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For centuries the Albanian people have waged a long and heroic war to win their freedom and independence, but it assumed greater proportions especially in the last quarter of the 19th century and in the beginning of this century. The heroic spirit of the Albanian people in their war for freedom and independence is symbolically represented in the tableau entitled «Mic Sokoli» by the painter Sali Shijaku. The valiant patriot, Mic Sokoli, from the Northern Highlands of Albania, threw himself upon the mouth of the enemy cannon in order to enable his fellowfighters to attack the enemy unharassed.

The foreign invaders and the neighbouring chauvinists resorted to all means to maintain the Albanian people in ignorance, because, in this manner, they hoped to be better able to realize their predatory intentions. Therefore, after the liberation of the country, the work of the teachers is highly valued in Albania. The love and respect of the entire people for their work is manifested in a special manner every year on the 7th of March, which by special decision is proclaimed «The Teachers' Day». The best wishes to our teachers on the 7th of March.





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A MARKED EVENT IN THE GLORIOUS OF THE ALBANIA

The Albanian League founded at Prizren was the continuation of the struggle of our people through the centuries for their freedom and independence for their honour and traditions. It was the continuation of the struggle in the remorseless tempests of the centuries, and rose

This year the entire Albanian people will commemorate one of the most outstanding events in the centuries of their history. On the 10th of June this year, 100 years are completed from the day when the national organization, «The Albanian League», with its centre in Prizren, was founded. In the stormy years of the great Eastern crisis, the Albanian League placed itself at the head of the entire people and fought, arms in hand, for the rights of the Albanian nation, in defence of the territory of the Homeland, and for its unification in a national state, for their rights which had been brutally violated by the Ottoman rulers, by the intentions of the imperialist Great Powers and the annexionist plans of the neighbouring chauvinist monarchies of the Balkans.

A series of political-social and cultural-scientific actions are in preparation all over the country to commemorate this event of special historic importance, which marked a higher stage in the Albanian national movement towards independence and to make it even more thoroughly known among the masses of working people. On this occasion, commemorative meetings will be held in Tirana, in a number of towns which were important centres of the activity of the League, such as Kukës, Peshkopia, Gjirokastra, Shkodra, Korça, Frashër, while there will be scientific conferences and sessions, scientific and literary publications, concerts, exhibitions and films dealing with the League and its various aspects.

The Party and comrade Enver Hoxha have made a high assessment of the Renaissance in general, and of the League of Prizren and the period from 1878 to 1881, in particular. They have defined it as a period of struggles

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»: Central Organ of the CC of the PLA.

and efforts of great importance to the fate of our people, as a period which is characterized by ceaseless uprisings, by a determined struggle for freedom, independence, democracy and education.

In the study of the creation and activity of the Albanian League, we are guided, as always, by the Marxist-Leninist teachings, by historical materialism. Today, 100 years later, armed with the teachings of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, and relying on the allround studies made so far in our country, it has become possible to bring out more clearly the place, the role, the national and international significance of the Albanian League of Prizren.

The League of Prizren was the direct product of the struggle of the Albanian people, of the historical and social conditions in which they found themselves at the time of its creation. It was not, and could not have been a movement behind which stood foreign powers, as bourgeois and revisionist historians have sought to present it. The activity of the League, its battles on the internal and international plane, were the result of the objective conditions in which our people lived, of their entire historical development, of the active efforts of a formed nation fighting in defence of its vital political and economic interests.

The Albanian League founded at Prizren was the continuation of the struggles of our people through the centuries for their freedom and independence, for their land and language, for their honour and traditions. It was the continuation of the heroic struggles by which the Albanian people escaped extinction in the remorseless tempests of the centuries, and rose above them proud and indomitable, with the banner of the uprising in their hands.

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«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

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The popular movement against foreign occupation, which led to the formation of the League of Prizren, was prepared by the movements of the broad masses in the 30's and 70's of the 19th century, which were outbursts of the long accumulated discontent as a result of the national oppression, economic exploitation and abuses on the part of the bureaucratic centralized administration set up by the Sublime Porte in the period of the Tanzimat. Added to this was the discontent which resulted from the ever more predatory intentions of the neighbouring chauvinist monarchies, Montenegro, Serbia, Bulgaria, etc, towards the Albanian territories, and from the persistent anti-Albanian policy of the Sublime Porte, which denied our nation even its most elementary aspirations.

Efforts were made, on the basis of the popular movements, to give them the national political program, to organize them in all regions of Albania. The crisis which broke out in 1875 with the first uprisings in the Balkans and which grew into proportions of a general crisis of the East, found a number of the regions of our Homeland in armed revolt. The Albanian uprisings were an inseparable part of the anti-Ottoman struggles of the peoples of the Balkans. But the intervention of the Great Powers to exploit the crisis triggered off by the uprisings of the oppressed peoples in favour of their predatory policy and designs, as well as the endeavours of the monarchies of the Balkans to turn the just people's war for national liberation into a war for unrestrained expansion, gave this crisis another direction, especially one contrary to the interests of the Albanian people. In these conditions, in their struggle for national liberation, our people relied, as always, on their own forces.

The entry of foreign armies into the Albanian territo-

ries, the open declaration of expansionist intentions, the predatory policy and the expulsion of the Albanian inhabitants from their mother soil, pursued especially by the governments of Serbia and Montenegro, the signing of the San-Stefano Treaty, which, with the support of Czarist Russia carried the borders of Bulgaria, deep into the Albanian territories, including Tetova, Gostivar, Kërçova, Dibra, Struga, Korça, etc, endangered not only individual border areas, but all the Albanian territories. These acts imparted a new powerful impulse to the peoples movements in defence of the supreme national interests and the efforts towards a unified organization. To this end, in 1877 the «Central Committee for the defence of the rights of the Albanian nationality» was formed in Istanbul. United in its ranks were the most distinguished figures of the Albanian people, the brothers Abdyl and Sami Frashëri, Pashko Vasa and Jani Vreto, Zija Prishtina, Hasan Tahsini, and others.

In order to lead the movement of the masses which had broken out in different regions of the country and to carry out the tasks imposed by the historic moment, under the auspices of the Committee of Istanbul, the «Albanian League» was formed with its centre in Prizren, comprised of representatives of the various regions of the country and different strata of the population. It formulated the political program of the Albanian national movement and set up its organs of political and military leadership and armed units for the realization of this program all over the country.

It was the League which raised its voice for the first time on behalf of the entire Albanian nation, regardless of regional and religious distinctions, in defence of the Albanian territories, declaring before the entire world that

no one had the right to lay a hand on the lands inhabited by Albanians which belonged to them historically, that no one had the right to use them as a token for barter, that they belonged to the Albanian people alone.

From its very first acts and memoranda and throughout all its activity, the League fought for the realization of the fundamental goals of the national movement: for the recognition of the Albanian nation as an indivisible whole, and respect for its rights as a nation in all directions, for the defence of the inviolability and integrity of the Albanian national territories, and for the uniting of the Albanian lands into a single unit under Albanian administration. These were three links inseparable from one another, the territorial integrity and unity was a fundamental condition for the national unity and the national union had to be realized in the context of a national state.

When the Great Powers went on to the implementation of the decisions of the Congress of Berlin, heedless of the legitimate demands of the Albanians, the League took the fate of the Albanian nation into its own hands and fought to defend it.

Through a dense network of Committees and branches, the Central Committee in Prizren built contacts with all the regions of the country to direct the masses of the people who had risen to their feet against the danger that their Homeland would be partitioned. Those regions, which were the object of the expansionist plans of the chauvinist monarchies of the Balkans, such as Kosova, Dibra, Shkodra with its Northern Highlands, Gjirokastra, and so on, became powerful centres of this movement. Thus, a broad front was created, in which all the patriotic forces of the nation were united in defence of the fundamental national and economic-social interests, which were endangered by the partitioning of the country as the chauvinist governments of the Balkans and the anti-Albanian policy of the Turkish Empire intended. It was especially the patriotic spirit of the masses of the people and their persevering struggle against the Turkish administration which gave the League inexhaustible strength in the struggle in defence of the territorial integrity and for the autonomy of Albania.

In the opinion and activity of the League, autonomy meant the creation of a single Albanian autonomous territorial administrative unit, with Albanian civil and military administration, with the Albanian language and with its own capital. This was an important step forward for the political union of the Albanian people. This Albanian autonomous territorial administrative unit was to serve as a starting-point for the creation of a state with a progressive economic-social content, with a democratic character, which, in favourable conditions would be transformed into an independent Albanian national state. In the context of this autonomous administrative unit, the League included the territories of the then existing four vilayets,

in which the Albanians comprised a compact whole and the majority of the population.

The determined fight of the League in defence of the threatened Albanian territories, such as Plava and Gucia, Hot and Gruda, Ulqin and others, was evidence of an already formed national consciousness and a clear political and military strategy. The fact is that this struggle did not permit the Great Powers and the neighbouring states to carry out completely the anti-Albanian decisions of the international Congress of Berlin and forced them to acknowledge the importance of the Albanian factor in the solution of the Balkan crisis. But in the conditions when the Great Powers were not interested in the complete liquidation of the Turkish domination in the Balkans, the struggle of the Albanian people under the leadership of the League could not achieve final victory. It was savagely suppressed, in its final stage, as a result of the concerted actions of the Great Powers, Turkey and the Balkan states, and major portions of the Albanian regions were torn from the national territory.

On account of the internal and external circumstances, the road of the League was very complicated, but regardless of its zig-zags, it is characterized by consistent growth and development, by the intensification of the struggle against the foreign invaders in all the Albanian regions.

In this difficult struggle, fought on many fronts, the outstanding figures Abdyl Frashëri, and Sulejman Vokshi (Gjakova) distinguished themselves as political and military leaders, many others such as Iliaz Pasha Dibra and Shuaip Spahiu (Prizren), Omer Prizreni and Mustafa Tetova, Daut Boriçi, Filip Çeka, Selim Çoba (Shkodra), Mihal Harito and Petro Meksi (Gjirokastra), Dhimitër Kolea (Berat), Thimi Mitko and Eftimi Brandi (Korçë), Mehmet Ali Vrioni (Fier), Haxhi Zeka (Pejë), Odhise Kasneci (Himara) and others were active in it, and people's fighters, such as Mic Sokoli and Ali Ibra (Tropoja), Isuf Sokoli (Shkodra), Mehmet Beci and Mehmet Gjyli (Ulqin), Jakup Ferri (Gucia), Ramadan Zaskoci (Luma) and many others from different regions of Albania, were outstanding.

In the course of the internal struggle between its progressive and conservative wings, the League gradually went over to more advanced positions. Its organs replaced the Turkish administration in a number of regions and exercised state functions on an internal and international plane, it set up military detachments, organized local courts, and so on, and exercised its power in the liberated Albanian territories, implementing the principles it had proclaimed about respecting equal rights for all citizens, regardless of their religion and nationality. Under its direction, the masses gave proof of their conscious discipline and organizational abilities, conditions indispensable for existence as a state.

A constituent and inseparable part of the movement for national liberation at this period was the cultural movement, with its demands for the Albanian language,

school and literature. The task of proving with facts and defending the demands of the League at this period, set in motion the most brilliant minds of the Albanian people and imparted a powerful impulse to creative cultural activity of a national character. To serve the struggle of the League, the Society of Letters was set up, school text-books were published, a militant publicist literature developed, the patriotic theme emerged broadly in the literature of the time and real masterpieces were created, such as is the poem by Pashko Vasa, «Mori Shqypni, e mjera Shqypni» (My Albania, suffering Albania).

The advanced national content of the League and the strength of its movement aroused a tide of enthusiasm even outside the Albanian territories among the Arberesh of Italy and Greece, among the colonies of Albanians in Egypt, Rumania, and other countries, who were in solidarity with the struggle of the Albanian people and made a valuable contribution to making it known to the outside world.

Fought in the conditions of the Eastern crisis, which had set in motion not only the government circles of the interested states but also the broad public opinion of the world, the struggle of the League also exercised its influence upon and attracted the attention of European democratic progressive circles, which spoke out in favour of the legitimate rights of the Albanian people.

Its patriotic national platform was the basis of our whole national movement. At the key moments of the movement, the Albanian patriots invariably referred to the Albanian League of the years 1878-1881 and to its fundamental demands for the inviolability of the Albanian territories, for their unification into a single, autonomous territorial administrative unit, as a transition stage to the independence of Albania. The historic act of the Assembly of Vlora with the Proclamation of Independence and the formation of the Albanian State, in November 1912, carried this demand of the League of Prizren through to the end, but in the difficult international conditions of the Balkan War it could not carry out the other fundamental task of the League, the defence of the territorial integrity of the Homeland, because of the large amputations made from the body of the Albanian national territory.

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The Albanian League, founded in Prizren a century ago, constitutes a historic event in the life of our people, in their history carved out with the sword and written with their blood. It created a solid basis for the later struggles for freedom, independence and social progress.

The brilliant patriotic traditions of this fight for free-

dom, independence and social justice were revived with great strength in the stormy years of the Anti-fascist National-liberation War, when, under the leadership of the Party, our people wrote the most brilliant pages of their history.

Today, in commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Albanian League, we remember with deep respect the heroic struggle of our forefathers for national union and liberation, during which our people reaffirmed themselves as an indomitable freedom-loving, patriotic and valiant people determined to achieve their aspirations, as a people, who, despite their small numbers, with their vitality, courage, valour and sense of justice, imposed their will on the capitalist and imperialist world.

Together with us, in commemorating this marked event, are our brothers of Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro, who, as part of the Albanian nation, are inseparable from its history of struggles for freedom and independence through the centuries. In the battles and efforts of the League of Prizren, Kosova, Plava, Gucia, Dibra, all the regions inhabited by Albanians in the Montenegro and Macedonia, became major centres of the struggle for the autonomy and defence of the territorial integrity of Albania. United with their motherland, Albania, in their hearts and minds, on this anniversary are our brothers in emigration in many parts of the world, who will remember and honour this historic jubilee with love and national pride.

The commemoration of the great work of the League of Prizren faces the Party organizations, the state organs and the organizations of the masses with important tasks. It is a duty of honour for all the institutions and the broad circles of activists, which will take part in this political and social action, to make every effort to ensure that the activities envisaged in the program are carried out at a high level and in such a manner that this marked event, which comrade Enver Hoxha has called an «unprecedented challenge» that the Albanian people threw out to the imperialists and chauvinists to secure the freedom and territorial unity of the country», should emerge in all its magnificence.

All these manifestations dedicated to the centenary of the Albanian League must serve the further preservation of the revolutionary spirit and lofty patriotism which characterize the masses of our working people, the strengthening of the unity of the people round the Party, and the preservation and development of our glorious traditions. They must contribute to the great work which is being done in our country, under the leadership of the Party, for the strengthening of the freedom, independence and defence of the Homeland, for the mobilization of the broad masses of the people to fight with determination to surmount the difficulties resulting from the imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement in order to carry forward the construction of socialism in Albania.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE POLITICAL FIELD IN THE PERIOD OF SOCIALISM by VAHID

The defence, strengthening and the further revolutionization of the Party, the constant enhancement of its leading role in the entire life of the country, in every field and at all levels, constitutes one of the fundamental directions of the class struggle in the political field during the whole historical period of socialism.

THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA HAS WAGED THE CLASS STRUGGLE CORRECTLY IN ALL THE STAGES OF THE REVOLUTION AND IN ALL ITS PRINCIPAL POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND IDEOLOGICAL DIRECTIONS. AT GIVEN PERIODS, ONE OR THE OTHER FORM OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE HAS EMERGED AS MOST IMPORTANT, BUT IN EVERY CASE, AS THE 7TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY STRESSED, THIS STRUGGLE HAS BEEN WAGED ON ALL FRONTS AND HAS CENTRED AROUND THE QUESTION OF STATE POWER. IT HAS BEEN A CONTINUOUS AND FIERCE STRUGGLE, THROUGH WHICH THE CONTINUOUS ADVANCE OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION HAS BEEN ENSURED. THE EXPERIENCE OF ALBANIA IS ANOTHER CONFIRMATION OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST TRUTH THAT IN THE PROCESS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE FOR THE OVERTHROW OF THE OLD WORLD, IN THE STRUGGLE TO DEFEND AND CONSOLIDATE THE VICTORY, IN THE WORK FOR THE CREATION OF THE NEW SOCIALIST ORDER, THE PROLETARIAN HEROISM IS EVEN GREATER THAN THAT REQUIRED FOR THE SEIZURE OF STATE POWER.

Both the establishment of the socialist order and the maintenance and continuous strengthening of it are indissolubly linked with the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party. It is in this that the leading role which the working class plays in socialist society finds its concentrated expression.

«Only the revolutionary party of the working class, armed with the Marxist-Leninist theory», says comrade Enver Hoxha, «can make the working class conscious of its historic mission and clearly define the objectives of its

VAHID LAMA — Deputy member of the Central Committee of the PLA.
GRAMOS HYSI — Jurist.

struggle and the ways to attain them. The Party organizes, educates and mobilizes the working class and all its allies and leads them in the complicated struggle to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and build socialism.»⁽¹⁾

This implies that the defence, strengthening and the further revolutionization of the Party, the constant enhancement of its leading role in the entire life of the country, in every field and at all levels, constitutes one of the fundamental directions of the class struggle in the political field during the whole historical period of socialism.

1. The class struggle in the political field to safeguard, strengthen and perfect the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The overthrow of the political domination of the exploiting classes and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat is an indispensable condition for putting an end to the system of oppression and for the construction of the new socialist society. The completion of this task constitutes the main objective of the class struggle that the proletariat wages in the conditions of the exploiting order, because the essence of this struggle, as the classical writers of Marxism-Leninism emphasize, boils down precisely to the question of state power. From the time of the National-liberation War, which, in the conditions of Albania, assumed the character of a true people's revolution, the PLA, with comrade Enver Hoxha at its head, considered the question of state power as fundamental, closely linked the struggle for national liberation, with the struggle for the creation of the new people's power and merged them into one. Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «The Party never allowed the internal and external enemies to take the power from the people, so that the people's

LAMA and GRAMOS HYSI

blood would have been shed in vain, but it followed a consistent line, thanks to which it became possible that there was only the new people's power in existence and functioning in Albania, and after the liberation of the Homeland, it began to carry out the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.»

The enemies, too, irrespective of the field in which they have waged their struggle, have always aimed this struggle at the state power, with the objective of the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the re-establishment of the dictatorship of the exploiting classes, as their activity in the past and the activity of the groups uncovered in recent years has shown.

Hence, the class struggle, which continues throughout the whole historical period of socialism, is, in the final analysis, a struggle over the question of state power, for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The dictatorship of the proletariat constitutes the fundamental question of Marxism-Leninism, and the attitude towards it marks the dividing line between Marxist-Leninists, on the one hand, and opportunists of all hues, on the other. In striving to preserve the rule of the bourgeoisie where it has not been overthrown, or to re-establish it where it has been overthrown, the enemies of the revolution and socialism have directed their blows against the dictatorship of the proletariat, just as the Soviet, the Yugoslav and other modern revisionists are doing today. To this end, they spread all sorts of «theories», such as those about «the state of the entire people», the «system of direct self-administration by the producers», or «democratic socialism» without the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The PLA has continually exposed the anti-Marxist views of the modern revisionists. The 7th Congress of the PLA laid strong emphasis on the great harm that the revisionist propaganda does, and the necessity for stern struggle that all Marxist-Leninists, everywhere in the world, must wage against it.

The dictatorship of the proletariat not only constitutes the essence of the class struggle during the entire historical period of socialism, but is also the main weapon for waging this struggle on all the fronts of socialist construction. In fulfilling its function, it carries the socialist revolution through to the end and performs its historic mission, which is the building of communism. The process of the continuation or interruption of the socialist revolution itself is decided by whether the dictatorship of the proletariat is maintained or overthrown during the waging of the class struggle. Both these possibilities have been confirmed by historical experience, and the Marxist-Leninist summing-up of this experience constitutes an achievement of great importance to the struggle of the international proletariat to carry this struggle forward on the road of success and guaranteed progress, avoiding defeat and barring the way to any turning-back in order to ensure the complete triumph of the cause of the revolution and socialism.

In summing up the new historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out: «It is completely possible that, once it is established, the dictatorship of the proletariat can be kept permanently unblemished, intact and unshakeable in all its links and directions, while being continuously developed and perfected»⁽²⁾. The revolutionary experience of the PLA and the

PSRA, in which the dictatorship of the proletariat has stood rock-firm, and the socialist revolution has gone steadily forward towards its complete and final victory, has demonstrated this. This experience, which has found its full reflection and synthesis in the new Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a valuable contribution to the theory and practice of scientific socialism.

The Party of Labour of Albania and comrade Enver Hoxha have stressed that it is possible to preserve, strengthen and perfect the dictatorship of the proletariat only by keeping up the class struggle, always leading this struggle correctly, unwaveringly, and with determination. In this vital question it is important to clearly define the objective at which this class struggle for the defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, both from the **armed counterrevolution** and from the **«peaceful» revisionist counterrevolution**, is directed.

The danger of the armed counterrevolution has long been recognized. It was used to crush the Paris Commune in 1871 and later, after the First World War, the proletarian states which were established in Germany and Hungary, were similarly crushed. But in other instances this counterrevolution has been defeated by the blows of the revolution. Such is the experience of the Soviet state power of the time of Lenin and Stalin, which put down the armed counterrevolution through a protracted struggle. The experience of our country likewise demonstrates the nipping in the bud of any attempt at armed counterrevolution.

Therefore the repelling and complete crushing of the armed counterrevolution is placed before the victorious proletariat as **an indispensable and enti-**

rely possible task. What is required in this direction is the constant maintenance of keen vigilance towards the external and internal enemy and the dealing of prompt and decisive blows at its activity. This the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian state have always born in mind, considering the struggle against the class enemy as «a task of first rate importance for our Party, state and working people»(3).

The activity of the class enemy is carried on in all directions, and manifests itself both inside and outside the country. Inside the country, it is manifested in the resistance of the class enemies and in their attempts at restoration, whereas outside the country its manifested in the aggressive aims of imperialism, socialimperialism and other reactionaries to strangle and to destroy the socialist order, as well as in the ideological means which the capitalist-revisionist world uses against us.

The external and internal enemies act in close connection and coordination with each other. Wherever the activity of the internal enemy shows up, behind it stands the support and aid of the external enemy, and likewise, wherever the activity of the external enemy appears it encourages and makes use of the activity of the internal enemy, too. The history of the construction of socialism in our country testifies to this merging of the activity of the internal and external enemies in a single united front. Many acts of sabotage, terror, diversion, etc. have been undertaken on the basis of this joint action, going so far as armed revolts, such as those of the enemies in Koplik in 1945 and in Shkōdra in 1946. Particularly ferocious was the hostile activity carried on also by armed bands, which were introduced from abroad or set up within the territory of our country in the first post-liberation years, and which amounted to 84 bands of more than 1,500 fugitive criminals. A fierce and bloody fight, in which 463 martyrs gave their lives, was required to annihilate these bands completely.

It was in the same basis of this link up and coordination that the attacks of the external enemy on socialist Al-

bania were carried out; that the brutal interference and the savage provocations of the Anglo-American imperialists and their lackeys were organized; that the sinister schemes of the Yugoslav revisionists, whose aim was the annexation of our country and the elimination of our national independence, were concocted; that the joint plots were hatched up and the savage blockades of the capitalist and revisionist states, which became even more dangerous with the emergence on the scene of the Khrushchevite revisionists, were undertaken. Under the present conditions, when socialist Albania is holding high the banner of the revolution and socialism, which has been rejected by the modern revisionists, led by the Soviet revisionists, the activity of the external and internal enemy has become very intense, and the coordination of their activity even more dangerous.

But, besides the armed counterrevolution, history has also known a counterrevolution of another nature, the «peaceful», revisionist counterrevolution, with consequences just as bitter and terrible for the proletariat as the armed counterrevolution. This occurred with the coming to power of revisionist cliques. What Kerensky, Kolchak and Denikin, the Entente or the Hitlerite hordes failed to achieve by the force of arms, the Khrushchevite revisionists achieved in a «peaceful» manner. In the Soviet Union, the dictatorship of the proletariat was overthrown, everything socialist was demolished and capitalism restored. This «peaceful» degeneration took place in the other former socialist countries, too.

As historical experience confirms, there are two main enemies which aid the peaceful degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat: bureaucracy and liberalism.

Bureaucracy attacks the dictatorship of the proletariat at its nerve centres. It leads to sclerosis of the party and the working class and undermines its leading role, it disrupts the links of the state power with the people and hinders the participation of the working masses in the government of the country, it paralyzes socialist democracy and cultivates conceit in the cadres, with all the evils that this brings, such

as «respect» for oneself and scorn for the masses.

Liberalism is just as dangerous. Through liberalism, tendencies to laxity towards the policy and ideology of the enemy, to renunciation of the norms of proletarian morality, to the spirit of conciliation with the bourgeois-revisionist way of life and with shortcomings and weaknesses, etc, penetrate into the Party of the working class, the socialist state, and the masses of working people. Liberalism often presents itself with misleading slogans about «freedom» and «democracy», and poses as «an opponent of bureaucracy», with the aim of sowing its poisonous seed more easily.

Bureaucracy and liberalism, as two lethal dangers to socialism, are entangled with each other, complement and foster each other. This can be seen clearly in the negative example of the revisionist countries. In Yugoslavia, the main trend of revisionism and the capitalist restoration was the liberal one, but the bureaucratic apparatus was created along with it. In the Soviet Union, the typical road was that of bureaucratic degeneration, but this was closely connected with the manifestations of liberal-bourgeois degeneration, such as those in the field of culture and art, in the way of life, etc, or the notorious campaign of «destalinization» itself, which began precisely under the slogan of liberalism.

