

The Workers' Advocate

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LONG LIVE THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE AZANIAN PEOPLE AGAINST THE RACIST SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME!

This summer a powerful national uprising of the Azanian people erupted against the racist and fascist apartheid regime of South Africa and for national liberation. The flames of this heroic struggle are continuing to burn at present, despite all the attempts of the U.S. imperialist-backed Vorster regime to stamp them out. This rebellion is causing deep anxiety among the ruling circles of U.S. imperialism, which uses the racist regime of South Africa as an important base in its drive for world domination.

On June 16th, the Azanian people's uprising broke out when the racist police savagely attacked a demonstration of Black high school students in Soweto, a Black working-class suburb of Johannesburg, killing and wounding a large number of demonstrators. The June 16th demonstration was organized to protest the forced use of Afrikaans (a hated language of the white ruling minority) in the schools, one of countless protest actions by the Azanian masses against the apartheid policies of the white minority regime. Enraged at this barbarous suppression, the Azanian youth responded by launching a heroic rebellion.

From this battle the struggle quickly became a nationwide confrontation of the 20 million Black and "Colored" people, that is, the Azanian people, against the racist minority regime. For five months the Azanian people have engaged the racist regime in fierce battles from one end of the country to another. The masses in their millions are not simply protesting some policy or demanding some concessions; they have raised the militant, revolutionary banner of overthrowing the racist regime, of struggling for national liberation, for the seizure of political power by the African majority.

Brave Azanian youth and workers have held countless huge mass demonstrations and marches in every part of the country and fought the heavily armed police with stones and clubs. They have stormed and fire-bombed police stations, government offices and other buildings of the racist authorities. Using meager weapons they have wiped out large numbers of white racist officials and police and also their spies, depriving the authorities of their information network. Massive strikes by the workers declaring all-out struggle against the racist regime have paralyzed the big industrial center of Johannesburg and other cities. The racist authorities have been powerless to prevent the daring masses from taking their demonstrations right into the heart of the downtown areas of the racist cities, or from attacking and burning the homes of notorious racist officials, striking terror into the hearts of the oppressors.

The present uprising is notable for its persistence and determination and for its great daring and heroism. The South African racist regime, long claimed by the international bourgeoisie to be an "impregnable bastion" of racist rule, is shaking to its foundations at the hands of the real power of the country -- the long suppressed Azanian people.

The South African regime of Vorster and company, making a last-ditch effort to save its skin, has massacred thousands of Azanians with automatic weapons and has imprisoned many more thousands. But the youth and other revolutionary masses, aroused to even greater fury, fight on undaunted. The extreme determination and courage of the masses, their powerful uprising, has clearly spelled out that the minority apartheid regime will be destroyed at the hands of the African people in the not too distant future. But like all reactionary things, the racist regime will not give up, it will not lie down and surrender; it will be overthrown and burned to ashes in the flames of the protracted people's war which the Azanian people, under the leadership of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania, are preparing to launch.

The recent events in Azania are the inevitable outcome of imperialist colonization of southern Africa and the African people's resistance against it. Azania was colonized between the 17th and 20th centuries by the Dutch and British colonialists, who tried to wipe out the African population and conquer southern Africa as a stepping-stone to the whole continent. They were met by the fierce resistance of the African people from the very earliest days of colonial invasion.

Following World War II, U.S. imperialism became the main imperialist power plundering the world (until the degeneration of the Soviet Union into an imperialist power). U.S. imperialism eventually replaced weakened British imperialism as the main foreign power perpetuating the racist South African regime. But the Azanian people never gave up their struggle. By 1959, a new, revolutionary organization, the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania, had emerged. In 1960, led by the Azanian people's national leader Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, the PAC led thousands of Azanian masses in massive defiance of the fascist pass-laws. At Sharpeville and elsewhere the racist regime bloodily suppressed the masses, arousing their militant resistance and the condemnation of the progressive people of the world. From that day on, under the leadership of the PAC, the Azanian people have abandoned illusions of "reforming" the racist regime and are consciously fighting for its complete overthrow and replacement with the rule of the African majority, for national liberation from the colonialist settler-regime. They have thrown aside the treacherous policy of non-violence counseled by the imperialists and revisionists and have taken up the essential weapon of revolutionary violence. They have proudly and massively declared that their country must be known by its African name, AZANIA, not by the name given it by the colonialists. They have made numerous preparations to launch a revolutionary people's war. Hundreds of PAC cadres have laid down their lives and thousands have filled the prisons in these heroic efforts which have paved the way for the



The people of Azania are defying the armed might of the fascist and racist Vorster regime.

present uprising and the launching of people's war.

Supporting and assisting the Azanian people's struggle are the struggles of the other peoples of southern Africa. Last year the U.S.-backed Portuguese colonial empire collapsed at the hands of the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). The armed struggle of the Zimbabwe people led by the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) has the U.S.-backed racist Rhodesian regime on the run. The armed struggle of the Namibian people led by the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) is shaking South Africa's colonial control over Namibia. The Soviet-Cuban neo-colonial regime in Angola, which has made a deal with South Africa to deny bases to SWAPO, has been thrown into a tough predicament as the guerrillas of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) steadily wipe out the Cuban puppet troops. Thus the South African Vorster regime, together with its master U.S. imperialism, finds itself increasingly threatened from all sides while the Azanian people's struggle is erupting like a volcano under its feet. The racist regime in Pretoria is the main remaining bastion of outright white colonial rule in Africa and is one of U.S. imperialism's main bases in Africa. The liberation of Azania will greatly hasten the complete liberation of Africa.

The uprising of the Azanian people is also of great world importance. The South African racist regime is a prominent symbol and fortress of continued colonialist-imperialist domination of Africa. U.S. imperialism's domination of Azania, where it has \$2 billion invested, provides it with a lucrative field for the super-exploitation of black labor and the plunder of such valuable natural resources as gold, diamonds and metals crucial for producing missiles and weaponry. Furthermore, southern Africa is of great strategic importance to U.S. imperialism in its rivalry for world domination with Soviet social-imperialism. As the contention between the two superpowers leads toward a world war, each is preparing for war by seizing or consolidating territory for itself. Azania, commanding

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NATIONAL SPEAKING TOUR:

Comrade T. Bidi of the

Pan Africanist Congress of Azania

Dec. 1 -- 19

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As Winter Approaches Oil Monopolies Hold People for Ransom

The so-called "energy crisis" has entered its third year. As winter approaches, the oil monopolies are once again holding the masses to ransom with threats of "shortages" of natural gas and fuel oil to heat their homes. The cost of electricity will probably continue to soar upwards of an annual rate of 25% and the price of natural gas will even surpass that of an expected 30% rate of increase. Meanwhile, the oil monopolies are harvesting unprecedentedly huge profits at the expense of the people, and the energy industry is rapidly being developed to press forward U.S. imperialism's strategic preparations for world war.

