

# Albania today

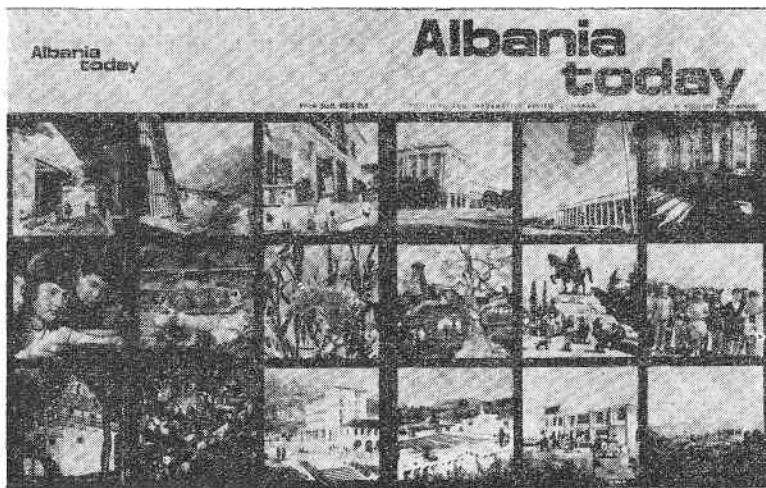
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**Albania, as to its nature and people,  
is one of the most beautiful and most attractive countries of the Balkans.  
«The Country of Eagles»,  
as foreigners call it, has become today a «beacon-light  
of socialism in Europe»**





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# ARMY OF THE S

Greeting of the First Secretary of the C.C. of the P.L.A.



# SOLDIER PEOPLE

and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of the P.R. of Albania, comrade Enver Hoxha, to the soldiers and officers on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Army



DEAR COMRADE SOLDIERS AND OFFICERS,

ON THIS MEMORABLE DAY OF THE 30th ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF OUR PEOPLE'S ARMY, IN THE NAME OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA AND OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, I GREET THE EFFECTIVE OF THE ARMY, THE WORKERS, PEASANTS, THE PEOPLE'S INTELLIGENTSIA AND ALL OUR HEROIC YOUTH. WHO, AT THE SAME TIME AS WORKING ON THE FRONTS OF THE SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION OF THE COUNTRY OR STUDYING AT SCHOOL, ARE STANDING VIGILANT WITH RIFLE IN HAND READY TO DEFEND THE HOMELAND.

*Celebrating July 10, we all recall together those heroic and legendary days when our glorious army was born, and the victory over the barbarous Nazi-fascist enemies and the liberation of Albania was inscribed on its banners with blood. We recall proudly the great national liberation struggle of our people, the immortal work of the courageous partisans who laid the unshakable foundations of the P.R. of Albania, of the people's power, of the new life we are enjoying today.*

Enver Hoxha,  
at the meeting of the General Staff  
of the N.L. Army  
Guri Madhi (oil painting)

*Our minds and hearts turn today with respect and deep gratitude to those heroes and heroines who laid down their young lives for the freedom and independence of the homeland, so that Albania should once and for all get rid of foreign invaders, of merchants and beys, so that hunger and misery should be wiped out once and for all.*

*The birth and strengthening of the people's army, its entire 30-year long road, from the first guerrilla units to the arming of all the people, are the work of our glorious Party; to it belongs the great historic merit of working out the programme of our people's revolution, of elaborating the theoretical bases and fundamental principles of building, educating and training the army, of defining the roads to strengthen the country's defence capacity, and of laying the foundations and developing our people's military science.*

*The people's army was created according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and on the basis of the very rich traditions of the protracted struggles of our people for freedom and independence; it was created as a weapon in the hands of the people for the liberation of the homeland, for the establishment of the people's power and the preservation of the victories of the revolution.*

*These great and noble aims also defined its essentially popular, class and revolutionary character. In its struggle against the enemies and in the face of innumerable difficulties, inspired by the great ideals of the Party and under its direct leadership, it took shape and was tempered as a strong revolutionary army, with the unequalled heroism of the national liberation army, with the blood of the best daughters and sons of Albania, the epic of the legendary national liberation struggle was written, the bloodiest and greatest struggle our people have waged during their whole history, which also brought the greatest victory and glory in their centuries-old history.*

*The continuous strengthening and modernization of our people's army has been and remains a focus of the attention of the Party and the people's power. They have always seen this task as a decisive factor for the defence of the homeland and the revolution, as a component part of the socialist construction of the country.*

*Under the new post-war conditions our army had to be organized and armed in the best possible way, politically and militarily prepared, to become fully aware and ready to meet and successfully smash any aggression from wherever it might come. From the beginning, the Party not only had to refute the bourgeois views on the construction of the army, but also had to fight with determination against the opportunist theories of the modern revisionists and their interference in the military field as well as in other questions. In opposition to their theses which claimed that the existence of our army was almost unnecessary and that it should be built only according to foreign models and not in compliance with the tasks and conditions of our country, the Party with its wisdom and farsightedness, implemented a consistent policy and took a series*

*of concrete measures for the allround strengthening of the army, to equip it with modern arms, to improve its structures, its fighting and technical training, to strengthen the Party leadership in it, and also its ideopolitical education, relying on modern war technique as well as on the rich experience of the national liberation struggle. In this way, the foundations of our people's military art were laid and its principles scientifically elaborated – an unflinching basis for the organisation of the invincible defence of our country.*

*The experience of all these years fully testified to the correctness of this Marxist-Leninist line of the Party. Socialist Albania has stood like a granite rock before all the storms that have swept over it during this period, it has courageously resisted the pressures, threats and blackmail of the imperialist and revisionist wolves, it has successfully defended its freedom and independence, and its peaceful work.*

*Our army is strong and invincible because by following the teachings of the Party, it has been conscious that its power does not reside only in its weapons and organisation, but also in the permanent ensurance of the leadership of the Party, of its steel-like ties with the masses, in the conscious convictions of the whole effective in the lofty tasks assigned to them; and finally its power resides in the economic and cultural potential of our country.*

*This explains the convergence of interests between the army and the people, their joint work for the defence and the construction of socialism, that great fact that the people are all soldiers and the army is truly of the people.*

*Here, old and young have adopted the militant slogan of the Party "build socialism, holding the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other". The problem of the defence of the homeland has become a question of the broad masses of the people, just as their military preparedness has become an inseparable part of the construction of socialism. Today, our heroic army, this beloved and loyal weapon of the people, powerful defender of the dictatorship of the proletariat, includes in its ranks the whole of our courageous, industrious and patriotic people.*

*The 30th anniversary finds the effective of our armed forces, the entire Albanian people, pervaded by an atmosphere of enthusiasm, mobilization and revolutionary impetus to carry out in practice the historic decisions of the 6th Congress of the Party, to realize successfully the great tasks of the third year of the fifth five-year plan. Our people are celebrating this memorable date engaged in the great struggle for the further revolutionization of the entire life of the country, for the ever greater strengthening of revolutionary vigilance, for military training and combat readiness.*

*The situation of our country today is stronger than ever. The international position of socialist Albania has greatly strengthened. Our homeland has a deserved authority and enjoys great respect everywhere in the world. Gone for ever are the times when Albania was trampled under foot and spoken to from a position of strength. Today, our country has many loyal*

and strong friends. Powerful friendly ties and fraternal cooperation, based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, unite the P.R. of Albania with the P.R. of China, the Party of Labour of Albania with the Communist Party of China led by the great Marxist-Leninist, the respected friend of our people, comrade Mao Tse-tung. All the revolutionary peoples of the world are with us.

But at the same time, our Party, people and army are aware of the threat and the great and continuous danger posed to our country by the imperialist and revisionist encirclement. Irrespective of the numerous defeats, the deep crises and the contradictions that are corroding the imperialist-revisionist powers from within, their aggressive policy, their hostile aims and actions remain unchanged. Both superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, hatch plans for new hot-beds of war, they work out political plots and perfidious backstage deals, they prepare new betrayals and provocations, they sign agreements on interference in the internal affairs of the peoples, on armed aggression. They extend their collaboration to the detriment of other countries and seek new areas to extend their influence and hegemony.

The imperialist-revisionist encirclement of our country as the only country in Europe that carries aloft and loyally defends the triumphant banner of Marxism-Leninism, does not bring only the danger of open armed aggression. It also exerts continuous pressure on us, an incessant ideological, cultural and psychological diversion. In this way, the enemies want to poison and atrophy the life and minds of the people, to confuse and neutralize the revolutionary activity and spirit of the masses, to liberalize and weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the accounts of the imperialists and revisionists, ideological and cultural aggression precedes and prepares the armed aggression, it clears the way for their guns, tanks and aircraft.

That is why the Party has always taught the people and the army to understand politically and ideologically, and to evaluate correctly and realistically, this encirclement of our country, to see and know the immediate and future dangers, in order that all the necessary political, ideological, economic and military measures can be taken to fight against them and win.

The decisions of the 4th Plenum of the CC of the Party, devoted to the deepening of the ideological struggle against foreign manifestations and liberal stands towards them, are a powerful weapon in the hands of the Party and of the entire working masses for the further raising of the ideological and political level of our men and women, for the strengthening of revolutionary vigilance and of the struggle against foreign pressures and influences, wherever they may come from. They will help to further promote the life of the country, the construction of socialism, to strengthen the moral image and militant spirit of the working masses, to strengthen proletarian discipline and the military training of our army and people, to further strengthen the defence of the homeland. A guarantee of the invin-

cible force of our army, of its firm loyalty towards the people and the cause of socialism, its victories, today and in the future, has been and remains the leadership of the Party.

The important measures taken by the Party during the recent years for the further revolutionization of the armed forces, have fully proved their correctness in practice, and have had a great effect on the strengthening of the defence of the homeland. But we should march increasingly on this road. We must work tirelessly for the revolutionary education of all the effective of the armed forces with high moral qualities and iron proletarian discipline. It is necessary to raise to a higher degree all the work being done for the combat preparedness of the army and of the whole people, insisting on fully reaching the set objectives. In military training more than anywhere else, formalism, liberalism and conformism cannot be allowed.

As previously, respect for steel-like proletarian discipline, the strict implementation by all, from the highest ranking officer to the rank-and-file soldier, of the military regulations and of the orders of the command, the maintenance of the pure moral image of the people's soldier, are sacred laws for our army and as such they should be carried out in practice to the letter.

The Party is confident that the soldiers and officers, the men and women volunteers, pupils and students, united around the Party and its Central Committee, will be characterised, as always, by the struggle and efforts to carry out their duties in the best possible ways, will exhibit permanent combat readiness, perform tireless creative work, and wage a persistent courageous struggle to overcome difficulties, in the deep conviction of the correctness of the Party line, and faith in victory.

Comrades soldiers and officers,

Hold your combat banners always aloft, the banners of the legendary battles of the glorious struggle for the liberation of Albania, stand always vigilant and disciplined, persistently master the military art and become masters of fighting, be always ready, determined and united to defend the construction work of our men and women, to fight bravely and win against any enemy that would dare touch our socialist homeland.

LONG LIVE OUR HEROIC PEOPLE!

LONG LIVE THE BRAVE PARTY OF LABOUR, THE CREATOR AND LEADER OF OUR ARMED FORCES!

LONG LIVE OUR PEOPLE'S ARMY!

GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM!

First Secretary of the CC of the PLA  
and supreme commander of the armed  
forces of the P.R. of Albania  
ENVER HOXHA

Tirana, July 9, 1973.

# INTENSIVE FIGHT AGAINST ALIEN IDEOLOGICAL MANIFESTATIONS AND LIBERAL STANDS TOWARDS THEM

The development and deepening of the ideological struggle against alien manifestations and liberal stands towards them is an indispensable demand for the defence of the victories of the revolution and the successful construction of socialism in Albania in the

THE DECISIONS OF THE 4TH PLENUM OF THE CC OF THE PLA ON THE THEME «DEEPEN THE IDEOLOGICAL FIGHT AGAINST ALIEN MANIFESTATIONS AND LIBERAL STANDS TOWARDS THEM» ARE OF VITAL IMPORTANCE TO THE FURTHER DEEPENING OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN ALBANIA. THE REPORT DELIVERED BY COMRADE ENVER HOXHA ON THIS PROBLEM MAKES A PROFOUND SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS OF THE FIGHT OUR PARTY HAS WAGED AND CONTINUES TO WAGE AGAINST ALL ALIEN IDEOLOGICAL INFLUENCES AND SETS FORTH THE CURRENT TASKS FACING OUR PEOPLE IN THIS FIELD.

DURING THE ENTIRE PERIOD OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA HAS CARRIED OUT AN ALLROUND STRUGGLE FOR THE education and tempering of the new man with a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, with the features of communist morality, with new socialist tastes, customs and habits. The Party has considered this as a fundamental condition for the successful development of the socialist revolution,

of the entire complex process of the building of the new socialist society. This transformation of the spiritual world of the working people has been realized through a fierce and frontal struggle against all alien ideologies, against the oldest ones coming from the depths of the centuries

and having a religious, patriarchal, conservative, feudal-bourgeois or petty-bourgeois character, as well as against the present-day bourgeois-revisionist ideology. This has been and remains a struggle on both flanks, against any alien ideological influence, old or new, conservative or liberal. This struggle has been carried out with special intensity during the entire recent period of the further revolutionization of the country's life in all fields.

This year, drawing inspiration from the orientations of the Party and of comrade Enver Hoxha, in the framework of the deepening of this entire ideological struggle, the working masses of the country have started a great ideological movement particularly against the present-day disorientat-



# ALIENS AND LIBERAL

**conditions of the imperialist revisionist encirclement. This editorial article treats some principal questions dealt with by the 4th Plenum of the CC of the PLA which was held in Tirana under the leadership of comrade Enver Hoxha**

ing influences of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, their concrete manifestations in the life of our society, liberal stands towards them as well as against passive and indifferent stands.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's report to the 4th Plenum sets forth the tasks and defines the fundamental directions of the development of this ideological struggle.

In laying down these tasks, the Party of Labour of Albania proceeds from the actual fact that the situation of our socialist society is sound. The spiritual life of our society is also sound and is developing and advancing on the basis of socialist ideology. Culture, education, literature and arts, spheres of quite a fierce class struggle, also generally proceed on a correct

revolutionary Marxist-Leninist road. The prospect of the deepening of the socialist revolution in all these fields is clear and our onward march is irresistible.

But all this is not, and can by no means be a reason for complacency, for weakening our vigilance in the ideological class struggle, for underevaluating the danger of alien ideological manifestations, especially of the present-day disintegrating and disorientating influence of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology. There are numerous objective reasons interlinked with numerous subjective factors which make indispensable the intensification of the struggle against any kind of alien ideological influence. Comrade Enver Hoxha's

report makes an allround analysis of these factors.

First, the allround imperialist-revisionist encirclement, the allround imperialist-revisionist pressure in the political, military, economic, ideological and cultural fields. Particularity intensive in the present circumstances, is the ideological and cultural pressure of the capitalist and revisionist world, which, being considered the most suitable means to corrode our socialist fortress from within, is developing as a real diversion and aggression.

This ideological and cultural diversion is carried out in the conditions of pacifist demagoguery which is based especially on the respective conditions of the partners in the Soviet-U.S. imperialist-revisionist al-

liance, as well as in the conditions of sophisticated social demagogy, based on the present-day development of the technical-scientific revolution as well as of the so-called «consumer society». In these conditions, the effort to conceal the sharp and indissoluble contradictions of the present-day capitalist and revisionist world is being made through the powerful mass media and especially through a modernist, degenerated and commercial art and culture concealed with a glamorous shell. The bourgeoisie and the revisionists are also seeking to introduce into our country this poison which they dish up every day in incalculable proportions to the masses in their own countries. And the possibilities for this exist. The lower our ideological vigilance, the more this poison can penetrate into our society. One of the principal means of this penetration is that foreign culture distinguished by its reactionary, decadent and modernist character, which is used for the purpose of befuddling the masses. Therefore, adopting a critical revolutionary stand towards foreign culture, using always in a critical way, the values of the progressive, democratic and revolutionary foreign culture, our Party forcefully sets forth the tasks of barring the roads to the penetration of the reactionary, decadent and modernist culture.

Second, the internal pressure, alien to the interests of socialism. The external imperialist-revisionist encirclement cannot be taken as detached from this internal pressure. It is not only a matter of the declassed elements and those who adopt an openly hostile stand towards socialism, but in a broader sense, of the internal petty-bourgeois pressure, which still has its own social and ideological source and is interlaced with many remnants inherited from the old society, especially with such not less widespread manifestations as bureaucracy, the still low levels of discipline at work, old conservative traditions and customs, etc. Certainly, here we have to do mainly with contradictions among the people, but the antagonistic contradictions with our internal enemies can by no means be excluded, or with those who are openly opposed to the socialist order, or conscious anti-party deviators who engage in this road.

But the complexity of the problem here is connected with the still widespread character of the remnants of alien ideologies in the consciousness of the working people, even of the communists. These

remnants are one of the biggest and most resistant obstacles to the struggle for the building of socialism, for the triumph of the socialist ideology and of the communist morality; they are also one of the principal internal causes that determine the protracted and complicated character of the ideological class struggle which is being carried out in our country.

In Albania colossal transformations have been and are being realized every day not only material and economic ones, but also social, ideological and cultural. The ideological and cultural revolution is rapidly unfolding. The new socialist ideology is dominating the spiritual life of the society. The new socialist way of thinking and living, the new traditions and customs are broadly penetrating into all the cells of society, including the family. In this impetuous process of revolutionary transformations new roads and forms of development are being looked for every day. But precisely here we also come across the old ways of thinking and living, and alien influences which, although presented in a new guise, are still more dangerous and lethal.

The petty-bourgeois pressure is what connects these alien influences, old and new, external and internal, conservative and liberal. The external imperialist-revisionist pressure as well as the internal petty-bourgeois pressure also found suitable ground in some subjective weakness which became the target of a broad critical, mass public analysis; it was discussed and thrashed in a deep, allround and scientific manner at the recent Plenum of the CC of the PLA. Therefore, the fight against it is closely connected with the fight against any alien ideological manifestation in general, and especially against the bourgeois-revisionist influence.

\* \* \*

Where have manifestations of alien influences of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology appeared in particular?

In the first place, in such spheres of the spiritual life of the society as literature and art, cultural life, education, the ideological and moral-civic education of the masses, especially of the youth, etc.

In literature and art, despite their sound general development on a correct Marxist-Leninist road, open alien influences were

noticed recently. Some literary and artistic works showed an inclination to distort socialist reality, to treat the contradictions of present-day social development not from the position of the party, but from an opposing position. The distortion of reality was also linked with some effort to underevaluate the presentation of the positive hero in literature and arts, and even with the introduction of the spirit of anti-heroism. Particularly in poetry, but not only in this genre, the appearance was observed of alien influences of symbolism and existentialism, a onesided treatment of small intimate themes, phenomena which were diverting art from the great social themes of the times, from civic spirit, a characteristic of the literature and art of socialist realism. These distortions in content were also accompanied with confusion in the form of the various genres of literature and art, and in some cases with mechanical imitations of the western bourgeois artistic fashion, of the foreign literary-artistic manners of the bourgeois and revisionist world. These inclinations began to appear in the imitation of frenzied foreign rhythms in light music, in the use of exaggerated and empty conventionalism in poetry, painting, stage directing scenography, etc.

These efforts met with support in many theorizations aimed at legalizing these phenomena, which were claimed to represent «the new», «the modern», «the innovative» and to mark a departure from traditional conservatism; it was said that as we are living in the midst of Europe we cannot ignore the changes taking place there in literature and arts. In fact these alien influences which appeared in literature and arts, the wrong theorizations about them, the liberal stands towards them were nothing else but a departure from the clear Marxist-Leninist line of the party, from the policy worked out by it in the field of culture, a departure from the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles of the method of socialist realism, a departure from sound revolutionary traditions and in general from the sound national basis of our literature and art.

However few and partial, these alien influences which appeared in literature and art could not be without consequences for the spiritual life of the society. From the sphere of aesthetics, interlaced with other external alien influences and internal remnants, they passed over to the sphere of ethics. Manifestations alien to our socialist ideology and morality also started to ap-

pear in people's tastes, in their behaviour and way of living, especially among youth. Here it is a matter, in the first place, of imitations of the bizarre foreign music and fashion, of some manifestation of hooliganism and bad behaviour, parasitism and immorality. A contribution to this situation was made also by some wrong theorizations about the alleged «absolute freedom» of the individual, about «emancipation», «right», «democracy», all conceived from the bourgeois-revisionist individualist standpoint. The aim was to misuse the great victories achieved by our working masses in these fields, in order to spread the poison of the bourgeois-revisionist way of living. Negative influence was also exerted by some other factors, such as the weaknesses of the school in educative work, particularly in the field of ideo-aesthetic and moral-civic education, inclinations to liberalism in the life of the youth organization and in its educative work, a certain spreading of indifference in social opinion, which nourishes passiveness and lowers the militant spirit of irreconcilability with alien influences and manifestations.

On their part, these phenomena of the spiritual life cannot be taken as detached from alien manifestations at work, in socialist production and in other institutions. In production centres, at schools, in various institutions and administrations violations of proletarian discipline at work have been noticed as well as various cases of undisciplined behaviour which have a negative effect on the realization of the plan and of the tasks, hinder the increase of labour productivity and the implementation of social discipline, keep alive the feeling of satisfaction with little and a slow rate of work. Certainly, such manifestations have also been influenced by the one-sided understanding of socialist democracy and of the same line, the failure to view them in unity with proletarian centralism and discipline at work and in life, laying stress onesidedly on rights, not seeing them in unity with duties. The weakening of state control, the failure to strictly apply socialist legislation and, in some cases, its mitigation, the underevaluation of the indispensability of administrative and coercive measures, always closely connected with broad educative and persuasive work and implemented in support of this, have also played their role in the spreading of these alien manifestations.

