ranks and document the heroic struggle of the PLA in the years 1963-1964, a grave and complicated period for the entire international communist and workers' movement, in which the Khrushchevite revisionists had launched their open counterrevolutionary campaign with plots, threats and all-round pressures in order to carry out their anti-Marxist- and anti-Leninist programme.

The volume also includes materials on problems of the socialist construction in Albania. The readers, especially those engaged in serious studies, will be interested in the report submitted to the 10th Plenum of the CC of the PLA in June 1963, «On the social-cultural situation in the countryside and the measures to improve it». Clearly shown in this report are the care, concern, and self-denying struggle of the PLA to raise the level of wellbeing of the masses of working people in general and those of the countryside, in particular.

Also included in the «Speeches and articles, 1963-1964» is «The closing speech at the 11th Plenum of the CC of the PLA», which deals with the measures that had to be taken for the further strengthening of the Party in the conditions of the complete construction of socialist society in Albania and the new situation arising after the Soviet revisionist leaders and those of a series of former people's democratic countries in Europe came out openly as traitors. The essential need to enhance and strengthen the leading role of the Party, to safeguard the purity of its ranks, and rigorously defend its principles and norms is argued in this speech. The speech delivered to the 13th Plenum of the CC of the PLA «On the ideological education of the communists and working people» is also of great value. This document deals with problems of the education of the new man with communist morality, with love for work, the socialist property, etc. The last part of this article speaks about criticism and self-criticism, as powerful weapons for the education of the communists and working people.

Although some years have gone by since these materials were written, they sound as closely linked with the current situation as those written today. The reading, study and mastering of these materials will enable every Marxist, every revolutionary to draw lessons for the struggle against revisionism, and for the revolution and the victory of socialism.

ENVER HOXHA

DISCOURS ET ARTICLES

1963-1964

FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY



Communique on the Meeting of the 2nd Plenum of the CC of the P.L.A.

On the 28th and 29th of June, 1977, under the direction of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha, the 2nd Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA was convened and discussed the report of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA «On the expected fulfilment of the first six months plan and on the measures for the fulfilment of the plan for this year».

After an extensive discussion of the report the Plenum approved it unanimously.

In conclusion, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha made an important speech.

THE 2nd PLENUM
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE P L A

Tirana, June 29 1977

6th Session of 8th Legislature of People's Assembly of P.S.R. of Albania

The 6th session of the 8th legislature of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania was held on June 14th and 15th.

The session examined and approved the Penal Code of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the law about military service in the Armed Forces of the PSR of Albania, as well as the decrees approved by the Presidium of the People's Assembly. It also approved the mandates of the deputies newly elected to fill vacant seats.

The vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Manush Myftiu, presented the report of the Council of Ministers on the Draft Penal Code. «During all the stages of the revolution,» he said, «the penal law of our state has served as an important means for defence of the victories of

the revolution and fulfilment of the main tasks of our socialist state...».

«The allround development of Albania on the road of the construction of socialism, the great revolutionary transformations in the life of the country, which have been sanctioned in the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, made necessary the drawing up of the new Penal Code which would respond better to the new tasks for the complete construction of socialist society...»

The draft presented for examination and approval is a logical continuation of the Penal Code in force, bearing in mind the new conditions and tasks of the development of the revolution and our socialist construction. In it we find a further development and more complete concretisation of the main principles of the correct revo-

lutionary penal policy our state has followed and is following undeviatingly. It reflects the experience of our Party and state in the class struggle against internal and external enemies at all stages of the development of our society, especially in these recent years.

In our society, the sole leader of the entire life of the country is the Party of Labour, the vanguard of the working class».

In continuation, Manush Myftiu said: «The leading role of the Party is inseparable from the role of its ideology, Marxism-Leninism which determines the directions of development of the entire spiritual life of the society. This objective reality of our country, in which Marxism-Leninism has become the dominant ideology, a reality which has been sanctioned in the new Constitution, is a great victory of socialism achieved through the class struggle against the bourgeois and revisionist ideology. It is a blow to the bourgeois-revisionist theorising about «ideological pluralism» in socialism, «the free circulation of ideas and cultures» etc. This reality of Albania, where the entire socialist social order* is organized and developed on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism has also been reflected in the Draft in which it is stated explicitly: «the penal law of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania... is based on the ideology of the working class — Marxism-Leninism».

These principles permeate the whole draft of the Penal Code. Its aim is to protect the socialist state, to protect the Party of Labour of Albania, as the sole leading force of the state and the society, to protect the socialist property, and the rights and interests of the citizens from socially dangerous acts through the imposition of punishments on those who commit them.

Thus, from its content, its class nature, its tasks and aims, our legislation is in open opposition to the bourgeois-revisionist legislation. The

bourgeois and revisionist «theoreticians» and propagandists are doing their utmost to conceal and disguise the class character of their state and legislation, pretending that allegedly it defends everybody equally, without class distinction.

In fact, life has proved and is constantly providing new proofs of the unshakeable truth of the Marxist thesis that bourgeois justice is nothing but the will of the bourgeois class raised to law, a will the content of which is determined by the material conditions of the life of the bourgeois class which has power in its hands. As a component part of the whole body of legislation, the penal laws also serve the interests of the class in power. «The penal laws of the bourgeois and reactionary states,» says comrade Enver Hoxha, «have the aim of defending the political power of the minority and the economic exploitation of the majority of the people». The draft of the Penal Code defines the meaning of the penal act proceeding from the Marxist-Leninist theory and makes the social danger of the penal act the fundamental consideration. Rejecting the juridical-formal formulations of what constitutes crime characteristic of bourgeois-revisionist legislation, which are intended to obscure the class character of crime, the Draft states clearly that any act against the socialist state, the Party of Labour of Albania, the socialist property, the person, his rights and interests, and the entire socialist social order, is socially dangerous.

Our socialist penal law, as is known, is a system of norms the aim of which is to protect the socialist order against crimes by imposing punishment on those who commit them. On this question, the draft adheres completely to the Marxist-Leninist presentation which comrade Enver Hoxha has made of the problem of punishment, therefore punishment and its aim are defined «... as means of compulsion of a political, ideological character of the socialist state in the class struggle...»

As is known, the dictatorship of the

proletariat is not only violence, but it cannot perform its tasks without using compulsion, consequently, the existence of penal punishment, as one of the forms of state compulsion, is an historic necessity in the conditions of socialism, too, and its role is important for the performance of the tasks and functions of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to suppress any activity by enemies and evildoers.

But compulsion and punishment in socialist society are radically different from compulsion and punishment in the bourgeois and revisionist countries. In the exploiting state, the aim of punishment is to protect the existing order and to attack the new progressive forces which want to overthrow it. Whereas in the socialist state, punishment is a progressive measure, because it serves the struggle against any activity which hinders the normal development of the socialist society in the interest of all the working people. The interest of the working people, of the overwhelming majority over the minority, as the main motive of punishment is precisely what requires that the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat must strike down the enemies of socialism and any act which violates the revolutionary order, without the slightest concession, liberalism, or sentimentality. Penal measures, although necessary, are not the only form in the struggle against crime in our socialist state. In the whole gamut of the activity of the state, they are always an auxiliary factor. In our society, penal punishment in general has the aim of prevention of the activity of the wrong doer as well as his education to make him useful to the society, and is intended to influence the education of the other citizens in the spirit of respect for the socialist law.

Besides the strengthening of the measures of compulsion against the enemy element, as well as against repeated offenders, sentences of reeducation through work, instead of imprisonment, have been extended to a number of crimes of no pronounced

FROM THE

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COUNTRY

danger. This makes it possible to follow a more differentiated penal policy.

It is characteristic of compulsion in the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat that it is exerted by the state organs with the support and aid of the working masses. The fundamental directive of the Party about drawing the masses into the struggle against crime, is fully reflected in the Draft, and this expresses its democratic character. For instance, the principle

is sanctioned that the court may impose conditional punishment at the request of the social organisations or the working collectives, and that the education and correction of the culprit sentenced to conditional punishment may be entrusted to them.

Likewise, the Draft Penal Code envisages that the court may also impose lighter sentences than those envisaged in the law when the working collective of the culprit's work centre or the