The energy industry is economically the most powerful industry in the U.S. economy. A handful of oil monopolies control the entire energy sphere. The "major" oil corporations (Exxon, Texaco, Gulf, Mobil, Standard Oil of California, Standard Oil of Indiana, etc.) dominate the oil and natural gas industries and a major portion of the coal, uranium and nuclear power industries (all the fuels for the generation of electricity). As the entire society can only operate with a steady supply of fuel and electricity, the oil monopoly capitalists are in a position to dictate to the society what energy is to be supplied and at what price. Not only are the working masses forced to pay, but other industries such as in transport, finished goods, agriculture, etc., are also forced to the wall.

The oil monopolies started their offensive of price hikes in 1973, using as a pretext the "energy crisis" allegedly brought about by the Arab oil embargo and the just price increases of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. Despite a big surplus of crude oil and petroleum products in the hands of the U.S. monopolies, the price of gasoline at the pump increased by 45% from an average of 38¢ a gallon in mid-1973 to 55¢ a gallon in mid-1974. Average residential electric bills increased by over 30% in the same period. (A glance at who received the revenues from these electricity price increases clearly shows that it is the monopoly capitalists and not the wages of the workers that cause high prices. From 1973 to 1975, electricity prices went up over 55%. In the same period wages and salaries of the utility employees increased by only 20%. However, the interest charges paid out by the major utilities to the big banks and financial houses which control them increased by over 50%. The interest alone

paid out to the financiers was \$5 billion. 1975, over 12% of total sales, while wages and salaries were under 10% of sales. Most of the rest of the revenues from the price increases went to the oil and coal billionaires for increased fuel prices. See accompanying chart on p. 7.)

This drastic rise in the price of energy pushed up the cost of commodities throughout the whole economy, driving up the cost of living and impoverishing the masses. Thus restricting the basic market for commodities, the fuel price increases acted as a catalyst for the severe overproduction crisis in industry which broke out in the fall of 1973 and continues today without let up. The demand for energy dropped off as a result of the crisis, with a 2% decline in the total domestic demand for petroleum products from the first half of 1973 to the first half of 1976. However, because of the dominant position of the energy industry in the economy, prices of energy continue to rise more rapidly than in any other major sector.

As winter approaches, the oil capitalists are holding the masses to ransom. They threaten that if the people do not pay extortionate prices, they will refuse to supply the fuel, shortages will break out and the masses will have no heat for their homes, gasoline or electricity.

The oil monopoly capitalists are using the big lie technique to make people believe the non-

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HAIL THE 7th CONGRESS OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA!



Comrade Enver Hoxha,
First Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Party of Labour of Albania

Comrade Enver Hoxha Delivers Historic Speech

- Summary
in Special Supplement
Inside

"The world is at a stage when the cause of the revolution and national liberation of the peoples is not just an aspiration and a future prospect, but a problem taken up for solution."

-- Comrade Enver Hoxha,
speech at the 7th
Congress of the PL

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UNEMPLOYMENT: CURSE OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

Unemployment is one of the worst curses that the capitalist system brings to the workers. As the present economic crisis continues and deepens, the rate of unemployment continues to rise, reaching an official figure of 7.9% last month. Millions of workers, whose labor built and operates modern industry in the U. S., are mercilessly thrown into the streets when their labor no longer serves to increase capital, as the monopoly capitalists shift the burden of their economic crisis onto them. The unemployed workers are compelled to live on the meager and uncertain pittance of unemployment compensation or welfare, when they can get it. The existence of the huge industrial reserve army of the unemployed threatens the jobs of the remaining employed workers and compels them to work harder for less under the increased threat of firing by the capitalists.

Such an uncertain and miserable condition facing both unemployed and employed workers compels them to ask: What is the cause of unemployment? and: What can be done about it?

The capitalist political parties proclaim loudly that they will solve the problem of unemployment. This was the main plank in Carter's program, while Ford also had his "solutions". The sham "socialists", too, are terribly enthusiastic about how the present government can provide "ten million jobs" (Gus Hall of the revisionist "Communist" Party). But the programs of the capitalist parties to "solve" unemployment all amount to one or another method of increasing the exploitation of the working class under the present government and the monopoly capitalist system which it protects. The Democrats plan to force the workers off unemployment compensation and welfare onto slave-wage public sector jobs (this is the plan of the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill, written into the Democratic Party platform). The Republicans claim that bigger subsidies to monopoly capital will enable industry to expand and provide "more jobs" (in reality it will only create more unemployment due to addition of new machinery). The sham "socialists" are falling all over themselves to patch up capitalism and prevent revolution. One of them, the social-chauvinist October League, has actually been complaining that the fascist Humphrey-Hawkins Bill has "no teeth in it". (*The Call*, May 24, 1976) Only the Marxist-Leninists of the COUSML, the nucleus of the party of the U. S. proletariat, present to the workers clearly the cause of un-

employment and call on them to wage revolutionary struggle to resist it and overthrow the monopoly capitalist system which creates it.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought teaches that unemployment is inherent in the capitalist system and can only be eliminated by overthrowing it. Marx wrote that "a surplus laboring population is a necessary product of accumulation or of the development of wealth on a capitalist basis..." (*Capital*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1961, p. 632) Let us look at the general law of capitalist accumulation in order to understand the cause of unemployment.

With its labor the working class produces surplus value (value over and above that which goes to pay its own wages and to pay for raw materials, wear and tear on machinery, etc.), but this surplus value is taken by the capitalist class. The capitalists add part of this surplus value to their original capital. This is accumulation of capital. Accumulation of capital enables the capitalists to expand production and introduce new, revolutionized machinery, to carry on a continual process of technical improvement in production under capitalism. The capitalists' aim in introducing new machinery is not to make labor easier for the workers. It is to cheapen production, replacing human labor by machine work. With the development of technical improvements, fewer workers are needed to produce the same quantity of commodities. This means that the workers spend a larger part of their working day producing surplus value for the capitalists, thereby increasing their profits.

The introduction of new machinery replaces workers and throws them into the streets, creating unemployment. The capitalists also increase the number of unemployed by raising the intensity of labor. The workers who become superfluous due to being replaced by machines make up the industrial reserve army, the unemployed.

In turn, the industrial reserve army is a powerful lever to increase the accumulation of capital, a powerful weapon of the capitalists in their struggle against the working class. Because the unemployed workers become desperate for work, and are willing to work under the worst of conditions, through competition for jobs they exert a downward pressure on the living and working standards of the proletarians who are employed. In fact, if this relative surplus of laborers were not available to the capitalists, the workers

could demand and get wages agreeable to themselves and capitalist exploitation and capitalism would be impossible. Hence, unemployment is indispensable to the capitalist system of wage-slavery.

Not only does the existence of the industrial reserve army serve to lower wages, but it also enables the capitalists to demand an increase in labor intensity from the employed workers through speed-up and job combination. Also significant about the industrial reserve army is that it furnishes millions of free hands ready to work at any time when the conditions may require an expansion of industry. Then part of the unemployed find work, factories increase the number of workers and unemployment decreases; but the introduction of new, improved methods throws thousands of workers onto the streets again.