Socialism, due to its nature, does not constitute a source either of liberalism or of bureaucracy. These manifestations are not characteristic of socialism. However, as long as the class struggle continues, as long as the hostile pressure from within and without is active, and as long as the blemishes from the past, together with the essential differences between mental and physical work, etc, are still preserved, these manifestations cannot be completely avoided in socialism. The same holds good also for the other forms of their manifestation such as technocratism and intellectualism, which pose the same potent dangers and which find their expression in the absolutization of the role of equipment, science and the technical intelligentsia, in the overrating of mental work and underestimation of the role of the masses, in the

displacement of the working class from the leadership of the state and socialist society.

In its class struggle to constantly strengthen and perfect the dictatorship of the proletariat and to carry forward the revolution and socialist construction, the PLA has struck continual blows against any manifestation of liberalism and bureaucracy. The measures taken against them have been political, ideological, economic and administrative. The teaching of the Party of Labour of Albania and comrade Enver Hoxha on the causes which keep bureaucracy and liberalism alive under socialism, as well as on how to handle them politically and ideologically, seeing these phenomena as expressions of reactionary world outlooks, and the struggle against them as an important constituent part of the class struggle, are of great theoretical and practical value.

Summing up Albanian and international experience in connection with manifestations of liberalism and bureaucracy in socialist society, the PLA and comrade Enver Hoxha have emphasized that manifestations of bureaucracy and liberalism constitute a great danger for socialism, but when they are not allowed free fields of action and when they are combatted continuously and resolutely then **the consequences of them are fully avoidable**. These consequences came about in the former socialist countries, but they have been avoided in Albania. Thanks to the continuous measures that the PLA has taken, bureaucracy and liberalism have never found the terrain to alter the proletarian character of the Albanian state.

The essence of the class struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism consists of the establishment and implementation of correct relations between democracy and centralism, between the elected organs and the organs of the administration, between the cadres and all other officials, on the one hand, and the masses of working people, on the other, between the freedoms and rights of the citizens, and their discipline and duties towards the state and the socialist society, at all times. All the measures the Party has adopted for the eradication of manifestations of bureaucracy

and liberalism, are connected with this essence of the problem.

The organization and functioning of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of all socialist state and social life, are always based on the principle of democratic centralism, the core of which is centralized leadership of the life of the country by the working class through its Party and state, the combination of the centralized direction with the creative initiative of the local organs and the masses of working people. The correct relationship between democracy and centralism, which, in a genuinely socialist country, are in dialectical unity, complement and assist each other, is preserved through the class struggle. In the process of this struggle, the establishment and implementation of the concrete relationship between centralism and democracy, is ensured on the basis of thorough knowledge of the problem connected with this relationship, which has its own special features, differing at various periods of development, in various fields of life in different countries.

It is also important to maintain correct relationships between the representative organs and the organs of the administration. The representative organs constitute the political foundation of our socialist state. All the executive organs are elected by them, are subordinate to them, and render account to them. This is a major question of principle which has to do with the essence of the democratic character of our state. In this case, our class struggle is aimed at eradicating any manifestation of formalism in the activity of the representative organs, and at the complete and effective subordination of the activity of all other state organs to them.

The correct relations between the cadres and all other office-workers, on the one hand, and the masses of working people, on the other, in the PRS of Albania are determined on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist principle that the class in power, together with all the working people, govern the socialist state, while the cadres are their servants. The Party of Labour of Albania and comrade Enver Hoxha have always emphasized the necessity of the

class struggle to protect the cadres from bourgeois-revisionist degeneration, so that they are imbued with proletarian qualities, merge with the people, and place the interests of the people and socialism above everything.

In the class struggle for the maintenance of a proper balance between the freedoms and rights of citizens, on the one hand, and their discipline and obligations, on the other hand, the Party of Labour of Albania has instructed that the struggle must be waged on two fronts: both against the centralist-bureaucratic tendencies to restrict socialist democracy and make it formal, as well as against the liberal-anarchist trends and concepts of democracy, which lead to undermining the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, the struggle is concentrated, on the one hand, against the bureaucratic manifestations or some officials and cadres who do not take the rights of the working people into account, in particular, their right to participate in the governing of the country, who adopt arbitrary attitudes and stifle criticism from below; on the other hand, it is concentrated on irresponsible tendencies and actions of some working people, as comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 7th Congress of the Party, think that «being in a democracy, they have rights only and no duties at all, that the state and the society have obligations to them, which they never fail to demand, while they themselves are free to behave and act as they like, to violate discipline at work and social discipline, the laws of the state and social standards, without a care in the world»(4).

The important measures which have been and will be taken in the struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism are not merely organizational, but are outstanding, in the first place for their profound ideological and political content. The ideological aspect of these measures is expressed in their treatment of manifestations of bureaucracy and liberalism as manifestations in practice of the influence of alien ideologies. Their political aspect is expressed in their defence of the interests of the working people, in the deepening of the line of the masses, and in the other measures for strengthening the

dictatorship of the proletariat. Finally, the organizational aspect of these measures (which, without doubt, have a deep ideo-political significance) is closely connected with bringing the state power ever closer to the people, with the curtailment of unnecessary links and officials in the administrative apparatuses, with the sending of cadres and office workers to work directly in production together with workers and cooperativists, with the systematic circulation of cadres, etc.

In the struggle for the defence and strengthening of the socialist order, the proletarian control, both that which is exercised from above, through the Party and state, and that exercised from below, the direct workers' and peasants' control, is of great importance. The need to exercise this control from above and below, which responds to the fundamental principle of organization and direction of the entire life of socialist society, democratic centralization, and its role, are felt in every field of our life. However, in the struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism, the direct control by the working class and the peasantry from below, under the leadership of the Party, has particular importance. From their very nature, bureaucracy and liberalism are anti-popular, therefore, the masses of working people themselves are deeply interested in the struggle against them. The direct participation of the masses of working people in the struggle against liberalism and bureaucracy is the indispensable condition for the development of this struggle with success.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us, and the experience of the socialist construction in Albania has provided confirmation, that the direct workers' and peasants' control is an effective weapon in the class struggle for strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and a school for the class to master the art of government. This is the case not only at the time when the new state apparatus has just been set up, but also when the socialist state has achieved a relatively high level of development and the working class in power, in alliance with the cooperativist peasantry, has created a great number of young cadres loyal to socialism.

The direct workers' and peasants' control is indispensable to waging the class struggle successfully, also, in the field of how the officials and cadres carry out their duties, to combat any alien influence and manifestation in the work of our cadres, organs and apparatuses. Implementing the direct control by the workers and peasants puts into practice the great teaching of the Paris Commune that «in order to avoid losing its newly-won power, the working class, must, on one hand, destroy the entire old oppressive machinery, which was used against it, and, on the other hand, protect itself against its own deputies and officials, it must take measures to ensure that «the state and the state organs are not transformed from servants of the society into masters of the society»⁽⁵⁾.

Without the organizations of the masses, which are a very important constituent part of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, all these problems would be meaningless. When we speak of the strengthening and revolutionization of the dictatorship of the proletariat the strengthening and revolutionization of the organizations of the masses is automatically implied. They have the major task of permanent and active participation in the political field, just as in all the other fields of the class struggle. The waging of the class struggle for the defence, strengthening and perfecting of the socialist state, for the continuous extension and deepening of socialist democracy, is inconceivable without including in the current of this struggle the activity of the mass organizations, which, under the leadership of the Party, play an irreplaceable role in the revolution and the construction of socialism. The role of the organizations of the masses, is in no way diminished under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but, on the contrary, is steadily increased.

In the practice of socialist construction, the PLA has clearly defined the place and role of the organizations of the masses in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and has exposed the preachings and practices of modern revisionists about the so-called «independence» of the organizations of

the masses from the party of the working class, and about their transformation into appendages of the state apparatus. The Party of Labour of Albania has always fought for the continuous enhancement and enlivenment of the role of the mass organizations as important organisms which link the Party with the masses. The essence of this struggle is to link the organizations of the masses closely with the Party, and to ensure the continuous strengthening of the leading role of the Party in them. The Party has never permitted and never will permit any counterposing of the organizations of the masses to the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, allegedly for the «defence» of the interests of the workers. Any tendency to transform the organizations of the masses into appendages of the state apparatuses and to inhibit the control of the masses over the state organs is also alien to our Party.

2. The class struggle in the political field for the defence of national independence and the socialist Homeland.

The only course for the defence of national independence and the socialist Homeland just as for the defence of all the other victories of our revolution is that of determined class struggle against any violation or weakening of these victories. The struggle for the defence and strengthening of national independence and the socialist Homeland is waged with particular severity in the conditions of the capitalist-revisionist encirclement of our country. The Party and comrade Enver Hoxha have continually emphasized that this encirclement is by no means passive or merely geographical, but a threatening and active encirclement, which is fighting us in all directions and fields.

To cope successfully with the pressure brought to bear upon us by the capitalist-revisionist encirclement requires that our people have a profound class understanding of the international situations, that they live with these situations and consider all the problems from this angle. They consider this

pressure, in all the variety of forms and means with which it is exerted, as an expression of the continuous struggle which the capitalist-revisionist world is waging against socialist Albania, and respond to it with their determined class struggle under the leadership of the Party.

In our class struggle, to break and defeat the encirclement, we do not remain passive. On the contrary, our counter-action is active and our blows are directed both against the efforts of the imperialist-revisionist coalition at bringing socialist Albania to its knees and against the internal enemy, which collaborates with and places itself in the service of the external enemy.

The imperialists and revisionists never relinquish their intentions to strangle or to impede the revolution and socialism. «The imperialists and revisionists», says comrade Enver Hoxha, «have trained their rifles on Albania, but we have our heavy artillery trained on them. This coalition is up and doing, but we are up and doing, too. We have matched our strength against them and we have won, again we are matching our strength against them and again we are winning. And this is what will go on happening in the future. Therefore, the victory will be ours, our people's and our Party's till the end.»⁽⁶⁾

The activity of the internal enemy, old or new, also shows that, despite the powerful blows it has been dealt, it, too, has not given up its counterrevolutionary aims in the field of national independence and defence of the socialist Homeland, or any other field.

Nevertheless, however savage the activity of the internal and external enemy, however coordinated, organized and strongly it is directed against us, its annihilation is completely possible. This requires that we wage the struggle against the internal and external enemies consistently and ever more fiercely.

The Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people value our national independence as a great victory and consider the maintenance of it inseparable from the dictatorship of the proletariat. During the National-liberation War, the struggle for the liberation of the Homeland from the fascist invaders was closely linked and merged into

one with that for the overthrow of the power of the exploiting class, collaborators of foreign invaders, who had sold themselves to imperialism. But even today, the preservation of the independence of the country is inseparable from the existence and the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the special conditions of Albania, against which the savage capitalist-revisionist encirclement is active, and in an international situation, when the plots and rivalry of the two imperialist superpowers are becoming more and more manifest, it is impossible to have complete independence of the country without the dictatorship of the proletariat. In these conditions, only the people, with the working class and its revolutionary vanguard at the head, are determined to the end and capable of defending genuine independence.

Defence of the independence of the country is an important objective of the class struggle in the political field. This has been expressed in the Constitution, in which it is clearly stated that the Albanian people, under the leadership of the PLA, will defend their socialist Homeland at any cost and in any circumstance, that any aggressor or group of aggressors that lays a finger on socialist Albania will be burned to ashes in the fire of the people's war. In Albania, the signing of any act of capitulation or acceptance of the occupation of the country, or any possible speculation intended to put the independence of the Homeland up for sale, is condemned as treason. Similarly, the road has been barred to possible attempts by enemy or traitor elements to call for «aid» allegedly in the name of the Albanian people and to «legalize» intervention by imperialism, socialimperialism or other reactionary forces. The solemn declaration that nobody, other than the organs defined in the Constitution, can exercise the sovereignty of the people and any of its attributes in the name of the PRS of Albania, also serves the defence of national independence. The prohibition of the establishment of foreign military basis or forces in the territory of socialist Albania, serves the same purpose.

Independence, which characterizes a

genuine socialist state in every instance, can be realized in a non-socialist state also. At the present time, the struggle of various states and peoples to ensure their independence against the plundering neo-colonialist policy of imperialism and socialimperialism, has assumed great impetus. The struggle to win and safeguard the independence of states, even when it is not connected with the struggle for socialism, is important to the general struggle against imperialism and socialimperialism. Therefore, while defending its own independence in all fields and forms, in its foreign policy, socialist Albania also wages a stern class struggle against any form of aggression, colonial exploitation, tutelage, dictate and hegemony, national oppression and racial discrimination. It upholds the principle of the self-determination of peoples, the exercise of complete national sovereignty and the equality of all countries in international relations. In this direction it has denounced any neo-colonialist «theory», such as those on the so-called «interdependence of nations», and «limited sovereignty», with which American imperialism and Soviet socialimperialism try to justify their enslaving practices for domination of the other countries and states. A genuine socialist country, as the PSR of Albania is, does not accept any form of dependence, intervention and dictate imposed from abroad for itself, and opposes their imposition on others.

The defence of the socialist Homeland has been secured and is secured through stern class struggle. This struggle stands out not only in our correct Marxist-Leninist concepts on defence, which are diametrically opposed to the concepts of our enemies, but also in the particular importance that the question of defence assumes in the conditions of our country.

In leading the defence of the country, the Party has always considered this question as a duty above all duties and has linked the realization of it with the military training of the whole people organized in the Armed Forces. «Our Homeland belongs to the entire people, therefore it is defended not only by the regular army, in uniform, but by the entire armed people,

military organized and trained»(7), says comrade Enver Hoxha. The Party of Labour of Albania has put into practice the Leninist teaching about replacing the «barracks army» with the armed people, making «every citizen a soldier, an every soldier a citizen». It has based the whole military activity and training of the people on the waging of people's war on the principles of the popular military art. This constitutes an important contribution of the PLA to the defence and further development of the Marxist-Leninist ideas on the army and defence.

Historical experience has confirmed that even after the revolutionary army of the dictatorship of the proletariat is created, under certain conditions, it can degenerate and be transformed into a weapon for domination over the people, as occurred in the revisionist Soviet Union and in the other former socialist countries, or as the putschist group in our army, which was discovered and smashed in recent years, endeavoured to do in our country. In the Albanian People's Army the proletarian policy is in command, and this is a guarantee that it will remain a conscious army of the revolution always loyal to the people and socialism.

Putting politics in command, means that in our army of the dictatorship of the proletariat the political factor has superiority over the military factor. This in no way underrates the role of weapons and military training. On the contrary, supplying the army with modern armament and equipment, as well as its military training, are at the centre of attention of the Party and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the process of the class struggle, the problems of defence have been tackled by the Party at all times from the class political angle, establishing a correct dialectical report between man and weapons, which, as the Party teaches us, play a major role in the war, but not the decisive one, because this decisive role belongs to man, to his ability and determination, to his lofty consciousness and readiness to shed his blood in the field of battle in order to triumph over the aggressors.

The measures that the PLA took at the proper time for the reestablish-

ment of the function of the political commissar, for the creation of party committees in the Army, for the abolition of military rank, and so on, have contributed greatly to strengthening the defence of the Homeland. These measures found the unanimous approval of the people and, at the same time, aroused the anger and opposition of our enemies, who, as the 7th Congress of the Party stressed, until the day when they were discovered, were trying to introduce the detestable methods and practices of bourgeois and revisionist armies into our Army.

The struggle to strengthen our defence has always been guided by the principle of self reliance. Applying this principle consistently, the Party led the people in the revolution during the National-liberation War and won. And now, relying on the internal factor, on the military readiness of the people to cope with any aggression or coalition of aggressors, at any time and under any circumstance, our defence is secure, regardless of the sacrifices we shall have to make.

The principle of relying on the internal factor in the field of defence assumed particular importance after the betrayal by the Khrushchevite revisionists, who attempted, in the most brutal fascist way, to intervene in the internal affairs and jeopardize the independence of Albania. If these enemies did not get away with the methods which they have used elsewhere with success, this was because they did not find any breaches in the ranks of the Party and the people.

The defence of the country has been strengthened in constant struggle against the external and internal enemies, against their savage criminal activity against the Party and the people. The freedom-loving, valiant and indomitable Albanian people and their Armed Forces have been educated by the Party so that, in case of aggression, they will not limit themselves merely to the task of repelling the enemies, but will fight till their complete and final annihilation. At the same time, they will always be beside the peoples fighting to win their freedom, or to defend it from the superpowers or from the aggressive activity of other capitalist and revisionist states.

3. The class struggle in the political field for the preservation and strengthening of the unity of the people around the Party

The defence and strengthening of the unity of the people around the Party is an important direction of the class struggle in the political field. Without this unity it would have been impossible to establish and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat itself, to secure the independence of the country, and to defend the socialist Homeland. The steel unity of the people around the Party and its Central Committee, with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, is the source of all the victories achieved up to date and the guarantee of even greater victories in the future.

The Party and comrade Enver Hoxha teach us that the unity of the people and the class struggle are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, between them there is a dialectical connection, which is expressed in the fact that, on the one hand, the unity of the people around the Party constitutes a powerful weapon for the successful waging of the class struggle, while, on the other hand, the consistent and correct waging of the class struggle itself, is an impulse to the preservation and strengthening of this unity.

The implementation of the line of the Party for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland has been and still is the fundamental question of the class struggle in the political field. At the present stage of the class struggle, it is a task of a very great importance to study the line of the Party ever more deeply, so that this line becomes thoroughly understandable for the masses, not only in its general directions, but in all its aspects, so that the masses become even more solidly convinced of the correctness of this line and mobilize themselves to put it into practice. Socialism is a social order which is built for the masses and by the masses, under the leadership of the Party, therefore the more conscious the masses become, the more profound their knowledge of the line of the Party which

leads them, the more active will they be in the struggle for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland.

The dissemination and implantation of Marxism-Leninism ever more deeply among the masses is another important objective of the class struggle, because only on the basis of the revolutionary world outlook of the working class it is possible to secure the construction of socialism and defence of the Homeland as well as to safeguard the unity of the people around the Party. In Albania, Marxism-Leninism is the ruling ideology. The entire socialist social order, develops on the basis of its principles, and it sets the tone and conditions the entire development of the spiritual life of the country. On the basis of Marxism-Leninism and in stern class struggle against old blemishes and the bourgeois-revisionist ideological aggression, a process of major importance is developing, the most profound and complicated in our whole battle against the old world, the process of the formation and tempering of the new man.

In the stern class struggle against the influences of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, against the remnants and bad customs from the past, and petty-bourgeois outlooks and psychology, our people become imbued with the proletarian world outlook and morality, in the course of attacking and rooting out any concept and phenomenon which violates the unity of the people. The aim of the class struggle is to ensure that the people always live in revolution, are characterized by a high level of political consciousness, by exemplary heroism at work and the spirit of sacrifice for the interests of the Party, socialism and the Homeland.

The struggle for the protection and strengthening of the socialist property, which constitutes the foundation of the socialist order, is also a struggle for the strengthening of the unity of the people. In this case, the class struggle is aimed at the uninterrupted development of the productive forces and the continuous perfecting of the socialist relations of production, which constitute two aspects of the new mode of production, at the protection and

best possible administration of the socialist property; at the gradual elimination of the hang-overs and blemishes which the socialist relations of production inherit from the past, such as «bourgeois right» in the field of distribution, the distinctions between mental and physical work, and between town and countryside.

The alliance of the two friendly classes, the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, under the leadership of the working class, constitutes the foundation and highest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The class struggle to strengthen the alliance between these two friendly classes is a struggle to strengthen the unity of the people. These two classes make up the overwhelming majority of the people, and the decisive role in the construction and defence of socialism is theirs, just as it was in the National-liberation War.

The preservation and strengthening of the unity of the people around the Party is a continuous process, which runs parallel with the deepening of the socialist revolution itself. This unity is achieved not by artificially covering up the contradictions, but by recognizing them and resolving them correctly through class struggle. If we were to dodge contradictions and fail to wage the class struggle to resolve them, this would have grave consequences for our unity itself. This applies both to the contradictions between us and the enemies, which are mainly resolved by means of violence, and to the contradictions among the people, which are resolved by means of persuasion thorough educational work. Resolving contradictions among the people, too, calls for a constant struggle, never becoming reconciled to shortcomings and mistakes, to alien manifestations and attitudes. If these are covered up and thorough-going criticism of them is not made, allegedly for the sake of unity, it would not be real unity, but a false and formal unity.

Hence, in waging the class struggle to defend and constantly strengthen the unity of the people around the Party, it is important to recognize and resolve the two types of contradictions which exist in socialist society. Fai-

lure to understand the character of the two types of contradictions which exist in our society correctly, confusion of antagonistic with non-antagonistic contradictions, says comrade Enver Hoxha, harms the line of the Party, by leading to sectarian and opportunist stands, to the detriment of the unity of the people. In waging the class struggle correctly and consistently for the strengthening of unity, it is important that the following two points are always kept in mind:

First, care must be taken to always maintain a clear line of demarcation with the class enemy. There is not and cannot be unity with and a conciliatory attitude towards the class enemy. The contradictions with the enemy are antagonistic and irreconcilable and can never be treated as contradictions among the people. On this issue there must be stern struggle against any tendency for the artificial easing of the class struggle against the remnants of the overthrown classes or new enemy elements. The Party of Labour of Albania not only has maintained a determined, clear-cut and severe stands towards the class enemy in the practice of our revolution, but it has also continually exposed the preaching of modern revisionists about the relaxation or dying-out of the class struggle against the enemy element in socialism. Acting as disguised enemies of the working class, the modern revisionists distort the real nature of the contradictions with the class enemies in socialism and present the question as though they lose their antagonistic character once the basis of socialism has been built, therefore «instead of struggle against them there must be rapprochement and agreement». In reality, however, there can be no talk of any softer attitude towards, or reconciliation with, the class enemy, because such reconciliation would cost the proletariat and socialism dear, just as it did in the Soviet Union and the other countries that followed it.

Second, attention must always be paid to the struggle, on the other flank, against any tendency to treat contradictions among the people as contradictions between us and the enemy. In the process of the class

struggle to strengthen and defend unity we must attack and uproot sectarian and liberal stands in the resolution of non-antagonistic contradictions, which might transform them into antagonistic contradictions.

For the correct resolution of contradiction among the people, the combination of the method of conviction with that of compulsion is very important.

The Party and comrade Enver Hoxha attach great importance to thorough understanding and strict implementation of a correct balance between persuasion and compulsion. The method of persuasion is the main one, because the struggle against negative phenomena which show up at work and in the life of society is, to a large extent, a struggle which is waged among the people. With this fact in mind, Lenin wrote: «First we must convince, and then constrain. We must at all costs first convince and then constrain» (8).

It is necessary to apply compulsion against those, who through condemnable actions, commit acts directed against the laws and regulations sanctioned by the socialist state. The administrative or penal measures taken during the implementation of compulsion by the proletarian state serve mainly to put an end to negative phenomena, be they crimes or mere infringements. They are intended to combat the consequences resulting from actions contrary to law, but they are not enough to eradicate the roots of the evil which lie hidden in the alien concepts in people's minds. The latter aim is achieved by the method of persuasion.

In the socialist state, the method of persuasion and that of compulsion are realized in combination with each other. Overdoing one or the other method, contrary to the concrete conditions, destroys the correct balance, that must be maintained. Thus, it is erroneous to overlook serious mistakes, or to be satisfied with continuous criticism, allegedly as educational work and conviction, even when the offences are grave or repeated and ought to be punished. Such a stand, which stems from failure to understand that punish-

ment, also, has an educational character, would lead to the encouragement of conduct contrary to the norms of justice and socialist morality. On the contrary, the use of methods of compulsion out of place and neglecting the method of persuasion would lead to friction between the masses and their state, which would have extremely grave consequences, because it would undermine the unity of the people with the Party and endanger socialism.

1. Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA*, p. 127
2. Enver Hoxha, *Reports and Speeches 1969-1970*, p. 219
3. Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 5th Congress of the PLA*, p. 134
4. Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA*, p. 121
5. K. Marks-F. Engels, *Selected Works vol. I*, pp. 453, 454
6. Enver Hoxha, *Reports and Speeches 1967-1968*, p. 37
7. Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA*, p. 119
8. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works, vol 32*, p. 242

A MAJESTIC PROGRAM OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIAT FOR THE TRIUMPH OF COMMUNISM

by BUJAR HOXHA

The ideas of the «Manifesto of the Communist Party» are irreplaceable and guide every genuine party of the working class

130 YEARS AGO, THE BRILLIANT WORK OF THE GREAT TEACHERS OF THE WORLD PROLETARIAT, MARX AND ENGELS, «THE MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY», WAS PUBLISHED. THIS WAS THE FIRST PROGRAM OF COMMUNISM, THE MAJESTIC PROGRAM OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIAT. THE DEVELOPMENT OF EVENTS DURING THE HISTORY OF THESE 130 YEARS HAS CONFIRMED THE COMPLETE CORRECTNESS OF THE GREAT AND IMMORTAL IDEAS OF THE MANIFESTO WHICH ARE, TO THIS DAY, AND WILL ALWAYS BE, POWERFUL WEAPONS IN THE HANDS OF THE PROLETARIAT IN ITS STRUGGLE TO SWEEP THE ORDER OF EXPLOITATION FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH AND TO BUILD THE CLASSLESS COMMUNIST SOCIETY.

In this work Marx and Engels give the Marxist concept of the class struggle. They point out that since the time of the destruction of primitive communal society «the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle». Bourgeois society did not eliminate classes and the antagonism between them but simplified them to the maximum. The fundamental antagonistic classes of this society, with irreconcilable, diametrically opposite interests, are the proletariat and the bourgeoisie which have been permanently in struggle from the

time they emerged. Marx and Engels linked this struggle with the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the idea of which we find formulated in the «Manifesto» as, «raising the proletariat to the position of the ruling class» and «winning the battle of democracy».