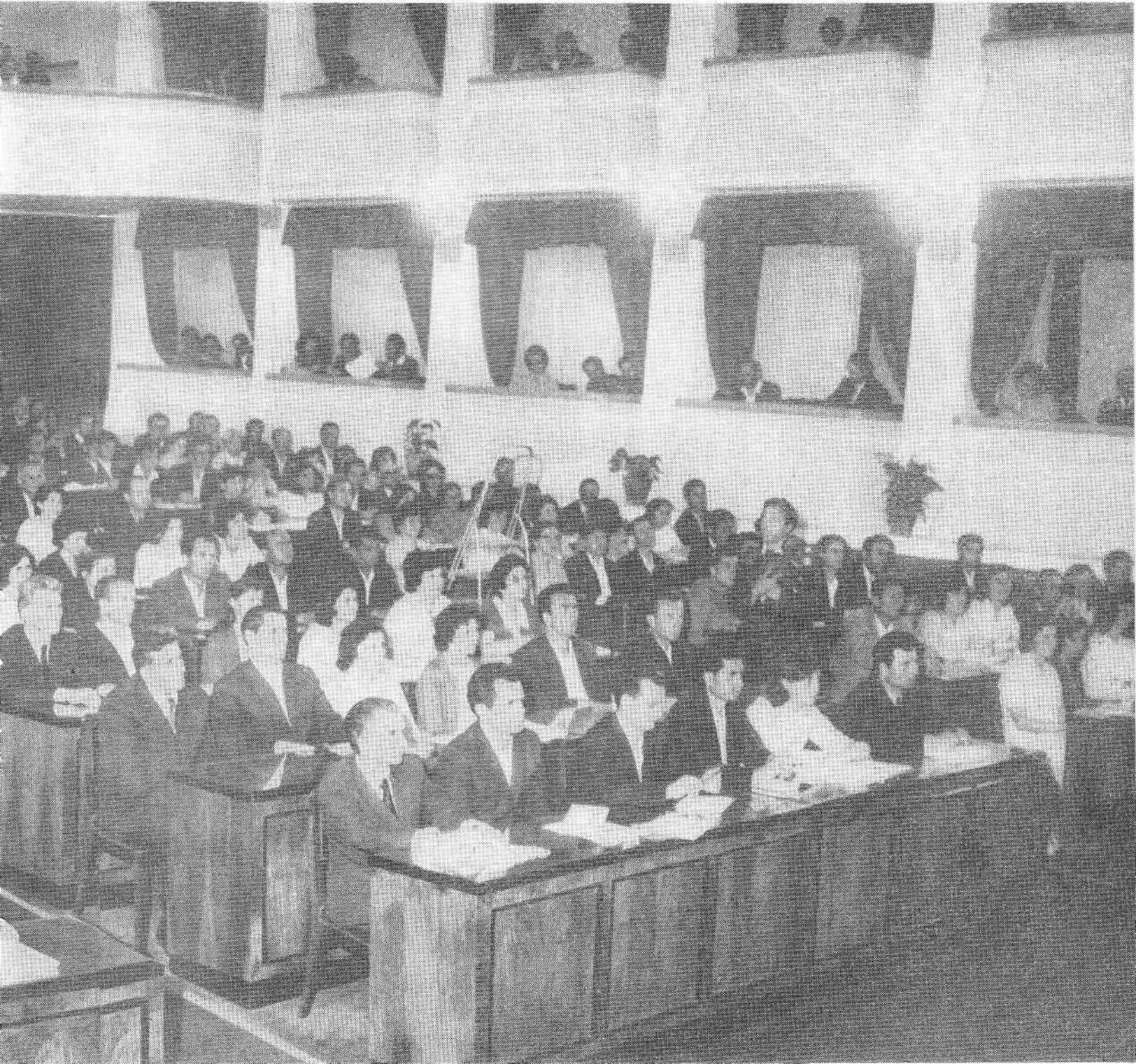
social organisation requests it. Its democratic character is apparent also in a series of dispositions, such as sentence to public reproof, the sentence of juveniles below 18 years of age to no more than half the sentence of deprivation of freedom, etc.

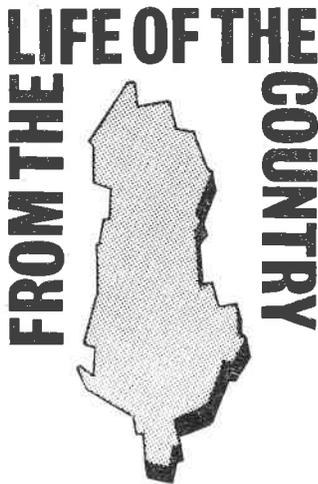
Adhering to the internationalist Marxist-Leninist policy of our Party and state, the Draft describes as crimes, all those activities by Albanian citizens, either within the country or abroad,

which are aimed against other socialist states, as well as against the revolutionary movement of the working class, and the struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence, for social progress and socialism.

Likewise, in conformity with the new Constitution, the penal responsibility is defined of those who incite hatred or quarrels between nations and races or who prepare, distribute or keep written materials of such con-

Partial view of the hall of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania while voting on the new Penal Code.





tent with the aim of distributing them.

The consistent policy of our Party and state to ensure and fully protect the rights of the national minorities in all fields, is also reflected in those dispositions of the Draft which take them under special protection.

In conclusion, comrade Manush Myftiu said: «It is the task of our penal legislation, which stems from the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, to exert its influence on the education of the citizens in the spirit of respect for socialist law.

It is especially important to raise social opinion in defence of our laws, to constantly enhance the revolutionary vigilance of the working masses against any attempt of our enemies to attack the dictatorship of the proletariat, and against those who commit penal acts».

Following the report of the juridical commission delivered by Deputy Aranit Çela, the draft was discussed. The deputies who spoke stressed that the

Draft Penal Code reflects the general line of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian state and is based on Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha with regard to crime and the struggle against it. Then, the Draft Penal Code was put to the vote and approved unanimously in principle, article by article, and as a whole.

The law on Military Service in the Armed Forces of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the decrees of the Presidium of the People's Assembly were also approved unanimously.

Amongst those taking part in the proceedings of the session were Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Haxhi Lleshi, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Mehmet Shehu Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania, and other Party and State leaders.

7th Congress of Albanian Labour Youth Union Will Convene on September 26

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Albanian Labour Youth Union convened on July 5.

Besides the members and alternate members of the Plenum, attending were also the first secretaries of the district ALYU committees, secretaries of the ALYU committees of military units and others.

The first secretary of the Central committee of the ALYU, Lumturi Re-

xha, spoke about the work of the Youth Organisation to meet the 7th Congress of the ALYU with as great results as possible in all fields.

The Plenum of the ALYU Central Committee decided to convene the 7th Congress of the Albanian Labour Youth Union on September 26, 1977 at the metallurgical combine in Elbasan.

The Albanian People's Army Day

On the 10th of July this year, the armed forces and the entire Albanian people celebrated the 34th anniversary

of the creation of the Albanian People's Army. This is one of the marked events in the history of the Albanian

people. The People's Army was created in the heat of the war for freedom, which the Albanian people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania (today the PLA), had commenced against the foreign occupiers and local traitors. This war assumed a more organized character following the creation of the General Staff of the Albanian National Liberation Army on July 10, 1943. The creation of the General Staff, on the initiative and under the direct leadership of the Communist Party of Albania and comrade Enver Hoxha personally, made possible the application, on a more extensive and thorough-going scale of the laws and rules of the revolutionary armed uprising as an indispensable means to ensure the victory of the revolution.

The Albanian People's Army is the work of the Communist Party of Albania (today the PLA) and of comrade Enver Hoxha, who has been its leader from the beginning. They created the army from among the ranks of the people, raised it, educated it, and led it from victory to victory. At the call of the Communist Party of Albania, under the fighting slogans «Liberty does not come as a gift but is won with fighting and bloodshed», and «Death to fascism — Freedom for the people», the sons and daughters of Albania flocked to the ranks of the partisan fighting units, fought with unprecedented heroism and wrote the most glorious pages in the history of the Albanian people in their own blood. The National Liberation Army pinned down 15 Italian and German divisions in Albania and put 70,000 enemy soldiers out of action. The sons and daughters of the poor, led by commissars and commanders from their own ranks, often bare foot, and short of food, with ammunition captured from the enemy, defeated the fascist forces led by officers from the most renowned military academies of Europe. Albania was one of the few countries that liberated itself from

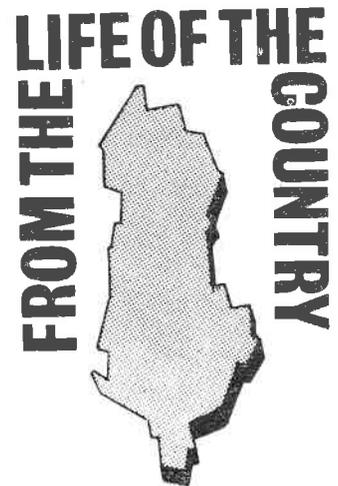
the fascist and nazi occupiers with its own forces.

Today, in Albania the Army is part of the entire armed people. The Albanian people, imbued with the ideals of the Party of Labour of Albania and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, with ardent socialist patriotism, can be found at any hour of any day on the training grounds and shooting ranges, training themselves according to the requirements of the People's Military Art, which constitutes the solid foundation of the impregnable defence of the country.

This year the celebration of July 10 finds our people in an atmosphere of enthusiasm aroused by the decisions of the 7th Congress of the PLA and the adoption of the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. In the context of this celebration in all the military units, work and production centres, agricultural cooperatives, schools and different institutions, many cultural and artistic activities dedicated to the army, the heroic spirit of the valiant partisans, and the legendary wars of the Albanian people through the centuries, took place.

In the capital and other main cities of the country commemorative meetings were organised in which army-men, workers and cooperativists, intellectuals, representatives of the mass organizations, as well as many veterans of the People's Army, took part. The speeches at these meetings, were about the glorious road traversed by our People's Army and the great work that is being done today to ensure that it remains invincible, a reliable shield for the socialist Homeland.

In the context of the celebration of the 34th anniversary of the Albanian People's Army in Tirana there was also a scientific session devoted to the fighting traditions of the Albanian People's Army, organised by the Ministry of People's Defence.



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**At the present time
the standpoint of proletarian internationalism
is inconceivable apart
from consistent efforts for
knowledge
and the application
of Marxism-Leninism,
apart from the struggle
against imperialism,
social-imperialism and
reaction on a national and
international scale**

IN FORMULATING THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF THE SCIENTIFIC IDEOLOGY OF THE PROLETARIAT, MARX AND ENGELS CAME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE STRUGGLE FOR THE OVERTHROW OF CAPITALISM AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT CAN BE CROWNED WITH SUCCESS ONLY WHEN THERE IS UNITY AND SOLIDARITY AMONG THE WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, WHEN THEY SUPPORT ONE ANOTHER, AND CREATE A COMMON UNITED FRONT AGAINST CAPITALISM. MARX AND ENGELS EMPHASIZED THAT THE WORLD PROLETARIAT, TOO, UNITED AND ENLIGHTENED BY ITS SCIENTIFIC IDEOLOGY MUST OPPOSE ITSELF AS AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE, TO CAPITAL AS AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE. FOR THIS REASON THEY ELABORATED THE PRINCIPLE OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM, AND ITS FUNDAMENTAL REQUIREMENTS, AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE SCIENTIFIC IDEOLOGY OF THE PROLETARIAT, WHICH WOULD GUIDE IT IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE BOURGEOISIE.