Comrade Engels summed up the problem of unemployment in this way: "But the perfecting of machinery is making human labour superfluous. If the introduction and increase of machinery means the displacement of millions of manual, by a few machine workers, improvement in machinery means the displacement of more and more of the machine workers themselves. It means, in the last instance, the production of a number of available wage workers in excess of the average needs of capital, the formation of a complete industrial reserve army... available at the times when industry is working at high pressure, to be cast out upon the street when the inevitable crash comes, a constant dead weight upon the limbs of the working class in its struggle for existence with capital, a regulator for the keeping of wages down to a low level that suits the interests of capital." ("*Socialism; Utopian and Scientific*")

In periods of economic crisis, like the present, this chronic unemployment becomes acute as massive numbers of workers are thrown into the ranks of the army of the unemployed, in order to shift the burden of the economic crisis from the capitalists onto the workers. The crisis calls for a curtailment of production, since the over-produced commodities cannot find a ready market. The workers' labor tends not to increase capital and huge numbers of hands become superfluous to capitalist production. This results in the most extreme degree of impoverishment and misery for the unemployed workers, while the employed are hit with vicious speed-up and job combination and their wages are reduced, in this current crisis, by

inflation.

In addition, the present economic crisis is taking place in the context of the deepening general crisis of world capitalism, characterized by the shaking of the roots of the monopoly capitalist-imperialist system by proletarian revolutions and national liberation movements and by the resulting shrinking of markets available for the two superpowers and other imperialists to redivide between them for plunder. This results in industries chronically working at under-capacity, even in the "best" of times, and causes each periodic economic crisis to be deeper than those which took place under competitive capitalism in the 19th century. A major consequence of the general crisis of capitalism is that the industrial reserve army to a greater and greater degree becomes a permanent army of unemployed, an increasing mass of laborers who are never called back to industry. In the U. S. this is reflected in the ever-increasing figures the government arbitrarily calls "full employment" (which has risen from 2% in the 1940's to 4% today) and in the ever-increasing welfare rolls (which have now reached over 7 million people).

This chronic unemployment on a greater and greater scale, and more and more massive acute unemployment in times of economic crisis, accompanied by greater and greater impoverishment -- this is the fate U. S. monopoly capitalism offers the workers. None of the false "solutions" of the capitalist political parties or their sham "socialist" partners will solve this problem. Only resolute revolutionary struggle, active mass struggle by the workers themselves, against lay-offs, job insecurity and for higher wages, breaking through all the restrictions and reactionary laws which the capitalists and their trade union misleaders use to tie down the workers, only this can resist unemployment and the shifting of the burden of the economic crisis onto the workers. Only this can lead the workers to push the burden of the crisis back onto the capitalists and overthrow the capitalist government and the monopoly capitalist system itself. And only by accomplishing such a revolution will it be possible for production and the development of new machinery to be carried on to serve the needs of the masses, without throwing workers into the streets, without the curse of unemployment. End.

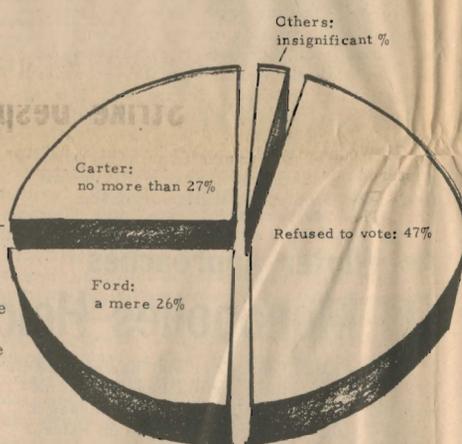
CAPITALISTS' ELECTION FRAUD FLOPS

The monopoly capitalists concluded their bi-centennial election fraud with the election of the Democrat Carter as president by the votes of no more than 27 per cent of the adult U. S. population. 26 per cent voted for the other main capitalist candidate Ford, while as many as 47 per cent of the electorate refused to vote at all. The latter figure continued a downward pattern in the percentage of eligible voters voting that has gone on since 1960 and reached the lowest point since 1948.

Recognizing the increased disillusionment of the masses with the bourgeois government and elections, the capitalist press staged a big propaganda campaign against "voter apathy" and in favor of voting, but this had little effect. And among the people who did vote, the capitalist opinion pollster Louis Harris estimated that 62 per cent were also alienated or disenchanted with the government, an increase in his figures from 29 per cent 10 years ago. The poll called the election "hardly a tribute to American democracy in this bicentennial year". In fact, the growing percentage of non-voters shows the erosion of the monopoly bourgeoisie's traditional methods of ruling. At the same time it shows why the monopoly capitalists are going to still further step up their fascistization of the state and the whole society in order to suppress the masses.

The presidential election was a glaring example of the real nature of the bourgeois elections in the U. S. -- a fraud described by Lenin as the selection of "WHICH MEMBER OF THE RULING CLASS IS TO REPRESS AND CRUSH THE PEOPLE" through the White House for the next four years. The elections are bought and sold by the wealthy who today employ the novel innovation of financing them with the workers' tax money. In any case, this "democracy" is only democracy for the rich. (Another glaring example of how the elections are openly bought and sold was the victory of nuclear-power plant questions in three states. There the energy monopolies, unwilling to sacrifice this lucrative new field of tax-subsidized investment, poured millions of dollars into the effort.)

As soon as he was elected, Jimmy Carter announced his intention to follow the fascist program which the past three issues of *The Workers' Advocate* had predicted that the Democrats would follow. In the November 15 issue of *Time Magazine*, in an interview, Carter declared that he would impose "voluntary" wage and price "restraints" soon after his inauguration in January, in order to suppress the struggles of the workers for higher wages. At the same time he declared he needed "standby" authority to impose mandatory wage-price controls passed by Congress so that he could impose them without warning. There indeed we have the Democratic Party's "national economic planning". This clearly



reveals the anti-working class, capitalist nature of the Democratic Party. Experience with Richard Nixon's wage-price freeze and controls in 1972-3, and with the present controls imposed by the U. S.-dominated Canadian government on the Canadian workers, shows that wage-price controls are inevitably only wage controls to suppress the workers' wages and living standards while the prices fly sky-high, fattening the capitalists' profits. After all, the state machine is the instrument of big capital and who ever heard of capital "restraining" its own profits? This is the program around which Carter is now calling so loudly for "national unity" -- that is, "unity" of workers and capitalists to support the Democrats' program of stepped-up exploitation of the workers and preparation for aggressive imperialist war.

It is also significant that now, so shortly after the elections, Carter is already declaring that he will do nothing about unemployment. He has admitted that the present high rate of unemployment will last for most of his term. Thus Carter has already dumped his promises, while the essence of his program -- stepped-up exploitation of the workers and capitalists to support the Democrats' program of stepped-up exploitation of the workers and preparation for aggressive imperialist war -- has emerged even more clearly, as shown by his call for wage-price controls.