However, it is clear that all these negative phenomena which we are forcefully criticizing, cannot be taken separately from those manifestations of liberalism which have penetrated into the life of the party, into the activity of the committees and grassroot organizations. They are in the first place connected with the fact that there is not always a complete feeling of responsibility, as an organization in general and from every communist in particular, in implementing the party line with consistency and a militant spirit in all the spheres of life where it operates. In some cases, and particularly in some spheres as culture and art, there has appeared an inclination to underevaluate and weaken the leading, guiding and controlling role of the party basic organizations. Liberalism in party work has also appeared in the wrong understanding of the vanguard role of the communist in carrying out the tasks, as well as of the special role and example of the cadres.

In these circumstances it becomes clear that the alien influences of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, liberal manifestations and stands however partial they may be, cannot be viewed as separate and isolated cases which have appeared only in some delicate sphere of culture. In various proportions and on various scales, we see them in all the spheres of the life of our socialist society. Hence their great danger as a means of imperialist-revisionist diversion which, in the final account, aims at undermining the cause of revolution and socialism in our country, as well as the necessity of an intensive and persistent struggle against them.

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As a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, the Party of Labour of Albania is not afraid of analysing courageously the difficulties facing it and the mistakes occurring in the process of the struggle for the building of socialism. It has consistently done this during its entire history. It is doing it now, too.

These savage enemies of socialist Albania - the imperialists and revisionists, their zealous propagandists, as they have done previously, now too have begun to speak about signs of a crisis which they allege socialist Albania is undergoing. They alle-

ge that this country is being corroded by insurmountable internal contradictions. The ideological struggle our Party is waging and in which all the working people take an active part, is linked by these enemies with the existence of an alleged opposition in society and in the party. But the revolutionary situation in Albania is excellent and constantly on the rise. The struggle against alien ideological manifestations has strengthened and will always strengthen our socialist fortress. Precisely this is not to the liking of the imperialists and revisionists. They want our armour to be as easily penetrable as possible, they want it to have cracks.

Our socialist society, sound and in constant revolutionary development, guided by our Marxist-Leninist Party and by comrade Enver Hoxha on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and of the general line of the Party, has fought and will successfully fight in the future, too, against alien ideological manifestations. These are tumours and weeds which we continually get rid of.

This is clearly shown too by the present ideological struggle in which active part is taken by all the communists and all the labouring masses, unanimously supporting the directives of the Party and of comrade Enver Hoxha. A broad ideological debate has taken place during this year. During this debate various concrete manifestations of alien influences were attacked as well as various remnants. This debate was carried out in close connection with various mass actions which are aimed at wiping away alien influences and affirming the new socialist ideological and moral norms. This mass movement which has greatly revolutionized social opinion has been accompanied with allround organisational measures, with the strengthening of the struggle for the consistent application and improvement of socialist legislation, with the allround strengthening of state and social control over the entire life of the country.

The results of this revolutionizing atmosphere are being seen in life. Everywhere in production centres, schools and various institutions not only we have forcefully criticized alien manifestations, defects and shortcomings at work, but there is also a visible improvement in the strengthening of proletarian discipline at work, in the realization of the plan and tasks.

The Party directives on the intensification of the struggle against alien ideological manifestations in all spheres of life have met with complete affirmation everywhere. In literary, artistic and cultural circles numerous critical discussions and analyses have been made, as a result of which stress has been again laid on the necessity of relying on the Marxist-Leninist ideology, on the fundamental principles of socialist realism, on the sound national traditions. Moreover, this is also being clearly proved by the concrete and lively literary-artistic creativeness of recent times. At schools and university the pupils and teachers, students and lecturers have thrown themselves into the struggle against manifestations of liberalism and indifferentism, against the few demands, and they are strengthening the spirit of proletarian discipline.

A marked militant spirit is noticed in the life and activity of the youth organisations. The working class and the cooperative peasantry are concretely linking this struggle with the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the tasks on the production front. The life and activity of the party organizations, are being further revolutionized with every passing day. All these are convincing proofs that the party directives to deepen the ideological struggle against alien influences and manifestations, directives which have been embraced by the entire people, are being successfully carried out, promoting the irresistible process of the deepening of the socialist revolution, and the further allround revolutionization of the life of our country.



Army and people  
Guri Madhi (colour-print)



# **POSSIBILITIES OF BUILDING SOCIALISM WITHOUT PASSING THROUGH THE STAGE OF DEVELOPED CAPITALISM**

by **HEKURAN MARA**

For the undeveloped countries capitalism is not the only prospect of historical development. There also exists the possibility of the transformation of society on a socialist basis. But the «new» revisionist theory of the so-called «non-capitalist

road of development» is a deception aimed at putting conventional capitalist development into a false socialist shell

THE OLD COLONIAL SYSTEM OF IMPERIALISM HAS DISINTEGRATED UNDER THE BLOWS OF ARMED NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE. PEOPLES WHO FOR A VERY LONG TIME HAD NO RIGHTS AND WERE CONSIDERED BY IMPERIALISM MERELY AS AN OBJECT OF ENSLAVEMENT AND EXPLOITATION HAVE NOW FULLY AWAKENED. THEY ARE STRIVING TO BECOME ACTIVE SUBJECTS OF HISTORY.

MANY OF THE COUNTRIES OF ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA THAT HAVE won their state independence from imperialism, are seeking to accelerate their economic, political and social development, to gain real economic and political independence, to overcome centuries of

backwardness and to improve the material and cultural conditions of the life of the people.

\* \* \*

The choice by the undeveloped countries of the roads of their economic and political development is one of the most important questions of our time because their population constitutes the overwhelming majority of the world's population. The undeveloped countries where the national bourgeoisie is in power are today pursuing the road of capitalism. But capitalism is neither the only prospect for their historical development nor an inevitable

inhuman aspects of capitalist «civilization»: colonialism and imperialism; wars, violence, extermination, plunder and wanton exploitation; poverty and hunger, humiliation and sophisticated social and religious demagogy. This is a very painful and shocking experience which could not attract them to the capitalist road of development. Nor is any particular sympathy created by the moral and practical «worth» of the «consumer society» whose evils have already disillusioned the working masses of the capitalist countries.

But history has opened the new socialist road of development for the undeveloped countries. This is the only true road through which yesterday's slaves can become real masters of themselves, can take their country's fate in their own hands and become active and conscious builders of a new life. There is not and cannot be a third road.

The choice of the road of the political, economic and social development of every country is an internal affair of its own people. It is a result of the ratio of class forces, of the struggle between them, of the political power and determination resulting from this struggle. As a result of the victories scored by socialism, the working masses of many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America which have got rid of the imperialist occupationists, have also become uncreasingly attracted to socialism. But parallel with this, all sorts of concepts and theories have emerged and spread in these countries about the ways of transition to socialism and about the socialist society itself, which both in theory and practice are still very far from true scientific socialism and especially far from the true roads which must be followed in order to pass over to the construction of socialism. «These theories contain many obscure, confused, eclectic ideas; they contain a mixture of the principles of socialism with those of capitalism, of socialist ideology with those of the bourgeois, nationalist and religious ideology» 1).

These theories are not identical in aim and class origin. Some of them stem from the petty-bourgeois strata, they are the result of the ideological confusion of these strata and aim at the building of a «socialist social order», according to the concept of the small private owner. Others are spread by the local bourgeoisie with a view to creating illusions of uniting what cannot be united – of uniting the economic and social superiority of socialism with capitalist private initiative and the free play of market forces; and the proleta-

rian class ideology with bourgeois ideology and the dogmas of religion. The emergence and spreading of these theories has also been greatly influenced by the disorientating views and theoretical speculations of the modern revisionists, which serve as a hotbed for the cultivation of all sorts of variants of anti-scientific and anti-Marxist socialism. The only correct and scientific concepts for placing the undeveloped countries on the road of socialism have been and remain the concepts deriving from the genuine revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory, from Lenin's teachings about the direct transition of these countries to socialism, from the accumulated experience of the People's Republic of China and the People's Republic of Albania, where socialism is being successfully built proceeding from a backward semi-colonial and semi-feudal situation.

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The possibility for the undeveloped countries to pass directly to socialism, by-passing the stage of developed capitalism, no longer constitutes a dilemma. Marxism-Leninism has solved it on the theoretical plane, while in life, the setting-out on the road of socialist development of a series of former undeveloped countries, has confirmed the truth of this possibility, it has enriched the theory and practice of socialist revolution and of the people's democratic national liberation revolution.

Everything in the world has a history. The idea of the direct transition of the undeveloped countries to socialism also has its own history. It originates from the time when the theory of scientific socialism was created, relying on the detailed analysis of the development of the main capitalist countries.

But when this theory was created there were also countries which were in the stage of pre-capitalist development. Concerning himself with the historical prospects of these countries, Marx for the first time expressed the idea of the possibility of their direct transition to socialism, avoiding the capitalist road of «blood poverty, misery and humiliation».

This transition by no means excludes the operation of the general laws of the development of world history, the continuity of the replacement of socio-economic formations. On the contrary, it shows

fatality. For these countries another alternative also exists – the possibility of the transformation of the society on a socialist basis, by-passing capitalism as an economic-social formation, or its developed stage.

The working people of the undeveloped countries have no reason to embrace blindly the old tradition of capitalist development. They have experienced on their own shoulders the most disgusting, most

that the road of the development of various peoples is richer and more diversified than the universal line of the development of world history. And if we cast a retrospective glance at this development we shall certainly notice that individual peoples have been able to pass from one economic-social formation to another, bypassing an intermediate which has been unavoidable for mankind in general. 2).

At the beginning of the 20th century, when socialist revolution was no longer a far horizon of history, but an item on the agenda of the labour movement, the application of Marx's doctrine to the future, laid down as an important theoretical and practical problem the transition of undeveloped countries to socialism. At the same time, the opportunists of the Second International, under the mask of «creative development» and of the theoretical «revision» of the new historical experience, initially cast doubt on, and then left aside Marx's view of the possibility of transition of the undeveloped countries to socialism. 3).

Under these circumstances it became necessary to re-establish Marx's correct view about this question. And the most important thing was to enrich and further develop it in conformity with the new experience of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. This task was successfully coped with by V.I. Lenin.

Lenin connected the transition of undeveloped countries to socialism with the theory of imperialism, of the transformation of the people's democratic revolution into socialist revolution, of the carrying out of political revolution and of the seizure of state power as a decisive condition to pave the way to the creation of the socio-economic premises of socialism. He destroyed the mechanistic determinist concept of Kautsky who proclaimed as a dogma: «If economic maturity has not been achieved the political revolution should not be carried out».

The successful carrying out of the people's democratic revolution demands that it be led by the working class and its party, that political power pass into the hands of the labouring masses. This is an axiom for a true people's democratic revolution, so that it should not remain half way, but be carried on uninterruptedly until it is transformed into a socialist revolution through deep political, economic, social, ideological, cultural and other transfor-

mations. This task was tackled by Lenin, who at the same time showed the way to its solution.

The Leninist teachings about the transition of undeveloped countries directly to socialism have been betrayed, they have been turned upside down by the modern revisionists. They have been replaced with the discovery of a «new theory», of the so-called «non-capitalist road of development»<sup>4</sup>). This road is presented by the revisionists as a transitional formation, which they claim must prepare the preliminary material and subjective conditions for socialism in the undeveloped countries, just as capitalism prepares these conditions in the developed countries. In being assigned such a role, this formation is depicted as an amalgam and inert equilibrium of opposing political, ideological, class and economic forces. In essence, the non-capitalist road of the revisionists represents conventional capitalist development put into a false socialist shell.

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It is true that the backward countries are at different stages of social development, they are faced with different tasks and their own historical practice has its specific features. They include very different socio-economic relations, beginning with the remnants of the tribal order and natural economy, with feudal or semi-feudal relations, and ending with capitalist relations and economy. This situation results in a great diversity in the class and social forces of these countries. It also gives rise to the most diverse socio-political antagonism.

On the other hand, it is known that it has taken whole centuries for the creation, in the framework of capitalism, of the material and subjective factors for the socialist revolution and for the building of socialism. Several questions arise: Can these factors be created in an undeveloped country where capitalism is still in its initial stage or at a low level of development? Is there any other road than the capitalist one for the creation of these factors? How can an undeveloped country directly embark on the road of socialist construction without passing through the stage of developed capitalism?

The transition of undeveloped countries directly to socialism today represents the



only possibility of filling as quickly and painlessly as possible the great vacuum that has been created in their historical development. Although it is difficult to anticipate or define all the concrete forms of this transition, for its beginning there is one way, a universal means – the necessary carrying out of a genuine popular revolution. «The idea that revolution is the sole means of transforming the world, the only road for salvation from national and social bondage has today gripped the minds of millions of men on all continents».5) The central and most vital question of this revolution is the imperative seizure of political power by the labouring masses led by the Marxist-Leninist party and the establishment of a democratic dictatorship of the most revolutionary forces – of the working class and the peasantry.

A conventional bourgeois-democratic revolution, even in its specific form for undeveloped countries, cannot provide the basis for the transition to socialism. The history of the last three decades has provided incontestable proof that in a number of countries of Asia and Africa, which won state independence after world war two, but where political power did not pass into the hands of the working masses led by the Marxist-Leninist party, they not only did not embark on the road of socialist development, but also remained economically dependent on imperialism in the form of neocolonialism.

In flagrant opposition to Marxism-Leninism and to historical experience, the modern revisionists have reduced the whole theory and practice of revolution to reforms within the existing social order. They spread the view that even the so-called «transitional state»6) which can also have at its head as a leading force exploiting classes, landlords and bourgeoisie,7) may serve as a means of the transition to socialism of undeveloped countries. And they have the effrontery to describe a state with such a class content as people's power and declare it capable of building socialism. Is not this a blatant deception?

In the conditions of undeveloped countries, when no revolutionary party of the working class exists, the creation of subjective premises for the victory of a true revolution should start with the forming of the Marxist-Leninist party, the indispensable political leadership of the revolution. Without this leadership it is not possible to speak either of the seizure of

power by the labouring masses or of the uninterrupted development of the revolution with the aim of preparing the transition to the road of socialist development.

The usually small size of the working class in the undeveloped countries, its comparatively low ideological and cultural level, its limited experience of organization and political class struggle – all this cannot serve as an argument to deny the necessity and possibility of the creation of the working class party. As the example of our country also shows, the working class party must be created, and can emerge at the head of the revolutionary struggle even when the working class is small in number and unorganized. In this case the communists are the most loyal representatives of the working class, and its personification; they fight resolutely and consistently for the interests of the working class, for its ideology and policy, for the most radical interests of all the working masses and of the entire nation.

The existence of the Marxist-Leninist party and the leadership of the revolution and political power by this party for the transition of the undeveloped countries to socialism is claimed by some modern revisionists to be an obsolete dogma, superseded by time. In their opinion, if this has been the case in some countries, this has occurred not for reasons of principle and universal necessity but simply for specific historical reasons or by chance.8) Others publicly assert that the role of vanguard and leadership in the so-called non-capitalist development of the backward countries can be played by any party or political organization, even by the trade unions, irrespective of their ideology and class composition.9) This is another betrayal by the revisionists towards the socialist revolution and the building of socialism, a caricature of the idea of the role of the vanguard in the socialist transformation of society.

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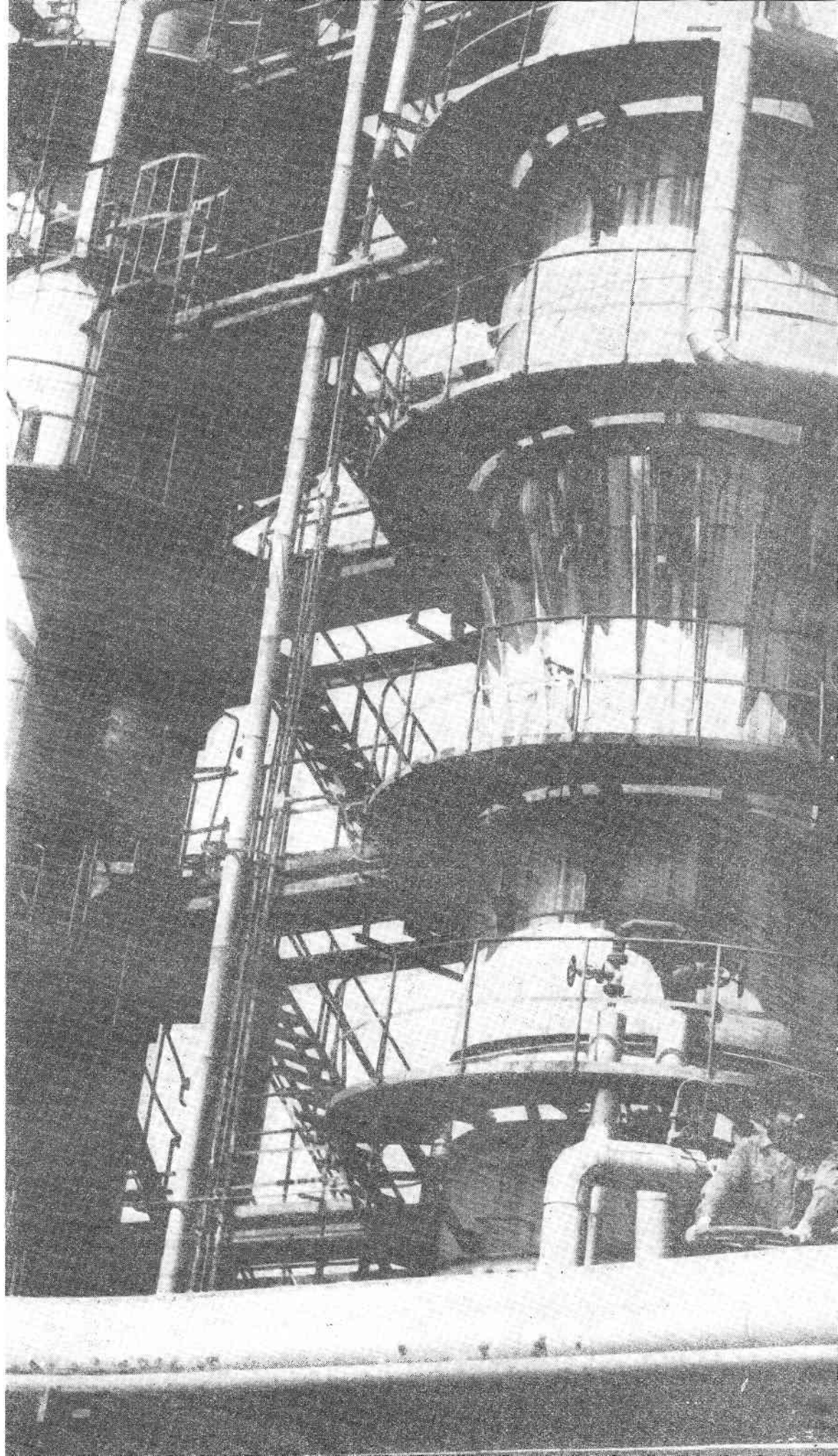
The seizure of political power by the working masses marks only the necessary starting point to prepare the undeveloped countries for the transition to socialism. The transition itself is an entire historical process, some times longer and

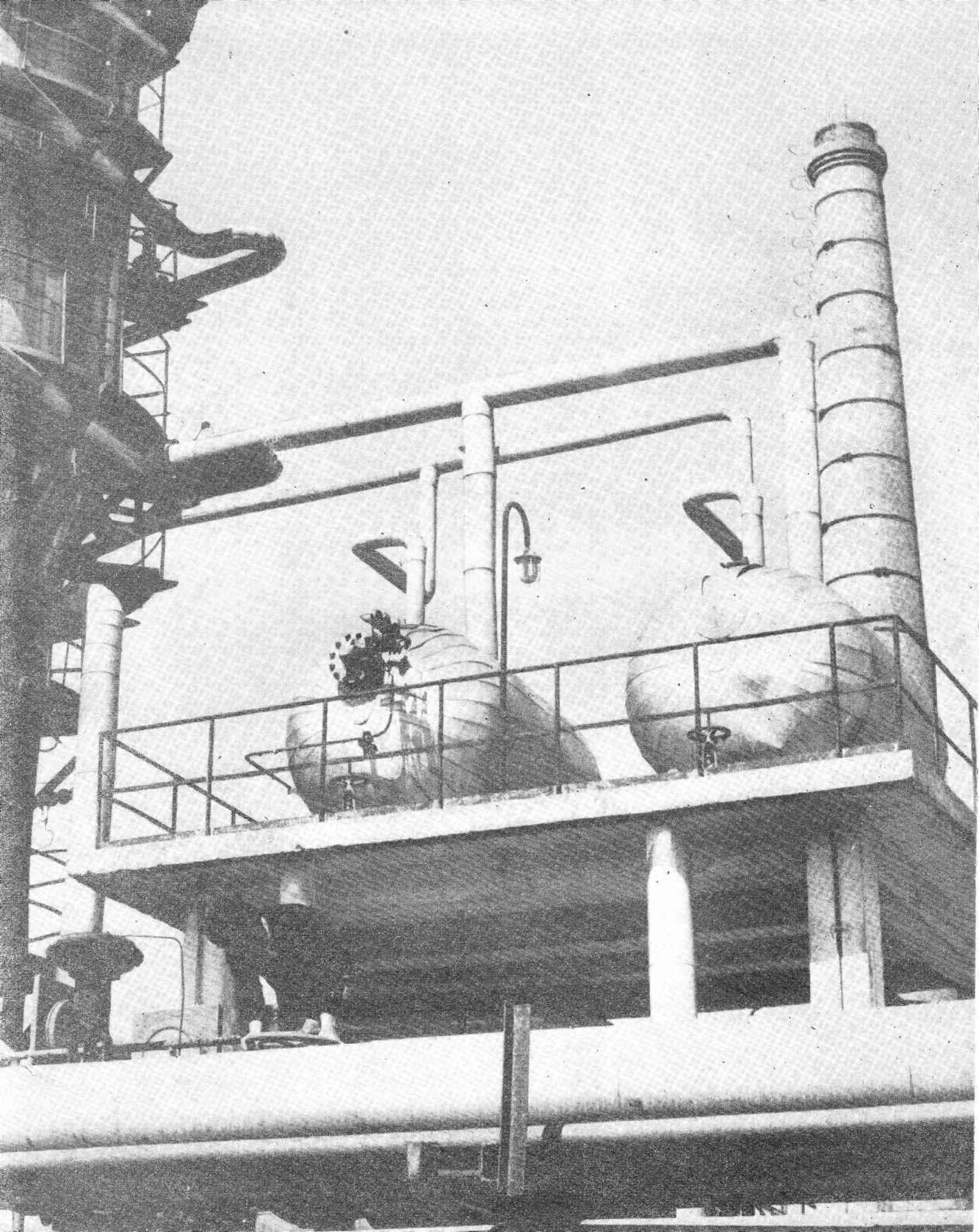
some times shorter, according to the actual conditions of every given country. The main content of this process must be uninterrupted revolutionary transformation of the superstructure and economic structure of the society, the continuing change of the ratio of class forces to the advantage of socialism, the struggle against imperialism and all the internal reactionary forces.

