

# Albania today

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On January 11 the Albanian people celebrated the 35th anniversary of the proclamation of Albania People's Republic. The proclamation of the People's Republic of Albania (today the People's Socialist Republic of Albania) on January 11, 1946 was the greatest event for the Albanian people after the liberation of the country from the fascist occupiers on November 1944. It made a reality of one of the boldest dreams of every honest Albanian since the proclamation of the country's independence on November 28, 1912. In his painting «THE PROCLAMATION OF THE REPUBLIC», Fatmir Haxhiu a well-known Albanian painter, represents the enthusiasm of the population of Tirana on this great event



*Participation in the major labour actions for the construction of the big projects of socialism is one of the most important features of the new man educated by the Party of Labour of Albania with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Every Albanian young man and woman considers it honour to do voluntary work in the projects of socialism. This painting represents the joy of the volunteers leaving for one of the many mass labour actions of the youth.*



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# THE 20<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS AND THE EVOLU OF MODERN REV

**by AGIM POPA**

*The evolution of modern revisionism with all its off-shoots and «theories», its demagogy and dangerous deceptions, shows what a colossal task faces the Marxist-Leninists today to unmask it in the eyes of the working class and the peoples*

**TWENTY YEARS AGO COMRADE ENVER HOXHA DELIVERED HIS HISTORIC SPEECH AT THE MEETING OF 81 COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES IN MOSCOW. THE EXPERIENCE OF THESE TWENTY YEARS HAS COMPLETELY CONFIRMED HOW CORRECT AND VITALLY IMPORTANT WAS THE POSITION OF THE PLA AND HAS PROVED INDISPUTABLY THAT THE ONLY CORRECT STAND TO ESCAPE THE DESTRUCTIVE EFFECTS OF REVISIONISM IS THE LINE OF RESOLUTE STRUGGLE AGAINST IT.**

**AT THIS MEETING, WITH CLEAR AND WELL-SUBSTANTIATED ARGUMENTS COMRADE ENVER HOXHA EXPOSED THE TREACHEROUS COURSE OF THE KHRUSHCHEVITE REVISIONISTS AND ESTABLISHED THE DIVIDING LINE BETWEEN MARXISM-LENINISM AND KHRUSHCHEVITE REVISIONISM.**

He devoted special attention to the criticism and exposure of the opportunist theses and counter-revolutionary standpoints of the 20th Congress of the CPSU which formulated the general line of Khrushchevite revisionism, both for the internal problems of the country and for international problems.

At the 20th Congress of the CPSU and after it, the Khrushchevite revisionists made great play with the slogan of the «creative development» of Marxism-Leninism and «the struggle against dogmatism», as all the other modern revisionists have done, using the changes

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in the ratio of forces in the world and the appearance of certain new phenomena in the period following the Second World War as the pretext to spread their opportunist theories and justify their counter-revolutionary actions.

On this basis they declared to be obsolete, superseded and unsuitable for our time, the major teachings of Marxism-Leninism about the contradictions of capitalist society. Their «anti-dogmatism» is nothing but a pragmatic manoeuvre to justify and conceal their revisionism. Even a simple analysis is sufficient to prove that the present-day revisionism is identical in content with the revisionism of the past. It is a fact that many of the things which the present-day revisionists preach about the

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«peaceful road to socialism», about «mass» workers' party, legal and «open» to various ideological and political currents and factions, about «democratic socialism», etc., etc. are revivals, of course with new trappings, of the old theories of Bernstein and the Mensheviks and of Kautsky and the Second International which Lenin denounced in his time and which were buried by the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution, are efforts to adapt them to the new conditions and needs.

At the 20th Congress of the CPSU and after it, the Khrushchevite revisionists made great play with the false slogan of returning to the teachings of Lenin, allegedly abandoned, distorted and violated by Stalin. Our Party has exposed the aim of the manoeuvre of the so-called return to Lenin. It has proved with argument that the attacks on Stalin were, in reality, attacks on Marxism-Leninism, which Stalin consistently applied and defended in the Soviet Union and the world communist movement. The revisionists are now preaching abandonment of Leninism in order to «go back to the founders of scientific socialism, Marx and Engels», as the Eurocommunists, the most undisguised revisionists of the present day, are doing. «However,» points out Comrade Enver Hoxha, «all revisionists, whether Khrushchevite or Eurocommunist, fight with equal ferocity and cunning both against Stalin and against Lenin and Marx.»<sup>1</sup>

The preaching of «ideological pluralism» also constitutes one of the most fashionable directions of the modern revisionists' attack on Marxism-Leninism,

The point was reached that in the revisionist press, including the Soviet press, views were expressed about the possibility of going over to socialism «holding the Koran in one hand and 'Capital' in the other» or «with the Cross in one hand and the Hammer and Sickle in the other», etc.

The modern revisionists have extended this «ideological pluralism» even to the ranks of the party of the working class itself, by advocating the coexistence within it of the most widely varied philosophical trends, even including religious trends.

It is clear that without Marxism-Leninism there can be no talk either of the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and transition to socialism, of the construction of socialism and communism, or of the truly revolutionary party of the working class. As Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, the Khrushchevite, Titoite, Eurocommunist and the Chinese bourgeois-revisionist theories are component parts of the overall strategic plan of imperialism and modern revisionism to strangle the revolution and the liberation struggle, to perpetuate the domination of the bourgeoisie and imperialism and destroy socialism. Therefore defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and its fundamental teachings from the revisionist distortions and attacks, whether disguised or open, is a major revolutionary task.

The 20th Congress of the CPSU, marked the commencement of a general campaign of modern revisionism against the dictatorship of the proletariat. Whereas at the 22nd Congress, they went so far as to declare the dictator-

ship of the proletariat itself a thing of the past, claimed that it is contrary to socialist democracy, and replaced it with the so-called «state of the entire people», which is nothing but a façade for the dictatorship of the new Soviet bourgeoisie.

Within a few years the so-called «state of the entire people» evolved into a social-fascist state.

The Khrushchevite campaign against the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and its historical experience served as a major support for the propagation of the anarcho-syndicalist theories of the Yugoslav revisionists who denigrate the socialist state and demand its earliest possible liquidation, in order to replace it with «genuine humanitarian socialism», with their so-called «direct democracy», etc. hence with the Titoite system of «self-administration» which is nothing but a capitalist theory and practice, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out.

For their part, the Chinese revisionists proclaimed that «one of the main tasks of their state of the dictatorship of the proletariat» is to secure the alliance with the national bourgeoisie in the process of the so-called socialist construction of the country, the integration into socialism and the re-education of the capitalists, the application of the course of «coexistence for a long time and mutual control» between the Communist Party and the democratic bourgeois parties etc.

In their revisionist attacks on the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Eurocommunists have gone so far as to com-

pare the dictatorship of the proletariat with the fascist regimes of Hitler, Mussolini, Salazar and Franco, as the renegade Marchais did from the tribune of the 22nd Congress of the French Communist Party. This is a significant fact which indicates the extent of the degeneration of the modern revisionists and their descent to the positions of the most rabid and banal anti-communism.

But what have these revisionists to oppose to the order of the dictatorship of the proletariat? What is the essence of the so-called «democratic socialism» without the dictatorship of the proletariat which they advocate? It is nothing but the present-day bourgeois society, painted in pseudo-socialist colours to conceal its capitalist character.

All revisionists, both those of the past and the modern ones, whether they are in state power or operating in the countries of classical capitalism, are united by their hostility towards the revolution, their efforts to wreck and sap the revolution, and to perpetuate the domination of the bourgeoisie. However, the theories of the denial of the revolution became widespread in the communist and workers' movement following the 20th Congress of the CPSU, which rejected as obsolete the Marxist-Leninist theory on the revolution with violence as a universal law of the transition from capitalism to socialism and on the smashing of the bourgeois state machine, and replaced it with the Khrushchevite thesis about the «peaceful road» to socialism.

It became the source of and the basis for the «flowering» of all the counter-revolutionary theories of the revisionists today, and especially of the Eurocommunists, who have as their aim the preservation and perpetuation of capitalism and who are a living proof of the total social-democratic degeneration of the revisionist parties:

The bloody fascist coup in Chile in 1973, which overthrew the Allende government and brought to power the military dictatorship of Pinochet, was a crushing blow to the revisionist theories of «peaceful democratic transi-

tion to socialism». In their efforts to rescue these theories at all costs, the Italian Eurocommunists dished up the so-called strategy of the «historic compromise», the true name of which is historic betrayal.

The same counter-revolutionary and pragmatic standpoints characterize the Chinese revisionists' «theory of the three worlds». They distort and ignore the fundamental contradictions of our epoch, deny the existence of any revolutionary situation and prospect in our days and oppose any revolutionary activity, because, allegedly, the time for them has not yet come.

The period in which we are living is characterized by a general upsurge of the world revolutionary process. The objective conditions are becoming ever more favourable for the revolution. Now the decisive thing is the preparation of the subjective factor of the revolution. The main obstacle to this is the influence of the revisionists' views among the masses and their disruptive counter-revolutionary activity. «Today when this question is put forward for solution», writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, «it is an imperative duty for the Marxist-Leninists to dispel the fog the revisionists have spread about the revolution, to unmask their manoeuvres and deliberate misrepresentations about this problem, to expose their counter-revolutionary chauvinist hegemonic intentions, and to ensure that the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the revolution are understood and applied correctly»<sup>2</sup>.

Following the betrayal by the Yugoslav revisionists, who became a special agency in the pay of American and world imperialism to sap the foundations of socialism, the Khrushchevite revisionists (especially at the 20th Congress of the CPSU) were those who laid the «theoretical» and practical bases for the course of conciliation, rapprochement and counter-revolutionary collaboration with imperialism to the detriment of the interests of the revolution and the freedom-loving peoples.

However the Soviet revisionists used the thesis on «peaceful coexistence» not

merely to justify the policy of unprincipled concessions to and compromises with American imperialism. «The thesis about «peaceful coexistence» was a call of the Soviet revisionists to the American imperialists to divide up the world and rule it jointly,»<sup>3</sup> says Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The 20th Congress of the CPSU with its course of rapprochement and collaboration with American and world imperialism also serves as a «theoretical basis» of and justification for the present foreign policy of China. The rapprochement of China with the USA has now been transformed into a typical alliance between imperialist powers, aimed against the revolution, freedom-loving peoples and other countries. From the motives which inspire it, the aims which it pursues and the dangerous consequences with which it is fraught, China's present-day policy of opposition to Soviet social-imperialism has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. The standpoints of the Chinese revisionists and what they advocate are just as much anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary as those of the Soviet revisionists. On the other hand, China's leaders are openly inciting the USA to launch an imperialist atomic war in Europe against the Soviet Union, calculating that its two main rivals will destroy one another far from the borders of China and leave China as the omnipotent ruler of the world.

The Khrushchevite revisionist theses at the 20th Congress of the CPSU for rapprochement, collaboration, and «peaceful competition» with imperialism, fostered a series of other revisionist «theories» both of the Yugoslav revisionists and of those who are known today as Eurocommunists.

It is a fact that the Eurocommunists have become supporters of the policy of imperialist blocs, as alleged factors for the preservation of peace. They not only conceal the role of NATO for the suppression of the revolution in the West-European countries, but also ignore the major national problem of the countries and peoples in Western Europe, that of the domination of Ameri-

can imperialism in these countries and the need for liberation from it. At the same time, the Eurocommunists have proclaimed the EEC and United Europe as «a reality which must be accepted». They conceal the exploiting character of this Europe of capitalist monopolies which is aimed against the West-European peoples and is an organ of the neo-colonialism of European imperialism against the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and they spread false illusions about the «democratization» of these inter-imperialist organizations, allegedly in favour of the working masses and the peoples.

Therefore, in our time along with the unmasking of the poisonous propaganda of imperialism, it is essential that the deceptive theories and the dangerous preachings of the modern revisionists on the stand towards imperialism and the struggle against it must be exposed and defeated, too.

The revisionists, both old and new, of all trends, in their efforts to undermine the revolutionary movement and socialism, have always aimed their first blow against the revolutionary leading staff of the working class, the proletarian party. The Khrushchevite revisionists themselves provided the example for this by proclaiming at the 22nd Congress the liquidation of the proletarian character of their party and its transformation into a «party of the entire people», a thing which is a great absurdity in theory, while in practice it means the elimination of the leading role of the working class.

However, the Khrushchev group tried to impose the course of the degeneration of the proletarian parties on the entire international communist and workers' movement. From this point of view, it is not in the least accidental that, along with the rehabilitation of Titoism, the Khrushchevite revisionists at the 20th Congress of the CPSU launched the slogan of rapprochement with social-democracy.

The logical result of this social-democratic degeneration of the revisionist parties is the open liquidatory trend, of which the banner-bearer has been the Italian revisionist G. Amandola,

who, in condemning the former division in the socialist movement and the organization of the communists as a separate party, came out with the thesis of the direct amalgamation of the communist (revisionist) party with the social-democrats and socialists, allegedly in order to find «a new road to socialism». However, every one knows that the «new road» which the revisionists are seeking is nothing but the social-democratic road of the preservation and perpetuation of capitalism.

It is necessary to expose and refute the clamour of the bourgeois social-democratic, Eurocommunist and other propaganda, that the Soviet leadership after Khrushchev, especially after 1968, has allegedly abandoned the line of the 20th Congress and of Khrushchev, has taken certain steps back towards some «Stalinist methods», has allegedly evolved into «neo-Stalinism», etc, etc.

Immediately after the dismissal of Khrushchev, the Party of Labour of Albania, opposing the vacillations and pressure exerted by the Chinese leadership, exposed the demagogic manoeuvres of the Brezhnev group and described the policy of the new Soviet leadership as a continuation of Khrushchevism without Khrushchev.

There is also speculation with the contradictions which exist today amidst different trends of modern revisionism, especially between Soviet revisionism and other trends. However, analysis of the facts refutes these claims and shows that these contradictions are not of a principled character, on the part of the Soviet or of the other revisionists, because all of them are enemies of Marxism-Leninism, who, regardless of the contradictions which divide them, have a common, counter-revolutionary, opportunist, ideological base.

The bourgeois, social-democratic, Trotskyite and other propaganda has seized on these facts and has raised a great noise in its efforts to misrepresent them as demonstration of the failure of Marxism-Leninism and the crisis and disintegration of communism. In reality, it is not a crisis of Marxism-Leninism,

of communism, but of modern revisionism. The unprincipled struggle for power and the disturbances in the revisionist countries from the overthrow of Khrushchev in the Soviet Union, of Rankovich and others in Yugoslavia, to the frequent ups and downs in China, the fall of Gomulka and now of Gierk in Poland, etc., the failures in the economies and foreign policy of the revisionist countries, the Soviet and Chinese aggressions in Czechoslovakia, Vietnam and Afghanistan, the contradictions and squabbles in the revisionist camp — all this and other facts are evidence of the deep and insoluble crisis which has gripped revisionism.

The evolution of modern revisionism with all its off-shoots and «theories», its demagoguery and dangerous deceptions, shows what a colossal task faces the Marxist-Leninists today to unmask it in the eyes of the working class and the peoples. It shows also that it is essential to wage an unceasing principled struggle against all trends of modern revisionism, without underestimating or creating illusions about any of them. The struggle against modern revisionism, for the liberation of the masses from the poisonous revisionist influence, and for the revolutionary tempering of the Marxist-Leninist parties themselves, is not a temporary campaign but a permanent and vital necessity in order to carry the cause of the revolution and socialism forward to total victory.

1 Enver Hoxha, «Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism», pp. 8-9, Alb. ed.

2 Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», p. 145, Alb. ed.

3 Enver Hoxha, «Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism», pp. 59, 61.

# THE STRUGGLE OF THE PLA AGAINST THE PRESSURE AND INTERFERENCE OF THE KHRUSHCHEVITE REVISIONISTS

by **VANGJEL MOISIU**

**THE STRUGGLE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA AGAINST THE INTERFERENCE AND PRESSURE OF THE KHRUSHCHEVITE REVISIONISTS IS A COMPONENT PART OF THE WHOLE GREAT PRINCIPLED STRUGGLE IT HAS WAGED AGAINST SOVIET REVISIONISM.**

**THE WHOLE WORLD KNOWS THAT AT THE MEETING OF THE 81 COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES, IN NOVEMBER 1960, COMRADE ENVER HOXHA NOT ONLY EXPOSED THE KHRUSHCHEVITE REVISIONIST PLATFORM IN GENERAL, NOT ONLY PRESENTED THE VIEWS OF OUR PARTY ON THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS OF THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM, AS WELL AS ON THE PROBLEMS OF THE STRATEGY AND TACTIC OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, BUT AT THE SAME TIME, OPENLY AND RESOLUTELY EXPOSED THE PRESSURE, BLACKMAIL AND INTERFERENCE OF THE KHRUSHCHEVITE REVISIONISTS AGAINST OUR PARTY AND COUNTRY.**

The firm and principled stand of our Party at the Moscow Meeting was in no way accidental or unexpected. «Our open and principled attack on Khrushchevite modern revisionism at the Meeting of November 1960,» writes Comrade Enver Hoxha in his work «The Khrushchevites», «... was the logical continuation of the Marxist-Leninist stand which the Party of Labour of Albania had always maintained, was the transition to a new, higher stage of the struggle which our Party of Labour of Albania had always maintained, was the transition to a new,

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higher stage of the struggle which our Party had long been waging for the defence and consistent application of Marxism-Leninism.»<sup>1</sup>

The first clash was over the question of Yugoslav revisionism. Only one year had passed since the death of Stalin when Khrushchev began to alter the accepted Marxist-Leninist course of the international communist movement, of the principled struggle against Yugoslav revisionism and to make approaches to Tito. He needed this in order to realize his plans for the elimination of Marxism-Leninism and socialism.

The PLA opposed the efforts of the Khrushchevite clique for their rapprochement with the Titoites from the time it received the first letter on the Yugoslav question, in June 1954.

Khrushchev went to Belgrade where he fell on his knees before Tito and admitted that «mistakes had been made» in regard to the CP of Yugoslavia and its leadership.

The PLA went on to oppose all the later actions of the Soviet revisionist leadership for rapprochement and ideological collaboration with Yugoslav revisionism and never ceased its struggle against this revisionism as Khrushchev insistently demanded.

The differences over principle and the clashes between our Party and the Khrushchev group increased and became deeper when the latter formulated and adopted its revisionist program of the 20th Congress of the CPSU while at the same time undertaking the savage campaign against the so-called cult of the individual of Stalin and when it tried in every way to impose its counter-revolutionary line on the world communist movement.

The Khrushchevites made every effort to ensure that the theses of their Congress should be embodied in the 3rd Congress of the PLA, which had been set for three months later, in May 1956. They had charged their main ideologist, Suslov, with the task of convincing the leadership of our Party of the necessity for re-examining and altering its general line in con-



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formity with the course of the 20th Congress. They had also given their agent, Liri Belishova, the task of exerting pressure from within. They utilized the Party Conference of the city of Tirana to attack the Marxist-Leninist line and leadership of our Party. They kept up their efforts to achieve their aim by means of a delegation which they sent to our 3rd Congress. However our Party did not budge from its positions.

At that time, our Party did not speak openly about the differences over ideological principles which had arisen between it and the Soviet leadership, but it defended the Soviet Union, considering this an issue of principle and an element of its struggle for the defence of Marxism-Leninism and socialism, at a time when the imperialists and the various revisionists were attacking the Soviet Union in order to discredit communism. Our Party could not come out openly at that time against the Khrushchevites, also, because it needed time to gain a complete knowledge of them, knowledge which was not achieved all at once. Therefore, as Comrade Enver Hoxha explains, our Party was cautious in the stand it took, and always kept its eyes open. It followed every action and stand of Khrushchev's with the

greatest care, proceeding from the desire to preserve and strengthen friendship with the Soviet Union, but at the same time it did not leave unanswered, in one way or another, the erroneous stands and actions, the deviations of the Khrushchevites and the pressure which they exerted upon it.

In particular, the Khrushchevites strove to liquidate the main leaders of our Party and state and to replace them with rehabilitated traitors, as it succeeded in doing in many other parties and former socialist countries. The Khrushchevites' pressure was intended also to place our army, economy and culture under their control by means of the Soviet advisers and specialists' as well as by means of the Albanian secret agents in their service. The Khrushchevites' pressure was intended also to place our army, economy and culture under their control by means of the Soviet advisers and specialists, as well as by means of the Albanian secret agents in their service, in order to turn Albania into a country economically dependent and, consequently, politically dependent on it.

The Soviet leadership sent the letters exchanged between Khrushchev and Tito over the Hungarian question in November 1956 to the CC of our

Party for its information with the aim of receiving its approval of the bargain struck and to show the way which our Party ought to follow, too!

Presenting these letters for discussion in the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: «...the question before us is whether to breach our principles, to keep silent or to march forward, not reconciling ourselves to incorrect stands!... I insist that we proceed on the basis of principles which we have defined... We should not publicize these differences of opinion, for this is to the detriment of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp. On the other hand, it is my opinion that we must not make concessions of the kind that the leadership of the CPSU wants us to make, for this is a markedly opportunist stand... Nowhere will we yield the slightest concession on principle not even a millimetre.»<sup>2</sup>

In December 1956, Comrade Enver Hoxha put forward directly to the Soviet leaders our opposition over a series of wrong actions on their part and our concern about the great danger which the spread of revisionism constituted. Two months later, in February 1957, the Plenum of the CC of the PLA, while denouncing the revisionists as the culprits for the

events in Hungary, Poland and elsewhere, defended the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism about the leading rôle of the revolutionary party of the working class in the revolution and socialist construction, about the necessity for the dictatorship of the proletariat during the whole period of transition from capitalism to communism and about the class struggle in this period, principles which the Khrushchev group and its followers had trampled upon. The violation of these principles in Hungary and Poland, was a testimony to the catastrophe which was threatening the revolution and socialism.

The Khrushchevites were aware of the principled stand of the PLA and of its opposition to many of their actions. However, as Comrade Enver Hoxha says, they did not want to exacerbate the contradictions with us. With their logic of counter-revolutionaries and great-state chauvinists they thought that we, as a small Party and a small country, would have nowhere to turn to. If not today, tomorrow, we would fall on our knees before them. However, the publication in «Zëri i popullit» of Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech at the plenum of the CC in February 1957 alarmed the Khrushchevites. Therefore, they demanded that a top-level delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania should go urgently to Moscow. As Comrade Enver Hoxha writes in his work «The Khrushchevites», the Khrushchev group used the «carrot» and the «stick».

The aim of the Khrushchevites was to break the resistance of the PLA and compel it to change its course. «But,» as Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, «they broke their heads.»<sup>3</sup>

In Bucharest, the delegation of the PLA carried out the instructions of the Central Committee, openly opposed the destructive activity of the Khrushchevite group and attacked Khrushchev over his anti-Marxist aim and the conspiratorial methods that he employed. In his book «The Khrushchevites» Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «Hence in Bucharest and Moscow we did not defend China as a big coun-

try from which we might get aid, but we defended the Leninist norms, Marxism-Leninism. We did not defend the Communist Party of China because it was a big party, but we defended our principles, we defended Marxist-Leninist justice. At Bucharest and Moscow we would have defended any party and any country, be it big or small numerically, provided only that it was with Marxism-Leninism.»<sup>4</sup> As a result of the principled stand of the PLA the Khrushchev group did not achieve its diabolical aim.

The Bucharest Meeting marked an immediate change in the relations between the Party of Labour of Albania and the Soviet leadership. For Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania the period of the great test began.

In particular, the Soviet revisionists employed pressure and sabotage in the economic field, by delaying and, in many cases, stopping the shipment of goods and industrial equipment on the basis of agreements concluded. They went so far as to bring into action the weapon of starvation, by refusing the delivery of a quantity of grain to ensure bread supplies, of which there was a shortage because of the exceptional draught of 1960. They made threats to our government that they would cut off deliveries of any kind of armaments and military equipment for our people's army.

But the Party of Labour of Albania did not bend the knee to them. It appealed to the patriotism and heroism of the people, to their spirit of struggle and sacrifice. Our people closed their ranks even more tightly around the Party in the struggle to cope with the difficulties, pressure and interference by the Khrushchevites.

The historic speech which Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania at the Meeting of the 81 Parties in Moscow is known to all. This speech defeated Khrushchev's cunning tactic to cover up the profound differences of principle, the existence of two opposing lines in the international communist move-

ment and to avoid criticism of the revisionist line and splitting activity of the Soviet leadership. With this tactic he aimed to saddle our Party and the CP of China with the blame and, to this end, a Soviet document distributed before the meeting launched filthy attacks and slanders against them, while he himself was to emerge as the banner-bearer of Marxism-Leninism and unity!

After the Moscow Meeting, at which the ideological conflict reached its culmination, the Khrushchevites' pressure and attacks on our Party and country assumed harsher and more aggressive forms. They unilaterally annulled all the agreements, concluded between the two countries, stopped all credits and economic aid and broke off all commercial relations, withdrew all their specialists from Albania in a threatening way and expelled all the Albanian cadres and students who were studying in Soviet educational institutions. Immediately after this, in May, they arbitrarily annulled the bilateral agreements about the obligations they had assumed, on the basis of the Warsaw Treaty, to supply our people's army with armaments and military equipment. They robbed Albania of 8 submarines, as well as the Albanian warships which were in the ports of Sevastopol at that time. They demonstratively withdrew the ships from the military base of Vlorë.

The Soviet revisionists were also ready to undertake military intervention in Albania, using as a pretext the question of the military base at Vlorë. However, these plans failed thanks to the heroic resistance of our Party, our army and our armed people.

Finally, in October 1961, from the tribune of the 22nd Congress, Nikita Khrushchev openly launched a public attack against our Party, calling on our communists and people for counter-revolution, and followed this up with another hostile act, the breaking off of diplomatic relations with Albania:

All these things testified to the failure of every effort to subjugate our

Party and force it to take a revisionist course, as the other parties did, to compel our people to abandon the road of socialism and to enter the road of capitalism, like the other former socialist countries. The Party of Labour of Albania had scored a major victory over Khrushchevite revisionism.