Thus the bourgeois elections fraud provided further confirmation of the correctness of the call of *The Workers' Advocate*: DON'T VOTE -- THEY'RE ALL THE SAME!, its call for the workers and oppressed people to break with all the capitalist political parties, and the correctness of the warnings it repeatedly gave about the social-fascist, monopoly capitalist nature of the Democrats, enemies of the working class parading as "friends of labor". End.

THE REAL SIZE OF UNEMPLOYMENT

During the economic crisis which has raged in the U. S. since late 1973, unemployment has reached levels unprecedented since the Depression of the '30's. Today it is climbing further. This is a matter of grave concern to the American working class and people. But the monopoly capitalists try with all their might to hide the hardships brought on the workers by capitalism. The "statistics" on unemployment published by the bourgeois government serve this need of capitalism very well -- they distort and minimize the actual depth and character of unemployment in the U. S. The official government "statistics" are the only figures compiled on unemployment. By closely examining and dissecting them it is possible to shed some light on the actual depth and character of unemployment in the U. S. today.

1. THE GOVERNMENT'S METHOD OF HIDING ACTUAL UNEMPLOYMENT THROUGH STATISTICS

The government unemployment figures are distorted in several ways: by the method used in surveying the unemployed, by tricky definitions and certainly by outright manipulation.

The national unemployment statistics are obtained by a monthly survey in which the government has a free hand to choose which areas of the country, which communities within these areas, and which houses within these community will be surveyed. Furthermore, only some 45,300 of these chosen households are surveyed each month. This means that the present 7,569,000 "unemployed" workers are "represented" by 5,822 unemployed in the survey, or 1,300 unemployed workers are represented by one unemployed worker in the survey -- thus leaving room for gross error. All the statistics on unemployment are obtained by this bogus survey which is done by the Census Bureau for the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS).

On the basis of this method, the survey then divides the civilian non-institutional (non-jail) population, age 16 and over, into three arbitrarily defined categories -- "employed", "unemployed", and "not in labor force". It is necessary to examine these bourgeois definitions in order to understand how what may sound reasonable is rendered largely meaningless.

"Employed" means: "1) all those who, during the survey week worked an hour or more as paid employees or in their own business or profession or on their own farm, or who worked 15 hours or more as unpaid workers on a family farm or in a family business (our emphasis), and 2) all those who were not working but had jobs or businesses from which they were temporarily absent because of illness, bad weather, vacation, or labor-management dispute, or because they were taking time off for personal reasons."

"Unemployed" means: "Those who did not work during the survey week, were available for work and 1) had engaged in any specific job-seeking activity during the four weeks prior to the survey week (our emphasis), 2) were waiting to be called back to a job from which they had been laid off, or 3) were waiting to report to a new wage or salary job scheduled to start within the

following 30 days."

"Not in Labor Force" means: all those age 16 and over who are neither classified as employed nor unemployed.

The "labor force" is made up of the sum total of the "employed" and the "unemployed". As will be shown step by step further on, these definitions bear only a shade of resemblance to anything in the real world; as rather they help to obscure the severe conditions of unemployment which face the American working class. It can be initially pointed out that in the "employed" are over eighteen million workers who are only partially employed -- the part-time workers who may work as little as one hour a week. In the "unemployed" are only a segment of the unemployed workers, because concealed in the "not in the labor force" catch-all are millions more unemployed members of the reserve army of labor.

2. CURRENT U. S. UNEMPLOYMENT

The Bureau of Labor Statistics gives the following as the official U. S. unemployment figures:

	# of unemployed	% of labor force
'74--	5,076,000	5.6%
'75--	7,830,000	8.5%
'76: (average thru Oct.)	8,174,000	7.9%
Jan.	8,174,000	8.8%
Feb.	8,033,000	8.7%
Mar.	7,525,000	8.1%
April.	6,890,000	7.4%
May	6,860,000	7.1%
June	7,146,000	7.5%
July	7,426,000	7.8%
Aug.	7,506,000	7.9%
Sept.	7,384,000	7.8%
Oct.	7,569,000	7.9%

However, an examination of the statistics shows that at least some 5 million more unemployed workers must be included in the current figure above. These workers (whom the BLS conceals by placing in the "not in labor force" group) "want a job now" but are not looking. They aren't looking for jobs because they couldn't find a job or don't think they can find one and have temporarily given up looking, cannot look because they must look after children, are in school at the time or have difficulty being hired by the capitalists due to partial disability, etc. These are unemployed workers. They total 5,809,000 in the second quarter of this year. Although the "want a job now" category does not include all the unemployed workers whom the BLS leaves out of its unemployment count, it does give a much more accurate measure (given the extreme limitations of the survey method) of the current levels of unemployment. Throughout the rest of this study, the sum total of the BLS figures for "unemployed" and for "want a job now" will be used to more accurately represent current unemployment whenever the "want a job now" figures are available.

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ON WOODCOCK'S "MODEL" AUTO CONTRACT

Beginning on September 14, 170,000 auto workers at Ford Motor Co. waged a 28-day strike. Subsequent to the strike a new three-year contract has been agreed upon by the United Auto Workers and Ford and Chrysler Corp. As *The Workers' Advocate* went to press, workers at 16 GM plants had gone on strike.

The monopoly capitalist news media, the auto monopolies and their flunkies, the upper leadership of the UAW, are all united in praising the new contract as a "big step towards the four-day week" and a "guarantee" of "major wage gain" and "job security". But in reality this agreement has absolutely nothing to do with the shorter work-week demanded by the masses of auto workers, while the wage and SUB (Supplemental Unemployment Benefits) increases are non-existent or meager. The agreement also has nothing to do with fighting unemployment, which is the main selling point Leonard Woodcock and the UAW leaders have used to push it. Some of the provisions are even serious backward steps. For example, the scheme by which the retirees receive a bonus out of future cost-of-living allowances due the active workers, and not from the companies' pockets, is an outright wage-cut and an attempt to set one worker against another.

The miserable conditions faced by the auto workers and the class-collaborationist sabotage of their just struggle against them by Leonard Woodcock and the UAW leadership is a stark illustration of the stepped-up exploitation Woodcock's "national economic planning" program, now written into the Democratic Party platform, will bring to the entire working class. "National economic planning" is intended to bring union misleaders, officials of the capitalist government and the monopoly capitalists themselves together into government bodies to "plan" production, speed up the workers and control wages, etc.

Since 1973, the auto capitalists have shifted the burden of the continuing, deep economic crisis of the monopoly capitalist system onto the backs of the auto workers. First they laid off almost 300,000 workers in 1974-5. Then, as production picked up again, they conducted a ruthless "increased productivity" drive, viciously over-working the employed workers. The auto capitalists have claimed that "any increase in wages and benefits must be tied to an increase in productivity" to supposedly solve inflation, unemployment, etc. But this has been merely a cover for shifting the burden of their crisis onto the workers through speed-up, long overtime and job elimination to produce more cars with less workers. The labor bureaucrats, headed by Woodcock, have openly supported this "increased productivity" drive and fought to sabotage the workers' struggle against the shifting of the burden, especially the struggle for the shorter work-week. Under this "increased productivity" drive fully 119,000 jobs have been eliminated since the last contract, and yet production has almost returned to pre-crisis levels. In this manner the auto capitalists have grabbed all-time record profits for themselves. Clearly this is a "recovery" for the capitalists' profits only and not for the working class.