From that time on the proletariat and its revolutionary parties have been guided by this principle in all their class battles, in their struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the construction of socialism. The Marxist-Leninist parties and the genuine socialist countries are guided by this principle in their mutual relations. Today, proletarian internationalism is not just an ideological and political principle, but an important principle of communist morality.

Since proletarian internationalism is an ideology and practice that expresses the common interests, not only of the proletariat of all the countries in struggle against international capital, but also of the oppressed peoples in struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism and world reaction, its influence has led to the growth of the feeling of militant solidarity among all working people in the struggle against oppression and exploitation.

Gaining recognition in the battles of the class struggle, is the Marxist-Leninist idea that the principal means to put into practice the principle of proletarian internationalism is unity and unity, in the first place, of the world, proletariat and the Marxist-Leninist parties, that only the proletariat led by its revolutionary party has been and will be the main leading force that sets the tone for everything, every event, and every progressive movement in the world.

Consistently implementing the teachings of Marxism-Leninism right from the time it was founded, the PLA has always been guided by the principle of proletarian internationalism. It has implemented it rigorously, both in the period of the National Liberation War and the people's revolution, and in the period of the construction of socialism. Likewise, it has always fought for its defence against any

OF THE WORLD PROLETARIAT THE REVOLUTION COMMUNISM

by SOTIR MANUSHI

attack from bourgeois and opportunist enemies of various hues.

Proletarian internationalism is a component part of Marxism-Leninism, indissolubly linked with it. Therefore, there is not and cannot be proletarian internationalism outside the struggle for the faithful implementation and defence of Marxism-Leninism.

Seeing in the implementation of proletarian internationalism that colossal force that brings about the unity of the proletariat and its allies on a world scale in the struggle against capital, oppression, and exploitation, and for the overthrow of capitalism, the bourgeoisie and revisionism have always tried to attack it as an ideology and a practice, from various directions. To this end they spread nationalism, cosmopolitanism, «limited sovereignty», try to sow dissention in the ranks of the proletariat and peoples. Exploiting the betrayal of the revisionist parties and the sharpening of contradictions in the ranks of modern revisionism, the bourgeoisie is screaming that «internationalism is dead!», that «Marxism-Leninism is finished!»

It is not in the least surprising that the modern revisionists, too, have joined the bourgeoisie in its struggle against proletarian internationalism, sometimes in a most blatant and sometimes in a more disguised manner, here with joint actions and there acting separately. Practice has proved that whoever renounces the revolution-

nary struggle for the violent overthrow of capitalism, whoever takes the road of defending the interests of the bourgeoisie, must inevitably depart from the positions of proletarian internationalism and go over to the positions of chauvinism, social-chauvinism and social-imperialism. The ABC of proletarian internationalism, stressed Lenin, is the participation of the proletariat «in the preparation propaganda and acceleration of the world proletarian revolution» (V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, vol. 3, p. 233). The present day revisionists, like all the opportunists and revisionists of the past, have betrayed the interests of the proletariat, and where they are in power are oppressing and exploiting the proletariat and the other masses of the working people. Tearing to ribbons the so-called «internationalism» of Kautsky who took a stand in support of the bourgeois government, in defence of the «bourgeois Homeland», Lenin predicted that by taking this road, Kautsky would line up with the main enemies of the October Revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The same proved true also for the modern revisionists who have become the most zealous champions of the bourgeoisie of their own countries, of imperialism and social-imperialism today.

certainly, among the revisionists there have been and always will be various shades of opinion, contradictions, and splits, but in essence all

the revisionist groupings are branches of a single tree. Different shades of opinion are observed among the revisionists also in regard to their stand towards proletarian internationalism.

For purely demagogical and especially for speculative purposes, giving proletarian internationalism a totally counter-revolutionary interpretation and orientation, the Soviet revisionists retain it as an expression and use it from time to time in their propaganda, and even «criticise» those revisionists that came out openly against it. But what is the meaning and the content of the so-called «proletarian internationalism» of the Soviet revisionists and social-imperialists? They consider submission to the policy of the present-day Soviet Union, hitching up to its chariot, and supporting each of its actions as the basic criterion of proletarian internationalism. A fine «proletarian internationalism» indeed! Of course, the Marxist-Leninists, too, consider the stand toward the present-day Soviet Union as one of the basic criteria of proletarian internationalism, but in the opposite sense to that which the Soviet revisionists claim, and the opposite of the stand taken towards the Soviet Union of the time of Lenin and Stalin, when it was the centre of the world revolution. Today, when the Soviet Union has been turned by the modern revisionists into a completely capitalist social-fascist country in its internal policy, and a social-imperialist country in its foreign policy, he who

fighters it is an internationalist, and not he who supports it. To fight the Soviet revisionists means to render a great internationalist service to the proletariat and peoples of the Soviet Union, too.

But there are also many other revisionists who came out openly against proletarian internationalism and attack it directly, describing it as a «dogmatic», «anachronistic» principle; they have even begun to talk about some sort of «new internationalism», that is to say, non-proletarian, and about «international solidarity» in general, etc. These are the supporters of «Eurocommunism», such as the Italian, French and other revisionists. It is already known that the conference of the revisionist parties of Europe replaced the term «proletarian internationalism» with «international solidarity».

Of course the point at issue here is not a simple change of terms, but the revision of the whole meaning, content, orientation and aim of proletarian internationalism, of its requirements and objectives as a revolutionary ideology and practice of the proletariat and of its Marxist-Leninist party, the replacement of the proletarian ideology with the bourgeois ideology. Both the «new internationalism» and «international solidarity», as comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 7th Congress of the PLA, «...on the lips of the revisionists... is a formula of justification that allows them to join forces with the devil and his son, with the social-democrats and the Vatican, with the multinational companies and the fascists, with NATO and US imperialism, with anyone who is against the revolution, the proletariat and socialism, anyone who defends the system of capitalist exploitation» (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, pp. 219-220).

According to the modern revisionists, proletarian internationalism allegedly does not correspond to today's new social reality. Here they are trying to

speculate with all sorts of machinations, among other things, by claiming that today it is not only the working class that is fighting for the solution of the problems of the time, that now the participation of the various social classes and strata in their solution has become greatly extended. Truly a state and absurd reasoning, but not new. Other opportunists of every hue have used it in the past. Who has ever said that only the proletariat is struggling for the solution of the problems of the time and that proletarian internationalism has to do with the solution of these problems by the proletariat alone? This is simply a revisionist fabrication. Then the question arises at to what problems we are talking about and what solutions to them. All social classes and strata have been and are interested in, and are fighting for the solution of the existing problems; ranging from the simplest to the most important and acute ones, in one way or another, but always from the standpoint of their own class interests. And it is a fact that the more closely the interests of the various masses of the working people conform with one another, the broader becomes their participation in the solution of those problems for which the proletariat is fighting. But precisely for this reason their union, their unity under the leadership of the proletariat, becomes even more necessary. And for what purpose? In order to accelerate the approach of the revolution and smash capitalism, imperialism and social-imperialism, in order to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and build socialism and communism.

«Proletarian internationalism», stresses Comrade Enver Hoxha, «is the ideology of the proletariat, is one of the most powerful weapons and a condition for the triumph of the revolution and the construction of communism. It is an indivisible whole, and there are not several kinds of internationalism, one Soviet, one Italian, one

Yugoslav, one French, etc., as the revisionists claim» (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 239). Only those parties that come out openly in defence of the interests of the local bourgeoisie, who go over to chauvinist positions, can reduce proletarian internationalism to its opposite, nationalism and social-chauvinism. In April 1917 Lenin wrote: «There is one, and only one, internationalism in deeds: selfless work for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in one's own country, support (through propaganda, sympathy, material aid) of this and only this struggle, this line in all countries without exception». (V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 24, p. 63, Alb. ed.).

Hence, it is clear why those who openly defend class collaboration, who support the bourgeoisie, imperialism and social-imperialism, who negate the idea of the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, who adapt themselves to bourgeois nationalism, who make a fetish of bourgeois legality, parliamentarianism and democracy, who renounce the class viewpoint and the class struggle have renounced proletarian internationalism and attack, it, as the modern revisionist do.

To the Marxist-Leninists internationalism can be only proletarian internationalism. There is and there can be no internationalism in general. When the world bourgeoisie in its struggle against the proletariat, the peoples and socialism, strives to unite its forces, to create international links, it is even more necessary for the proletariat in its unequal struggle against the local and international bourgeoisie, against imperialism, social-imperialism and world reaction to do so, too. In this case, proletarian internationalism serves not only as a condition for defence against the bourgeoisie, but also as a weapon to triumph over it. «In the expression 'proletarian internationalism' says Comrade

Enver Hoxha, «only the world 'proletarian' links internationalism indissolubly with the world proletariat, links it in unity of struggle against the capitalist bourgeoisie, against the trusts and monopolies, against imperialism and social-imperialism». (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 234).

Therefore, the notion proletarian, joined with internationalism, has theoretical and practical importance. If you take the word 'proletarian' from internationalism, even the bourgeoisie will readily accept it, and this is precisely the aim of all the efforts of the modern revisionist, who are trying to peddle their new wares under the label of «international solidarity», or the so-called «new internationalism», because this kind of union does not harm the bourgeois order in the least. Likewise, the prattle of some modern revisionists to the effect that the expression 'proletarian internationalism' alienates the «broad masses of the population» from the struggle for the solution of present-day international problems, is a slander from top to bottom, because it is only the bourgeoisie and its lackeys who are afraid of proletarian internationalism. In their unity and solidarity the proletariat and the masses of the working people have their only source of strength, a strength which will wipe the bourgeoisie and imperialism from the face of the earth.