In the «Manifesto of the Communist Party», Marx and Engels show the inevitability of the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of the proletariat when they say that «its elimination and the triumph of the proletariat are equally inevitable». They show the proletariat its historic mission as «the grave-digger» of bour-

geois society and the creator of communist society, as the only class in bourgeois society which is revolutionary to the end, and which expresses the interests of all the working masses. The «Manifesto of the Communist Party» of Marx and Engels and their call, «Proletarians of all Countries, Unite», tell the world that the fundamental contradiction of human society is now that between labour and capital, and the proletariat is the force which will resolve it through revolution. In this way Marx and Engels proved indisputably that the class of proletarians had become the class to which the future belongs, the bearer of new socialist relations which would replace the relations of oppression and exploitation, the class which was the hub of the epoch. They also proved scientifically the inevitability of the violent overthrow of capitalism, the inevitability of the proletarian revolution in which the proletariat plays the hegemonic role.

But this class can secure this hege-

monic role only when it has its own revolutionary party to lead it. In the «Manifesto» Marx and Engels lay down the fundamental theses about the Party of the proletariat, define its historic role, show that without the Party as its vanguard detachment, the proletariat cannot liberate itself from the yoke of capital, cannot take political power into its own hands and carry out the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society to communist society.

In the «Manifesto of the Communist Party» the great principle of proletarian internationalism, of the militant unity of the workers of all countries in their struggle for the violent overthrow of capital to make themselves masters of the means of production is formulated. In the «Manifesto of the Communist Party», Marx and Engels make a critical, all-sided analysis of various pseudo-socialist trends such as feudal-socialism, petty-bourgeois-socialism and bourgeois-socialism, as well as a critical assesment of utopian socialism and communism, pointing out their positive and negative aspects.

The brilliant ideas of the «Manifesto of the Communist Party» and of all the work of Marx and Engels were defended and further developed by their pupils and the continuers of their work, Lenin and Stalin. In our days the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties carry out this great historic task. The Party of Labour of Albania, headed by comrade Enver Hoxha, has made and is making its contribution on this question in fierce struggle with the revisionist renegades.

The revisionists, as rabid enemies of Marxism-Leninism, the revolution, and the proletariat, have made unscrupulous distortions and falsifications of all the fundamental theses and ideas of the «Manifesto», replacing them with pseudo-Marxist and anti-Marxist theories and theses.

In place of Marx's theory about the struggle and irreconcilable antagonism between the proletariat and the bour-

geoisie as an objective phenomenon and a motive force of bourgeois society, the revisionists have substituted the view that these two antagonistic classes can be reconciled, can collaborate for the common good, and other such palaver.

Exposing the fabrications of the revisionists in connection with the class struggle, comrade Enver Hoxha says that they «preach 'fraternity in divergence', fraternity and unity in order to 'go to socialism through reforms' everybody together, bourgeois, capitalist, workers, police, the bourgeois army and all». The aim of these sermons is to hold back the revolution and defend capitalism, to deceive the masses, the proletariat and the peoples in order to divert them from the revolutionary struggle.

From the time revisionism first emerged, the revisionists have totally rejected the great idea of the Manifesto of the Communist Party about violent revolution as the means to destroy capitalism. To this end, the revisionists, from Bernstein down to those of today, have worked out a whole series of views and theories intended to negate the proletarian revolution. Widespread in our days are the revisionist theories of «the peaceful parliamentary road of transition to socialism» which began with Kautsky, of «the transition to socialism in the conditions of democracy without class struggle and expropriation of the bourgeoisie, without the party of the working class», the Eurocommunist views, etc. To deny the necessity of the proletarian revolution means to leave the working class for ever under the oppression and exploitation of the bourgeoisie. Irrespective of the forms and nuances which they give their theories, all revisionists deny this revolution.

The revisionists of all shades also deny the historic mission of the proletariat and its hegemonic role in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the construction of the new society. They have invented all kinds of theo-

ries to refute this idea of the «Manifesto of the Communist Party». Thus, they have long been writing about the changing class structure of capitalist society, about its deproletarianization, about the «transformation of proletarians into owners» and «the bourgeoisie into workers», about the turning of the proletariat into a working class, etc, etc. The various revisionists understand clearly that if one speaks about the proletariat, which, in capitalism, has nothing except the strength of its own muscles, then it is implied that this class must fight against its exploiters and oppressors and must break its chains. It is precisely this struggle, which has as its objective the destruction of the old state power of capital to its foundations, of which all the revisionist renegades and all international capital are afraid.

The revisionists have long been denying also the leading role of the proletariat in the struggle for socialism, transferring this role sometimes to the peasantry or the youth, sometimes to the students, the lumpen proletariat or «small resolute groups» as the anarchists do. In order to combat the idea of the historic mission of the proletariat and its hegemonic role, the «theory of pluralism of classes» for the transition to socialism has been created, considering the bourgeoisie as a «positive factor» in the construction of the new society. And finally, «the theory of Three Worlds» is a complete denial of the historic mission and hegemonic role of the proletariat.

The intention of all the anti-Marxist theories in this field is to place other social classes and forces at the hub of our epoch and to deny the place which the proletariat objectively occupies in it. Comrade Enver Hoxha, stressing the role of the working class, says that, «no social class or strata other than the working class can carry out the leading role, either in the struggle for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat or in the

construction of the new socialist society».

By denying the historic mission and the hegemonic role of the proletariat, the revisionists deny the leading role of the proletarian party in the struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the construction of communist society. They have fabricated and loudly advertised the most varied theories, such as that of the transition to socialism with many parties, even of the construction of «socialism» with the contribution of non-proletarian bourgeois parties, have invented the «theory» of the «Party of the whole people» and «the Party as only an ideological and coordinating factor», etc. Rejecting these revisionist fabrications, our Party defends the Marxist-Leninist thesis that only the revolutionary party of the working class, armed with the Marxist-Leninist theory, makes the class conscious of its historic mission and clearly defines the objectives of the struggle and the ways to achieve them. The fundamental thing in the preaching of the revisionists is denial of the dictatorship of the proletariat. For example, in their programs the French, Italian, Spanish, Japanese and other revisionists have completely eliminated this fundamental demand of Marx as the means, way, and decisive weapon to build communist society. But, as Lenin pointed out, only he who extends acceptance of the class struggle to acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a Marxist.

In regard to the historic necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Marx has pointed out that socialism «is the class dictatorship of the proletariat as an essential step to go on to the elimination of class distinctions in general, to the elimination of all relations of production on which these distinctions are based, to the elimination of all social relations which respond to these relations of production, to the overthrow of all ideas which stem from these social relations».

The experience of our country is a

brilliant example which completely proves that without the dictatorship of the proletariat, there can be no talk of socialism or communism.

In the course of their denial of the ideas of the «Manifesto of the Communist Party», the revisionists also combat the principle of proletarian internationalism, interpreting it according to their own interests. They have replaced this principle with such labels as «socialist solidarity», «fraternal collaboration», etc. And even though there may be polemics amongst the revisionists around this question, the aim of these polemics is not defence of the principle, but to find the ways and forms to combat it more effectively.

The «Manifesto of the Communist Party» says, «a spectre is haunting Europe — the spectre of Communism. All the powers of old Europe have entered into a Holy Alliance to exorcize this spectre». How real these words of Marx and Engels sound even in our days. Despite all their unceasing efforts, no holy alliance of imperialists and revisionists has been, or ever will be, able to change the course of history or to conquer the great force of the immortal ideas of the Manifesto. Now the question of the revolution is no longer just an aspiration or a prospect, but is a problem taken up for solution.

Our Party, together with all the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, has fought and is fighting to see the ideas of Marx and Engels realised and materialized. At the 7th Congress of the Party, comrade Enver Hoxha said, «the world proletariat, we Marxist-Leninists, must go back to and study the doctrine of Marx and Engels, their strategy and tactics of the struggle and victory. Marx and Engels are no longer alive but their doctrine lives on and must be our guide. They are our irreplaceable leaders». The ideas of the «Manifesto of the Communist Party» are irreplaceable and guide every genuine party of the working class.

J.V. STALIN'S WORK WILL LIVE ON THROUGH THE CENTURIES

by **SOTIR MANUSHI**

The question of the attitude towards Stalin remains an important question of principle and a line of demarcation which divides the true Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries from the renegades and revisionists of any shade, the revolutionaries from the counterrevolutionaries

Twenty-five years have gone by since the day when the heart of J.V.Stalin, the outstanding leader of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state, the proletariat of the world and the international communist movement, ceased to beat. His name and work will always serve as a brilliant inspiring example and a battle flag for all true Marxist-Leninist parties, for the proletariat and the peoples who are fighting for freedom and independence.

The question of the attitude towards Stalin remains an important question of principle and a line of demarcation which divides the true Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries from the renegades and revisionists of every shade, the revolutionaries from the counterrevolutionaries.

All the betrayers of Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism, including the Trotskyites, Yugoslav revisionists, Togliattists, Eurocommunists and other opportunists of every hue have attacked J.V.Stalin with the hatred that characterises them.

What need had the group of Khrushchev and all the other revisionists of these attacks against Stalin? They needed and still need them, as our

made important new theoretical generalizations and developed Marxism-Leninism on the building of socialist society in many matters of principle. On the basis of the new revolutionary experience of the international proletariat and world development in his own time, he elaborated the questions of the strategy and tactics of the international communist and worker's movement, the national liberation movement, etc, in a creative manner.

Stalin maintained Marxist-Leninist stands regarding the question of the revolution. He regarded the violent revolution as a universal law. In struggle with all the enemies of Leninism, Stalin defended the Leninist theory of the proletarian revolution and developed it further.

The life and work of Stalin are also a brilliant example of a consistent internationalist revolutionary. Stalin has great merits for the contribution he made to the development and strengthening of the communist, revolutionary and liberation movement throughout the world, both at the time of the Comintern and also later. The merit of discovering and denouncing the first manifestation of modern revisionism in power, Yugoslav revisionism, which was fighting the revolution and Marxism-Leninism with zeal, belongs to Stalin.

J.V.Stalin defended and further developed Lenin's teachings on the Party of the proletariat, on its leading role in the proletarian revolution and in the construction of socialism and communism.

Stalin linked the victory of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat with the leading role of the true revolutionary party of the proletariat. Only such a party, the party of the new type, is capable of organising and leading the proletarian revolution and building communist society. By attacking Stalin, today's revisionists of all shades, with their theories about the party as an «ideological factor», «the party of the whole people», permitting the existence of two lines within the party, and so on, are attacking the Leninist doctri-

ne on the party, and denying the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party in carrying out the proletarian revolution and the construction of socialist and communist society. Today, the revisionist parties have turned into bourgeois and fascist parties, which have slipped completely into the positions of social-chauvinism, as comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 7th Congress of the PLA.

J. V. Stalin was a resolute and indomitable fighter against imperialism. He not only defended the Leninist theory on imperialism, but he also developed it further, in conformity with the new conditions and phenomena of that time. Stalin always called for vigilance against imperialism and its chiefs, for a proletarian class stand towards it. Stalin considered imperialism as the sworn enemy of the socialist system. From this he recognized the danger of the imperialist encirclement and the necessity for the socialist countries to struggle against it. By attacking Stalin, the modern revisionists of all hues wanted to open the way to the dissemination of their views on the change in the nature of imperialism, that it had allegedly become «peaceful», to views about so-called peaceful coexistence a la Khrushchev, about peaceful competition and allround collaboration with American imperialism, and so on.

In accusing Stalin of «dogmatism», the revisionists of all shades have rejected the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism, because to them it is precisely these teachings that are dogmatism.

Whatever they are or are not, all of them have made and are making great efforts to justify their abandonment of the essential thesis of Marxism-Leninism on the seizure of power by violence, through the revolution, in order to spread the illusion of transition to socialism in peaceful, parliamentary, bourgeois, democratic and other such ways. As the historic 7th Congress of the PLA stressed, «The specific national roads to socialism» which they advertize, in fact, simply indicate the various roads followed by

Party has stressed, in order to attack Leninism, to prepare the ground for the revising of Marxism-Leninism and to disseminate their opportunist views and course concerning the most important question of the present day development of the international communist movement in the world. In fighting Stalin, the modern revisionists rejected all the revolutionary heritage of the international proletariat and communism.

In order to put their revisionist platform into practice, N. Khrushchev and his group fabricated their fiendish theses of the fight against «Stalin's cult of the individual and its consequences», and against «stalinist dogmatism». However, the figure of Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin is the figure of the great revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist. As the loyal disciple of Lenin, and continuer of his work and thought, which he carried further forward, Stalin, fought with determination for the implementation of the great principles of victorious Marxism-Leninism throughout the whole of his life. On the basis of the new experience of the socialist construction in the Soviet Union relying on its own strength, he

revisionist parties to betray socialism, to undermine the revolution and to split the proletariat, to sabotage the people's liberation struggle.

The betrayers of Marxism-Leninism, the revisionists of all shades and descriptions, also level charges at Stalin over his stand towards Yugoslav revisionism, which they describe as a «victim» of the «gross mistakes» of J.V.Stalin. In this manner, the Khrushchevite renegades group, unilaterally rejected the very correct conclusions of the Information Bureau in regard to Yugoslav revisionism, which emerged as an opportunist ideological trend and as a political practice to undermine socialist society and the true communist parties from within. All those who embarked on the road of revisionist betrayal and capitalist degeneration, have found and still find ready-made concepts and «tested ways» in Yugoslav revisionism. «First the Khrushchevites and then the Togliattists and others», stressed comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the PLA, «have been inspired by Yugoslav revisionism, and found support and encouragement in it to fight socialism and the Marxist-Leninist ideology.»

Shamelessly distorting the reality, the revisionists accuse Stalin of stifling democracy, while they consider the historic period when J.V.Stalin was at the head of the Bolshevik Party as a period of despotism and crimes. Their aim has always been to cancel out and throw mud at this period, to discredit the socialist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat, to disguise and justify their counterrevolutionary course.

But facts are stubborn things and they confirm the contrary. J.V.Stalin fought with determination to defend and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, for the ceaseless extension of socialist democracy. He regarded the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a question of the fundamental content of the proletarian revolution, as its

indispensable weapon to crush the resistance of the overthrown exploiters and to consolidate the victories achieved, in order to carry the proletarian revolution through to the complete and final victory of communism. The bitter experience of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and other countries, proves that any weakening of the dictatorship of the proletariat is coupled with dangerous consequences for the fate of the revolution and socialism. By attacking Stalin, the revisionists of the former socialist countries smashed the dictatorship of proletariat and restored the bourgeois dictatorship. Today, the Soviet Union has become a centre of the counterrevolution, an aggressive, neo-colonialist and war-mongering imperialist superpower. The bourgeois revisionist dictatorship, represented by the stratum of bureaucrats and the new Soviet capitalists, makes the law everywhere. Meanwhile the revisionists in the capitalist countries have completely removed the dictatorship of the proletariat from their program, as Marchais did at the 22nd congress of the French revisionist party. The other «Eurocommunists» of the type of Berlinguer, Carillo, etc. have done the same thing.

In his time, Khrushchev, after discharging all his heavy artillery against Stalin, sometimes also said something in praise of him, purely for demagogic purposes. And Brezhnev has continued to use this tactic.

Once again in recent times, in the Soviet press or in the speeches of the revisionist leaders, Stalin has been mentioned in passing, for example on 23rd of February this year in a speech by the Minister of War of Soviet socialimperialism himself. But does this mean that the question of Stalin has been put in order? Not at all! The beautiful words they may pronounce on Stalin are nothing but demagogy to mislead the Soviet people, to oppose their discontent. But they can dupe only the naive and satisfy only the sentimental. A truly principled stand towards Stalin means that the 20th,

22nd and other congresses of the Soviet revisionist party, must be rejected, that the revisionist line must be rejected in all fields, that Khrushchevism and the whole gang ruling in the Soviet Union today must be got rid of. All this, of course, can be achieved only by overthrowing the capitalist regime by means of the violent proletarian revolution and by restoring the dictatorship of the proletariat. There is not and cannot be any other way.

Today, 25 years have gone by since the day of J.V.Stalin's death. He is alive no longer, but his name and work are immortal. This work lives on and will always live on in the heart of the proletariat of the world. It is embodied in the revolutionary activity of our Party of Labour, of the Marxist-Leninist parties which are fighting for the triumph of the proletarian revolution, socialism and communism. Today, in commemorating the 25th anniversary of Stalin's death, our Party and people together with the workers, revolutionaries and the peoples of the whole world, express their unwavering conviction that, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and with even greater confidence in their own strength, they will steadily march forward towards the complete construction of socialism.

THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA PURSUES A CORRECT POLICY FOR THE RAISING OF THE PEOPLE'S WELLBEING

by NEZHDET HOXHA and BURIM HYSI

The Party of Labour of Albania has always pursued a correct revolutionary policy for the transformation of Albania from a profoundly backward agrarian country into a country where the material and cultural level of the broad working masses and the entire people is continuously rising

THE SUCCESSES ACHIEVED IN THE YEARS OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER IN THE DEVELOPMENT AND DEEPENING OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN ALL FIELDS DEMONSTRATE THE MAJESTY OF THE CORRECT REVOLUTIONARY POLICY THAT THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA HAS PURSUED FOR THE TRANSFORMATION OF ALBANIA FROM A PROFOUNDLY BACKWARD AGRARIAN COUNTRY INTO A COUNTRY WHERE THE MATERIAL AND CULTURAL LEVEL OF THE WORKING MASSES AND OF THE ENTIRE PEOPLE IS RISING CONTINUOUSLY. THIS HAS ITS SOURCE IN THE VERY NATURE OF OUR SOCIALIST ORDER, IN THE ACTION OF THE OBJECTIVE ECONOMIC LAWS OF SOCIALISM AND, IN THE FIRST PLACE, OF THE FUNDAMENTAL ECONOMIC LAW OF SOCIALISM.

1.

The development of socialist production is directly subordinated to the realization of the political and economic interests of the working people, to the continuous raising of their wellbeing. There can be no wellbeing for the broad masses of working people outside the development of

NEZHDET HOXHA and BURIM HYSI
— economists.

the economy on the road of socialism. Precisely because of this, the fundamental economic law of socialism, which has as its principal requirement the fulfilment of the growing material and cultural needs of the entire society, is always presented as the law of the ceaseless development of socialist production. However, the fundamental economic law of socia-

lism shows the necessity for the raising of wellbeing and the ways to achieve it, while putting these things into practice depends on the policy of the Party, on how wellbeing is conceived in theory and applied in practice by the Party of the class in power.

The Marxist-Leninist theory and the experience of the construction of socialism in Albania show that in the first stage of communist society, in socialism, the action of the fundamental economic law of socialism depends on, and is conditioned by, the level of development of the productive forces, the degree of maturity which the socialist relations of production have reached, the requirements of the future development of the economy of the country through its own efforts, the international situation and the tasks for the strengthening of the de-

fence capacity of the country, in order to safeguard the victories achieved in the construction of socialist society.

It is very important for the fate of socialism to recognise and keep in mind these specific features, in which the fundamental economic law acts along with the other economic laws of socialism, in order to correctly understand and reflect the demands of this law in the implementation of the economic policy of the Party, in the planned development of the economy and in the education of the masses of working people with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook on life, work, socialist wellbeing, the strengthening of the defence capacity of the Homeland, and so on. In all its activity, our Party has never conceived wellbeing in a one-sided way, isolated from the concrete conditions in which the fundamental economic law of socialism acts, but always closely linked with these objective and subjective conditions, with the concrete conditions of each stage of the construction of socialist society, with the need for rapid development of the productive forces, for the construction of the material-technical base of socialism, in order to create wellbeing not only for today, but also for the future, not just for a few, but for all the members of socialist society, not only for the city but also for the countryside, not only for the lowlands but also for the hilly and mountain zones.

Only such a Marxist-Leninist treatment of the problem of wellbeing guarantees the construction of socialism with steady and sure steps. «The Party has always seen the construction of socialism and the raising of the material wellbeing and the cultural level of the working people,» comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, «as a single indivisible question of its policy and daily activity. It has fought and will fight to ensure that the people's wellbeing is improved continuously within the possibilities of our conditions, always proceeding from the correct revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist

understanding of wellbeing in socialism, not to satisfy petty-bourgeois whims, but to fulfil the present and future material, cultural, and spiritual needs, to meet the needs for services and health, in other words, all those needs which determine the life of the entire people, in all its daily, economic and social variety». (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 5th Congress of the PLA, p. 70).

While giving wellbeing such a revolutionary meaning, the Party of Labour of Albania has always fought for the ceaseless uplift of the people's wellbeing. It has correctly combined personal with social interests, partial interests with the general interests, the interests of the present with those of the future, always giving priority to social interests, to general interests and to those of the perspective. Precisely for these reasons, in its economic policy, the Party of Labour of Albania has been and is guided by the objective, in the first place, of fulfilling the needs of extended socialist reproduction, of strengthening the independence of the Homeland, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the defence potential of the Homeland, and the ever better fulfilment of the needs of the people by relying on the resources and forces of the country. All these things have been taken in unity, because the more and the better socialist production develops, the stronger its economic independence, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the defence of the Homeland, the higher and the more stable the socialist economic-social development, the better become the possibilities for the improvement of the living conditions of the masses of working people. Therefore, the economic policy of the Party in the field of wellbeing embodies the revolutionary concept of self-reliance, namely, that wellbeing is founded on the work and sweat of the working people, that it is not donated by others through alms and concessions. Herein lies the ideological, political, economic and social significance of the

uninterrupted growth of material production, as the secure base for the systematic raising of the general wellbeing of the people.

On this Marxist-Leninist road, in the interests of the masses of working people and the construction of socialism, a sound basis of the production of both means of production and consumer goods, has been created. It is a major success of the correct economic policy of the PLA that the increase in material production has been and remains, in this five-year period too, about three times higher than the rate of increase of the population, and this under the conditions when the population increase in our country is proceeding at the highest average annual rate in Europe and among the highest in the world. Today, over 85 per cent of the needs of the people for consumer goods are satisfied with local products. On the basis of the ceaseless increase of social production, the people's consumption has steadily increased and its structure has improved continuously.

In Albania, special importance is given to the establishment of a correct relationship between the fund of accumulation and the fund of consumption, increasing the former at higher rates than the rates of growth of the latter. Thus, from a norm of accumulation of 25.6 per cent in the 1-st five-year plan (1951-1955), it reached the 35.8 per cent in the 5th five-year plan (1971-1975). At the same time the rate of growth of the fund of consumption has been 2.4 times higher than the rate of increase of the population. The maintenance of a relatively high rate of accumulation is dictated by the need for intensive development of social production, because socialist accumulation is the only source for extended socialist reproduction. The fund of accumulation constitutes the material basis for the fulfilment of the growing needs of the people and of the economy for the present and the future. In the conditions of the development of heavy industry at high

rates and the intensification of social production in general, which require large sources of accumulation, the growth of the fund of accumulation at rates higher than the rate of growth of the fund on consumption is an objective necessity which responds to the real conditions. The Party of Labour of Albania, comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed, could not and cannot act differently, cannot sacrifice the general interests and those of the future by impeding the development of productive forces for the sake of certain interests of the moment. If we were to reduce the rates of accumulation and to increase those of consumption, that would have grave consequences for the overall development of the country, for the increase of wellbeing in the future, and for the strengthening of the defence potential of our socialist Homeland, hence for the stability of this wellbeing and the means to guarantee it. As a result of consistently pursuing this Marxist Leninist course, the people's economy in Albania has developed at high and stable rates, making the life of the people ever better and happier. Taking the year 1950 as a basis for comparison, the total social product and national income have increased at an average annual rate of 8-10 per cent. In 1975, total social production had increased 16 fold in comparison with 1939, 9 fold in comparison with the year 1950, and 2.8 fold in comparison with 1960.

Parallel with the development of the productive forces, the socialist relations of production have been perfected, too. The development and strengthening of the socialist property in its two forms have brought about that the relations of distribution in general, as well as those of individual distribution of the product in particular, have been perfected in harmony with the conditions created in the course of the construction of socialism in our country. It has always been the aim of the Party of Labour of Albania that distribution, on the one hand, should fulfil the growing

needs of extended socialist reproduction and the defence potential of the Homeland, and on the other hand, should ensure the ceaseless raising of the general material wellbeing and the cultural level of the masses of working people. In this context, a pay system has been built in such a way as to take into account the possibilities and needs of the country and to correctly reflect the requirements of the objective economic law of distribution according to work done. The pay system is unified, centralized and differentiated according to the importance of the branch, difficulties of the job, level of qualification, and so on. It harmonizes the individual and social interests correctly and serves the revolutionary class education of the working people. This pay system, the amount and structure of the income of the working people, respond completely to the needs of the extended reproduction of the labour force and the population in general, as the decisive factor for the rapid development of the productive forces.

The Party of Labour of Albania has been especially careful to preserve a fair proportion between the size of income among the various groups of working people, by continually narrowing the differences between the working people of countryside and city, between the working people of physical work and those of mental work, between the working people engaged directly in production and those engaged in the non-productive sphere, and so on. The measures taken in recent years as well as those decided by the 7th Congress of the Party for this five-year plan, are intended to further reduce the differences in the income of the working people, to establish the fairest possible proportion between the pay of people working in the apparatus of the state and the economy and the working people of science and culture, on the one hand, and the pay of the workers in production, on the other. At the same time, further improvements are being made to narrow the differences bet-

ween the levels of income of the working people of city and those of the countryside. The fundamental aim of all the measures taken by the Party in this field has always been to ensure that the levels of income of officials conform ever more closely to the general average level of the standard of living of the working people of city and countryside, not permitting the creation of unjustified differences, which may become a breeding ground from which privileged castes of bourgeois outlook emerge.

As a result of the correct Marxist-Leninist policy followed, never divorcing the implementation of the principle of remuneration according to work done from its revolutionary content, the ratio between the highest and lowest pay for workers at present is 1 to 1.67, while that between the average pay of workers and the highest salaries of officials is 1 to 2. These ratios are the lowest in the world, and beyond any comparison with those of the countries where the revisionists are in power. Through their legal salaries and bonuses, alone, the new bourgeoisie in the revisionist countries secures incomes 20 times higher than those of the workers, without counting their other speculative appropriations.