The strikes of the Ford and GM workers is an attempt to resist the shifting of the full burden of the economic crisis onto the working class by the capitalist class. They are part of the class struggle of the U.S. workers in a growing strike movement (coal miners, rubber work workers, teamsters, public sector workers) against the shifting of the burden of the economic crisis onto them. The strikes of the auto workers is absolutely just and necessary to defend their working and living conditions.

HOW THE AUTO CAPITALISTS SHIFT THE BURDEN OF THE CRISIS ONTO THE WORKERS

The current economic crisis, the worst since WWII, heavily hit the auto industry in 1974. 1973 had been a boom year for the auto monopolies, but by the last quarter of 1974 there was a tremendous over-production of automobiles which no one could afford to buy. Faced with this crisis, the auto capitalists laid off about 300,000 workers. At GM and Chrysler the SUB fund ran out, as did government unemployment checks for thousands of workers. Many high-seniority workers who had slaved for long years for the auto monopolies, found that by the time they were laid off the fund was already empty due to the thousands laid off before them. Since workers with less than a year seniority are not covered by the SUB fund, many younger workers received no SUB benefits at all. While the auto monopoly capitalists gradually sold off the over-production of cars at the highest possible prices, thousands of workers and their families suffered miserably. In this manner the capitalists minimized their losses at the workers' expense.

Although the masses of the people in the U.S. are impoverished and cannot fundamentally afford new cars, the eventual wearing out of old models and the extension of auto loans to a four-year maximum from three, etc., created a market for some new cars again in the latter part of 1975. As production picked up to near pre-crisis levels, the main attack of the capitalists on the auto workers is summed up in their slogan "increased productivity". Under this slogan the intensity of the workers' labor, which was already among the most intense of any workers in the U.S., has been stepped up in every way possible including speed-up, job combinations, new technology, and elimination of well over 100,000 jobs. On top of this is added miserably long hours of overtime with 6 or 7 days a week, 9,

10, or even 12 hours a day commonplace! Small wonder that for many auto workers the simple question of being able to perform the job so as to avoid firing and resisting the incessant speed-up plots of the companies are desperate struggles.

In capitalist production, the workers are never paid the full value of what they produce in a day's time. They produce the value of their wages in the first few hours of work, and the rest of the day produce a surplus-value over and above their wages. From this surplus-value the capitalists draw their profits. This part of the day is, quite simply, unpaid labor-time for the workers. The auto monopolists' "increased productivity" drive is a means by which they increase the unpaid labor-time in the work-day through speed-up, overtime, etc. Facts show this. Whereas in 1973 GM "earned" some \$8,700 in profits per worker (and profits are only a part of the surplus-value the workers produce), in the business year ending in June 1976 this figure had reached \$11,500 per worker. This is almost equal to what they pay the average production worker in yearly wages (\$13, -16,000 before taxes, even with overtime). Thus, at least 1/2 the total value of the auto workers' labor-time is surplus-value over and above their wages -- is unpaid labor time!

At the same time, constant inflation has eroded the real value of the workers' wages since 1973. This is one of the main ways the monopoly capitalists shift the burden of their crisis onto the workers. While the auto capitalists are fond of pointing to the nominal increase in auto workers' wages, the fact is that most of the small increase in wages since production has picked up in late 1975 has been directly due to the long hours of overtime they are forced to work. Without this overtime an auto worker working a full 52-week year (quite a trick in the auto industry!), 8 hours a day, at the \$6.52/hour rate in the old contract, earned only \$13,436, over \$2,000 less than the \$15,700 minimum the government admits a family of four needs to live at an average standard! The new contract would add, at most, \$798 per year, still far below the government average living standard figures in 1976.

So first through massive layoffs, then through "increased productivity", and constantly through inflation, the auto monopoly capitalists have shifted the burden of their crisis onto the workers, resulting in the highest auto corporate profits in history. For the first six months of 1976 alone these amount to some \$770 million for Ford, \$227 million at Chrysler, and fantastic \$1.7 billion for GM.

HOW THE UAW LABOR BUREAUCRATS OPPOSE THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKERS AND OPENLY SUPPORT "INCREASED PRODUCTIVITY"

The auto workers faced many serious problems in developing their 1976 struggle against the auto monopolies. The labor bureaucrats, headed by Leonard Woodcock, did everything possible to undermine the Ford strike and prevent one at the other companies. A blatant example is the use of a so-called "strike target" in which only one of the three main auto monopolies are struck at a time, while the bureaucrats order the workers of the other two -- the vast majority of the auto workers -- to keep working. This tremendously weakens the strike. It facilitates everything being settled at the top as peacefully as possible by the capitalists and their labor bureaucrats against the workers' interests, while preventing the full strength of the workers from being exerted through active mass struggle. Now the UAW leaders have continued the GM strike to only 16 plants, only a small part of the GM workers.

However, the leadership could not get away with these sorts of policies for long if it did not create some illusion that it is fighting for the workers' interests. Woodcock declares that the new agreement "goes far beyond protecting and improving our hard-won gains of the past. It charts new paths in job security, employment opportunities and leisure time through shorter work time." At the same time a few minuscule concessions on wages, holidays, hearing aids, etc., are presented to the workers as big victories. Under this guise he has in reality actively promoted the capitalists' vicious "productivity" drive. His trickery on this matter is an important lesson on how these labor bureaucrats operate. It shows what Woodcock's (and Carter's) "national economic planning" will mean for the entire working class.

First, this "shorter work time" officially amounts to a measly 12 days spaced out over three full years! (5 days off during the 2nd contract year and seven in the 3rd for a total of 12 over 3 years, only for workers with more than one year seniority (plus a day off on July 3, 1978)). In fact, the contract provides for 5 less paid days off at Christmas times than in the last contract (six days off each year rather than seven or eight) for the next three years, so there goes half this "new path... to leisure time" right there. Anyone can see that this has nothing to do with a shorter work week in any shape or form. Nor does it have anything to do with "job security and new employment opportunities". How many jobs could a few extra days off spaced over three years provide while there is absolutely no guarantee against speed-up and more overtime to make up for this time off with the present work force?

Thus this empty talk of job-security, etc., is only intended to prettify the activities of Woodcock and the UAW leadership. In fact, Leonard Woodcock and the upper leadership of the UAW never say one word against the "increased productivity" drive of speed-up and overtime. Woodcock is well known to brag about how the "American auto worker is still the most productive in the world" and tells the workers that "increased productivity" "guarantees" higher wages, word-for-word like the capitalists say. But the measly "major wage increase" he has negotiated over three years will be at least \$1.00 less per hour than if the wages of the 119,000 workers whose jobs have been eliminated through "increased productivity" were to be given to the workers still employed and who are doing the work of these eliminated workers. In fact, the shorter work week demanded by the masses of the workers is not aimed primarily at the questions of job security and unemployment as the bureaucrats claim. The workers demand a shorter work-week primarily to fight against the incredible speed-up and long hours they suffer under the capitalists' "increased productivity" drive. Only something like a four-day work-week with a strict limitation to eight hours, with no reduction in weekly pay, can grant systematic relief from the exhausting overwork the auto workers face. This would be a big blow to reduce the unpaid labor-time the companies have been increasing by forcing them to cut the work-week by 1/5th or more. This would be far more significant than Woodcock's "12" days off over 3 years! Even a genuine end to compulsory overtime would mean a vast improvement in the working and living conditions of the auto workers.