The transformation of political and social life requires in the first place the smashing of the old bureaucratic state machine created by the colonialists and based on the local exploiting classes, detached from the working masses and which is counterpoised to them as a means of violence to preserve oppression and exploitation. In its stead a new state machine must be created, based on new leaders, emerging from the fold of the working people who are aware of their needs and defend their interests, purged of reactionary elements collaborators of the colonialists, supporters of imperialism and enemies of socialism. In the transformation of the political and social life, essential features are the drawing of the working people into running the country, the numerical growth and education of the working class, the emancipation of the women and their participation in social activities, and the systematic improvement of the material conditions of the working people.

For the transformation of the political and social life to be carried out in the interests of the working people, it should be inspired by the only revolutionary ideology, Marxism-Leninism. Otherwise, the transformation cannot be revolutionary, and will inevitably degenerate into incomplete, conventional bourgeois-democratic reforms. Such a transformation deceives the working masses with socialist slogans and arouses hopes which lead to disillusion, while in reality it strengthens the position of the exploiting classes and paves the way for capitalist development. The bourgeoisie in undeveloped countries today welcomes this kind of transformation, without feeling any special and immediate danger to its class interests, while the modern revisionists talk about the «new discovery» of the so-called non-capitalist road of development. This is a real paradox which can be accepted only by the logic of the renegades to Marxism-Leninism, who, through their treachery, give a «spiritual veneer» to the landlord-bourgeois oppression and exploitation in the undeveloped countries.

Albania, once the most backward country in Europe, has now a developed industry equipped with the latest technique. In the photo: Partial view of the chemical fertilizer plant in Fier





A fundamental problem for the transformation of the superstructure in the undeveloped countries, is the carrying out of a profound revolution in culture. As a rule, this revolution must go through two main stages which are closely connected and interwoven. In the first stage, the extension of culture in breadth appears as the closest and most immediate objective. It aims at the elimination of illiteracy among adults, the extension of various levels of education throughout the country, and particularly in the countryside, in order to create the premises for the raising of the general cultural level of the population. In the second stage, the decisive objective of the revolution is the transformation of culture itself, which is a more complicated and difficult process than its extension. Usually, the backward countries know two cultures before the revolution: the culture of feudals or castes and the imperialist one, the culture of exploiters and oppressors, always combined and associated with religious mysticism. The question is to pass over to a new mass culture, based on proletarian ideology, to the advantage of socialism and the strengthening of its position in all fields of life.

The transformation of the superstructure must topple every norm and institution of the old world, which has an oppressive, exploiting content, and is humiliating to the labouring masses. It must set everything in motion, radically changing the concepts, customs, habits, traditions, family relations, manners and attitudes of people at work, in society and in life. As an inevitable consequence of this process a high militant spirit is created among the working masses, their initiative, self-action, innovatory spirit and revolutionary boldness in all the fields of social activity are encouraged.

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The transformation of the economic structure in undeveloped countries in order to prepare their transition to socialism, requires the solution of some problems which are specific to these countries. These are particularly the liquidation of economic dependence on foreign capital and on imperialism; the elimination of pre-capitalist relations; the transformation of agrarian relations in the interests of

the labouring peasantry; the liquidation of the one-sided character of the national economy, the ensurance of employment for the rapidly-growing population, etc. History has proved that in order to eliminate economic dependence on foreign capital and imperialism, to achieve real political independence it is necessary to nationalize both the property of foreign monopolies and that of the comprador bourgeoisie. The state sector of the economy must be created with nationalized means. From the viewpoint of socio-economic relations, of the organization and management of work and production, the features of socialism should prevail in this sector which must represent the embryo of the economic base of socialism and become a powerful backing to prepare the transition in the whole country from the old economic relations to the establishment of socialist relations.

Of course, this question cannot be solved mechanically through the carrying out of just any kind of nationalization, nor through the creation of just any kind of state sector, as advocated by the modern revisionists. In this, everything depends on the class nature of the political power and whom the state sector serves: the limitation of private capital or its extension; the transformation of the old relations or their preservation; the enrichment of the exploiting classes or the interests of the working masses, the attainment of their wellbeing. On these alternatives depends the fate of the evolution of this sector: into a full socialist sector or into a sector of conventional state capitalism. The struggle between these two tendencies of this sector is a class struggle between the capitalist road of development and the socialist road, between the working masses and the exploiting classes.

The class ratio of forces in the political power itself and the strengthening of the position of the working class in it define the out-come of this struggle, its running to the advantage of socialism and to the detriment of capitalism in this sector and in the whole national economy.

There is no doubt that the state sector actually created in the undeveloped countries is a progressive phenomenon, in comparison with the other, primitive economic forms (natural or semi-feudal). But it is harmful, indeed very harmful, and an illusion to put on a par all kinds of state sector and socialism, irrespective of the class nature of the political power.

Such a position provides grist to the mill of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, of capitalism and counter-revolution.

The agrarian problem is of special importance to the destiny of socialism in undeveloped countries. Here the peasantry constitutes the majority of the population, and the old pre-capitalist relations and colonial exploitation are more deeply rooted and appear in more brutal forms in the countryside. The success, time and rate of transition on the road of socialist development of the countryside and of the entire country, greatly depend on the road and methods of solution of this problem. Both revolutionary theory and practice teach that the solution of the agrarian problem is a complex one which should transform all aspects of life in the countryside – the ideopolitical, economic, social, cultural, technical, organisational, and other aspects. In other words, in the countryside it is necessary to carry out a true revolution in socio-economic relations, which should radically change the whole face of the countryside. It should be carried out step by step in accordance with the ripening of the subjective and objective conditions within the countryside and on a national scale. The initial implementation of revolutionary land reform in the interests of the labouring peasantry, according to the principle of «the land to the tiller» serves this aim. The cooperation of the labouring peasantry is absolutely essential in order to set the countryside on the road of socialism and rapidly develop the productive forces in agriculture. Both the artificial acceleration of the agrarian revolution, and hesitation to carry it out, are equally harmful to the idea of socialism in the eyes of the peasantry. Every incomplete solution of the agrarian problem creates more likelihood of the development of the countryside on the capitalist road rather than on the socialist road. But also any effort for a premature radical solution of the agrarian problem, by arbitrarily missing stages, leads to adventurism and may do irreparable harm to the cause of socialism.

In diametric opposition to Marxism-Leninism, the modern revisionists state that in the building of socialism in undeveloped countries the main effort should not be directed to the transformation of economic and social relations, but to the development of the productive forces because this development will allegedly lead

in a natural way to socialist construction. This is just like the opportunist thesis of Kautsky who said that the development of the productive forces «automatically» transforms the old relations of production into their opposite. Such an analysis of the question leads to the counterrevolutionary attitude that the cause of socialism in the undeveloped countries must be postponed indefinitely, till the material conditions are ripe.

There can be no doubt that the rapid development of the productive forces is a vital question for the destiny of socialism in undeveloped countries. The question arises specifically in these countries: In what way will the problem be solved? With the old traditional mode of development, with the specialization of the economy in raw materials dependent on imperialist markets? Briefly, with a one-sided economy, high rates of development for the productive forces cannot be secured. This model does not contain in itself the effective mechanism needed for extended reproduction. The impetus for development comes to this model from abroad, it comes to it from the increase of demands for raw material on the world market. Therefore, it is essential to create another new model which gets its impetus for development from within, from the extension of the home market. In this sense, the construction of socialism in undeveloped countries demands the replacement of the one-sided economy with a diversified economy which should stand on both feet – agriculture and industry. Only such an economy can ensure a rapid and complex development of the productive forces, consolidate economic independence and place all the country's riches at the service of the building of socialism. A decisive factor for the solution of this problem within the shortest possible historical period is the industrialization of the country through true socialist methods. A fundamental characteristic of this industrialisation must be the development of the extracting and processing industries and also of light and heavy industry, giving priority to heavy industry.

Under the pretext of the lack of financial means, cadres and experience, and of guarding against unnecessary sacrifices, with the pretext of the international division of labour and cooperation with «socialist» countries, etc., the modern revisionists

pursue a policy aimed at diverting the undeveloped countries from industrialization, at keeping them as an agrarian or raw material appendage of the metropolis. The aim is the same as that of old and new colonialism plunder and exploitation, establishment of the economic and political enslavement of the undeveloped countries.

The historic victories achieved in the building of socialism in the countries which were once undeveloped have proved that to solve the numerous problems of this socialist construction they must adhere to the revolutionary principle of self-reliance. Both in revolution and in socialist construction the internal factor is decisive and the people should, in every activity, rely on their own forces. –

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1) *Enver Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, p. 242. Tirana 1971.*

2) *It is known, for example, that the Russian people were able to pass from the order of peasant community directly to feudalism without passing through the socio-economic formation of slave-ownership.*

3) *Kautsky's ill-famed theory of «productive forces» completely excluded the possibility of the transition of undeveloped countries directly to socialism.*

4) *«Problems of peace and socialism» 1960, Nr. 7, p. 74-80 Sudarev Nauchnie dokladi vishei shkollji 1972, Nr. 11 p. 69-78. V. Solodovnikov Mezhdunarodnaja Zhiznj. 1973. Nr. 5 p. 59-60.*

5) *Enver Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, p. 226, Tirana 1971.*

6) *«Problems of peace and socialism» 1963. Nr. 2, p. 39-48.*

7) *In this case, India, Burma and some other country are taken as examples.*

8) *Roger Garaudy. Pour un modèle français du socialisme. 1968, page 114.*

9) *Among the most zealous partisans of this view are the Yugoslav revisionists.*

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# NEO-FREUDIANISM- ONE OF THE MOST REACTIONARY TRE OF BOURGEOIS IDE

**Some opinions  
concerning  
neo-Freudianism and  
its nature, its  
connections with  
leftist movements  
of a liberal-anarchist  
character**

THE PRESENT-DAY BOURGEOIS ORDER IS UNDERGOING A DEEP, ALLROUND AND INESCAPABLE CRISIS. IN THESE CONDITIONS THE BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGISTS ARE TRYING THROUGH ALL SORTS OF «ARGUMENTS» AND «THEORIES» TO JUSTIFY THE DECAY OF THIS ORDER, TO CONCEAL ITS REAL CAUSES, TO WHITWASH IT IN ORDER TO MISLEAD THE MINDS OF MEN AND DIVERT THEM FROM EVERY REVOLUTIONARY ACTION WHICH IS AIMED AGAINST THE FOUNDATIONS AND POLITICAL POWER OF THE BOURGEOISIE. CURRENTLY ONE OF THE MOST WIDESPREAD VARIANTS OF THESE «THEORIES» IS NEO-FREUDIANISM, OR AS IT IS OTHERWISE CALLED, THE THEORY OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS».

LIKE EVERY OTHER BOURGEOIS THEORY, NEO-FREUDIANISM TOO HAS ITS OWN social and epistemological roots. It is important to discover these roots, in order to understand better the content and concrete manifestations of this «theory» and to determine the directions of the fight against it. The theory of psycho-analysis today directly serves the monopoly bourgeoisie to perpetuate its rule, to perpetuate private ownership of the means of production. In essence, this theory is idealist. Lenin, discovering the roots of idealism, wrote:

«Viewing things only from one angle and onesidedly seeing them as frozen and rigid, in subjectivism and subjective blindness – these are the epistemological roots of idealism» (Lenin, «On the importance of militant materialism», pamphlet, Albanian edition, 1968, page 27).

In his early works Freud set forth a series of psychological problems. He directed his attention to the structure and importance of man's inner world, to his inti-

mate feelings, to the conflicts between the objectives, desires and duties of man. Concerning the course and treatment of psychiatric illnesses, he attached importance to emotional impressions. This encouraged his resounding «success». But while raising these problems, Freud and his followers have not understood their actual basis, and that is why they explain psychic phenomena one-sidedly. Thus, relying on rigid categories which are not actual, and on analogies drawn with insufficient proof, they have understood and treated the higher nervous activity in an idealist way.

Guided by idealist concepts, the propagators of this theory distort the phenomena of consciousness. In their opinion, man's nature is essentially subconscious. Thus Fromm accuses Marx of a «tragic mistake» in considering man as a reasonable being, because, according to him, Marx had not known the great truth

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# INDS OLOGY

by **VIKTOR RISKА and KLEANTHI ZOTO**

Freud, claimed to have discovered, that man is an irrational animal; that he is guided by instincts which determine his thought, behaviour and feelings; that his mind is a prey to unconscious irrational impulses. According to Fromm, Marx created the rational image of man. But precisely the emergence of consciousness in man, he says, detaches man from any ties with nature, spoils his harmony with it and gives birth to that contradiction that constitutes the fundamental problem of the existence of man. Consciousness itself, Fromm adds, has alienated man from this world, it has aroused feelings of loneliness and fear in him. Hence the conclusion that the epistemological roots of Freudianism and neo-Freudianism lie in the absolutising of irrational phenomena and internal impulses and in the denial that man is a conscious being.

Guided by the Kantian concepts which deny the possibility of man knowing the world, these theories have become an obstacle to the materialist elaboration of some sciences which study the ideal elements and the brain as their organ, such as psychology, psychotherapy, etc. This constitutes another epistemological base of neo-Freudianism.

As any other idealist theory, neo-Freudianism relies on religion. Fromm is a representative of neo-Freudianism in pre-

sent day American thought, where three trends unite: psycho-analysis, philosophy and religion. Present day bourgeois philosophy and ideology rely on the theory of psycho-analysis to find «the way of healing the soul». On its part, the theory of psycho-analysis turns to religion to solve its task concerning the «salvation of the soul».

Marxist-Leninist theory rejects neo-Freudianism because it has nothing to do with real human thought, it has a reactionary character and is hostile to science and culture. Marxism-Leninism argues that the mind and behaviour of man can only be scientifically understood when the biological and social nature of man are viewed in unity. Man is, above all, a social being and his social activity is a main factor for the formation of the psyche and the development of consciousness. The world outlook, psychic qualities and abilities of man are formed under the influence of social conditions, in the family and at school and above all, during the process of social labour and practice. Work is the basis of life and of the development of consciousness. Man, by transforming nature, transforms himself at the same time. Work elevates man both physically and mentally. Man can be understood only as an active personality, as a unity of the psychic and physiological, in which the

countless ties with the world find their expression. It is precisely this activity which changes the conditions of material life and the nature of man himself. As the discovery of the social and epistemological roots of neo-Freudianism shows, the essence of this theory lies in the distortion of the mutual ties and dependence between the material and ideal, rational and irrational phenomena in man's consciousness. The starting point in the study of these phenomena has constituted the domain of a sharp and irreconcilable struggle between the materialist Marxist-Leninist philosophy and the bourgeois idealist philosophy and is directly connected with the solution of the fundamental problem of philosophy. In the interpretation of these phenomena the neo-Freudian theory represents the most characteristic features of present-day bourgeois ideology, such as; an anti-historical stand, irrationality, applying the laws of biology to social phenomena, ignoring the role of social practice in the formation of consciousness, a metaphysical understanding of the laws of the brain and of man's psychic activity. According to this theory, the ideal irrational or subconscious elements are taken as isolated from the ideal rational or conscious phenomena, and are considered as main forces that subjugate consciousness

and define the whole activity of man. In opposition to these views, Marxist-Leninist philosophy sees ideal phenomena as they are, in mutual connection and co-operation, in which the decisive role is played by the conscious elements. Thus, the sensations, perceptions, emotions and imagination of man are closely connected with the rational elements, with concepts, judgements, reasonings, analysis, synthesis, etc. Likewise, there are also connections between ideal and material phenomena. Ideal phenomena are a reflection of material phenomena and they cannot exist independently from one another. In a concentrated way, Karl Marx expresses this idea as follows: «In my opinion, . . . the ideal element is nothing but the material element instilled in man's mind and transformed in it» (Marx-Engels, selected works, Albanian edition, I vol, page 428).

The theory of «psycho-analysis», being idealist in essence, does not confine itself to the treatment and interpretation of psychic phenomena alone, but has also delved extensively into the distorted explanation of various social phenomena, thus serving the capitalist order to justify the ugliest phenomena of the capitalist society. According to the neo-Freudians, the causes of human tragedy, social injustices, wars, exploitation, immorality in capitalist countries lie in the biological nature of man, in the suppression of instincts, of emotional urges and feelings. Thus, for example, war is viewed as a phenomenon emanating from man's nature, from the aggressive or destructive instinct allegedly guiding every living creature. This view has served and continues to serve in justifying imperialist aggressions and occupations.

With the changing of political circumstances, the various trends of neo-Freudianism which are currently represented by such ideologists as Fromm, Sullivan, Horney, and others, are compelled to change aspect. Today they are seeking to absolutize the spirit of «tranquillity», compromise and «reconciliation», and to find new methods to better serve the aggressive and exploiting nature of imperialism. Today they are noisily propagating the theory of «socialism with a human face», of «democratic socialism». This theory denies the material factors involved in the true transformation of society and places humanitarian psycho-analysis in the forefront. According to Fromm, only the psycho-analysts can cure society and lead

it to socialism; therefore, he calls his psycho-analysis a «diagnosis» of the «illness of western countries». In reality, this theory is not a diagnosis, but a product of capitalism and of its ideology. By proclaiming the capitalist society to be «sick», he sees the only way out in the creation of a society healthy from the psychic viewpoint, the ideal of which is expressed by «socialism», while he defines the changing of the psyche of the individuals making up the society as the means of bringing this about.

Neo-Freudianism is unable to distinguish the proletariat which constitutes the most revolutionary force and is a bearer of social progress, or its Marxist-Leninist party. This utopianism of neo-Freudianism, with an old content, but in a new form, is clearly seen not only when the problem is treated from the psychological aspect, but also when there are attempts, to solve it from a sociological standpoint. According to Fromm, capitalist society will be transformed in a peaceful way. In fact, the propagation of ideas of the gradual transformation of capitalism into socialism without the revolutionary change of the capitalist relations of production into socialist relations, or of private ownership of the means of production into social ownership, is a typical example of the defence of capitalism. This propaganda is aimed at creating the illusion that the present-day capitalist society has entered a stage of industrial development where it does not matter who owns the means of production, that it is not the form of ownership that defines the character of the social order, but who directs these means, how they are directed and how production is organized. In this way, without any correct idea of the motive forces and of the laws of transformation of capitalism into socialism, Fromm builds up an erroneous and profoundly reactionary theory concerning social transformation. In the present day conditions of the intensification of the class struggle, this theory, together with the other bourgeois-revisionist theories, plays a regressive role. Explaining in an erroneous way the methods of the transition to socialism, this theory is completely opposed to the Marxist-Leninist theory on this problem. Events are confirming that the only way to save mankind from capitalist oppression and exploitation is violent revolution, the overthrow of the old relations of production and their replacement with socialist relations.

In the present-day conditions the neo-Freudians are propagating that the wounds of capitalism can be healed through psychological perfection and they are striving to replace acute social problems with psychological problems. They advocate that «man's inner world» should be studied today and they attach great importance to psychological influence on the working masses, particularly on youth, which they aim to achieve through encouraging some pessimistic, irrational tendencies, which explain the ills of bourgeois society by the obscure forces of consciousness. In the bourgeois countries the inculcation of bourgeois ideology has been raised to a cult. The bourgeoisie, striving to prolong its life, spends colossal sums on the improvement of «human relations». For this purpose it has set up hundreds of psychological research institutes which work out methods to create an atmosphere of submission, of class «reconciliation», which is in the service of the monopolies. The neo-Freudian sociologists draw conclusions in the interest of the monopoly bourgeoisie, saying that capitalism has changed, claiming that it has become progressive, it is not war-mongering and does not oppress the peoples. In their opinion, by regulating the relations between the managers and the workers, the ills of capitalism will be cured, and there will be no strikes or unemployment. Therefore, in the United States of America they advocate that every manager must in the first place have a good knowledge of psychological relations and be able «to get on well with people».

But it is impossible to cure the ills of the capitalist society by regulating «human relations» in the framework of capitalism. The proletariat, Marxism-Leninism teaches us, will get rid of oppression and of the other evils which are fellow travelers of the bourgeois society, only when it overthrows the capitalist relations of production. According to Marxist-Leninist theory, the psychological relations between men are an expression of economic relations. Without doubt the psychology of men, their feelings, the spiritual relations between men, between the individual and society, the cadres and the masses, are of importance and should be correctly appraised. But their development can in no way be a foundation for the transformation of the capitalist order. The ideological and psychological relations of men are built on the basis of their economic relations. The neo-Freudians' absolutization



of the spiritual ties of men, which they consider as a means to improve the capitalist order, has nothing to do with the necessary requirement of knowing and influencing the development of their feeling, of their spiritual world. «The economic structure of society at every given stage, — F. Engels said, — forms that actual basis which explains, in the final account, the whole superstructure made up of the political and juridical institutions, as well as of the philosophical, religious and other views, of every given historical period» (Marx-Engels, Works, Russian edition, vol. XX, page, 26).