The Party of Labour of Albania declared stern and irreconcilable war on Khrushchevite revisionism, being fully convinced that through this struggle it was defending the great cause of Marxism-Leninism and socialism. «The struggle which is being imposed on our Party and people,» declared the Central Committee of the our Party, «will be protracted and difficult. But our Party and people have never been afraid of difficulties.»<sup>5</sup>

With its far-sighted revolutionary policy in the political, economic, cultural and military fields, the PLA had ensured all the conditions for such an advance. The achievements marked in the period 1961-1980 testify to the gigantic creative force of the people who are led by a revolutionary party of the working class and who always remains faithful to the immortal teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, as well as to the superiority of the socialist order over the capitalist and bourgeois-revisionist order. They refute the predictions and imperialist logic of the Soviet revisionists.

Although they suffered defeat in their encounter with the PLA, the Khrushchevites did not relinquish their efforts to subjugate it and the Albanian people. They had great hopes of achieving the submission of our Party after the fall of Khrushchev, when they tried to lay all the blame on him for the «quarrels and disagreements» for which, according to them, there is no objective basis or ideological reason. However, the Party of Labour of Albania had no illusions at all about the aims of Khrushchev's successors who merely carried out «a change of horses» in the leadership

while retaining Khrushchevism quite unaltered.

Our Party also rejected the «advice» of the Chinese leadership to follow their example in making approaches to and reaching conciliation with the Khrushchevites. There was a strong smell of opportunism and pragmatism about the judgements of the Chinese leadership that «we should offer our hand to the dear Soviet comrades», «we should forget the past», and «we should understand the difficulties of the Soviet Union».

After the break with the Chinese, the Soviet revisionists hoped once again that we would stretch out to them the hand for help, because they thought that in these conditions the «appropriate time» had come to settle matters with Albania. However their hopes will never be realized.

Looking back at the road traversed during the past twenty years or so, we can define those causes, the political-moral factors which ensured the great victory of our Party over the Khrushchevites and their ignominious defeat:

1. Our Party fought with success and defeated the interference, pressure, blackmail and blockade of the Khrushchevites because it has always remained loyal to Marxism-Leninism and has pursued a consistent principled line. The struggle of our Party against Soviet revisionism is a just, profoundly principled struggle. Our differences with the Khrushchevites did not have to do simply with the relations between two parties and two countries. They were of a general character before they assumed a bilateral character. They were principled ideological differences, differences between two opposing lines, before they were inter-state contradictions.

2. The Party of Labour of Albania successfully smashed the pressure, blackmail and hostile blockades of the Khrushchevites, because it had the support of the broad working masses of the country, the powerful backing of the people. In steel unity with the Party, the people fought together with

it against this savage hostile activity with a high level of political consciousness.

3. The Party of Labour of Albania overcame the Khrushchevite blockades because it has always remained loyal to the great revolutionary principle of self-reliance.

When the Soviet leadership cut off all the credits and economic aid, our Party and people did not capitulate, our economy did not come to a standstill, but on the contrary, developed with rapid rates on the road of socialism. The correct policy of the Party for the socialist industrialization of the country, the development and modernization of agriculture, the building of the material-technical base of socialism, and an independent economy, ensured that our socialist economy would not experience any kind of crisis or stagnation, but would go ahead vigorously.

4. Another factor in the triumph over the Khrushchevites is the fact that our Party has persistently implemented the revolutionary principle that foreigners (whether allies or enemies) must not meddle in the internal affairs of our country. Remaining constantly vigilant and not permitting any external interference, it has worked out and applied its revolutionary line in a completely independent way and has fought hard to defend our independence from anybody.

5. In the struggle against the Khrushchevite revisionist betrayal the Party of Labour of Albania had the aid and the resolute support of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces. The resolute support which these forces gave our Party added to its strength, determination and confidence in the great battle with the enemies and betrayers of the revolution.

1 Enver Hoxha, «The Khrushchevites», p. 3, Alb. ed.

2 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 14, pp. 138-139, Alb. ed.

3 Enver Hoxha, «The Khrushchevites», p. 380, Al. ed.

4 Ibidem, p. 406, Alb. ed.

5 Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 4, p. 154, Alb. ed.

# THE PRESENT SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORDER IN THE SOVIET UNION - A CAPITALIST ORDER *by OMER*

*Time has fully confirmed the correctness of the analysis made and the conclusions drawn by the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. As a result of the betrayal of the Khrushchevite revisionists, the Soviet Union has now become completely a capitalist country and a social-imperialist power*

**THE EMERGENCE OF KHRUSHCHEVITE REVISIONISM, ITS USURPATION OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SOVIET PARTY AND STATE, AND ITS SPREAD TO OTHER COUNTRIES AND PARTIES, ENDANGERED ALL THE VICTORIES ACHIEVED OVER MORE THAN A CENTURY BY WHOLE GENERATIONS OF PROLETARIANS AND REVOLUTIONARIES GUIDED AND INSPIRED BY THE TEACHINGS OF MARX, ENGELS, LENIN AND STALIN. HISTORY FACED THE MARXIST-LENINISTS WITH AN IMPERATIVE DUTY: THE NEW KHRUSHCHEVITE RENEGADES AND THEIR FOLLOWERS MUST BE EXPOSED. MARXISM, THE REVOLUTION AND SOCIALISM MUST BE DEFENDED. THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA PERFORMED THIS HISTORIC TASK AND IS STILL PERFORMING IT WITH COURAGE AND MATURITY. THROUGH A FIERCE STRUGGLE WITH MANY SACRIFICES, THE SPEECH OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA EXPOSING KHRUSHCHEVITE REVISIONISM, DELIVERED IN MOSCOW TWENTY YEARS AGO, CONSTITUTES ONE OF THE CULMINATING AND DECISIVE MOMENTS OF THIS STRUGGLE.**

On the basis of a profound, all-sided analysis, which he made at that time of the betrayal by the Khrushchevite revisionists, Comrade Enver Hoxha, among other things, predicted that if revisionism was not prevented from coming to the head of the Soviet party and state, this would have fatal con-

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sequences for the Bolshevik Party and for the destiny of the revolution and socialism in the Soviet Union. Time has proved that the Khrushchevite betrayal caused the socialist order in the Soviet Union to degenerate into a capitalist order. At the 7th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out: «The Soviet society has become bourgeois down to its tiniest cells, and capitalism has been re-established in all fields.»<sup>1</sup>

While preserving the external forms of the former socialist property, the

Khrushchevite revisionists changed its essence, turned it into capitalist property, both in town and countryside. The economic reforms which they applied in conformity with their capitalist anti-Marxist ideological concepts for «the perfection of the management and planning of the economy», «for the primary role of material stimuli», as well as other, later measures, in fact made profit the main objective of production, and this, as Karl Marx pointed out, constitutes the absolute law of capitalist relations of production.

With the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, the state socialist property was not fragmented, but degenerated into state monopoly property. This kind of property is the dominant form in that country today. State monopoly capitalism extends to all the branches of the economy and services, to industry, agriculture, construction, transport, trade, communications, the financial and credit system, the banks, etc. Thus, in the Soviet Union we have to do with a very high horizontal and vertical concentration and centralization of production and capital completely controlled by the state. While preserving some of the forms of organization and management of the former socialist economy, the Soviet bourgeoisie, whose aim is to secure maximum profits, has at the same time also implemented new forms of organization and management, which are suitable to state monopoly capitalism. The «industrial complexes», «agrarian-industrial complexes», various «multi-national companies», etc.,

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come within this heading. The Soviet bourgeoisie uses these «new» forms to increase the oppression and exploitation of the Soviet working masses and other peoples of the world, to overcome the difficulties of the crisis which has gripped the Soviet economy, and also to integrate the Soviet economy with the world capitalist economy and the economies of other revisionist countries into the Soviet economy.

In the Soviet Union all the activity of the economic enterprises is based on «complete financial self-sufficiency». By law, the managers of these enterprises are given extensive freedom and competences. Guided by the principle of securing profits, the managers of economic enterprises implement systems of organization of production. The independence which the enterprises have to buy and sell means of production, in the context of bureaucratic centralization, has brought about that these, too, are transformed into commodities. Thus, the transformation of labour power and the means of production into commodities, their free exchange and circulation in the market, have changed the Soviet economy completely into a commodity producing economy.

The present-day Soviet economy is characterized by such problems as the in-harmonious development of its branches, non-utilization of productive capacities, decline in the rates of production, rising prices and cost of living and increasing inflation, shortages of mass consumer goods on the market, etc. Such phenomena are neither ac-

cidental nor temporary, are not the results of errors, or the difficulties allegedly of the growth, of «socialism», as the Soviet revisionists try to present them. They are phenomena which have their roots in the very nature of the capitalist economic order which prevails in the Soviet Union.

In order to disguise the oppressive and exploiting character of their order, to present it as an allegedly democratic order, the Soviet revisionists in recent years have been making a great demagogic clamour about the creation of so-called «workers' collectives» which, allegedly for the first time in history, are functioning in the Soviet Union. These have been legalized in the Constitution, presenting them along with the soviets as one of the main forms of the political organization of Soviet society. However, the fact that on such vital problems of the workers as pay, engagement in and dismissal from work, etc., it is the managers of enterprises who decide, shows that the rights of the so-called workers' collectives are completely formal and serve as a demagogic cover to hide from the eyes of the workers their oppression by the revisionist bourgeoisie. Like the «workers' councils», the «workers' collectives» have been set up simply to create illusions among the Soviet working people that they are allegedly masters of their own fate, at a time when the Soviet revisionist bourgeoisie decides everything.

In the countryside, as a result of the degeneration of the former collective farm socialist property, the capitalist

property of the group has been created, which represents the second most widespread form of capitalist property in the Soviet Union. The backwardness and crisis of Soviet agriculture are direct consequences of the Soviet capitalist economic order. The Soviet revisionist bourgeoisie, guided by the law of maximum profit and its hegemonic aims, is interested in investing most of its capital in those branches of the economy inside or outside the Soviet Union which bring greater profits, rather than in agriculture, to extract it from its backwardness.

To bring out the class nature of the economic order of the Soviet Union, it is important to analyse the relations of distribution. It is known that these relations depend on and are determined by the property relations. But, as Engels says, «The economic relations of a given society present themselves, in first place, as *interests*.»<sup>2</sup> Analysis of the property relations from this point of view, i. e., in whose interests is property used in the Soviet Union, whom does it serve, brings out its capitalist essence.

The ratio of the pay of workers to that of various members of Soviet bourgeoisie varies from 1:10 to 1:30. This means that, regardless of the fact that the «whole people» is formally proclaimed to be the owner of the property, its real, de facto, owner is only a handful of people. Lenin called high salaries «a bourgeois way» of the treatment of specialists and functionaries, «...a departure from the principles of the Paris Commune and every proletarian state...»<sup>3</sup>

However, in the Soviet Union, as a result of the restoration of capitalism, high salaries, material stimuli, bonuses, favours, privileges, etc. have been raised to a whole institution in order to appropriate the surplus values extracted from the sweat of working people. The counter-revolutionary experience of the Soviet Union, points out Comrade Enver Hoxha, shows that not only private property, but also «fat salaries» give birth to capitalism, create conditions for the birth of a new bourgeoisie. The creation of the new revisionist Soviet bourgeoisie was brought about, amongst other things, by means of material corruption, by the use of high salaries, privileges and other material rewards.

The present-day Soviet economy has been integrated into the world capitalist system. This integration has assumed extensive proportions and is being carried out in the most varied forms. The Soviet Union has become one of the countries to which more and more of the capital of Western countries is being exported. Its debts to these countries are calculated at 19 billion dollars. About 500 of the biggest trusts of the Western countries have invested their capital in the form of credit for the construction of industrial projects or for the financing of the trade which it carries on with these countries. Evidence of the capitalist nature of the economy in the whole Soviet social order can be seen also in the practice of economic relations which the Soviet Union carries on with the other countries of the world, both with the countries of the so-called socialist community and with the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. In this practice we see that the Soviet Union makes extensive use of enslaving credits, unequal exchanges, the creation of «multinational companies» and banks in the other countries of the world, for the exploitation of peoples. This is a typical neo-colonialist practice which stems from and has its base in the capitalist nature of the economic order of the Soviet Union.

The radical transformation in the

economic structure of the Soviet Union was bound to lead, as it did, to radical changes in the class structure of present-day Soviet society, too. The strata of bureaucrats and apparatchiki who usurped the leadership of the party and the state, who carried out the «peaceful» counter-revolution, and who are in real possession of the means of production, have now changed into a new bourgeois class. The working class, which lost its party and political power and which was stripped of the means of production, has been transformed into a simple producing class, an oppressed and exploited class which lives by selling the commodity labour power.

In order to conceal the capitalist reality of the class structure of present-day Soviet society, the Soviet revisionists spread all kinds of allegedly new «theoretical» theses. This is the aim of their theorizing about the transition of «developed socialist society» towards the so-called «social homogeneity» by means of which they claim that in the Soviet Union the distinctions between the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the intelligentsia are allegedly disappearing and being replaced only with working people with common features, thus creating a classless society. As to the claim about the creation of so-called «worker intellectual», «worker-collective farmer», «worker-collective farmer-intellectual» social groups, they are intended to justify the creation of privileged bourgeois strata in the ranks of the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the intelligentsia. In essence, these theories are nothing but a variant of the bourgeois theory of «social stratification».

With the degeneration of the proletarian party, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist economic order in the Soviet Union, those objective factors which, for the first time in history, made it possible to achieve a radical solution on a new basis of the national question, were wiped out. Now this question has again become one of the most acute problems of Soviet society, because in the Soviet

Union «Great-Russian chauvinism has been set up as the dominant ideology, national oppression has become part and parcel of the bourgeois class policy pursued by the ruling clique.»<sup>6</sup> To conceal this policy from the eyes of the working people within the country and from public opinion abroad, the Soviet revisionists have also worked out their «theory» and practice about the «new historical community of men,» or the «unified Soviet people». While unfurling the banner of such a «theory», they claim that the national problem has allegedly been completely solved in the Soviet Union and such a problem no longer exists.

In essence, this «theory», which the Soviet revisionists present as a Leninist idea, is a cosmopolitan view intended to justify the Russification of non-Russian nations and nationalities and to deny their sovereignty and national identity. Russification of the other peoples has now assumed extensive proportions in the Soviet Union. Although the Soviet revisionists claim for purposes of demagoguery that the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union have allegedly chosen Russian voluntarily as an international language, in reality it has been imposed on them as a «mother» tongue.

The alteration of the national structures of the nations and nationalities is another of the main directions in the great-Russian chauvinist policy which the Soviet revisionists pursue and are applying under the slogan of the internationalization of their whole life. Taking the Republic of Kazakhstan as an example, they declare that along with the Kazakhs, millions of Russians and hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians, Uzbeks, Byelorussians, etc. live in this Republic. As early as 1970, there were 5.5 million Russians living in Kazakhstan, while the 4.5 million Kazakhs were left as a minority and represented only 34 per cent of the population of Kazakhstan.

Other factors such as «internal emigration» and «mixed marriages» also assist this process. By means of mechanical movement, the Soviet revisionists

displace the populations of other nations en masse from their birthplaces turning the populations of various nations into what they call a «multinational collective».

Analysis of these phenomena from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint also reveals the demagogic character of the Soviet revisionists' claims about their so-called enrichment of Lenin's idea about «the creation of a new historical community of people of a higher level than the nation». By betraying Leninism and restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union, in fact, the Soviet revisionists have destroyed the Soviet Socialist Federation and turned Russia, once again, into a prison of nations and peoples.

The restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union has also led to the all-round degeneration of the way of life, of spiritual life, of art, literature, culture, education and morality. In Soviet society such phenomena and social evils as pursuing personal interests, individualism, careerism, corruption, crime, thefts, murders, immorality, drug addiction, alcoholism, etc., have become widespread and assumed a mass character. These phenomena are a further indication testifying to the capitalist bourgeois nature of Soviet society, to the profound moral-spiritual crisis in which it is immersed up to the neck, as well as to the degradation

for which the present-day bourgeois-revisionist capitalist society is heading rapidly.

In the conditions of imperialism, the existence and extraordinary strengthening of a bureaucratic-military apparatus and other organs of oppression and aggression is characteristic of the states in which a savage dictatorial regime exists and which pursue a hegemonic foreign policy. Such an apparatus exists in the revisionist Soviet Union. The bureaucratic apparatus of the present-day Soviet state is comprised of a whole army, many-millions strong, of officials and bureaucrats, of the armed forces which amount to 3.5 million men and by the other extremely inflated organs of oppression such as the KGB, the courts, the prisons, the concentration camps, the psychiatric hospitals, etc. The militarization of the Soviet state has assumed unprecedented proportions. The annual military budget of the Soviet Union amounts to about 160 billion dollars. This reality shows that the Soviet state is by no means a «socialist» «humanitarian» state of «the entire people», as the Soviet revisionists present it, but is, as Comrade Enver Hoxha described it at the 7th Congress, «...a capitalist fascist dictatorship.»<sup>5</sup>

In conformity with their aims and policy of oppression the Soviet revisionists radically changed the political essence

of their party, too, turning it into an organ of oppression, just like the army, the KGB, the militia and the other organs of oppression of the present-day Soviet fascist bourgeois state. On the international level, this organization, which bears the name of the communist party, corrupts the chiefs of revisionist parties and other parties, as well as chiefs of the bourgeoisie in various countries, employs them in the service of the Soviet bourgeoisie, using them as cat's paws for interference in those countries.

More than a quarter of a century has passed since our Party began the struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism. Time has fully confirmed the correctness of the analyses made and the conclusions drawn by the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. As a result of the betrayal by the Khrushchevite revisionists, the Soviet Union has now become completely a capitalist country and a social-imperialist power.

1 Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA*, p. 255, Alb. ed.

2 Marx-Engels, *Selected Works*, vol. 1, 1975, p. 656, Alb. ed.

3 V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 27, p. 274, Alb. ed.

4 Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA*, p. 215, Alb. ed.

5 Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA*, p. 231, Alb. ed.

# THE SOCIAL- IMPERIALIST CHARACTER OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE PRESENT-DAY SOVIET UNION

by **ARBEN PUTO**

*Today it can be seen clearly that the Soviet Union is emerging more and more as a second «international gendarme». Especially in the countries of the Eastern Europe, but also within more remote limits which are included within the social-imperialist concept of the «sphere of the most direct interests», the danger of brutal Soviet intervention is hanging over the heads of the peoples*

THE RETROGRESSIVE CHANGE WHICH OCCURRED IN THE COURSE OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION AFTER THE DEATH OF STALIN CONSTITUTES ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF THE CAPITALIST DEGENERATION OF THAT COUNTRY. THE REVISIONIST OPPORTUNIST DEVIATIONS WHICH WERE BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE KHRUSHCHEV GROUP IN THE WHOLE POLICY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION AFFECTED ALL FIELDS OF THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY: LITTLE BY LITTLE, THEY OVERTURNED ALL THE EXISTING RELATIONS WITHIN THE SOVIET SOCIALIST SOCIETY, UNDERMINING THEIR FORMER SOCIALIST FOUNDATIONS AND ESTABLISHING THESE RELATIONS ON A NEW BASIS — THAT OF THE RESTORATION OF THE CAPITALIST ORDER.

This process, which had already begun, but was openly adopted in the 20th Congress of the CPSU, could not fail to express itself in a field of such first-rate importance as the foreign policy of the Soviet state. After all, as Lenin made it clear, the external policy is nothing but the continuation of the internal policy, its expression in an international dimension. The character, the content of the internal policy determines the character and content of the external policy, too.

A very important component of the policy inaugurated at the 20th Congress of the CPSU was that which had to do with the socialist states. A step towards the destruction of the basis of relations between socialist states was especially taken immediately after the 20th Congress, which created real ideological confusion in the ranks of the communist parties and anti-imperialist forces on the most important problems of strategy and tactics today.

In applying their revisionist policy, the Soviet leaders, with their line of so-called «peaceful coexistence», fought to compel the socialist countries to abandon opposition to imperialism and denunciation of its aggressive policy, and to give up the struggle against bourgeois and revisionist ideology and

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the class struggle, in general. At the same time, they sought to impose the establishment of class conciliation everywhere and on all questions, the abandonment of revolutionary positions, on the communist movement.

It was Khrushchev's aim to subject the socialist countries and the communist parties to this line, so that they would become obedient instruments bound hand and foot to the Soviet war chariot, and his dictate and arbitrary will would be turned into obligatory norms.

In order to anticipate and prettify a practice of international links which have all the capitalist features, various slogans and «theories» have been put into circulation, which, although heavily loaded with Marxist phraseology, are obviously clumsy misrepresentations which cannot withstand any criticism.

From this viewpoint, the first which comes into consideration is the «theory» of «limited sovereignty», which has enriched the arsenal of propaganda means with which the reactionary bourgeoisie attacks the basic principles of international relations. Everyone knows that this theory was spread by the revisionist clique of the Kremlin, precisely in connection with the aggression against Czechoslovakia in 1968. This fact alone is sufficient to demonstrate that the aim of theories of this nature is to ensure that juridical and ideological platform on which the policy of aggression, dictate and brutal and naked violence can be based. It is claimed that this theory is the expression of «the supreme interests of the socialist community», i.e., of the bloc of revisionist countries which, in fact, have long been Soviet dependencies, in regard to which efforts are being made to incorporate them in sophisticated forms of subjection from the juridical viewpoint, too. This theory tries to prove that the interests of this «community» constitute «the supreme sovereign right», and therefore they must take priority. As to the interests of this or that individual state, the ordinary members of this «community», they are described as «narrow

and individual» and as such are dependent on and conditioned by the higher general interests.

At the 25th Congress of the CPSU, Leonid Brezhnev declared openly that «the process of gradual unification of socialist countries is now operating as an objective law which requires that states of the socialist community must combat isolation and national exclusiveness».

This contrived phraseology, to which the Soviet revisionists cannot even claim the right of authorship, cannot cover up the fact that, in its evolution, the «theory» of «limited sovereignty» has become ever more openly a manifestation of the strategic idea of the Soviet social-imperialists in their struggle to ensure hegemony, not only on a regional scale, but also on a world scale.

Brezhnev's «proletarian internationalism» is likewise undergoing transformations to adapt it to the aims of the Soviet expansionism. It has to serve as «the foundation on which the integration of all fields of life of all the countries of socialist community is based.» And in order to ensure that this does not remain an empty slogan, an extensive program for the «complex integration» of the economy, culture, art, education and all other sections has been worked out, a program which the Soviet revisionists are trying to implement «through the now institutionalized military-political and ideological joint actions» on the scale of the «community». The ultimate aim of course is to speed the day of «the unification of peoples and states» and to create a «single people» in the framework of a more extensive state political formation.

In the whole framework of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union after the 20th Congress, the evolution of relations with the capitalist states, and especially with the USA as the main imperialist power, assumes particular importance. Immediately after the death of Stalin, but more obviously after the 20th Congress, the tendency to build a new relationship with the

capitalist world, in general, and first of all, with American imperialism, over the whole front of foreign policy was clear. Without doubt this was the problem to which the Khrushchevite revisionist leadership devoted primary importance. And it could not have been otherwise, since the Soviet foreign policy itself had to be built on different foundation. «Soviet social-imperialism is no longer satisfied with the domination it exercises over the satellite states», of Eastern Europe, points out Comrade Enver Hoxha. «Like the other imperialist states, the Soviet Union is now fighting for new markets, for spheres of influence, to invest its capital in various countries, to monopolize sources of raw materials...»

In other words, the Soviet Union has changed from a factor of innovation in foreign relations into one of the main protagonists in the great imperialist contest for the division of the booty and the establishment of «the balance of power». This is the reason that these last twenty years have been characterized by a great about-turn in the whole structure of international relations in the contemporary period, in which collaboration and alliance, on the one hand, and competition and rivalry, on the other, between the two superpowers are the two sides of the same medal.

Despite the efforts of the bourgeois and revisionist propaganda to present the Soviet-American agreement, «the balance of power» between the two superpowers, as the only basis for international security and peace, the reality of relations between the USA and the Soviet Union demonstrates clearly that the secret or public agreements between them are not able to put an end to their quarrels and disagreements. They have only a temporary importance, are «ceasefires» in the protracted, never-ending, merciless struggle which puts the two superpowers eyeball to eyeball to extend their spheres of influence, to monopolize other markets, to capture new political and military positions. Thus, the «status quo» or «balance of power» is relative, too. The super-

powers are the first to demand new, more favourable «balances» perhaps at each other's expense, but even more to the detriment of third parties.

The experience of these recent years demonstrates very clearly that the Soviet Union is irrevocably committed to the expansionist policy, that it has completely adopted the imperialist logic in the field of foreign policy. It has conformed completely to the rule of «filling the vacuums». Thus, the partial withdrawal of American imperialism from South-east Asia, because of its defeat in Vietnam, corresponds to the general advance of Soviet social-imperialism in many regions of the world, especially in Asia and Africa. The events in Angola and Ethiopia, and now the recent military occupation of Afghanistan, are clear evidence of the great drive of the Soviet Union on its course for world hegemony. There will be further development of contradictions between the two superpowers, which will certainly not remain frozen at the existing situation, the more so since now there is more and more talk about the disturbance of «the balance of power». New clashes are inevitable because the in-fighting between them goes on continuously.

Especially prominent among these groups of large and medium powers, which likewise want to occupy the place «which belongs to them» in the arena of the clash of interests, is the imperialist China of the present day. What was said about Italy last century could be said about China today, that «it is developing its appetite before its teeth».

The stands and actions of the Soviet Union in regard to the countries and peoples who have achieved, or aspire to, a state existence of their own, after the disintegration of the old colonial empires, comprise a very important characteristic of the foreign policy in the Soviet Union. Here the social-imperialist course of Soviet foreign policy finds a field in which it is expressed especially clearly.

The Soviet Union has now joined in this dance, therefore these last two de-

cade are characterized by increasing aggressiveness in its foreign policy, with special aims in the direction of the former colonial countries. The division of the «booty» had been made, but its redivision goes on permanently, and step by step, systematically and persistently, the Soviet superpower is smoothing out the obstacles and opening paths in order to take the place «which belongs to it» in the great imperialist partnership, a place which corresponds precisely to its ranks as an imperialist great power. This activity, which has as its objective the penetration of the undeveloped countries of various geographical zones, is gaining ever greater weight in the whole program of the Soviet foreign policy.