The working class has traditionally fought against increased intensity of labor by forcing the capitalists to shorten the work-day from 12, 14 or more hours until its present (supposed) 8-hour limit. During the last contract strike in 1973, the auto workers demanded that at least all forced overtime be eliminated, which would have limited the work-day to eight hours. But, as everyone knows, they were sold out by the UAW leaders who signed a contract "limiting" mandatory overtime to a 9-hour day, 6 days a week, with a thousand and one loopholes. The net effect was that for the first time the auto capitalists had it in writing that they could force the workers to toil at least 54 hours a week -- some concession! The manner in which overtime

has shot up since 1975, right along with the increase in production, to the same level or higher than before the 1973 contract, demonstrates how nearly worthless the provisions on "limiting" mandatory overtime have been. The current struggle for a shorter work-week is a continuation of this earlier struggle against mandatory overtime. It is aimed squarely at the speed-up and long hours so as to get some systematic relief from the "increased productivity" drive by which the auto capitalists shift the burden of their crisis onto the workers.

But despite all these restrictions from the "liberal", social-democratic UAW leaders, the auto workers were able to carry out a 28-day strike against Ford and launch a strike at GM. All the trickery Woodcock used to limit the strike and to get this miserable "reduced work-time" and "major wage gain and SUB fund increase" agreement ratified quickly at Ford and jammed through at Chrysler and GM shows that, even with all its limitations, the strike of the Ford workers is a big blow to the capitalists. Every week the strike costs Ford \$250 million in new cars. The frantic efforts of the UAW leadership to control the Chrysler workers who walked out at plants in Windsor, Ontario, Twinsburg, Ohio, and in the Detroit area, are also proof of this.

By imposing this miserable settlement, the auto capitalists aroused great indignation among the masses of workers.

The skilled tradesmen nearly rejected the contract at Ford and Chrysler while large numbers of the production workers stayed away from the voting altogether.

The "productivity" drive of the auto capitalists, and the class collaboration of the UAW leaders who sabotage in every way the workers' struggles against the companies, have aroused the indignation of the auto workers. The new auto contract, Leonard Woodcock's model, shows just what sugar-coated poison the "liberals" of the Democratic Party have in store for the workers. The auto workers' anger will certainly be translated into militant mass struggle against the capitalists and their labor flunkies in the days to come. End.

Chicago Public Sector Nurses Strike Despite Injunction

On Wednesday, November 3, over 1,000 registered nurses went out on strike against the Cook County and Oak Forest public county hospitals. The Illinois Nurses Association has been negotiating with the Governing Commission since May and the nurses have been working without a contract since June 30. However, no agreement has been possible due to the arrogant demands of the Commission that the RN's give up gains they have won long ago in sick pay and holiday pay and accept a mere 2.9% wage increase (not enough to cover even the loss in sick pay and holiday pay, let alone the rise in cost of living).

The nurses have rejected a 15-day cooling off period agreed to by lawyers for the hospital and Nurses Association at the beginning of the strike and by Friday November 5, were defying a court order to return to work. The I.N.A. responded to the court order by saying that "the state and local unit will not willfully or consciously violate the law but will leave a decision to return to work up to each nurse." The decision of the striking nurses has been to persist in their struggle, withholding their services until their demands are met.

At a public rally on November 5, called by the Housestaff Association, the Commission was vigorously denounced for forcing the strike and planning the layoff of workers, while using the strike struggle to blame the nurses for this further attack.

The main demands of the RN's are for: no cut-back in the first two days of sick pay, a 12.5% wage increase for the first year and a 9.5% increase for the second, and specially trained nurses only to work in the intensive care areas.

Last February, when the Commission submitted their budget for approval to the County Board, a 7.5% wage increase was budgeted for the 9,000 hospital employees. The County Board recommended reducing the increase to 5.3%. Yet three months later, this past May when negotiations came up for the nurses, the Commission maintained it had no money (not even what was already budgeted) for its employees and insists on rolling back sick and holiday pay, layoffs and a 2.9% increase in wages or elimination of sick pay entirely and a 5% wage increase.

As Comrade Lenin has taught, "THE STATE IS AN ORGAN OF CLASS RULE; AN ORGAN FOR THE OPPRESSION OF ONE CLASS BY ANOTHER", and also that "THE STATE IS AN INSTRUMENT FOR THE EXPLOITATION OF THE OPPRESSED CLASS." The Commission, a part of the state machine, serves monopoly capitalism by ensuring maximum profit for the big drug monopolies, hospital supply and equipment companies and offering a secure investment for banks and other finance capitalists through the floating of bonds, secured by the tax dollars of the working masses. To ensure maximum profit for capital the Commission pushes the wages

of its own workers to the lowest possible level, depending on the level of class struggle, and periodically freezes hiring and wages and lays off large sections of workers.

This attack on the living standards of the masses by the Cook County government is one of many thousands of such attacks on the wages and working conditions of public sector workers and of all workers which are going on at the present time. The U.S. monopoly capitalist class is facing all-round crisis. They are in the midst of the sixth and worst economic crisis since World War II. They are facing increasing challenge from their imperialist superpower rival, the New Tsars of the Soviet Union. The national liberation struggles of the African, Asian and Latin American peoples are striking powerful blows at U.S. imperialism. The U.S. monopoly capitalists are pushing the burden of their economic crisis onto the backs of the working class and people at home and onto the backs of their colonies and semi-colonies abroad. The present crisis has spread from the private sector to the public sector, hitting most sharply state and local governments with acute fiscal crisis. Capitalism is thoroughly crisis-ridden and incapable of solving any of the economic difficulties it finds itself in. Yet, the capitalists and their spokesmen proclaim that the problems of the cities and local governments will be solved by attacking the livelihood of the public sector workers and by increasing the tax burden of the working masses.

In Chicago and Cook County, this is the call and program of the monopoly capitalists for public employees and other working people. Cook County and Oak Forest Hospitals, the Illinois Bureau of Employment Security, school boards and other organs of the state machine locally are reducing the number of employees through firings, attrition and massive layoffs, when not long ago, public employment was thought of as a secure area of employment. Furthermore, freezes on hiring and wages are being instituted, or wages and benefits are being rolled back, residency requirements are being enforced with the threat of loss of promotions and eventual terminations if employees do not move back into the city, and existing contracts are being continually violated and even thrown out.