The neo-Freudian influences in capitalist countries curb the carrying out of proletarian revolutions, while in socialist countries they pose a real danger of the restoration of capitalism. These influences are more felt among the youth and intellectuals, particularly in the spheres of art, literature, drama, music, etc. This being the case, the monopoly bourgeoisie encourages this theory in all its forms, since it seeks to divert the masses, and especially youth, from revolution, which has become an aspiration of the peoples of the world. The purpose is to disorientate youth and throw them into political passiveness and indifference to make them degenerate and remain at the level of spontaneous actions. Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 6th Congress of the PLA: «The bourgeois and revisionist ideologists are seeking to convince the youth and masses that it is in vain to struggle to find a way out of the deep contradictions corroding their society. The only alternative they propose is to plunge into pessimism and corruption. Herein lies the source of the unscrupulous incitement, with catastrophic social consequences, to alcoholism, narcotism, sexuality and low and bestial behaviour which have become a fashion in the capitalist and revisionist world». (Enver Hoxha: Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, 1971 edition, page 149-150).

Neo-Freudianism exerts a great influence on some «leftist» movements of a liberal-anarchist character. One of these movements widespread in the degenerate capitalist world is that of the hippies, whom the bourgeois ideologists call «flower children». They are groups of jobless youths, roaming in the streets from city to city and from village to village, barefooted, longhaired and bearded, in wierd clothing and leading a parasitic and dissolute life. The hippies are presented by

the neo-Freudian trends as a «model of the future society». It is clear that for them, the future society means marking time or a switchback, that is, the perpetuation of private property. In this sense the question of hippies is a political question. In order to disorientate the youth, to prevent them from finding the real road, the bourgeois and revisionist ideology advocates the passive resistance of youth to injustices. The long hair, sideburns, beards, etc are a symbol of this non-revolutionary opposition, which creates illusions that the aim can be achieved through peaceful methods. There are also people who wear long hair and beards for the sake of fashion, in order to appear «modern», but in reality these «modern» appearances are manifestations of primitivism, social pessimism and political apathy.

Such present-day irrational trends justify extreme individualism. According to them society is like a forest where the trees grow near each other but without connection. In society a man lives one life, has his individuality, his ambitions, lives for himself and dies in solitude. Society, according to them, is an empty notion. There is nothing in common between men. They should be allowed to live according to their liking, there is no need to fill their heads with all sorts of ideas because their nature cannot be changed. They argue that man in society feels abandoned and ephemeral, that society brings him suffering because it hinders him from satisfying his instincts, and suppresses his feelings. In this way, the ideologists of the bourgeoisie consider individualism as the essence of human nature and the main principle of the relations between men. They justify individualism with the pretext that they are protecting the individual from the collective, because, according to them, once the individual enters the collective, he is lost. The «ego» remains above everything and it becomes nothing when it enters the totality. This is an appeal to withdraw into one's self, for everybody to live for the sake of his «ego» alone.

The groundlessness of the irrational views can be clearly understood. Marxism teaches us that man cannot be considered in isolation from society. He lives as long as he is a part of society, of the collective, and to understand the individual one must first understand the society. Men acting on nature and society do not remain isolated, but enter, into relations

of an economic, ideological and moral character. Man's personality, too, develops precisely in this natural process of cooperation.

The neo-Freudian theories seek to justify bourgeois liberalism with the slogan of the «absolute freedom» of the individual. They conceive of freedom in a metaphysical and one-sided manner. According to them man is free from society and has the right to do what he wants to do, however he likes. They claim that only capitalism creates the possibility for man to develop his personality, and that capitalism alone creates the conditions for complete freedom for all. In reality, this «freedom» which is propagated by the bourgeois ideologists is deception and a real limitation of the personality of man.

Marxism-leninism teaches us that pure democracy is non-existent. It always has a class character and in every social order it is defined by the character of the relations of production and by the political regime. In the capitalist countries «freedom for all» is only proclaimed, but it is not guaranteed in practice. There are deep contradictions there between the proclamation of rights and their implementation in practice. On the other hand freedom does not mean degeneration, unbridled liberalism and complete independence from the laws of social development; on the contrary, it means the raising of these laws to the level of cognition, and acting on their basis. The bourgeoisie propagates «absolute freedom» in order to disorganize the masses and, in particular the youth, to prevent them from uniting in struggle against it, against the exploiting order, in order to create the false impression that all men are equal and that there is no reason for the existing capitalist order to be overthrown. In the name of «freedom», a great market to spread the bourgeois ideology has developed in the countries where the revisionists are in power. Degenerate music, literature, and films, drugs and hooliganism have become fashionable. Many young people, in the Soviet Union and other countries where the revisionists are in power attend pornographic clubs etc. This results from the revisionists' encouragement of the youth to «have fun» and «enjoy themselves», and attributing the youth with wanting what the revisionists understand by the «new» «democracy» and «freedom». And all this unbridled liberalism is closely connected with the restoration of capitalism, with the ideological and

political degeneration of these countries.

In capitalist countries murders, robbery, treachery, rape, thefts, etc., are daily occurrence. Let us refer to facts. In Britain, during the first six months of 1972, the number of recorded crimes amounted to 181,889 cases. In the capitalist world there is an attempted suicide every four minutes, and an actual suicide every 40 minutes. Crime is also widespread in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries, alcoholism has become a social disease and a source of acts of hooliganism and rash actions. Drug-addiction is also spreading greatly in those countries. Czechoslovakia, which was once one of the countries with few crimes, in 1971 alone recorded over 22,000 different cases of crimes. Manifestations of this nature characterize the capitalist and revisionist countries. Neo-Freudianism, in its defence of the bourgeois order, seeks to give a theoretical justification for these phenomena. According to it, the nature of man is aggressive and profoundly immoral; crime is committed as a result of man's instincts and is inevitable. While in reality all these phenomena are an offspring of the private ownership of the means of production, of the capitalist relations, they are an offspring of antagonistic class society and, in the present-day conditions, are increasingly nourished by the bourgeois-revisionist ideology.

The exposure and failure that Freud's views have suffered as a result of the spreading of Marxism-Leninism and of the development of various sciences have compelled his followers to revise the «theory of psycho-analysis» on some specific aspects, while preserving its essence.

One of the features of the neo-Freudian theories is the efforts being made by their proponents to «synthetize» Freudianism with Marxism - interpreting Marxism in an abstract way. The neo-Freudians, speculating on Marx's philosophy sought to reform the Freudian theory. In reality, however, they distorted and interpreted Marx's theory according to their liking. While making efforts to solve the problem of the relation between man and society, Fromm turns at the same time to Marx and Freud because they allegedly «complement each other» and help him in the solution of this problem. According to neo-Freudianism, Freud «had quite naive concepts about society, and the majority of the conclusions of his psychology about social problems were erroneous». At the same time Fromm points out that Mar-

xism, too, must be complemented with that «psychology created by Freud».

In reality, these efforts to unite two theories which are incompatible with each other both in content and aims, testify to the eclecticism of neo-Freudianism. The aim of the representatives of this theory is to create a new trend which they allege should be superior to the two former theories and serve everybody, taking something from the one and something from other. The theory of convergence applied by neo-Freudianism is used as the Trojan horse to take the fortress from within, to lower the vigilance of the Marxists towards neo-Freudian theory and to proclaim that the irreconcilable ideological class struggle existing between Marxism-Leninism and neo-Freudianism has been overcome.

The present-day monopoly bourgeois attaches a great importance to the propagation of neo-Freudianism. This theory has been adopted not only by a broad circle of bourgeois ideologists, but also by many writers, artists and scientists. It has penetrated not only into the sphere of psychological studies, but also into culture, literature, cinematography, television, etc. In order to have a better idea of the value the bourgeoisie gives this theory, suffice it to mention the fact that in the present-day bourgeois literature the name of Freud, the founder of this theory, is being compared, in regard to the influence of his ideas on the consciousness of men, with the names of well-known scientists such as Copernicus, Darwin and Einstein. The theoreticians of neo-Freudianism say that only religion has drawn into the sphere of its influence such large masses of men as this theory, that neo-Freudianism has become so widespread that it is difficult to find any sphere of bourgeois life where it does not exert its influence. Numerous congresses and conferences have been held in these recent years on the theory of psycho-analysis, not only in the USA, but also in France, Canada, Latin America, and other countries. In these conditions the criticism of the neo-Freudian views is of very great importance to all the genuine Marxist-Leninists, on the one hand to defend the position of Marxism-Leninism and its principles, and, on the other hand, to expose and destroy before the eyes of the working class the erroneous views with which they are striving to poison the minds of men and all the leftist movements of a liberal-anarchist character.



# SOVIET WORKING CLASS- DEPRIVED OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION

by **VENIAMIN TOÇI and KIÇO KAPETANI**

AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE GREAT TREACHERY OF THE KHRUSHCHEVITE REVISIONIST CLIQUE, AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THIS CLIQUE'S NEGATION OF, AND OPEN DEPARTURE FROM, THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE REVOLUTION AND SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION, THE SOVIET UNION HAS TODAY BEEN TRANSFORMED INTO A BOURGEOIS STATE OF A SPECIAL KIND. IT HAS BEEN TRANSFORMED INTO AN IMPERIALIST POWER WHICH PURSUES AN EXPANSIONIST POLICY AND COMPETES WITH OTHER CAPITALIST COUNTRIES FOR THE DIVISION AND DOMINATION OF THE WORLD FOR HEGEMONISTIC POSITIONS. THIS COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY PROCESS, WHICH IS CONTINUALLY DEEPENING, BEGAN WITH THE BOURGEOIS DEGENERATION OF THE SOCIALIST SUPERSTRUCTURE, THE PARTY AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, WITH THEIR BUREAUCRATIZATION AND THAT OF THE CADRES.

Distorting the Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian revolution and the building of socialism, the Khrushchevite revisionists created great ideological confusion and disarmed the working class in the face of bourgeois and reformist ideology. They paved the way for the ideological counterrevolution which served as a pre-

lude to the counterrevolution in politics and in the socio-economic order. The banners of this counterrevolution became the Khrushchevite «peaceful coexistence», «the peaceful road of transition to socialism», «the transition to socialism under the leadership of a non-proletarian party», the export of revolution and socialism through «economic competition» with capitalism, «the state of the entire people», etc.

The working class and the revolutionary peoples of the world are witnesses of this counterrevolutionary course of the

Soviet revisionist leadership, both in its internal and foreign policies. A new expression of the revisionist treachery, and a grave challenge to all the peoples of the world, are the new Soviet-U.S. agreements which were concluded recently between the two superpowers as a result of Brezhnev's visit to the U.S.A. Through these agreements the two sides aim at jointly establishing an international counterrevolutionary dictatorship, taking the fate and future of mankind into their hands, jointly judging and dealing blows to the national liberation uprisings and struggles of the peoples, strangling the labour movements and revolution everywhere in the world, using the olive branch as well as savage military violence for this aim. These agreements once more show that, despite the inevitable contradictions between them, now the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists have aligned themselves in a common front against the peoples, they support and incite each other in their predatory and aggressive aims.

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*economists.*

# **The degeneration of the state power in the Soviet Union, the change of the internal and external functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the liquidation of socialist ownership and the degeneration of the socialist relations of production, the change of the class composition of Soviet society and the creation of the new revisionist bourgeoisie have expelled the Soviet working class from running the country, transforming it into an exploited class**

## **1.**

As a result of the bourgeois degeneration, the Soviet working class has been deprived of its historic mission as the class in power, as the leading hegemonic class. It has remained a mere productive force in a situation similar to that of the working class in the capitalist countries. In reality it is constantly being proletarianised, in the political and ideological sense, as well as in the economic and social one.

First and foremost the Soviet working class was deprived of revolutionary ideology; it was ideologically disarmed. It no longer gives ideological leadership to the social life of the country. For demagogical purposes the revisionists speak about the «development», «enrichment» and «creative application» of Marxism-Leninism. They did this at the 24th Congress of their revisionist party and in later manifestations of their political and social life. The Soviet revisionists have changed

the ideological, political and organisational bases of the communist party into their opposites. As a consequence, the working class has not only remained without its own ideology, but also without its political vanguard—a genuine communist party. The revisionist party has become an asylum for bourgeois and degenerate elements, for the working class aristocracy, the bureaucrats and technocrats. At the 24th Congress of their party the Soviet modern revisionists announced that 44,8 per cent of the party effective are white-collar workers and only 40,1 per cent are workers, at a time when the workers make up 58 per cent of the total number of the country's working people. From among the members and alternate members of the party committees in districts and towns (thus, it is a matter of the basic organisations), only about 40 per cent are workers and peasants taken together. This means that 60 per cent are white-collar workers. These data show that the revisionist party is in fact a party of the

white-collar workers, a party of the intellectuals, a party of the bureaucrats, and not a real party of the working class.

However, the Khrushchevite revisionists are seeking to preserve the «worker» appearance of their party, still keeping a comparatively large number of workers and peasants in its ranks, although the law in the party is made by the bourgeois elite in power. On the other hand it must be borne in mind that the percentage of workers should be viewed with reservation in the sense that some of them are aristocratized elements who do not represent either the working class or its real ideological, political, social and economic interests.

For the sake of demagoguery and deception, the Soviet revisionists continue to preserve the name of «communist party». But in the final account it is not the name which defines the real character of a Marxist-Leninist party. This is defined by the tasks and aims the party sets itself, the ideology for which it militates,

its internal and foreign policies, its social composition and the position it occupies in society and in the whole system of running the socio-economic life of the country.

The exclusion of the working class from running the country's life is expressed on a large scale in the degeneration of the state power, the change of the internal and external functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and of its class composition. The Soviet revisionists have loudly proclaimed the thesis of the so-called state of the entire people. In reality, we are faced here with a utopia, in the internal as well as in the external framework of the ratio of social forces. The state, as an historical category, cannot be anything but a dictatorship of the class in power. The capitalist state is a dictatorship of the big monopoly bourgeoisie. The socialist state is a dictatorship of the proletariat, a dictatorship of the working class. On the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, this state will wither away without it being necessary to transform it into a «state of the entire people». It will wither away when classes themselves wither away and when communism finally triumphs on a world scale.

The state power in the Soviet Union is in fact in the hands of the revisionist bourgeoisie, in the hands of the bureaucrats and technocrats, in the hands of privileged persons, detached from the working class and from the interests of the working people. This was the basis for the emergence of the great inflation and the fetishising of the apparatuses, as well as of every thing coming from them. The Soviet state is gradually being deproletarianized from the standpoint of its class composition and from the standpoint of the internal and external functions it has assumed.

Physically, too, the Soviet working class is deprived of the right of running the state. According to official data, in the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union the specific weight of white-collar workers and intellectuals is over 8 percent greater than that of the workers and collective farmers taken together (See «SSSR i zarubezhnije strani posle pobedi velikoj socialisticeskoj revolucii», Statisticeskij sbornik, Moskva 1970).

Bureaucrats, white-collar workers and intellectuals constitute the absolute majority in the revisionist state organs, elected or appointed. It is precisely these men with unlimited power who impose their will

on the legislative organs, who dictate and establish the laws and regulations. They trample under foot the democratic rights and freedoms of the working masses, although they loudly propagandize their so-called socialist democracy. It is known that not only the broad working masses, but even the so-called elected organs do not take part in formulating policy and stands, whether on internal or external questions, in formulating the main laws and decisions, or in their examination and application. These are decided upon by the narrow circle of the clique in power, while the working class and the other working people are presented with an accomplished fact.

Moreover, the legislative organs are under the effective control of the executive organs, of the bureaucratized and bourgeoisified apparatuses. There can be few countries in the world where bureaucracy has concentrated such great and uncontrolled powers in its hands as in the Soviet Union. Bureaucracy in that country holds in its hands not only ideological monopoly but also political and economic power. Bureaucracy and bureaucratism have been raised to a system, they have been turned into a method and style of judgement, of action and life. The bureaucratic machine at all levels exploits the working class and the other labouring masses, exercises political and economic violence against them and has become an obstacle to the rational use of natural resources and manpower.

## 2.

The bourgeois degeneration of the Soviet party and state inevitably brought about the degeneration of ownership of the means of production, which is the basic element of the relations of production. Speaking about this question at the 6th Congress of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha said: «The change in the character of the party and the state, the counterrevolutionary transformation in the field of political and ideological superstructure could not fail to lead to the changing of the economic base of socialism too. The economic reforms undertaken by the Khrushchevites, in compliance with their anti-Marxist ideological concepts, led to the radical change of the relations of production». (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, page 236).

The most concentrated expression of the separation of the working class from the effective running of the state and the economy is no doubt its deprivation of the principal means of production, the liquidation of socialist ownership and the degeneration of the socialist relations of production. It was clear that after the degeneration of the superstructure the degeneration of the economic base itself would also follow without fail. The degenerated superstructure must without fail have a corresponding degenerated structure. On this question the modern revisionists have acted and continue to act demagogically because it was not and it is not easy for them to come out openly against socialist ownership.

The economic reform carried out by the Soviet revisionists has in essence changed the entire system of possession and administration of the former socialist property; it changed ownership by the socialist state as direct representative of the working class and of the other labouring masses, gradually passing ownership into the hands of the new revisionist bourgeoisie.

Due to many political, economic, historical and psychological factors, ownership could not be made to degenerate through the capitalist partition of ownership in the classical form of passing over to individual capitalist possession. It was done by preserving the appearance of state ownership and giving it the character of state monopoly ownership. In the final account, it is of no importance to the working class whether the property is in the hands of individual capitalists or in the hands of joint capital in the form of state monopolies. In both cases exploitation is present, whether individual capitalist or collective capitalist exploitation.

The character of ownership and of the relations of production, also defines the very character of the state. But the latter, too, expresses and defines the character of ownership and of the relations of production. Those who have the state machine in their hands also possess the principal means of production and they use the state machine as a powerful weapon to increase their capitalist wealth and profit. The classics of Marxism-Leninism have pointed out that the character of ownership depends on the nature of the economic-social order and of the state.

Speaking of nationalizations, K. Marx said:

“... as long as the rich classes remain in power, any nationalization represents not the liquidation of exploitation, but only the change of its form...” (K. Marx, F. Engels, Works, vol. 28, Russian edit., pages 301-302).

Proceeding from this thesis of Marx's, we can also define the character of the state ownership in the Soviet Union. The new Soviet bourgeoisie seized state power not as an aim in itself, but as a powerful means to enrich itself and to draw material profits. Through the state it also seized the state property and changed it into capitalist property of a special type.

Formally and in external appearance the state property in the Soviet Union is called socialist property, but in reality it has lost its one time socialist character. With the working class divorced from running the country's life, the state property is being used by the new Soviet bourgeoisie as a means of capitalist enrichment and profit, appropriating the surplus value created by the working class.

With the change of the character of ownership, the aim of production and the destination of the results of the work also changed. The system of running and planning also changed fundamentally. Depriving the working class of the means of production brought about, as a consequence, its separation from the effective management of the economy and production. With economic reform, the Khrushchevite revisionists replaced the system of the socialist planning of the economy with a «flexible» system of planning, giving complete self-administration to enterprises, in order to act in an unrestrained way in the fields of production, distribution, accumulation, capital investments, etc. The rights that have been given to the managers of enterprises for the use, administration, sale of the products produced, etc., their rights in the field of the relations of exchange and distribution of products, clearly show the capitalist personal use of property and of the results of work in the economic enterprises of the Soviet Union. Herein lies the source of competition for the largest possible profits, which has swept over all the country's economic enterprises. From this stems the lack of some commodities in one area or district of the country and their surplus in other areas and districts, or also the phenomenon that the same commodity of the same quality is sold at diffe-

rent prices within one and the same market.

In the process of the degeneration of ownership, the Soviet revisionists have made important changes in the criteria of the building of the economic enterprises, in their economic and juridical features, in their ties with the mechanism of the reproduction of social production, as well as in their geographical distribution. They have created monopoly unions of a capitalist type in industry, agriculture, transport and in other economic branches, unions which continually swallow up the small and middle sized enterprises and which bring about great displacement of labour reserves and supply. A motivating factor of this spontaneous process is the ensurance of capitalist profits. The fact that the working class is deprived of ownership of the means of production is also clearly seen in the way funds created in the enterprise are used. It is calculated that 80-85 per cent of the material incentive funds go into the pockets of the managers. According to official statistics in the last 4-5 years engineering-technical personnel have been given an average of 12 times more bonuses a month than the workers, and the white-collar workers 6-7 times more (See: *Seria Ekonomicheskaja*, Nr. 2, year 1972, page 47).

### 3.

The capitalist degeneration of ownership could not fail to lead to a capitalist degeneration of the principle of remuneration too. The Soviet revisionists have in fact replaced remuneration according to the work done with a whole system of division of incomes, which provides the new bourgeoisie with every possibility of appropriating the work and sweat of the working class and of the other labouring masses, ensuring incomes many times larger than those of the workers and peasants. As a result, a market differentiation in incomes has been created, which favours in the first place the managers of the bureaucratic apparatus of the party, of the state and of the economy. This has inevitably brought about the growing capitalist polarization of the present-day Soviet society and on this basis, the aggravation of social antagonism. Stressing the need and importance of narrowing the differences between wages in socialism, V. I. Lenin pointed out among other

things: «Under the socialist regime officials cease being «bureaucrats», or «white-collar workers» to the extent that payment is reduced to the average wage of the working people» (V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, vol. II page 235). At present, however, there is a great discrepancy in the Soviet Union in the incomes of different groups and sections of the population. Suffice it to mention that the managers of economic enterprises, when the indices of the plan are fulfilled, may receive an annual supplementary bonus of up to 7 months salary, without including other kinds of material incentive.

Through fat bonuses to the managing personnel of the party and state apparatus and of the economy, in the Soviet Union the caste of new bosses has been created and is getting fat by exploiting the workers toil. The wages and bonuses these bosses receive are by no means in direct proportion to their work and by no means represent remuneration according to work. Many Soviet enterprises have implemented and are expanding a bonus system by which 50 per cent of the funds acquired from the reduction of the number of workers as a result of increased work intensity are put into the supplementary material incentive fund, which mainly profits the bureaucratic and technocratic managers who direct this «rationalizing operation».