Guided by the Marxist-Leninist principle that «socialism is not built only in the town, just for the working class, but also in the countryside and for the peasantry as well», the Party of Labour of Albania has taken a series of measures, from time to time, to gradually narrow the essential distinctions between town and countryside both in real per capita income and in the standard of living. Thus, in the last five-year plan, the real per capita income of the population of the countryside increased at an average annual rate of 2,3 times higher than that of the town. Already, there are agricultural cooperatives, indeed even in the mountain zones, in which the incomes of the cooperativists are close to or equal with those

of workers. Similarly, from the standpoint of the standard of living, the cultural level, education and health of the people, the countryside is coming closer and closer to the level of the town. Today, more than half the population of the countryside lives in new houses, built in the years of the people's power. However, in spite of all the radical transformations made in the countryside, there still exist relatively tangible distinctions between the standards of living of the working people of the town and those of the countryside, especially in certain mountain zones. Therefore, continuing the course it has followed so far, the Party of Labour of Albania has envisaged and is adopting other important measures to reduce these differences, evaluating this as the main way to strengthen the alliance between the working class and the cooperativist peasantry. For example, in the field of investments, it is envisaged to provide additional finance from centralized funds for land systematization schemes, afforestation, irrigation works and so on; in the non-producing sphere, the state will increase its spending for the maintenance of kindergartens, student hostels, houses of culture, permanent creches, out-patient clinics, maternity homes, etc. All these things and, in the first place, the fulfilment of the targets on the plan for increased agricultural production, will make possible that, in this five-year plan, the real per capita income of the cooperativist peasantry will increase at a rate three times higher than that of the urban population. As a result, in the year 1980, the income per head of the rural population will amount to more than 80 per cent of that of the urban population, as against 71 per cent in the year 1975.

2.

In perfecting the relationships of distribution, the Party of Labour of Albania has pursued such a policy as to fulfil, in the first place, the most essential needs of the economy, the

Homeland, and the working people, the vital needs of the masses, in keeping with the level of development of the productive forces, in the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement, while combatting petty-bourgeois concepts and whims as well as demands that go beyond the real possibilities of our economy or are premature.

The correct revolutionary understanding of wellbeing in socialism, requires, among other things, that we imbue our people with the feeling of modesty and frugality in the use of material blessings, so that every member of society thinks, works, and lives like a revolutionary, leading a simple and unpretentious life, in keeping with the real possibilities of our society.

With the income they secure through their work, our working people not only cope with the daily needs of life, but also have the possibility to save a part of their income.

As a result of the economic stability and the rapid growth of social production, the rise in wellbeing has been steady but reliable, harmonizing all the roads which make such a thing possible, in a revolutionary manner. In this context, the correct harmonization of the increase in the number of workers employed in social work, the increase of the average pay, and especially of the income of the cooperativists, with the systematic increase of the fund of social consumption has been achieved. «The Party considers that one of the principal ways for the systematic raising of the standard of living,» said comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the Party, «is the employment of all able-bodied citizens in socially useful work» (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 63). Thus the resources of labour have increased continuously. Today, two or three people in every family are working.

The amount of income for every family, both in town and countryside,

is a relative index of national character, which is directly linked with the economic strength of the country, with the structure of the consumption of material blessings and various services, as well as with the course followed for raising the material wellbeing and the cultural level of the whole people. On the basis of the definition of the essential minimum livelihood, proceeding from the data of the medical science and the dietary structure of the population of the country, it emerges that, at the existing level of wages, the working people can ensure the necessary means of subsistence for the families, with normal fulfilment of their needs for foodstuffs, clothing and footwear, housing, etc. In these conditions, the stability of the economy, the stability of the market and prices, the regular supplying of the market with the goods necessary for all the working people, both in town and countryside, reduction of costs, the most correct implementation of the policy of the Party for the distribution of income and all the material and cultural blessings necessary for socialist society, which have a direct bearing on the standard of living of the masses of working people, assume great importance.

The main indicator of the wellbeing of the people is the growth of individual consumption, which in this five-year plan, too, constitutes the basis of the growth of real income. Our revolutionary practice, however, shows that the development of social consumption at rapid rates is also of great importance in raising wellbeing. The general tendency is the continuous increase in the specific weight of the fund of social consumption in the total consumption of the people, both in town and countryside. Thus, in the 5th five-year plan, the fund of social consumption took 14,3 per cent of the total fund of the consumption of the people, as against 11.9 per cent in the 4th five-year plan.

The state uses large resources for

the development of education, health, social insurance, communal services, as well as for other vital services of a social-cultural character. Thus, it spends about 660 leks per head of population per year for social-cultural needs. For every student on bursary the state spends about 5,500 leks and for those without bursary 2,800 leks; for each hospital bed about 10,000 leks, for every child in a creche about 3,000 leks, per year, etc. The state lays out large funds every year for the improvement of housing conditions, while house rents are very small, representing only 2-3 per cent of the average family income. The increase of the fund of social consumption at higher rates than the fund of individual consumption is a correct tendency, which makes it possible to increase the benefits received by every member of society according to his needs and also has an influence on narrowing differences in the amount of remuneration, in the standard of living and way of life, in the levels of cultural development among various strata and groups of the urban and rural population, between the mountain and lowland zones, because the bulk of these funds is used, first of all, to fulfil the needs of families with the smallest income.

The high rates of the development of production, the stability of prices for consumer goods, the abolition of every sort of tax and levy on the population, the health service free of charge, the expenditure made by the state for the educational, cultural and professional training of the working people, as well as many other measures that the Party has taken, constitute that complex of factors necessary to ensure a stable wellbeing which is rising not in fits and starts, but gradually and steadily. This is a living expression of the possibilities which socialism creates for the all-round emancipation and development of man as an individual and as a member of society. However, the Party has

stressed that in this field there is still a great deal to be done in order to reach a higher level of economic and social development and progress, in order to make the life of our people more beautiful and more prosperous.

The opposite is happening in the capitalist and revisionist countries. The working people in these countries are oppressed and exploited by the ruling classes. The crises, inflation, unemployment, rising prices and other negative phenomena, which have the economies of the capitalist and revisionist countries by the throat, hit the living standards of the working people, first of all. In the capitalist and revisionist countries, where the law of maximum profit and other laws of the capitalist economy operate absolutely unrestricted, where there is merciless competition and the law of value, anarchy and spontaneity of the market act with all their force and range, it is impossible to ensure stability of high rates of development. The distortions of the structure of the economy and disproportion between the branches of the economy or within the same branch, between town and countryside and so on, are inevitable phenomena in the capitalist system. The aim of production in capitalism is to secure profits, therefore production cannot serve the entire society directly, but only a small section of it. It serves the working masses only to the extent necessary to increase the capitalist exploitation of them.

In the conditions of the frenzied increase of military spending, of the increasing parasitism in society and, in general, of the very heavy consumption of national income for non-productive purposes, and so on, the disturbances in the economy of the capitalist-revisionist world are becoming ever more profound. Therefore, in order to keep their profits intact, the bourgeoisie, the imperialists and socialimperialists, are striving with every means to find a way out through the intensification of the exploitation of the broad masses of working people

within their countries, in the vassal countries, and in the under-developed countries.

The galloping inflation, rising prices, mounting taxes, fees for services and rents, the flourishing of the black market, the wage freeze, etc., are the ways and means that the bourgeoisie is using to exploit the broad masses of working people. This has resulted in the constant deepening of the phenomenon of polarization of bourgeois and revisionist society into rich and poor, in the means of subsistence and articles of consumer goods for the broad masses of working people growing ever more scarce, and the life of the working people becoming ever more difficult and insecure. In the United States of America, France, Japan, Spain, etc., one fifth of the population, represented by the capitalists, appropriates about half of the national income, while the wages of the workers are subject to a series of deductions. For example, in the USA, the worker is obliged to pay a number of taxes, which, together with his personal social security payments, take on an average one fourth of the worker's pay, while communal services and rent take up about one third of all family expenditure. One day in hospital costs the American worker no less than 175 dollars, while in order to attend his studies, a student must pay about 3,000 dollars a year.

As a result of the present economic crisis, a sharp drop in production is observed in the capitalist countries, with numerous enterprises going bankrupt and millions of workers being thrown out on the streets, thus making their economic conditions worse and worse. Today, in the capitalist and bourgeois-revisionist world, there are over 300 million unemployed and semi-unemployed, millions without housing, about 12 thousand people dying of starvation every year and about one billion suffering from hunger, etc. In these countries, the prices of mass consumer goods are rising

continuously. In this situation of crisis, into which the capitalist-revisionist world has been plunged, a worker's family needs twice as much money as ten years ago to secure the means of livelihood. Every day, the bourgeois press writes about new price rises for mass consumer goods, about the mounting number of unemployed, inflation, increased taxes, and so on. It is readily understood that all these things are greatly worsening the living conditions of the masses of working people, without mentioning the fear and insecurity about the future, the host of social difficulties raised for the ordinary working people due to the unprecedented increase in crime, hooliganism, kidnappings, assaults, alcoholism, etc., which are the spawn of the capitalist and revisionist system.

All these things show that the theories of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists that allegedly capitalism is now being transformed into a «society of collective consumption», of «general wellbeing», etc are utterly false and mere demagoguery. On the contrary, innumerable facts show that the so-called consumer society is nothing but a society in decadence and decay, which is being ceaselessly eroded by numerous irreconcilable contradictions between labour and capital, between the working class and the bourgeoisie, as well as by the contradictions among the imperialist powers. Life is demonstrating that the capitalist system is incapable of ensuring maximum profit for the bourgeoisie and, at the same time, the preservation of an internal social equilibrium, stability of the livelihood of the broad masses of working people. Contrasting this dark and gloomy picture of the standard of living of the masses of working people in the capitalist and revisionist countries with the picture of stability and the ability of our socialist economy to guarantee the development of social production and the wellbeing of the entire people, at rapid and stable rates,

we see even more clearly the superiority and vitality of the socialist system, the majesty of the whole economic policy of the Party of Labour of Albania for the construction of socialism on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance.

3.

In the 6th five-year plan, as in all the plans for the development of our economy, the increase in wellbeing, the ever better fulfilment of the growing material and cultural needs of the masses of working people, is one of the main features permeating the fundamental task of this five-year plan. In broad outline, the directives of this five-year plan give the strategic orientation of the economic policy of the Party, both for the 6th five-year plan and for the new economic, social and material conditions which will be created by the fulfilment of this plan, in order to undertake still greater steps in economic development in the future. This is based on the ever better recognition, reflection and application of the requirements of objective economic laws of socialism and the wider implementation of the principle of self-reliance. The objectives envisaged under this five-year plan for raising the wellbeing constitute a great program of work for all the working masses. A considerable increase of overall industrial and agricultural production strikes the eye in the directives of this plan. Thus, the increase in the volume of the overall industrial production in 1980 in comparison with 1975, will be 41-43 per cent, representing more than the total volume of production realized in the first three five-year plans taken together. Overall agricultural production will increase 37-39 per cent for the same period, and this is approximately equal to the agricultural production realized in the last two five-year plans. Thus the rate of increase

of industrial and agricultural production is more than 3 times higher than the rate of increase of population, and this ensures the gradual but stable rise in the wellbeing of our working masses. As a result of the growth of the total social production, the national income, too, will increase 38-40 per cent in comparison with the 5th five-year plan. As always, it is planned to distribute the national income, in this five-year plan too, in the interests of the rapid development of extended socialist reproduction, the complex fulfilment of the material and cultural needs of the masses of working people, and the strengthening of the defence potential of the country. The fund of accumulation will be used, first of all, for the extension of production, for the development of industry and agriculture, for the building of more than 220 important new projects, and so on. All this will accelerate the build-up of the material-technical basis of socialism and will further strengthen its economic base. As well as this, during this five-year plan, further progress will be made in narrowing the distinctions between town and countryside, and so on.

The vigorous development of productive forces during the 6th five-year plan will create a powerful basis for a further and bigger rise in wellbeing in the future. Thus, it is envisaged that the real per capita income of the population will increase 11-14 per cent in this five-year period, giving greater priority to its increase in the countryside; the turn-over of retail trade goods will increase 22-25 per cent; 65 thousand new dwelling-houses will be built in town and countryside; over 18 thousand students will graduate from the higher schools, and 91 thousand pupils from secondary schools. Important measures are envisaged also for the improvement of services for the people, by aiming at a qualitative rise in the work of all the people engaged in the service sectors.

The 8th session of the 8th Legislature of the People's Assembly of the PSRA

The 8th session of the 8th legislature of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania was held in Tirana on 20th and 21st February 1978.

The People's Assembly discussed the implementation of the plan and the state budget for the year 1977 and approved the law on the state plan for the development of the economy and culture of the PSR of Albania for 1978 and the law on the state budget for 1978.

The report of the Council of Ministers «On the fulfilment of the plan and the state budget for the year 1977 and on the draft-plan for the development of the economy and culture of the PSR of Albania and the draft-state budget for the year 1978» was delivered by the Chairman of the State Planning Commission, Petro Dode. Among other things the report said:

«The year 1977 was characterized by the allround struggle of the masses of working people to put into practice the directives and orientations of the historic 7th Congress of the Party and the decisions of the 2nd and 3rd plenums of its Central Committee. During 1977, the unbreakable unity of the people round the Party was further steered, the revolutionary vigilance and the struggle of the Party and the masses of working people against internal and external enemies, against imperialism and modern revisionism of every hue, against alien liberal and bureaucratic concepts and manifestations was raised to a high level, and the dictatorship of the proletariat and the defence capacity of our socialist homeland were further strengthened.

Last year our people fought with greater mobilization, with readiness and a lofty spirit of heroism, and achieved important victories in the economic and cultural development of the country, coping with the difficulties and

obstacles of the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade and with the consequences of the savage drought. In this context, the discovery of new oil and gas field, and the fulfilment of the needs of the people and the economy with home-produced bread grain in 1977, too, are two more major achievements of the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, and the efforts and struggle of our working people.

The successes which were achieved during 1977 constitute a new crushing blow to the imperialist and revisionist enemies, who tried, in a thousand ways to sabotage the socialist construction in Albania and to bring the Albanian people to their knees. Their diabolical intentions, their despicable schemes and plots against our Party and people, have failed ignominiously and will always do so.

These successes are also another testimony to the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist line of our Party, to the vitality and superiority of our socialist order, to the lofty revolutionary patriotism and consciousness of our valiant, hard-working and freedom-loving people, in marching non-stop on the road of the complete construction of socialist society. The name, position and authority of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is rising ever higher in the minds and hearts of the revolutionary peoples of the whole world.

Our country is developing steadily at a time when the bourgeois and revisionist countries are sinking deeper and deeper into a great, allround economic and political crisis, which is manifested in the further sharpening of contradictions, the chaos, anarchy, and decline of production, the great increase in unemployment, galloping inflation, ect.

The achievements of 1977 in the development of the economy and the strengthening of our socialist order are

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a powerful and reliable base to march forward ceaselessly on the course on which our Party and comrade Enver Hoxha are leading us, ever more consistently putting into practice the principle of self-reliance, in order to cope successfully with any eventuality.

Petro Dode furnished concrete data on the fulfilment of the plan and the state budget for 1977.

«The plan of overall industrial pra-

duction for the year 1977,» he said, «was fulfilled 98 per cent, recording a growth of 6.6 per cent over 1976. In many branches, sectors and different products of industry, the tasks of the plan were fulfilled and overfulfilled, such as in the extraction of chromium ore, iron-nickel ore, and coal, the production of blister copper, machinery and equipment, spare parts, chemical fertilizers, textiles and fabrics, stock-



ings, ready-made clothing, footwear, kitchen utensils, etc.

In addition to discovery of the new oil and gas field, the geological workers achieved important results in increasing the industrial and geological mineral reserves especially for chromium, coal, copper, iron-nickel ore, etc.

In agriculture, despite the difficult weather conditions last year, production of many important agricultural

and live-stock products increased as against 1976, as follows: rice 5 per cent, cotton 7 per cent, citrus fruit 8 per cent, and so on. However, total agricultural production and many individual agricultural and live-stock products did not reach the targets set.

The planned volume of fundamental investments and construction for the year 1977 was fulfilled about 89 per cent, showing a growth of about 14

per cent in comparison with 1976. Construction work was completed in many projects of different sectors of the economy, thus further strengthening the material and technical base of the people's economy.

Good achievements were recorded also in the other branches and sectors of the economy. During last year, a better supply of mass consumer goods for the population was ensured. In

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comparison with 1976, sales of certain goods recorded the following increases: rice 11 per cent, beans 13 per cent, sugar 5 per cent, fats and oils 5 per cent, milk 7 per cent, eggs 4 per cent, cotton fabrics and ready-made clothing 14 per cent, knitwear 7 per cent, footwear 4 per cent, cement 13 per cent, bricks and tiles 25 per cent, furniture and utensils 7 per cent, etc.

Further successes were recorded also in the development of transport, in the sectors of communal services, the protection of the people's health, the development of education, culture, arts and science.

As a result of the achievements in the fulfilment of the tasks of the plan, as well as of the further strengthening of the savings' regime, the income of the state budget in 1977 was realized 90.3 per cent, while the expenditure of the budget was realized about 89.3 per cent, showing a surplus of 2.4 per cent of income over expenditure.»

Then, Petro Dode spoke about the draft-plan for the development of the economy and culture, and draft state budget for 1978.

«In comparison with the targets envisaged in the 6th five-year plan and the achievements of 1977, in the present plan of industrial production a number of figures are set higher,» he said. «It is envisaged that total industrial production in 1978 should increase by 8.5 per cent in comparison with 1977. There will be considerable increases in a number of main products such as the extraction of oil and gas, coal, chromium, and iron-nickel ores, steel production, the various copper products, the production of electric power, machinery and equipment, spare parts, products of the chemical industry and many mass consumer goods.

The Ministry of Light Industry and Food-Processing and the other ministries connected with the production of consumer goods, complying with the instructions given by the Council of Ministers, have taken measures and are striving to ensure regular supplies of larger amounts of the widest possible range of high quality goods from our

own industry for the market and the people.

Under the 1978 plan, agriculture, as the basic branch of the economy, will develop further. Total agricultural production will increase 28 per cent in comparison with that of 1977, whereas production of bread grain will increase about 30 per cent. Considerable increases are projected in production of potatoes, vegetables, rice, beans, sunflower, sugar-beet, cotton, etc. Important tasks are foreseen also for the development of the sectors of live stock raising, fruit-growing, and forestry. Targets for the further strengthening of the material and technical base of agriculture, in particular, for the increase of the irrigation capacity and for increased supplies of chemical fertilizers are also envisaged in the plan for 1978.

The tasks of the plan for 1978 for the sector of agriculture are very great. But they are realistic and fully attainable, if we keep in mind the advanced experience of many agricultural economies and the very difficult weather conditions last year, as well as the results of earlier years.

The volume of fundamental investments and construction in 1970 is projected to increase 17.8 per cent over 1977. Construction and installation work will be completed on 37 important industrial projects and on 36 projects of agriculture, increasing the irrigation capacity by about 12 thousand hectares. Construction and installation work will be completed on the hydro-power station at Fierza, where three turbines will commence production, on the deep oil processing plant at Ballsh, on some projects of the metallurgical combine, on the iron-nickel mines at Prrenjas and Guri i Kuq, on the Prrenjas-Guri i Kuq railway, etc. As well as this, a number of important irrigation and drainage projects, such as the reservoir of Lumar in Mallakashtra, the irrigation system from the Gjonçi reservoir in Korça, the Izvor reservoir in Tepelena, the improvement of the plains of Tragjas-Dukat in Vlora, and many other projects, will be completed

and brought fully into use. The agricultural cooperatives will make investments from their own resources to increase the fund of land, its fertility, to increase the irrigation capacity and for other construction work of a productive character.

Important tasks are also foreseen for the sector of transport with the aim of better and timely fulfilment of the growing needs of the economy. The volume of work in road transport is projected to be 8 per cent larger and in railway transport 9 per cent larger than in 1977.

Concrete measures are also foreseen for the further increase and improvement of the postal and telephone services, especially to ensure better communications with the countryside.

In the efforts to implement the directives of the Party for the continuous improvement of the supply of mass consumer goods for the population, in 1978 the turn-over of retail trade goods is projected to increase by 7.4 per cent as against 1977. In 1978, the sale of some main products such as fats, meat, milk, eggs, vegetables, potatoes, fruit, textiles and fabrics, footwear, furniture and utensils, etc., is projected to increase at a rate double the rate of increase of the population.

Under the 1978 plan, services and repair work for the population, will increase 11 and 6 per cent respectively as against 1977. It is necessary that the executive committees of the people's councils in the districts, the various communal services and the working people of the communal sector, thoroughly analyse the measures for the improvement of the quality of their services and repair work, as well as for the increase of the range of services and the strengthening of some of the existing services.

The social-cultural sectors will also undergo further development. The number of pupils and students of all categories of schools in the year 1978 will reach 730 thousand. The number of working people who will attend the part-time schools is envisaged to be 10 per cent larger than in 1977, whereas

the number of children included in the pre-school education system will be about 13 per cent larger than in 1977.

The workers of education and the respective state organs face the task of intensifying their efforts and taking the proper measures to ensure the fulfilment of the planned contingents of pupils in the vocational secondary schools of cities to ensure qualified workers for agriculture, the mines, construction, etc. At the same time, they must further strengthen and revolutionize the process of teaching and education work, by the best possible combination of the three organic components of our school: lessons, work in production and physical and military training of the pupils. The plan for 1978 includes targets for the health sector, which will lead to greater strengthening of prophylactic measures, hygiene and sanitation and will improve the health services, especially in the countryside, on the basis of the directives of the 7th Congress of the Party.

According to the targets set for the year 1978, all the young active population which is created in the cities and in work centres is assured of employment. Nevertheless, the Council of Ministers has set targets, especially for certain districts, for a more correct distribution and employment of labour power according to the needs of the different branches of the economy, and also to avoid, as far as possible, draining labour power from the countryside to meet the needs of the state economic enterprises, by strengthening their collaboration with the mass organization on this issue.

The draft state budget for the year 1978 has been drawn up on the basis of the targets for the development of the economy and culture. The budget income is projected to be 7 billion 800 million leks, an increase of 12 per cent over the year 1977, whereas expenditure will be 7 billion 700 million leks. The surplus of income over expenditure will be 100 million leks. The bulk of the expenditure, about 63.2 per cent, is to be allocated to the financing of the development of the people's eco-

nomy. 22.7 per cent of the total budget expenditure will be used for the social-cultural sectors.

Expenditure for the defence of the country will take 10.7 per cent of the total expenditure, while expenditure for the administrative apparatus of the state — 1.3 per cent».

Then, Petro Dode spoke about some problems and tasks for the successful fulfilment of the plan for 1978.

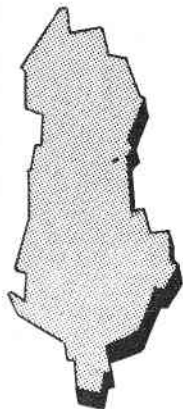
In conclusion, he said:

«Our homeland remains firm as granite, marching steadily forward on the road of the construction of socialism, on which we are gloriously led by our heroic Party of Labour and our beloved leader, comrade Enver Hoxha. The strong unity which links our Party and our people makes our Homeland invincible in its advance to still greater victories in the future. The teachings of the Party and of comrade Enver Hoxha will always inspire us to fulfil our tasks in all directions ever better, to make our Homeland still more powerful and prosperous.

During the year 1978, too, our people will continue to strengthen their readiness, vigilance and mobilization in order to cope with any situation and difficulty that the imperialist and revisionist enemies will endeavour to create for us, they will carry out the tasks for the fulfilment of the plan successfully in all branches and sectors of the economy and in all its indices, while further strengthening the defence of the Homeland. The correct revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, its principled unyielding struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism, the wise and determined leadership of our glorious Party with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, is as always, a guarantee of this.»

In connection with the realization of the plan and the state budget for the year 1977 and the draft state-plan and draft-budget for the year 1978, on behalf of the respective commission of the People's Assembly, the Chairman of this commission, the deputy Hamit Taga, also delivered a report.

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Many contributions were made to the discussion of the two reports. Then, the deputies unanimously adopted the bill on the state plan for the development of the economy and culture for the year 1978 as well as the bill on the state budget for the year 1978.

The 8th session of the 8th legislature of the People's Assembly also considered and unanimously approved a bill on the protection of the land, which was presented by the Minister of Agriculture, Themie Thomai, on behalf of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania. The law envisages a number of important measures for the most rational utilization of the land, a thing indispensable for the PSR of Albania, which has a limited area of arable land per head of population. Through these measures it will become possible to strengthen discipline, apply scientific rules in the utilization of the land in order to take from it over more bread grain, industrial crops and for-

ge crops for live-stock, and thus better fulfil the growing needs of the population for agricultural products and supply raw materials to light industry.

With this, the proceedings of the 8th session of the 8th legislature of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania were brought to a close. As usual, this session of the National Assembly was characterized by a healthy spirit of criticism and selfcriticism and by revolutionary confidence and optimism about the future.

Taking part in the proceedings of the session were the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, comrade Enver Hoxha, the Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Haxhi Lleshi, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mehmet Shehu, and other leaders of the Party and state, who were greeted with long applause when they entered the chamber.

The excellent example

The «Tractor» plant in Tirana is one of the largest economic enterprises of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Its collective, though young, because the plant itself is young too, is one of the advanced collectives in the fulfilment of the targets of the plan and an example of bold revolutionary initiatives. Immediately after the 7th Congress of the PLA, it became the initiator of the movement «We must work, fight and live as under siege», the main aim of which was the mobilization of all the creative strength of the masses of working people for the fulfilment of the tasks of the 6th five-year plan, by relying on their own forces. This initiative became a banner and an encouragement for all the working people of the country, who, under the example of the advanced collective, took pledges, which, in general, they fulfilled with success.