Defence of the principle of proletarian internationalism from the attacks of the enemies is one of the most important duties of the Marxist-Leninist parties, because proletarian internationalism constitutes the basis of the existence of the international Marxist-Leninist and workers' movements.

Proletarian internationalism stems from the historic world mission of the proletariat itself. Marx and Engels summed up the principle of proletarian

internationalism in the immortal slogan, «Proletarians of all countries, unite!», while they defined the aims of the struggle of the proletariat, and the communists in the «Manifest of the Communist Party» in these words: «...their aims can be attained only by means of the violent overthrow of the entire existing social order... The proletarians have nothing to lose... but their chains. They have a world to win. (K. Marx and F. Engels, Selected Works, vol. I, p. 51, 1958, Alb. ed.).

From that time on the slogan «Proletarians of all countries, unite!» has been a fiery call for the unity of the proletariat, led by its revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism and communism. Under this call the 1st and the 3rd Internationals worked and fought, under this call the October Socialist Revolution and the other socialist revolutions in the world were carried out. This slogan is very relevant in the present conditions, too, when, in betraying and fighting Marxism-Leninism the modern revisionists with the Soviet revisionists at the head, have also rejected the principle of proletarian internationalism, in the conditions when the solidarity, unity, and militant collaboration of the international proletariat and its revolutionary parties need to be raised to a new and higher level. At the 7th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that in our struggle for national liberation and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the uninterrupted continuation of the revolution, we had the assistance of the Marxist-Leninist parties, the proletariat, and progressive people everywhere in the world.

In this manner, a glance over the whole history of the international workers' and communist revolutionary movement, will show that it has been a history of fierce and resolute struggle for the triumph of the prin-

ciple of proletarian internationalism, for the unity of the proletariat on a world scale in a single front of struggle, for the unity of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and of the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples, under the leadership of the proletariat with the Marxist-Leninist communist parties at the head. Today also, the interests of the world proletariat, the national liberation movement of the peoples, and all progressive mankind, require that the militant unity, solidarity and collaboration of all the revolutionary forces, must be raised to a higher level under the leadership of the proletariat and the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, against the common enemy, the monopoly bourgeoisie, imperialism and social-imperialism.

At the present time, the international bourgeoisie is doing its utmost to unite its forces in all kinds of alliances and combinations in struggle against the proletariat, socialism and the peoples. One section of the international bourgeoisie has created NATO and all kinds of other links, another section has created the European Common Market and is trying to create the «United Europe», another section has joined forces in the Warsaw Treaty, COMECON and the so-called «Socialist Community». They have a single aim: to jointly suppress the proletariat, the liberation movement and socialism in the world. From this it is clear how important is the revolutionary solidarity, the true proletarian internationalism, the militant collaboration on an international scale of the proletariat and of its allies, in order to wage the struggle successfully against the international bourgeoisie, imperialism and social-imperialism, in order to carry out the revolution to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to build socialism.

In their struggle to implement the principle of proletarian internationalism, the Marxist-Leninist parties

take account of the present-day conditions and, in the first place, the division of the world according to economic and social orders, that is to say, into the socialist and the capitalist orders handling and applying it closely linked to the real conditions of the struggle of the working class. There is and there can be no abstract treatment of this problem. It is the duty of the Marxist-Leninist parties to preserve the revolutionary essence, the class content of proletarian internationalism in any circumstances and under any conditions. To the Marxist-Leninists it will always be a militant revolutionary call for cohesion, union, unity in the struggle against the main enemies of the proletariat and the peoples, against imperialism, social-imperialism and the international bourgeoisie. To view the problem in this manner means to view it correctly, in a scientific, Marxist-Leninist manner.

It should be pointed out, also, that each detachment of the world proletariat and each Marxist-Leninist party discharges its internationalist duty by fighting to carry out the tasks stemming from the struggle against the bourgeoisie, imperialism, social-imperialism and reaction, the struggle for the preparation and the carrying out of the proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the struggle for the construction of socialism and the defence of the victories achieved, on a national level, in the first place. You cannot be an internationalist if you do not strive to carry out the tasks of the revolution in your own country. This has to do with the implementation of the important Marxist-Leninist principle, confirmed by revolutionary practice, that the question of the revolution and the construction of socialism is, first of all, an internal question for each country, that the decisive factor for carrying it out is the internal revolutionary forces of each people, that the working class

and the communists of each country discharge their fundamental national and international duty by carrying the revolution through to victory and building socialism and communism successfully in their own country, that every victory of the revolution and socialism in one country becomes a support for and serves the triumphs of, the revolution in other countries as well, just as the international solidarity of the world proletariat serves the triumph of the revolution and socialism in the different countries. «We would not be Marxists», stressed Comrade Enver Hoxha, «if we were to negate the international solidarity of the world proletariat, but first you must struggle and defend yourself, must work correctly, and then others can help you» (Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches, 1967-1968, p. 37).

Faithful implementation of Marxism-Leninism is also the decisive condition for the proper understanding and implementation of the principle of proletarian internationalism in a revolutionary way, for the combination and resolution in a dialectical way of the national and international tasks of the socialist revolution. Whoever deviates from it, or betrays it, deviates from and betrays the socialist revolution on both a national and an international level. This is what occurred with all the modern revisionists, headed by the Soviet revisionists, who, in betraying the principles of Marxism-Leninism, also replaced the principle of proletarian internationalism with the principles of bourgeois nationalism, chauvinism, and social-imperialism. Speaking at the 7th Congress of the PLA about the consequences of the Khrushchevite revisionist betrayal in the Soviet Union, comrade Enver Hoxha stressed that, «The former socialist base and superstructure have been destroyed to their foundations. Great Russian chauvinism has been set up as the dominant ideology, national oppression

has become part and parcel of the bourgeois class policy pursued by the ruling clique». (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 215). Meanwhile, under the false slogan of internationalist solidarity, materialised in the so-called «socialist integration», the Soviet revisionists are also oppressing the peoples of the so-called «Socialist Community». And anyone who rises against the social-chauvinist and social-imperialist policy of the Soviet revisionists is accused by them of being anti-Soviet, anti-nationalist, etc.

The principle of proletarian internationalism serves not only to strengthen the solidarity and unity of the world proletariat, but also to increase the cohesion of the democratic, liberation and anti-imperialist forces, to strengthen the unity of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat with the national liberation movement against imperialism, social-imperialism, the international bourgeoisie and world reaction. In launching the slogan «Proletarians of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!», Lenin had in mind the linking up, combination, the uniting of these two movements in the struggle against imperialism. But he never considered the national liberation movement as the main force, and even less as the main leading force. The classical teachers of Marxism-Leninism have always seen the national problem as part of the whole, of the proletarian revolution, and as such it must be subordinated to the interests of the proletarian revolution. «In comparison with the 'workers' question», says Lenin, «it is indisputable that the national question has second-rate importance» (Lenin, Works, vol. 20, p. 500, Alb. ed.).

At the 7th Congress of the PLA it was again stressed that the PLA stands for the unity of the world proletariat and all the anti-imperialist and progressive forces. But it has always considered the world prole-

tariat as the leading force of the entire world revolutionary movement. «Only the proletariat», says Lenin, «constantly increases the multi-million army of those who fight for a better future, only the proletariat fosters and spreads merciless hostility to backwardness, savagery, privileges, the enslavement and humiliation of man by man» (V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, vol. 2, p. 10, Alb. ed.).



In his report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that the present situation in the international Marxist-Leninist communist movement is similar to that of the heroic periods when Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin were working and fighting. Today, as in those days, the triumph over imperialism, social-imperialism, the bourgeoisie and reaction calls for unity, solidarity and compactness, in the first place, in the Marxist-Leninist movement itself, which is the vanguard of the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat. But this unity and solidarity are attained only by faithfully implementing the Marxist-Leninist theory. «Our Party has marched and will continue to march on this road. It always has and always will put Marxism-Leninism in command.» (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 239).

The Marxist-Leninist parties are fighting in differing national conditions. Some are fighting in the conditions of socialism, the majority in conditions of capitalism. There are parties, such as those in the developed capitalist countries, which are faced with carrying out the proletarian revolution, while others have democratic, liberation, or anti-imperialist revolutions as their immediate task. But in the international workers' movement there are common tasks, for the solution of which collaboration and exchange of experience

among the Marxist-Leninist parties, and coordination of their actions, are required. Of course, for this to be attained, the establishment of close links among them is necessary. In his time, Engels considered the establishment of continuous contacts and links among proletarian parties as a primary task. Life itself, revolutionary practice, has confirmed the absolute necessity of the establishment and strengthening of these links among the Marxist-Leninist parties. Lenin frequently stressed that, in order to triumph over capital, which constitutes an international force, the international alliance of the workers, their international fraternization are required. Hence it is quite clear that cooperation and fighting solidarity comprise a powerful weapon in the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties against the bourgeoisie, imperialism, social-imperialism, revisionism and reaction.

The PLA considers the broadening and strengthening of the cooperation among the Marxist-Leninist parties as a problem of principle, imperative in the present conditions of the international revolutionary movement, as an absolute necessity for success in the struggle against the numerous bourgeois, revisionist and opportunist enemies, who are developing their collaboration in various forms and ways, even at international meetings and conferences. The heads of bourgeois governments, the leaders of social-democratic, revisionist, Trotskyite and other parties, are holding such meetings.