In the application of this plan a definite role has been allocated to the revisionist parties, which have become the bearers of the interests of Soviet social-imperialism, simple instruments of Soviet foreign policy.

The Soviet social-imperialists also have «specific socialist» labels ready-made to stick on «new spheres of influence» which they manage to secure in various ways. Provided only that these countries link themselves with the expansionist policy of the Soviet Union, they are declared to be «bearers of the non-capitalist road to development», of «the socialist orientation», of new «original, intermediate» forms of the transition to socialism. However, the great power game is a «gamble», as Lenin said at the beginning of the century. Luck changes: Soviet social-imperialism has successes, but also has defeats. In conformity with this, the list of countries «of the socialist orientation» and «the non-capitalist road» is subject to continual correction in Moscow. The only criterion is to what extent this or that country is ready to open its doors to the penetration of Soviet influence.

In the present-day policy of the Soviet Union towards the undeveloped countries today there are ever more powerful expressions of the militarist tendency, that of playing with fire, of brandishing arms, which is fraught with

very dangerous consequences not only for the peoples of these countries but also for world peace. This tendency has two aspects: first, the trade in arms, and second, direct military intervention.

The Soviet Union, along with the United States is one of the two biggest arms dealers at the present time. Here politics is mixed with business in order to serve a single aim, that of realizing the hegemonic ideas of the Soviet superpower. On the other hand, the reality has shown how in many cases the trade in arms is the prelude to open military intervention and this, in particular, expresses the strengthening of the military tendency in Soviet foreign policy.

The policy of the Soviet Union towards the so-called third world has now assumed all the fundamental features which are characteristic of the imperialism of our time. As such, it constantly brings up new elements of tension and contrast which give rise to great heat in the current international relations and greatly increase the danger of war.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech at the Moscow Meeting of the 81 Communist Parties 20 years ago was not only an act of unrivalled political courage. It marked a new, very important stage in the struggle against modern revisionism. From that time to this day, the Party of Labour of Albania has stood unwaveringly in the front rank of the fight and with a rare level of adherence to principle and coherence, it has performed a lofty historic duty both towards its own country and people and towards the international proletariat. On the one hand, it systematically revealed the true nature of revisionism in power and, on the other hand, it defended and persistently affirmed the true values of triumphant Marxism-Leninism.

When Comrade Enver Hoxha, twenty years ago, denounced the violation of the Leninist principles of foreign policy by the Khrushchevite revisionists, especially in regard to Albania, there were many who described this as al-

most a sacrilege and heresy. But the development of events proved that our Party was right, showed that its act in Moscow that November was not the fruit of «haste» or «hot-headedness», as Khrushchev and company claimed, but was a correct assessment of the situation and an accurate prediction of what would occur later. Today, only the blind, those blinded by servility towards the «superpower», can fail to see the degeneration of the Soviet Union, its transformation into a social-imperialist state, in the policy of which both pragmatism and «state reason» find their place, along with «the balance of power», and in which the great Marxist-Leninist principles are only empty slogans.

Today it can be seen clearly that the Soviet Union is emerging more and more as a second «international gendarme». Especially in the countries of the Eastern Europe, but also within more remote limits which are included within the social-imperialist concept of «the sphere of the most direct interests», the danger of brutal Soviet intervention is hanging over the heads of the peoples.

Another great merit of our Party is that it never ceased its struggle against the pacifist illusions about which the bourgeois and revisionist propaganda make such a clamour. Making a correct assessment of the real factors in the international life of the

world today, our Party has continually stressed that the different slogans about «reduction of tensions» and «the guarantee of peace» in Europe and the world, about «the limitation of armaments» and «a world without wars and without weapons» are products of bourgeois and revisionist concepts which pave the way to war precisely when there is most talk about peace. At the 5th, 6th and 7th Congresses, Comrade Enver Hoxha has warned of the great danger of the bourgeois-revisionist «bluffs» the purpose of which is to put the peoples to sleep, and has continually echoed the call made by J. V. Stalin nearly thirty years ago, that the peoples must take the cause of peace into their own hands.

All the activity of our Party and state in the field of foreign policy has been carried out under the emblem of the principled struggle for complete equality in international relations, for the full right which belongs to every state, regardless of its potential or size, to take part actively in international life and to have its say on the major problems of world policy. By exercising this right extensively in practice, either to defend the interests of the homeland, or to express its own views with courage and dignity, without sparing profound principled criticism in the field of foreign policy, our Party and socialist state have made and are making a valuable contribution to the

development of the historic process of the emancipation of the smaller states from the dictate and tutelage of the bigger ones. Indeed, one of the distinctive features which give a real, concrete character to the independence of the foreign policy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is precisely its active role in the struggle of world historic importance, in which an ever greater number of states are joining, to oppose the hegemonic policy of capitalist and revisionist states, and especially of the two superpowers.

As early as the time of the First World War, Lenin, in his work «Imperialism — the Highest Stage of Capitalism», expressed his opposition to «transitional forms of the independence of states», typical of the imperialist epoch, in which formally independent countries, in reality, are bound «with chains of every kind to more powerful states». This is a phenomenon which, with the respective changes, can be seen even to this day. Not only with the principled stands, but also with their concrete actions, our Party and state are an example in encouraging the peoples to pursue the line of independence, not only in foreign policy but in every field. Experience has already demonstrated that this is the only way to defend the national interests and is a necessary condition for the constructive development of international relations at the present time.

# THE SOCIALIST LAW IN THE PSR OF ALBANIA IN DEFENCE OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS

*The proclamation of the complete equality of the woman with man in all fields of life is one of the major historic victories in the life of the Albanian woman*

1.

IN THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA THE WOMAN, AS ALL THE WORKING PEOPLE, HAS BEEN FREED FROM ALL CLASS OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION AND HAS WON THE SAME POLITICAL RIGHTS AND DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS AS MAN.

THE PROCLAMATION OF THE COMPLETE EQUALITY OF THE WOMAN WITH MAN IN ALL FIELDS OF LIFE IS ONE OF THE MAJOR HISTORIC VICTORIES IN THE LIFE OF THE ALBANIAN WOMAN.

THIS EQUALITY FOUND ITS EXPRESSION AS EARLY AS THE YEARS OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR, IN THE DECLARATION OF THE ANTI-FASCIST NATIONAL LIBERATION COUNCIL OF ALBANIA ON THE RIGHTS OF CITIZENS. IN THIS «GREAT MONUMENT IN THE HISTORY OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE»,<sup>1</sup> AS COMRADE ENVER HOXHA DESCRIBES THIS DECLARATION, ALL THE CITIZENS ARE GUARANTEED EQUAL RIGHTS BEFORE THE LAW, «THE WOMAN WAS GUARANTEED EQUAL RIGHTS WITH MAN BOTH IN THE POLITICAL LIFE OF THE COUNTRY, AS WELL AS IN SOCIAL ACTIVITY»,<sup>2</sup> FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE HISTORY OF OUR COUNTRY.

With the overthrow of the old state and social order, right from the first days of its existence, the new democratic state of Albania abrogated the old laws which denied women's rights and sanctioned her inferiority; it put an end to backwardness and passed the first legislative acts which proclaimed the full equality of rights between man and woman.

After the liberation of the country, the Constitution of the year 1946 was the first fundamental legislative act which sanctioned the equality of the woman with man in all fields of life. This became the mainstay of all other legislations, raising this equality to a law in the political, economic and social fields, and ensuring particular protection to her both as woman and mother.

Sanctioning the great victories achieved in our country, the new Constitution of the year 1977 deepened the principle of equality. It proclaims the equality of all citizens before the law,

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recognizing no limitation or privilege in the rights and duties of citizens on account of sex, race, nationality, education, social position or material situation. Article 41 of the Constitution says:

«The woman, liberated from political oppression and economic exploitation, as a great force of the revolution, takes an active part in the socialist construction of the country and the defence of the Homeland.

«The woman enjoys equal rights with man in work, pay, holidays, social security, education, in all socio-political activity, as well as in the family.»

These principles, which faithfully reflect the reality of our country, have found effective application in all fields of life.

In the political life one of the major rights, which was denied to the Albanian woman in the past, is the right to elect and to be elected to all the organs of state power.

Thanks to these rights guaranteed by law and the creation of real possibilities to exercise them, the Albanian woman

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takes an active part in the direction of the state and in the political, economic and social activity of the country.

In Albania today about 33 per cent of the deputies to the People's Assembly are women, as against 7 per cent under the first legislation, 43.4 per cent of those elected to various organs of state power are women as against 18.8 per cent in the year 1964; 30 per cent of the members of the High Court of Justice of the PSR of Albania are women; 50 per cent of the members of the worker and peasant control groups is made up of women. They account for 27 per cent of the members of the PLA and 29.4 per cent of all those elected to its different forums.

This broad and effective participation of the woman in socio-political life, in the management of state and social affairs, which has kept increasing from one five-year period to another, is vivid proof of the degree of emancipation of women and of their enhanced political consciousness.

The 36-year long period of socialist construction shows that women have made correct use, in the interest of the Homeland and socialism, of the political rights and freedoms they have won, thus becoming a great force in the solution of many important problems, taking an active part in the revolutionization of the whole life of the country.

2.

While working out its major program of work and struggle for the emancipation of the Albanian woman, the PLA has pointed out that the economic independence of the woman, which is ensured through her direct participation

in social productive activities, lies at the basis of this emancipation. Only in this way the woman becomes a full-fledged member of society, takes part in the government of the country, becomes closely interested in the problems of life, ensures an all-round development of her own personality, enhances her educative role in the family.

From the very first days of the liberation of Albania all the juridical norms, which sanctioned the inequality of the woman, were abrogated and a new legislation which conformed to the interests of the construction of socialism in Albania was created. Under this new legislation the woman was guaranteed equal rights also in the field of work relations.

This equality in the juridical field has found its reflection in all legislative acts which regulate work relations. It runs like a red thread through the Labour Code, the Law on State and Social Security and all other provisions in this field. As well as this, the state which harmonizes the role and participation of the woman in the socio-political life and in the family has adopted a number of provisions bearing directly on the particular protection of woman as a mother. An essential characteristic of our socialist labour legislation lies precisely in the fact that it regulates the juridical position of the woman, by correctly harmonizing the interests of society with the physiological peculiarities of the woman as a mother.

The juridical equality of the woman with man in the field of socialist labour relations is guaranteed by the socialist order established in Albania, and is a clear expression of the policy followed by the Party of Labour of Albania in this field.

The views of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists, who especially in the recent years have been claiming that the women should give up all social activities, allegedly on account of her delicate nature, her vital interests, are alien to our society. With these anti-scientific and reactionary theories which seek to estrange the woman from social productive work in order «to enable her to devote herself to the education of children», they intend to deprive the working class and the progressive forces of the broad masses of women, seek to weaken their revolutionary spirit in the struggle against capitalist or revisionist oppression and exploitation.

The rights women enjoy today in the field of work relations are sanctioned in the Constitution.

Thanks to the great solicitude and the great work carried out by the Party and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, women have become a great social force in the socialist construction of the country. Today women account for 46 per cent of the total number of working people as against only 668 women working in the different sectors of the economy in 1938. In the countryside they make up about 52 per cent of the members of agricultural cooperatives. In some areas, districts and regions, they account for as much as 60 per cent of the members of agricultural cooperatives.

Particular care is taken to ensure favourable labour conditions to the working woman. «Mother and child enjoy particular solicitude and protection,» is said in Article 48 of the Constitution of the PSR of Albania. «A mother is entitled to paid leave prior to and after childbirth. The state opens

maternity homes and creches and kindergartens for children.»

In conformity with this principle of the Constitution, there is a number of provisions which defend the interests of the working women by law. Thus, the law prohibits the putting of women and children to difficult jobs which are above their forces. Article 23 of the Labour Code says: «Pregnant or nursing women, teenagers under 16 years and people with a medical certificate on a complaint cannot be assigned to work on night shifts or over the normal working time.» Likewise, under Article 46 of the Labour Code, «Working women, teenagers under 18 years and people with a medical certificate on a complaint cannot be assigned to underground work or to particularly heavy jobs harmful to their health, as defined by the rules or technical safety and work hygiene.»

Apart from the above dispositions which guarantee the application of the right of women to work and create for them favourable conditions of work, there is another series of special provisions in the interests of working women in Albania. The Labour Code and the Law on State Social Security have provisions which ensure the broad masses of the working women such living conditions as they could never enjoy in the past. Thus, under Article 8 of the Law on State Social Security, working women, whether workers or employees, enjoy 12 weeks leave prior to and after childbirth, which is accorded to them 35 and 45 calendaric days before and after childbirth respectively. In cases of particularly difficult delivery or when two or more children are born simultaneously, the leave is extended to 13 weeks, and is accorded 35 and 56 days before and after childbirth respectively. For women engaged directly in production, in difficult jobs, the leave prior to and after childbirth lasts 14 weeks and is accorded 45 and 53 days before and after childbirth respectively, and when childbirth is particularly difficult or when two or more children are born simultaneously, this leave is extended to 15 weeks and is accorded 45 and 60 calendaric days before and after childbirth respectively.

The woman worker or employee, during the whole time she is on leave prior to and after childbirth, is paid from State Social Security fund to a

measure of 80 per cent of her average monthly pay of the last 3 months prior to childbirth. Likewise, «the woman worker or employee enjoys the right to insurance benefits for temporary inability for work and assistance during the period of pregnancy and childbirth leave even when more than 30 days have not passed since the day of her leaving work.»

Favourable conditions are also ensured by other law provisions bearing on the utilization of the pregnancy leave. Thus, the woman who has consumed her childbirth leave but has not yet been able to find a place for her child in a creche is entitled to, up to 3 months, unpaid leave. During this time the job is kept vacant by the enterprise, institution or organization in which she worked. Besides, the law provides that the woman worker or employee nursing an up to three years old child may be given up to 3 months of unpaid leave each year.

The Constitution guarantees that all citizens enjoy the right of rest after work. The extension of the working day and working week, as well as the annual paid holiday are regulated by law.

In application of this principle of the Constitution, the Labour Code guarantees to the woman, the same as to man, the right of 12 working days of paid leave after 11 months of uninterrupted work. Women, the same as men, who direct various sectors of the economy and administration, as well as those engaged in special scientific or intellectual work, are entitled to a supplementary leave of 6 to 12 days, apart from their annual leave.

Nursing mothers, whether workers or employees, have the right to a break of not less than half an hour every three or four hours (which is reckoned in the working time) until their child is 9 months old.

Teenagers are under particular protection in Albania. This is expressed in Article 5 of the Labour Code which states that «the State protects especially the women and teenagers,» as well as in a number of provisions which guarantee this protection. Thus, apart from the provisions mentioned above it is stipulated that «For the teenagers under 16 years of age working time cannot exceed 6 hours a day, for which

they are paid the same as for an 8 hours working day.»

Likewise, in regard to the right of annual leave, the state ensures special conditions for the teenagers. Unlike the other workers, «for teenagers under 16 years of age the leave is extended to 24 working days each year.»

Through State Social Security, the state guarantees to the working women, just as to all the other working people of the Republic, the necessary material means of livelihood in old age, in case of illness or loss of ability to work. Women enjoy the right to old-age pensions in conditions more favourable than men. They can retire at an age and with a seniority of work 5 years earlier than men, regardless of their category of work. Thus, if men engaged in jobs of the first category are entitled to an old age pension at 50 years old and have a seniority of work of 20 years, women in this category of jobs enjoy the same right at the age of 45 years and with a seniority of work of 15 years. In the second category of jobs men enjoy the right of pension at the age of 55 years and with a seniority of work of 25 years, whereas women enjoy the same right at 50 years and have a seniority of work of 20 years. In jobs of the third category men retire at the age of 60 years and with a seniority of work of 25 years, whereas women are pensioned at the age of 55 years and with a seniority of work of 20 years. Again, in more favourable terms than men, in the same conditions, the blind, dumb-and-deaf women and those who become invalids of the 1st and 2nd groups before entering work relations, are entitled to old age pensions. They can retire at the age of 40 years and with a seniority of work of not less than 10 years.

The Albanian legislation shows particular concern for the women workers or employees who have given birth to many children. The women workers or employees who have given birth and reared 6 or more children up to the age of 8 years have the right to retire at the age of 50 years and with a seniority of work of 15 years.

In case of ill health of a family member, the insured who absents himself from work (usually the mother) in order to attend to the sick, when no other person in the family can take

care of him, is entitled to an aid in money amounting to 60 per cent of the average pay for 3 days, over a period of 3 months. For a sick child under 7 years of age this assistance can be extended to 10 days over a three months' period.

Aid in money, under Article 11 of the Law on State Social Security is given to the mother in order to take care of her sick child until the age of 2 years old even if there are in the family other members who can take care of the child. When a child under 2 years of age is hospitalized and the doctors consider it necessary for the mother to sit by her child, the above aid is paid to the mother for the entire period of time she sits by her hospitalized child.

Thanks to the successful completion of the collectivization of agriculture and the economic and organizational strengthening of agricultural cooperatives, conditions were created for the establishment of a system of old-age pensions for the members of agricultural cooperatives as well. In the beginning these pensions were paid from the funds of the cooperatives according to their economic possibilities. Later, however, under the law «On Pensions for Members of Agricultural Cooperatives», pensions for cooperativists are also defrayed by the state according to criteria which are the same for all the cooperativists. Under this law, every cooperativist is entitled to old-age pension, the man when he has reached the age of 65 years, and has a seniority of work of 25 years and the women when she has reached the age of 55 years and has a seniority of work of 20 years. Besides old age pensions, the law also provides for other kinds of pensions. The same was done «for the woman member of the agricultural cooperative who, while on leave prior to and after childbirth, receives 80 per cent of her average daily income in the course of the latest calendaric year.»

It is self-understood that such a treatment of the cooperativist mother is possible only in a socialist country in which the distinction between the woman worker of town and countryside is constantly being narrowed.

Unlike the capitalist and revisionist countries, in which the law recognizes some formal rights to the woman who

in fact is discriminated against in work, in society and the family, in Albania the rights and freedoms of citizens do not remain empty phrases, but have a tangible content which is applied in practice. For the woman to effectively enjoy the rights the Constitution recognized to her, as well as other laws, the provisions of the Penal Code give her special juridical protection. As early as 1952, when the Penal Code entered in force, failure to engage a woman or her dismissal from work because of pregnancy, or reduction of her wages for the same reason, were considered a crime. In order to warrant the effective application of the principle of equal rights between men and women the new Penal Code of October 1977, also, provides penal sanctions against any person who hampers women from enjoying such rights. Thus, under the new Penal Code it is a crime «To wilfully hinder the woman in the realization of her equal rights with man at work, in remuneration, state social insurance, education, in all social or political activity.»

Under this legal provision, all actions on the part of citizens hindering the woman in the enjoyment of her equal rights with men, which are recognized to her in all fields of life, are punishable by law. Thus, under this provision all persons who do not engage a woman only for the fact that she is a woman, who do not treat her as an equal with man in work, who do not give her equal pay for equal work with man, who deny her rights sanctioned by the law on state social security, etc. are punishable. Likewise, under the same provision, those citizens who prevent the woman from attending various schools, taking part in mass labour actions, or impede her in the enjoyment of the right of free speech, press and meeting, or in participating in social organizations or any other political and social activity, are held criminally responsible.

The above provisions of our socialist legislation represent the special concern shown in our country by the Party and the people's state power to guarantee to the woman all the material conditions and everything necessary for the effective implementation of her equal rights with man in all fields of life.

Our state shows particular solicitude for children, by assisting their parents in all sorts of ways at the time of their birth. Under the provisions of the decree «On State Assistance in Money to Mothers of Many Children and Unmarried Mothers», the latter are given state aid in money to rear their children. Thus, mothers of many children are given special assistance which begins with the birth of the third child and goes on increasing with the birth of each other child. Besides, these mothers are also given a monthly aid which begins with the birth of the fourth child. This aid, too, goes on increasing with the birth of each other child.

Apart from all this, under the Law on State Social Security, the worker, employee, pensioner, the student of vocational or other courses, the undergraduate and the regular armyman, who have been in relations of work before attending the course, the school or joining the army, are given an immediate aid of 200 leks for every live-born child. When both parents are engaged in relations of work this aid is given to the mother.

The state comes to assistance of mothers through a broad network of mother and child institutions in which children are under the care of qualified nurses during all the time their mothers are at work.

Before Liberation, there was no creche in Albania. Compared to 1950, their number increased 151 fold in 1978, and that of the children nursed in them rose 7 fold. The number of kindergartens also rose 10 fold against 1950. The number of children in kindergartens in 1978 grew 16 fold against 1950. In agricultural cooperatives this rise has been even more perceptible: 21 fold.

In order to create ever better conditions of delivery for women the state has set up many maternity homes and wards. In 1978 the number of beds in maternity homes and wards was 11 times as large as in 1950 (before Liberation there was only one maternity home with 60 beds in Tirana).

According to the Constitution, «the state guarantees to citizens the necessary medical services, as well as treatment in the health institutions of the country, free of charge.»

In order to encourage the increase of births, to facilitate the rearing and education of children the state has instituted the honour title of «Mother Heroine». This title, which is awarded to mothers who have given birth to and reared more than ten children, is the highest decoration to mothers of many children.

The above figures and data prove once more that in Albania all objective and subjective factors, all necessary conditions have been created to enable the participation of women in the economic and social life of the country and, as a result, the progress of all and everyone of them.

3.

The PLA, since its very founding and constantly afterwards, has devoted particular importance to the establishment of the family on sound bases. It has always pointed out that inequality and the relations of oppression that characterized the Albanian family in the enslaving orders of the past should discontinue to be the basis of our new family. Therefore, Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses, «our Party must carry out intensive ideological work for the tempering of the Albanian family, which can be achieved only with the establishment of correct, equal, free relations imbued with pure and profound sentiments, free from any submission or left-over of private property or its concepts...»<sup>3</sup>

It is a fact that in the light of these teachings and as a result of the implementation of the far-sighted line of the Party, the Albanian family today, in the stage of the complete construction of socialist society, has been transformed from a patriarchal family which was characterized by profound inequality between man and woman, into a family with socialist features. This process is still in its development.

These principles found their complete development in the Family Code which entered in force in 1966, as well as in the new Constitution of the PSR of Albania of the year 1977.

Under these laws, in family life as well, the Albanian woman is guaranteed equal rights with man, for, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, only in that family where there is

equality between husband and wife, freedom and equality of rights for both husband and wife, true love, harmony and mutual understanding exist, life is happy and children grow healthy in body and soul.

Among the principles which characterize marriage in our socialist society and which are laid down in the family legislation is that of equal rights. In Article 2 of the Family Code is said: «Marriage is contracted on the free will of man and woman and on sentiments of sound love between the consorts, as well as on the principles of equality, mutual assistance and respect.»

The state recognises monogamous marriage as the only lawful form of marriage and provides against any violation of the principle of monogamy, against any manifestation of the subjugation of the woman. Penal sanctions are foreseen against the violators of this principle. The law condemns marital relations with a woman prior to the dissolution of a former marriage by court decision. Likewise the law condemns the man who entertains marital relations with two or more women at the same time.

The equal position of man and woman in the family is also expressed in a number of other provisions of the Family Code.

The Family Code states among other things that «Consorts have the same rights and duties towards each other. They must be faithful to and assist each other and take an equal part in meeting the needs of the family.»

Our legislation provides correct solution to a number of problems of marriage, proceeding always from the principle that equal rights must exist in the relations between consorts and family harmony. Thus, in regard to the name, on the conclusion of the marriage the law gives each of the consorts the right to keep the name he or she had before the marriage, or to choose as a common name that of the husband or wife, or each of them, to add to his or her name that of the other consort.

Based on the principle of the equality of the consorts before the law the woman is entitled to choose her job and profession even without the consent of the other consort, as required by the Civil Code of 1929.

Under our legislation, the problem of residence of the consorts is solved proceeding from the principle of equal rights and mutual understanding and interest. Precisely with this deals the Family Code when it says: «The consorts decide in common about any question bearing on the relations stemming from marriage.» The management of the household economy, with both consorts contributing to the family budget, is regulated in the same spirit.

In regulating personal relations between consorts, as well as their property relations, our socialist legislation is always based on the principle of complete equality between consorts. Marriage brings no change to the possessions of consorts before contracting their marriage. It remains property of the former owner who enjoys the exclusive right over it. On the other hand, the property gained through the work activities of consorts after marriage becomes common property of the two of them, and any decision in the contrary is invalid.

In case of disagreement, the part of the common property belonging to each consort is determined by the court according to the contribution of each of them, taking account of all the circumstances. Not only the wages of each consort but also the help each consort gives the other in carrying out household work, as well as any other work and collaboration in the management and increase of common property, are considered as contribution in the maintenance of the family.

Albanian legislation allows the dissolution of marriage through divorce, which is always decided by a court. This, however, does not mean that the state desists from applying the principle of the defence of the marriage and family. The socialist state is interested in defending sound marriage, that which really fulfils its mission. However, under certain circumstances, when marriage has lost its social mission, divorce becomes an unavoidable phenomenon and, in some conditions, even necessary.

The right of divorce in no way violates the rights of the woman. Experience has proved that in all social formations with antagonistic classes divorce has been and remains a means in the service of the man alone, a



means of coercion against the wife when she does not submit to the will of her husband, and that the latter has always used it as a means to further his personal interests. Divorce continues to be such to this day in the capitalist countries where, although the law recognizes this right to the woman as well, it remains only a dead letter. The wife cannot avail herself of this right, as long as she remains economically dependent on her husband.

Dealing with this problem in our society, Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, "...divorce, especially for the woman, is a major achievement... When the woman succeeds in correctly understanding this right, she will know how to use it. Statistics show that the awareness of women in the exercise of this right is rising from one year to another. They are exercising this right as a 'weapon to liberate themselves from slavery', when they are convinced that all the attempts to keep a sound family on the principles of communist morality have failed."<sup>4</sup>

The law contains an article in defence of the rights of the woman and child under which, when the woman is pregnant the divorce suit is suspended on her demand until the child is aged one year. Thus, with the suspension of the divorce suit, the pregnant or nursing mother is protected against such commotions as would gravely affect herself and the child. This disposition also takes account of the fact that the suspension of the divorce suit until the child reaches the age of one year can also serve as a means to reunite the consorts.

The principle of equality between mother and the father in regard to their rights as parents is another manifestation of the equal rights of the woman with man.