This year, after the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA,

which examined the fulfilment of the targets of the plan for the year 1977 and defined the targets of the plan for 1978, which were approved also by the People's Assembly, again it was the collective of the «Tractor» plant which came out before the Party and the people with new pledges for the overfulfilment of the targets of the plan and invited all the working people of the country to join in this great movement. In a letter addressed to the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha, the working people of the plant, after informing him on the fulfilment of the plan of total industrial production for 1977 by 103.2 per cent, that of work productivity 103 per cent, that of reducing the cost of production by 3.1 per cent more than the target figure, have made many new pledges including: to produce the first Albanian tractor in 1979, one year ahead of the schedule; to produce 200 motors of 75 HP



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by 1980, to produce a new type of standard universal 65 HP. motor for self-propelled combines and wheel-tractors, which was not envisaged in the five-year plan; to produce a standard 100 HP motor by 1980, to set up a production line of precision casting with a production capacity twice that of the existing line, with their own forces, thus increasing the range of production, for the better fulfilment of the needs of the economy; to set up a new factory for the production of oxygen by 1980, and so on. These, together with a series of other pledges in the fields of increasing the defence capacity of the Homeland, the further deepening of the technical-scientific revolution, the qualification of the working people and the intensification of the cultural-artistic activities, have further raised the revolutionary impetus which characterizes the collective of the «Tractor» plant.

In response to their call, a new wave of socialist emulation has burst out

throughout the whole country; it is characterized by advancement of the targets of the plan, relying on their own forces, on the discovery and utilization of internal reserves, the deepening of the technical-scientific revolution and the encouragement of the creative initiatives of the working people. Now, throughout the country, work is going on for the fulfilment of these pledges with honour.

The new initiative of the «Tractor» plant and the enthusiasm with which the working people of the whole country responded to their call, are another expression of their love for the Party of Labour of Albania and its Central Committee, with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, an expression of their determination to march boldly ahead on the road charted by the Party for the construction of socialism and communism, breaking any encirclement and blockade by the imperialists and the revisionists of all brands.

The 8th of March in Albania

The Albanian women joyfully celebrated the 8th of March, the international day of solidarity with the progressive women of the world, who are fighting for freedom and social progress. This year, this marked date found them with their ranks closed more tightly than ever around the Party of Labour of Albania and its Central Committee, with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, in the revolutionary atmosphere which prevails throughout the whole country for putting into practice the decisions of the historic 7th Congress of the PLA and the tasks of the 6th five-year plan, the directives for which were approved by the Congress, in the high-tide of allround preparations for the 35th anniversary of the founding of their organization, the Women's Union of Albania, and its 8th Congress.

In the many different activities which were organized on this occasion, the women of Albania saw, once again,

the colossal transformations that have been brought about in Albania and especially in the life of the women of Albania, during these last 35 years, as well as the brilliant perspectives which are being opened up to our country, in general, and to them, in particular, for the future. At one time, the woman in Albania was the most unfortunate creature, deprived of all rights, oppressed and trampled underfoot by written and unwritten laws, plunged into the darkness of illiteracy and ignorance. From the cradle to the grave, her lot was one of suffering, her miserable crust moistened with her tears. Whereas today, the women of Albania are free from any oppression and exploitation, are conscious of their great worth, of the major role they play and must play in the revolution and in the construction of complete socialist society. They are working with drive and enthusiasm on all fronts of work and production, shoulder to shoulder

with their husbands and brothers and enjoy all rights, just as they do.

The call of the General Council of the Women's Union of Albania on the occasion of the 8th of March, which was studied in all the basic organizations of the WUA, says among other things:

«The road traversed by the people and women of Albania in the course of these three decades has been arduous, but heroic and glorious, too. From the most backward country of Europe, Albania, our Homeland, has become the country with the most advanced socio-economic system, the country of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which, under the leadership of the Party, has been transformed into an unconquerable citadel of socialism on the shores of the Adriatic. Living, working and fighting here is a people, who, enlightened by the triumphant doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, relying on their own efforts, are smashing the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement...

In the foundations of Albania, at the roots of the revolutionary transformations and the steel defence of the ho-

meland, are the blood and sweat of the women.

All these achievements represent the monumental work, which the hand of the Party has engraved in the life of the people, in the life of the Albanian woman. It is the brilliant work of our Party, it is the merit of its correct Marxist-Leninist policy that the Albanian woman has emerged today in the arena of the struggle for socialism in all her real worth, for her determination and patriotism, and has distinguished herself in work and in life.

The victories achieved in all the fields of socialist construction, the happy days they enjoy, give the women a sense of pride and optimism in the road of the revolution and the socialist construction in Albania. Seeing what is happening in the imperialist-revisionist world, where the dollar and the ruble make the law, the violence and terror, the social inequality and exploitation, crises and starvation, and where, among the working people, it is the women, millions of them, who suffer most, our women are even more keenly aware of the victories of the present and the happy future towards

which our heroic Party is leading them, boldly and courageously, with wisdom and foresight.

Therefore, in anticipation of the 8th of March, the 35th anniversary of the founding of their organization, the Congress of the WUA, the happy women of Albania direct their boundless love and deep gratitude to the Party, our great mother, and our beloved leader, comrade Enver Hoxha...

The 8th of March is celebrated every year in unbreakable unity, with the ranks closed around the Party, while displaying our solidarity and feeling of proletarian internationalism with all the progressive women and peoples of the world, with all those who are fighting for social and national liberation, for democracy and progress.

Further sharpen your vigilance and militant readiness, shoulder to shoulder with all the freedom-loving peoples in their struggle for freedom, independence and national dignity, against colonialism and neocolonialism, against the two superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet socialimperialism, against modern revisionism and opportunism, and all international reaction.»

High rates of the increase and distribution of our publications

In the struggle to put into practice the historic decisions of the 7th Congress of the Party, the collective of the Book Enterprise in Tirana is responding ever better to the increase of our political-social and literary-artistic publications, and has steadily improved its work for the distribution and propagation of our books, both inside the country and abroad.

During 1977 over 10 million books were distributed all over the country. Today, more than four books are published in Albania every year for every inhabitant, this being among the highest averages in the world. In order to form an idea about the magnitude of our progress, suffice it to mention

that in the year 1938, there was one book published for every four persons.

The report of comrade Enver Hoxha to the 7th Congress of the Party was published in 300,000 copies (not including here the number of copies in foreign languages).

Special care is shown for children's literature, with the aim that the books should be of ever greater value in the education of children and broadening their horizons. The children's books published during the last three years amount to 1,653,000 copies. This figure, alone, is larger than the total number of books (including school text-books) published in Albania during the seven years from 1938 to 1944.

The collective of this enterprise appreciably overfulfilled its export plan by further perfecting the forms of the propagation and distribution of our publications in foreign countries. This overfulfilment is closely connected with the very broad distribution of the materials of the 7th Congress of the Party and other documents of the PLA in the world. At present, the distribution of Albanian books in the world has increased about hundred per cent as against 1970. Last year over 197,000 books, of which 96,400 were political books, such as the History of the PLA, the works of comrade Enver Hoxha, and other materials were sent to the different countries of the world. The Book Enterprise maintains relations with 50 different countries of the world, to which our political, literary and technical-scientific books are sent systematically.

THE 3rd CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ITALY A TESTIMONY TO ITS REVOLUTION

TELEGRAM

to the 3rd Congress of the Communist Party of Italy (m-l)

Dear comrade delegates,

We learned with pleasure about the holding of the 3rd Congress of your Party. On this occasion, on behalf of the Central Committee of the PLA, and expressing the feelings of the communists, the working class and the entire people of Albania, we convey to you, and through you, to all the militants of the communist Party of Italy (m-l) as well as to the Italian proletariat and working people, our ardent revolutionary greetings.

The years that have passed since the 2nd Congress of your Party, have fully confirmed that the Communist Party of Italy(m-l) has been the most consistent representative of the revolutionary aspirations of the working class and the working people in Italy. It has stood in the front-ranks of the fighters against the superpowers, imperialism, and modern revisionism of all shades and descriptions, has carried out intensive revolutionary activity and, in this way, has enhanced its role and increased its influence among the masses of working people of the country.

The 3rd Congress of your Party is being held in a situation when the class struggle of the proletariat, as well as the antiimperialist struggle of the peoples of the world is mounting, when the general crisis of the capitalist and revisionist system is becoming deeper and more severe and the revolution presents itself as a current task. US-led imperialism and Soviet socialimperialism, the reactionary bourgeoisie and their lackeys, are striving with every means to undermine the revolutionary organization of the working class and the masses, to suppress their legitimate revolt, and strangle the revolution. In this direction, they are aided and abetted by the modern revisionists of all hues, who, in one form or another, try to split the proletariat and the peoples, to negate the historical necessity of the proletarian revolution and to sabotage the liberation struggles of the peoples. In these circumstances, the struggle of the sister Communist Party of Italy(m-l), in defence of the immortal principles of Mar-

xism-Leninism and for the further strengthening of Marxist-Leninist unity on the basis of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, has found the full support of the revolutionary Italian proletariat as well as of all the genuine fighters for socialism and communism in the world.

Dear comrades,

Our party, the working class and the working people of socialist Albania, follow the struggle of the Italian proletariat, working people and of your revolutionary Party against capitalist oppression and exploitation, for their rights and for the cause of the revolution and socialism in Italy, with interest and sympathy. We express our satisfaction that the ties and collaboration between our two Parties are developing and growing steadily stronger on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist principles and proletarian internationalism.

We wish your 3rd Congress complete success and express our confidence that it will mark a new rise in the struggle of the Communist Party of Italy(m-l) in defence of interests of the Italian proletariat and working people, in the struggle against capitalist oppression and exploitation, against imperialism and socialimperialism, against all the enemies of the revolution and socialism.

Long live the Communist Party of Italy(m-l)!

Long live the proletarian friendship between the PLA and the CP of Italy (m-l)!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

ON BEHALF OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

the First Secretary,
ENVER HOXHA

Tirana, 1-1978

COMMUNIST PARTY OF ITALY (M-L) POLITICAL LINE

(From final political document endorsed by the 3rd Congress)

From the 21st to the 24th of January this year, the 3rd National Congress of the Communist Party of Italy (m-l) was held in Florence, a city of great anti-fascist and revolutionary traditions. Comrade Fosco Dinuci presented the report on the activity of the Central Committee of the Party. More than 100 contributions were made to the discussion of the report.

The message of greetings sent by comrade Enver Hoxha on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the messages of the other sister parties were listened to and applauded with revolutionary enthusiasm in a lofty internationalist spirit at the Congress.

At the end of the proceedings of the Congress, the Central Committee met and elected the Political Bureau and the Secretariat. Comrade Fosco Dinuci was elected General Secretary.

The 3rd Congress of the Communist Party of Italy (m-l) approved its Constitution and a call addressed to the Italian workers. It demonstrated the vitality of the Party, and its strong ideological, political and organizational unity.

The Congress unanimously endorsed the final Political Document, which says among other things:

«The 3rd National Congress of the Communist Party of Italy (m-l) was convened at an important moment of the class struggle in Italy and on the international plane; it took up for consideration all the questions con-

nected with the tasks of the Party, as the conscious organized vanguard detachment of the proletariat.

After pointing out that the content of our epoch, as the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, in which the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, as a contradiction which remains fundamental for the entire historical period of capitalism, has become even more acute, the Document stresses that the entire imperialist system is tending towards hegemonism, towards war, towards oppression. Its aim is to deny any form of democracy and national independence, to transform the existing bourgeois democratic regimes by bringing into play, through various forms, processes for the development of fascism in the state, and by making preparations for open fascist coups d'état.

For the working class and the masses of the people, says the Document, the abolition of private ownership of the means of production, the elimination of the capitalist relations of production which are suppressing the development of the productive forces, presents itself as a very urgent demand. Only socialism, which does away with private appropriation and the exploitation of man by man, can free the productive forces and allow them to develop to the maximum.

Speaking about the grave consequences of the crisis which has hit the entire capitalist world, about the continuous worsening of the living condi-

tions of the broad masses of working people, the document emphasizes that private or state monopoly capitalism is the chief enemy of the working class and of the masses of the people. Besides the exploitation by the monopoly bourgeoisie and the reactionary classes within the country, the exploitation by foreign monopolies, by multinational companies and, in particular, by American imperialism, is a heavy burden on the Italian proletariat and people. As a constituent part of the imperialist cartel of the European Common Market, which is closely linked with American capitalism, Italian capitalism is taking part and has a hand in the plunder of the raw materials and the exploitation of the peoples of Africa, Latin America, and Asia. With a view to securing superprofits from the exploitation of other peoples and nations, Italian imperialism has completely sold out the national independence of the country.

The monopoly bourgeoisie, continues the Document, is striving to cope with the sharpening of class contradictions by strengthening its military and police apparatus of oppression and trying to deceive the masses by means of empty promises.

While maintaining the parliamentary forms, the process of the development of fascism in the state is being carried forward with the support of the revisionist heads of the Italian «Communist» Party and all the bourgeois parties.

The Italian «Communist» Party, con-

tinues the Document, is dominated by the revisionist bureaucracy and has integrated itself into the capitalist system.

After pointing out that the various Italian bourgeois parties are tools in the hands of the bourgeoisie and operate to strengthen the bourgeois rule over the masses, the Document stresses that the Party of the proletariat, of which there is only one, because it is a single class with a single ideology and historic will, has risen to opposition to them.

In order to guide the masses towards the proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party is of decisive importance. Confronted with the revisionist degeneration, and responding to the needs of the class struggle in Italy and on an international plane, the Communist Party of Italy (m-l) has carried forward its proletarian revolutionary line, has coped with the savage bourgeois repression and came to its 3rd Congress with a very positive balance-sheet, while being conscious that it must overcome still more difficulties and obstacles. The Party has only one line, the proletarian revolutionary line. It rejects the coexistence of two lines, both in theory and practice, because the proletariat has only one line in carrying out the revolution.

Speaking about the role of the working class and its unity, the Document stresses that the struggle to unite the working class is fundamental, because in the conditions of Italy, the direct strategic objective is the proletarian revolution, which constitutes a problem taken up for solution.

The Document stresses that the democratic freedoms must be defended against fascist aims and the development of fascism in the state. By linking the struggle for the defence of democracy with the perspective of the revolution, the working class is the most consistent anti-fascist and anti-imperialist force, which is aiming its blows against capitalism, in order to destroy the very roots from which fascism and imperialism arise.

The anti-fascist struggle is closely linked with the anti-imperialist struggle. The links between the internal reaction and the foreign centres of provocation with their ominous networks and different plots are notorious. American imperialism, in particular, is carrying out provocative activities in Italy, interfering in every

sphere of the political life of the country, and utilizing the NATO bases as a means of blackmail. The American and NATO bases must be driven from Italy. They are a constant source of provocation and the treat of war. They are the most flagrant violation of the national independence of the country. Likewise, the naval fleets of the two superpowers, the USA and the USSR, must be driven from the Mediterranean.

The Mediterranean zone, continues the Document, has been transformed into a theatre of military manoeuvres, interference and aggression in the interplay of the two superpowers for hegemony. The situation in the Middle East is simply the most obvious expression of the dangers of war. The situation in the Balkans is fraught with danger.

After describing support for the people's struggles as a revolutionary duty of the proletariat and of its Party, the Document stresses that, of course, the struggle against imperialist war does not imply the implementation of a pacifist policy, but it is part and parcel of the class struggle. To fight for the victory of the revolution in our own country is the greatest contribution to the struggle against the warmongering imperialists, because the elimination of all wars is possible only by overthrowing imperialism on a world scale. While strengthening the confidence of the masses in the revolutionary perspective, we must combat any social-chauvinist propaganda, according to which, in case of war, the working class must support its own bourgeoisie, submit to one or the other superpower, or because of the danger of the war, capitulate to the imperialists. It would be betrayal to subordinate the interests of the working class to the interests of its oppressors and exploiters, to call on the working class and the masses of the people to give up their struggle for the revolution.

The two superpowers, American imperialism and Russian socialimperialism, says the Document, are the greatest oppressors and exploiters in the world. Collaborators in their anti-popular and counterrevolutionary policy, they are in ever greater rivalry in their struggle for hegemony and for grabbing spheres of influence, thus constituting the greatest danger of the outbreak of new wars, and a new imperialist world war. The revisionist standpoint which presents the balance between the two powers as the only guarantee for peace, preaching inacti-

vity and acceptance of the status quo, must be combatted. Equally dangerous is the revisionist tendency which advocates reliance on one superpower in order to fight the other, moreover by uniting with internal reaction. Both one and the other attitude negate the role of the proletariat and constitute renunciation of the revolution, of the struggle which can really put an end to wars by destroying capitalism which engenders them.

After pointing out that the strengthening of proletarian internationalism is the most reliable guarantee against war, and for determined struggle against the two superpowers, the Document emphasizes the pressing need to strengthen and deepen the unity and collaboration among the Marxist-Leninist parties, in the struggle against imperialism and socialimperialism, against the policy of hegemony and war of the two superpowers, against Khrushchevite revisionism. Any theory which conceals the clash between classes, stresses the Political Document, is profoundly wrong. Certain theories such as that of the «three worlds» cannot possibly be the strategic line of a Marxist-Leninist party. The theory of «three worlds» is a revisionist theory.

The consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the construction of socialism in Albania, says the Document, are an example for the struggle of the proletariat and oppressed peoples. The Party of Labour of Albania, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and the Albanian people, stand firmly on the side of the world proletariat and the revolutionary peoples. The Marxist-Leninist analysis made at the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania in the report presented by comrade Enver Hoxha is of fundamental importance. It is the duty of the Marxist-Leninists to actively support these positions, to defend them from the attacks of modern revisionists and opportunists of every stamp.

On the basis of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, carrying on from the Party of Gramsci, the Communist Party of Italy (M-L), with its militant involvement in Italy and on an international scale, stresses the Document in conclusion, is tempering itself more and more as a vanguard detachment of the working class for the proletarian revolution, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for socialism, for communism.

THE ANTI-MARXIST CONTENT OF «SELF-ADMINISTRATIVE SOCIALISM»

by OMER HASHORVA

The entire theory and practice of «self-administrative socialism», both in form and in content, is a falsification and open negation of the Marxist-Leninist theory of scientific socialism, a distortion of the true ideas of Marx and Lenin about socialism which revives the old anarchist ideas and theories of Proudhon and Bakunin, of the «Worker's Opposition» and other opportunists, presenting these old anti-Marxist and anti-socialist ideas as «something new in the workers' movement»

AT THE 7TH CONGRESS OF THE PLA, COMRADE ENVER HOXHA STRESSED THAT YUGOSLAV REVISIONISM, WHICH IS ONE OF THE CHIEF CURRENTS OF MODERN REVISIONISM, REMAINS A CONSTANT DANGER, JUST AS BEFORE, BECAUSE IT OFFERS READY-MADE ANTI-MARXIST AND ANTI-SOCIALIST CONCEPTS AND PRACTICES TO ALL REVISIONISTS, OPPORTUNISTS AND OTHER RENEGADES OF EVERY KIND, WHO EMBARK ON THE ROAD OF BETRAYING MARXISM-LENINISM, THE REVOLUTION AND SOCIALISM. FIRST THE KHRUSHCHEVITES AND TOGLIATISTS AND THEN OTHER REVISIONISTS AND OPPORTUNISTS HAVE DRAWN AND ARE STILL DRAWING THEIR INSPIRATION FROM YUGOSLAV REVISIONISM. YUGOSLAV REVISIONISM STILL REMAINS, ALSO, A FAVOURITE WEAPON IN THE HANDS OF THE INTERNATIONAL IMPERIALIST BOURGEOISIE IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE REVOLUTION, SOCIALISM AND THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS.

Therefore, while concentrating its struggle first of all against Soviet Khrushchevite revisionism, as the main and most dangerous trend of modern revisionism, at the same time, our Party has continued its principled struggle against Yugoslav revisionism, too,

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in order to expose its anti-Marxist and anti-socialist theories and practices, and this it will continue in the future. In particular, the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha have exposed and will continue to expose the demagoguery of the Yugoslav revisionists in connection with the so-called «self-administrative socialism», which is being

advertized with increasing vigour both by the Yugoslav revisionists themselves, as well as by the other modern revisionists and opportunists in order to disorganize the Marxist-Leninist forces and the genuine revolutionary forces of the world.

* * *

Yugoslav revisionism was prepared as a special political and ideological agency of US and British imperialism back in the period of the Second World War. After the war, masquerading as «socialists» and «communists», the Yugoslav revisionists assumed the role of the «Trojan horse» and the «fifth column» in the ranks of the socialist countries and the international communist movement in

order to undermine and destroy socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat from within, by means of sabotage, espionage, and plots. However thanks to the vigilance and the firm, principled struggle waged by J. V. Stalin and the Inform Bureau, by the PLA and comrade Enver Hoxha, the Yugoslav revisionists were publicly exposed and unmasked as traitors to Marxism-Leninism and socialism, as an agency of imperialism.

After this, continuing their role as the political and ideological agency of imperialism, in conformity with the new conditions, the Yugoslav revisionists formulated and brought out a whole system of anti-Marxist revisionist views, as a means of diversion against Marxism-Leninism, socialism and the revolution. To this end, in order to fight and discredit true socialism, the Yugoslav revisionists began to advertize the construction in their country of their «specific socialism» which, dressed up in Marxist phraseology, they opposed to scientific socialism.

The essence of all the theorizing about «specific socialism» is the anti-Marxist idea that there cannot be just one socialism, but that in different countries and periods there can be various «kinds» of socialism. Deliberately misusing the correct Marxist-Leninist thesis of applying Marxism-Leninism in a creative manner to the specific conditions of each country and distorting this thesis, the Yugoslav revisionists allege that there are no universal laws for the construction of socialism common to all countries, that each country may build socialism according to its own desires and so on.

In fact, Marxism-Leninism teaches us that there is only one socialism. At all times and in every place, it is built on the basis of universal laws and principles, which are always the same and common to all countries, regardless of the specific conditions of each country. Such fundamental issues as ensuring the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, the defence

and constant strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the hegemonic role of the working class, the liquidation of capitalist ownership and the establishment of socialist ownership over the means of production, the building of socialism on the basis of the consistent waging of the class struggle, the strengthening of the alliance of the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, the organization and management of the economy in a planned and centralized way on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism, etc., are laws and principles indispensable for all countries which embark on the road to socialism, are laws of a universal character which recognise no national boundaries. Naturally, despite the unity of principal features and laws, in the construction of socialism in different countries, it must be born in mind that the form, methods and rates of construction of socialism may differ in conformity with the concrete conditions of each country, but always acting on the basis of these laws and never negating them, as the Yugoslav revisionists are doing in fact.

At the beginning of the 50's, Yugoslav revisionists, concretizing their anti-Marxist idea of «specific socialism», declared to the world that they were renouncing the «state socialist system» which they had been implementing up till that time, because they had allegedly discovered a new kind of «socialism», the so-called «system of self-administrative socialism». In fact, the essence of the «self-administrative socialism» of the Yugoslav revisionists is the idea that allegedly socialism cannot be built by concentrating the means of production in the hands of the socialist state, creating the state property as the property of the entire people and as the highest form of socialist property, but by fragmenting the socialist state property into the property of separate groups of workers, who allegedly administer it directly themselves, while at the same time, giving up centralized and plan-

ned-state management of the economy, under the pretext that such a thing inhibits and restricts the democracy of the masses and allegedly leads inevitably to the development of bureaucracy of the socialist state. It is precisely this «kind of socialism», to which they have attached the label of «self-administrative socialism», that the Yugoslav revisionists present as «the best way to express the true socialist relations of production», as «the highest form of socialist ownership» and as «direct democracy in production», etc. The Yugoslav revisionists allege that this is the only kind of socialism truly based on the authentic ideas and teachings of Marx and Lenin, while they label as «Stalinist dogmatic socialism», as «state bureaucratic socialism», and so on, that socialism which is genuinely based and built on the foundation of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, on what Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin really taught.

The entire theory and practice of «self-administrative socialism», both in form and in content, is a falsification and open negation of the Marxist-Leninist theory of scientific socialism, a distortion of the true ideas of Marx and Lenin about socialism which revives the old anarchist ideas and theories of Proudhon and Bakunin, of the «Workers' Opposition» and other opportunists, presenting these old anti-Marxist and anti-socialist ideas as «something new in the workers' movement».

Marx and Lenin consistently defended the idea that the socialist state, the dictatorship of the proletariat, must concentrate all the main means of production in its own hands, transforming them into state property, into the property of the entire people, which is the highest form of socialist property, which it manages and administers on behalf and in the interests of all the working people in a centralized and planned manner. They combatted the Proudhonist views on «the workers' self-administration» and the «workers' factories», condemning them as anar-

chist ideas. In the Manifesto of the Communist Party, Marx and Engels, emphasized that «The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state, that is, of the proletariat organized as a ruling class...» (K. Marx – F. Engels, Selected Works, vol. I, 1975 ed. p. 42). Similarly, Lenin waged a stern struggle against the anarcho-sindicalist views of the anti-party group, the «Workers' Opposition», which were expressed in the first years of Soviet power. This group, like the Yugoslav revisionists today, supported the idea of handing over factories to the workers, and of production being organized and directed not by the Soviet state under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, but by a so-called «congress of producers», as a representative of individual groups of working people. In criticizing these views, V. I. Lenin stressed that «from the theoretical standpoint, such views are fundamentally wrong, being in complete opposition to Marxism and communism» (V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 32, p. 283).

Thus, the theoretical arguments in support of «self-administrative socialism» are not Marxist. On the contrary, they constitute a variant of the ideas of syndicalists and anarchists raised to an official line and a dominant ideology in a country where the revisionists are in power, as is the case with Yugoslavia. And in fact, the Yugoslav revisionists are the greatest champions of anarchism in the world today.