The public sector workers are joining unions and going on strikes against these attacks of the capitalist government. The strike struggle of the Cook County and Oak Forest RN's is part of a general movement in the public sector. The struggles of the public sector workers, comprising one out of every six workers, are an important defence of the interests of the entire working class. End.

ANGOLAN PEOPLE'S SECOND ANTI-COLONIAL WAR

Jonas Savimbi:

1976 Begins the Defeat of Soviet Cuban Imperialism in Angola

(A translation of a taped address to external cadre made by UNITA President Jonas Savimbi on Oct. 1, 1976 in the Central Base of the liberated areas)

INTRODUCTION

Since our communiques to you last May, the enemy managed to employ new tactics, new methods of combat that interrupted our lines of communication briefly. However we overcame these obstacles and, gradually, the situation is returning to normal, thanks to our soldiers' and our people's commitment to what we now call the **THIRD NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE**. Therefore, we want all of our compatriots in Africa, Europe and the Americas to remain calm and rest assured that in Angola the struggle continues.

Today we had the pleasure and privilege of meeting with our brother Gorge Sangumba. For many long hours we had intensive discussions in which we exchanged views and analyzed in depth our current situation. We also tried to give some orientation to your external work. We trust that comrade Sangumba will be able to find a way to meet with each of you and relate whatever might be left unsaid on this tape.

Because the courageous sons and daughters of our Motherland have stood up firmly and said NO! to the Soviet/Cuban armed occupation, we can assure you, on behalf of all the comrades here, that your confidence in us is not in vain. The duty to fight and repel the invader is without question the responsibility of everyone; not to resist this foreign aggression is cowardice. Many of you are already resisting, already responding positively to UNITA's appeal to resist. We believe your acceptance of UNITA's appeal to resist the imperialist coup demonstrates your conscious support of UNITA's program around which we are all united. True, your resistance is being carried out on another front, the external front, but it is no less important. Your resistance is a key factor in our global combat against the Soviet/Cuban invasion of our country.

In summarizing to you the conditions through which we are living, I will cover the overall politico-military situation including the Cuban ongoing crimes against the people, the people's resistance, and guerrilla activity.

THE FALL OF CITIES TRAUMATIZED THE PEOPLE BUT SOON THEY ACCEPTED THE CHALLENGE OF THE NEW ANTI-COLONIAL WAR

You must understand that immediately after our loss of the cities² the people were traumatized. They couldn't believe it; they simply did not want to believe it.

The people have had so much faith in UNITA and its military arm FALA that they simply wouldn't accept defeat. But the soldiers were unable to react swiftly and meet the responsibility of reorganizing the people. Therefore there was a considerable setback in UNITA's political organization and in the military response of FALA. A few commanders and some committee chairmen did continue their resistance even without receiving new directives from our High Command; but this activity was fragmented and localized.

After the initial period of shock was over, when the people began to accept the fact that the cities had indeed fallen, and when the soldiers began to realize that we had entered a new phase of the struggle, everyone accepted the challenge of the new anti-colonial war -- they accepted it with faith, decisiveness, firmness and determination.

POLITICAL AND MILITARY REORGANIZATION OF UNITA/FALA HAD TOP PRIORITY AND SOON PROVED TO BE SUCCESSFUL

After the Central Committee meeting in May on the banks of Cuanza River (by now you have all received the Cuanza Manifesto and Communique), the leadership immediately began working on political and military reorganization of UNITA/FALA structures. This work proved to be highly successful. The months of April, May and June were devoted essentially to the reorganization of the Party, the training of our armed forces and the dispatch of political commissars to various areas in order to adapt Party structures and implant them more deeply for underground guerrilla activity.

So, we confirm that the following rural areas have definitely been reorganized and adapted as zones of guerrilla warfare: Andulo, Mungo, Luimbale, Huambo, Sambo, Chinhama, Bie, Nova Sintra, Camacupa, Cuanza, Umpulo, Chicava, Chicala, Caminili, Chitembo, Galangue, Mumbwe, Serpa Pinto, Matala, Cucho, Cunene in the South and Mussende to the North³. Also the cities of Bie, Huambo, Benguela and Lobito have had Party structures reorganized and prepared for armed underground activity.

INDISCRIMINATE ARRESTS, TORTURES, MASSACRES CHARACTERIZE THE PEOPLE'S LIFE UNDER THE RUSSIAN/CUBAN/MPLA OCCUPATION

When the enemy reached the city and countryside of Huambo, the city having fallen on February 8, 1976, he effected a posture of wooing tolerance. He began by appearing and speaking in a "kindly" manner -- even showing that he accepted and understood how part of the population could have been misled by what he called "reactionary ideas". But the honeymoon was very brief, for as soon as our people began rejecting contact with the enemy, as well as all enemy plots against UNITA, the Cuban tiger released its claws.

At present, our people's life under Russian/Cuban/MPLA domination is characterized by unending massacres. MPLA exterminates the people's leaders. There are arbitrary massacres of all those who, because of their skills, educational level or profession,

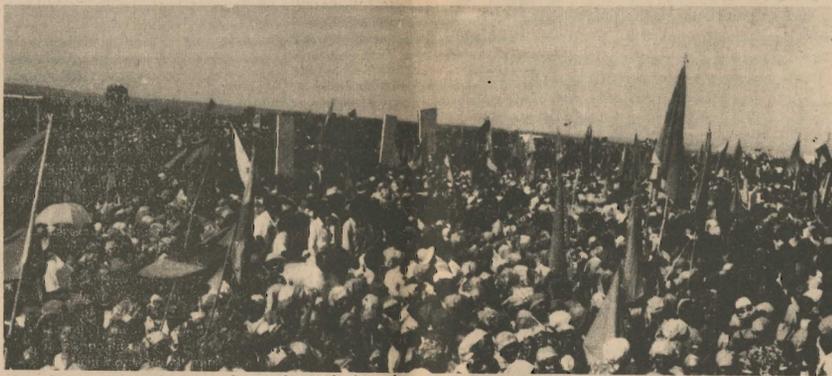


Photo shows a portion of the thousands upon thousands of Angolan masses who attended the rally at which Comrade Savimbi, President of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA)

make up the political and moral leadership of our people in the past and in the present. Such leaders include teachers, civic leaders, church leaders, village heads and workers' union leaders. All are jailed, tortured and massacred for no other reason than MPLA's notion that by decapitating the local indigenous leadership in UNITA areas they can create a vacuum and try to eventually implant themselves in the consciousness of the people. MPLA's brutality ought to be condemned loudly and constantly.

WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES COMMISSION LOOKS THE OTHER WAY; MPLA-CHURCH ALLIANCE TO BOOST AN OPPRESSIVE PUPPET MINORITY RULE?

Speaking of MPLA's rule of terror and incompetence against the people of Angola, I bitterly deplore the fact that the World Council of Churches (WCC)'s Commission sent to Angola in the summer of 1976 and headed by J. Fisher has lied for and bowed to the authority of MPLA. Instead of reporting the truth to the outside world in this critical moment, even about the problems the church is having, the Commission decided to create good relations with the minority and totalitarian regime of MPLA.