Under the Family Code, parental rights, that is, the right and duties of parents concerning the rearing and education of their under-aged children, as well as the defence of their rights and interests, appertain to both parents. Parental rights are exercised only in the interest of children under age and with the common accord of both parents. Our family legislation does not recognize the authority of man as decisive in this field, either. Parents have rights and duties towards their children under age. However, if they misuse

these rights, or do not properly exercise their duties, the society intervenes through the tutelage exercised by the competent organs.

When parents are in disaccord about the exercise of parental rights, their disagreements are settled by the tutelage organs or the law court, depending on the nature of the case.

The law recognizes to consorts the right to adopt a child either together or separately. In the question of adoption, the law recognizes the woman equal rights with the man. There is no article of law which prevents the woman from adopting a child.

Apart from what is stated above, the law warrants all-round protection to the consort in need of material aid or incapable for work and gives him or her the right to be maintained by other consort. The law guarantees this protection to the consort even in case of divorce. But only the consort who is not held responsible for the dissolution of the marriage has the benefit of this right, when he or she is disabled and lacks the means of subsistence. The right of the consort, who is held irresponsible for the divorce, to demand to be maintained by the former consort, as provided under the above stipulations, lasts for a time up to three years after the dissolution of the marriage, and may continue even beyond that time if the court finds it necessary.

Complete equality of rights between men and women are also reflected on the law on inheritance which makes no distinction between the man and the woman. The children of both sexes have equal inheritance rights. The wife has equal inheritance rights, too. She together with her children is fully entitled to an equal share of the inheritance as inheritor of the first degree.

A constant struggle is waged in our socialist society to ensure equal rights of the woman with the man (which is sanctioned by law) to be applied in family life whenever the application of these rights does not keep step with their application in political and economic life. And this is natural, because the problem of the creation and strengthening of the new socialist family, in which the woman occupies an effectively equal place with all the other family members is not a problem which is resolved within a short time.

The deepening of the ideological revolution has exercised and continues to exercise a powerful impact against manifestations of inequality of rights between men and women, through the ever broader dissemination of new socialist concepts in the relations among family members, through the struggle for the eradication of customs and left-overs which infringe on the rights of the woman and prevent her from occupying the place she deserves in the family.

The great successes achieved in our country in the process of the struggle for the emancipation of the women during the 36 years after Liberation are not accidental. They have been prepared by the whole historical development of the country under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, by the constant and systematic 36 years long work our Party has carried out in this direction. They are the result of the correct Marxist-Leninist line constantly followed by the Party of Labour of Albania, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, on the problem of the complete emancipation of the woman.

1. Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 2, p. 380, Alb. ed.

2. *Documents of the Supreme Organs of the National Liberation Revolutionary Power (1942-1944)*, Tirana 1962, p. 296, Alb. ed.

3. Enver Hoxha, *Reports and Speeches 1967-1968*, p. 138, Alb. ed.

4. Enver Hoxha, "On the Problem of the Woman", Tirana 1967, p. 197, Alb. ed.

# THE POLICY OF THE PLA FOR RAISING PEOPLE'S WELL-BEING

**by ABDYL BACKA**

*The historical experience of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania shows that people's well-being is ensured through the entire process of socialist construction. It is the direct expression of the putting into practice of the demands of the objective economic laws of socialism and, in the first place, is connected with its fundamental economic laws*

**THE HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE OF THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA SHOWS THAT PEOPLE'S WELL-BEING IS ENSURED THROUGH THE ENTIRE PROCESS OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION. IT IS THE DIRECT EXPRESSION OF THE FULFILMENT OF THE DEMANDS OF THE OBJECTIVE ECONOMIC LAWS OF SOCIALISM AND, IN THE FIRST PLACE, OF ITS FUNDAMENTAL ECONOMIC LAWS.**

The aim of the policy of the PLA has been to ensure that a correct revolutionary class understanding of well-being is formed among all the working people. In Albania material well-being, the spiritual world of man, his personality, the emancipation and happiness of every working man, social and family life, are seen in organic connection with life and the all-round transforming and creating activity of the entire socialist society.

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The PLA has constantly been working to implant correct concepts among the working people about social needs, the extent, structure, time and possibilities of meeting them. The permanent objective has been the all-round fulfilment of all real needs, material and spiritual, and in the first place, of the most urgent and major demands of the broad masses of the people, and in the process of their fulfilment, the formation and continuous strengthening of revolutionary concepts about taste, conduct and way of life. In this

dard and way of life of different classes and social groups, having the general uplift of the well-being as the main objective. The construction of socialism shows that people are not educated spontaneously, only through the improvement of their living conditions. Together with the raising of the well-being, it is important to implant among people and in society such a world outlook, customs, feelings, tastes, ethics and a revolutionary philosophy as would not allow the revival and spread of the petty-bourgeois world outlook.

In order to ever better meet the growing demands of the working people, while at the same time taking account of the tasks and conditions of socialist construction and the possibilities of society, concrete ways have been found how to raise people's well-being, which put in a nutshell consist in the following: engagement in socially useful work of the whole able-bodied population, building of a correct system of retail trade prices and tariffs, stabilization or reduction of prices, whenever possible, completion and improvement of the system of wages and distribution according to work done, priority increase of the fund of social accumulation as against the fund of social consumption.

Exploitation of man by man, unemployment and emigration have been wiped out once and for good in our socialist country. Today the state sector of the economy employs about 600,000 working people. An average of 2-3 people in each family are working. Now about 40,000 young people swell each year the ranks of the working people in town and countryside, as against about 20,000 in the 60's. More than half of the increase of the real incomes of the population has been ensured through the involvement of the active population in work.

In working out and improving the system of prices for retail-trade goods our Party and government follow a single policy for the whole country. Important measures have been taken to strengthen and stabilize the market and prices through increasing the social products and improving the

structure of consumption by the population, with the aim of favouring the working people of low and medium income, those in charge of large families, and the peasantry. Within a 20-year long period (1950-1970) prices have been reduced 14 times, and other measures favouring the working people, totalling about 2 billion leks, have been taken. In the 70's two important problems had to be coped with: first, further strengthening of the stability of retail prices in the conditions of the deepening of the economic-financial crisis of the capitalist world and the stepping up of the capitalist-bourgeois pressure, encirclement and blockade against the economy of our socialist country, second, adoption of a number of measures of an economic character for a more rapid raising of the well-being of the cooperativist peasantry.

In the field of direct income, nominal incomes of the working people have been raised and their stability uninterruptedly strengthened. In the first place, a system of wages has been worked out in conformity with the economic law of distribution according to work done and the economic potential of the country. It retains the necessary distinctions in the remuneration of different jobs, taking account of the importance of various economic activities, of working and production conditions in various branches of the socialist economy. The system of wages and remuneration of work has been built and improved taking into particular consideration the wages of the workers of material production, with great regard for the interests of the working people in the urban and rural areas.

The comprehensive system of state social insurance in town and countryside is another important factor for insuring the life of working people and increasing consumption. There are more than 146,000 pensioners, whereas the total social insurance fund is 6 times larger than in 1960. For ten years now the nominal incomes of the working people are exempt of all taxes. Socialist Albania is the first country in the world without taxes on the in-

process the objective is to achieve the best harmonization of economic interests which express relations among people in close connection with social needs and the degree of their fulfilment. Experience shows that by giving priority to the general interests of society all the possibilities are created for the ever better fulfilment of the personal interests of individuals. Experience also shows that economic interests are met through a correct combination of the material incentive with the moral incentive, while always giving priority to the moral incentive.

The many years practice of socialist construction confirms the necessity of a careful handling of the question of differentials in the level of income, stan-

comes of the working people. House rents are insignificantly low — no more than the average pay for a couple of work-days of an ordinary worker. About 70 per cent of the town population is accommodated in new state-owned houses.

In its efforts to increase direct incomes and expenditure for the personal consumption of the working people, our socialist state pursues the policy of raising the well-being of the people through increasing the fund of social consumption. The general trend is towards an ever greater increase of the weight and role of social consumption. At present it accounts for about 15 per cent of the total consumption of the population, as against about 11 per cent in the 60's. Expenditure on social-cultural activities takes up nearly one fourth of the state budget. From this expenditure each family profits 4,000 leks a year. The state defrays all expenses for education and health services, which are given free of charge, about 65 per cent of expenses for the care of children in nurseries and kindergartens, 18-35 per cent of expenses for services in workers' dining halls, etc.

The people's state power has consistently followed the policy of raising the well-being of the people through the correct solution of the fundamental problems of the construction of socialism, amongst which are: ensuring of high rates of development of material production; opening of new work fronts for useful social activities; correct distribution of work forces; lowering of production costs and enforcement of a regime of frugality, raising of labour productivity; making many fundamental investments and maintaining a high norm of accumulation in the use of national income; increasing the effectiveness of social production in general; maintaining a correct proportion between productive and non-productive spheres; self-reliance. All these problems have been solved by overcoming many difficulties, through a stern class struggle against manifestations of the narrow petty-bourgeois mentality,

as well as against the hostile sabotaging and plotting activities of the internal and external enemy.

«The objective of the Party,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha in his report to the 7th Congress of the Party, «is to make the life of the people as happy as possible, to ensure a general uplift of their well-being. But it is important for everybody to understand that in order to attain these objectives the principal factor has been and remains the all-round mobilization of the people of town and countryside to increase socialist production, to increase productivity of labour, guided by our revolutionary principle that, before making claims on society, one must contribute the maximum.»<sup>1</sup> In the period of socialist construction in Albania, social product has increased at an average rate of 8.7 per cent a year, and this increase, for the best part, has been ensured from the increase of the productivity of social labour. At these rates the social product is doubled in about 10 years, at a time when the population doubles in about 30 years. This rapid development of material production and these rates of development constitute the necessary basis for the consistent implementation of the policy of the Party in the field of well-being.

Summing up the experience gained in the application of the policy of the Party for raising the well-being of the people leads to some conclusions of a general character, which are of great importance in theory and practice.

First, the aim of socialist production has been and remains the ever better fulfilment of the growing material and spiritual needs of the working people. It is closely connected with their continuous revolutionary class tempering, with the uninterrupted strengthening of the socialist social order and the independence of the country, as well as with the strengthening of the defence potential of the socialist Homeland. Therefore, the PLA has always worked for the working class and the other masses of working people to become ever better conscious of the ne-

cessity of treating and solving the questions of well-being in the context of the general problems of construction and defence of socialism and in a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary way.

Second, in the practice of socialist construction our country is advancing gradually towards strengthening the social character of the fulfilment of the needs of the working people. This line has always found its expression in the full employment of the active population, in the real income of the rural population being raised 2 or 3 times more rapidly than that of the urban population, in meeting the needs of the working people from the fund of social consumption, etc. At the same time, the Party has always fought to correctly put into practice the socialist principle of distribution according to work done, by using the necessary moral and material incentives for work in production, without falling into petty-bourgeois egalitarianism.

Third, in the conditions of the planned development of the socialist economy in the field of distribution of the product for oneself and for the society, according to the needs of consumption, it must be pointed out, first of all, the importance of establishing and maintaining a correct ratio between the increase of productivity of social work and the real incomes per capita of population. Our country has not and could not have followed the road of increasing nominal average wages directly depending on the productivity of labour and the income realized in individual enterprises and various branches of the economy. It is a great success of the policy of the Party that in the period from 1950 to 1975 national income increased 7 fold, productivity of labour for each worker engaged in material production increased 3.5 fold and real income per capita 2.2 fold. On this sound base, in the said period, the fund of consumption increased 5 fold, or 2.5 fold over the increase of population.

Fourth, the historical experience of socialist construction shows that the narrower the distinctions between work-

ing people in the distribution of the product for oneself, the stronger the social character of the fulfilment of their needs, the more necessary becomes the strengthening of the role of revolutionary incentives and moral factors in our socialist society. The Party of Labour of Albania has a rich experience in the utilization of these moral factors and incentives, which have to do with the waging of the class struggle in all fields, the strengthening of socialist patriotism and the unity of the people round the Party, socialist emulation, the ceaseless strengthening of the scientific and mobilizing character of plans of economic development, etc. The Party has directed its efforts towards a correct combination of all the moral factors and incentives of our society, seeing the class struggle as the main moral factor of the socialist society.

Since the time Marxism emerged as a revolutionary scientific discipline, with its iron logic of objective laws of social development, the ideologists of capitalism have endeavoured to discredit the Marxist-Leninist theory and socialism in the field of economy as well. In the beginning they made a great play with the allegation that the socialist social order can bring about changes in the field of distribution only by «sharing out» poverty among all the members of society, but cannot ensure the rapid development of productive forces. Later they began to harp on another tune, namely that in the planned economy «hankering

after high-rate development» predominates, that the «criterion of growth» is opposed to the «criterion of well-being», etc. The concrete reality of Albania, where socialism is being built and defended with success, shows that only the socialist social order is in a position to establish truly revolutionary relations of production and ceaselessly develop them, to ensure a rapid and harmonious, development of productive forces in the direct interests of the working class and other working masses, in the interests of the all-round development of the working men, whom it makes the masters of their destiny.

The bourgeois-revisionist ideologists of our days make a great fuss about the so-called consumer society, or the society of the «well-being for all». In point of fact, in the capitalist and revisionist countries it is only the negative phenomena which have a mass character. There we see destructive crises and prolonged depressions, chronic unemployment of the broad masses of working people, sky-rocketing prices, rising tariffs for services, increasing rents and taxes, rampant inflation and ceaselessly growing living costs, parasitic and wasteful consumption on the part of the bourgeoisie, and all this against a mounting wave of crime in its most hideous forms. Over 300 million people there have joined «the army of the unwanted hands» — the unemployed or semi-unemployed, about 60 million come out on strikes and demonstrations every year, 50 per cent of the population of

the capitalist world suffers from hunger, or lives on the eve of a starvation level, there are nearly 800 million illiterate — all these are phenomena one comes up against everywhere in the capitalist and revisionist world, they are the characteristic features of the present capitalist and bourgeois-revisionist world. Therefore, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out: «The so-called consumer society, trumpeted about and praised to the skies by the bourgeoisie as the society of the future is nothing other than a rotten society in decay, which is revealing the old wounds of capitalism...»<sup>2</sup>

Under the correct and far-sighted leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, our socialist society develops in a constant and dynamic manner. It has created an unshakeable stability, and relying on its own forces, is in a position to ensure its rapid development on the basis of extended socialist reproduction and the gradual uplift of the well-being of the entire people. The socialist present is guaranteed and happy but the future will be even happier. As the Party has pointed out, our country is advancing towards still greater and bolder objectives, the well-being of the people in the future will be improved, and this we will create through our own efforts, with our own forces, as we have done up to day.

1 Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA*, p. 74, Alb. ed.  
2 Enver Hoxha, *Reports and Speeches 1974-1975*, p. 27, Alb. ed.

# THE CREATION OF THE PROPERTY OF THE ENTIRE PEOPLE IN THE PSR OF ALBANIA

by **SHPRESA KRISTO**

*The establishment of the socialist social ownership of the means of production constitutes an objective indispensability which is realized exclusively through the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the experience of socialist construction in Albania has shown*

**SOCIALIST OWNERSHIP OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION CONSTITUTES THE BASE OF THE ECONOMIC ORDER IN ALBANIA. IT DETERMINES THE SOCIALIST CHARACTER OF PRODUCTION AND IS THE DECISIVE CONDITION FOR THE UNINTERRUPTED DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST SOCIETY. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SOCIALIST SOCIAL OWNERSHIP OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION CONSTITUTES AN OBJECTIVE INDISPENSABILITY WHICH IS REALIZED EXCLUSIVELY THROUGH THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AS THE EXPERIENCE OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN ALBANIA HAS SHOWN.**

**«THE PROLETARIAT,» KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS HAVE WRITTEN IN THE «MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY», «USES ITS POLITICAL DOMINATION IN ORDER TO GRADUALLY WREST FROM THE HANDS OF THE BOURGEOISIE ALL CAPITAL, TO CONCENTRATE ALL THE TOOLS OF PRODUCTION IN THE HANDS OF THE STATE, IE OF THE PROLETARIAT ORGANIZED AS A RULING CLASS, AND TO RAPIDLY INCREASE THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES.»<sup>1</sup>**

With the institution of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania, in the context of the uninterrupted development of the revolution, the objective of building socialism, by creating the adequate economic base both in town and countryside, was a primary target.

However, this task could not be carried out at one stroke. Albania was a backward country from the economic and cultural standpoint, an exclusively

agricultural country, lacking almost all industry, and with a very low degree of development of the productive forces. Small-scale private production of commodities accounted for more than 80 per cent of total national output. Our socialist state could not disregard these conditions in its work for the building of the new socialist relations of production. Hence its great care in tackling this problem, which it did always relying on the objective laws of society. Besides this, it could not wait till the productive forces achieved a high

degree of development, and then go over to the stage of the work for the building of the new socialist relations in conditions in which the old land-owner-bourgeois political power had been liquidated and the dictatorship of the proletariat had been established.

The correct Marxist-Leninist course, which was followed, brought about the establishment of new socialist relations of production, the creation of socialist social ownership, alongside the abolishment of the economic and cultural backwardness and the development of the productive forces. The establishment of these new relations would, as it really did, serve as an efficient means for the liquidation of backwardness and the bringing about of a rapid rate of development of the people's economy and culture.

The main base for this development was socialist state property.

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What road was followed in the PSR of Albania for the creation of socialist state property?

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it through the exploitation of the toil and sweat of the people, were nationalized.

The enterprises thus nationalized were transformed into socialist enterprises. The working class led by the Party of Labour of Albania took in its hands the organization and direction of work in them. The PLA attached special importance to the training of the working class to enable it to gain the habits of direction and organization of work. Since December 1944 state control on production and distribution of commodities (this being a rudimentary form of worker control) largely helped in this direction. State control became the concern of the working people of every enterprise and served the creation of organizational and technical conditions for the socialization of production, while at the same time combating anarchy and speculation. At the same time extraordinary taxation on war profits was imposed and served as a means to divest the bourgeoisie of the power of money capital. Taxation was progressive, gradual and of a marked class character.

The socialization of the main means of production on the basis of the correct economic policy of the Party and the broad participation of the working masses was carried out within a short time and without compensation. A positive factor in this direction was the very deep-going character of the popular revolution and the wide gap already created between classes in the course of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War. In the end of 1946 the main means of production in town had been transformed into social property and 87 per cent of the gross industrial output came from the state sector of the economy.

The nationalization of the main means of production was carried out without hesitation. Socialist state ownership was established not only over industry but also over all the other branches of the economy: construction, transport, trade, agriculture. (The nationalized state farms became agricultural state enterprises.) The banks, the resources of the soil and subsoil, forests, waters, etc. became socialist state property.

Nationalizations were in the interests of the working masses. In substance they were socializations of a socialist character of the main means of production. As a result the social property of the entire people in the form of socialist state property emerged in the national economy. In this manner, the highest form of socialist ownership was immediately created.

However, the Party of Labour of Albania knew that this property, which had been created through the nationalization of foreign capital and the main means of production of the local bourgeoisie, would be only the nucleus of the new and strong socialist property which would be created in the new socialist order. Hence the main task in the economic field was to develop, strengthen and enlarge this socialist state property. At its 5th Plenum (February 1946), the Central Committee of the Party recommended: «The existence of our state and its future are closely connected with the existence and strengthening of the state and cooperativist sector of the economy. The strengthening of the state sector is not ensured only by means of the nationalization of the mines and banks, the establishment of control over the private sector and of state monopoly over the foreign trade, but by means of the organization of all these sectors and the setting up of a state-owned heavy industry, which will be the main basis for the setting up of the light industry and the entire economic development of our country.»

Invariably adhering to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the strengthening and expansion of socialist state property, the PLA charted the road for the socialist industrialization of the country. The tasks for industrialization were set at the 5th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, worked out in detail at the 1st Congress of the Party in 1948, and constantly perfected at the successive congresses of the Party.

Industry in the PSR of Albania has developed at very high rates. This is best confirmed by the rapid development of production. What was produced in one year in 1938 can be produced in a matter of 3 days today. In 36

This type of property was created after the liberation of the Homeland, after the liquidation of foreign capital and private property of the local bourgeoisie. It was realized through the measures of socialist nationalization.

On the eve of Liberation, as early as the Congress of Përmet (May 1944), important decisions were taken regarding the annulment of all economic and political agreements and obligations which the government of King Zog had entered into with other countries to the detriment of the interests of the people. The nationalization of foreign capital in Albania, which up till that time had held key positions in the economy of the country, especially in industry and the mines, was gradually carried out.

With the liquidation of the economic positions of foreign capital, the new state put an end to the economic dependence of the country on the imperialist powers. This further strengthened the political independence of the country. Subsequently, the main means of production — the property of the local bourgeoisie, which had come to

years of socialist industrialization, the role of industry — as the leading branch in the all-round economic development of the country, has been immensely raised. Industrial production of 1978 accounted for 45 per cent of the total social product. Priority has been given to the establishment and uninterrupted development of heavy industry, and especially to the production of the means of production, which in the end of 1978 reached 64 per cent of the gross national product.

The socialist industrialization of the country assists the setting up and development of new branches of the economy, the creation of an advanced and intensive agriculture, the building of a multibranch economy relying on the utilization of advanced know-how.

Socialist state property consists of industry and all the other branches of the economy. In the 36-year period the other sectors of state property: construction, agriculture, transport, trade, services, etc. developed at high rates and in harmony with the needs of the economic and cultural development of the country.

The past fades into insignificance in comparison with the present transformations. Our powerful socialist state property marches on the road of its intensive and extensive development. In 1978 this property accounted for about 80 per cent of total social product, with a growth of 10.3 fold against 1950. Three fourths of the national income is realized from this property. The working class has grown numerically: workers together with their families make up 37 per cent of the whole population of the country.

Today the country invests in three days as much as in all 1938. Productive investments occupy 75 per cent of all investments.

The production of the mechanical-engineering industry in 1979 was 20.8 fold larger than in 1960; today it is in a position to meet about 95 per cent of the needs of the country for spare parts; it has turned out the first Albanian — made tractor and has gone over with success to the stage of setting

up new production lines and factories, building industrial and hydro-electric projects, constructing ships of different tonnage, etc. These high rates of development are completely covered by internal accumulation, without credits from abroad.

With the development, strengthening and consolidation of socialist state property in industry and the other sectors of the economy, a new industrial working class has emerged, larger in numbers and different in quality. These changes have further strengthened its leading role in all the life of the country, have made it the organizer of work for the building of socialism and communism.



The working class is the direct carrier of the relations of ownership by the entire people, but not the only owner. Socialist state property belongs neither to the working class nor to an individual group of people, it is the property of the entire people. It has a completely social character which marks the highest degree of socialization of work and of the means of production in socialism. The means of production and the product of this type of property belong to the entire society, are shared by the entire community, are owned and utilized by the entire society. This is an expression of the implementation of the Marxist-Leninist principle according to which, unlike the former societies with antagonist classes, the working class under socialism is not the only owner of the means of production, as is the case of the bourgeoisie in capitalist society. By wresting these means from the hands of the bourgeoisie, the working class puts them in the service of the entire society, makes them property of the entire people with the final objective of liquidating classes altogether.

Hence the novelty of this highest form of socialist state property, which is organized, directed, developed and administrated by the state on behalf of the entire society and in its interest. The working class and the broad work-

ing masses are growing ever more aware of the role and importance of the common property of the people, and are increasing this role in practice more and more each day.

In the revisionist countries there is no property of the entire people, nor can it exist. There capitalist ownership of the means of production has been established mainly in the form of state monopoly capital. Although the revisionists of the Soviet Union and its satellites have kept in use, for the sake of form, the term «socialist state property», or «social property of the self-administrating type» — as they have done in Yugoslavia, in their constitutions, in fact it is not property of the entire people, nor is it linked directly with the interests of the working class. «The essence of self-administrating socialism in the economy,» writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, «consists in the idea that allegedly socialism cannot be built by concentrating the means of production in the hands of the socialist state, by creating state property as the highest form of socialist property, but by slicing up socialist state property into a property of the various groups of workers who are supposed to self-administrate it directly.»<sup>2</sup>

In fact the capitalist ownership of the means of production in the revisionist countries is nothing but ownership by the new bureaucratic and technocratic bourgeoisie which is in possession of the means of production and appropriates the surplus value created by the working class which, on its part, is deprived of the means of production and has been transformed into an oppressed and exploited class.

Our state socialist property is the opposite of the state property in the capitalist countries because the latter, in the last analysis, is capitalist private property belonging to the bourgeoisie, and created in the interests of the bourgeoisie with the aim of squeezing maximum profit from it.

The property of the entire people in socialist Albania as the highest and most developed form of socialist prop-



erty, playing the leading role in its development, and being directly connected with the hegemonic role of the working class in society.

In revisionist countries, too, state property plays a leading role, but it is state monopoly property, connected with the leading role of the revisionist bourgeoisie, which, on its part, controls the running of the entire economy and directs and develops it to suit its own interests, to secure maximum profit, regardless of the means and ways it uses for this purpose, regardless of the continuous impoverishment of the working class and the other working masses.

In the capitalist countries state monopoly property is an indivisible part of the capitalist property, indeed, of the «multinational companies», and in their service.

In Albania the entire economy develops on the basis of the law of its planned and proportional development, a law which operates with all its force in the context of the state socialist property. This property is the main regulator of the entire development of the economy, ensuring and harmonizing this development on the basis of a single general state plan, free from economic and financial crises, unemployment and inflation, foreign debts, pricerises, competition and other phenomena afflicting the economies of the capitalist and revisionist countries. Under capitalism state property cannot escape these phenomena which are the inseparable fellow travellers of the capitalist private property developing through competition and anarchy in production.

That the Party of Labour of Albania has drafted and consistently carried out a clear program, based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete conditions of the country, for the development and strengthening of state socialist property, is evidence to prove that our country today, without any sort of aid from abroad, is capable of advancing on the road of socialism without lowering the rates of its economic and social development, without

lowering the standard of living of its people, and guaranteeing the defence of the Homeland in any situation. We are coping successfully with the great tasks of the building of socialism, and breaking the imperialist-revisionist blockades relying completely on our own forces.