In overt opposition to Marxism-Leninism, the theoreticians of «self-administrative socialism» preach that in this kind of «socialism» the role of the communist party must be merely ideological. The Party must not be the leadership in the economy, the state and the organizations of the masses and neither must it be involved in the question of cadres. The Yugoslav revisionists try to support their open

negation of the leading role of the communist party in the building of socialism, its transformation into a mere «ideological» and «orientating factor», with the argument that allegedly leadership by the party is incompatible with the truly decisive role of the producer masses, who, according to the Yugoslav revisionists, must exercise their political influence directly and not through the communist party, because otherwise the role of the party becomes a «bureaucratic despotism», which opposes the building of socialism.

These views are in open and flagrant opposition to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, for, as experience shows, it is impossible to build genuine socialism without the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party. V. I. Lenin stressed, «If the unity, strength, and the influence of the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat is weakened in the slightest, this wavering can result in nothing but the restoration of the power and property of capitalists and landowners» (V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 32, pp. 285-286).

Leadership by the Marxist-Leninist party does not hinder the decisive role of the working class. On the contrary, it is only under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party that the working class can become a conscious organized force, a decisive force, both in the revolution and in the construction of socialism. On the other hand, as comrade Enver Hoxha stresses, «... to negate the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party means to leave the working class without its leading staff, to totally disarm the working class in the interests of the bourgeoisie, to betray the working class» (Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 14, p. 262). Life itself has confirmed that it is not the ensuring of the leading role of the communist party in the state, in the economy, in the organizations of the masses, but the undermining and weakening of this role that leads inevitably to the development of

bureaucracy and degeneration of the party, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the whole socialist order. The negative experience of Yugoslavia itself, the Soviet Union, and the other former socialist countries confirms this completely. Tito himself has admitted that «the LCY has been reduced to an amorphous, apolitical organization». As a result of this, it has followed a policy disastrous to the life of the peoples of Yugoslavia. On the other hand, the positive experience of the socialist construction of our country shows clearly that the preservation and continued strengthening of the leading role of the party in all directions and fields has been and remains the main factor in the successful construction of socialism in Albania. It is true that the masses play the decisive role in the revolution and the construction of socialism, but always, in every instance, under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party.

Likewise, the preachings of the Yugoslav revisionists that allegedly «socialism and the state, socialism and state ownership, are incompatible notions», in which «the dominant role of the state in the management of the economy is only for a short time», for a «transitional», phase, which depends on «the interests of the moment», such as the narrow economic bases or the major economic difficulties, with the elimination of which the necessity for the leading and organizing role of the socialist state in the economy is also eliminated, are thoroughly anti-Marxist. Marx and Lenin teach us and the experience of the socialist construction confirms, not only that the socialist state must be maintained and constantly strengthened throughout the whole historical period of the transition from capitalism to communism, but also that its role as the organizer and manager of the state property in a centralized and planned manner must be strengthened, too. Any deviation from this fundamental principle leads to anarchist and liberal positions,

to the destruction of the dictatorship of the proletariat and degeneration of the socialist society.

During the entire period of the existence of the classes and of the class struggle, when elements of «bourgeois right without the bourgeoisie» are preserved and operate in the field of payment for work, the state ownership, as the ownership of the entire people, is the highest and leading form of the social ownership. This is precisely what makes possible and real the equal rights of the masses of the working people over the means of production, as well as the appropriation of the products, on the basis of the quantity and quality of the work done by each member of the socialist society. This equality also makes possible the establishment of genuinely socialist relations in production among the working people. On the other hand, the concentration of the means of production in the hands of the proletarian state, that is, in the hands of the working class organized as the ruling class, enables the latter to act as a hegemonic class in the entire life of the country and in all directions and fields of society. On the contrary, the fragmentation of the social property and the creation of group property, along with negation of the leading role of the state, leads, as has occurred in Yugoslavia, to splitting the working class into particular groups opposed to one another, among which competition develops, in which each group seeks to defend its own interests at the expense of the interests of the whole society and the other groups of working people. Under these conditions, the working class in Yugoslavia no longer acts as a united class in the context of the entire country, but has long since lost its role as the leading and directing class in the present-day Yugoslav society. By losing its party and state power, the working class has been transformed from a leading class in power into a class that is oppressed and exploited by the new bourgeoisie, which has concentrated all state po-

wer in its own hand and uses it as a weapon against the working class and the working masses.

In fact, the anti-state ideology of the Yugoslav revisionists is intended, on the one hand, to arouse confusion and disorientation in the ranks of the true Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries in connection with the key problem of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine which is the question of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and, on the other hand, to conceal the degeneration of the League of the Communists of Yugoslavia into a bourgeois party, as well as the capitalist and exploiting real character of the present Yugoslav state, which, has not withered away, as the Yugoslav revisionists claim, but has been constantly strengthened as a weapon in the hands of the new Yugoslav bourgeoisie for the oppression and the exploitation of the working masses and the peoples of Yugoslavia. The aim of the Yugoslav revisionists, says comrade Enver Hoxha, is to disguise their anti-socialist and anti-Marxist «rightist» standpoints, through «leftist» slogans, such as those of workers' self-administration which they need in order to disguise the development of a special type of capitalism.

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But what sort of relations does the so-called «system of self-administrative socialism» represent in fact?

Today the Yugoslav economy, included within the «system of self-administration», appears as a collection of separate enterprises, independent of one another, which have been given complete freedom of action. These enterprises have the right to decide for themselves the volume and structure of their production, to invest capital wherever they like, to buy and sell means of production, to engage workers and to dismiss them when they are no longer required, to present their products in an independent man-

ner on the foreign and home markets, with complete freedom to set their prices according to supply and demand on the market. As well as this, each enterprise produces those things in those quantities which are profitable to it, regardless of what product the society needs. The main purpose of production is profit, while the pay rates in different enterprises vary on the basis of the profit that each enterprise makes, and there is no universal standard to assess the pay of all workers according to the quantity and quality of the work done, which is the only correct principle for the distribution of the product to each individual in socialism. Thus, the relations of production which emerge on the basis of the existence of group property, are in essence, capitalist relations, relations of oppression and exploitation, although they are presented by the Yugoslav revisionists as allegedly socialist relationships.

«The economic relationships of every society,» says F. Engels, «present themselves, first of all, as **interests**» (K. Marx — F. Engels, Selected Works, vol. I, 1958 ed., p. 590). Thus, if we proceed in the evaluation of the relations in production which exist in Yugoslavia from the basis of the class criterion, that is, in whose interests this property is used and whom it serves, then it emerges that the property allegedly self administered by the separate groups of working people is a disguised form of capitalist property, and the relations of production based on it are also of a capitalist nature. This truth is clearly expressed in the appropriation of income, one aspect of which is the ratio between the workers' pay and that of managerial staff of the enterprises under self-administration a ratio which, as Tito himself admits, is one to twenty and even up to one to forty, in Yugoslavia. This means that regardless of the fact that the whole group of the working people is recognized as owning the enterprise, in fact the real owner is only the small group

of its managerial staff, because, just like the capitalist owners in the other bourgeois countries, they appropriate the unpaid labour of the working people, not only in the form of very high salaries, but also in the form of supplementary bonuses and the numerous privileges they enjoy. Thus, for example, the managerial and engineering-technical staff in the self-administered enterprises take more than 90 per cent of the bonuses distributed by the enterprises, use the means of production as they like in their own interests, and ensure large honoraries from foreign firms, with which the self-administered enterprises cooperate. The directors of self-administered enterprises have even deposited part of the large capital sums they acquire in various foreign banks. It is precisely these directors, together with the cadres of the other leading organs of the republics and the Federation, who receive even higher salaries and enjoy even greater bonuses and privileges, who constitute that new bourgeois class which lives on the unpaid labour of the working people and makes the law in Yugoslavia. Under these conditions, the relations between this new bourgeois class of bureaucrats and technocrats, on the one hand, and the masses of working people, on the other, are relations of oppression and exploitation, capitalist relations.

The Yugoslav revisionists endeavour to present «the self-administrative socialism» as the «acme of the direct democracy of the producers», which allegedly places «man in the centre of its attention», and as the «true form of the dictatorship of the proletariat». Criticizing the views on the «democracy of production» defended by Bukharin, Lenin stressed that this concept is theoretically erroneous, because, in the final analysis, any democracy serves production and is determined by production. Therefore, Lenin considered the attempt to separate «democracy of production» from any other democracy to be absurd. «Democracy of production,» he stress-

ed, «is a term which gives the opportunity for distorted interpretations. It can be understood as the negation of the dictatorship and the unified management. It can be understood as a postponement of normal democracy or as a departure from it» (V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 32, p. 80). And the Yugoslav revisionists understand «democracy of production» in precisely this way and use it for such purposes. On the other hand, it is absurd to negate the socialist state while allegedly accepting the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of «direct democracy», as the Yugoslav revisionists do. The socialist state and the dictatorship of the proletariat are identical notions. Therefore, to negate one and to accept the other, in fact, means to be against the dictatorship of the proletariat. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin always spoke about the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, about the working class organized as a ruling class, that is, organized in the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is absurd to postulate that the working class can secure the broadest and most complete democracy without the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin stressed, that democracy, is a form of state, therefore even socialist democracy cannot exist except by means of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Negation of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is negation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and hence of democracy for the masses of working people.

In fact, although «direct democracy» for the working people is proclaimed, the constitution of Yugoslavia itself, as well as the law «on the united work», of the year 1976, proclaims in law that the leader of the enterprise and its activity is not the working class, but the director, who is absolutely free and independent in discharging his functions. The director has full authority to annul the decisions of the so-called «workers'

council», while the workers have no legal right either to choose or to demand the replacement of the director of the enterprise. Formally, «the workers' council» is proclaimed as the organ which represents and defends the interests of the working people and which enjoys a series of competences regarding the management and organization of production, but in fact the fundamental problems of self-administered enterprises, for example, the distribution of income, bonuses, the setting of wage rates, the engagement and dismissal of workers, etc. are decided by the director alone. «The workers' council», is a completely formal organ, which the Yugoslav revisionists need only in order to trumpet that in the «self-administrative system» the working class allegedly enjoys real «democracy», whereas, in fact, the «workers' council» defends and sanctions not the interests of the workers, but the will of the director, because the representatives on these «councils», being corrupted materially, politically, and ideologically, have been transformed into members of the stratum of the «workers' aristocracy» and «workers' bureaucracy», which is employed by the revisionist state power as an ideological and political agency to deceive and confuse the working class.

The fact that the directors of the enterprises and of the other central organs secure incomes that allow them to lead a life of bourgeois luxury, the fact that, owing to competition, enterprises close down and workers are thrown out on the streets, the fact that the workers are urged to chase profits, and so on, clearly indicate not the democratic character of the «self-administrative socialist system» but the lack of democracy, the existence of relations of oppression and exploitation which stem from the very basis of this so-called «socialist» system, which, in fact, is capitalist.

In Yugoslavia private ownership over the means of production exists, not only in its disguised form, as «pro-

perty administered by groups of workers», but even in its usual form and on a large scale. Private property is recognized and defended by law. Thus, the Yugoslav revisionists have issued a special law on the encouragement of private enterprises, which recognizes the right of «every citizen to found enterprises» and «to employ labour». Many among these owners, who are legally entitled to employ up to five workers, in fact, employ more than that, and secure incomes amounting to several million dinars. Thus, in Yugoslavia the private capitalist sector has become very widespread. Its development is encouraged by the state and is even defended juridically by the Yugoslav constitution, in which it is expressly stated that «private employers have the same economic and social position, the same rights and obligations as the working people in the economic and social organizations.

Yugoslav agriculture is completely dominated by small private property, which covers about 90 per cent of the arable land. The right to buy and sell land is recognized, and wage labour is used extensively in agriculture. This situation in the Yugoslav capitalist agriculture is a result of the anti-Marxist course which the Yugoslav revisionists follow towards the countryside. At first, under the pressure of the masses and in order to dupe them, the Yugoslav revisionists took some preliminary steps for the collectivization of their countryside, although, in fact, those had a thoroughly demagogic character. The Yugoslav countryside has never known even the beginnings of any socialist reform, because the so-called «zadruga» were a fraud. In fact, right from the start, the holdings of the rich peasants, the kulaks, were not touched, under the pretext that «the kulak is useful for socialism» and that the accumulations made by the kulak economies were allegedly indispensable for the construction of the so-called «self-administrative socialism» in Yugoslavia. Later,

however, the Yugoslav revisionists openly rejected the Leninist road of collectivization, labelling it as a form of «expropriation» and «impoverishment» of the peasants. Thus, even the few «zadruga» set up were destroyed on the pretext that they had not proved their superiority over the individual forms and that allegedly their establishment was a result of the «pressure of the Stalinist bureaucratic system». Nowadays, in the Yugoslav countryside there are a few agricultural cooperatives of the capitalist type, which have a purely commercial character, because their whole function is reduced to the collective use of agricultural machinery and the collective sale of agricultural products.

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In order to disguise the reestablishment of capitalism in Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav revisionists present «the workers' self-administration» as a «new road» to the construction of the true socialist society. In reality, as comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized at the 7th Congress, «Titoite 'self-administration' has proved to be an eclectic bourgeois doctrine which has led to permanent political and ideological confusion, to weak and disproportionate economic development, to great social differentiation, to squabbles among nationalities, and the degeneration of spiritual life in Yugoslavia» (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 223).

The present-day reality shows that an economic-social system with all the features of capitalism prevails in Yugoslavia where anarchy and all-round stagnation reign in production and in the whole of social life. In the Yugoslav capitalist state, today, democratic centralism and the role of unified leadership by the state have been completely eliminated. A pronounced sectional, local, and individual anarchist spirit prevails everywhere. In this capitalist state all sorts

of crime are flourishing, especially theft, speculation, fraud, etc., by means of which many cadres, who have become bourgeois, have made themselves multi-millionaires. In the economic and social life of Yugoslavia today those same consequences and phenomena which are characteristic of every capitalist country are appearing, such as the anarchic and spontaneous, development of production, the disproportionate development of the various republics and branches of the economy, the continuous rise in prices and the fall in the standard of living of the working masses, and fierce competition among enterprises, which results in the shutting down every year of more than 500 of the weaker enterprises. Industry has been concentrated mainly in Slovenia and Croatia and in part of Serbia. The income per head of population in these republics is two and a half times higher than in Kosova, Macedonia, and Montenegro. Kosova remains one of the most backward regions of Yugoslavia, with a very low standard of living and pronounced backwardness in its economic and cultural development.

One of the phenomena typical of the reestablishment of capitalism in Yugoslavia is that of the crises, which are continually hitting the Yugoslav economy, just as in the other capitalist and revisionist countries. Thus, during the past 15 years, the Yugoslav economy has been hit three times by economic-financial crises, in the years 1961-1962, 1968-1969 and again over the last few years. The crises of the capitalist world are felt with their full force in Yugoslavia, too, because the economy of that country has become a constituent part of the world capitalist economic system and, consequently, it is obliged to experience all the commercial and financial troubles of the capitalist world and submit to all the business fluctuations that the big monopolies impose on their weaker partners. The Yugoslav revisionists themselves are obliged to admit from their own mouths: «our econo-

mic and social system contains in itself chronic instability of reproduction».

As a result of the anti-Marxist and anti-socialist policy pursued by the Yugoslav revisionists, the capital of the monopolies of the USA, F.G.R., France, Britain, Italy, etc., has penetrated extensively into Yugoslavia. Up to date, Yugoslavia has received 11 billion dollars in loans, which constitute the economic basis of Yugoslav revisionism. These large loans show that Yugoslavia does not have an independent economy of its own. They are also a clear and indisputable indication to refute the absurdities of opportunists who pretend that Yugoslavia is allegedly building socialism relying on its own efforts. The Yugoslav revisionists, themselves, have encouraged the penetration of foreign capital by issuing laws which facilitate foreign capital investments, abolishing the state monopoly on foreign trade, and so on. In this manner, the Yugoslav economy has been made completely dependent on foreign monopolies, which have captured the key positions in the Yugoslav economy and exploit its national riches and the labour power, thus securing large profits. The numerous credits received from the USA, which the Yugoslav revisionists try to present as though they serve the construction of socialism have a markedly enslaving character. However, to pretend that imperialism might help in the construction of socialism is an absurdity, just as «the development of Yugoslavia on the basis of self-reliance» is an even greater absurdity, when it has received more than 7 billion dollars in credits of an out-and-out enslaving character from the USA alone.

An index of the state of the Yugoslav economy is the balance of payments for the year 1976, which it closed with a loss of 18 billion dinars. The various enterprises see continual price rises as the only way out of this situation. Thus, in the years 1965-1970 the prices of mass consumption

goods went up by 35 per cent, while in the period from 1971 to 1973 they went up a further 61 per cent, and this rapid rise has continued in the recent past. During the first 8 months of the year 1977, food prices rose 18.4 per cent, while charges for services increased 13 per cent in the first 6 months of that year. Thus the people's cost of living increased 14.6 per cent in the first 8 months of 1977.

The phenomenon of unemployment is also one of the typical manifestations of the Yugoslav capitalist order. Being unable to conceal this phenomenon, the Yugoslav revisionists themselves are obliged to admit that there is mass unemployment in Yugoslavia, amounting to about one million people out of work. But, at the same time, in self-justification, they bring forward «theoretical arguments» that allegedly this unemployment results from the «modernization» of production and the «increase of the productivity of labour». Such theories are contrary to the theory and practice of the construction of genuine socialism, because one of the superiorities of the socialist order over the capitalist order is the fact that the former abolishes unemployment, this grave an inevitable ulcer of the capitalist order, once and for all. However, the unemployment in Yugoslavia has its source in the capitalist system which exists there, which cannot survive in Yugoslavia or anywhere else without the army of the unemployed, which the bourgeoisie needs as a means to exploit the labour force to the maximum by distributing it and the means of production on the basis of the action of the law of value, wherever the greatest profit is to be made. The Yugoslav bourgeoisie also uses the army of the unemployed as a means of pressure on those workers who do have jobs.

Linked with the unemployment in Yugoslavia there is another phenomenon, also with grave social consequences, namely, the mass emigration of the creative living forces. The Yu-

goslav revisionists have even given this ugly capitalist phenomenon legal sanction by approving the law on the right of Yugoslav citizens to emigrate. As a result, about 1 million 300 thousand workers, technicians and specialists have had to leave their families and their homeland to sell the strength of their muscles and brains to the German, French, Belgian, Austrian and other capitalists. The characteristic thing is that 54.5 per cent of the emigrant workers are young, under thirty years of age. This selling of workers, this traffic in human beings, is one of the ugliest aspects of the reality of the capitalist society in Yugoslavia today.

The degeneration of Yugoslavia into a capitalist country has also brought as a consequence also the sharpening of the class contradictions between the workers and the new Yugoslav bourgeoisie. On many occasions, the workers of the Yugoslav enterprises, the students and youth have risen in strikes and protests against oppression and exploitation, for the improvement of working and living conditions, against the personal enrichment and corruption of the directors of the self administered enterprises, and so on. The participants in these movements have expressed not only economic demands but also political protests, calling for «the abolition of economic and social differences», «the elimination of private enterprises», the wiping out of «political and moral corruption» and so on.

Our Party predicted long ago that revisionism would give rise in Yugoslavia to feelings of great state chauvinism within the Yugoslav Federation and towards other nations, because capitalism oppresses the peoples, exploits them and rules them by the whip. The anarchist federalism itself and the so called «new structure» which the Yugoslav revisionists have established incites conflicts between nationalities and between republics. And the truth is that in Yugoslavia, which is a federation made up of

six republics and a number of nationalities, due to the reestablishment of capitalism and the action of its savage laws, the national question has long been a very acute problem and has brought about a deep crisis. As comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed, the political scene in Yugoslavia is dominated by the «Great Serb» and the «Great Croat» clans, between which a bitter struggle for power and hegemony is going on. This struggle has become more and more acute and on many occasions has flared up openly. This is what happened in 1967 when Tito managed to eliminate the representative of the «Great Serbs», Rankovich. This is also what happened during the years 1971 to 1973, when Tito again crushed the efforts of other pro-Serbian leaders of republics to gain hegemony, etc.

Faced with the profound general national crisis, the Yugoslav leadership is using both violence and demagoguery. It has tried to present the battles for power between various bourgeois nationalist group as opposition to the interests of the working class and socialism in Yugoslavia, with the aim of avoiding any revolutionary outburst of the working class and the working masses and to win them over, in order to use them as a tool of its own hegemonic interests. To this end, this leadership has made an alleged «selfcriticism», pledging, on behalf of «socialism», that it will eliminate any «distortion» and will close the «roads» to all negative manifestations and phenomena. For the same demagogic purposes, the Yugoslav revisionists employ slogans of an alleged return to the positions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the strengthening of the positions of the working class, of the struggle against the «class differentiation», «national inequality», against nationalism, chauvinism, separatism, etc.

However, the severe contradictions and clashes over the national question in Yugoslavia are neither accidental nor temporary. They have

their basis in the anti-Marxist ideology and policy of the Yugoslav leadership, in the very nature of the capitalist social order which has been established in Yugoslavia and the action of the savage laws of this order. Therefore, they cannot be resolved either with reforms or with demagoguery, as the Yugoslav revisionists are trying to resolve them. Their reforms for the creation of the so-called «collective presidency», etc., are intended to create the impression of the reestablishment of national equality among the peoples of Yugoslavia, while their promises to assist the backward republic have altered nothing in the Yugoslav reality. It is absurd to think that the bourgeoisie of Croatia, Serbia, etc., with strong and consolidated economic, political, ideological, and military positions, can ever voluntarily reconcile themselves to the establishment of national and social equality or to contribute voluntarily to the development of the backward regions and republics.

The tendencies of the different bourgeois groups to break away from the centre of the federation, the struggle and open conflicts for power among the most powerful groups of the Yugoslav revisionist bourgeoisie, are unavoidable fellow-travellers of the economic and social order that exists in Yugoslavia, because they originate from its capitalist nature. The LCY and its revisionist leadership are themselves the representatives and defenders of the interests of the new bourgeois class. They themselves are the bearers and transmitters of nationalism and chauvinism, of the enmity among nations and to blame for the backwardness of some of them. Therefore, the national question in Yugoslavia cannot be solved by means of reforms and promises within the framework of the capitalist order. The national problem, as Marxism-Leninism teaches us, can be solved only in the conditions of genuine socialism and only on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist principles on the national question. The hegemonic and

chauvinist policy followed by the Yugoslav revisionists, the national feuds and national oppression, the unequal development of the various peoples of the Yugoslav Federation, and other facts, clearly demonstrate the falsity of the views of various revisionists and opportunists who are trying to present Yugoslavia as a model of the solution of the national question, allegedly on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist principles.

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The present situation in Yugoslavia completely confirms the correctness of the predictions of the Party of Labour of Albania, which long ago foresaw where the anti-Marxist and anti-socialist line of the Yugoslav revisionist leadership would lead Yugoslavia. As comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 7th Congress of the PLA, standing loyal to the interests of the revolution and socialism and the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, «our Party will fight in the future, as it has always done, to expose the deceptive nature of the Yugoslav variety of revisionism and the danger it presents» (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 224).

THE CLASS ESSENCE OF THE INFLATION IN THE CAPITALIST AND REVISIONIST WORLD

by **DHIMITËR MANDRO** and **LULZIM HANA**

The cause of inflation stems directly from the action of the objective economic laws of the capitalist mode of production, which has led to the stage of capitalism in decay, to the militarization of the economy, and to the increasing parasitism of the bureaucratic state apparatus

The sharpening of the contradictions of the capitalist mode of production, especially of its fundamental contradictions, has led to the further deepening of the general crisis of the capitalist-revisionist system, to repeated heavy, economic, political and social shocks, to the shaking of all its structures and superstructures, alliances and blocs. The 70's can be characterized as years of the even more powerful outbreak and deepening of this crisis, which has driven imperialism further into decay: Describing this processes, at the 7th Congress of the PLA among other things, comrade Enver Hoxha stressed: «World capitalism, which is heading remorselessly towards crises and decline, just as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin predicted with such genius, has now reached the stage of imperialism in

DHIMITËR MANDRO, LULZIM HANA — *economists*

decay». (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 172).

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A direct expression of this objective process of the decay and stagnation of capitalist production and reproduction, along with all the other phenomena of the economic crisis which has the entire capitalist-revisionist system in its grip today, is inflation. Today, it has become general malaise of all the capitalist countries, affecting not only the less developed ones, the revisionist countries, and, in the first place, the two imperialist superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union. And this is not all — it has also become their permanent fellow-traveler and is developing everywhere at very high, galloping rates.

Inflation represents a definite economic category of the capitalist and revisionist world, and as such, expresses definite class interests. Today it has become the most suitable means in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie to find a temporary way-out from the crisis at the expense of the working masses at home and the people of the developing countries. We find a scientific analysis of this economic category of capitalism only in Marxist-Leninist political economy, which has defined the content, essence, causes and consequences of inflation.

Though inflation is a phenomenon which acts within the sphere of circulation, its roots lie in the capitalist relations of production, in the contradictions constantly gnawing away at capitalist production and reproduction. The primary role of production over all the other phases of reproduction, including circulation, is known. The

content, the character of production, determines the character of exchanges, distribution and consumption. At the same time, the latter influence production, just as they influence one another. It is precisely from the angle of this reciprocal dialectical interdependence that the phenomenon of inflation in the capitalist economy of commodity production must be seen and treated.

In the capitalist economy, monetary circulation is based on banknotes which are not convertible into gold, as well as on the production of commodities which are intended not for the fulfilment of the needs and demands of the masses of working people, but, primarily and above all, to ensure maximum profits for the capitalist owners. In essence, inflation, too, is a means for the monopolies to achieve this aim through intensification of the robbery of the broad masses of the working people. The disorders in the law of monetary circulation, which stem mainly from the issuing of excess banknotes by the bourgeois state in order to cover the budget deficit, lead to the general increase of the prices of mass consumer goods, with the exception of one specific commodity — labour power.