In the view of the Party of Labour of Albania, relations among the revolutionary communist parties can be built and developed only on the basis of full and equal rights, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Even today Engels' words on equal rights in the relations among the true parties of the proletariat still ring true: «The glory of the annihilation of capi-

talism will belong neither to the French, nor to the Germans, nor to the English, to none of them taken separately... The liberation of the proletariat can be only an international question». (K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, vol. 39, vol. 76, Russian ed.). Our Party has never reconciled itself to the pretensions of revisionists, chauvinists and others to hegemony in the workers' movement. And it has given clear proofs in this direction, by fighting the earliest signs of such pretensions.

While being independent from the political and organizational aspects, the Marxist-Leninist parties unite their actions voluntarily, on the basis of reciprocal agreements. Guided by the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, which they have in common, guided by their unity of views on the international tasks of the working class, they coordinate their actions and come out as a single international force that defends the interests of the revolution and world socialism. And when they exchange opinions on the important problems about which the proletariat and the peoples of the world are concerned today, the Marxist-Leninist parties have no aim other than that of serving the interests of the revolution and socialism and of strengthening the unity of the international Marxist-Leninist movement.

The assistance that the Marxist-Leninist parties give one another is not interference in their internal affairs. Among the bourgeoisie and the revisionists, where «big fish eat small fish», interference is their second nature, whereas among the communists who are guided by the Marxist-Leninist ideology there is unity, mutual assistance, militant cooperation. Marxism-Leninism and revolution mean unity. Revisionism and counter-revolution mean splits and defeats.

At its 7th Congress, the Party of Labour of Albania devoted particular attention to the problem of the unity

of the Marxist-Leninist movement. Indeed the proceedings of the Congress itself were characterized by a lofty spirit of proletarian internationalism, militant unity and solidarity. «As internationalist communists», said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the Congress, «we need to exchange our experiences and, each of us, in the conditions of his own country, must act on the basis of Marxism-Leninism» (p. 250). In this manner the PLA once again stressed that collaboration among the communist parties necessarily presupposes the independence of each party to act with initiative in its own country, on the basis of concrete conditions.

As the 7th Congress of the Party stressed, without returning to old organizational forms, such as those of the Comintern, which are unsuit today, because the conditions and situations have changed, and the problems have become more complicated and, as a result it is impossible for all the activity of the Marxist-Leninist parties to be directed from a single centre, the PLA is in favour of all-round collaboration among the Marxist-Leninist parties on the true revolutionary road. In its view, the exchange of experience can be done in bilateral and multilateral forms. But is obvious that bilateral meetings alone are inadequate for strengthening the unity and the compactness of the world Marxist-Leninist movement. Therefore the Party of Labour of Albania holds that multilateral meetings and broad conferences of Marxist-Leninist communist parties are superior to bilateral meetings, and serve the aims of the Marxist-Leninist movement better. They are superior for the reason that, at these meetings, the existing situations at any given time can be thoroughly analysed, and the main problems which every new situation raises before the Marxist-Leninist movement as a whole, or before the Marxist parties of this or that group of countries in the world,

can be broadly discussed. Apart from this, at broader meetings the representatives of the Marxist-Leninist parties have the possibility of free discussion and extensive exchanges of their sincere opinions and views of discussing and exchanging one another's experience and making principled and comradely criticism and self-criticism. And, finally, broader meetings play an important role in working out common stands towards different situations and in coordinating actions in the revolutionary struggle against the common enemy.

The Party of Labour of Albania has always maintained that the unity of the international Marxist-Leninist movement is not something given once and for all. It, too, is subject to dialectics, develops and grows ever stronger, in connection with the new main problems that emerge for the Marxist-Leninist communist parties to solve. For this reason, multilateral meetings from time to time develop and further strengthen the revolutionary solidarity, the unity and compactness among the revolutionary parties of the proletariat. Such was the objective of the multilateral meeting of the representatives of the Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America and the statement it adopted. The Party of Labour of Albania and the other Marxist-Leninist parties wholeheartedly welcome this multilateral meeting of the sister parties of Latin America and support the issues and correct conclusions which they endorsed collectively. The internationalist rallies of the Communist Party of Italy (M-L), the Communist Party of Germany (M-L), the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed), the Communist Party of Greece (M-L) with the participation of representatives of Marxist-Leninist parties of other countries, were also of great importance in strengthening the unity of the Marxist-Leninists. At these rallies the absolute necessity of strengthening revolutionary inter-

nationalist solidarity, as well as the struggle of the proletariat and peoples of the world against imperialism, social-imperialism, the bourgeoisie and international reaction was expressed with great force.

This provides the clearest proof of how the communists, the genuine Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries, the ardent internationalists always take account not only of the interests of the revolution in their own countries, but also of the interests of the revolution in the other countries as well. The successes achieved in this direction call for even more vigorous struggle for the strengthening of the solidarity and collaboration among the Marxist-Leninist parties.

As the 7th Congress of the PLA stressed, only by closing their ranks for action, enlightened by the triumphant Marxist-Leninist doctrine will the proletariat of all countries and its revolutionary parties overcome the difficulties they are encountering at the present time and honourably accomplish the mission with which history has charged them: to overthrow the old bourgeois-revisionist world and build the new world, the socialist world.

From the tribune of its 7th Congress the Party of Labour of Albania once again assured its brothers and comrades-in-arms that «The international working class and the Marxist-Leninist parties, all those peoples who are fighting against the superpowers, against the bourgeoisie and reaction, have found and will always find in the Party of Labour of Albania, in the Albanian working class and people, a loyal ally, a reliable support and backing». (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 251).

As it has done up till now, the PLA, will fight with determination against the common enemies, for the triumph of revolution and Marxism-Leninism.

THE PRESENT ECONOMIC CRISIS AND THE SHARPENING OF THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

by HEKURAN MARA

From its very beginning, the general crisis of capitalism has been characterized by the unequal economic and political development of the capitalist countries. The present economic crisis and the efforts which U.S. imperialism, Soviet socialimperialism, and the other imperialist powers are making to emerge from it at others' expense have made their unequal development more pronounced

THE PRESENT ECONOMIC CRISIS, THE GRAVEST IN THE LAST FORTY YEARS, IS NOW IN ITS FOURTH YEAR. IT HAS ENGULFED ALL THE DEVELOPED AND THE LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES OF THE CAPITALIST-REVISIONIST WORLD. DESPITE ALL THE SMOOTH-TONGUED DEMAGOGUERY OF THE SPOKESMEN OF CAPITAL AND ITS STATE POWER, OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY AND THE REVISIONISTS, WHO ARE TRYING TO CONVINCe THE WORKING PEOPLE THAT THE DIFFICULT SITUATION BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE CRISIS WILL SOON BE OVER, IF NOT TODAY, TOMORROW, THE KNOTS OF THE CRISIS ARE BEING PULLED TIGHTER AND TIGHTER. NEITHER CAN ANY RAPID EMERGENCE FROM THE CRISIS BE EXPECTED FROM THE PROFOUNDLY ANTI-POPULAR PROGRAMS FOR SPENDING CUTS, FOR THE STIMULATION OF INVESTMENTS, PRODUCTION, EXPORTS, ETC., WHICH THE BOURGEOIS-REVISIONIST GOVERNMENTS ARE URGENTLY DRAFTING AND IMPLEMENTING, ONE AFTER ANOTHER.

The economy of the capitalist-revisionist world remains sluggish. It is like a motor which, with wide-open throttle, splutters to a halt under the load it has been charged with. In the situation created, the bourgeois and revisionist apologists are busy inventing new arguments to explain the causes of the crisis, an economic-social phenomenon which they had claimed was a thing of the past in the «new, transformed capitalism».

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It is true that the present economic crisis appears to be all-sided, because has become entangled with the energy and monetary crises. Nevertheless, it is a periodic crisis of overproduction. A distinctive feature of this crisis is that it broke out and is developing in the conditions when the general crisis of capitalism, also has become very severe. Although these are two different types of crisis, they condition one another and through their mutual interaction further are making all the contradictions of the

bourgeois-revisionist order as a world system more acute.

Speaking about this question at the 7th Congress of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha stressed that «the present crisis... is an economic crisis, but it is also a political and ideological, a military and cultural crisis, a crisis of the structures and super-structures of the bourgeois-revisionist system».

The Marxist-Leninist theory long ago provided accurate proof that the true causes of economic crises in capitalism are the irreconcilable contradictions between labour and capital. These contradictions pervade the bourgeois-revisionist order from top to bottom and penetrate its every cell. The striving of the bourgeoisie for maximum profits by stepping up its savage oppression and exploitation of the masses of the working people sharpens to the limit the contradiction between the social character of production and the private, capitalist appropriation of the product. This contradiction is the fundamental underlying cause leading directly to

the outbreak of the economic crises. Hence, as long as capitalist and revisionist private property and exploitation exist, there must necessarily also be periodic economic crises as an unavoidable accompaniment of the bourgeois-revisionist order. And this is the case with the present economic crisis.

For a while, under the influence of certain temporary factors, the economy of the main capitalist countries experience the so-called hot years of its development (the boom years). The «theories» of a capitalism «without crises» were invented on this basis. However, the temporary boom intensified the process of the polarization between labour and capital. Because of increased up exploitation, of rising inflation and sky-rocketing prices, the masses of the working people were impoverished to the point where their buying power had fallen so greatly that they could no longer buy all the goods produced by capital.

From that moment the anarchy of production and the disproportion between production and consumption (sale) became so profound that a situation of relative overproduction was created. Suddenly social production found itself before a closed door to which it had lost the key. As a result, the contradictions between labour and capital, that had lain deeply hidden, emerged more acute than ever and brought the gloomy year 1974, in which the industrial production of the capitalist-revisionist world suffered its greatest decline of the whole period since the Second World War. The fall in production and the rise of inflation marked the beginning of the very grave economic crisis that all the capitalist and revisionist countries are experiencing to this day.