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The results achieved during these 35 years in the field of development of state socialist property are clear proof of the determination of the Party to march with confidence towards the complete construction of the socialist society, blazing a new trail. The future belongs to the property of the entire people. Its establishment in all the sectors of the economy will be achieved with the maximum development of the productive forces and the uninterrupted development of the relations of production.

The PLA has constantly taken measures for the gradual development of group property into common property of society. As a result of this correct line, the economic and ideo-political conditions were created for the transition of the cooperativist property of handicraftsmen and of the buying-and-selling sector into state property in 1970.

The policy of the Party to bring cooperativist property closer to the property of the entire people, and then to transform the former into the latter, has neither rushed things, nor marked time. The qualitative development of cooperativist property, which is taking place in Albania, is the beginning of the process of bringing it closer to the property of the entire people. This is achieved, amongst other things, through the enlargement of cooperatives, the voluntary merger of smaller cooperatives with larger ones and the gradual transition to the stage of higher type cooperatives. This process has upgraded the socialization of property, work and production in cooperatives, has further raised the degree of concentration, specialization and cooperation of production.

The property of the entire people, its uninterrupted development and consolidation play an important role in the creation of the objective and subjective conditions for the transformation of group property into the highest form of socialist property. The prevalence of this type of property and the experience gained in the process of its development help improve continuously the type of group property, as well as the relations of ownership and distribution, exchange, organization and direction along scientific lines. In a permanently planned manner, it contributes to the uninterrupted development and perfecting of productive forces, exercising at the same time a great influence on the ideo-political, professional and technical education of the cooperativists, implanting the concept of common property ever deeper in their minds.

Experience shows that, following the example of state enterprises, there is a growing tendency to the strengthening and improvement of the planned management of agricultural economies, their finances have become more solid, reckoning of the economic effectiveness of expenditure has been improved alongside the improvement of indices of work and pay, of organization of work at the lowest level, norms of work, etc. Besides, the degree of mechanization of farming, with the aim of bringing it closer to work in industry, has been raised; the scientific level of farming has also been raised.

Our socialist order is in a process of uninterrupted development and revolutionization. It contains in itself new and ever greater possibilities for its own perfecting. The degree of cognition of these possibilities grows continuously, therefore by intensifying our efforts to utilize them, we will be able to strengthen state socialist property, the property of the entire people, further.

1 K. Marx, F. Engels, vol. 1, p. 39, Alb. ed.

2 Enver Hoxha, «Yugoslav 'Self-administration' — a Capitalist Theory and Practice, p. , Alb. ed.

# DEVELOPMENT OF THE IN PSR OF

by ALFRED

*Electric industry has preceded the socialization of the country. In all the five-year plans for the development of the power industry have always been*

**ALL ALONG ITS GLORIOUS 36-YEAR LONG WAY OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM, THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA HAS CONSTANTLY KEPT PRESENT THE TEACHINGS OF MARXISM-LENINISM ON THE ROLE OF ELECTRIFICATION. THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER HAVE ALWAYS DONE A GREAT WORK FOR THE SETTING UP AND THE RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF THE ELECTRIC POWER SECTOR, AS AN ABSOLUTE NECESSITY TO BACK UP THE ALL-ROUND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION OF THE COUNTRY.**

**THE GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE ELECTRIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY BECOME EVEN MORE EVIDENT BY COMPARISON WITH THE LAMENTABLE SITUATION IN WHICH THE FORMER ANTI-POPULAR REGIMES HAD LEFT ALBANIA.**

Before Liberation, power industry was characterized by a very low degree of development and pronounced backwardness in all its indices. In 1938 there were 13 small power plants all told, with a capacity of 3,391 kW and an annual output of only 8.9 kW/h per capita. Power plants before Liberation had low technical economic indices. There were great disproportions in the distribution and the consumption of electric power, which becomes evident from the fact that the power plants operating in Tirana turned out about 1/3 of the total national output. This extreme backwardness in the power industry is explained with the general and all-round economic and cultural backwardness of the country which was one of the most backward of Europe. As many other sectors of the small industries of those days, the power industry was dependent on foreign capital, too.

On the eve of Liberation the country was in a deplorable state, with the economy shaken to its foundations. Electric power was lacking, the mines

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and all the existing industry were destroyed. In 1945, as a result of the damage caused by the war, the production of electric power accounted only 50 per cent of the production of the year 1938.

With the liberation of the country and the establishment of the people's state power all the necessary measures were taken for the development of electric power. The state of the working class began to set up the material base which would serve as the first step on the broad road of the development of the productive forces.

In this general context, the rapid restoration of the power industry and its further development were considered as urgent and very important tasks. In 1946, with the work done to restore industry, the country produced 80 per cent of the total amount of the pre-war electric power output. In the end of 1946 and in the beginning of 1947, power plants and the national grid had become property of the whole people. In 1950, the pre-war level of power output was exceeded twice over.

At every stage of the socialist construction of the country the extensive

use of electric power is considered by the Party to be a very important factor of technical progress and increasing productivity of labour both in industry and the other branches of the economy. The electrification of the whole economy constitutes the groundwork on which the material-technical base of socialism is established. Electrification, mechanization and automatization of production processes was carried out through perfecting the existing technological processes and introducing new ones relying on the broad utilization of electric power for thermal, chemical processing, etc.

The utilization of electric power, of machinery and equipment running on electric power in the various sectors of the economy created the conditions to establish production on new more advanced scientific technical bases, to successfully employ the achievements of science and technology in the fields of electronics, information, automation, etc.

Electrification of production increases productivity of labour in a perceptible manner. It creates the conditions to cut down on the socially necessary work for the production of material values, thus becoming an important factor for the development of the scientific-technical revolution. The development of electrification in Albania has served the constant improvement of the labour conditions of workers, the raising of the degree of qualification and cultural level, the improvement of the living conditions of the working people, the closing of the gap between mental and physical labour.

# THE POWER INDUSTRY OF ALBANIA

ED PALOKA

*socialist industrialization and development  
development of the socialist economy, the development  
higher than those of industrial production*

In the field of electrification, the Party has followed a correct Marxist-Leninist policy always bearing in mind the teachings of Lenin who understood communism as the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat plus the electrification of the whole country. With the electrification of the country Lenin understood the gradual, uninterrupted transition of the economy, including agriculture, to a new technical base — the technical base of extended modern production. Lenin pointed out, «We must have a modern technical base for the building of the new economic order. Electrification is this new technical base. And on this base we must build everything.»<sup>1</sup>

The constant policy of the PLA has been directed towards utilizing electric power for expanding and modernizing the various sectors of agricultural production, for raising the standard of living and the cultural level in the countryside, doing away with distinctions between the latter and urban areas. In his report to the June 1963 Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out: «Electrification of the countryside and the degree of utilization of electric power are some of the more important indices which characterize higher standard and cultured way of life in the countryside.»

The great importance the PLA attaches to the power industry is evident in the rapid development of this major branch of our industry. The power industry assumed vigorous development from one five-year period to the other. A large number of power stations and

powerful sub-stations were built and came into production, a broad electric grid which extends all over the country was set up. Electric power is extensively utilized in the sectors of industry, construction, agriculture, etc. with the result that the technical base in all the more important sectors of our socialist economy is expanding.

Looking rapidly back at the development of power industry in Albania, we notice some particularly characteristic features:

— the increase of electric power production proceeds at higher rates as against the increase rates of general industrial production;

— electric power production is concentrated mainly in large plants with an increasingly greater capacity and an ever rising technical level;

— correct proportions between water power and thermal power plants, with the construction of hydro-electric projects, which account for an increasingly larger part in electric output, having priority;

— the electrification of the countryside, which was completed within a very short time, with the objective of the ever more extensive utilization of electric power for agricultural needs;

— ensurement of a constant increase of equipment and machinery running on electricity in all the branches of the socialist economy.

Electric industry has preceded the socialist industrialization and development of the country. In all the five-year plans for the development of the socialist economy, the development rates of the power industry have always

been higher than those of industrial production. Thus, for example, total industrial production in 1975 rose 5.6 fold as against 1955, while the production of electric power 77 fold, and the production of electric and thermal power taken together rose 85 fold.

The electric power output during the five-year periods beginning from the 1st Five-year Plan, increased at constant rates, at an average annual rate of 20 per cent. This increase in the output of the power industry is connected both with the quantitative increase of electric power plants and the expansion of their capacity. The capacity of electric power stations rose 2.9 fold in 1950 as against 1938; 21 fold in 1960; 47 fold in 1970 and 67 fold in 1975.

This rapid development of electric power production is considered as an absolutely necessary condition for the achievement of a high rate increase of the productive forces, for the construction of the material-technical base of socialism.

In the implementation of the policy for the development of the power industry, particular importance has been attached to the most effective utilization of the power sources of the country. Thus, during all these five-year periods, the needs for electric power have been met, while at the same time changing its production structure according to the phase of development of the economy, in general.

In 1965 hydro-electric plants' accounted for 47 per cent of the total power output, while in 1971 the structure of power production changed

direction: electric power was produced, in the first place, by hydro-electric plants. In 1973 the latter accounted for 70 per cent of all the electric power production, and for 80 per cent of it in 1978.

At the 7th Congress of the PLA Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out: «As up till now, hydro-power plants remain the basis for increasing the production of electric power. Thermal power plants should be built to work mainly on coal and gas.»<sup>2</sup> Hence, in defining the power structure, it is seen to it that hydro-electric power should occupy the more important place among the other natural sources of energy. From preliminary reckonings it emerges that Albania has a utilizable potential of water power amounting to about 530,000 kW/h per square kilometre. This potential is sometimes larger than that of France, which is 110,000 kW/h per square kilometre, of Italy with 192,000 kW/h per square kilometre, of Bulgaria with 191,000 kW/h per square kilometre, etc. This fact is connected with the importance of water power in the power balance of Albania. Only the potential utilization of the two main rivers of our country — the Drin and the Vjosa, would give about 10,000,000,000 kW/h.

Making a correct assessment of this great natural asset, huge investments were made for the construction of hydro-electric projects. The «V. I. Lenin», «K. Marx» and «F. Engels» plants were built on the Mat River; the «J. Stalin» plant on the Bistrica River and the Vau i Dejës and the «Light of the Party» plants, which will be followed by the Koman plant, on the Drin River. A characteristic of the construction of these plants is that expenditure per unit of power output is much lower than that in many other countries of the world.

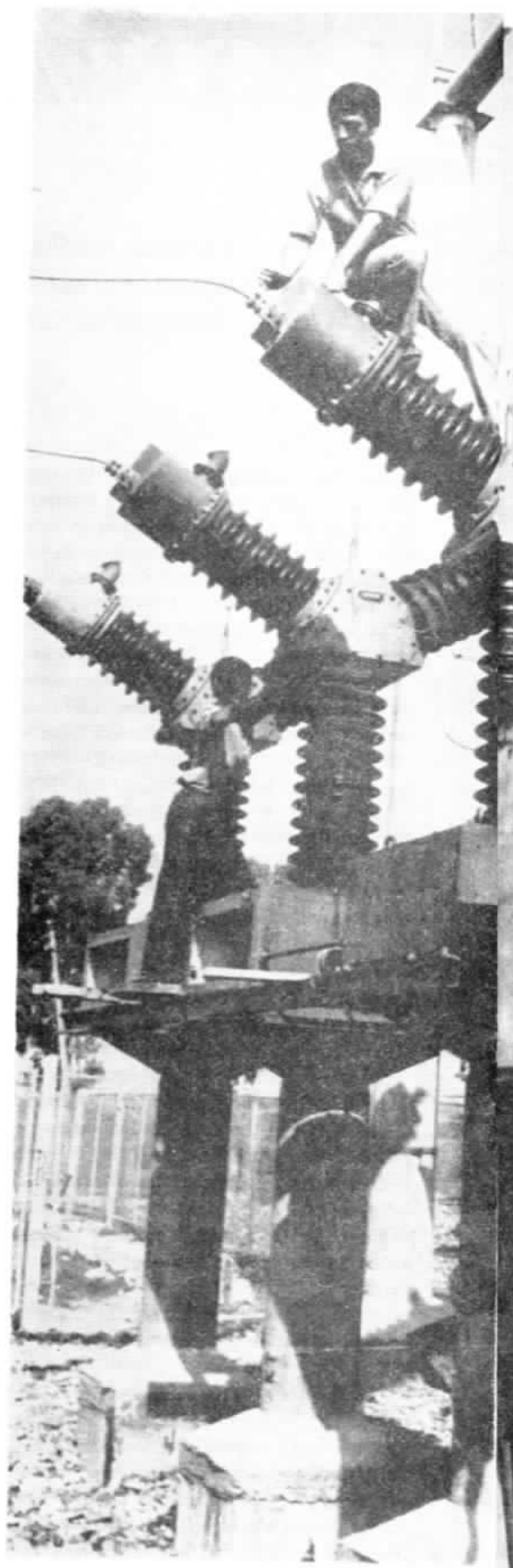
Alongside of waterpower plants thermal plants also have been built. They have been built to ensure a better technical-economic utilization of fuels, taking into account the fact that the technological needs for the production of many industrial articles, as well as those of thermofication, require and will require ever larger amounts of technological steam. Thus, the construction of thermal plants has been made by taking account of steam requirements, as well as com-

binning these requirements of thermal power with the economic profitability of the energy produced in this way. Hence, as a rule, thermal plants in Albania are set up near plants which require large amounts of technological steam.

With the construction of the new and powerful thermal complex plant near the Fier thermal plant, Albanian thermal power industry enters a new phase of progressive development which will be characterized by a more effective utilization of fuels.

The whole work for the construction, development and expansion of the power industry in the PSR of Albania has been carried out relying on the local forces and resources. From the year 1957 hydro-electric projects have been designed with the local forces and cadres. The first successes of the Albanian designers have been the designing of the «F. Engels» (on the Mat River) and «J. V. Stalin» (on the Bistrica River) hydro-electric projects. After the commissioning of those plants, the schemes of the utilization of water power of the Drin River were studied and the designing of the first projects on this river, that of Vau i Dejës, began. The successful completion of these projects speaks of the technical maturity of the Albanian designers. The experience gained on the above-mentioned projects enabled the designers and builders to carry out work for the study, designing and construction of the greatest plant of this kind in Albania — the «Light of the Party» plant at Fierza. The projects of this plant, both as regards their size and the solution of important technical problems, can be compared with the greatest plants of this kind in Europe. In the construction of this gigantic project, our builders and engineers faced up to the interference and pressure of the Chinese revisionists, overcame all the obstacles and difficulties the latter created, and on October 12, 1978 commissioned the first two generating units and the hydro-technical plants.

The coming into production of this plant imparted a fresh and powerful impulse to the development of the power industry in Albania, raising power production 9.1 fold as against 1960, while the complete commissioning



of the «Light of the Party» plant of Fierza will raise it 17 fold as against the same period.

Unlike the power industry of the pre-liberation period, which was represented by primitive and isolate power plants, the electrification of the country now is characterized by the almost complete concentration of electric power production in power plants equipped with modern machinery. They work as component parts of the power system of the PSR of Albania.

In order to cope with the distribution of electric power throughout the territory of the PSR of Albania, the power system is completed with about 2 million kilometres of power lines of different tensions, up to 220 kW, with thousands of sub-stations and transformer units.

The setting up of a single power system ensured a series of technical-economic advantages which have a direct influence on the development of our socialist economy. Thus, the needs for electric power are met by power plants through lower capacity units of power generation; the many and different consumers are ensured uninterruptedly with high quality electric power; conditions are created for raising the degree of concentration of power production. In this context, particular attention has been devoted to one of the major indices of the concentration of power production: the capacity of each plant and generating unit. Compared to the «V. I. Lenin» plant, the first to be built in Albania, the capacity of one generating unit of the «K. Marx» plant is 2.5 times greater, that of the «F. Engels» plant 4.8 times, that of the Vau i Dejës plant 21 times; that of the «Light of the Party» plant 40, where there is a considerable increase in the capacity of their generating units; compared with the capacity of the Vlora thermal plant, that of the units of the Fier thermal plant is 16.6 times greater, etc.

The creation of a single power system enabled a better and more rational utilization not only of the power sources of the country, but also of other sources. This is achieved through raising the level of utilization of electric power even in those areas and regions which are poor in power sources, thus helping in the correct distribution of the

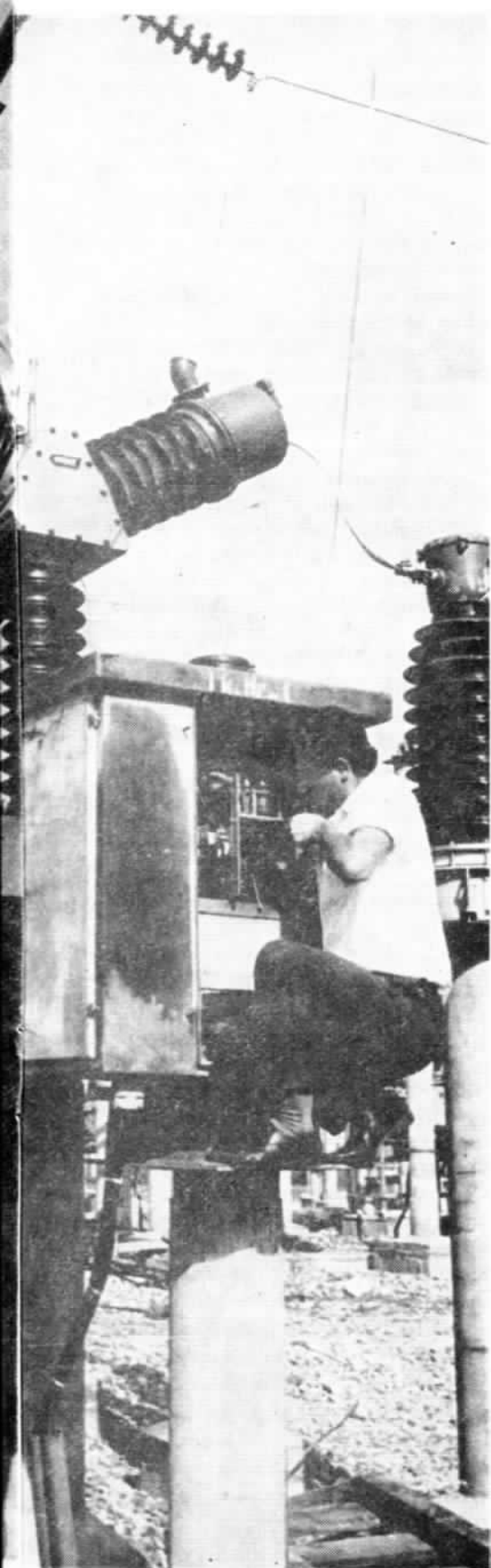
productive forces throughout the territory of the country, as well as in the raising of the level of economic and social development of the more backward regions.

Before Liberation, when very little electric power was produced, under the anti-popular regimes which ruthlessly exploited the people, there could be no question about the electrification of the countryside. Only after the establishment of the people's state power were the conditions created for the electrification of the countryside, which, as is known, was carried out according to the general plan of the development of the country's economy and culture.

The first stage of the electrification of the countryside comprises the period from the liberation of the country to 1960. During this period, despite the limited possibilities for the local production of electric equipment and other distribution materials, 294 villages were electrified, mainly relying on local power sources.

The second stage of electrification of the countryside comprises the period from 1960 to 1967. In this period the electrification of the countryside was carried out under a perspective scheme for the electrification of the whole country, which foresaw the completion of electrification in 1985. Albania had built the economic base of socialism and had set about work for the construction of its material-technical base; as a result the electrification of the countryside was carried out on sounder technical and organizational bases. By the end of 1967 about 30 per cent of all the villages of the country (730 villages) were electrified.

The third and final stage of the electrification of the countryside begins with the year 1967, with the historic decision of the 4th Plenum of the CC of the PLA (December 1967), «On the electrification of all the villages of our country». In this period the concrete material and technical conditions were ripe and the practical possibilities existed for stepping up the rate of electrification of the countryside. The Plenum decided that all the necessary measures should be taken and the electrification of all the villages completed until November 8, 1971, that is, 15 years ahead of the schedule foreseen



in the perspective plan for the electrification of the villages of Albania. This decision which entailed a major program of work had to be done at unprecedented high rates for the electrification of 2.5 times more villages than in all the 23-year long period since the liberation of the country. The scope of this action becomes even more evident if account is taken of the fact that most of the villages to be electrified were situated in the mountainous areas of the country.

Thanks to the all-round mobilization of the working masses and the working class, in the first place, this majestic action was successfully completed on October 25, 1970, that is, 13 months ahead of schedule.

The electrification of all the villages is evidence of the correct Marxist-Leninist policy of the PLA. With the electrification of the countryside a new phase began in the work for the flowering of the life in the countryside, for narrowing the essential distinctions between city and country. The electrification of the countryside had a positive influence on the introduction of complex mechanization of farm work. At present, modern automatic devices are being ever more widely utilized in hot-houses, in chicken-raising factories, etc. Electric power and electric appliances are increasingly replacing manual labour

in the countryside. The electrification of the countryside also became a factor for the promotion of culture and education among the masses. As a result, consumption of electric power has risen at very high rates, far more rapidly than in the industrialized countries. Thus, while in almost all the industrialized countries of the world electric power consumption doubles every ten years, in Albania it doubles every 5-6 years. This of course is evidence of the rapid development of our country both in the industrial sectors and the other sectors of socialist construction.

The structure of electric power consumption in our country conforms to the development of the economy of the country and the correct distribution of the productive forces. By the end of the 5th Five-year Plan, the main sectors of our economy, including industry, construction and agriculture, accounted for about 74 per cent of electric power consumption.

Alongside the development and growth of the power industry, the production of electric materials, equipment and machinery has also increased. Today the largest part of electric materials, equipment and machinery necessary for the electrification of lines, factories and social-cultural objects, beginning with wires and cables, switches, fuses, electric bulbs and ending

with complete industrial panels, electric motors of different capacity, powerful transformers, etc is produced locally. The electronic industry has witnessed great development as well. Now Albania produces not only radio and TV-sets, but also equipment for control and automatic regulation, electro-medical equipment, electronic calculators, spare parts for machinery and other electronic devices, etc.

Thanks to the correct and far-sighted policy of the PLA, electric industry in Albania has a brilliant future. In 1980 about 2.3 times more electric power was produced than in 1975. Together with this expansion of the electric power industry the degree of electrification of work in all the sectors of the economy will also rise. New and more important power projects will be built with our own forces in the future. The measures the Party has taken for the further deepening of the scientific-technical revolution, the revolutionary spirit and the all-round mobilization of workers, technicians and engineers warrant the achievement of new and greater successes in the future.

1 V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 33, p. 31, Alb. ed.

2 Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA*, p. 48, Alb. ed.

«Through labour actions boys and girls not only build wonderful projects of economic importance, but above all, they go through a great school which tempers them and imbues them with revolutionary concepts about work and life, cultivating in them the spirit of collectivism and training them to overcome difficulties, implanting in them the feeling of love of the comrade, sentiments of pure friendship and revolutionary determination.»

ENVER HOXHA

# LABOUR ACTIONS – SCHOOLS OF COMMUNIST EDUCATION OF THE ALBANIAN YOUTH

*by ETEMIE ZENELI*

**SOCIALIST ALBANIA CAME INTO THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA WITH COLOSSAL SUCCESSES IN ALL FIELDS OF LIFE. UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY, WITH COMRADE ENVER HOXHA AT THE HEAD, THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE DROVE OUT OF THE COUNTRY THE FOREIGN OCCUPIERS AND THEIR LACKEYS, CARRIED OUT THEIR PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION AND ARE NOW SUCCESSFULLY BUILDING THE SOCIALIST SOCIETY. IN THESE FOUR DECADES, ALBANIA, FORMERLY THE MOST BACKWARD COUNTRY OF EUROPE, WAS TRANSFORMED INTO A COUNTRY WITH DEVELOPED INDUSTRY AND ADVANCED AGRICULTURE, WITH A HIGH LEVEL IN EDUCATION AND CULTURE, AND WITH THE MOST PROGRESSIVE SOCIO-POLITICAL SYSTEM IN THE WORLD.**

The young generations have played an important role in all these achievements. Both in the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation and in the efforts for the socialist construction of the country, they have fought in the forefront for the application of the teachings of the Party.

*ETEMIE ZENELI — Secretary of the Central Committee of the LYUA*

The youth in Albania have done immense work for the construction of socialism. There is literally no project built in the country in which they have not made their contribution with their sweat and toil.

Mass labour actions are one of the forms of the mobilization of the youth for the prosperity of the Homeland. In the course of these labour actions, the

young members of the Labour Youth Union of Albania take part in various voluntary actions on several projects of great importance for the economy of the country.

Mass labour actions have their origin in the very first days after the liberation of the country, at the time when 23,000 young men and women set about work for repairing houses, school buildings and bridges destroyed or burned down by the enemy, for maintaining national and regional roads, or building new projects. Unforgettable is the selfless work of our heroic youth in the construction of the Kukës-Peshkopia road in North Albania, which will be known generation after generation as the «Road of the Youth». In this important labour action most of work was carried out on very rugged moun-

tainous terrain. Another broad field of the revolutionary activity of the youth was railroad building, in the course of which they were tempered as revolutionaries.

The period March 1 — October 29, 1947 has gone down in history as the most important moment of the activity of the glorious organization of the Youth Union of Albania. Its members built the Durrës-Elbasan railway — the first in Albania. Taking part in this action were 30,000 young volunteers who laid a 43 kilometre long line, built 122 bridges, bored a 380 metre-long tunnel — the first in the country, and shifted thousands of cubic metres of earth. In this action, the Albanian youth learned how to build a railway road, and this marked the beginning of a major battle in which the revolutionary energy of the youth was tempered for more such actions in the future. In 1948, the Youth Union of Albania dispatched 29,000 of its members to the building of the Durrës-Tirana railway, connecting two of the main centres of the country — Tirana, the capital of Albania, with Durrës — its port; and then, came in succession the labour actions for the building of the railways Rrogozhina-Fier, Elbasan-Prrenjas, Prrenjas-Guri i Kuq, etc. Today the whistle of locomotives is heard almost all over the country, the whole territory of the country is criss-crossed by iron rails which add to the industrial scenery of our Homeland. In the recent months our people had another occasion for joy: the train reached a new point — the town of Lezha in North Albania, and this only to ride on to the city of Shkodra in the next few months.