In the Soviet Union, with the implementation of economic reform, there has been a great increase in work intensity and the fluctuation of the labour force which often assumes the form of a «concealed market» of the unemployed. These two phenomena develop parallel with the very process of decentralization of the economy and in general with the process of degeneration of the relations of distribution, exchange and consumption of the social product. Using the thesis of raising labour productivity and the efficiency of production as a mask a series of «scientific» methods have been applied to increase the scale of intensity of the workers' labour, with the aim of increasing profits and the supplementary material incentive funds.

It is not by chance that in the Soviet economy, just as in the economies of the capitalist countries, the phenomenon of unemployment exists, operating in specific conditions and mainly in the form of concealed unemployment. According to the admissions of the revisionist circles themselves, in the Soviet Union, every

year, an average of 3 million of the urban population alone (not including the peasant population) move around the country looking for jobs. If we take into consideration that 80 per cent of this internal migration is made up of people of working age, and without calculating here movements within the countryside and from the countryside to the town, it turns out that 10 per cent of the workers take practically no part in production (See *Ekonomika i Organizacija Promishlenovo Proisvodstva* Nr. 3, 1972, page 29-30).

Along with its deprivation of the means of production the working class has been divorced from all the functions of management and administration. These functions have been concentrated in the hands of the bureaucratized cadres who direct production in their own interests, increasing the exploitation of the working people by every method.

The Soviet bureaucrats and technocrats, transformed into a class in themselves, are continually increasing. This is shown by data concerning the class structure of the present-day Soviet society. Thus, while in 1939 white-collar workers and their families accounted for 17.7 per cent of the population of the Soviet Union, in 1970 they represented 25 per cent of this population (See: «*Ekonomicheskaja Gazeta*» Nr. 4, 1972, page 3). Similar changes also occurred in the structure of the Soviet working people. While in 1960 white-collar workers accounted for 21 per cent of the total number of the Soviet working people, in 1970 their specific weight reached 26.4 per cent (See: «*Ekonomicheskaja Gazeta*» Nr. 5, 1972, page 1).

In order to realize their objectives as «quietly» as possible, the modern revisionists have submerged the working class in the swamp of indifferentism and apoliticism. Numerous facts testify to this indifference and to the divorcing of the Soviet working class from the management of production. In a public opinion poll organized in a metallurgical assembly plant in Siberia, in which 1000 workers were questioned, over 70 per cent of them answered that they did not know, and were not concerned to know, how the production programme was realized, that they never spoke at meetings and that it was useless to speak when their opinion was not taken into consideration. This is symptomatic of the indifference and apathy of the Soviet workers about the problems of organization and running of production, which of course is a result of their being

deprived of the running of the country's life and of the right of ownership of the means of production.

Parallel with the bureaucratizing of the revisionist apparatuses, one notices in the present-day Soviet society marked tendencies of bourgeois parasitism, of a growing number of people living by exploiting the toil of the working class and of the labouring peasantry. This phenomenon negatively influences the country's social structure, it distorts it and causes it to degenerate, and increases social parasitism. One of the manifestations of this parasitism is the growth of the non-productive sphere at an unjustified rate. According to official statistics, while in 1950 13.8 per cent of the total number of the working people (excluding school children and the military) were engaged in the non-productive sphere of the Soviet economy, and in 1960 17 per cent of the working people were engaged in this sphere, at the beginning of the 70's the non-productive sphere absorbed about 22 per cent of able-bodied persons.

In the Soviet economy the number of working people in the non-productive sphere is increasing at a much higher rate than the number in the productive sphere. This tendency keeps deepening. We are faced here with an expression of economic and social parasitism.

Of course, with the increase of social production the activity of the non-productive branches which serve production and the population must also be increased. But the increase of the non-productive sphere should be in direct proportion to the productive sphere, otherwise the rates of extended socialist reproduction would slow down. The Marxist-Leninist theory of socialist extended reproduction teaches this, and it is being proved every day by the practice of socialist construction.

Life has proved and is daily providing further proof of the departure of the Soviet revisionists from the principles of Marxism-Leninism on the party and the proletarian state, on the role of the working class in revolution and the building of socialism. «The turning back of the Soviet Union and of some other countries, — as comrade Enver Hoxha has said, — is connected precisely with the fact that there the teachings of Marxism-Leninism were abandoned, and they gave up the fundamental principles of socialist construction, they destroyed the victories of the revolution and paved the way to the restoration of capitalism».

The working class of Albania is conscious of the vanguard role it plays in the whole life of the country.

It is nourished every day with the teachings and directives of the Party,

through the daily and periodical press  
In the photo:  
Workers of the Cerrik oil plant reading the newspaper  
«Zëri i Popullit» before starting work





# APOLOGISTS AND SPOKESMEN OF CAPITAL

by PASKAL MILO

**In its struggle against Marxism-Leninism, revolution and socialism, the capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie has intensified its efforts on the ideological front, attaching maximum importance to the use of the mass media.**

THE CURRENT STAGE OF HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT IS CHARACTERIZED BY A GREAT INTENSIFICATION OF THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE BETWEEN MARXISM-LENINISM, REVOLUTION AND SOCIALISM ON THE ONE HAND, AND IMPERIALISM, REVISIONISM AND ALL THE OTHER REACTIONARY FORCES IN THE WORLD, ON THE OTHER. THIS IDEOLOGICAL CONFRONTATION HAS taken on vast proportions both geographically and in its sphere of action in various fields of human activity. In this struggle imperialism has mobilized its entire ideological machine – the press, radio, television, cinema; the whole of the mass media. Indeed, the bourgeois specialists of mass psychology are insisting on a more intensive exploitation of the technical achievements in the field of the mass media in order to influence the minds and feelings of people. Through these means they seek to convince the peoples that the Marxist-Leninist ideas have failed, that the struggle for socialism is anachronistic, and that the models for the future of mankind are represented by «the consumer society», «the industrial society», etc. which are nothing but «new» names for the old capitalist order, the essence of which does not and cannot change. The modern revisionists on their part, propagate the «need» to replace genuine socialism (which, as our experience confirms, is built on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and of the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party alone) with «liberal socialism», with «socialism with a human face», which in essence are «new» names for the «new» system of oppression and exploitation established in the Soviet Union and in other former socialist countries, following the usurpation of power by the revisionists.

In an effort to extricate itself from the difficult situation it finds itself in, the bourgeois ideology has now become very dangerous, spreading its poison in unprecedented amounts through the press, on the air and on the screen all over the world. This is a reality which will continue as long as imperialism lives, appearing in various forms but never changing its strategic aim – the stifling of revolution.

I

No wonder that even there where slavery and violation of freedom are prevalent, the cult of freedom is glorified. In New York there is even a monument, the «Statue of Liberty». Because of its

character and content, freedom is the subject of the most varied speculation. The bourgeoisie and its spokesmen have always had a lot to say about many kinds of freedom— «democratic freedom», «the freedom of the individual», «the free exchange of ideas» and «freedom of the press». Leaving aside the first of these, which have continually been the subject of special studies, let us concentrate on the so-called «freedom of the press» in the capitalist world.

Freedom of the press is a class notion. The press, just like the rest of the mass media, as a component part of the superstructure, will naturally serve the base on which it rests. For the bourgeoisie, the concept of the «freedom of the press» derives from the concept of the freedom of private property. While the latter is the basis of the system, the «freedom of the press» presupposes its glamorizing this freedom of private property, presenting it as everlasting and brainwashing the reader, listener and spectator with the tastes and opinions of the ruling class. The bourgeois mass media has the mission of disorientating and enslaving the masses, of making their consciousness wither up and of diverting their attention from the urgent political problems of the day. Outside this framework there is no «freedom» of the imperialist mass media and in our day there are quite a lot of examples showing what lies in store for workers of the bourgeois press who make the mistake of publishing materials exposing the truth about so-called freedom in the capitalist world. There is permanent control over the mass media, in the first place by those who own it. An analysis of the situation of the mass media of the imperialist bourgeoisie, proceeding from the fact of who owns the means of production of the press and who it serves, provides an accurate view of the so-called «freedom of the press» in capitalism. The publication of even a fairly small newspaper in the United States of America needs 5-10 million dollars, in the Federal German Republic about 2 million West German marks, in France 20-30 million francs. This colossal expenditure logically leads to the conclusion that the workers and the other labouring masses who make up the bulk of the readers, have precious little possibility of setting up a newspaper, let alone of building radio-television stations which cost many times more. These possibilities and means are in the hands of the big businessmen of capitalist production, owners of monopolies and trusts.

«The bourgeoisie — Lenin says — by freedom of the press, means the freedom of the rich to publish newspapers, the submission of the press to the capitalists, which in practice, in all the countries, including the freest ones, leads to the selling out of the press».

The mass media in the capitalist world also has its giants who are continually struggling against one another to extend not only the «thought control industry» but also the sphere of its influence. In the capitalist countries a fierce competitive struggle is evident today. Many old newspapers, which in past years also influenced changes in the governmental cabinets, have gone out of business or been compelled to merge, to the advantage of the financially stronger papers. There are many such examples. In the USA such old newspapers as the «New York Herald Tribune», «Journal American», «Life» magazine, etc., went out of business, as did the French papers «Paris Jour» and the British labourite paper: «Daily Herald».

In the USA, of a total of 1,767 dailies, 628 are in the hands of the big monopoly groups. The American monopoly «Scrips Howard» has 20 press publications, while the «Reader Publishers» concern owns 15 newspapers, 5 radiostations and 2 television transmitters. The American television network is in the hands of three big private companies: CBS (Columbia Broadcasting System), N.B.C. (National Broadcasting Company) and A.B.C. (American Broadcasting Company). These three companies have a monopoly on producing and screening TV programmes in the United States and other countries of the world. C.B.S. programmes have been distributed to 94 countries, while N.B.C. has 93 sister companies and screens film series over more than 300 TV stations. These three companies are closely connected with the U.S. military-industrial complex. The war general staff in the USA— the Pentagon itself, controls dozens of TV stations and 200 radio stations. In Britain all the newspapers are in the hands of five big concerns. The propaganda magnate, Tomson, alone, owns 179 newspapers, 16 TV stations, 11 radio stations, printing shops, publishing houses, etc., at home and abroad. In the Federal German Republic the «Springer» concern has control of 30 per cent of the weekly press, almost 100 per cent of the Sunday press and almost 80 per cent of the magazines directed at the youth. In France the «Hachette» trust owns almost half the newspapers in that country. There is also

a pronounced international concentration in that country. There is also a pronounced international concentration of news agencies. The «Associated Press», «United Press International», «Reuter» and «France Press» agencies have extended their influence to almost the whole world and have a monopoly of the accumulation and distribution of information.

## II

**The ideology, psychology, morality and aesthetic opinions of man are related to those of the society in which he militates.** The progress of public opinion in these aspects will always have a class character. In this framework the mass media, or as it has been otherwise described «the thought control industry», has an important role in socialism as well as in capitalism. But the criteria, forms and methods of the mass media in socialism differ radically from those of capitalism; they aim at contributing to the creation of a new man, sound from the political and ideological viewpoint, with a broad horizon of interests and aesthetic tastes. In the capitalist world it is quite a different case, there they aim at creating automatons without any opinions of their own, but commanded by the interests dictated by the ruling capitalist bourgeoisie. In this way, the mass media in the capitalist world has been transformed into a giant plant manufacturing standard dreams which aim at creating the inner world of men, directing their mentality, morality, tastes, feelings and, consequently, directs them towards conformism too. Thus, as in the economy, here we have to do with an assembly line in ideology.

In moulding public opinion, the mass media in the capitalist world pursue a tactical line based on such methods of work as sensationalism, silence, misinformation, slander, etc. In the mass propaganda of the bourgeoisie sensationalism is a principal method of influencing people's thinking which aims at diverting the attention of the ordinary people from the important problems of life, giving stress to what is in the interest of the bourgeoisie and keeping silent on what is not in its interests. Indeed, silence and sensationalism are two sides of the same coin. The press, radio and television feed the ordinary people a staple diet of side issues, which they swell and raise to the level of headline news, purposely leaving aside important political events. Speaking of

this method of work of the bourgeois propaganda, the British magnate, North-cliff, has stated that «the force of the press resides in its silence».

Hypocrisy, lies, misinformation and slander are the real countenance of the bourgeois mass propaganda. The bourgeois ideologists and propagandists continually speak of the «objectivity» and «impartiality» of the press, radio and television in capitalism. But this method of work attributed to the capitalist mass media by the bourgeois ideologists is non-existent and is exposed by reality with every passing day. One can speak of «objectivity» only when it is a matter of quarrels or contradictions between the groups and factions of the bourgeoisie and its politicians. But even this occurs very rarely, for the owners of the mass media belong to specific political groups of the bourgeoisie or serve the bourgeois party which is in power. The big Italian bourgeois newspaper «Corriere Della Sera» wrote some time ago that «it is enough to listen to a single RAI-TV broadcast to become convinced that the words do not come from the editors' office, but from the secretariats or politicians of the parties in power. Our television – the same newspaper writes – is the television of «signor si» («Yes, sir»).

The bourgeois propaganda misinforms by purposely and blatantly distorting every movement and demand of the working class as well as the most important international events. It is particularly directed against socialism and the revolutionary movements of the different peoples.

The American psychiatrist Wertheim, speaking of the underlying purpose of the imperialist propaganda, characterized it as follows: «It is in fact something like a big hate machine. The slanders are directed against any country which is included in the orbit of the potential enemy. What is good there, is not taken into account at all, while anything bad is forcefully stressed». Such a method of work of the bourgeois propaganda can be illustrated with these two facts: At the beginning a wall of absolute silence was built up around the great October Socialist Revolution, and later on, a frenzied campaign of slander and misinformation was conducted to isolate it from the outside world while today we are witnessing the blatant distortions and endless lies broadcast by the imperialist and revisionist mass media with regard to our country, at a time when many foreigners who have

come to Albania, admiring the successes and the great progress we have made, have been surprised and have stated that they had been misinformed by what the hostile propaganda in the West was dishing up.

### III

In these recent years there has been great technical progress of the mass media and it has also been greatly extended. In the most developed areas of the world, according to the data compiled by various experts, there is one daily newspaper for every family (in some cases even two) while only one person out of almost 10.000 is outside the influence of the press. The situation regarding radio is similar. As a result of the intensive development of television today, by the end of the present decade the TV set will be in the same position as the radio is now. Indeed, the large proportions of the development of television, in many aspects, has made it the most effective means of propaganda. Commercial advertising over television in the capitalist countries has been a boon for capitalist businessmen. The emergence of television deprived the newspapers and later, radio, of a part of the profits they made prior to this, in most cases getting a monopoly of advertising. Advertising time on television is limited, thus there is fierce struggle for the time slots. In Italy, for example, of the more than 1000 firms demanding advertising time on television, an average of 300 manage to obtain it.

The technical development of the propaganda, media and particularly of television has also provoked great debate concerning its negative or positive influence on the man's psychology. The TV programme is not only a problem of choice as in theatre, concert or cinema, but an important problem with its blessings and evils, it has become a social phenomenon and the sociology of the viewers is still at its initial stage and has not been studied. The influence of television on man's consciousness and psychology is many times greater than the influence of the press and the radio. Man today is under the influence of many and various information sources. Every TV programme presents in general the interests of its own state, not only in the fields of morality, culture and tradition, but also its political and ideological opinions. But public

opinion is not always informed and does not always react in the same way. This occurs because of the heterogenous character of society, the ideological, political, cultural and moral levels.

The bourgeoisie, aware of the value of dispersing its ideology through television, also knows how to disperse it in the directions where it will exert the most influence, such as through programmes on cultural, moral and ethical problems. Films of this nature occupy 40-60 per cent of programmes on bourgeois television. Moral censorship is not applied to many bourgeois and revisionist programmes and this influences the morals and education of the youth and children, who are also the most curious and vulnerable viewers. Many TV programmes and films openly propagate moral degeneration, neuroses, attacks by gangsters, stabbings, and various acts of sadism. The Latin-American sociologist, Armando Iturbo, listed the number of cases of violence screened over the various channels of Venezuelan television over a period of one week: three of the four TV channels showed films and programmes which included 46 murders, 153 injuries, 16 cases of rape, 187 beatings and 46 acts of hooliganism. The bourgeoisie compiles its television programmes in such a way with the aim of cultivating apoliticism in the youth, apathy towards pressing social problems, with the aim of creating automatons in order to guarantee that its rule will not be challenged. On the other hand, it relies greatly on its ideological influence in other countries to prepare a «fifth column» to extend its rule outside the country.

The results of such propaganda and education are quick to appear in the capitalist world. An inquiry conducted in the Federal German Republic among school age children of higher grades showed that 50 per cent of the youngsters like programmes about the police best, 74 per cent follow adventure films, and only 17 per cent of the boys and girls were interested in programmes about science and technology. Every day, West German television screens events and films relating to crime. Facts show that such an education is not without results. In the Federal German Republic there are more than 3.000 suicides a year among children and adolescents. The West German newspaper «Frankfurter Rundschau», writing about the results of a commission in connection with the influence on children

of the systematic demonstration of force, states that «facts gathered by the commission show that children who see acts of aggression, in the majority of cases, copy what they have seen».

The imperialist bourgeoisie has placed great hopes on realizing its ideological diversion through the mass media. It has succeeded in the revisionist countries, where its ideology was not counteracted by the sound proletarian Marxist-Leninist ideology. The clash of the two ideologies is a characteristic of our time; it will certainly end with the victory of the new and immortal ideology - Marxism-Leninism.



In the framework of the allround development of agriculture fruit growing is a special concern. New very large plantations of high quality fruit trees and vineyards have been planted. In the photo: A rich grape harvest in a new vineyard in the vicinity of Tirana

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*The Government of the People's Republic of Albania was informed of the memorandum of the Government of the Republic of Finland of June 15, 1973. On this occasion it once more puts forward, its stand concerning the question of European security and the convening of a "General European conference on security and cooperation".*

The People's Republic of Albania, as a European socialist state, has always stood for genuine peace and security in Europe, loyally following a principled and freedom-loving foreign policy; it has made its modest contribution to the achievement of this lofty aim. The Albanian people, who have suffered a great deal in the past from the predatory policy of the imperialist powers, who have made numerous sacrifices to win and defend national freedom and independence, and who are today putting all their energies to work for the development and progress of their country, cherish the cause of peace and security in Europe. Just as they fought side by side the other peoples against Nazi fascism, they are determined and ready to unite their efforts with those of the freedom-loving peoples of Europe for the establishment of a stable peace and fruitful cooperation on the European continent.

The European peoples want to live free and independent, in friendship and harmony with one another. Quite rightfully they want Europe, from where the aggressive imperialist forces launched two world wars, within three decades, to be free from sources of tension and armed conflicts, to be secure and stable. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania correctly understands and appraises the sincere efforts of many European countries to transform Europe into a region of peace and tranquillity. It is of

# MEMORANDUM OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF FINLAND

the opinion that the effective and real solution of such a problem of vital importance, as European security, becomes more necessary because of the complicated situation which has arisen in Europe as a result of the hegemonistic and aggressive policy of the two superpowers - the USA and the Soviet Union.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania on many occasions, and particularly in its memorandum of November 8, 1972, has clearly expressed its views on European security and on the conference to be held on this subject, stressing that it in no way serves the real solution of this problem. The initiators and organizers of this conference are US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, precisely those who keep on their feet the aggressive blocs of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, who have set up numerous military bases and have incessantly increased their war potential and the number of their troops in the territories of many European countries, who have brutally interfered in the internal affairs of the European countries and have undertaken grave acts against their independence and sovereignty, including armed aggression, and who always constitute the main danger to peace and security in Europe. Behind the plan or the inter-European conference and the various formulations on so-called European security and cooperation are hidden the aims of the two superpowers to place the European peo-

ples and countries under their dependence and domination, to perpetuate the status quo and their spheres of influence. That is why, the People's Republic of Albania opposes this «security» and did not take part in the Helsinki consultations for the preparation of an inter-European conference. The recent course of events shows that no concrete steps have been taken towards preparing conditions for achieving real security in Europe, but on the contrary the situation continues to be complicated, full of tension and contradictions. The Helsinki consultations, as was expected, do not show any way out of this situation and did not meet the aspirations of the peoples of Europe. They have also disillusioned many countries, which, proceeding from their good will, hoped that these consultations would serve to give a positive direction to the efforts for finding a way of bringing about European security. Testimony to this is the fact that numerous participants in the Helsinki consultations now have reservations about the way they were held and the decisions which were taken.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania is of the opinion that the inter-European conference, because of the actual conditions under which it is being convened, the way it was prepared and especially its manipulation by both superpowers, cannot genuinely contribute to the achievement of European security, cannot create a real guarantee to safeguard

the European peoples and countries from the threat of war and aggression, to defend their independent and territorial integrity. In fact, this conference will do nothing but increase insecurity in Europe. The People's Republic of Albania considers the efforts of the two superpowers to present the conference as the beginning of a new epoch for the European peoples and countries, an epoch of peace, tranquillity and understanding, as dangerous. It is not realistic to think that real peace and security in Europe are served by the approval of one or several documents or by the announcement of some known and accepted principles on the sovereign equality of states, the non-use of force, etc. No formal undertaking about respect for these principles by the two superpowers can guarantee the independence and sovereignty of the European countries because it is well known that they have violated and continue to violate them unscrupulously when their hegemonistic interests require it.

Hopes that the conference to be convened in Helsinki can take concrete measures for the realisation of European security are unjustifiable as long as every path to the examination of the fundamental problems, whose solution is essential for real peace and security in Europe, is closed; no positive result can be expected from it, as the peoples want, when it does not set itself the aim of clarifying, first and foremost, the key problem -

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where the danger to Europe comes from, who really threatens the European countries and peoples, and from whom they must defend themselves.