Marx divided all kinds of commodities in capitalist society into two large groups: ordinary commodities, which are the property of the capitalists, and the specific commodity, labour power, which is the only commodity that the worker owns in capitalist society. Marx also proved scientifically that the prices of the first group commodities may fluctuate above or below their value, while the price of the commodity labour power, may reach its value in the ideal case; usually, the price of labour power fluctuates below its value.

At a time of inflation, in particular, the prices of all commodities in the possession of the capitalists increase in various proportions, while the price of the specific commodity, labour power, in the most favourable instance, may show a slight increase, and this only as a result of the extension of the determined struggle of the proletariat against the economic and political do-

mination of the imperialist bourgeoisie. At a time of inflation, the monopoly bourgeoisie appropriates not only the surplus value, but also part of the value of the commodity labour power, because the real wages of the working people in capitalism are continually reduced, due to the fact that minimum wage begins to rise later than the rise in prices as well as to the fact that any increase in it, when it occurs, is always smaller than the increase of prices. In this manner, by acting as a disguised tax, inflation further reduces wages below the value of the commodity, labour power. This supplementary income, which the capitalist state secures through this sort of disguised tax, by utilizing its authority as the state of the bourgeois dictatorship, is redistributed in various forms in the interests of the monopolies and, in the first place, of those which are engaged in production for war purposes.

Thus, inflation, as a typical economic category of the capitalist mode of production, is in the first place, an expression of redistribution of national income and national wealth in the interests of a handful of monopolists and to the detriment of the masses of the working people, which is realized through the existence of an excessive amount of paper money that is not convertible into gold, in the channels of monetary circulation, which leads to the devaluation of paper money and to the increase of goods. This definition of the essence of inflation also explains the three main features of inflation, which are: the redistribution of national income in the interests of the big monopolies and to the detriment of the broad masses of working people; the existence of an excessive amount of paper money in the channels of monetary circulation; the actual devaluation of paper money and increase of prices of goods on the market. These features are organically linked with one another. Any identification of inflation with only one of these features or any attempt to eliminate the first feature, as the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists do, is deviation from the correct Marxist-Leninist po-

sitions and leads to the negation of the class essence of inflation and to its treatment as merely a technical question of the mechanism of monetary circulation.

Inflation occurs in the capitalist economy when the quantity of banknotes issued is larger than the real currency reserves and the amount of goods in circulation. But inflation may occur even without the issue of a new amount of banknotes, when a disproportion is created between the amount of banknotes in circulation and the amount required for this circulation. This is linked directly with the heavy expenditure for military purposes, because, in the final analysis, the increase of this expenditure and the militarization of the economy in general, represent the reduction of production of material goods for the masses of working people, hence, also of the circulation of these goods, and the production, instead, of goods which serve the maintenance of a standing army and the bourgeois military arsenal.

The cause of inflation stems directly from the action of the objective economic laws of the capitalist mode of production, which has led to the stage of capitalism in decay, to the militarization of the economy, and to the increasing parasitism of the bureaucratic state apparatus.

The militarization of the economy, acts of aggression, and allround economic, political, ideological and military expansion, constitute the essential features of imperialism. The maintenance of big armies, the creation of military bases, the intensification of scientific research work for the discovery and use of mass extermination weapons, the employment of the entire military arsenal whenever its positions are endangered by the revolutionary movement of the masses of working people, the provoking of unrest and the kindling of hotbeds of war, stem from the very nature of imperialism, and without them it cannot exist. It is self-evident that this leads, and cannot fail to lead, to the increase of military expenditures at very high rates. Whereas in the year 1961 expenditure for military purpo-

ses in the world was about 120 billion dollars, ten years later, in 1971, this sum had reached about 200 billion dollars, and today is estimated to be above 300 billion dollars.

The bulk of this expenditure is by the two superpowers, which represent the main bastions of present-day reaction. In order to make a reality of their hegemonic and expansionist ambitions, Moscow and Washington are involved in a frantic arms race, have militarized their economy, have continuously built up and extended their war industry, maintain armies millions strong, and so on. At present, the USA is spending over 104,3 billion dollars per year for war purposes, the largest sum recorded in the 200 years of the history of this state, while the Soviet revisionists are spending more than 100 billion dollars for the same purpose. Obviously, these colossal sums allocated for military purposes have a ruinous effect on the finances of these countries, increasing the budgetary deficit. At the same time, they also expose the falsity and cynicism of the declaration by the heads of Moscow and Washington and their mouthpieces about «reducing tension», «disarmament», etc.

Besides the colossal military expenditures, a major role in the creation of the grave situation of inflation, is attributable to the expenditure for the maintenance of the inflated bureaucratic apparatus. The more capitalism decays, the greater becomes the number of persons divorced from the sphere of the production of material goods, who live by «coupon clipping» engaging in the services' sector and in the bureaucratic state apparatus. In order to form a clear idea about this, suffice it to mention that in the USA, the number of the bureaucratic administrative and police personnel has increased more than 2.5 times over as against 20 years ago. In the countries where the revisionist cliques are in power, also the bureaucratic state apparatus has been greatly inflated, enormously increasing the number of people engaged in non-productive services at the expense of the productive sphere. In the Soviet Union, for example, in 1974 the personnel engaged

in the non-productive sectors totalled 21.7 per cent of the active population of this country, as against 15.4 per cent in 1960. This growth of the bureaucratic state apparatus and of people engaged in non-productive services, has been accompanied with a great increase in the share of the national income that goes to pay them. And it can be taken for granted that they receive very fat salaries. From data published in the American press, it emerges that it costs over 100 billion dollars per cent just for the maintenance of the federal civil administration of the USA. On their part, in 1973 as against 1972, the Soviet revisionists increased their expenditure for the state administration by over 50 million roubles.

These colossal sums outlaid for military purposes and for the maintenance of the swollen bureaucratic apparatus have inevitably led to increased budgetary deficits. In order to cope with the colossal increases of budgetary deficits, the bourgeois state pursues the well-known policy of increasing taxes and levies. Today, in the capitalist and revisionist world, the increase of taxes and levies has assumed unprecedented proportions. In the USA local taxes alone increased by nearly 2.7 fold in 1975 in comparison with 1960, while in the Soviet Union direct taxes on the population were one billion rubles more in 1974 than one year earlier, and made up about 9 per cent of the income of the state budget.

However, despite the large amount of monetary means mobilized by the bourgeois and revisionist states through taxes and levies, they still cannot cope with the needs of the apparatus of violence and the bureaucracy. This is also linked with the fact that any further increase of taxes in the present conditions would lead to a further upsurge of revolts by the masses of working people and endanger the positions of the monopolies. Therefore, the capitalist and revisionist states, are enormously increasing the state indebtedness in order to cover their great needs for monetary means. And, since they cannot cover their large expenditure even in this way, these states

resort to the inflationary issuing of banknotes, the increase of «the concealed taxes» on the broad masses of working people.

Through the whole capitalist and revisionist world, high levels of inflation have been used, especially in the period since the 1960's.

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Inflation is an old phenomenon of the capitalist world, which some times has developed at different rates in groups of states or in the entire capitalist system, and at other times has flared up strongly. After the Second World War, this problem, typical of imperialism, began to develop more rapidly. The distinguishing feature of inflation today is that, as a constituent part of the economic-financial crisis, it has become bound up with, and interdependent on, all the other phenomena of the crisis, with all the chaos of capitalist production and reproduction. In this process of interdependence, the destructive action of inflation becomes deeper and deeper, so that today it has assumed worldwide proportions and is acting with an intensity and severity for which it is difficult to find a parallel.

In characterizing this process, comrade Enver Hoxha said on October 3 1974: «See what is happening in the world! A grave economic-financial crisis has swept all the capitalist countries. Inflation is wreaking havoc and has reached ominous proportions». Suffice it to mention that the rates of inflation in the period 1974-1975 were 3-5 times higher than the average rates over the whole period 1955-1972.

This quantitative change in the rates of inflation, together with the objective factors which have their source in the very nature of the bourgeois-revisionist order, in the combination of inflation with the powerful outburst of all the phenomena of the crisis of the capitalist-revisionist structure and super-structure, have led and are leading to that new phenomenon

of inflation of our days called galloping inflation, which has disorganized the whole process of capitalist reproduction, both within individual countries and within the framework of the entire capitalist revisionist world. It has deepened the disproportion in the development of the different branches of capitalist production, has disorganized trade and the monetary system, has an especially drastic effect on the sphere of credits, led to the sharpening of the antagonistic contradictions among the imperialist powers, and between the latter and the developing countries.

The causes of this old phenomenon of capitalism, which nowadays has assumed a new appearance and large proportions, must be sought both in the powerful action of the old factors of inflation, as well as in the action of new factors that the cyclical development of the economy of the capitalist and revisionist countries has brought to the fore in our days.

No small influence on the inflationary processes and on all the other phenomena of the crisis in the various capitalist countries is exerted by the cycle of the American economy, due to the involvement of the American capital in the economies of other capitalist countries, as a result of the allround economic, political and military expansion of the USA in various countries and regions of the world. In this context, the crisis of the US dollar is playing a special role in deepening the present day inflationary processes. Since the American dollar also serves as an international currency, its inflationary crisis has an influence on the development of inflation in the other countries as well as on the further sharpening of the contradictions in the world of capital. This is because the allies of the USA have no desire to pay for the difficulties of the American economy, while Washington is demanding this as «an obligation» of the other capitalist countries towards the USA.

Sharp contradictions have burst out within the revisionist clan, too. The satellite countries are restive about the arbitrary actions of the Soviet revisionists over the increase in the

prices of gas and oil with which the latter supply them. This, together with the systematic plunder Moscow exercises over them and the application of capitalist reforms in the management of the economy, have further increased the instability of the economy and finance of the East European countries, parallel with the growing political and ideological tensions in these countries.

The present crisis has also sharpened the contradiction between the metropolises and the former colonies to the extreme. When it comes to the question of relations with these countries, all the imperialist powers get together, «forget» contradictions between themselves and demand that the developing countries pay for the present inflationary phenomena and, in general, for the entire economic-financial crisis, sometime by presenting the countries producing primary materials as to blame for the situation and at other times by threatening them openly with the use of violence. The capitalist monopolies are trying to saddle the developing countries with the burden of inflation and all the other phenomena of the economic, financial and currency crisis, by continually deepening the differences in price between the primary materials they purchase and the industrial goods they sell, to their own advantage. In this context, they are stepping up their efforts to undermine the just struggle waged by the peoples of the developing countries in order to take complete possession of their national assets. However, the peoples of these countries are growing ever more aware that their own independent socio-economic development and the elimination of the plunder by foreign capitalist monopolies can be achieved only through determined struggle against the predatory imperialist oppressor powers, in the first place, against the two superpowers — the USA and the Soviet Union.

Like all the other phenomena of the crisis, inflation is a burden on the standard of living of the masses of working people, first of all, bringing about their further impoverishment and ruin. «All the capitalist and

revisionist states,» stressed comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the PLA, «try to saddle the masses of working people with the consequences of the crisis. And in fact, in order to keep their profits intact, the bourgeoisie, the monopolists and all exploiters everywhere, have stepped up the oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and the working people, reducing their means of livelihood and curtailing their rights» (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 163).

The putting of a large amount of money into circulation by the bourgeois-revisionist state, in order to cover its big expenditure for military purposes and for the decaying bureaucratic apparatus, is accompanied with massive price increases. It is a fact that inflation today has led to the rapid increase of prices right across the board, and especially for mass consumer goods. The figures on the increase in the cost of living are clear evidence of this. In November 1976 as against 1970, the rise in the cost of living was: in the USA about 1.5 times, in Britain 2.3 times, in the GFR 1.4 times, in France 1.7 times, etc. A similar situation prevails in the revisionist countries, also, and this shows that inflation is developing with great rapidity there, too. The consumer feels this inflation not only in the chronic scarcity of many articles in the market, and frequently even of traditional goods, but also in the increase of prices. Thus, in 1975 the level of prices for the main articles of mass consumption marked the following increase in comparison with the year 1968: in Hungary 17.7 per cent, in Poland 16.1 per cent, in Yugoslavia 29.4 per cent and so on. And these are only the declared increases of prices. In fact they are much higher.

In this situation of crisis, into which the capitalist-revisionist world has sunk, it now takes 2-3 times as much money to ensure the means of livelihood as it did ten years ago. The increase of unemployment is an added burden on the budget of the worker's family. As a result of inflation, this chronic disease of the capitalist mode of production has assumed still greater

proportions. The bankruptcy of factories and plants, which are becoming more frequent due to the failures of financial institutions, due to inflation, has further increased the number of unemployed, which today amounts to more than 100 million.

What the masses of working people lose, a handful of monopolists gain. Throughout this period, as a result of the increase of prices, the monopolies secure very high rates of profit and returns on their invested capital. Suffice it to mention that, according to data from the American press, in 1976 the profits of American corporations, increased by 28 per cent in comparison with the year 1975. Especially great are the profits of the war monopolies, many of which doubled their profits in 1975 as against the previous year.

Hence the increase of prices on the basis of inflation is one of the main ways for the monopolies to secure increased profits and returns on their invested capital. In these conditions, it becomes even clearer that inflation cannot be eliminated as long as the capitalist order exists. To preserve capitalist relations intact, to avoid infringing the profits of the monopolies, on the contrary, to increase them, and at the same time to pretend that inflation can be eliminated within the framework of capitalism, this is absurdity. «The efforts» which the monopoly bourgeoisie is allegedly making to eliminate inflation are only demagogy, to throw dust in the eyes of the masses of working people, frauds which the lackeys of the bourgeoisie propagate in order to confuse the minds of the working class and of the broad working masses.

The masses of working people have risen in fierce class struggle against the worsening of their situation by inflation. «The distinguishing feature of this struggle,» said comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the PLA, «is the broadened scope of the demands of the working people which are more and more going beyond the bounds of economic demands. The strikes, protests, and demonstrations of the working people in the United States of Ameri-

ca, Britain, France, the Soviet Union, Poland, Italy, Germany, Spain, etc, which often end up in bloody clashes with the bourgeoisie and its apparatus of oppression, are striking at the very foundations of the bourgeois and revisionist rule» (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 159). In these class confrontations and battles, the proletariat is steadily strengthening its political consciousness, strengthening its conviction that the escape from the yoke of capital can be achieved only with the revolution and through the revolution. This is precisely why the tendency for a section of the working class to break way from the undermining influence of social-democracy and the revisionists is becoming stronger and why the new Marxist-Leninist parties and their influence within the ranks of the working class are growing.

3.

The reality is that inflation, like all the other phenomena of the crisis in the capitalist order, has an objective character and stems from its very nature as an order of oppression and exploitation. Therefore, these phenomena cannot be done away with, or even limited, within the framework of this social order. The measures the bourgeoisie takes from time to time against inflation are only a means for the defence of its own interests, to saddle the masses of working people with the consequences of inflation.

To this end, the monopoly bourgeoisie and the capitalist financial oligarchy are continually bringing out different theories, intended precisely to justify this policy of theirs. What is most striking in the efforts of the monopoly and government circles of the capitalist and revisionist countries, as well as among their ideologists and apologists, is that they do not come out openly against inflation, but endeavour to cover up its class essence and seek to find «prescriptions» so that it will develop in a «controlled» man-

ner, that is, up to that level at which it does not harm the profits of the bourgeoisie in the slightest. Thus, the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists accept that it is possible to live with inflation.

The present-day bourgeois theoreticians, just like their predecessors, try to identify the essence of inflation with its appearance, passing over in silence precisely what is fundamental and stems from the very nature and content of the capitalist social order which is based on private ownership of the means of production. One of the variants of the bourgeois theories on inflation is that of the identification of inflation with the increase of prices. Thus, among other things, some bourgeois ideologists raise the problem that inflation is an indication of the rise of the general price level, both in the cases when it develops at slow rates and in the cases when it develops rampantly, as is occurring concretely at present. Thus, they identify inflation with only one of its features, with the increase of prices.

However, Marxism-Leninism teaches us that we have inflationary price rises only when these are caused by the existence of excess banknotes in the channels of monetary circulation. If there is an increase of prices as a result of a reduction of the value of gold or of demand exceeding supply in the period of booming capitalist production, this increase of prices has no connection whatsoever with inflation. The effort to identify every increase of prices with inflation is done deliberately in order to show that, in the cyclical development of capitalist production, the transition from the phase of boom to the phase of the crisis is allegedly a consequence of the anomaly of monetary circulation. The aim here is to negate the objective laws of this process and to cover up the antagonistic contradictions of the capitalist mode of production.

The anti-scientific character of the bourgeois and revisionist theories is evident also in their definition of the causes of inflation. According to the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists,

the main cause of inflation must be sought in the increase of the workers' wages. This «theory» known under the name of the «wage-price inflation spiral» is intended to prove that allegedly raising the wages of labour leads inevitably to increased prices for goods, and that this process is repeated over and over again, leading to the «inflationary spiral».

The aim of his pseudo-theory is to damp down the just struggle of the proletariat and the other masses of working people in the capitalist and revisionist countries for higher wages in the conditions when they are being unscrupulously plundered by the monopolies. This pseudo-theory has its beginnings in the «theory of factors», which Marx smashed with precise scientific arguments a century ago. The supporters and propagators of this theory begin from the erroneous premise that the wages of labour, as one of the elements of costs, determines the level of commodity prices. Marx proved that such a thing is untrue, because the value of goods is determined by the socially necessary time required for their production, and not by the costs of production, which means that when the other conditions remain unchanged, alteration of the wages of labour leads to alteration in the profits of the capitalists, but never to changes in value, hence of price. Karl Marx emphasizes: «... the setting apart of this newly created value and its dispersal in the various forms of income: wages, profit and rent, does not in any way alter the limits of the value itself, of the sum of value which is divided among these various categories; just as a change of the ratio between these separate parts cannot change their sum, of this given amount of value. The number 100 remains the same, whether it is divided into 50+50 or into 20+70+10 or into 40+30+30» (Karl Marx, «Capital», vol. III, book 3, p. 323).

Hence, the «theory» of «the wage-price inflationary spiral» cannot prove theoretically that the increase of the wages of labour leads to inflation. In fact, it inverts the cause and effect relationships which exist in the real economic phenomena of capitalist so-

ciety. It is the inflationary increase of prices, which, in fact, causes the revolt of the masses of working people and their demands for increased wages, and not the reverse. Practice is the best proof of this. In all cases, the increase of prices occurs before and in very much greater proportions than the small wage increases, which the bourgeoisie is forced to concede due to the rising pressure of the proletariat. In fanning this reactionary pseudo-theory, the aim of the bourgeois and revisionist apologists of capital is to justify the worsening of the standard of living of the masses of working people through the implementation of the now notorious «wage freeze» policy, under the pretext of the fight against inflation.

The apologists of the bourgeoisie, in their efforts to cover up the real causes of inflation, have created other theories, too, for example Keynes' «prescription», according to which, in order to get out of the economic crises and to eliminate unemployment it is essential to make state investments, which will increase the demand for labour power, and that this can be achieved by means of monetary circulation, by putting more banknotes into circulation, hence of inflation. This theory has become widespread especially in the last 10-15 years. Thus, the British economist, A. Phillips, poses the question more or less like this: either inflation and a relatively good employment of the labour power, or unemployment and stability of prices.

It is not difficult to understand that in this case we have to do with a variant of the pseudo-theory of the «wage-price inflationary spiral», the aim of which is to sanction the profits of the monopolies, to cover up the essence of inflation and present the working masses, who suffer so much from inflation, as to blame for it. The existence and the increase of unemployment are determined, as Lenin emphasized, by the fact that capitalist production «... could not exist if there were no surplus population (that is, population in excess of the average demand of capitalism for workers), ready at any time to supply workers

for any branch of industry or enterprise» (V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. II, pp. 195-196). The number unemployed does not depend on the level of inflation but, as Marx has pointed out, on the «absolute magnitude of the proletariat and the productive capacity of its labour» (K. Marx, «Capital» vol. I, book 3, pp. 115-116). In fact, inflation is the product of the decay of capitalism, of its increasing aggressiveness and parasitism. To seek to make causal connections between inflation and unemployment, wages and prices, as the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists do, means to distort the objective reality groundlessly, to present it upsidedown. The reality shows that even in the conditions of galloping inflation, unemployment, far from being reduced, has now reached its highest level since the Second World War.

Amongst the endless number of bourgeois pseudo-theories and trends on inflation there is also that «about collective conventions of wages». The supporters of this «theory» present the bourgeoisie as allegedly suffering losses from inflation and blame this chronic disease of the capitalist mode of production on the working class and the masses of working people, thus making further efforts to split them. According to this pseudo-theory, the cause of inflation is that the workers of some branches exploit all the possibilities of the market in order to secure the largest share of the income! The character of this pseudo-theory as an apology for capitalism is quite obvious. In fact, it is the capitalists who gain, while the working class suffers more, in periods of rampant inflation. Therefore the efforts of the bourgeoisie to divide the proletariat, by dishing up such pseudo-theories, cannot succeed. The powerful development of the struggle of the proletariat and of the masses of working people in recent times, shows that this struggle is more and more breaking free from the alien influences which hinder it in the realization of its aims.

The restoration of capitalism in the former socialist countries, the action of the objective economic laws of capi-

talism in the economies of these countries, accounts for the fact that, in the field of economic theory, too, the modern revisionists are dishing up and defending bourgeois theses, notwithstanding that sometimes they try to garb them with Marxist attire and at other times put themselves in the role of «critics» of capitalism, but even this is done only for purposes of demagoguery.

In their efforts to divert the attention of the masses of working people from the fact that the inflation, which is afflicting the whole Soviet economy, has its source in the military spending by the new czars of the Kremlin, the revisionist ideologists, in dealing with the causes of inflation, deny the fact that the main cause should be sought in the growth of military expenditure. According to them, it is the technical-scientific revolution, the influences of which appear only at first sight to be in the form of military expenditure, which allegedly is playing the role of «first fiddle» in the inflationary process today. This is downright absurdity, which practice refutes with many concrete facts.

In the course of their transformation into apologists for capital, Soviet revisionists have reached the point that they present and defend the standpoint that the causes of the present-day inflation in the capitalist world must be sought, allegedly, in the increase of prices for raw materials and energy. By linking the causes of the present inflation «with the dynamics of costs» and considering this index only in the metropolises, they show that they have departed completely from materialist dialectics. If we accept that there is an increase of the value of the material elements of costs of production, then, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist theory, this rise of prices, consequent on the increase of value, is not an inflationary factor. However in the concrete case, we have to do not with increase of the value of raw materials, but with the legitimate measures of the peoples of these countries which produce these materials, to reduce to some degree the plunder by the metropolises. Thus,

this is a case only of the redistribution of profits among the metropolises and the producers of raw materials. And, since the metropolises do not agree to their profits being affected, they resort to their well-known method of raising prices, so that what they used to grab through buying raw materials at very low prices, they now make up through selling goods at very high prices at home and abroad. Moreover, at this juncture, the Soviet revisionist themselves seized the opportunity to raise the prices of the primary materials they sell to the vassal countries of Eastern Europe, in order to secure high profits.

In their role as champions of the bourgeoisie, the Soviet revisionists have gone so far as to adopt the bourgeois theory of «the factors of production», thus presenting the working masses as the culprits for the present-day inflation. For instance, after raising the thesis that the causes of the present inflation must be sought in the «dynamics of production costs» they stress that «the increase of the nominal wages of labour exceeds the increase of prices», therefore the inflation is acceptable. Thus, it can be seen that, according to them, in the conditions of capitalism, not only does the law of the relative and absolute impoverishment of the proletariat no longer operate, but the proletariat is «to blame» for the inflation, this chronic disease of the capitalist mode of production. This is the clearest demonstration of the bourgeois class stand of the Soviet revisionists, of their defence of the interests of monopoly capital.

The efforts of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists to cover up the true causes and the essence of inflation, as well as the efforts of the bourgeoisie itself to extricate capitalist production from the crisis by means of monetary mechanism, have failed and will continue to fail. The only way to escape from the economic-financial crisis, which result from the antagonistic contradictions of the capitalist mode of production, is through revolutionary overthrow of this socio-economic system.

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EVER STRONGER CRISIS AND SHOCKS IN THE CAPITALIST CURRENCY SYSTEM

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

The distinctive feature of the situation of the capitalist-revisionist world today is not just the cyclical outbreaks of economic crisis of over-production, but also the simultaneous interaction of different kinds of crises, one of which is the currency crisis.

The capitalist monetary system has now suffered such severe disturbances that there is nothing left of the observation of the former regulations dictated by the USA to the other partners in the agreement of the year 1944 at Bretton Woods. The so-called official price of gold has not been observed for many years now, even in the transactions among central banks of the capitalist countries. Instead of the «organized» rules that were applied previously in currency exchanges, now they have been left completely to the «mercy» of the market, to supply and demand for this or that currency so that the various capitalist-revisionist countries and firms can meet their international payments. Even the International Monetary Fund is left powerless in the field of currency control except that of observing with concern the consequences of the blows that the spontaneous development of this

monetary system is delivering. The effects of inflation, the unequal economic and political development of the different capitalist-revisionist countries, and so on, make the monetary crisis appear sometimes to be «dying down» and at other times to assume deeper and broader proportions.