The iron rails growing in length all over the Homeland every new day rumble with cars carrying happy people, loaded with iron and chrome, copper and other minerals extracted from the various mines of the country, bringing «bread» to the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical complex, chemical fertilizers to the fields, construction materials to towns and villages, the cons-

truction sites of new projects, participating in the all-round development of Albania.

Railway building is not the only activity of the Albanian youth. Our younger generation go from the site of one labour action to another chanting the slogan «Party, Enver we are always ready!» Besides building many kilometres of railroad, thousands of young men and women have taken part in other labour actions to bring new lands under plough. The banner of youth labour actions flies everywhere the youth make their contribution to the socialist construction of the country. The sinuous terraces out on the slopes of the Riviera of South Albania and many other projects are monuments to the tireless work of our youth. Conscious of the role and place they have in socialist society, making light of difficulties and hardships, the youth have left their indelible imprints in high dams and bridges, in railroads and many other major projects. The Party and the people are proud of our youth, the friends and well-wishers who come from all over the world to visit this land rejuvenated in the years of the Party congratulate them, the enemies see them and choke with impotent anger, the future generations will learn from them. Besides the great economic advantage of labour actions, this method of work is of incalculable value for the ideological, moral and spiritual education and tempering of the youth. In the course of actions the youth have extended the scope of their interests, built up their moral qualities and crystalized their revolutionary features. In the first place, labour actions have become schools of communist education for the thousands of boys and girls who take part in them.

«Labour actions,» Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, «conform to the nature of the youth whose life cannot be conceived without them. Through labour actions boys and girls not only build wonderful projects of economic importance, but above all,

they go through a great school which tempers them and imbues them with revolutionary concepts about work and life, cultivating in them the spirit of collectivism and training them to overcome difficulties, implanting in them the feeling of love of the comrade, sentiments of pure friendship and revolutionary determination.»

The labour actions of the youth serve to put into practice the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha on the education of the younger generation. In concrete terms, these actions bring the education of the youth into closer connection with the material conditions of life, with the experience of socialist work, the concrete situation. In the course of this revolutionary practice the youth develop their revolutionary habits, are imbued with new ideas about work and life which, on its part, facilitates the process of their political and ideological tempering. This is another proof of the vitality of socialism.

In labour actions, just as in everything else, working youth represents the backbone of the masses of youth. They are characterized by a lofty militant spirit in the fulfilment of tasks; but at the same time, the Party trains them into organizers and leaders, as part of the working class in power. In this aspect, too, mass actions have great importance. Thousands of young men and women carry on the functions of youth secretaries or commissars of volunteer brigades in labour actions. During the one-month period of labour action they learn how to lead the work for the fulfilment of tasks. The very dynamism of labour actions teaches them how to keep pace with the times, to assimilate and apply the teachings of the Party, strengthens them in their concepts and helps them affirm the revolutionary new; it teaches them to judge independently, encourages them to undertake leading work and strengthens their confidence in their own forces, this opens to them broad avenues for major tasks of responsibility in the future. It has been proved that many of those



who have participated in labour actions and directed work there, have turned out to be able and talented cadres in social organizations, good social activists.

The labour actions of the youth have always played a great role in the education of the peasant youth with a more correct concept of work and collective property, a more cultured way of life. Hence work in labour actions of the youth, which consists of unpaid labour, ie represents an element of communist attitude towards work and property, is one of the main directions in the work for the education of peasant youth. Just as the bulk of the youth, the peasant youth are ready to accept the new, to become ardent fighters for its defence and affirmation, thus promoting the policy of the Party, carrying the principles of the new socialist society to the countryside.

All the school youth of Albania have passed through the labour actions. Our people want the intelligentsia to be linked closely with and integrated into the workers and peasants so as to know all the difficulties and heroism of work and life. Therefore, the youth are trained from the school desks to struggle with difficulties, to toil and sweat, to create with their own minds and hands, to learn in the school of the working class, to get to know the vigour and capacity, the steel will and discipline of the working class. In the process of work with the working class and the cooperativist peasantry boys and girls, students and young workers learn proletarian modesty, the true meaning of the saying, «We must earn the bread with the sweat of our brow». The youth themselves are deeply conscious of this, therefore they are ready to go to work there where the Homeland needs them most. A former member of labour actions of the youth, who had taken part in building terraces on the coastal area, expressed the interests and aspirations of the school youth, their great spiritual world, saying, «The labour action became an

additional university..., a true revolutionary school for us... In Jonufër (where the students work to plant terraces with fruit trees) we got a second diploma.» Another volunteer, who had worked in the construction of the Laç-Shkodra railway, in a letter to the commander of the labour action brigade, had this to say: «One month of labour action was equal to one year of school for us. There were difficulties, of course, but we must be tempered in order to be strong enough to carry forward the torch of the revolution, to be an example to all the youth of the world, as the foreign delegation who came to see our work at the railway construction site told us.»

The school youth, working and living in the same conditions as the worker and peasant youth, get acquainted and become friends with them, learn and benefit from their experience, and vice-versa. In collective work and life communist concepts and morality are instilled, petty-bourgeois, patriarchal and intellectualist left-overs from the past discarded, and old artificial barriers raised by the ideology of the overthrown classes pulled down. The participation of the youth in various actions is of educative value as well, through them they become acquainted with the life of the people, with their successes, with their aspirations and their work for the socialist construction of the country. Going to different cities and villages, travelling through plains and highlands, visiting the wonderful sea-coast and the remote mountain grasslands, the young men and women feel the full impact of the beauty of their country as they work for its development, as they rest in the shade of its trees and drink from its fountains, as they talk with ordinary people, therefore they are inspired to work and struggle with all their forces in order to make Albania more beautiful and prosperous.

Many foreigners who have visited Albania have had the opportunity to see for themselves the Albanian youth

in labour actions. They are enthusiastic about the forms of organization of work, the work and life of our young men and women in labour actions. They have been especially impressed by the particular solicitude of the PLA and our entire socialist society for the education of the younger generation. But above all they are amazed by the spirit of voluntarism of the youth, their labour without remuneration in mass actions. Some of them have gone so far as to ask the volunteers about how much they are paid for participating in labour actions. It is beyond their grasp to understand that the Albanian youth do not take part in labour actions for pay, but because they want to contribute to the progress of the Homeland. The people's state power, the socialist order, guarantees all rights to and have created all the material conditions for the youth to enjoy these rights in practice. In Socialist Albania the youth attend studies free of charge for all categories of schools, from the primary school to the university. There is no unemployment which is the cause of much suffering for the youth of the capitalist and revisionist countries. Socialist democracy ensures the right to work for the youth according to their abilities and knowledge, as well as their active participation and unlimited creative part in all the fields of social life.

The Albanian younger generations see the future with confidence; all roads are open to them; this makes them unyielding revolutionaries and fighters for the cause of socialism.

The main concern of the Albanian young men and women, be they workers, farmers or students, is to serve the people better, in order to advance the cause of socialism in their country. They learn and work in order to help raise the economy of the country to a higher level, to make the fields more fertile, to build more plants and factories, to produce more material blessings for the entire society, to spread culture to the remotest corners of the Homeland, to make science the property of

the masses. The Albanian youth are the youth of lofty ideals, and so will they remain in the future.

In the bourgeois-revisionist countries the situation is quite different. The youth there are constantly struggling with ever increasing difficulties. Price rises, inflation, increased living costs, unemployment, all this makes life more and more difficult for the youth. The ideologists of the bourgeoisie make a great play with the supposed advantages of the «consumer society», but all their talk is sheer demagoguery. In fact, in the capitalist-revisionist society well-being exists, but not for the working masses, for the working class, for the worker and peasant youth, it exists only for the bourgeoisie for the exploiting classes. Millions of young men and women in the bourgeois and revisionist countries are jobless. The doors of plants and factories are shut to them. For days and months on end they queue up before work offices, to be eventually given the same answer everywhere: «We have got no job for you.» At present only in the countries of the EEC there are 7 million and 400 thousand jobless, 42 per cent of whom are young people. Millions of young people roam in search of work in the USA, the Soviet Union, China, etc. Amongst the jobless there are many high school graduates. Those working as waiters, construction workers, chimney-sweepers are the lucky ones. Faced with an untenable situation, millions of young people are compelled to emigrate, abandoning their families, relatives and loved ones. But even so they cannot yet see the end of the tunnel. In the countries where they emigrate they find the same picture of unemployment and the same crowds of the unemployed. So, after many years of doing odd jobs and back-breaking work, they are compelled to return to their home countries, with their youth gone, their health ruined, an additional burden to their families.

The youth all over the world have risen and are fighting against this sort

of life, taking part in the class struggle, in protest demonstrations and even in armed struggle. The bourgeoisie is afraid of precisely this struggle, therefore it makes every effort to bring about the degeneration of the youth in order to divert them from the revolutionary road. The moral-political degeneration of the youth is one of the aims of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists. The bourgeoisie thinks it can get a new lease of life for itself and the rotten capitalist system if it manages to turn the youth apolitical, amoral, it knows that this is the only way of stopping the youth from rising against the capitalist regime. To achieve this, the bourgeoisie in power uses all means: the mass media, religion, drugs, crime, etc.

«...In the capitalist and revisionist countries today.» writes Comrade Enver Hoxha in his work «Imperialism and the Revolution», «the majority of the youth expend their energies in wrong directions. They are misled by the bourgeoisie and revisionism and often turn to adventurism and anarchism, or fall into utopia and despair, because they have been disorientated and bemused and take a gloomy view of the future, the prospects for the fulfilment of their political, material and spiritual demands.»

In the capitalist and revisionist countries the means of propaganda, literature, the arts, cinematography, everything is used for the brainwashing of the youth. Gangsters and thugs, drugg-addicts and criminals are the heroes of books and films. As a result, crime with all its consequences has increased amongst the youth. Murder, theft, violence, kidnapping of people, are common phenomena there. So, in the Soviet Union, more than one third of the crimes are committed by people aged under 25 years. According to official statistics, in the city of New York alone there is one murder or assault every 2 hours and 25 minutes, and one hold up every 7 minutes. Alongside crime, drug addiction is widespread among a large

section of the youth in the bourgeois-revisionist world. It is not infrequent to see drugged young people lying about in the streets.

The apologists of the bourgeoisie and their venomous propaganda try to cover up the real causes of these heavy ulcers of the bourgeois society. They endeavour to present these phenomena as something which has nothing to do with the social base of this exploitative order which is distantly connected with the capitalist system. However, it is already a fact that all these ulcers are the result of the society with antagonistic classes, and they are fostered by the bourgeois-revisionist ideology everyday. Between these phenomena, on the one hand, and the capitalist society, on the other hand, there is an organic link, therefore all the evils should not be sought in the nature of the individual, as the ideologists of the bourgeoisie are doing, but in the nature of the capitalist order.

In socialist Albania these grave ulcers in the body of society are unknown. The active and conscious participation of the Albanian youth in labour actions all over the country is a powerful demonstration of the new qualities of our new man, brought up and educated by the Party with the genuine communist ideology and ethics. This is another victory which shows that the younger generation of Albania, united in their heroic organization — the LYU of Albania, stand unshakeable in their sound revolutionary positions, that they are worthy and capable of taking the torch of the revolution in their hands and carrying it further forward.

The revolutionary fighting spirit of the Albanian youth, their determination to march unwaveringly on the road of Marxism-Leninism, their readiness to put themselves unhesitatingly in the service of the people, on all fronts where the Party wants them, is one of the greatest gains of the socialist social system, and at the same time a guarantee for the brilliant future of socialist Albania.

ON THE 160<sup>th</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF HIS BIRTH

# F. ENGELS - A GREAT PROLETARIAN THINKER AND REVOLUTIONARY

by **SERVET PĒLLUMBI**

*F. Engels not only was a great proletarian revolutionary, but also an outstanding theoretician, a classic of Marxism. There is no part of Marxism in which he has not made his outstanding theoretical contribution*

**IN WORLD HISTORY THE NAME OF ENGELS FOR EVER WILL BE WRITTEN BESIDE THE NAME OF THE GIANT MARX, AS A SYMBOL OF REVOLUTIONARY HEROISM AND COURAGE, OF PROLETARIAN PRINCIPLES AND SCIENTIFIC FORESIGHT, AS A FIGHTER FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY INTERESTS AND IDEALS OF THE WORLD PROLETARIAT.**

**THE GREATNESS OF MARX AND ENGELS, THESE GENIUSES OF MANKIND, FIRST OF ALL, RESTS ON THE FACT THAT, PROCEEDING FROM THE POSITIONS OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE, THEY HAD A FAR DEEPER INSIGHT THAN ALL THEIR CONTEMPORARIES INTO THE TURBULENT EVENTS OF HISTORY, DISCOVERING AND ARGUING THE NEW LAWS OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT WHICH ILLUMINATED THE WAY FOR AND REVOLUTIONIZED THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE OPPRESSED AND EXPLOITED, ESPECIALLY THE REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAT WHOSE HISTORIC MISSION IS TO OVERTHROW THE OLD CAPITALIST SOCIETY AND BUILD THE COMMUNIST SOCIETY ON ITS RUINS.**

«The giant Marx and his comrade, Engels, the founders of our glorious doctrine,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «extended their studies over the centuries and worked for the centuries. This means that they made a brilliant synthesis of history, of the creative thinking of mankind, and deductions about the laws, norms, methods and

forms for the transformation of society, the liquidation of capitalism and the construction of socialism and communism.» Their work raised them to immortal teachers and leaders of the international proletariat.

All along his life Engels, just like Marx, was always a paragon of a legendary combativeness, a great proletarian revolutionary, who went through all forms of struggle. With unexampled

passion and vigour he fought both in the field of theory and in the battles of class struggle, both against the enemies of the proletariat who dared to confront him openly, as well as against those who attacked him furtively and whom Engels describes as «wolves in sheep's clothing».

The struggle for the liberation of the working class and the overthrow of the bourgeois rule and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat — this is the objective of the life and scientific interests of Engels. He studied the sciences, not merely as an uninterested and uninvolved student, but as a revolutionary proletarian scholar, and taught the working class the materialist dialectical principle of linking theory with practice, the main tactical tasks with the materialist dialectical world outlook.

The efforts of the Yugoslav revisionists and the Eurocommunists to present the classics of Marxism as liberal re-

volutionaries who, as they claim, were for a pluralist understanding of socialism, for solidarity despite great differences, for mergers of many parties, and so on, are a fraud with deceptive purposes. In fact, all their activity, theoretical or practical, shows that the classics of Marxism attached special importance to the ideological purity of the movement, and that they never for a moment hesitated to expose all forms of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, or clerical socialism, all anarchic and revisionist views in whatever form and colour they would appear, indeed, even when these views were expressed by someone of their former collaborators.

Their determination not to have anything to do with those who had abandoned the struggle for the liberation of the working class, as voiced in their militant appeal, «never trade with principles!» was even more strongly expressed in the revolutionary activity of Engels after Marx's death. It was the time when all kind of petty-bourgeois, anarchic and opportunist trends emerged and spread, when all sorts of «wishywashy» socialism, socialism «in prose and poetry», as Engels described them ironically, when the revisionism of Bernstein, Kautsky and Co. was taking shape, emerging and going over to open attack on the bases of Marxism under the guise of creating a «new Marxism» and exploiting new roads for the transition to socialism without class struggle, without revolution and without the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In these conditions, Engels stigmatized all those «revolutionaries» who «went all out to put a stop to everything but empty words», who in the name of minor insignificant reforms sought to obscure the cause of the revolution, who declared that but for the giving up of the class struggle «the rich would march side by side with the proletarians». He labelled them «bourgeois socialists». Whoever is against the organization of proletariat in independent parties and against the dictatorship of the proletariat, Engels declared, he puts himself outside the pro-

letarian movement. If you leave the field free for reformist, revisionist and anarchic preachings, Engels pointed out, those who will be misled will be precisely the proletarians, therefore he fought against these preachings, with revolutionary drive and enthusiasm up till the end of his life.

Engels never dissociated the defence of revolutionary ideas from the struggle for the further deepening of the scientific analysis of new phenomena and events, for the further deepening and enrichment, in a creative manner, of the theory itself, from the efforts to point out its values. Always in the interests of the proletarians, he analysed and revealed the importance and value of Marx's discoveries, pointing out with scientific argument that Marxism is not and should never be regarded as one of the many schools of socialism, as one of the possible alternatives to socialism, but as the only form of scientific socialism which must be treated and studied as a scientific discipline. Only on the basis of Marxist principles and through the struggle to preserve their purity, he pointed out, is it possible to ensure the solidity of the revolutionary movement, the enhancement of its militant spirit and the achievement of victory. All this, as well as the very figure of Engels, an «unyielding fighter and thinker», will always preserve their importance, they always will be a source of inspiration, mobilization and education in the struggle for the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism against the distortions and attacks of the Soviet, Chinese and other revisionists.

Engels not only was a great proletarian revolutionary but also an outstanding theoretician, a classic of Marxism. There is no part of Marxism to which he has not made his outstanding theoretical contribution. This explains why it is «impossible to understand Marxism or to present it in its full

extent without considering all the works of Engels.» V.I. Lenin pointed out.

Engels had a broad knowledge of the history of mankind, of the natural sciences, philosophy, literature, military art, knew about twenty foreign languages, and had an immense capacity of work. Marx wrote: «He is a real encyclopaedist, capable of working at any time, day and night, acute and witty, ready to grasp and write about any problem.»

Great and all-round was Engels' contribution to the systematization and development of Marxism in all its three component parts. He substantiated with scientific argument the revolutionary change Marxism had brought about in the field of philosophy, the political economy and socialism, discovering the factors determining the historical development of philosophical thinking, formulating the fundamental problem of philosophy and the struggle between Marxism and idealism, a principle which even in our days serves as a basic methodological principle in the struggle against the idealist trends of the bourgeois and revisionist philosophy.

Engels was the first to launch the idea of the militant alliance between dialectical materialism and the natural sciences, setting a classical example for the creative development of materialist dialectics through the summing up of the discoveries made in the various fields of the natural sciences. Engels worked out a materialist dialectical approach to the fundamental laws and main categories of dialectics, developing and enriching it as a science. How absurd, in this context, are the charges the bourgeois and revisionist philosophers make against Engels who, according to them, by extending dialectics to the field of natural sciences, had supposedly «killed», «dogmatized» it, and taken a stance opposed to Marx's, who according to them again, was for dialectics alone in the field of history. Their intention is to attack Marxist dialectics which is the very essence of Marxism where, as Lenin

points out, Marx and Engels bring a most important new element and take a giant step forward in the history of revolutionary thinking.

Not less great and important is Engels' theoretical contribution to other fields of science. The discovery and analysis of the role of work, the dialectics of development of the forces of production and relations of production, the dialectical relationships between the base and superstructure, between objective and subjective factors in the development of human society, and in preparation for and development of the proletarian revolution, etc. go to his credit. Of great and ever valid importance are Engels' analyses and conclusions on contradictions in capitalism and the contradictory character of the bourgeois state, the laws of the proletarian revolution, the building of socialist and communist society, the connections and cooperation between the development of science and the development of production and know-how. As the great dialectical thinker he was, Engels predicted many processes which were to take place later. Thus, though imperialism was in its beginnings, he expounded «the fundamental features

for the theoretical assessment of imperialism», as Lenin puts it.

Complete unity of ideas underlay the boundless militant friendship between Marx and Engels. In all his works, Engels never expressed any view that could run against the views of Marx, or the spirit of Marxism in general. In fact, regardless of the originality of Engels' views, which is due to the division of work between him and Marx, in essence, he worked on, defended and developed the same revolutionary principles, fought for the same ideals as Marx. Therefore, the efforts of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists to separate Marx from and oppose him to Engels, to find out some contradiction and contrast between them, are futile. In their efforts to «defend» Marx, they try to present Engels merely as a publisher and propagator of Marx's ideas, at times even as a «popularizer», indeed a «revisor», of Marx's ideas.

This tactic, which has nothing new or original about it is aimed at attacking the internal unity of the Marxist theory, at creating the deceptive impression that they are opposing Engels alone, whereas in substance they attack and

fight both Marx and Marxism. Their aim is no different when they put Lenin against Marx, or Stalin against Lenin, and so on. This tactic, however, has failed and will always fail in the face of the ideological consistency pervading the works of our great classics, which have withstood all tests. They live and will always live pure in the minds and hearts of the world revolution, and will always serve it as a guide for action.

Therefore the 160th anniversary of the birth of Engels is not only the commemorative date of a great proletarian revolutionary and thinker, but also a call on all the genuine revolutionaries to stick to the end to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the cause of the revolution, socialism and communism. The Albanian communists and people, educated by the Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, show their deep respect and admiration for the work of Engels, draw inspiration from his example and teachings in their struggle for the advancement of the cause of the construction and defence of socialism and communism.

# IN CHINA THERE IS NO COMMUNIST PARTY BUT CLANS AND FACTIONS WITH EACH OTHER FOR

On December 4, last year the newspaper «Zëri i popullit», organ of the CC of the PLA, published parts from a letter which Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the CC of the PLA, sent to Comrade Hysni Kapo, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC of the PLA on July 30, 1978. Recovering from the consequences of a heart infarct, Comrade Hysni Kapo was unable to attend the meeting of the CC of the PLA, where the reply of the PLA and the Government of the PSR of Albania to the CP of China and the Government of the PR of China in connection with the cutting off of credits and all economic relations with the PSR of Albania was adopted. This reply was published in the press in July 29, 1978.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's letter was the reply to a letter Comrade Hysni Kapo had sent to the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha, in which he condemned the anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian activity of the Chinese leadership and expressed his complete solidarity with the correct stands of the Albanian Party and Government.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's letter is an analysis of the policy of the Chinese leadership and of the many events that were taking place in China at that time. «Zëri i popullit» decided to publish it in order to better clarify the true political and ideological motives hidden behind the show-trial of the so-called Gang of Four and a group of top-ranking military officials of the period of the Cultural Revolution, which was held in Beijing from the second half of November to the first days of December 1980.

As has been already reported, Comrade Hysni Kapo died of another grave illness in September 1979, and Comrade Enver Hoxha's letter, which was published for the first time on December 4, 1980, is at the «Hysni Kapo» museum-home, which has been set up at Tërbaç, his native village, in the Vlora district, and inaugurated on the eve of the November 28 and 29, festivities last year.

In the note to Comrade Enver Hoxha's letter, «Zëri i popullit» writes in part:

*The trial of the so-called Gang of Four and of a group of top-ranking military leaders of the period of the Cultural Revolution is going on in Beijing according to a script prepared long ago. Everyday the newspapers of the Chinese capital, as well as the Hsinhua news agency, carry reports from the trial in which are repeated the same charges of the prosecutor, the same declarations of the witnesses, and the same few and occasional words of the defendants who reject the charges. It is much of a Chinese comedy with horrible dragons and clever apes, with ancient unreadable hieroglyphs and undecipherable old symbols. They speak about the murder of people, about damage of the economy and destruction of property, confusion and anarchy. But what has been the political line in the name of which all this has come to pass, who mapped it out, who encouraged and led the Cultural Revolution, who led the «Gang of Four», Lin Piao and Cheng Po-ta, who toppled Deng Xiaoping and returned him to power, who placed Hua Gou-feng on the throne? The Beijing trial is not meant to give such explanations. It does not respect the rules of logic ad reason because its aim is not to convince any one. It is only a means to take revenge and settle accounts. This kind of action is taken with no need for facts and arguments, witnesses or confirmations. So it fully resembles a tragic farce which, with all its careful stage-managing, cannot cover up the old strife the various Maoist groups wage for power and privileges, for ruling China each according to its own wishes and advantage.*

# Y, S STRUGGLING POWER

«ZÈRI I POPULLIT»

DEAR COMRADE HYSNI,

I WAS VERY GLAD TO RECEIVE YOUR LETTER IN WHICH YOU WROTE THAT YOU WERE DOING WELL, WALKING IN THE GARDEN, GOING FOR A STROLL IN THE PARK OF THE PALACE AND THAT TOMORROW YOU WOULD GO FOR A REST AT THE DURRÈS BEACH.

IT IS CLEAR THAT GRADUALLY, WITH PATIENCE AND WILL POWER EVERY DIFFICULTY IS SURMOUNTED, EVERYTHING IS WON.

SO WE HAVE ALREADY OVERCOME ALL THE TROUBLES YOUR ILLNESS CAUSED YOU AND US, YOUR COMRADES, AS WELL AS THE ENTIRE PARTY. YOU WILL RETURN FULL OF HEALTH AND VIGOUR TO THE PARTY AND ITS LEADERSHIP WHICH HAVE NEEDED AND WILL ALWAYS NEED VERY MUCH YOUR WORK, YOUR OPINION AND YOUR LEADERSHIP.

THE CHINESE RECEIVED THE REPLY THEY DESERVED. OUR PARTY AND ITS LEADERSHIP WENT ABOUT IT IN THE RIGHT MARXIST-LENINIST WAY. THEY EXPOSED WITH FACTS ANOTHER GREAT ENEMY, CHINESE REVISIONISM, WHICH HAD SO FOR LONG HIDDEN ITSELF UNDER THE GUISE OF MARXISM-LENINISM...

The Communist Party of China, and especially Mao Zedong, who has been an idealist dreamer and visionary, lacking general culture (apart from ancient Chinese culture), have followed the course of history of mankind like a dilettante of the most xenophobic kind. Their ideological, political and organizational principles, especially since the time of the formation of the Communist Party of China to this day, are principles of an extremely pronounced pragmatic philosophy, in the interest of China alone, and with the too open aim of making

«eternal» China a superpower which would dominate the world, would make the law, would dictate its will and culture.

In the analysis we have made of their actions, we have come up against this Chinese ideology and have seen, and are still seeing that their forms of organization and their actions revolve around this ideology which they want to make «universal».

Mao Zedong's figure had been raised as the divine figure of a Chinese emperor. And in fact this modern emperor is omnipotent with his courtiers who have set up a huge awe-inspiring bureau-

cracy for the implementation of the «brilliant ideas» of the «Great Helmsman». He is riding roughshod over the Communist Party of China and whenever the fancy takes him, whenever he «judges» it reasonable, according to the «dialectical development of opposites» seen from the angle of Maoism, he topples people from power, attacks and liquidates the party, carries out a «revolution», balances the power of the courtiers. All this he explains with allegedly revolutionary formulas, which are nothing other than more «civilized» acts than those of Emperor Bocassa, the Shah of Iran and the King of Nepal, for whom Mao Zedong had great affection, whom he has welcomed and farewellled, not only because he was prompted by material interest, by the political gain of making them satellites of China, but also because his philosophy coincided with theirs.