Numerous facts testify to the correctness of the view-point of the Government of the PR of Albania which long ago warned that the Soviet Union and the USA will lead the question of European security onto a road dangerous to the interests of peace and the peoples, that «the General European conference on security and cooperation», as a product of Soviet-US collaboration will serve both superpowers and that it cannot emerge from the control of their manipulation, nor from the framework of talks between the aggressive blocs they lead.

It is crystal clear that the Helsinki consultations were held under the pressure and dictate of the USA and the Soviet Union, expressed in the approval of the procedure for the holding of the proceedings, in setting the agenda, and in assigning the date for the beginning of the inter-European conference. The experience of the multi-partite Helsinki consultations strengthens our conviction that there is no room to hope that the two superpowers can be compelled, through a conference organized and controlled by them, to take into consideration the rights and interests of the European countries and to respect known international norms. Irrespective of the fact that the USA and the Soviet Union tried to preserve a «democratic appearance», in reality they trampled underfoot the principle of equality and the free expression of the will of the participating countries. They did not take into consideration the opinions and stands of many of them, but through pressure, blackmail and promises, tried to compel some delegations to keep silent or give up any view that did not comply with the direction and character they wanted to give the coming conference.

There is no doubt that the USA and the Soviet Union will use such methods, on



a wider scale, during the proceedings of the conference, too. Having all the strings of the conference in their hands, they will never allow it to take decisions in opposition to their interests and aims, they will curb the participating countries from influencing the proceedings of the conference and will make many of them disillusioned.

In order to become better convinced of the false character of the statements and claims of the two superpowers, that with the inter-European conference they have allegedly no other aim but to work for peace and security, suffice it to take into consideration the fact that precisely on the eve of this conference alongside the noise about so-called detente in Europe, they are increasing political, military and economic pressure on the European countries and taking measures to strengthen their military alliance, to consolidate their positions in their respective spheres of influence. While Soviet social imperialism persistently implements the aggressive theory of «limited sovereignty», US imperialism, through the plan for a «new Atlantic charter» wants to reduce the opposition of many countries of Western Europe towards the US policy and strengthen its control in that area.

The practice of the two superpowers has long been crystalized in the tendency to prevent the sovereign countries, from freely and effectively, on the basis of equality, taking part in and making their contribution to the solution of important international problems, and to monopolize these problems and solve them between themselves, in their own interest and behind the backs and at the expense of the other countries, even at the expense of their own allies. Testimony to this are the SALT talks, the Soviet-US collaboration and secret diplomacy in the UNO and in other international forums, the organisation by the USA and the Soviet Union, parallel with the Helsinki consultations, of the Vienna conference on the

mutual reduction of forces in Central Europe as well as their continuous bilateral contacts through various channels.

The Nixon-Brezhnev talks that have just ended are a complete confirmation of the efforts of the two superpowers to assign themselves the role of world arbiters and rulers. In these talks agreements were reached and plots were hatched violating the vital interests of sovereign peoples and countries; agreements through which both superpowers give new, mutual guarantees to respect each other's spheres of influence, to avoid confrontation between them, to establish relative tranquillity in some tension points with a view to being free to concentrate on the extension of their expansion in others parts of the globe and to seize strategic positions, to secure new markets and sources of raw materials.

The results of the Soviet-US summit meetings constitute another blow to the just solution of the question of European security. The inter-European conference that is being convened immediately after these meetings, is now being faced with accomplished facts. The conference will be asked to sanction and legitimize the decisions taken in Washington, Camp David and San Clemente in connection with the European problems. Both superpowers, which by now have already come to terms as to how the conference will be held, will use it to disorientate the European peoples and to strengthen the false impression that something is being done about guaranteeing peace in Europe.

The questions are naturally raised: what will happen to Europe after the conclusion of the «General European conference on security and cooperation» and what will the decisions to be made by this conference and the organs it may set up bring to Europe? What guarantee will the European peoples have that, in the future, they will not fall a victim of aggression, as happened to the Czechoslovak people

in August 1968? Europe cannot be made secure as long as the aggressive NATO and Warsaw blocs remain untouched, as long as their military bases are preserved and an end is not put to the presence of foreign armed forces in the territories of some European countries, as long as the Federal German Republic, with revanchist tendencies, is openly encouraged to play an ever greater role in European questions especially to the detriment of its neighbours; as long as the aims and hegemonistic policy of both superpowers are unchanged. In Europe, peace and stability as well, cannot be guaranteed as long as the two superpowers maintain their aggressive war fleets and military bases in the Mediterranean basin, in the Middle East and in other areas of the world where there is a situation of tension and turmoil.

Stable peace and genuine security in Europe will only be realized by the resolute struggle of the European peoples and countries, first and foremost against the hegemonistic policy on the two superpowers. The peace-loving European peoples and countries are able to solve their problems by themselves. They should not allow the two superpowers to capitalize on their feelings and aspirations, but should resolutely defend their lofty national interests and incessantly strengthen their sovereignty and independence.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania, once more confirming its wellknown and unchanging stand on the question of European security, opposes the holding of the «general conference on security and cooperation» and declares that it will not take part in it. The People's Republic of Albania, just as always, will constantly work, together with the other European countries that cherish freedom and independence, to make its contribution to the achievement of genuine peace and security in Europe.

Tirana, June 29, 1973.

At every moment of their life  
children are cared for  
by the whole society. Thousands of  
crèches, kindergartens, houses of culture  
and sporting grounds have  
been opened for them in Albania.  
In the photo: Children of an elementary  
school preparing  
for an end of the year gymnastics  
and sports exhibition





# **NEW SOVIET-US AGREEMENTS- A GRAVE CHALLENGE TO ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD**

**The Albanian press commented extensively on the visit of the General Secretary of the CPSU to the USA and on the new Soviet-US agreements that resulted from this visit. The organ of the CC of the PLA, «ZËRI I POPULLIT», devoted two editorial articles to this visit. We publish the editorials with very few abridgements**

**THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU ARRIVED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND WAS WELCOMED WITH ALL THE HONOURS AND CEREMONIES RESERVED FOR KINGS AND EMPERORS. NEITHER US PROTOCOL NOR THAT OF OTHER CAPITALIST COUNTRIES ALLOWS THE HEADS OF PARTIES, PARTICULARLY WHEN THEY CALL THEMSELVES COMMUNISTS, TO BE RECEIVED WITH SUCH CEREMONY. BUT THE AMERICANS, BUSINESSMEN THAT THEY ARE, ARE NOT** worried about protocol being violated when their business interests are at stake. And thus a 21-gun salute from guns placed in the gardens of the White House announ-

**ced to Washington and the whole of the United States that the ruler of all Russia had come to visit the president of the United States.**

But the sumptuous ceremony did not place the guest in a awkward position. In accepting this imperial ritual, as he had done before in Paris and Bonn, he wants to tell not only the rank-and-file Americans, but also Macarthy's successors, that they must not be afraid of his title, because he does not represent any communism. Nixon, anti-communist America, and all international reaction should not be

think that the Soviet Union would lower itself to such a degree as to open the doors to so big and so rapid a flood of American capital whose proportions and intensity surpass even that to the capitalist countries most friendly to the dollar? But it is a fact that the revisionist clique now ruling in the Kremlin is marshallizing the Soviet Union, it is selling the country bit by bit to the US industrialists and monopolists, it is placing the Soviet underground resources under the control of the trusts of Texas, Chicago and California.

There are people who say that the Soviet Union is a big state, and that is why it can receive credit without any fear and from whoever it likes. These suppositions are as empty as they are naive. The history of US imperialism has proved, and every day activity is confirming, that it does not give out a single cent to anyone without being sure of getting their title-deeds. Such a thing is happening now with Siberia too, where, with the mass influx of Yankee capital into this zone and the broad plans for the mass exploitation of its mineral resources by trans Atlantic trusts, all the conditions have been created to turn it into a US protectorate. But the Brezhnev clique accepts this because it aims at placing a double encirclement around China, on the one hand with its own armies which it has long ago concentrated along the Soviet-Chinese border and, on the other, with the Americans who are getting a firm hold on Siberia. The past and the present of US imperialism shows that wherever it pours its capital, it also creates military bases to defend its wealth. It did this in Thailand, in Vietnam and in other countries of Asia, it is doing so in many countries of Europe where the United States not only occupies key economic positions, but has also sent armies to defend these positions by force if need be, to use them as a means of pressure and as bases of aggression against others. Might not the same thing happen with the Soviet Union too?

It is obvious that the Brezhnev clique, which has made its country lag behind development, thinks that, by making broad concessions to the United States and to other imperialist powers, by creating boundless possibilities for them to invest billions of dollars in its country, the Soviet Union will be able to overcome its technological backwardness and become an equal competitor and rival in the world capitalist market. Meanwhile, Brezhnev thinks that while foreign capi-

tal invests in the «civilian» sector of the economy, he will invest national capital in those branches mainly connected with the development of the army and armaments. At first glance it seems as if the plan of the Soviet revisionists is very sophisticated and as if the United States is falling into a trap, as if, with its own hands, it is helping its competitor for world domination to become economically and militarily powerful and to create superiority in sectors which are decisive in the race between them.

However, in reality, things are quite different. US imperialism calculates well and it knows how and where to spend its money. It is fully aware of the present and future potential of the Soviet army, just as it knows the potential of its own army. Of course, it would be wrong to think that it is not concerned about the influence its investments in the Soviet Union will exert on the balance of forces between the two countries, that it does not worry about the creation of a situation which may favour, to some extent, the development of arms. It is aware of these disadvantages, but it also takes into account the importance of its infiltration into the Soviet Union, into the Soviet economy and into the whole life of the country, the degeneration which will be caused by the mass investment of capital, something which will doubtlessly also lead to the weakening and destruction of the defence potential of the Soviet Union.

Will the Soviet army, which has long-standing revolutionary and patriotic traditions from the time of the October Revolution, of Lenin and Stalin, allow a degenerate clique to sell out the country to US imperialism? Will the Russian people and the other peoples of the Soviet Union sit back with folded arms when they see the return of the foreign concessionaires and usurers who were overthrown together with czarism in 1917, the magnates of New York, London, Tokyo, Berlin, Paris who were smashed together with foreign intervention, the insatiable bankers of the western monopolies who organized the hunger blockade and the sanitary cordon against Soviet Russia, when they see them coming back and walking, stick in hand, into the plants and work sites from where they were expelled 56 years ago? It is impossible for the hatred of the Soviet army and the Soviet people for these leeches and insatiable wolves who for decades sucked the blood of the Russian proletariat to be quelled; it is impossible for them to completely forget the capitulationist and humiliating policy of the old

afraid of «Soviet communism», for it is no longer Leninist, but a kind of surrogate which fully conforms with the USA in all fields and in all directions.

Brezhnev went to the United States of America as a merchant who has put the main riches of his country up for auction in the imperialist market. The offers are greater than even the shrewd Wall Street bankers imagined. And who could ever

czars, which the new Kremlin czars are reviving, it is impossible to completely eliminate from their consciousness the feeling of great danger threatening their national interests and their future as a great country and state.

The US imperialists think that now they can make any bargain with Brezhnev because they see him as the strong man of the Soviet Union. They think that Brezhnev, after having included in the political bureau Grechko, Gromyko and Antropov, who are at the head of the army apparatus, foreign policy and the police, has greatly strengthened his position and that he has become all-powerful and his power is unshakable. But those who know the Soviet Union and the Soviet people cannot reconcile themselves with such reasoning and appraisal. Neither the Soviet people nor the Soviet army can ever approve, let alone support Brezhnev's adventurous plans for there can be neither a pure state nor a pure army where the ideology and capital of imperialism have penetrated, they cannot escape from being gnawed by the capitalist worm, from decaying and degenerating.

Brezhnev's power and position are weak not only due to the Soviet people's opposition to his policy and to the lack of support of the labouring masses for his opportunist and anti-popular line; it is a known fact that there are fierce contradictions and opposition in the supreme Soviet leadership despite efforts to conceal them. These are based on anti-Marxism and develop on the basis of the struggle for power; that is why they also have the tendency to deepen increasingly. There was a time, after Khrushchev's overthrow, when the Soviet chieftains had a great deal to say about the collective spirit allegedly existing among them and about Brezhnev being considered an "equal among equals". But this period, when Khrushchev's "subjectivism" was being criticized, ended very quickly. Brezhnev came out at the head of everything; he took control of everything, from the economy to foreign policy. As emerges, he did not like Kosygin's meeting with Johnson in Glassboro, either and now he has completely edged out his Prime Minister who once, as the head of the government, dealt with the problems of foreign relations. It seems that his shadow and the popularity he was gaining, hindered the "brilliance" Brezhnev was seeking to give himself as the

sole holder of power in the Kremlin. Actually, Brezhnev has taken the reins in his hands, but his colleagues in the revisionist leadership are no better. They, too, would act like him if they could. Facts show that the seizure of power by the Khrushchevites was catastrophic for the Soviet Union. They reduced the country to the point of asking for bread, machines and technical patents from U.S. imperialism, which is the sworn enemy of the peoples of the whole world. Now the revisionist Soviet Union has been transformed into a beggar in such a scandalous way that it cannot supply even its so-called "socialist" partners, with raw materials, although it has obligations to them sealed by interstate organs specially created for this purpose. And because of this the economies of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland, not to mention that of the German Democratic Republic are suffering. The revisionist cliques of these countries, which have become playthings of the Soviet revisionists, servilely accept this very difficult situation in which Moscow has placed them. Now, following the example of their boss, they too want to find a way out by allying themselves with U.S. imperialism and with the other imperialists. But will the peoples and communists of these countries allow this?

The pseudo-revolutionary clique today ruling in the Kremlin comes to the assistance of the United States at a time when U.S. imperialism is undergoing one of the most serious crises in its history. It helps U.S. imperialism to overcome the crisis in Vietnam, in NATO, the Watergate crisis, the foreign exchange crises, with markets, fuel resources in the sphere of capital investments, while politically, it helps it to conceal the defeats suffered in Vietnam, Indochina and elsewhere, to whitewash the defeats inflicted on American policy in all zones and in all continents.

It is no accident that Brezhnev does not want to talk with Nixon about the Watergate scandal, just as the Soviet press, too, has remained silent about it. And what could he say when it turns out that his partner is a first class gangster? But there was another reason why he could not speak: Brezhnev himself and his clique have put not just a few persons, but the entire people, under the surveillance of the secret services.

Brezhnev's going to the United States and his despicable bargainings with Nixon and the other chieftains of U.S. imperia-

lism have offended and angered all the Bolsheviks in the Soviet Union, who cannot fail to rise up and smash this second Khrushchev.

The Soviet people, who have a great responsibility towards themselves and the other peoples of the world, will certainly rise to stay the hand of political adventurers like Brezhnev and company. And the Soviet people are moving. Manifestations and demonstrations are taking place, and more than once the army has been called in to suppress them. The clique in power is attempting to stigmatize the participants in these demonstrations as psychopaths and hooligans; it tries to discredit them by every means and labels them with all sorts of names in an attempt to diminish the proportions and political importance of their actions, in the eyes of internal and world public opinion. But the truth is quite different. There is great resistance in the Soviet Union to the Brezhnev and Kosygin clique, there is perceptible dissatisfaction with the revisionist policy and pronounced hatred for their practices, especially for their close collaboration with U.S. imperialism. At the head of this resistance are the old and young Bolsheviks whom the Soviet people do not confuse with such garbage as Solzhenitsyn and company.

The Soviet revolutionaries are currently in a difficult situation and their struggle is not an easy one. But it is certain that they will successfully overcome all obstacles, for they have outstanding traditions and a wealth of experience in the revolutionary struggle, and they will know how to cope with the sacrifices and privations it requires.

"The challenge U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism make to the peoples of the world is very great and exceptionally disgusting. The chieftains of the two superpowers are trying to make their arbitrariness in international relations a law, to have their dictate accepted by others as a supreme order and to have world questions solved and decided upon in Washington and Moscow. The agreements that were concluded during the recent Brezhnev-Nixon meeting as well as those as yet kept secret, are another expression of the objectives of the Soviet-U.S. alliance, which seeks to strangle everything revolutionary and progressive in the world, to occupy and rule over all the countries.

Now the United States and the Soviet Union are seeking public recognition of

their right, as stipulated in one of the articles of the so-called agreement on the prevention of nuclear war, to strangle every revolution, liberation struggle or popular uprising which, according to the judgement of the two superpowers, endangers their tranquillity. Article 4 of this agreement requires that the U.S. and Soviet governments consult each other and undertake joint and combined action whenever they think that some act of another country, some relations between other countries, have reached such an extent as to pose the danger of a nuclear or other kind of conflict. In other words, the two superpowers will consult with each other and adopt joint measures to interfere wherever their power and domination are endangered, wherever their imperialist interests are at stake.

Such a code of international arbitrariness is comparable only to the «holy alliance» of the feudal emperors of Europe at the beginning of the last century. The new Soviet-U.S. treaty, which for demagogical and deceptive purposes they baptized the «agreement on the prevention of nuclear war», will go down in the annals of world relations as a savage and diabolical effort to raise interference in the internal affairs of other states to a norm of international law, and to call the trampling under foot of the rights of others a virtue of international behaviour.

But however hard the authors of this treaty may try to whitewash this ugly product of their aggressive and hegemonistic policy, they will never be able to convince others that the new Soviet-U.S. nuclear agreement promotes peace and international security. All the agreements recently concluded between the Soviet revisionists and the U.S. imperialists, show their aggressiveness, arrogance and arbitrariness in all directions, against the peoples and against their own partners. They are not disarming but on the contrary are preserving their entire war arsenal and, by means of it, think they can suppress anyone who opposes their dictate.

The leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union unscrupulously declare that the agreements concluded between them are aimed at preventing the emergence of international crises, at avoiding military confrontations and the creation of situations that aggravate the relations between states, at diminishing the danger of war, etc. But the question posed today is the same as that posed yesterday and the day before yesterday. Who is threatening

world peace, who is causing crises, who is preparing for war and aggression? And the answer is the same: The U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists. It is they who dominate entire zones of influence and who are looking for more, it is they who are frenziedly conducting the armaments race and threatening the peoples of the whole world through atomic blackmail, it is they who maintain military bases in foreign countries and have filled the seas and skies with war ships and aircrafts, it is they who impose neocolonialism on the peoples and exploit them economically. The black list of their aggressive policy, of their plots and intrigues is endless. Was it due to the lack of such a treaty as the one concluded now that the United States launched the war in Korea and committed aggression in Vietnam, interfered in Cuba and sent its armies to San Domingo, set Israel against the Arabs and strangled the revolution in the Congo. Did the Soviet tanks enter Prague and were the armed provocations carried out on the border with China because at that time the two superpowers were not yet convinced that «peace should be strengthened», and have they become convinced of this now?

Agreement or no agreement, the aggressive and expansionist policy and aims of the two superpowers, that stem from their very system, remain unchanged. What is new is that they now aim at jointly establishing an international counterrevolutionary dictatorship, that together they seek to judge any popular revolt and revolutionary stand of the peoples in order to seize power from them, and from their satellites, that, under the pretext of the danger to peace, they want to interfere in order to put out the flames of revolution wherever they may flare up.

The U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists also created a kind of special apparatus for working out this joint reactionary policy and to jointly administer world affairs. They decided to create a kind of diarchy which will find its practical application in the annual meeting of the president of the United States of America and the general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. They want to use these meetings to draw up the balance-sheet of international relations and to fix new directions of future action for the two superpowers.

From the capital city of America, which represents the most savage and most bar-

barous imperialism that mankind has ever known, which represents the centre of open anticommunist reaction, Brezhnev, who bears the title of general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, made a call «to break courageously with whatever is an obstacle, and with the old, to march forward on the road of strengthening peace, relaxing tension and developing collaboration». But he said nothing about whether there is class struggle in the world or not, whether there are peoples who are still struggling for freedom and independence, whether the working people of various countries have revolutionary aspirations and are making revolutionary efforts, whether there is colonialism and exploitation. He did not speak about these because, in his opinion, revolution, socialism, freedom and national independence, belong to the time when people were «slaves of old tendencies».

The revolutionary movements of the peoples for freedom and democracy, the internationalist solidarity of the working class, are in opposition to the imperialist interests of the two superpowers who want to suppress them by force on the basis of the agreements they have concluded. What is now in the interest of the Soviet revisionists is the relaxation of tension with their American rivals and the mutual pledge not to interfere in each other's zones of influence, the avoidance of friction and conflicts between them. They want to create an equilibrium in which the world should be obedient and in which nothing should shake their domination.

This policy and tendency were also shown by the new agreements between the two superpowers which, on the question of the division of the zones of influence, gave each a free hand to act efficiently in their respective zones and not disturb the established equilibrium. A clear example in this direction is provided by the Middle East. This area is pregnant with revolutionary struggles. Such a situation is dangerous to the two superpowers which, on the one hand, have established their influence and, on the other, are trying to defend these interests at any cost. Thus, now they do not allow the Arabs to claim the territories occupied by Israel, under the pretext that allegedly this would cause a world war. This is why the «no peace no war» situation was reconfirmed during the recent Brezhnev-Nixon meetings. The same thing can be said about other areas.

But the Arab people understand the plots

cooked up by their enemies and will not endure the dictate of the imperialists and social-imperialists.

Commenting on the anti-Arab stand adopted by Brezhnev and Nixon and which also clearly emerges from reading the section of the last Soviet-U.S. communique which touches on the Middle East problem, the main Egyptian newspaper «Al Ahram» wrote in its editorial of June 28: «If America was really concerned, it would stop sending large amounts of weapons to Israel, with a view to putting an end to the aggressive policy of that state. Similarly, had the Soviet Union been concerned, it would have availed itself of this rapprochement in the political field and would persuade the United States of America to do likewise, the newspaper continues. But, we have learnt that in international politics individual interest comes before principles». «The Soviet Union does not agree with the Egyptian view, according to which the liberation of the occupied territories cannot be realized without using armed force. The Soviet Union does not consider the Middle East crisis as one of the most important problems and it does not want its policy of understanding with the United States of America to be disturbed due to the Middle East, the Egyptian newspaper «Al Akhbar» writes. Almost all of the press of the various Arab countries writes in this spirit. The Arab world's opposition to the stand adopted by Brezhnev and Nixon towards the Middle East conflict is further evidence that the Arab people are becoming increasingly more conscious of the fact that the two superpowers, with a view to preserving their own imperialist interests, support Israel against the Arabs; that their great and just national cause can advance and win if they take it completely into their own hands and fight for its realisation with all their forces through to the end. The new Soviet-U.S. agreements have also been received with suspicion and obvious concern by the allies of the two superpowers, who feel that their most vital interests too are being violated. The agreements give U.S. imperialism full rights, to establish order in the fold of its military alliances when it considers that its will has not been carried out. Likewise, if a state favoured by U.S. imperialism threatens the interests of the other NATO members, those threatened have no rights and should not object.