With the depression drawn-out for years on end and with its international extension, the present economic crisis has made the general crisis of capitalism more severe in all directions. As Marxism-Leninism teaches us, the general crisis of capitalism is of a different nature and is a wider-ranging phenomenon than the economic crisis. It is a crisis of the base and the superstructure of the bour-

geois-revisionist order as a world system. It represents a whole historical period which has as its fundamental feature the uninterrupted revolutionary process and the fierce class struggle on a national and international scale between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism, between the oppressed peoples and imperialism and social-imperialism. The general crisis of capitalism represents the period of the disintegration and collapse of imperialism, social-imperialism and capitalism, as a result of the creation of revolutionary situations, of the development and triumph of the proletarian revolution and the national liberation revolutions of the oppressed peoples.

The present economic crisis has further sharpened such specific and erosive phenomena of the general crisis of capitalism as the unequal economic and political development of the capitalist and revisionist countries, the extension of monopoly-state capitalism in breadth and depth, the permanent under-utilization of productive capacities, permanent mass unemployment, inflation and the monetary crisis, the militarization of the economy and, together with this, the use of an ever greater part of the national wealth for non-productive purposes, etc. All these phenomena have greatly increased the instability of the capitalist-revisionist order and have accelerated the process of its decay. They are evidence that, within the capitalist relations of production, the environment required by the forces of production for their normal and unhampered development can no longer be provided.

In the capitalist-revisionist world today more than 100 million workers have been thrown out of work. Unemployment and insecurity about finding or keeping a job have become a nightmare for the working people, especially for the youth who have no guarantee of a livelihood, even for one day ahead. No less disturbing and threatening to the livelihood of the working people are the proportions which inflation and price increases have assumed. Things have gone so far that inflation has risen

30-50 per cent within one year. The same thing is occurring with prices too, especially those for mass consumer goods, which are going up not just year by year, but month by month and, even week by week. Both these phenomena are a heavy burden on the backs of the masses of the working people, increasing their exploitation and impoverishment. In order to ensure maximum profits, the capitalist monopolies do not hesitate to increase inflation or raise prices.

The militarization of their economies by the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, and the other imperialist powers, the unprecedented increase in military expenditure, the inflation of the state apparatus of coercion and oppression and the increase in subsidies in favour of the monopolies have burdened the state budgets of every bourgeois-revisionist country with huge chronic deficits. In order to cover these deficits, the issue of new banknotes and the increase of the taxes levied on the masses of the working people are resorted to on a large scale. In these conditions, inflation and great disturbances of the financial systems have become permanent phenomena of the capitalist-revisionist economy.

A general characteristic of the present stage of the general crisis of capitalism is the deepening of the gap, of the disproportion between the paper money in circulation and reserves of gold and the fund of goods, both in individual countries and in the entire capitalist-revisionist world. This circumstance is at the bottom of the financial and monetary crisis and the dumping and currency speculation that have upset the capitalist-revisionist world system today, that have dethroned the U.S. dollar and the British pound from their privileged position, that have led to the collapse of the Bretton Woods agreement on the international monetary system and brought down the buying power of the bourgeois-revisionist currencies leading them to the brink of disastrous devaluation.

From its very beginning, the general crisis of capitalism has been characterized by the unequal economic and political development of the capita-

list countries. The present economic crisis and the efforts which U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and the other imperialist powers are making to overcome it at others expense have made their unequal development more pronounced. On this basis the confrontations and the political and economic contradictions among the monopolies and imperialist powers have increased. On this basis, the United States and the revisionist Soviet Union, on the one side, which want to preserve their privileges in the world system of the capitalist-revisionist economy, and the Common Market, Japan, Canada, etc., on the other side, which are contesting these privileges, which are trying to infiltrate the sphere of influence of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, have come out on the battlefield. These are contradictions and rivalries among imperialist wolves, each trying to draw the maximum profit from the blood and sweat of the people. Therefore, it is essential that demagogy and fraudulent tactics of the imperialists, such as the slogans of the Soviet imperialist about their «anti-imperialism», or the «anti-social-imperialism» publicised by the United States and the monopoly bourgeoisie of the West, etc., are exposed and rejected, that the people should not be allowed to fall victims to the enslaving manoeuvres of one of the other imperialist grouping. The facts prove that, irrespective of their rivalry and competition, when it is a matter of oppressing the proletariat and the working masses and plundering the peoples, when it is a matter of preserving the bourgeois-revisionist order and combatting the revolution and socialism, U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, and the other imperialist powers unite with one another as the class brothers they are and coordinate their plans.

The present economic crisis has also made another important feature of the general crisis of capitalism more acute: that is the disintegration of the colonial system and the winning of independence by many countries formerly under the colonialist yoke. The two superpowers and all the other imperialist powers are desperately seeking

a way out of the economic crisis by increasing their pillage of the assets and the exploitation of the peoples of the «allied» countries, as well as of the developing countries, by increasing their exports to, and investments in, these countries. For this purpose they have put in motion all their organisms and institutions, military, political, economic, etc., created to keep neo-colonialism on its feet.

The efforts of imperialism, social-imperialism, and all international capital to shift the burden of the present economic crisis on to the developing countries have accelerated the process of economic decolonialization already started, the aim of which is to consolidate the political independence already won, with the achievement of economic independence. The struggle of the peoples of the developing countries to put their national assets and resources under national control, to strengthen their economic and political independence, and to attain equality and justice in international relations is aimed against world imperialism, and the two greatest international oppressors and plunderers — U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, in particular. But this struggle cannot fail to be aimed, also, against the anti-popular, fascist and pro-imperialist regimes in power in a series of countries such as Chile and Brazil, Saudi Arabia and Iran, India and Indonesia, Rhodesia and South Africa, etc. Consistently carried out under the leadership of the working class and the Marxist-Leninist party, in alliance with the broad strata of the peasantry and the other progressive forces, the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples for national liberation constitutes a colossal force for the overthrow of world imperialism, is the powerful ally of the international working class and a reserve of the world proletarian revolution.

The general crisis of capitalism and its deepening have always expressed themselves in the political field in the form of the open attack of big capital, of the monopoly bourgeoisie and reaction on the freedoms and democratic rights of the working class, with the aim of establishing savage fascist

dictatorships. Against the onslaught of the bourgeoisie, the proletariat and the other masses of the working people have reacted and continue to react by stepping up their protest and revolutionary struggle. The tide of this struggle is steadily rising, proving that neither bourgeois-fascist violence, social-democratic demagogy, nor modern revisionist disruption can prevent the outburst of the revolutionary energies of the working class, the decisive force for the overthrow of world capitalism. The development of a broad Marxist-Leninist movement is clear evidence that the working class in the capitalist-revisionist world is becoming increasingly conscious of its revolutionary role and mission.

The bourgeoisie has the political oppression and the economic exploitation of the proletariat in its blood. Imperialism and social-imperialism cannot exist without economic expansion, without political interference and military aggression, without oppressing and exploiting other peoples. The entire bourgeois-revisionist order and its world system have been built on these foundations and on them it exists. These foundations and the unchanging oppressive, rapacious and aggressive nature of imperialism and social-imperialism can neither be softened nor be reformed. They can only be eliminated, through the proletarian revolution and the struggle of the revolutionaries and peoples for national liberation and social emancipation, until the bourgeois-revisionist order and its entire world system is wiped from the face of the earth.

The present crisis that has gripped the capitalist-revisionist world and the further sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism, have created great class tensions and conflicts of a political, economic and social character, have made all the major contradictions of our time extremely acute. This is clear evidence of what the 7th Congress of the PLA stressed, that, «the world is at a stage when the question of the revolution and national liberation of the peoples is not just an aspiration and a perspective, but a problem taken up for solution».

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THE EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET — A TANGLE OF INTER-IMPERIALIST INTERESTS AND RIVALRIES

«BASHKIMI» — the Central Organ of the Democratic Front of Albania

The twenty-years of activity of the European Common Market has made it very plain that this political-economic bloc is a product of the greed of capital and inter-imperialist contradictions, an effort of countries of Western Europe to increase the economic power of their monopolies and their political strength. It was precisely the fevers of capital in a crisis, their concern to safeguard and increase their profits at any cost, which brought about the birth of this reactionary organization, this «large union of capitalist monopolies and trusts for the savage exploitation of the proletariat and the masses of the working people in Europe and the peoples in the world» (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA).

The setting up of this organization placed the masses of working people in Western Europe under the two fold yoke of the local bourgeoisie and that of the monopolies of the EEC plunging them deeper into poverty. The purchasing power of the masses of working people is falling from year to year, in

the conditions of high levels of chronic inflation and never-ending price rises, which in the period from September 1975 to September 1976 alone, averaged 19 per cent over the nine member countries reckoned together. Notwithstanding the various statistical tricks used to hide the truth, official figures show that the total number of unemployed people in the countries of the Common Market has reached 6 million. If the millions of semi-unemployed, as well as the millions of peasants utterly ruined or up to the neck in debt, (the debts of the West German peasants alone amount to 32 thousand million Marks) are added to this number, then an approximate picture can be formed of the misery and poverty of the masses of working people.

Besides the savage exploitation of the masses of European working people, the plunder of other peoples is no less inhuman. «The Common Market,» as comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «is a big neocolonialist power, which not only competes with the superpowers for the exploita-

tion of the developing countries, but also endeavours to regain and maintain the old privileges of the former colonialist powers in these countries». The monopolies of Western Europe joined forces in order to take as large a place as possible in the world system of neocolonialist oppression and exploitation, to be able to compete with US imperialism and Soviet socialimperialism.