In these conditions, with these concepts, the CP of China could not be a Marxist-Leninist party. The philosophy it was guided by was a retrogressive, idealistic, bourgeois philosophy, and this because China itself, its society, despite its bourgeois-democratic revolution, remained a closed society, with ancient beliefs and an old mentality, dominated by mysticism and

philosophical principles and state organization, which are archaic in substance and in evolution only on the surface. This we see in the structure and form of the state, in the development of the economy, in the building of the system of education and culture, in the organization of the army, etc. Everything had a specific Chinese flavour, from ideology and literature down to slogans.

Slogans came from the same source and everybody, from the oldest to the youngest, in China had to repeat them without missing a single character or comma. This was a struggle to benumb creative thinking, to suppress any form of democracy; it was nothing other but the cult of the «Helmsman» and the domination of bureaucracy.

Such an aberrant development, at given moments, was bound to suffer defeat, as it did, as predicted by Mao Zedong with his «revolutions and counter-revolutions» recurring every 7 years.

Mao Zedong should be described not as «the prophet of revolutions» but the «prophet of counter-revolutions». He represents the type of the anarchist who has in his blood confusion, chaos, the sapping of the foundations of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism provided that this permanent anarchy be guided by himself or his own anarchist ideology of a typical Chinese character. Mao Zedong is China's Bakunin. The Cultural Revolution was an illustration of the ideas and actions of this Chinese Bakunin.

The «Great Helmsman» fought the chaos created in China before the Cultural Revolution by the anti-Marxist line of betrayal of Mao Zedong and his courtiers, a

chaos full of defeats in policy, ideology and the economy, with the anarchy of the Cultural Revolution.

This anarchic revolution saved Maoist autocracy, but at the same time threatened to undermine it. The «prestige» of the «Helmsman» had to be saved, anarchy had to be prevented from destroying myths, that is why the masses of the army were thrown into action. The essence of bureaucracy with the courtier Chou En-lai-Confucius was preserved, and allegedly «new» «revolutionary» elements, whom the «Helmsman» charged with the role of illustrating anarchy as «a revolution within the revolution», allegedly to eliminate the bourgeoisie who had infiltrated the party, were pushed onto the stage of propaganda and agitation. But in reality the party was non-existent, the bourgeoisie was everywhere, with clans and factions struggling for power. This was the Trotskyite «permanent revolution», which was led by Mao Zedong-Trotsky.

The so-called Gang of Four went about it at Mao's bidding. They relied on him alone, so they lasted as long as a spring flower, but this was a stinking poisonous flower, like all the other «flowers and schools» which blossomed and continue to blossom in China.

«The Four» were a group of unprincipled swaggerers, ambitious and scheming megalomaniacs, just as the other factions of the bourgeoisie swimming in the same mire, with the difference that the latter had the «mire» under control, while «The Four» had only themselves to order about and could take no organizational, state or economic action. They indulged

only in writing articles and organizing ballets shows. They were as suspect as all the rest. They were no less scatter-brained than Mao was, while the faction of Chou, Deng and Yeh went about it systematically to seize power.

«The Four» deluded themselves that with their highfalutin words they could arouse the millions under the «banner of Mao». However, the temporarily «disgraced» Deng aroused and gathered one million people to clamour against «The Four» on Tien An Men square. Later «The Four» managed to arouse one million people against Deng. The same people applauded both for the former and the latter. Then Deng came to power, one million people turned up and hailed him; they were the same who booed and hooted him off previously. This is the dark and bitter essence of Mao Zedong thought.

The bourgeois world calls «the Four» «radicals». They may just as well add the adjective «socialist» to this epithet, and make them «radical socialist». But they were neither radical nor socialist. Once there was in France a powerful bourgeois party which called itself radical socialist and was led by outstanding bourgeois politicians and men of letters like Herriot, Daladier, etc. But this party which suffered complete failure, left some traces, while the «radical» «Four» disappeared without a trace, just as Mao Zedong thought is dead or is dying.

The black reaction of Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping, which has taken power, will go through successive power struggles, until it establishes a savage fascist dictatorship.



The struggle is about world hegemony. The strategy they follow is only a natural consequence of it. Alliances with American imperialism and world reaction are natural, are normal. Just as normal are the antagonisms and outbreaks of predatory wars which will result from the embraces of these gangsters.

The analyses we are making of the Chinese revisionists are in general correct, objective and from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism...

As an anti-Marxist theory, Maoism is in its death throes. It will suffer the same fate as the other theories concocted by world capitalism and decaying imperialism.

The team ruling China today or the other teams that will for sure come later, as a result of the internal struggle of factions for power, will employ Maoism, but only as an anti-historical corpse, to unscrupulously and shamelessly build a powerful imperialist Chinese state in unity and divergence

with the other imperialists and through the oppression and exploitation of the peoples aspiring to and fighting for liberation, independence and socialism.

All evil means are good to the Chinese revisionists, as they are good to their American imperialist associates, the Soviets and others.

Our just struggle will be long and arduous, therefore we must have a very strong Party with a revolutionary combative unity, must temper it every hour and every day in unceasing political, ideological and economic battles, must make it extremely vigilant, loved by and united as flesh to bone with the people through proletarian democracy, far from any morbid and destructive opportunism, sectarianism and bureaucratism. The correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Party will find support and assistance among the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists of the world, the world proletariat, the peoples. This is shown by the everyday life and struggle of our Party.

The Chinese fascist-revisionist cliques will do everything, through propaganda and any other means, to anger and incite the Chinese people against us, to deceive world public opinion. But «they cannot deceive everybody at the same time». Frightful waves have crashed and will crash against the Chinese people, but the day will come for the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin to triumph there, too. The present and future generations of China will understand us and say: «The Party of Labour of Albania opened our eyes, acted correctly, exposed Mao Zedong thought, for it loved the Chinese proletarian revolution, for it wanted to disperse the destructive myths which had been created in China and which hindered the happiness of this great people who want to live in true socialism...»

Our triumphant struggle goes one, dear Comrade Hysni, therefore we wish you a good, pleasant and quiet rest so as to be always as strong as steel for the battles that await us.

ENVER

# CONSTANT DEEPENING OF PARASITISM IN THE PRESENT-STAGE CAPITALIST SOCIETY

*World capitalism, imperialism and social-imperialism cannot halt the objective process of their own decay. They will decay more and more and will come to an end through the proletarian revolution*

CAPITALIST SOCIETY AT THE LAST STAGE OF ITS DEVELOPMENT, IMPERIALISM, IS IN A PROCESS OF ALL-ROUND DECAY. BASING THEMSELVES ON THE HISTORICAL FACTS OF THIS PERIOD AND ON MATERIALIST DIALECTICS, LENIN AND STALIN HAVE SHOWN WITH SCIENTIFIC ARGUMENT THAT THE CAUSES OF THE PARASITIC NATURE AND DECAY OF THIS SOCIETY LIE IN THE VERY CHARACTER OF THE CAPITALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION WHICH HAVE BECOME AN IMPEDIMENT TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES AND THE ENTIRE SOCIAL PROGRESS. DOMINATION OF MONOPOLIES, WHICH IS THE ESSENTIAL MANIFESTATION OF THESE RELATIONS, LIES AT THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF THE DECAY OF CAPITALISM AT THE STAGE OF IMPERIALISM. FROM THE DOMINATION OF MONOPOLIES STEM THE NEW AND FIERCER ANTAGONISTIC CONTRADICTION AND THE EXACERBATION OF ALL THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC ILLS OF THIS OPPRESSING AND EXPLOITING ORDER.

From the time they emerged up until today the monopolies have been unable to heal or, at least, placate the old ailments of this society, or soften the contradictions which characterize the capitalist economy, on the contrary, they have exacerbated them to the extreme, while at the same time causing new contradictions and ulcers which have further deepened the parasitic nature and decay of imperialism. «Monopolies, oligarchies, the tendency to suppression instead of freedom, exploitation of an ever growing number of small and weak countries by a handful of very rich or powerful states, all this,» Lenin pointed out, «represents the distinctive features of imperialism, which force us to define it as parasitic capitalism or decaying capitalism.»<sup>1</sup>

These conclusions have resisted all the tests of the times, the attempts of the bourgeoisie to refute them, as well as the efforts of its agencies — opportunism and modern revisionism, which, preaching about the conciliation of

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opposites, locked in a life-and-death struggle against each other, to present these conclusions as «outdated». The transformations that have taken place in the world, the gains of socialism and the world revolutionary movement, all this is a living testimony to the correctness of the ideas of Lenin, the vitality and power of his conclusions. On the basis of the Leninist theory on imperialism, Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses that world capitalism, imperialism and social-imperialism cannot halt the objective process of their own decay, that they will decay more and more and come to an end through the proletarian revolution. This conclusion stems from the Leninist theory on imperialism, from the penetrating scientific analysis made by Lenin of the contradictions affecting the capitalist order at the imperialist stage of its development, it constitutes a new contribution to the struggle to cope from Marxist-Leninist positions with the acute socio-political questions of the epoch we live in.

Imperialism is inconceivable without the political oppression and economic

# OPENING

# DAY OF ACTIVITY

by DALIP ÇOTA

exploitation of the proletariat and the other working masses inside the country and abroad. This is the foundation upon which rests the whole capitalist mode of production. The emergence of monopolies at the stage of imperialism is accompanied with increased violence against the working masses, with intensified exploitation of the working people inside the country and the extension of this exploitation to the peoples of other countries. Monopolies became the source of the aggressive policy of imperialism and the domination of reaction in all fields of the socio-economic life of the capitalist world. They deepen the parasitism of the capitalist order and extend it, alongside other decaying phenomena, not only in the framework of a given country, but also in the framework of the entire capitalist system, in the «bas-tions» and the rear-line of this system, becoming the carriers and exporters of parasitism and decay wherever their rule is extended. In this process, entire classes and states turn parasitic, with an ever increasing number of people living by «clipping tickets», as Lenin said, the exploitation of other people's labour becoming their only profession.

## MONOPOLY DOMINATION AND THE ACTIVE TENDENCY TOWARDS IMPAIRING THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRODUCTIVE FORCES

The monopolies which dominate in the sphere of production and circulation of goods can secure large profits

without having to encourage technical progress. This they achieve by fixing monopoly high prices on commodities.

They are not always interested in licensing technical inventions. More often than not, they buy patents for new inventions not to put them to good use but merely to pigeonhole them, only to prevent them from falling in the hands of their competitors. The achievements of science are applied in production not when they help facilitate the conditions of work for the working men, but only when and where the monopolies can have maximum profits and strengthen their dominant positions through fierce competition. «Frequently», Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «the big firms come up against difficulties in scientific research, but once something is discovered, they buy up the patents and hire qualified workers; however, they apply the research only when their own interests require this.»<sup>2</sup> The history of development of capitalism in the phase of imperialism knows hundreds and thousands of such cases. This is dictated by the domination of the monopolies which, in their very essence, are a socio-economic element that impedes the development of the productive forces. However, this does not imply that under imperialism the productive forces make no progress at all, since alongside inhibiting tendencies, there exist also tendencies to development which is conditioned and encouraged by fierce competition. Comrade Enver Hoxha points out that, «Greed for profits and competition force the monopolies to

invest in advanced technology in the process of production. But in the entire historical process of the development of imperialism, the dominant tendency is towards disproportional development and restraint on development.»<sup>3</sup>

Technical-scientific revolution, with the development of which the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists make such a great play, does not change the parasitic and decaying nature of capitalism in the phase of imperialism, because its economic, political and social nature remains unaltered. On the contrary, it constantly deepens its parasitism and decay, by strengthening the positions of state monopoly capitalism, increasing monopoly profits to the maximum and further sophisticating the forms of exploitation of the proletariat and the other working masses. This revolution which is made with the aim of securing maximum profits develops unevenly in the different branches of the economy. It is a source of colossal profits for the monopolies, on the one hand, and a cause of deepening disproportions between the different branches of the economy, as well as in the entire national economy which grows more and more unstable. A considerable part of the material, financial and human resources of the capitalist countries has been placed in the service of the war industry. About 4-5 times more funds are expended on work for the development of chemical and bacteriological weapons than on the struggle against various diseases. These facts show that the technical-scientific revo-

lution in the bourgeois-revisionist countries is not carried out in the interests of the working people, although it is the product of their own mind and toil, but moreover, to their detriment. Again this revolution, which is not carried out in the same manner in all the countries of the capitalist world, is the cause for an ever greater deepening of the unequal development of the economy of these countries. As a result, a situation has been created in which the developed capitalist countries have been transformed into exporters of everything, even of agricultural products, while many agrarian countries, because of the unequal development, have been transformed into importers of these products. In the undeveloped or developing capitalist countries, in which most of the world population lives and which account for over 70 per cent of the raw materials and energy resources, not even 10 per cent of world industrial production is realized.

Technical-scientific revolution, when applied in those branches and spheres of production where big profits are made, causes striking disproportions in the socio-economic development of capitalist countries. Thus, for example, in the USA, which is the most developed country of the capitalist world, notable disproportions exist in the development of its different regions. In the Soviet Union disproportions in the socio-economic development of the various republics are just as great and growing ever greater. In the same manner, in China too, there are striking socio-economic distinctions between the maritime regions and the inner parts of the country. Especially great in the capitalist world are the distinctions between town and countryside, which have further deepened the centuries-old antagonistic contradiction between town and countryside.

Imperialism reveals its decay at the present stage of development, especially in the unprecedented propor-

tions assumed by the militarization of the economy and the entire life of the country, which, as Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, «has become a characteristic feature of all the capitalist and revisionist countries.»<sup>4</sup> Everywhere in these countries the process of production is becoming ever more subservient to the demands of the war industry, the production of weapons and military equipment, and the major achievements of science and technology are utilized, and colossal material financial means are spent for this purpose. About 50 million people and more than half of the scientists of the capitalist and revisionist world work for the war industry of these countries. Direct military expenditure by the main capitalist and revisionist countries is estimated at nearly 500 billion dollars a year. In the 1980 fiscal year the two superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, to mention only them, expended about 270 billion dollars for military purposes, while in the 1981 fiscal year this expenditure will exceed 300 billion dollars.

Bent on world hegemony and domination, the USA and the Soviet Union are making extensive use of the arms trade «which», as Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «is another clear expression of the decay of imperialism.»<sup>5</sup> Every year they sell more than 20 billion dollars worth of weapons to countries ruled by reactionary and fascist cliques — Chile, Israel, Spain, Brazil, Argentina, the South African Union, South Korea, as well as to countries rich in strategic raw materials and oil, in which the imperialist powers are greatly interested.

The stepping up of the militarization of the economy and the arms race is inseparably accompanied by increased parasitism and deepening decay of the capitalist-revisionist system, because huge material, financial, and work means are thrown out of the sphere of useful activities for social production. Colossal expenditure for military

purposes has unprecedentedly deepened chronic deficits in the state budgets and the balance of payments of the capitalist and revisionist countries. The burden of debts has become unbearable for the satellite countries of imperialism and social-imperialism. In 1979 the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe had incurred debts in excess of 75 billion dollars, whereas the debts of the undeveloped capitalist countries (without including the member countries of OPEC) were estimated at 150 billion dollars, or four times as much as five years ago.

The militarization of the economy and military expenditure, in general, weigh almost exclusively on the broad working masses because the capitalist state covers them with such means as increased inflation, rising prices for mass consumer goods and ever higher tariffs for services, growing rents, taxes and fees, etc. All this has led to an unseen increase of the cost of living. In 1979, in most capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist countries prices for mass consumer goods went up 20-50 per cent, whereas inflation oscillated between 8 and 20 per cent. Militarization and the arms race serve the monopolies, the financial oligarchy, to ensure maximum profits, to enlarge the capitalist market, to increase their capacity for hegemony and expansion, being at the same time a means of the exploiting class to crush all revolutionary movement of the proletariat and other working masses at home and abroad. In order to carry out its policy of oppression and exploitation, expansion and hegemony, imperialism maintains a large police apparatus of millions of gendarmes.

All this has brought about an unexampled deepening and exacerbation of all the contradictions of capitalist reproduction, caused economic crises of overproduction and made them more and more frequent. The period between two crises, which in the first half of this century was 7-9 years,

today is 4-6 years. This has further increased irregularities in the mechanism of capitalist reproduction. As a consequence, capitalist reproduction is going through a chaotic and contradictory development. The more and more frequent crises of overproduction are clear testimony to the deep-going rottenness of present-day monopoly capitalism, of the inability of this system to ensure the further development of the productive forces.

#### PARASITISM AND ROTTENNESS IN ALL FIELDS

The present-day capitalist society is becoming more and more polarized into proletarians and into bourgeois. The general law of capitalist accumulation, discovered by Marx more than one century before, is operating with increased force. Where the impoverishment of the working people is growing deeper, the profits of the monopolies are increasing out of all proportion. The parasitic strata of rentiers and stockholders, of people who have dissociated themselves from production and live in fabulous luxury on the income they secure from speculation with negotiable notes, have grown excessively. This process is encouraged especially by the rapid rate of increase of the export of capital, which Lenin described as utter parasitism. The role of rentiers today is played not only by individual bourgeois or limited groups of bourgeois, but even by entire states of the parasitic type. They export capital and live on the fruits of colonial and neo-colonial exploitation, appropriating interest rates and dividends from the exported capital. The main capitalist countries, especially the two superpowers, their multinational monopolies, etc. are the greatest parasites of our time.

The monopoly, imperialist and social-imperialist bourgeois not only lead a parasitic life themselves, but also divert from the sector of useful productive work an ever increasing number of people whom they engage in the non-productive sphere. In most capitalist countries, 30-50 per cent of the active population is employed in the non-productive sphere. At a time when these countries spend hundreds of billions of dollars annually for a huge bureaucratic apparatus, armies, spying, public relations, or even pet animals, about 1.5 billion people in the world live on the verge of starvation, the unemployed are more than 110 million. All this clearly shows the inability of the present capitalist system to make a national use of the main force of production of society — the labour power, it is another expression of the rottenness of this system.

Capitalist parasitism and decay, at the stage of imperialism, find their expression in the creation of the worker aristocracy, in the «leaders» of the working class being bought up by the bourgeoisie. In conditions of monopoly domination when the class struggle of the proletariat is exacerbated to the maximum, the monopoly, imperialist and social-imperialist bourgeoisie does its utmost to paralyze this struggle in order to defend the capitalist order at all costs. To this end, utilizing a minimum part of the maximum profit created through the exploitation of the proletariat and the broad masses of working people at home and abroad, the bourgeoisie corrupts the upper strata of the proletariat, creates the worker aristocracy, turning them into its own agents in the ranks of the worker movement.

The bourgeoisie pays fat salaries to the worker aristocracy, and especially the leaders of the reformist and revisionist parties, the chiefs of bourgeois trade unions, creating privileges for them at work, special facilities of

housing and recreation. This stratum betrays the interests of the working class, becomes the social base of opportunism and reformism in the worker movement and tries with various forms and means «to deceive and confuse the proletariat, to dampen its revolutionary vigour.»<sup>6</sup> It is precisely the reformist and revisionist trade union chiefs who try to placate the workers and to keep the working class movement under control so that every action should take part within the bounds allowed by the bourgeoisie, so that nothing should impair its interests and, especially, threaten the foundations of capitalist power.

The all-round decay of imperialism today is seen clearly in the political life. The political power of capital has been dealt heavy blows which have opened wide breaches in its system, affecting all the political and administrative structures, all the institutes of the state power and political parties of the bourgeoisie. This is clearly seen in the ever more frequently recurring government crises. Only in Italy, where the decay of capitalism at its base and superstructure is reflected more clearly, forty governments have succeeded one another from the end of the Second World War up till today. In all the main capitalist countries, the positions of the principal political parties wielding state power have been seriously weakened. Corruption in the ranks of these parties is rampant. Political scandals, like the «Lockheed» affair in Italy, Japan, in the Federal German Republic, in Holland and other countries in which cabinet chiefs were involved, buying up of statesmen and senators by the multinational companies, have become frequent occurrences in the life of the countries where capital holds sway.

In order to get out of this predicament and confusion and to preserve its domination, the monopoly bourgeoisie is gradually renouncing its pseudo-democratic methods and encouraging

fascist tendencies by strengthening its means of violence, the army, police, secret services, organs of justice etc. It is strengthening the right-wingers in the ruling parties, the partisans of the «hard line». Neo-fascist and neo-nazi parties and organizations, especially in the Federal German Republic and Italy, Japan, Great Britain and other countries, are growing more and more active.

The reactionary course of the internal policy of imperialism expressed itself in the aggressive foreign policy of the imperialist powers, especially the two superpowers — the United States and the Soviet Union, in their policy of pressure, blackmail, plots and open aggression. In the countries in which the great imperialist powers and the superpowers, in the first place, see their positions endangered, or to which they want to extend their domination, they organize military coups of the fascist type as in Indonesia, Chile and elsewhere, or resort to open military intervention and aggression as in the Dominican Republic, Czechoslovakia, Angola, Vietnam, Afganistan and recently in Salvador.

The deepening of the degeneration and decay of the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist society can be seen today in its degeneration in the field of philosophy, the arts and culture, as well as in the way of life, in the sweeping wave of degeneration, crime, sex and drugs. All these phenomena of degeneration are encouraged and propagated by an entire industry working on misinformation, falsification, crime, violence and vice with the aim of bemusing people, of numbing their revolutionary consciousness, of making them apolitical, of urging them towards a life devoid of all ideals. Never has there been so much moral decay, such degeneration in the way of life, such deep spiritual depression, as this which we see in the capitalist-revisionist world today, says Comrade Enver Hoxha.

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From penetrating class analysis the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha have made of the present situation in the world, of the contradictions eroding the capitalist-revisionist system and of the ever mounting revolutionary tide of the proletariat, the scientific conclusion emerges that imperialism unavoidably begets the revolution, and that the revolution is a law for the liquidation of imperialism.

The modern revisionists of all colours, making a great play with some new phenomena of contemporary capitalism of the second half of the 20th century, preach that allegedly capitalism today has entered a new phase of its history which is radically different from that of Lenin's analysis, that allegedly in this phase more «socialist elements» are being introduced into the capitalist society, and therefore the transition to socialism, according to them, will be carried out gradually, through reforms and increasing the specific weight of «socialist elements», without revolution.

The present-day capitalist reality clearly shows the falseness of these views and preachings. The deeper the trend to the transition to state monopoly capitalism, the more reaction get rooted, the greater and more acute the antagonistic contradictions, and the more urgent the need for the socialist revolution. Comrade Enver Hoxha, rejecting with facts the theorizings of the modern revisionists on the changed nature of imperialism, proves with scientific argument that all the changes that have taken place in the imperialist system are only changes in its form, whereas its economic, political and social nature, its economic laws and contradictions, in essence, have not altered, on the contrary the exploitation and oppression of the working class and other working masses by the capitalist monopolies have been

stepped up further. The present-day bourgeois state, which is completely in the hands of the monopolists, has grown still more reactionary. Imperialism, with monopoly domination as its essential feature, was born in the framework of the capitalist relations of production and the operation of the economic laws of capitalism, and continues to exist today in the same conditions. The contradiction between the social character of production and the private capitalist character of appropriation is becoming ever more pronounced; this, as is known, makes the socialist revolution an objective necessity. The proletariat and the other masses of the oppressed and exploited are growing more and more aware of the causes of their misery, understanding that the source of it should be sought in the very nature of the capitalist order, in the aggressive and predatory activities of the imperialist powers, especially the superpowers. They are growing more and more aware that the present-day bourgeois-revisionist society, the exploiting system of world imperialism must be overthrown and that the only means of salvation is the revolutionary struggle.

1 V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, vol. 1, p. 857, Alb. ed.

2 Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», pp. 121-122, Alb. ed.

3 Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», p. 121, Alb. ed.

4 Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», p. 122, Alb. ed.

5 Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», p. 123, Alb. ed.

6 Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», p. 124, Alb. ed.

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## THE IMPERIALIST FARCE ON «EUROPEAN SECURITY» DISCREDITED

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

More than 5 years have gone by since 33 European countries, together with the United States and Canada, signed an agreement «on security and collaboration in Europe» with great fanfare in Helsinki. A wave of pacifist euphoria swept all Europe at that time and the bourgeois and revisionist propaganda invented the term the «Helsinki spirit» which was supposed to imply everything good that would come to the peoples of this continent. Heads of states and governments approved and sanctioned a shameful play with the desire of the peoples for peace and security, for collaboration and good neighbourliness. Right at the first steps of this conference, our Party and Government expressed their opposition to it and made it clear that it was nothing than a talking-house of demagogy with a prevailing liberal pacifist spirit, and called it with its true name: the conference of European insecurity. «The participants in the Helsinki Conference,» «Zëri i popullit» wrote in an article dated July 1975, «should not hasten to sing to the 'triumph' of peace and security, the lowering of

tension in Europe. Agreements, treaties, concessions and compromises manipulated by and concluded under the supervision of the Soviet Union and the United States never can contribute to the strengthening of peace and security either on a regional or an international plane.» And soon life proved this forecast to the hilt. In 1978 the second act of this conference was played in Belgrade to «see in practice» the implementation of the provisions of the Helsinki Conference. In reality, according to information from the bourgeois press, it turned out to be a «meeting for nothing», which ended in an atmosphere of disillusionment, especially for the smaller countries. The only tangible result reflected on the so-called final «compromise» document was a decision to come together for another conference of the kind in Madrid in 1980.