The same thing can be said about the members of the Warsaw Pact. The So-

viet official spokesman made it clear during the signing of the agreements with the United States, that the Brezhnev doctrine on «limited sovereignty» would be applied as before, without any mitigation and without any concession, in the future too. Brezhnev's visit to the United States was new evidence showing how far the Soviet revisionists have departed from Marxism-Leninism, how much they have betrayed the cause of the October Revolution and the work of Lenin and Stalin, how much they have lowered the authority and respect the Soviet Union once enjoyed in the world as the first country of socialism, how heavily they have hit the prestige and lofty name of the Soviet peoples. The impression and conviction created by the secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in America, even among the ultra reactionaries and anti-communists, was that American public opinion found itself before a real businessman who was as far from communism as the directors of the New York banks or the Texas oil kings. And indeed, as an American news agency wrote, «who could believe that» while red flags fluttered in Pennsylvania, the leader of the giant communist state would talk in a room filled with capitalist millionaires». The American press observed with great satisfaction that during all his long speeches, toasts and interviews with journalists, Brezhnev did not use what he calls «communist terminology», he did not say a word that might refer to socialism or Marxism. This «softening of language by the Soviets» or «lack of communist rhetoric», as Rogers called it, was hailed in America as new evidence of the final detachment of the Kremlin leaders from the revolutionary and socialist past of the Soviet Union.

The only time Brezhnev mentioned Lenin's name was to present him as though he had laid the foundations of the present Soviet-U.S. collaboration realized by Brezhnev and company. These people pretend that they base themselves on Lenin in selling raw materials and making concessions to the U.S. capitalists. Here we have to do with a distortion of Lenin's ideas and his stand towards U.S. imperialism; this is obvious. But the revisionists are not ashamed to make such distortions. What is one more distortion of Leninism to those who have turned it entirely upside down. However the Kremlin chiefs quote some of Lenin's theses in order to conceal and justify their betrayal. It is true that Lenin spoke of trade with

the capitalists, but in quite a different sense and, moreover, for a purpose quite different from that which the revisionists now give Soviet-U.S. collaboration. Lenin stood for trade which would serve and defend the revolution, contribute to breaking the blockade which the whole imperialist world of that time had imposed on the first socialist state. He saw it as a means to split the interventionist bloc of the imperialists countries, to create new contradictions in the capitalist world and to exploit the old ones. Lenin's principle on this entire question was: «We do trade, but we make no political or ideological concessions, we do not give up revolution, we do not give up the solidarity with and support for the revolutionary movement». Lenin's stand towards U.S. imperialism was profoundly principled and consistent, and whatever efforts the present-day revisionists of the Soviet Union may make, they cannot distort and interpret it as they wish. Lenin said that blood flows from every American dollar, and he was the first to point out with unmatched insight the aggressive and predatory character of U.S. imperialism. More than once during his revolutionary activity he appealed for vigilance and uncompromising struggle against the biggest and most dangerous imperialism ever known, to world history.

Lenin opposed secret diplomacy, denouncing and exposing it as one of the most hated methods used by the bourgeoisie to conceal its reactionary actions against the freedom and sovereignty of the peoples. The return of the Soviet revisionist rulers to bourgeois diplomacy is further proof showing how far they have departed from Lenin and Leninism.

Now the Soviet revisionists, after having demolished the theoretical heritage and revolutionary work of Lenin and Stalin, have gone to such an extent as to glorify the dollar and sell the title deeds of the Soviet lands, just as the kings of the Orient allow the capitalist trusts to exploit their land.

Brezhnev himself, by requesting U.S. businessmen to invest as much as possible in the Soviet Union, and following him, the whole of Soviet propaganda, are trying to prove that the two countries profit equally by the Soviet-U.S. political and economic collaboration, and that neither of them has the possibility of creating any superiority over the other. There is no need for any deep analysis to see that through the recently signed Soviet-U.S.



agreements the United States gains more in all fields. Above all, the United States preserves and increases its striking force, all the doors have been opened for it to economically exploit the Soviet Union. The U.S. imperialists gain more, not only because they invest their capital in the Soviet Union, but also because they become arbiters to judge what aspects of the Soviet economy must be developed, which branches of this economy can be supported and which should be discouraged. But above all, the Americans introduce their influence and ideology, and this is their principal victory in this big bargaining. It should be pointed out here that this submission of the Soviet revisionists occurs at a time when in many capitalist countries, whether in Latin America or Europe, the anti-U.S. tide is perceptibly mounting and there is greater opposition to U.S. imperialism. At the same time, in this stand the so-called Soviet communists are even far from de Gaulle who had realized the danger of the infiltra-

tion of U.S. capital and, in his time, openly challenged it.

The entry of U.S. capital and the extension of U.S. influence in the Soviet Union will also create a new situation in its relations with its allies. In fact, the Soviet Union has gone bankrupt and is unable to duly help them. And from now on it will help them even less. The peoples of these countries are faced with only two roads: Either rise in struggle against social imperialism and the revisionist cliques in their countries to take state power in to their own hands, or surrender and accept the double yoke of social imperialism and U.S. imperialism.

The uninterrupted process of Soviet-U.S. rapprochement and collaboration, the increasingly greater coordination of the counterrevolutionary activities of the two superpowers, their continually trampling under-foot the interests of the peoples, and their increasing incorporation of new objectives towards which they increase their expansionist and hegemonic ac-

tions, once more confirm in practice the correctness of the thesis and revolutionary stand of the Party of Labour of Albania, which was also stressed at its 6th Congress that we must fight and expose Soviet social imperialism just as much as U.S. imperialism for they are both cunning and both dangerous. Time confirms that, despite their contradictions, the United States and the Soviet Union have now aligned themselves in a united front against the peoples, that they support and incite each other in their predatory and aggressive aims. Both of them have the same countenance, they are sworn enemies of the revolution and of the peoples; both of them work and fight to strangle socialism. Therefore, in this situation, the struggle on the two fronts, against one imperialism as well as against the other, remains one of the fundamental conditions to cope with the pressure of their counterrevolutionary alliance, to oppose their diabolical manoeuvres and to defeat their aggressive plans.

# CRONICLES

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## Communique

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From June 26 to 28, 1973, under the leadership of the first secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha, the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA was convened, and heard the report of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA «Deepen the ideological struggle against alien manifestations and liberal stands towards them», delivered by the first secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA comrade Enver Hoxha.

The Plenum extensively discussed the report and approved it unanimously.

4th PLENUM  
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
OF THE P.L.A.

Tirana, June 28, 1973

## Decision

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The 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA, at its meetings of June 26-28, 1973, after having heard the report of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA «Deepen the ideological struggle against alien manifestations and liberal stands towards them», delivered by the first secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA comrade Enver Hoxha, extensively discussed it.

### It decided:

1. To fully approve the report of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA.
2. To recommend to the district party committees, grassroot organizations, the state and economic organs, and to the mass organisations that in all their work and ideological struggle against alien ma-

nifestations and liberal stands they should be guided by the important documents of this Plenum.

4TH PLENUM  
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
OF THE P.L.A.

Tirana, June 28, 1973

## Glorious 30th anniversary

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During the first ten days of July numerous political, cultural, artistic and sporting activities were carried out in Tirana, the capital city of the P.R.A., and in all the districts of the Republic, in honour of the 30th anniversary of the creation of the people's army.

Participating in these activities were soldiers, young men and young women, working people of work and production centres, from the countryside and the town. Present were leading cadres of the party, state and army in the centre and district. These activities expressed the combat readiness of the soldiers and the soldier people to defend at all costs in any situation, the victories won with the struggle and sweat of the Albanian people, under the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the PLA and of the beloved leader of the Party and the Albanian people, Enver Hoxha, and to preserve socialist Albania intact from any imperialist and revisionist aggressor who would dare to attack it.

These activities expressed the combat readiness of the steel-like unity of the people and the party, the people and the army, the army and the party.

The soldiers and the soldier people manifested their high ideopolitical and military preparedness, while the professional and amateur artists in their beautiful works displayed in the figurative arts exhibitions which opened in all the districts of our country, depicted in art the high level of ideological, political and military preparation of the people's army and of the soldier people, their opti-

mism and confidence that under the leadership of the Party and of comrade Enver Hoxha Socialist Albania will always march forward on the road of the complete construction of the socialist society.

## **Festive meeting**

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On the evening of July 9th on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the creation of the People's Army, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania and the Tirana district Party Committee organized a festive meeting in the hall of the opera and ballet theater. The meeting was attended by people's heroes, workers from work and production centres, veterans of the national liberation struggle, parents and relatives of martyrs, military men, cooperativists, and young people.

Also present were the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania Enver Hoxha, the president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Haxhi Lleshi, the chairman of the Council of Ministers Mehmet Shehu and other Party and State leaders.

Also present were the military friendship delegation of the People's Republic of China, headed by the vice-chairman of the military commission under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Shu Shian Chien, as well as the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PR of China to the PR of Albania Liu Chen Hua.

Hysni Kapo, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, read the greeting addressed by the first secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA and supreme commander of the armed forces of the P.R.A. comrade Enver Hoxha to the soldiers and officers on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the creation of the People's Army. The speech on the occasion was delivered by the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of People's defence Beqir Balluku.

A group of young men and young women brought the banner with the message from the younger generation of socialist Albania to the first secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA and supreme commander of the armed forces of the PRA comrade Enver Hoxha.

## **Message of the younger generation**

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Dear comrade Enver,

We, the younger generation of Albania, loyal sons of the most glorious generation of the history of our people, representatives of the worker youth, cooperativists, school and student youth and of the youth of all the units of our people's army, of the young pioneers of free socialist Albania, extend to you today, on the day of the 30th anniversary of the founding of our people's army most ardent greetings, and express to you our highest readiness as defenders of freedom, socialism and of the happiness of our people.

Celebrating the 30th anniversary of our glorious army, we started from historic Labinot with a red banner which followed the traces of the partisan glory. We marched through mountain pathways and crossed rushing rivers and everywhere our new song was mixed with the echo of the partisan songs. On this road the people took us to their hearts and we met veterans, patriots, living witnesses of the glorious period of the national liberation struggle. Although gray-haired, they had young, fiery hearts, as in the time when they pledged their word to the party, and the time when, under the leadership of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, they turned the entire country into an unconquerable barricade against the invader and local traitors. We saw everywhere during this unforgettable march the monuments to the fallen and to the battles which commemorated the activity and bloodshed of the heroic generation of the struggle; we also saw the great revolutionary transformations realized in 30 years of struggle and efforts for the socialist construction of the country.

## CRONICLES

*The glory of the past lives so close to us and is closely connected with the present days. We are proud of yesterday's heroism and we have set ourselves the task of entrenching and instilling in us those rare virtues that characterized our brave partisans, the fighters for freedom. These virtues inspire us and strengthen our will to realize our tasks on the front of work, study and defence of the homeland. We are the happiest generation in the world because we have placed ourselves with all our powers at the service of our Homeland and we enjoy all the marvellous fruits of our revolution. This happiness is a majestic achievement of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha. But the imperialists and revisionists, with their usual demagoguery, seek to corrupt and degenerate us. We say to them that the poison of their ideology will never penetrate our youth. The younger generation of Albania has found its happiness in the battles for the construction and defence of our socialist homeland.*

*Dear comrade Enver,*

*Your recent speeches, and in particular your report to the 4th Plenum of the Party Central Committee, have faced the younger generation of Albania with numerous great and glorious tasks. In politically appraising the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, we have undertaken to carry out well the tasks of preparing for the defence of our Fatherland and strengthening our vigilance towards any foreign aggression, and the great tasks of construction work and the tasks in the field of education. The younger generation of Albania has pledged itself to place its work, words and action always, at every moment, in the service of the defence of the Fatherland and, of our tempering with the Marxist-Leninist ideology of our glorious Party.*

**IN THIS GLORIOUS JUBILEE WE ONCE MORE FORCEFULLY EXPRESS OUR PLEDGE THAT WE SHALL BE LOYAL TO DEATH TOWARDS THE PARTY, AND GALLANT SOLDIERS OF OUR SUPREME COMMANDER, COMRADE ENVER HOXHA.**

**LONG LIVE THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA WITH COMRADE ENVER HOXHA AT THE HEAD!**

**LONG LIVE THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF OUR PEOPLE'S ARMY!**

THE YOUNGER GENERATION OF ALBANIA

### **Another of Comrade Enver Hoxha's Works Published in France**

*Recently there was published in France comrade Enver Hoxha's speech "Socialism is built by the masses. The Party makes them conscious", delivered at the Plenum of the Mati regional Party Committee. The book has been published under the auspices of the known French journalist Patrick Kessel who has also written a preface to it.*

### **Friendship Delegation**

*At the invitation of the Ministry of People's Defence a military friendship delegation of the People's Republic of China, headed by the vice chairman of the military commission under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Shu Shian Chien, arrived in Albania on July 8, to attend the celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the creation of the People's Army and for a friendly visit. The delegation attended the activities on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the creation of the People's Army, visited work and production centres and military units, paid homage and placed wreaths on the graves of the martyrs of the Fatherland, visited the house-museum of the Party, and the National Liberation War museum. Wherever it went the military friendship delegation was warmly welcomed by working people, soldiers and young people, who expressed their love for the Communist Party of China, for the great leader of the Chinese people, the best friend of the Albanian people, chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese people's liberation*

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army. During its stay in Albania the delegation was received on July 13 by the first secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA Enver Hoxha. Present at the reception were member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA Hysni Kapo, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of People's Defence Beqir Balluku, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and chief of the general staff of the people's army Petrit Dume, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Nesti Nase, the chief of the political department of the People's Army Hito Çako, and the director of the foreign Department of the CC of the PLA Agim Popa.

Also present were the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PR of China to the PR of Albania Liou Chen Hua and other embassy officials.

The reception passed in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere. The military friendship delegation of the People's Republic of China was received on July 9 by the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania Mehmet Shehu. Present at the reception were the vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of People's Defence Beqir Balluku, the vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers Adil Çarçani, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Nesti Nase, the chief of the political department of the People's Army Hito Çako and the general secretary of the Council of Ministers Kico Kasapi. Also present were the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China to the People's Republic of Albania Liu Chen Hua and other embassy officials. The reception passed in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere. The military friendship delegation was also received by the vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of People's Defence Beqir Balluku.

On July 8th the Ministry of People's Defence gave a dinner at the officers' House of the People's Army in honour of the Military friendship delegation of the People's Republic of China headed by the vice-chairman of the military commission under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Shu Shian Chien.

The dinner passed in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere. During the dinner comrades Beqir Balluku and Shu Shian Chien delivered speeches.

On July 14 the military friendship delegation of the People's Republic of China, headed by the vice-chairman of the military commission under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Shu Shian Chien left Albania. Present at the airport to farewell the comrades in arms were the vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of People's Defence Beqir Balluku, the vice president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania Shetqet Peci, the chief of the general staff of the People's Army Petrit Dume, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Nesti Nase, the secretary of the Tirana district Party Committee Dëshnor Mamaqi, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the district people's council Ndue Marashi, the vice president of the Albanian-China friendship society Hasan Duma, cadres of the people's army, etc.

## Diplomatic relations

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the Government of the Republic of Cameroon, guided by the desire to develop ties of friendship and cooperation, have agreed to establish diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level between the two countries.

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Many articles in the Albanian press were devoted to July 5, the 11th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of Algeria. In two successive issues the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit», organ of the Central Committee of the Party, published the article «Through Algeria», a travelogue by the writer Shefqet Musaraj who visited Algeria some time ago.

The newspaper «Bashkimi», organ of the Democratic Front of Albania, in an editorial devoted to this event writes: «Algeria's proclamation as a free and independent state was achieved as a result of the courageous and heroic national liberation struggle of the Algerian people, under the leadership of the National Liberation Front.

This great historic victory of the fraternal Algerian people clearly showed that when a people fight for a just cause, even against a powerful enemy, their victory is assured. On the other hand, Algeria's example convincingly proves to all the peoples of the world struggling for national liberation that their freedom and independence cannot be expected from the talks, agreements and diplomatic manoeuvres of the great powers or from the resolutions and statements of international organisations, but are won through persistent struggle and courage until final victory over the foreign imperialist colonialists and neocolonialists».

After dealing with the successes Algeria has achieved during these past 11 years and with its correct policy on many international questions, the article says:

The Albanian people, determined and faithful supporters of the just cause of the fraternal Arab people, have wholeheartedly greeted the proclamation of the independence of Algeria. They greatly rejoice over the victories achieved by the friendly people on the road of the development and progress of their homeland.

On this glorious anniversary, we wish them further successes in their efforts to strengthen their homeland and make it flourish toward democracy and social progress».

■

«Prague's euphoria over the ties with Washington», is the title of an article in the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» dealing with Roger's visit to Czechoslovakia. «The visit of the U.S. secretary of state to Prague, which sanctified the further rapprochement of the Czechoslovak chieftains with U.S. imperialism, the article reads in part, should not be considered as separated from Brezhnev's visit to the United States of America and from the Helsinki meeting on so-called European security, since the joint «actions» and warm atmosphere in Soviet-U.S. relations also determine the climate in Prague.

The Czechoslovak revisionists, content with the new stage of rapprochement marked by Rogers' visit to Prague, openly expressed their wish for closer ties and collaboration with U.S. imperialism. At their meeting with the U.S. secretary of state the Czechoslovak chieftains de-

clared: «We are very happy to see our American friends, and we are satisfied with the improvement of Czechoslovak-U.S. relations». Indeed, the fact that within 24 hours Rogers was received by the head of the revisionist party, Hussak, by Prime Minister Strugal, and quite unexpectedly, at the last moments before his departure, by president Svoboda, as well, is a rare event in the history of diplomacy. The rapprochement of Prague with Washington, which is taking place at the example and with the approval of Moscow, has opened the road for it to proceed further, of course, up to a certain extent, since on the one hand the Soviet revisionists would not allow the limits in this direction to be surpassed and since, on the other, Washington is fully aware that it is acting in a Soviet sphere of influence».

■

On the occasion of the 80th anniversary of his birth «Drita», the newspaper of the Albanian Writers' and Artists' League, devoted an article to Majakovski, describing him as a great poet of the masses. The article reads in part: «Majakovski lashed out at the divine words which the individualist poets used to conceal the hollowness of their hearts. He drank from the vivid stream of life and built a poetical epoch which was the revolution itself. Take Majakovski and you will read there the movement of history itself, you will feel the Bolshevik party setting

the millions in motion towards happiness. You will find revolution and the enthusiasm of the ordinary working people; his verse is a «bomb and a flag». The article continues: «Majakovski was a great builder, but not formalist or symbolist in this, merely throwing together poetical forms and models. His metaphors are clear and accurate. He is a powerful organ that spontaneously releases the energy of a free man, with a revolutionary consciousness. He built up an epoch with heroes of his own time and with forms of his own time. He was not an anarchist rebel, discarding the artistic heritage of the past. On the contrary, he consolidated the sound traditions of the culture of his nation. And he was a great innovator. He went with his poetry to the great audience of the people, to the colossal upheavals that the epoch ablaze with class struggle was undergoing» In conclusion the article writes: «Majakovski is very relevant today although the modern revisionists deny this on the pretext that the times have changed. This fanfare serves the denunciation of the revolutionary character of art, a thing which is shown by the anti-socialist essence of present-day poetry in the Soviet Union. Majakovski has been left aside. Indeed there are revisionist critics who criticize his poetry for being too inflammatory. All that is praised of his poetry is some of its structural forms and some verses of the early period, which the poet of the revolution had himself ridiculed after realizing that poetry should not be merely an exercise of capricious

forms, but a powerful weapon in the hands of the masses».

■

The bloody massacres by the Portuguese colonialists in Mozambique have aroused great indignation among Albanian public opinion.

Expressing the opinions of the labouring masses, the press has severely condemned these massacres and has resolutely supported the just struggle of the people of Mozambique and of the other Portuguese colonies.

In an article entitled «The bloody massacres of the portuguese colonialists will be unable to stop the liberation struggle», the newspaper «Bashkimi» writes: «Massacres by the colonialists are becoming increasingly more frequent and monstrous. They are a result of their rage at the victories of the patriotic forces, at the flames of the liberation war having engulfed over 6 of the 9 provinces of Mozambique. One-third of the country's territory, with some 1,2 million inhabitants, has been liberated». The article continues: «It is a well known fact that the rotten Caetano regime and its mercenaries would not be able to stand by themselves even for a few weeks whether in Mozambique or in Angola and Guinea (Bissau). Behind the Portuguese colonialists are the great interests of western predatory capital, the aggressive NATO bloc and, in particular, the United States of America, Britain and Western Germany. They have

invested large amount of capital in the Portuguese colonies and are doing their utmost to perpetuate their colonial rule. Suffice it to mention that the United States of America has given Caetano military aid worth about 400 million dollars.

The aim of the imperialists is to create a wide network of colonies and reactionary and racist regimes in Africa, including South Africa, South Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies, in order to use them as a wedge in the back of the African peoples, as a permanent economic, political and military base of the West and particularly of the aggressive NATO bloc.