In spite of the demagogy about the «normal» development of the economy of the revisionist countries, the Soviet Union and the vassal countries of Eastern Europe, the facts show that their capitalist economy too is firmly in the grip of this crisis. The deficits in trade balances of these countries which have been steadily increasing, especially since 1974, are phenomena of the crisis, as are the increases in prices, unemployment, and taxes, the increase of debts to western monopolies, etc. The deficit of balance of trade of the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries of Eastern Europe with the western countries, from 4 billion 100 million dollars in 1973, reached 11 billion dollars in 1975, and became even more pronounced in the period 1976-1977. The economic institutions of the revisionist countries are increasingly en-

countering the problems of international dependence and spontaneous currency fluctuations. With the increased trade deficits of the revisionist countries, their debts to the capitalist countries have also increased. Now, in the GDR the average debt per head of population is calculated to be 230 dollars, in Bulgaria 180 dollars, in Poland over 175 dollars, in Hungary over 170 dollars, and so on. According to estimates made by the banks of the capitalist countries, the available gold and convertible currency reserves of the revisionist countries are quite insufficient to balance these debts, therefore they are encountering ever greater difficulties in paying off the instalments of the credits which they have received from the USA and the countries of Western Europe.

Besides the factors of the unequal development of the capitalist and revisionist countries, the deepening of the present crisis of the capitalist monetary system which is once again hitting hard at the American dollar, is due, fundamentally, to the deficit in the balance of trade and payments.

The evolution of the foreign trade of the USA during

the last ten years indicates that its economic might is declining in relation to the world market. In 1976, American foreign trade exchanges dropped to 11.3 per cent of world trade as against 13.6 per cent in 1967. In 1971, the USA had a deficit in its trade balance for the first time. This increased in 1972, reaching the figure of 6 billion 400 million dollars. The two devaluations that the dollar suffered during 1971-1973 did not bring about the improvements expected in the balance of US foreign trade. In 1976, the deficit in the US foreign trade balance amounted to 5 billion 900 million dollars, and according to preliminary figures from the western press, last year this deficit increased to about 28 billion dollars, especially in exchanges with oil exporting countries, Japan, and others.

The fall of the value of the dollar has disturbed the whole monetary system of

the capitalist world based on the American currency, and has further deepened the general crisis from which the capitalist system is suffering. It has inflicted various losses on the capitalist countries with large reserves of this devalued currency, and this has caused great concern among them. The situation is such that some of these countries have been forced to propose plans to divest the American dollar of its role as the basic currency of the capitalist international monetary system. In the wake of the sharpening of interimperialist contradictions with the countries of the European Common Market, especially the Federal German Republic, which has openly complained about the drain on its currency reserves in defence of the American dollar in the monetary markets, the Carter administration was forced to take some measures in the first days of January

1978, to reduce the decline in the purchasing power of this currency in the monetary markets by «releasing», as the Americans put it, 25 billion dollars in foreign currency. But these are only some ineffective «injections». Such intervention by Central Bank of the USA is more for psychological aims, especially to «pacify» the countries of the OPEC, some of which, at the meeting in Caracas last December, demanded a considerable increase of oil prices to compensate for the great decline in the purchasing power of the American dollar, with which these countries carry out their transactions. The monetary crisis, however, has its roots in the capitalist and revisionist socio-economic system itself and therefore, cannot be solved with the «good» will of the Carter administration or other leaders of the capitalist and revisionist world.

FURTHER ARMING OF THE WEST GERMAN BUNDESWEHR

«LUFTEWART» — *Organ of the Ministry of People's Defence*

The revanchists of Bonn are rapidly increasing their military expenditure. In the Federal budget of West Germany, the war budget for this year marked an increase of 18.8 per cent. Bearing in

mind the fact that last year it reached a total of about 36 million marks, it can be seen clearly how great is the increase of military expenditure for this year. In the various reports of the

German and foreign bourgeois press it is admitted that these colossal sums will be spent mainly to increase the production of tanks, fighter aircraft, and various warships. The West German revanchists

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are also making other colossal military expenditure which is not reported at all or is hidden under various labels. If these other tens of billions of marks, which go precisely for war purposes, are counted, too, then it turns out that the real military expenditure of West Germany is in excess of the colossal sum of 54 billion marks.

The continuous arming of the Bundeswehr has gone hand in hand with the rapid militarization of the capitalist economy of West Germany. Local military production is growing with great rapidity. All branches of the economy of this country, in one way or another, are connected with ensuring supplies, various means, arms and other equipment for the military machine.

The 22 largest West German monopolies, among which «Krupp Thyssen», «Flick», «Siemens», «Bayer», «Blohm», «Messerschmitt», and so on, have received numerous orders for the production of various military material for the Bundeswehr, the value of which amounts to more than 100 billion marks. The Messerschmitt-Belko-Blohm concern has received an order for the production of 322 «Tornado» jet fighter-bomber aircraft as well as 212 military helicopters of the «Vo-105» type, equipped with «HOT», antitank missiles. This same concern will also supply the West German army with various types of

missiles, such as «Milan», etc. The other West German military monopoly «Dornier» has begun the production of a new type of fighter aircraft, the «Alpha-jet», and will supply the Bundeswehr with 175 fighters of this type, according to a definite program. According to the West German bourgeois press, the production of these aircraft alone will cost the West German tax-payers not less than 19 billion marks. At the same time, another broad program of the Bundeswehr is under way for the production of new «Leopard-2», tanks with which it will be equipped during the next two years. Under this program, 1,800 such tanks (one such tank costs 2.5 millions marks) as well as 50,000 armoured vehicles of the most varied kinds will be produced. Similarly, 40 different weapons systems and 115 other projects in the field of armament are being elaborated at the present time.

In their unrestrained arming, the revanchists of Bonn have the support of the US imperialists, who are sparing nothing to supply them with the most modern military materials. Repeated agreements have been concluded about equipping the Bundeswehr with new American-made armaments. Meanwhile, a clear expression of the West German revanchists' appetite for expansion is the first-rate role they are seeking to play in the aggressive NATO pact,

which, as is known, is an instrument in the hands of US imperialism for the realization of its hegemonic policy, in rivalry with Soviet socialimperialism. It is now well-known that the Bundeswehr is the backbone of NATO if only for the fact that 60 per cent of the military forces in this aggressive pact are West German.

By ceaselessly increasing its military expenditure, by further militarizing the economy, by putting it completely on a war footing, West German imperialism has become a powerful support for reactionary and dictatorial regimes of the fascist type. In the context of this counter-revolutionary collaboration, Bonn is supplying these regimes with various military materials, thus developing a great trade in arms. Various West German military firms such as «Krupp», «Blohm und Voss», «AEG», «Reinflogzobau», and others like these, have concluded numerous agreements with the racist regime of South Africa to supply it with the most modern weapons. This revanchist-racist collaboration has also been extended to the training of South African military experts in special schools in West Germany. On the other hand, the West German revanchists are among the chief suppliers of arms for the racist regime of Rhodesia, the dictatorial and fascist regimes on the Latin American continent,

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etc. Their collaboration with the dictatorial regime of Brazil in the field of the development of nuclear energy is notorious. This arms trade is to the advantage of West German monopolies, which are making large profits from it. Just one simple fact is complete proof of this: the profits made by the military monopolies of West Germany are 3.5 times greater than the average income of other firms which are not engaged in military production.

This tense atmosphere of

feverish militarization of West German imperialism is made even more complete with the growth of fascism in the life of West Germany. Today, in the Federal German Republic, old and new nazis are organizing themselves into various groups and parties, which not only have the support of the bourgeoisie but also enjoy their direct financial aid. The fascist organizations are developing their activities openly and their calls for «a great Germany» are the expression of the appetite of the revan-

chist monopoly circles for this crazy dream. West German revanchism constitutes a real danger to the freedom and independence of the peoples of Europe and the whole world, therefore, the task emerges for all the freedom-loving peoples that, parallel with the exposure of the two superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, they must enhance their vigilance and also expose West German revanchism, and its unbridled ambitions for expansion.

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THE GAME OF «EUROPEAN SECURITY» AND THE UNALTERED AGGRESSIVE AND HEGEMONIC AIMS OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS

«BASHKIMI» — *Central organ of the Democratic Front of Albania*

After an adjournment of several weeks, the Belgrade Conference on so-called European security resumed its proceedings in January. As on other such occasions the imperialist-revisionist propaganda and the various venal journalists in its service, utilized the proceedings of this conference to raise a great ado about the «beneficial changes that have taken place in Europe» as a result of the Helsinki Conference, changes that Belgrade Conference is to make even more lasting.

Of course, it is only the

imperialists and socialimperialists who can see what this effect is and what this «European security» they are eulogising so lavishly consists of, because as for the peoples, they are becoming ever more disillusioned at the results of these pantomime conferences, in which the two superpowers are the main actors. It is an indisputable fact that since the signing of the final act in Helsinki, that is, two and a half years ago, up till today, the tension in Europe has not been reduced and peace has not become more secure as they promised

and are still claiming but, on the contrary, the dangers have increased, and the threats to the freedom and independence of the European peoples have become greater due to the intensification of the expansionist and hegemonic policy of the two superpowers. The concrete expression of this can be seen in the continual increases in the war budgets of Washington and Moscow, the reinforcement of their troops and military bases in Europe, the intensification of manoeuvres by the aggressive blocs NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, which are

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manipulated by them, the increase in the incursions of their naval fleets in the Mediterranean, the North Sea, etc. Last year, the USA, the Soviet Union and their «allies» in NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, spent over 300 billion dollars to arm themselves and to strengthen their war machines further. At the meeting of the NATO council, which was held last December in Brussels, concrete decisions were taken on another 3 per cent increase of military expenditure by the member countries.

At the beginning of this year, figures on the new military budgets of these two countries were published both in Moscow and in Washington. It is forecast that, in the next financial year, the military expenditure of the USA

will be nearly 130 billion dollars, an increase of 10 billion dollars as against the current budget. The Soviet socialimperialists will spend an equally colossal sum this year for military purposes, too.

In the face of such a situation, it is becoming ever more clear to the peoples of Europe and the whole world that the aim of such conferences as that of Belgrade, or the other negotiations which are conducted by the American imperialists and the Soviet socialimperialists, and the ado raised at them about «peace», «security» and «disarmament», is not peace, but the blunting of the vigilance of the peoples to make it easier for the imperialist superpowers to lay down the law in Europe and elsewhere.

Europe can never be secure when the freedom and independence of the peoples of whole regions round about it are increasingly in jeopardy, when the situation in the Middle East is fraught with dangers, when the two superpowers have created new hotbeds of war in Africa and elsewhere, and so on. In these conditions, it is becoming ever clearer to the peoples of Europe and the whole world that the way to defend their freedom and independence, the way to peace and genuine European and international security, is that of resolute opposition to the hegemonic and enslaving policies of US imperialism and Soviet socialimperialism, in order to foil all their manoeuvres and efforts to achieve world domination.

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THE STRUGGLE OF THE NICARAGUAN PEOPLE IS INVINCIBLE

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

For several days our press has been publishing news and information about the fierce and heroic struggle that the Nicaraguan working people are waging against the terror and oppression by the dictatorial regime of Somosa. The fascist police and the special presidential guard have resorted to the force of arms

in order to prevent the strikers and demonstrators from expressing their anger and demanding the overthrow of the dictatorial state power. Tens of people have been killed or wounded. In Managua and other cities of the country, hundreds of people have been arrested and hundreds of others have been

beaten and tortured. A state of emergency has been declared in the country. Tanks are patrolling the streets. Nevertheless, nothing has been able to halt the anger of the masses of the people. On the contrary, the patriotic forces all over the country have undertaken courageous actions against the police and

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army forces of the dictatorial regime.

A similar situation exists in almost all the other countries of Latin America where dictatorial military fascist regimes are in power as in Ecuador, Bolivia, Brasil, Chile, Uruguay, etc. Everywhere in these countries, the masses of workers and peasants, often together with their families, have taken part in strikes or protest demonstrations against the arbitrary violence and injustice of the bloodthirsty regimes in power, against their barbarous exploitation by the insatiable, bloodsucking owning class. The proletarians, the working masses of Latin America and the whole world, cannot forget the abominable crime committed a few months ago by the fascist killers of Ecuador when in cold blood, they murdered 120 workers from among the 1,500 workers and peasants who had occupied the «Aztra» sugar refinery as a protest against the monopoly owners in order to defend their right to work and wages.

The struggle and blood of the «Aztra» workers and those of Nicaragua and the current struggle and clashes of the working masses of Ecuador, are part and parcel of the gigantic struggle the world proletariat is waging in order to win and to defend its right to work, to life, to remuneration, its right to democratic freedoms. In the other countries where the ca-

pitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie is ruling, their brothers have been killed just as barbarously at the gates of factories, plants and combines of the capitalists simply because they have demanded respect for their rights, often those which have been «sanctioned» in contracts and expressed in the «constitutions» of the respective countries. Others, more and more of them each day, are being thrown mercilessly out on the streets by the voracious capitalist owners, under the pretext of the temporary closing of enterprises or «bankruptcy». The owners are not in the least concerned about how these hundreds and thousands of workers, who are thrown out on the street, and their families, are going to keep body and soul together. This is one of the atrocious crimes that the bourgeoisie has perpetrated for centuries and is still perpetrating today against the proletariat, against the working people of town and countryside, in order to protect its profits, in order to continue to suck the blood and exploit the sweat of the common people. In his time, Karl Marx pointed out that the bourgeoisie is characterized, among other things, by its furious savagery against the proletariat whenever it dares to rise as a class in itself, with its own interests and demands, against the bourgeoisie.

And still today, in the ca-

pitalist countries, the barbarous oppression and persecution of the proletariat, the shooting down of strikers and of the masses who protest in defence of their own rights, are an expression of the unaltered anti-popular, anti-national, and anti-human nature of the same bourgeoisie, of a handful of executioners who remain in power thanks to the allround political, economic and military aid of international imperialism, in the first place of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, of world reaction fascists and neo-fascists.

Like the reactionary bourgeoisie of Ecuador or Iran, Bolivia or Poland, Indonesia or Britain, the reactionary bourgeoisie of Nicaragua is no exception to the characterization which Marx made of the bourgeoisie in general. In Nicaragua and in any other capitalist country today, the picture is the same: for the proletariat, for the masses of working people, there is only unemployment, starvation, injustice of every kind, imprisonment and even fascist murder, whereas for the ruling capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie, for the financial oligarchy, for the monopolists, the feudal owners, the fascist generals, for the representatives of the national and international automobile, sugar, and oil monopolies, of the fruit, coffee, and rubber plantation owners, for the owners of the copper.

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diamond, and uranium, mines, and so on, there are profits and superprofits, billions upon billions of dollars, stained with the sweat and blood of the workers.

However, the proletariat, the grave-digger of the world

of capital, the revolutionary masses of working people, are invincible. Led by their genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, they will triumph over the violence, oppression and exploitation, over fascism and the military dictatorships. This

is bound to happen in Nicaragua also.

Neither the police terror, the savage violence, nor the use of weapons by the dictatorial regime of Somosa, can conquer the valiant people of Nicaragua.

FURTHER RUINATION OF THE COUNTRYSIDE

«BASHKIMI»

The grave crisis that has beset the entire capitalist and revisionist world, has deeply affected the agriculture of these countries. In the revisionist countries this crisis is reflected in the decline in agricultural and livestock production, in an ever growing number of rural population leaving the countryside, in the continual reduction of investments in this sector, and so on. All these factors have brought the capitalist agriculture of these countries to a state of stagnation, to an impasse. The countryside and the agriculture of the revisionist countries are encountering ever increasing difficulties, which have resulted among other things, in the continuous impoverishment of the peasantry and of agricultural workers, leading to their ruin.

The decline of the agricultural and livestock production is one of the distinctive fea-

tures of the crisis. It has swept all the revisionist countries, such as the Soviet Union, Poland, East Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria. For example, in the Soviet Union, in 1977, the sharp fall in grain production was 18.8 million tons below the expected figure, creating serious shortages. The revisionist press in Hungary, admitting the numerous failures of the capitalist agriculture in that country, gives figures that speak clearly of a major decline in agricultural production. The production of grain, especially of maize, last year was lower than that of the year 1976. A drop is recorded also in sugar-beet, oil producing crops, etc. Still more pronounced is the fall of production in Poland. The chief of the Polish revisionists, Gierek himself, is obliged to admit this grave situation. In a recent speech, while speaking of the grave situa-

tion of the entire Polish economy, he also dwelt on the failures in agriculture, in which production has fallen by 3.5 per cent. Production has declined in Poland in potatoes, which are one of the staple food-stuffs. Gierek himself openly admitted: «Up till now it has been impossible to eliminate the difficulties of the market and the many shortages of agricultural products». In East Germany, last year, the production of grain crops and fodder for livestock was lower than at any other period of its existence. Production of livestock products, too, such as meat, milk, butter, and so on, has declined. For instance, as the East German magazine «Statistische Praxis» reports, in the Spring of 1977, beef production fell by 10 per cent, while that of milk 6,3 per cent, as against the same period of 1976.

The departure of an ever

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growing number of peasants from the countryside, and the large areas of land left uncultivated, and so on are symptoms of the grave crisis which has the agriculture and livestock raising of the revisionist countries in its grip. The Hungarian revisionist news agency, MTI, has reported recently that the areas of land sown to bread grain last year was four per cent smaller than had been envisaged. The area of land sown to maize was reduced to 120 thousands hectares, while that sown to oil producing crops in 1977 was over 2 per cent smaller than in 1976. A similar situation prevails in the agriculture of the Soviet Union, Poland, East Germany, etc. This has a

large influence on the decline in agricultural and livestock production, is remorselessly deepening the ruin of agriculture in these countries and making the prospects for it even more gloomy.

The ruling classes in the revisionist countries are enforcing ever more stringent measures in order to saddle the working masses with the consequences of this situation. The most varied ways and means are being used to this end. One of them is to increase prices. The increase of prices for such products has led to the enrichment of the bourgeois classes, the kulaks and the speculators, who are ruthlessly exploiting the broad masses of working people of town and country, and im-

poverishing them more and more.

The crisis which has swept the agriculture of the revisionist countries is part of the crisis which has the entire economy of these countries in its grip, part of the crisis into which the whole capitalist world has sunk. It has its roots deep in the political system which prevails in these countries, in the abandonment of the countryside and its collectivization by the revisionist cliques, thus, leaving the field free for the capitalist mode of production in the countryside, too. According to the revisionist press itself, in the capitalist Soviet Union, 28 per cent of the total agricultural production comes from private owners.

A WEAPON OF AMERICAN IMPERIALIST ESPIONAGE

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

Nearly twenty years have passed since the American administration of president Kennedy created the so-called «Peace Corps». Life proved eventually that although all kinds of labels about «peace», «charity», «development», were attached to the «Peace Corps», it was nothing but a government organization created, in fact, by the State Department of the United States of America and the Central Intelligence Agency.

It is simply a weapon in the arsenal of American Imperialism in order to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, to carry out espionage and sabotage to the detriment of the interests of the peoples of the countries in which it operates.

In the mid 60's, volunteers of the so-called «Peace Corps», who, according to the American propaganda were supposed to spread the «development, understanding

and human values», reached their highest level, amounting to 80,000 people in scores of different countries of the world. These «volunteers» were to be found in all fields of the life of these countries, where under the guise of nurses, doctors, professors of various subjects, technicians and agronomists, teachers of foreign languages, physical culture and sports, experts in science and technique, people competent in trade and

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business, these agents of the American intelligence service engaged in undermining and espionage activity. By means of economic and political pressure, the American government tried to secure diplomatic status and other privileges for the «Peace Corps», in order to set it above the law in the countries in which its agents were established. With the passage of time, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, where the activities of the «Peace Corps» were mostly concentrated, raised their voices in protest against such espionage activity. In these conditions, for a time there was a decline in the number of members of the «Peace Corps» active in other countries, but this does not mean that American imperialism reduced or ceased its espionage activity, and ideological and military aggression.

Other previously existing instruments, such as AID (Assistance for International Development), the Import-Export Bank, the «Food for Peace Program», «the Alliance for Development», the Diplomatic Corps, the many journalists, who act in the service of the American C.I.A., the various missionaries of religion dispersed all round the world, undertook to do what the «Peace Corps» was unable to achieve, because it had become discredited in the eyes of the people. Now, a good many years later, the Carter administration has

undertaken a new offensive for the revival of this notorious «corps». The Carter government intends to add up to 5,000 new members a year to the existing structure of the «Peace Corps» which at present amounts to 6,000 agents deployed in 62 countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Such an increase will also lead to increased expenditure for this weapon of U.S. imperialism's secret service. Now the Carter administration has put more than 80 million dollars at the disposal of the «Peace Corps», funds extracted by the exploitation of the broad masses of the American people.

The activity of the «Peace Corps» is not limited to outside the USA only. Inside the country, the so-called «Corpsmen» have proved themselves to be assiduous lackeys of the American government. They hold important posts in the Federal administration. The majority of those who are considered as «pensioned off», that is, agents who had been exposed abroad, are active inside the USA and are occupying leading posts in various institutions which deal with «international Development AID», in the institutes of Afro-American studies and in the institutes which deal with Latin America. Apart from those «volunteers» who are still involved in espionage in the service of the CIA, disguised as members of the «Peace

Corps» and those who are being trained for posting abroad in the future, the American government also maintains a reserve ready for any eventuality, to be used in those zones in which the predatory interests of American imperialism may be endangered, regardless of whether they are sent as spying journalists, as «members» of the «Peace Corps», as «diplomats», as contingents of the «green berets», etc. The American magazine, «US News and World Report», admits that in Los Angeles the government of the USA is keeping 900 former members of the «Peace Corps» ready to go into service in any emergency situation; which, of course means the organization of coups d'état, political disturbances, espionage, etc. But besides these, there are a further 4,000 former «Peace Corps» agents in the region of Washington, who belong to this reserve and who are now employed in the Federal administration of the USA. The chief of Staff on the White House, Craft, the assistant attorney-general of the USA, Baker, and the director of the «Immigration and Naturalization Services» unit, started their careers as active members of the «Peace Corps» and have carried out tasks in the service of the USA in many countries of the world. Two former corpsmen have been elected to the House of the Representatives of the American Congress.

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But this is not all. According to the magazine «US News and World Report», there are about 90 corpsmen working in the commissions of the American Congress and in posts where they can influence legislation.

The notorious activity of the «Peace Corps» inside and outside the country, is closely linked with the aggressive policy which American im-

perialism is pursuing. While the «Peace Corps» is busily engaged in its undermining activities in scores of countries of the world, the aggressive naval fleets are porting around these countries, and pressure is being exerted for the establishment of military bases, and extension and modernization of the existing ones.

Along with the «Peace

Corps» goes exploitation and plunder by American monopoly capital, interference in internal affairs and sabotage. All this complex activity of American imperialism, in its rivalry with Soviet socialimperialism, demonstrates once again, that the general line of these enemies of the peoples is military aggression, political and economic expansion and ideological aggression.

■

DETERMINED TO ERADICATE RACISM FROM THE AFRICAN CONTINENT

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The savage racist rule and the neo-colonialist interests of the imperialist powers are incompatible with the aspirations of the African peoples. For centuries on end it has been the aspiration of these peoples to eradicate racism, and old and new colonialism, to live in genuine freedom and independence. In South Africa and Rhodesia, as well as in Namibia, which is illegally occupied by the South African racists, the armed struggle of the oppressed peoples of Azania, Zimbabwe, and Namibia has been going on for many years. At the present time, this struggle has swept extensive regions of Azania, Zimbabwe, and Namibia, in which many units of patriots,

acting with the support of the people, are launching ceaseless attacks on military and police posts, army barracks and other objects of the racist South African and Rhodesian troops, killing and wounding hundreds of soldiers and capturing arms and other war materiel. A communique of the patriotic forces of Zimbabwe, issued in the beginning of this January, reported a big armed operation of the patriots of Zimbabwe, which was carried out at the end of last December, against a large military air base of the Rhodesian troops in Grand Reef near Umtali, as the result of which the enemy suffered considerable casualties and losses. Recently armed attacks of this kind

have been undertaken by the patriotic forces in other regions of Zimbabwe, Azania, and Namibia. The development of events shows that the freedom-loving peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia, and Azania have raised their patriotic consciousness and have intensified their actions, going over to broad frontal attacks against the racist forces in almost all the regions of South Africa and Rhodesia.

The armed struggle of the oppressed peoples of Africa has shaken the South African and Rhodesian regimes and has upset their patrons, the imperialist powers. In order to quell the flames of this war, top American and British officials have been engaged recently in successive

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trips to South Africa and Rhodesia, and in meetings and talks with the racist heads of the reactionary regimes of these countries. Meetings and conferences for the «political settlement» of the problems of South Africa have been organized, at which the representatives of the imperialist powers, including Young, Owen, and others, have concocted all sorts of manoeuvres against liberation movements in Southern Africa. It is in this context that «the initiatives» and «proposals» of the imperialist-racist alliance, allegedly for the political solution of the problems of South Africa, under the label of «the handing over of power to the black majority», must be seen. These plans are nothing but attempts to perpetuate the detested racist domination and to legitimize the presence of the imperialist powers in this region of the world.

In their efforts for neo-colonialist expansion in the southern regions of Africa, the Soviet socialimperialists, who, as is known, are in fierce rivalry with the US imperialists for every region of the world which seems to them to present some economic and strategic importance, are far from inactive either. Under false slogans of «support for the peoples of Southern Africa»; in fact, the chiefs of Kremlin are trying to take control of the liberation movements of the peoples of this zone, in order to realize their hegemonic ambitions.

However, the aggressive and predatory nature of the imperialist powers and, in the first place, of the two superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, is becoming more and more clear to the oppressed peoples of Africa, who have tested the worth of the «interest and concern» of these enemies of their

freedom and independence on their own backs. The intervention of the imperialist powers in the internal affairs of various African countries has always been accompanied with grave consequences. This is borne out by the current events in the south, east and north of Africa, just as in the other regions of the world, in which the direct or indirect interference of the two superpowers and of their hangers-on has provoked various conflicts, which have cost the peoples many victims. Life is more and more teaching the African peoples that the fate of the freedom and independence of their countries lies in their own hands. They themselves, through their determined liberation struggle, will break the racist and neo-colonialist shackles, and attain their age-old aspirations to live in genuine freedom and independence.

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