Now in Madrid, the representatives of the West and the East, especially the Americans and the Soviets, have engaged in a real duel of words in which each brings «argument» to the responsibility of the partner for the

grave and complicated situation existing today in our continent and all over the world. But these squabbles are nothing other than another manifestation of the permanent inter-imperialist rivalry, the attempts of each imperialist superpower to discredit its rival and bring it to its knees, their desire to win as many points as possible in the eye of world public opinion. Outside this rhetoric, the European reality of the five years after the Helsinki Conference clearly shows that American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism have never bothered themselves about genuine European security. They are only worried about securing their spheres of influence, strengthening and enlarging their political and military bases, promoting their political and economic hegemony, concentrating as many forces as possible in the areas where «vacuums» are created, where revolutions and the national liberation struggles of the peoples take place. Indeed, instead of being turned into an isle of peace, security and good neighbourliness, Europe, on the contrary, has been transformed into an isle

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of insecurity, strife and disagreement, an arena of permanent rivalries. In the military field, American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism focussed more than ever on the strengthening of the military machines they have built up in Europe, of their many military bases and, especially, on the further strengthening and modernization of aggressive pacts led and manipulated by them — NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. During these years the armies of these two confronting blocs have not been reduced by a single soldier, on the contrary, they have increased even more their capacity for aggression and their arsenals of conventional and nuclear weapons — tanks, aircraft, naval fleets and missiles. Innumerable military exercises are being held in Europe during which the generals of the superpowers test their plans of invasion and terrorize the European peoples with the nuclear bugbear. This is Europe in the military field five years after the holding of the Conference on «European security» — a true powder-keg, a battlefield where three to four times more military forces than there were on the eve of the Second World War are massed in a state of permanent readiness.

The social-imperialist chiefs treat their «brothers» in Co-

mecon and the Warsaw Treaty as real vassals, demanding even the total sell-out of their national independence from them. Likewise, the all-round pressure and threats of the imperialism of the United States of America towards the European countries have reached the point of open threats which offend the national dignity and endanger the independence of these countries.

As the Helsinki Conference in 1975, the Belgrade Conference in 1978 and, more recently, the Madrid Conference have shown, the farce of European security is the product of the American-Soviet secret diplomacy and, as such, it serves their aggressive and hegemonic aims. The other participants in this conference played a minor role or purely formal one, just to create the background of the conference and give it more solemnity and credibility. In reality nobody can deny the fact that the holding of the Madrid Conference was decided as a result of separate Soviet-American deals, of secret talks between Moscow and Washington. The Madrid Conference, the foreign press wrote, «began as a result of a deal between the superpowers.» This holds true even now. The representatives of Moscow and Washington continue their talks in Madrid

and even to make little of the public opinion. In this way, the superpowers decide the development of the conference, while the other delegates merely express their approval of and joy over the agreement the superpowers are reaching between them. Indeed, if the American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists «saved» in the last minute the Madrid Conference from complete failure, this shows that they need it. They need it to sugarcoat their aggressive and hegemony-seeking policy, to create the impression that they are for peace and security and to spread the fog of pacifism among the European peoples, to force them to renounce the defence of their national interests and to scurry for shelter under the defensive umbrellas of these savage enemies of freedom, independence and peace.

But peace and security in Europe have not and will never come from their enemies, from those who threaten them. They are achieved by denouncing the farces staged by American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, by destroying their bases of war and pressure and strengthening genuine freedom and national independence. And this only the peoples can carry out.



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review****ATTEMPTS AT FASCIZING THE SPIRITUAL WORLD  
IN THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES***«DRITA» — organ of the Writers and Artists' League of Albania*

Today when the socio-political situation in the capitalist world is growing more acute with each passing day because of the deep-going crises, revolutionary movements and the anger of the masses, the international bourgeoisie is playing heavily on the card of fascism in order to get out of this whirlpool in which it is drowning. For this purpose, the great propaganda campaign in favour of fascism tries to fabricate «documents» and «proofs» in order to erase from people's memory the crimes of fascism, to cover up its hideous traces. Indeed, in various countries of the capitalist world, fascism, organized in parties or political or military organizations, is having its say not only by means of propaganda, but also through methods of violence and intimidation, the more so as there are still many people who continue to delude themselves with the thought that fascism and nazism were mere fancies of the past, that memorial plates are the only testimonies of a time which will never come back.

The reality shows that the smokescreen the international bourgeoisie and the secret

services raised after the Second World War could not cover up their efforts to restore the forces of the right, to support, organize and finance them in order to set up new organizations for old and new fascists. So the fascist plague has revived. Fascism is alive and active and tries to adapt itself to present-day situations. The acts of the new play are being rehearsed, as before, in the streets and squares of Rome, Turin, Munich, Frankfurt, London, Madrid, etc. Fascist banners and fanfares at manifestations and parades have been seen and heard in boulevards and public parks along with cries of «Sieg, Heil!» and «Evviva!» Despite these openly provocative activities, the Western press continues to harp on the same old tune, describing them as actions of incurable «nostalgics» revived with reminiscences of the past.

In the German Federal Republic today there are about 300 organizations of an openly nazi character which publish more than 121 books of an undisguised fascist content. While the terror of these «nostalgics» causes scores of victims in the streets, parks and

cinemas of German cities each year, and all this is ascribed to «civil matters» file. The intention is clear. In Italy more than 209 terrorist groups, which comprise in their ranks more members and supporters than Mussolini had at the time when he organized the march on Rome, have hundreds of murders, thousands of kidnappings and burglaries on their record. These groups, which live on the spot of their crimes cards signed by the «Red Brigades», «The Revolutionary Armed Nuclei», «The Proletarian Armed Nuclei», «The Fighters for Communism», etc. have taken the place of the black shirts of the pre-war years. In the United States, the German Nazi Party stands out for its activities among 100 other self-styled national-socialist organizations. Many neo-fascist organizations in France, Belgium, Switzerland, etc. operate under peaceful names such as «The Front of Truth», «The Sports Association» or «Defence Organization», etc. The tick-tock of clockwork bombs placed by the fascists in shops, train stations, cinemas and even in water-closets in Germany, Italy, Spain, France and other countries ends in

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murderous blasts. The authors of these «games» pose for the photo-reporters of newspapers and magazines, or television and radio stations, while the police seeks them where they are not. The organization or sports group of the mustached Hoffmann have many a time been presented in romantic tones on the West-German TV broadcasts. They have described in a humorous key the training camp of these «sportsmen» (about 500 individuals) as a museum of relics of the nazi time. The sorry painter Hoffmann and his sons playing with old guns and machine guns of the former Wehrmacht and reading books and booklets of the nazi time were presented as victims of a sort of harmless Quixotism. And this was repeated even a few days before the bombs of the «bloody Spring 1980» went off at first in Bologna and then in Munich, where Hoffmann's «sports» group and the Italian «camerati» have shown their true intentions.

More and more books are published and films turned for the fascist organizations and groups such as «Hitler — a Career», «The Night Watchman», biographies of Hitler and Mussolini and their works are sold. At bookstores and bookstalls of West-European cities gramophone records with Hitler' and Musso-

lini's speeches, albums with photos from the life and activity of fascist chiefs, recording cassettes with fascist marches and songs, etc. are sold freely. Prices for fascist relics sold at auction are on the rise. Swastikas, books with autographs, shoes, uniforms, combs even sponges and other personal belongings of the fascist top chiefs are running high. Many publishing houses have contracts to print the memoirs of the former fascist generals and intelligence chiefs, of their waiters, doctors, mistresses and photographers. The aim of all this activity is to create the impression that fascism was not a great evil and had nothing to do with the extermination of whole nations, that the historical circumstances were to blame for creating the conditions for people to reveal their aggressive instincts (!)

Along with these attempts to confuse people, and especially, the younger generation, new literary, historical, philosophical works (apart from those which, in the time of fascism, were considered as classics and were raised to the skies) are being published. All these publications, at times more openly and at times in subdued tones, carry fascist ideas. Thus, in historical magazines published in the German Federal Republic, Italy, etc. the articles of the former

generals and top-ranking officials of fascism about the lightning wars, the squabbles and purges in the top spheres, the collaborationists of the occupied countries, etc. have a prominent place. They call openly for the rehabilitation of hated figures notorious for their participation in the emergence, formation and crimes of fascism, and this on the basis of fabricated documents and concocted facts, or in an effort to present them as «dissidents» and even victims of fascism. In the book «Kanaris», which has been published in several languages, historic truth is distorted to the point that the former chief of the ill-famed Abwehr, Admiral Kanaris, is presented as a patriotic dutiful German, an opponent of Hitler (!) All this is done regardless of the fact that the admiral and his men took part in the preparation of the nazi invasions and the annihilation of hundreds of thousands of innocent people. Likewise, «Magda Goebels», a book which deals with the wife of the propaganda minister of the Third Reich, writes about the «noble» sentiments of exemplary consorts, Goebel's great zeal to serve Germany, his «oratory» gift, his differences and quarrels with the other jackals, regardless of the fact that he was one of the most criminal figures of the fascist murderers, the inspirer of the

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racist policy, and responsible for the extermination of millions of people.

Studies, articles and even books are being published in the different countries of Western Europe about the structure of the political, economic and military system of nazi Germany. The experience of nazism in the field of the economy, the methods followed for the creation of the nazi military potential are studied in detail by groups of experts of the imperialist and social-imperialist countries which do not hesitate to express their admiration for them. A spokesman for this fascist experience, Albrecht Speer, former minister of armaments of the Third Reich, who together with the Krupp dynasty set Europe ablaze, is an «outstanding» figure. This experience is needed not only by the magnates of the war industry in the capitalist coun-

tries, but also by the partisans of the policy from positions of strength, of the inevitability of war and of «teaching others a lesson».

In some other studies and publications the failures and military defeats of fascism are described as the consequence of nervous breakdowns, insomnia or spiritual crises of the main leaders. In the book «The Diary of Hitler's Doctor», which is in fact an attempt at justifying the archnazi with medical arguments, the author goes so far as to say that the defeats of nazi Germany were not due to the relentless struggle of the enslaved peoples and countries, but to the fact that at those decisive moments the Führer was in no position to command because of insomnia, heart trouble, nervous breakdowns, etc., etc. On the other hand, in books such as «The Revival of the Scorpion», «Interpretations of fascism»,

the authors dare to claim that the revival of fascism is an historical necessity dictated by the grave situation caused by crises, scandals and confusion reigning in several capitalist countries, that fascism alone can smooth over the situation with an iron hand.

But lessons from history are not easily forgotten. The ever fresh red carnation which is placed every day in the barrel of the rifle of the triumphant partisan who has put his foot on the chest of the prostrate nazi soldier: — the memorial to the Albanian martyrs at Mathausen, in a place which is itself a memorial to the innumerable victims of nazism, is a symbol of the memory of mankind. It shows that the past cannot be wiped off and that the barrel of the people's gun will not pardon those who want to stage back the tragedies of the past.

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### **THE INFLOW OF WESTERN CAPITAL INTO THE REVISIONIST COUNTRIES WORSENS THE CONDITIONS OF THE WORKING CLASS**

«PUNA» — organ of the Central Council of the TUA

The revisionist countries have been completely integrated into the world capitalist system. The working

class there is subject to all forms of direct and indirect exploitation. It is exploited not only by the ruling

revisionist bourgeoisie but also by the international bourgeoisie, by its blood-sucking capital which is infiltrating

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into all the pores of the economy of the revisionist countries.

Whether in the West or in the East, the world of capital is in the grip of an all-round crisis of unexampled destructiveness, the greatest in the post-war period. Faced with this extremely critical situation, impelled by political motives — for the consolidation and further deepening of the retrogressive process of capitalist integration of the revisionist countries, the Western world is groping for a way out of this situation by stepping up its presence in the vast market of the revisionist countries which are thirsty for capital and goods and for the maximum profit possible. The East does not deny the economic superiority of the West and its own technological backwardness, it does not conceal its great need for Western capital and for the refined methods of the intensive exploitation of the working class applied in the Western countries. The common interests of these countries, integrated into the same capitalist community, have given rise to the phenomenon that, after a relatively short period of 15 years, capital from the Western countries — more than 100 billion dollars worth, is flowing again into the market of the revisionist countries.

The revisionist East has flung open all its doors to Western capital, but the «generosity» of the West is not shared equally amongst all its Eastern partners. Where the pro-Western atmosphere is warmer, the flow of Western capital is more ample. Although the last to follow an «open door» policy, social-imperialist China has managed to emerge on top of the list as regards the amount of Western capital invested in its economy. Western investments in China have already reached the 20 billion dollar mark with the tendency towards growing rapidly. China is followed by Poland, the Soviet Union, etc.

The Western capital penetrates into the revisionist countries in various forms. The aim of all this is to ensure maximum profits through the merciless exploitation of the working class and the broad working masses. Western capital export to the revisionist countries is made usually in the form of credits by multinational companies and big monopoly banks, either directly or indirectly, through the intermediary of the industrialized capitalist countries and their governments. As a rule, these credits are repaid through compensation in kind. The produce of the enterprises open-

rating on such credit, in the first place, go to the money-lending countries, to pay for the credits and their interest rates. In this manner, the multinational companies absorb part of the surplus value created through the exploitation of the working class in the plants and enterprises set up by the state monopoly of the revisionist countries. Whereas the remainder of the surplus value, in open or disguised forms, is appropriated by the new revisionist bourgeoisie of these countries. As a rule, 20 per cent of the annual value of the production of joint ventures of the «peaceful collaboration» between the capitalists of the West and the East is utilized for the above-stated purposes. These credits which serve only the interests of the revisionist bourgeoisie, in fact, are paid by the workers of the revisionist countries where the degree of exploitation is one of the highest in the world. According to recent reports of the Western press, during the recent decades, the degree of exploitation of the working class in the Comecon countries has gone up 20-25 per cent with the highest degree in those enterprises which are the product of «cooperation» with Western capital or which, like monopoly companies, operate on joint capital.

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Joint ventures have found a very suitable ground and are ever more flourishing in the economy of capitalist China. Joint companies, with the participation of Western, in the first place American, capital are mushrooming in China, extending their activity to all the sectors of the economy of this country without any limitation. The Beijing chiefs have laid their hopes on this capital to make China strong economically and militarily, to transform it into an imperialist superpower as quickly as possible. As Deng Xiaoping has declared recently, «China will continue to follow its policy of open doors in order to profit from everybody.» The joint companies that have been or continue to be set up with American, Japanese, West-German, French and other capital, enjoy such privileges which similar companies operating in

the Western countries can hardly dream of. Western businessmen are placed even on the boards of management in these companies. Profit is shared out according to capital invested. Besides, the foreign capitalists' profits are exempt from taxes. In China today these companies have become the main prop up for the carrying out of the new economic policy by the Chinese revisionists. These companies are truthful copies of contemporary capitalism which they are restoring in their country doggedly. The workers of these joint companies are more savagely exploited than those in the other capitalist enterprises, with wages here being the lowest, managers omnipotent — they can even throw the workers into the street when the laws governing the market and when the interests of capitalist business require it. The free

flow of capital from the Western market to the Chinese market and vice-versa could only bring about the free movement of the Chinese labour force. This commodity, which is the cheapest on foreign labour markets, has begun to be exported on a large scale. In this way the Chinese working class is exploited by foreign capital both in the joint enterprises operating in China and in their branches, or in the other multinational companies operating outside China. The Beijing revisionist hierarchy, bent on collecting as much foreign currency as possible for the implementation of their ill-famed program of «Four Modernizations», encourages and organizes the export of the Chinese labour force to the Western countries. With this commodity it sells so cheaply it can compete with success on the market of this world.

■

### **THE AZANIAN STUDENTS IN STRUGGLE AGAINST THE PRETORIA RACIST REGIME**

«MÉSUESI» — organ of the Ministry of Education and Culture

South Africa, the bastion of apartheid and racial discrimination, has recently been hit by a powerful wave of the

struggle of the oppressed Azanian masses. Protest demonstrations and manifestations of the various classes

and sections of the population — workers, peasants, youth, etc. have gone on for days in the different cities of the coun-

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try — Johannesburg, Soweto, Port-Elizabeth, Capetown, etc.

More and more Azanian students are taking part in this broad protest movement which is part of the struggle of this people oppressed, exploited and humiliated by a handful of white racists. Thus, for several days last November thousands of students boycotted the schools and universities and marched through the streets of the main cities in protest against the inequalities existing in the school system, in an effort to eliminate racial discrimination in the schools and to lower school fees, demanding that measures should be taken to improve the conditions of study for the coloured students.

On November 6, more than 3,000 students boycotted lessons in Johannesburg. On November 7 and 8, the students of Port-Elizabeth and Tritian followed in the same way. Against the demonstrating students were thrown the armed forces of the regime which with greatest savagery, using tear and gas bombs, baton charges and even firearms, tried to disperse the protest demonstrations of the students. On their part, the Azanian students met the savage violence of the white racists with violence. The students erected several barricades and grappled with the

military forces of the regime for hours on end.

The stepping up of the struggle of the Azanian students reflects their growing dissatisfaction at the humiliating and discriminatory policy followed by the Pretoria racist regime in the field of education. It is a fact that South-African schools and universities have become places of blatant discrimination against the coloured population. The children of the Azanian population are barred by law from the schools and universities which are only for the white students. The few separate schools existing for the negro children are under the strict supervision of the racist police which does not hesitate to close them down under the slightest pretext. Thus 17 schools were recently closed and 58,000 students were expelled by orders of the racist authorities. Besides, the South-African racist regime is cutting on public expenditure for education, reducing the capacities of schools, impoverishing the material base of teaching, and consequently, causing the standard of lessons for the Azanian students to drop constantly.

Statistics confirm the discriminatory line of the South-African authorities in this field. The Pretoria white ra-

cists spend on the education of a coloured child ten times less than on the education of a white child. On the other hand, the protest demonstrations and manifestations of the Azanian students are also directed against the decadent structure of education and teaching programs which are worked out by the white racists and which are through and through imbued by a racist spirit. They proceed from the assumption that the coloured and negro population are second and third rate people. It is intended to implant in the minds of the white children the feeling of the superiority of their race and to convince the coloured and negroes that they belong to an inferior race. Teaching programs and text-books reflect the policy that denies the coloured and negro children the right to broad knowledge, one that misinforms them about the rich traditions of the Azanian people, a policy that is directed against a free popular education.

Therefore the students are closing their ranks and linking their struggle with that of the working class and the broad working masses of the Azanian people for a free and independent Azania, free from oppression and racial discrimination.

**press  
review****DEMAGOGY AND THE REALITY  
OF THE CONDITION OF THE WOMAN IN THE CAPITALIST  
AND REVISIONIST COUNTRIES***«SHQIPTARJA e RE» — organ of the General Council of the WUA*

The bourgeois and revisionist constitutions solemnly proclaim the «equality» of the woman at a time when her more elementary rights are blatantly disregarded in everyday life. «Equality» only in words and inequality in deeds, sham «emancipation» and oppression and disparagement of the woman — this is the reality of the bourgeois and revisionist society. In the bourgeois and revisionist countries the woman is the object of savage discrimination in all fields of life. The bourgeois and revisionist theoreticians make up all sorts of theories to justify the negation of the right of the woman to work, the obstacles raised to bar her from enjoying her right to education and her political rights. «Disorder, vice, uncleanness, the hooliganism of teenagers, all this is the direct result of the woman's participation in work,» theorize these supporters of capital in a vain effort to explain away these phenomena typical of the crisis-ridden capitalism, the closing down of factories and workshops and the throwing of thousands upon thou-

sands of workers, women, in the first place, into the street.

Now it has become common practice for women to be the first to be thrown out of work when factories or workshops shut down, or working personnel is made redundant. From reports in the Western press, about 7 million women in the different countries of Western Europe are unemployed. One in 3 young women is jobless in Britain; 40 per cent of the women fit for work in Spain and about 50 per cent in the United States lead the life of housewives, to quote only some examples. But the conditions of working women are no better, since no rights such as the right to pay, or social insurances are not given by the owner of the factory or workshop they work in. Thus 5.5 million working mothers are often obliged to leave their children of the pre-school age in the streets so as not to lose their jobs, and this because places in kindergartens and day nurseries have been drastically reduced recently.

Another aspect of discrimination between man and wo-

man is that the woman is paid less for equal work with man, although she may be just as or better skilled than her male counterpart. In the USA, for instance, women are paid 46 per cent less than men. On top of this, work is stepped up in such a manner as to destroy the bodily and mental abilities of women. One typical aspect of the high degree of exploitation of women in the American capitalist society can be found among the American women miners who, besides doing a kind of work which is prohibited by the American Constitution, are put in extremely heavy jobs, without protection at all, in galleries where they have to crawl for hours on end pushing heavily loaded carts. The cause of this grave situation, of this inequality, is not the «man and woman conflict», as the ideologists of the bourgeoisie make out, but the capitalist system itself, which oppresses and exploits the broad working masses, and the women along with them, to the marrow, under which the life of man, and especially of the woman, are worth nothing, in which

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profit is placed above any feeling or law.

But discrimination in the economic field is only one aspect of the gloomy life of women in the capitalist and revisionist countries. The other aspect is that they are discriminated against in the educational, political and social fields. Ignorance and illiteracy accompany the masses of women all their lives in the capitalist world. According to recent data, 60 per cent of the 814 million illiterate in the world today are women. The plight, to which the capitalist system has reduced women, forces them to seek other ways of making a living which destroy them physically and morally.

«The capitalist system, which sanctifies private pro-

perty, a system of the economic and moral enslavement of man,» has said Comrade Enver Hoxha, «weighs heavily on everybody, but more particularly and barbarously on women.» This is being ever more convincingly proved by the reality of the women's life in the capitalist and revisionist countries, a reality which cannot be covered up even by the most subtle and refined demagoguery reported to by the imperialist and social-imperialist powers and superpowers at the World Conference on the problems of women on the 35th anniversary of the founding of the UNO, in Copenhagen.

The revolutionary situation created in the world today has enveloped the women, too, who are becoming ever more

aware day by day not only of the true causes of their lamentable conditions, but also of the absolute necessity of the struggle they should wage side by side their men and brothers for the attainment of true equality. Thus it why women today are to be found fighting on the barricades of the class struggle, beside the proletariat, taking part in powerful protest manifestations which are shaking the foundations of the capitalist system. This enhancement of the political consciousness of the mass of women, of this great force of progress, proves that their emancipation, their true liberation cannot be attained on the peaceful road, but through resolute struggle against the system of oppression and exploitation.



## **CLOSED DOORS, GLOÖMY PERSPECTIVES**

«MËSUESI» — organ of the Ministry of Education and Culture

The deep and all-round economic and financial crisis which has the bourgeois-revisionist world more than ever in its grip is reflected, as in all other fields, in that of education, too. The many facts brought by the various press

organs and institutions of the bourgeois and revisionist countries clearly show that the bourgeoisie today tries to escape the consequences of the crisis by cutting on the funds for the cultural sector, and especially for education. Besi-

des this, considering education as a profit-making sector (many schools are privately owned), the bourgeoisie continuously raises school fees, thus making school attendance ever more difficult for the children of the broad work-



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ing masses. Hence, in the world today there are millions of children who cannot attend any school at all or interrupt studies no sooner than they begin them.

It is a fact that one in four people in the world is illiterate. And these are only the declared illiterate. If the semi-illiterate are added to this figure, the disproportion increases.

Because of high fees for school attendance, education, especially higher education, has become a privilege of the rich classes. In the United States of America a student has to pay high fees for school attendance, amounting to about 5,000 dollars a year. Hence, the difficulty facing him to cope with the fees for the four years of his courses. The same picture exists in Japan where a student can afford to attend the higher studies only for 3-4 months on the annual income of his parents. The situation is no better in Italy, in the German Federal Republic, England, etc. where tuition fees go up about 10 per cent each year. An English student pays an average of 2,774 pounds each year for boarding and school expenses.

In these conditions, it is evident that schools are open only to those who can afford to pay these high fees, that is, the sons and daugh-

ters of the rich. The future of school-boys and girls is easily predictable right from the school desks. The sons and daughters of the workers and peasants join the already swollen ranks of the proletariat or the unemployed, while the sons and daughters of the rich are groomed to become intellectuals and hold managerial posts. This class discrimination is also evident in the revisionist countries, in the Soviet Union, for instance, where education is a means of training leading cadres from the bourgeois-revisionist stratum in power. The situation is not different in China. The Chinese officials themselves admit that only about 300,000 out of 4 million candidates are eligible to higher studies in colleges, while the "Beijing Review" reports that only 4 per cent of the total number of students will be able to attend higher studies in the future. Of course this percentage includes only the sons and daughters of the rich, of the state officials, of the privileged who have state power in China.

Besides raising tuition fees, the bourgeois governments constantly cut on expenditure for education, while increasing expenditure for war preparations. All this explains the shortage of school rooms, teachers, etc. in many countries of the world.

In the USA, Britain, South Africa, the bourgeoisie through savage racial discrimination continues its policy of discrimination in schools. In the USA half of the children of negro or Spanish origin are taught in schools separate from those for white children. The same can be said about England where, under various pretexts, such a shortage of transport means, qualified staff, etc. negro children are barred from white children's schools. This discrimination is even more pronounced in South Africa where the funds allocated for the education of white children are ten times greater than those for coloured children. It is self-evident that coloured children have to attend sub-standard schools which unlike the schools for white children lack laboratories and other necessary means, classes are overcrowded and anti-hygienic, teaching staff is insufficient, etc. So the knowledge the coloured children can manage to acquire is very limited, and this makes them unfit to attend higher categories of schools.

All these obstacles, such as high tuition fees, class and racial selection, shortage of education funds, as well as several artificial barriers like examinations and pre-examinations, etc. have caused millions of coloured children to abandon school and remain il-

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literate, swelling the ranks of the unemployed. In September of this year 208,000 children abandoned school in Britain. Primary school attendance has fallen by 200,000 pupils in the ten recent years in Italy. In France, too, there are 61,378 less pupils attending primary schools this year as against the previous year, etc.

This reactionary policy of

the bourgeoisie in the field of education is the cause for the existence of more than 884 million illiterate in the world today. In Italy alone there are 2.5 million illiterate, whereas in the USA the number of the illiterate and semi-illiterate amounts to 24 million. Social-imperialist China is not doing better in this field, either. About 6 per cent

of Chinese children (and this figure reaches millions) cannot attend even primary schools.

Faced with this lamentable situation, this grave crisis is eroding the educational system of the bourgeois-revisionist countries, the students have organized themselves in powerful protest demonstrations.

*The Department of Medicine of the University of Tirana turns out each year hundreds of new cadres who are sent all over the country. During their 5 year-course they concretize their knowledge and train themselves for practical work. In the photo: Classes at the ward of open heart surgery of the Nr. 2 Hospital of Tirana.*



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