The war in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau), and the great victories of the liberation forces are further evidence that the African peoples will not bow down even before the bloody massacres of the colonialists, nor will they be intimidated by their powerful allies and instigators, such as Washington, London or Bonn. Neither will the African people allow themselves to be deceived by the noise of the revisionist propaganda and its appeals to the peoples to pin their hopes for liberation on the «good will» of the superpowers and give up their struggle».

■

«Imperialist-revisionist partnership in the Vienna talks» is the title of an article in «Zëri i Popullit» dealing with the plenary session and preliminary consultations on the «mutual reduction

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of military forces and armaments in Central Europe», held in Vienna between the representatives of the member countries of the military blocs of NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

«The Vienna consultations, which began five months ago, the newspaper writes, concluded with the release of a final communique defining the agenda for the coming talks that will be resumed on October 30th this year in the Austrian capital. «But the coming Vienna consultations and talks 'on the mutual reduction of troops and armaments in Central Europe', like all the imperialist-revisionist agreements and bargainings, are a result of the allround rapprochement, ideological reconciliation and political collaboration of the United States of America and the Soviet Union. They are closely connected with the policy and strategy of the two superpowers, which is clearly expressed in the concept of «peace in Europe and war in Asia». Building up their policy and strategy on such an aggressive imperialist concept, the United States of America and the Soviet Union aim at calming the winds of tension in Europe, in order to direct attention, intrigues, pressure and aggression to other areas of the world, mainly to Asia.

The Vienna talks, the various bilateral agreements and talks and the agreements that may be reached in the framework of these East-West negotiations, are at the same time practical steps by the two superpowers toward proving their mutual confidence, toward giving up the policy of opposition to one another and

toward passing over to that of collaboration in various areas of the world and, in this case, in Europe.

The so-called «mutual reduction of troops and armaments» is also a demagogical manoeuvre by the two superpowers to hoodwink the people's, to create the false impression that steps are being taken toward disarmament, peace, security, etc.

The sovereign peoples and countries of Europe, the article concludes, should not allow themselves to be deceived by the imperialist-revisionist slogans about peace and security. These will be really achieved only through the efforts of the European peoples and countries themselves, forcefully opposing the aggressive plans of the military blocs and the hegemonistic aims of the two imperialist superpowers, and struggling to expell the foreign forces and military bases from Europe.

■  
The newspaper «Bashkimi» devotes a lengthy article to the increasingly closer collaboration between the Soviet social imperialists and the West German monopolies. «The Moscow-Bonn treaty, concluded in August 1970, gave new impetus to the Soviet-West German collaboration and opened great prospects to the penetration of German capital into the Soviet Union» the article reads in part.

«In order to accelerate and further the agreements, many big West German firms and banks

have their representatives in Moscow».

The article continues: «The intensification of the collaboration between Bonn and Moscow does not consist only in the increase of trade exchange and in Moscow receiving credit from West German capital, but also in the merger of the capital of the new Soviet bourgeoisie and of the old German bourgeoisie and in the setting up of joint enterprises. The agreement on long-term collaboration, which was concluded in July last year, as Patolichev declared, «stipulates, for the first time not only the development of traditional commercial ties, but also the regulation of the forms of economic cooperation and the creation of industrial complexes».

Thus, the Soviet revisionists and the West German bourgeoisie are fraternizing their capital in order to overcome their great economic difficulties and to ensure maximum profits at the expense of the Soviet, German and other peoples».

In entering the capitalist market the newspaper writes in conclusion, the Soviet revisionists are implementing all its laws and norms. They offer the international bourgeoisie in general, and the West German bourgeoisie in particular, the Soviet market, its natural resources and its cheap labour, and in return they ask for capital investment in this quite lucrative market. Moreover, Moscow also accepts to pay a comparatively high interest rate (about 6 per cent) for credit received. And in these bargainings the revisionists know no limits.



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The intensification of collaboration with the West German monopolies, and the reception of aid and credit from them, is further evidence exposing the pseudo-socialist demagogy of the Soviet revisionists. The merger of capital with imperialism is nothing but selling out the national riches, and the exploitation of the toil and sweat of the people to enrich the western bourgeoisie and the Soviet revisionist bourgeoisie».

■

«Zëri i Popullit» comments on the proceedings of the 9th session of the joint Japanese-U.S. Committee on economic problems. The article entitled «Japanese-U.S. talks in an atmosphere of contradictions», writes in part:

«The Tokyo talks were held in an atmosphere of anxiety aroused by the recent secret bargainings between the chieftains of the two superpowers». As is known, Japan occupies a special place in the Soviet-U.S. strategic plans for domination in Asia. The two superpowers want Japan, just like West Germany in Europe, to play the role of stabilizing force in Asia. During his stay in Tokyo, Rogers himself forcefully stressed the special role Japan should play in Asia and in the Pacific on more than one occasion. However despite this, in Tokyo they feel restless about the situation which has arisen out of the Nixon-Brezhnev talks. Like the European partners, they too, feel they have been sidetracked by the great game of the two superpowers,

that they are destined to play the role of a tool in the realisation of the Soviet-U.S. global strategy. The Soviet-U.S. plans, which in one form or another have been dealt with during the bargainings for the division and re-division of the world in conformity with the new ratio of forces in the Nixon-Brezhnev talks, frequently run counter to Tokyo's aims and objectives. Japan has long been trying to adjust the relationship between its political role and its economic and military potential. Three years ago the Japanese government officially announced that the country was ushering in a new epoch, «when the military potential of Japan will play an unprecedented role in world politics. This means that the revived Japanese monopolies, which feel rather confined within the present limits, will seek «vital space».

In Tokyo they are well aware that these plans can only be realised at the expense of the other partners, and in the first place of the two «superpowers». Such an essential contradiction, which also underlies the Japanese-U.S. relations, cannot fail to worry Washington, especially on the threshold of the Nixon-Tanaka meeting. Therefore Rogers made haste to assure the beyond-the-ocean partners that allegedly the Soviet-U.S. talks do not impair Japanese interests. For this purpose, he was unsparing with high sounding phrases, describing the Japanese-U.S. alliance as a «pillar of world order».

After mentioning the deep economic and financial contradictions in both countries and the efforts they are making to con-

ceal these contradictions with temporary compromises, the article concludes: «The compromises reached in Roger's talks with his partners are of a narrow and circumstantial character. The struggle for markets and zones of influence will not be limited even after the Tokyo meeting. On the contrary, it will flare up still more fiercely. Japan, just as the other capitalist countries, is more and more feeling the burden of the difficulties caused by the economic and financial crisis gripping the whole imperialist system. This situation compels the Japanese ruling circles to look for new ways to penetrate the markets of the continents which Uncle Sam and the old monopolies consider their own zones of influence. This, no doubt, will lead to new political upheavals, will further aggravate the contradictions and quarrels between the imperialist sharks, in the first place, between Japan and the United States of America. It is in this atmosphere that Nixon will meet Prime Minister Tanaka for the second time within a few months».

■

On July 22 the Albanian press greeted the overthrow of the monarchy and the transition of the state power into the hands of the leading revolutionary Council in Egypt. The newspapers consider this as a memorable and important event in the history of the Egyptian people. **After dealing with the important victories achieved by the Egyptian people**

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during the 21 years of the republican regime, the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» mentions the successive efforts of the old and new imperialists to obstruct the Egyptian people on their road to progress and to preserve and further extend their influence in the Middle East.

The newspaper writes: «Today the Egyptian people are celebrating the 21st anniversary of their national day at a time when the consequences of the imperialist-zionist aggression have not yet been eliminated. The Israeli aggressors are keeping the Arab territories occupied and make arrogant statements that «we will not return to the June 1967 borders». The tense situation experienced by the Middle East peoples originates from the intrigues conducted by the two imperialist superpowers in that area. For the sake of their hegemonistic interests the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet Social-imperialists are seeking to preserve the «no war no peace» situation in the Middle East. This anti-Arab policy of theirs has already been confirmed by their activities, but it was even more clearly confirmed by the stand of the two superpowers towards this problem during the recent Brezhnev-Nixon meeting. At this meeting the two superpowers once more openly stated the objectives of their counter-revolutionary strategy: that on the question of the division of the zones of influence each gives the other a free hand to take effective action in their respective zones so as not to disturb the established equilibrium. For example, they do not allow the Arabs to claim the territories oc-

cupied by Israel under the pretext that this would cause a world war. By this the two imperialist superpowers seek an equilibrium that would leave their predatory interests unaffected.

In face of such facts the Arab people are aware of the plots cooked up by their open and covert enemies. It is becoming increasingly obvious to them that their national aspirations will be achieved only on the battlefield and relying on their own efforts. They are becoming increasingly more convinced of the falsity and danger of the pacifist slogans of the two imperialist superpowers which hold that the Middle East problem can allegedly be solved through a «peaceful road».

■

The Albanian press has devoted much space to the just struggle of the Cambodian people against the US imperialists and their lackeys. It has published many articles condemning the hideous crimes of the aggressors and enthusiastically supporting and greeting the victories of the Cambodian people. In an article entitled «The Cambodian people are resolutely marching on the road to victory, the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» wrote: «Not a day passes without the sound of guns fighting for freedom being heard from every part of Cambodian territory; not a day passes without the hatred and indignation of the valiant and freedom-loving people falling like a storm over the heads of the enemies. The list of victories

won by the patriotic Cambodian forces, a list which is always getting longer, is the best evidence of the brilliant successes achieved by the people and their liberation army; it is eloquent proof that the national liberation struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their Pnom Penh tools is being waged with an unprecedented upsurge and impetus throughout the country. Dealing successive blows at the Lon Nol mercenaries on all the battle fronts and challenging the intensification of the barbarous air-raids of the U.S. aircraft supporting them, the Cambodian liberation forces now control the major part of the country as well as all the main highways connecting the Cambodian Capital with the other provinces of the country.

After mentioning the manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists and the Lon Nol clique to extricate themselves from the grave situation they are finding themselves in, the newspaper writes: «Despite these plans and plots the Cambodian people are maintaining a resolute stand; engaging all their forces and in unity with the fraternal Vietnamese and Laotian peoples they are struggling against the imperialist aggressors and the sold out Lon Nol regime».

The newspaper «Bashkimi», in an article entitled: «The Cambodian people do not allow themselves to be deceived by the manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists», condemns the efforts of the Washington rulers to create the false impression that they stand for peace in Cambodia, with a view to quelling the flames of the just war of the Cambodian peo-

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ple. It then continues: «The Cambodian people, who enjoy the powerful support of the great Chinese people, of the peoples of Indochina and of all the revolutionary peoples of the world, are well aware of the fiendish manoeuvres of the US imperialists. They do not allow themselves to be hoodwinked by the «American peace» of the Nixon administration, nor by its advertisement by the Soviet revisionists.

The Cambodian people, led by the National United Front, are showing their determination and their just and courageous stand ever more forcefully on the battle field where the political, diplomatic and military manoeuvres and campaigns of US imperialism and its lackeys have suffered defeat. The victories of the liberation struggle of the Cambodian people, who control the overwhelming majority of the country's territory, are a heavy blow to U.S. imperialism. They testify to the correctness of the road chosen for the realisation of the lofty aspirations of the liberation of Cambodia and inspire the Cambodian people to carry their liberation struggle through to the end».



On July 26 the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» and «Bashkimi» commemorated the 20th anniversary of the attack of the Cuban revolutionaries on the Moncado military barracks, an event which marked the beginning of the Cuban people's revolution. «This bold action – «Zëri i Po-

pullit» writes in its article, – sparked off the great fire of the people's armed struggle against the oppressive regime of Battista and his bosses, – the U.S. imperialists. The attack on Moncado was the prologue of the Cuban people's determined and persistent struggle which six years later, in 1959, was crowned with the triumph of the revolution, with the realisation of their continued efforts for freedom, democracy and social progress.

The victory of the revolution in Cuba, the newspaper further continues, was a heavy blow to U.S. imperialism, to its domination in Latin America, an area which Washington has continually plundered and wantonly exploited. The armed uprising and its triumph in Cuba show that freedom and independence are not donated by the imperialist powers, nor achieved through the «peaceful road» advocated by the modern revisionists, but that they can be won only through the persistent liberation struggle of the peoples against imperialism and reaction.



The newspapers «Zëri i Popullit» and «Bashkimi» also marked the 20th anniversary of the signature of the Panmunjon peace on July 27, 1953. The article published on this occasion stress the importance of this agreement which was reached as a result of the determination of the heroic people of the Democratic Republic of Korea and of the Chinese people's volunteers who defeated the plans of the Penta-

gon strategists to turn the whole of Korea into a base of aggression in the Far East. They also point out the efforts of the U.S. imperialists and their servants to prevent the Korean people from achieving their great ambition for the reunification of the country. «U.S. imperialism and its puppets, – the newspaper «Bashkimi» writes in this connection, – have rejected every initiative of the DPR of Korea. During his recent visits to Seoul and Tokyo, the U.S. secretary of state, Rogers, once more confirmed the aggressive policy of the U.S.A. towards the Korean people. In his statements he reiterated the determination of the United States not to leave South Korea and to continue to support the Seoul clique by all means. Rogers supported the Pak Jung Hi proposals and insisted that both parts of Korea be admitted separately to the United Nations Organisation. This shows that the United States aims at perpetuating the division of Korea and at legitimizing the creation of two Koreas.



«The slanders of the Soviet revisionists cannot obscure the correct revolutionary policy of the P.R of China», is the title of an article in «Zëri i popullit» commenting on the new anti-China fuss replete with banal slanders and insinuations, started recently by the Soviet revisionists and their followers. «The themes of this frenzied campaign, – the article reads in part, – are old and numerous but the aims al-

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ways remain the same. In the first place the revisionist leaders of Moscow are seeking to discredit the magnificent successes achieved by the People's Republic of China in the construction of socialism due to the correct Marxist-Leninist line and teachings of comrade Mao Tse-tung, to discredit the great prestige and authority China enjoys in the world, to hinder the outstanding revolutionary role and the positive influence it exerts in present-day world relations. In the second place, the Kremlin chieftains, through such a propaganda hue and cry, are trying to conceal their treachery to the cause of the revolution and liberation of the peoples, to divert the attention of public opinion from the dangers posed by the rapprochement and collaboration with U.S. imperialism, to conceal the Soviet-U.S. plots and plans for the division of the zones of influence and the domination of the world.

The article continues: «The policy and stands of the People's Republic of China are well known by everybody. Life itself has confirmed that their principled character is to the advantage of the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples and of general peace.

The fact that it is being attacked by the Soviet social imperialists and at a time when the latter, together with the U.S. imperialists, are cooking up dangerous plots and plans against all the peoples, is further evidence that China is the main obstacle to the realisation of their criminal designs. People's China, from the day of its creation, has stood for

the defence of peace throughout the world, just as it has resolutely and unwaveringly opposed the aggressive wars of imperialism. People's China and its Government continue to provide a lofty example of proletarian internationalism, resolutely supporting the revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed nations and peoples. They have most fraternally and most forcefully supported the heroic Vietnamese people in carrying their struggle against the U.S. aggressors through to the end. The People's Republic of China resolutely opposed the U.S. intervention in Laos and Cambodia and is in full solidarity with the struggle being waged by the peoples of these countries against U.S. imperialism and local reaction. It has publicly proclaimed that it stands firmly on the side of the Palestinian people and the other Arab peoples who are clashing in a bold struggle against imperialism and Zionism, for the defence of their inalienable rights. This stand is a powerful expression of the correct and consistent, revolutionary, anti-imperialist policy of the P.R. of China towards all those countries and peoples that are fighting against imperialist aggression, for freedom and national independence, towards all those who are threatened by the plots of international reaction and, in the first place, by the expansionist and hegemonistic policy of the U.S. - Soviet counterrevolutionary alliance.

The anti-China slanders and fabrications of the Soviet revisionists follow a definite aim which determines the propaganda objectives of the renegade Bre-

zhnev-Kosygin clique in the present situation of international relations. Never before has there been such an intensity of official meetings at all levels, open and secret talks on problems which may or may not concern the two sides; never before have so many agreements of a political, economic, cultural and other character, been concluded between U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. Behind closed doors, in top secrecy or even openly, they are unceasingly plotting to divide the zones of influence and to establish their domination throughout the whole world. Was it to disarm U.S. imperialism and to destroy its nuclear monopoly that the Soviet social-imperialists, recently concluded the new nuclear agreement with the Americans? Is it for the purpose of driving the United States out of the Middle East and helping the Arab people to achieve their freedom and national independence that the Soviet revisionists hold tete-a-tete talks with the American representatives in Washington and Moscow about the so-called «political solution» of the Arab-Israeli conflict? Are not the top secret U.S.-Soviet talks, which will be held before long in the framework of the SALT talks, an expression of the ominous aims of the two imperialist powers to subjugate and dominate other peoples? Richard Nixon has openly stated that the line of his foreign policy proceeds from the premise that all the present day international problems should be solved through joint bargainings and deals with the revisionist rulers of Moscow, while all the other

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peoples should be compelled to accept their coordinated dictate.

The Soviet revisionists keep silent about this and they do not like their backstage deals to be discovered and exposed by others. On the other hand, in order to prevent world public opinion from correctly understanding and judging present-day international phenomena, and particularly from discovering the dangerous aggressive and counterrevolutionary character of the Soviet-U. S. relations, they are trying to divert it onto an erroneous course, to direct its attention towards false problems. In this way the Soviet revisionist chieftains are seeking to create non-existent problems, to accuse China of things which only their fancy and imagination, disturbed by cynicism and demagoguery, can create.

The article writes in conclusion: «But the new slanderous fanfare, just like previous ones, is becoming so hackneyed that people are no longer believing it. The policy and stands of the Chinese people, of their Communist Party and Government are clear, correct and revolutionary and there is no force on earth, however diabolic it may be, that can ever discredit them. Socialist China today represents the steel-like shield of the freedom and independence of all the peoples. It is the biggest obstacle to the realisation of the plots and plans of U. S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. Consequently, it has today become an example, a source of inspiration and a support for the peoples fighting against imperialism and reaction, for freedom and national independence, for

progress and genuine peace. It is precisely this indisputable reality that has raised the international prestige and authority of the P. R. of China so high and there is no force on earth that can bring them down».

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The newspaper «Luftëtari», organ of the Ministry of People's Defence of the P. R. of Albania, in an article entitled «The U.S. 6th fleet – real threat to the Mediterranean peoples», writes in part: «Now the Mediterranean basin has been turned into an arena where the aggressive great powers, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists, as well as the military blocs they lead, the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, are brandishing arms; they have come to terms with each other and pursue common interests, which are revealed in their open and covert collaboration to establish their «law and order» in this strategically important area of the world.

The article says further on: For many years the Pentagon strategists have carried out measures in conformity with the expansionist and aggressive interests of the U.S.A., to subjugate, oppress and exploit other peoples. They see domination in the Mediterranean as an indispensable and very important condition to directly influence the events of that area. The U.S. review «Readers Digest» wrote: «He who dominates this world cross-roads in the Near East will be able to control Europe».

They also aim at permanently maintaining the U.S. forces and military equipment in conformity with the aggressive plans against the freedom and independence of the peoples of that area; at supervising expansion in the seas and air in the Middle East and Southern Europe; at controlling the sea communication routes and the straits connecting the Mediterranean with the Atlantic and Indian Oceans as well as with the inland seas; at hindering and sabotaging the national liberation movements of the peoples of Africa and the Middle East and at supporting the aggressive aims of Israel against the Arab countries; at preserving and extending the economic exploitation of this area, in the first place of its oil, since as is known, over 70 per cent of the total oil reserves of the world are located there».

After citing facts about the increasing extension and strengthening of the aggressive fleets in the Mediterranean, and after stressing the real danger they pose to the Mediterranean countries, the article calls for vigilance, for preparedness to rebuff any attempt of these monsters to disturb peace and security in the Mediterranean

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On August 1 the newspapers «Zëri i Popullit», «Bashkimi», «Luftëtari» and others hailed the 46th anniversary of the creation of the Chinese people's liberation army. The articles devoted to this memorable event, point out the glorious 46-year long

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road of this heroic army, the great role played by the Chinese people's liberation army toward the triumph of the revolution in China and to defend the P.R. of China against the numerous enemies who wanted to strangle it in its cradle.

The article from «Zëri i Popullit», entitled «Glorious army of the revolution» reads in part: «The Chinese people's liberation army, during all the years of its existence, has displayed outstanding revolutionary qualities and virtues as a popular, revolutionary, proletarian army, an army of a new type. Characterized by a high level of political and ideological maturity, it has maintained a resolute stand on a correct revolutionary position, it has consistently defended the proletarian line of the party and the great Marxist-Leninist ideas of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, with the greatest loyalty and a high level of consciousness it has served the interests of the people, of socialism and revolution».

«The life and work of the Peo-

ple's Liberation Army of the P.R. of China, — the article from the newspaper «Bashkimi» says, — is inseparable from the life and work of the great Chinese people. The period of socialist construction in China, and in particular the period following the triumph of the great proletarian cultural revolution, is full of magnificent successes in all fields of life. The sad memory of the one-time backward China, dominated by various imperialist monopolies, which through wanton exploitation, had left it in darkness, has been relegated to history by present-day People's China.

The article from the newspaper «Luftëtari», entitled «A glorious and always triumphant army» says: «The Albanian people and their people's army, educated and led by the teachings of the Party and of comrade Enver Hoxha, are closely bound with an invincible fraternal friendship with the great Chinese people and their people's liberation army. They are brothers and comrades-in-arms, following the

same course and having the same ideal; they are close comrades and fellow fighters on the road of the revolution and socialism, fighting shoulder to shoulder in the same trench against U.S. imperialism, Soviet social imperialism and all world reaction. The friendship between it is based on the eternal doctrine of Marxism-Leninism. It is a friendship moulded and steeled by the Party of Labor of Albania with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head and by the Communist Party of China with comrade Mao Tse-tung at the head».

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### CORRECTION

*In Albania Today No 2 (9) 1973, in the article entitled «Resolute fight against ideological foreign influences», in the title and throughout the article, the word «foreign» should read «alien». We apologize for this error and any misunderstanding it may have caused.*

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