The monopoly bourgeoisie of Western Europe, striving not to lag behind the American and Soviet bourgeoisie, is doing everything to present its neocolonialist expansion and plunder as «aid» for the «development of the backward countries». But the reality shows clearly that it is precisely this «aid» of the two superpowers, the Common Market, and the other imperialist powers, which has made the backwardness and poverty in the countries with a low level of industrial development even more profound. These countries, which represent 70 per cent of the population of the world, possess only 30 per cent of the world income. The gulf bet-

ween the industrialized countries and the developing countries, is not becoming narrower, but on the contrary, is growing bigger. It is estimated that, in 1980 the average per capita income in the developing countries will be 12 times below that in the industrialized countries. The imperialist powers of Western Europe are trying to exploit the peoples' justified hatred of the two superpowers in order to supplant American and Soviet capital (and together with this, its political domination, too,) with European capital, striving to give it a humane appearance. But monopoly capital, regardless of whether

it is offered under an «American», «Soviet», or «West European», label is still always exploiting, bloodsucking capital, and the history of capital has always been a history of violence and plunder. The funds which West European finance capital uses to provide credits and «aid» for other countries have been extracted from the sweat and blood of the working people of the nine member countries, and likewise from the plunder of the wealth and cheap labour power of the developing countries. On top of the high interest rates they must pay for the credits they receive, these countries must also accept various economic

and political conditions, among which the lightest is that they must use the credits to buy military equipment or industrial goods from the lender country. «The aid», credits and the other forms of the export of capital bring benefits only to the imperialist powers. «As long as capitalism remains capitalism,» said V. I. Lenin, «surplus capital is not used to raise the standard of living of the masses in a given country, because this would mean a reduction of the capitalists' profits, but on the contrary, it is used to increase profits by exporting the capital abroad, to the backward countries».

WORKING MASSES RESOLUTELY OPPOSE CAPITALIST OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION

«PUNA» — *Organ of the Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions*

In our days the grave problem of unemployment is becoming even worse. Thousands of workers are fired, while those kept on in the capitalist factories and plants are obliged to work in conditions of intensive speed-up and are exploited to the maximum in order to in-

crease the superprofits of the capitalist bourgeoisie. Unemployment is receiving more and more attention in the Western press. All sorts of statements are made about putting an end to it, but the stubborn facts show that despite the false promises and demagogy there

is a ceaseless increase in the army of the unemployed, which is growing to very large proportions. In the United States of America, about 8 per cent of the labour force is unemployed. Unemployment among young people is double the average over the whole population in

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that country, while among coloured people it is three times as great.

Unemployment is serious also in the countries of the Common Market, this organization which is manipulated by the US imperialists; 5,7 millions unemployed are officially admitted — this is the most recent figure for this army of «unwanted hands». Naturally, this figure does not include the other millions who have not been recorded in the long lists of the unemployed, because they are «fortunate» enough to find some seasonal work for one or two months a year. The textile industry of the Common Market has been very hard hit. Stocks of woollen, cotton, or synthetic fabrics, are piling up, not only as a result of the reduction of the purchasing power of the ordinary working people, but also as a result of the fierce competition among the various capitalist countries. A consequence of this is the growth of the number of unemployed in this branch of industry, where over 500 thousand people have been thrown out of work.

Unemployment is becoming an ever greater problem for the West German, British, Swiss, Japanese, Spanish workers. It is spreading to

more and more occupations, affecting very large numbers of people. About one million West German workers are experiencing the bitter fate of the unemployed, more than two million unemployed Italians «are tightening their belts», two million British unemployed, thrown out of the capitalist factories, are searching in vain for any sort of job.

Unemployment, the constantly rising prices, the worsening of the many ills which are chronic afflictions of capitalist society, all these things have brought the antagonistic contradictions in the capitalist countries to a very acute level. Despite the efforts of the bosses and their zealous lackeys, the reformists, revisionists, and traitors of every hue, the proletariat of these countries is steadily intensifying its struggle, organization and solidarity in order to oppose this heavy and merciless attack of the bourgeoisie on its living standards. Along with demands of an economic character against unemployment, price rises, inflation, etc., political strikes against the fascistization of life, against the reactionary and anti-popular policies of the regimes in power, against the anti-popular laws and the repres-

sive measures, are coming more and more to the fore. Such strikes have broken out in the United States of America, in Italy, West Germany, Japan, Spain, and other countries.

Hundreds of thousands of workers of various American companies such as «Ford», «General Motors», and «Chrysler», dockers, railway and road transport workers, workers of the municipal services, and others, have taken a stand on the barricades of class battles. The rising tide of the strike movement has swept the whole of Japan, where the workers are battling, face to face with large forces of the police of the reactionary regime in power. The same thing can be seen in Italy and Spain and other capitalist and revisionist countries.

The rapid extension of the strike and protest movement speaks of a new further rise of the class consciousness of the proletariat in the capitalist countries, which is seeing ever more clearly that capitalism, as a social system, cannot solve any of its many problems or heal any of its wounds, that the socialist order where people are in power, is the only future for mankind. -

press review**THE ARAB PEOPLES MUST FIGHT TO REALIZE THEIR ASPIRATIONS**

«ZËRI I POPULLIT» — *Organ of the CC of the PLA*

Ten years have passed since the Zionist aggression of 1967, but in the Middle East region nothing essential has changed. And this for the reason that the causes of the tense situation in the Middle East and those who are to blame for it have not been eliminated, but on the contrary, are stepping up their activities against the Arab peoples. The Israeli Zionists, who are still occupying the extensive Arab territories they have seized by means of their aggressive wars and concrete anti-Arab activity, are making it plain that they do not intend to withdraw from these territories. The Israeli generals and politicians arrogantly declare that they will never return to the pre-1967 borders.

The roots of the conflict in the Middle East are to be found not only in the Arab-Israeli conflict, caused by the Israeli aggressors, but first of all in the hegemonic policy pursued by the two imperialist superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, which in pursuit of their expansionist policy are keeping the situation on the boil in this re-

gion. In the framework of their aggressive global strategies, US imperialism and Soviet socialimperialism are vying with each other, competing for expansion and spheres of influence, in order to subjugate the various countries on the African, Latin American and Asian continents. Seen in this light, the Middle East represents one of the regions of particular importance in their hegemonic plans. This region, so rich in valuable oil, represents for them a source of fabulous profits. «The hostilities between the Arab peoples and Israel, the situation among the Arab peoples themselves, who are split and in disagreement with one another which is being aggravated by the Soviet — US intrigues,» said comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the PLA, «are a consequence of this key problem, of the endeavours of the two superpowers to seize the oil resources. The blood of the Arab peoples has been and is being shed on account of this wealth». On the other hand, because of its very position, being a strategic bridge connecting three continents, the

Middle East constitutes a zone of military importance for both Washington and Moscow. From this area they could undertake attacks to invade the African continent, too.

As the development of events show while the two superpowers are hatching up intrigues and plots behind the scenes, to outward appearances they never give up their bombastic statements about wanting the «settlement» of the conflict in the Middle East, and, with this end in view, they have drafted a series of individual plans, or even joint plans, which they have presented as «the keys to peace» in this zone. But the facts have always told a different story. The imperialists of the United States of America have been and are the supporters and inspirers of the aggressive policy of the Israeli Zionists. They have held and are still holding the aggressor Israel as a loaded pistol at the head of the Arab peoples. This is how every American president has acted and this is how the new president, Carter, is acting, too, when in his recent statement he makes a great fuss about the

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«special ties» linking the United States of America with Israel. On the other hand, the Israeli officials, in all their speeches in regard to American policy, have boasted that Israeli-American relations «are a model of the relations that should exist between two friendly countries». Thus, all the activity which the new American head of state has undertaken to present himself to the Arab peoples as a «peace-loving man», and their friend, is a dangerous trap. In this context, his words in favour of «moderation» on the part of the Arabs towards Israel have no other aim but to create vain hopes and illusions, to eliminate the Arabs' just hatred for the Zionist enemies and to break their fighting spirit, to split and sabotage their unity and so-

lidarity and to force the Arab peoples into capitulationist concessions.

The Soviet social-imperialists, pretend to be concerned about the tense situation in the Middle East region, but in fact are pursuing the policy of division in this area, seeking to set one Arab country against the other are acting from similar positions, too. The Soviet socialimperialists miss no opportunity to proclaim that they are allegedly supporting and helping the Arab peoples. But many events in the Middle East have provided factual proof that precisely when the socialimperialists speak in favour of the Arab peoples, they are stabbing them in the back and sabotaging their just struggle. The Kremlin clique, no less than the American imperialists, wants a perma-

nent Israeli threat in the Middle East and a steady weakening of the power of the Arab peoples so that in the end, it can impose its dictate on them.

The long history of the conflict in the Middle East has shown that the aspirations of the Arab peoples — the liberation of the territories occupied by Israel, the reestablishment of the undeniable lawful rights of the Palestinian people to return to the lands robbed from them, can be achieved only by strengthening their unity and through resolute struggle and efforts against the Israeli Zionist aggressors to drive them by force from the territories they have seized by war, against the deceitful plans and the ceaseless anti-Arab activity of imperialism and Soviet socialimperialism.

■

CONSISTENT NEOCOLONIALIST POLICY OF US IMPERIALISM TOWARDS LATIN AMERICA

«BASHKIMI»

For many years, US imperialism has considered Latin America as its own backyard. For decades, the American corporations «United Fruit Company (today «United Brands Company»), the ITT,

«Copper Corporation», and many others, have been (and in many countries still are) a second government. For many years on end, the CIA has organized fascist coups, one after another in Guate-

mala, in Brazil and in the Dominican Republic, in Chile, Uruguay, Argentine, etc. And always the Yankee imperialists have sworn that the wolves have changed their hide and they no longer have

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sharp fangs. The most elaborate forms of demagoguery have been used to cover up their criminal policy. Thus, in his time, John Kennedy clamoured about «the alliance for progress», Richard Nixon spoke of «reasonable partners», Rockefeller called for «special relations», while Jimmy Carter is currently talking about his alleged «respect for sovereignty». The words may differ and the degree of demagoguery likewise but both before and during the reign of Kennedy, Nixon and now Carter, the essence of American policy towards Latin America is to exploit the sweat and wealth of this continent, so rich in raw materials and cheap labour power.

In particular, following the Second World War, the US imperialists intensified their policy and efforts to keep their hold on the Latin American countries, in order to continue the exploitation of this continent. In 1948, they set up the Organization of the American States with its centre in Washington, with the mission of «preventing the penetration of communism into this continent». Through a series of organisations, through pouring in their capital, through domination of the Latin American countries by the US monopoly compa-

nies, through open aggression as was the case in Guatemala in 1954, in Cuba in 1961 or in Santo Domingo in 1965, with coups d'état as in Uruguay, Chile, and other countries, the US imperialists have done everything possible to keep the Latin America continent under their heel. The special schools and academies set up in the territory of the Panama Canal Zone or in the United States, which provide special training for leading cadres of the army and the policy of the Latin American countries also serve this aim. Suffice it to mention that today, 170 graduates of the «Escuela de las Americas», with its centre in the Panama Canal Zone, are heads of state, ministers, chiefs of staff, or chiefs of secret services in Latin American countries, including Pinochet in Chile, Banzer in Bolivia, Lara in Ecuador, and many others, or, that from 1946 to 1975 33,534 officers of the Latin American countries, who constitute the US fifth column in these countries, the agency on which the CIA relies in hatching up its notorious military coups, have graduated from this school.

As a result of revolutionary and liberation struggles, of its constant degeneration and of its insuperable internal contradictions, imperialism has

been dealt telling blows in Latin America, too. Under the heavy pressure of the demands of the masses of working people, in a series of Latin American countries, some measures have been or are being taken for the nationalization, or restriction of the activity of predatory monopolies of US imperialism and the other imperialist powers. As well as this, other measures have been taken to strengthen their economic independence, to defend their national assets, including oil, to defend their fishing grounds, in the first place from plunder by US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. However although it has lost many positions, although it is bound to lose many other positions in the future, as our Party teaches, imperialism, and especially US imperialism will step up its efforts to regain its lost positions and to capture new ones. Part of these efforts to consolidate and extend its predatory tentacles, to hinder the «allies» of the west and the Soviet social imperialists, from competing in this plunder is the present unrestrained demagoguery of Jimmy Carter and the US imperialist propaganda, and the dispatch of envoys of Washington to the Latin America continent, one after another.

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The fact is that today, US imperialism is the greatest oppressor and exploiter of the Latin American continent, that through its monopolies, it continues to extract colossal profits from the exploitation and impoverishment of the peoples of this continent. In the countries with military fascist dictatorships, this plunder is blatant and merciless, while in the other countries it is disguised in the most varied forms. The fact is that direct US investments in Latin America amount to 12 thousand million dollars, and for every

dollar invested the US imperialists extract an average profit of five dollars. It is these dollars which they extract from the blood of the Brazilian, Chilean or Colombian workers, and the heavy chains of this slavery which US imperialism is striving to preserve at any cost in Latin America.

The peoples of Latin America, like all the other peoples of the world, have been up against this criminal policy for many years, and their experience is making them ever more conscious that nothing has changed in

the nature of US imperialism which will remain aggressive as long as a single tooth is left in its head. Therefore, as comrade Enver Hoxha emphasised at the 7th Congress of the Party, «now just as in the past, the consistent and unceasing struggle to expose the policy and foil the aggressive plans of imperialism, headed by US imperialism, constitutes an indispensable condition for the defence of freedom and socialism, for the triumph of the revolution and the liberation of the peoples».

RHODESIAN RACIST AGGRESSION AGAINST MOZAMBIQUE AT THE SERVICE OF IMPERIALIST PLANS

«BASHKIMI»

The escalation of open acts of aggression on the part of the Rhodesian racists against Mozambique and the ugly crimes against the population of this African country are a continuation of the savage expansionist policy pursued by the racist Smith regime and likewise that of South Africa, in the southern part of the African continent. The racist chiefs of these two detestable regimes have become still more arrogant in recent months, and with blatantly bandit-like actions are threa-

tening the freedom and independence of Mozambique, Botswana, Zambia and other independent African countries. In the implementation of this aggressive policy, as always, the racists have the support of the imperialist powers, and in particular, that of US imperialism, which, in its rivalry with Soviet socialimperialism for hegemony in Africa, is leaving no stone unturned to keep these racist regimes in existence.

The grave acts of aggression committed against their neighbours reveal not the strength, but the weakness of the racist regime in Rhodesia and its fear at the vast extension of the liberation war of the Zimbabwe people. In this difficult situation, the racists are making their desperate final efforts, striving in every way with fire and steel, plots and intrigues, to put down the people's war for freedom. At the same time, by means of their aggressions they hope to intimi-

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date the African countries and to force them to cease supporting the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe.

The people of Mozambique have responded to the bandit-

like attacks of the Rhodesian aggressors with determination. Repeated communiques of the Command of the Mozambique Armed Forces report that the attacks of the Rho-

desian racists have been smashed with heavy losses in men and in military material and equipment. The anti-aircraft forces have shot down several enemy aircraft.

■ SPIRITUAL AND PHYSICAL POISONING WITH DRUGS

(Commentary of the Albanian News Agency)

Drug addiction, like the many other incurable ills of capitalist society, has its roots in the system of oppression and exploitation itself. It is widespread throughout the bourgeois and revisionist countries, especially among the youth. By inciting young people to an aimless, dissipated life, the bourgeoisie drives them to crime and drugs and poisons their consciousness, in order to divert them from their political demands and the revolution at any cost.

In the USA, the Soviet Union, Italy, the Federal German Republic, Austria and other capitalist and revisionist countries, the use of narcotics of all kinds is constantly increasing. In the United States of America, where drug addicts are reckoned in millions, most of them young, the use of hard drugs such as heroin, LSD, cocaine, and others, has become very widespread in recent years. These narcotics,

harmful to human health, which destroy the nervous system and various organs of the human body, can be purchased almost as readily as other commodities, accompanied by advertisements and catalogues on how to use them. According to official figures, in the United States of America there are 500 thousand regular users of heroin. In Detroit alone there are over 50 thousand drug addicts, which means one in every 30 inhabitants of the city, whereas in the districts surrounding this city the number of heroin users is still greater. An official report speaks of increasing numbers of drug addicts in New York city. Thirty to fifty per cent of all the addicts and drug peddlers in the country are found in this city. According to the same report, the drug dealers sell their goods such as heroin, marijuana and cocaine openly even under the eyes of the police. Drug traf-

fickers feel very secure under protection of police, who frequently take part directly in the selling of narcotics even when they are supposed to be fighting the narcotics trade.

There is wide-spread trafficking and use of narcotics also in the revisionist countries such as the Soviet Union. A recent report of the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union says that the opium poppy is cultivated in the warmer regions of the Soviet Union with the knowledge of local authorities, and that hashish (Cannabis) is grown on the personal plots. In the Soviet revisionist paper «Literaturnaja Gazeta», among other things, an article relates how the Soviet youths use marijuana, morphine, and many other narcotics. These drugs are sold on the sly by pharmacists at high prices. Likewise along with narcotics, alcoholic drinks are being consumed in ever larger quan-

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tities in the Soviet Union. Moscow has also become famous for its role as a centre for the distribution of narcotics to the other countries. Profiting from the possibility of corrupting the Soviet customs officers, who turn a blind eye when the drug peddlers offer them US dollars, tens of American, English, West German, Danish, Swiss, Italian, Malaysian, and other merchants have used the air lines of the Soviet company «Aeroflot» to transport their goods.

In recent years the use of drugs has become widespread in the other capitalist countries. Marijuana, hashish, heroin and other drugs are being introduced in large quantities in the West European countries and the number of users is growing at astounding speed. Whereas only a few years ago there were not many heroin ad-

dicts in Europe, today, according to expert calculations, there are several hundred thousand addicts from London to Vienna, from Rome to Stockholm. A top West German official declares, «You can find heroin in every West German high school, university and youth centre. To form an idea about the consumption of heroin in West Germany, suffice it to mention that in 1976 more than 12 thousand carrier-distributors of heroin crossed the German-Dutch border, and there are thousands of others not included in these figures».

Recently, a Swedish drug addict wrote in a paper, «I have difficulty in finding a healthy spot in my body in which to make an injection. All the veins of my arms have been damaged, and now it is the turn of those in my legs». Last year there

were 325 deaths in West Germany, 59 in France, 50 in Italy and 18 in Sweden, as a result of the use of large doses of narcotics. During the current year, the number of drug victims is far greater than during the same period last year. The so-called measures taken by the monopoly bourgeoisie to restrict the traffic and use of narcotics are only for the sake of appearances and to protect the monopoly and constantly raise the prices of these profitable poisons.

The bourgeoisie is encouraging the peddlers and use of drugs especially now when the entire capitalist and revisionist world is wallowing in a deep crisis, in order to weaken and dull the minds of people, to keep them away from the acute problems of the time, from the class struggle, as well as to make fat profits.

All doors of life are open to the Albanian youth. Educated with the teachings of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, they take part actively in the construction of socialism not only by learning, but also by working in the most difficult sectors. Tens of thousands of youths, workers, peasants, students and soldiers work in important mass undertakings of the organization of the ALYU every year for the building of railways, terracing hills and mountainsides, reclaiming new land, etc.



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