We listened to Mr. Fisher's interview on Radio Deutsch Velle in which he talks about MPLA's acceptance of church participation in the reconstruction of Angola. This is utterly preposterous; in reality, all facts clearly show that MPLA only permits the continuation of a church that will close its eyes to MPLA's brutality. Otherwise the church is suppressed. Pastors and deacons are today tortured and massacred in jails or concentration camps. In Mungo, Andulo, Luimbale, Cassongue, Dondi-Lutamo, Sambo, Campundogo, Catabola-Chissamba and Capango, all the churches -- Protestant and Catholic alike -- which have not cooperated with the regime have been burnt down. So we ask: How does J. Fisher come up with such a glowing report about "MPLA's acceptance of the Church" in the reconstruction of Angola?

As usual, J. Fisher may just be politicking for the WCC's approval of the minority regime imposed on our people by Russian imperialism. He does not have the courage to say that Russian social-imperialism IS IMPERIALISM. He is satisfied to stop at preaching only against American imperialism, which exists, but there exists the stark reality of Russian imperialism--Soviet and Cuban combined -- under which our people are suffering now.

It is important that our representatives abroad denounce forcefully this attitude of J. Fisher and his Commission. No UNITA representative should allow J. Fisher and the WCC to attempt to mystify our struggle. At such a crucial, historical moment when massacres, MIGs, tanks and copters constitute the daily bloody scenario against our people, we cannot permit someone's hidden motives to stifle the support we seek for our resistance.

Our people are dying -- and are ready to die honorably. Games of undermining our resistance cannot succeed because they will soon be exposed by our people who are here watching, living in the situation, and dying.

CUBANS STEAL THE PEOPLE'S PROPERTY

Shamelessly, MPLA, Cubans and Russians are killing off the cattle of local farmers; for example this was the case recently in Cuando-Cubango Province, a key area for cattle raising. The Cubans indiscriminately and wantonly machine-gunned down herds without paying for them or even bothering to market them. While they try to create starvation among our people, they are stealing food and cattle for themselves. Even stolen furniture is seen being shipped from Luanda and Lobito to Havana.

Portuguese colonialism exploited Angola for 500 years. In order to live well in Angola, the Portuguese, who never dreamed of leaving, had built something, material wealth, through the sweat and blood of our people. It is this material wealth produced from the labor of Angolan people during colonial rule that Cuba is now stealing from Angola -- right from under the noses of MPLA's top leadership!

RUSSIAN/CUBAN OPPRESSION IS BRUTAL, DEHUMANIZING

Today in Angola there is untold suffering. Today in Angola we really feel in our flesh and in our soul how violent imperialism can be and how mercilessly it disrespects the most fundamental and elementary values of human dignity and human life.

During the First National Liberation Struggle against

Portuguese colonialism, UNITA lived and fought in the bush for eight years. But we have never felt so keenly as now the anxiety of the people; we never felt so bitterly the passing away of a people and of a nation; we never felt so painfully the agony which from heart to heart could eat away the whole nation. We have never felt a foreign presence as cruel as the Cubans' and Russians'!

We have never known a people as cowardly and lowly as that which makes up the MPLA, people without self-respect, who watch impassively and serenely the raping of their own women by foreigners; those who watch impassively the scandalous treatment of the entire population; culprits who spread moral decay among the Angolan people. Today in Angolan cities, prostitution has already become a legalized profession encouraged by the Luanda Neto government. Keep in mind, comrades, that there are 20,000 single Cuban men out there, with all their desires, who turn themselves loose into the Angolan towns and throw themselves up against Angolan women, bolstered by the gun and by MPLA.

So the place for any Angolan worthy of this name is in the resistance.

THE PEOPLE RESIST: NO LARGE CROWDS FOR MPLA RALLIES

After having overcome the initial traumatic shock of losing control of the cities, our people took the road of resistance. The cities are deserted. If, over Radio Luanda, they tell you about MPLA rallies in Benguela, Lobito, Lubango and Mocamedes, don't believe them. This is simply another campaign of mass mystification and intoxication. The people that you used to see attending UNITA rallies in huge enthusiastic crowds are not present at MPLA rallies. Those who do attend are coerced, often at gunpoint, and they come in small groups which do not begin filling the halls, stadiums and parks. At these gatherings only a handful of individuals are shouting. Very often, MPLA supporters are bussed into Huambo from areas hundreds of kilometers away to stage an audience and provide applause for Neto. It is not the Huambo residents who applaud Neto.

THE PEOPLE RESIST: ORGANIZED ECONOMIC SABOTAGE -- THE BENGUELA RAILWAY WILL NEVER OPERATE

It is true that many of our countrymen, who have always lived in cities and make up the lumpen, are incapable of adapting themselves to our rural struggle, and so they have remained in the cities. But it is exactly this lumpen which today makes up the rank and file of our underground activity, which is so widespread among our great people determined to struggle.

Sabotage activities against the Benguela Railway are central to the programs of FALA. There is no way that the railway will be made operable. That would be an insult to the memory of those who died along the railway from Lobito to Luau⁴ when it was constructed in colonial times. Even if MPLA tells you tomorrow that the Benguela Railway is open to international traffic, it will only be a bluff to raise hopes for this opening of this foreign-owned railway. Relentless sabotage against the Railway will never allow any train to reach the Atlantic Ocean via Angola.

The program of organized economic sabotage includes also strikes, workers' absenteeism, increased wage demands, because our people will no longer accept foreign domination.

The Angolan people have demonstrated to the UNITA leadership a conscious grasp of the cause. When MPLA complains about food shortages in Luanda, this is because the food producing areas of corn, potatoes and other foodstuffs are controlled by UNITA, and the people withhold the food supply because of the Cubans' abuses against the people.

DIRECT ACTION GROUPS OPERATE EFFECTIVELY EVERYWHERE

We have created DIRECT ACTION groups whose main task is to carry out surprise attacks against the enemy, and to punish traitors and informers. Today even governors, the so-called provincial commissioners of MPLA, are afraid to hold rallies in the villages. In response to police agents (CPA) repeated attacks, we have been eliminating many of them.

A few are unwittingly cooperating with MPLA by allowing pupils to be taught that UNITA was created by the colonialists. To this insidious joke, our Commander-General made an interesting remark the other day; he said "Neto should decide whether UNITA was formed jointly by Salazar and Mao Tse-tung or separately." Indeed, while UNITA was founded during the

worst Fascist rule of Salazar, it was a fact that UNITA had been encouraged directly by China to launch "direct action" in Angola as a method of struggle against colonial rule.

EFFECTIVE PARALYSIS OF THE PORTS OF LOBITO AND LUANDA

At the port of Lobito strikes continue. Westbound ships carrying dead Cubans are often stuck because our dock workers paralyze the port. Our people's militancy has reached a level which can only rise.

Even in Luanda, the capital, our activists carry out Party work. They are at the bottom of the activities which paralyze the Luanda port. They organize strikes and carry out what Neto calls the economic sabotage of Angola. Our cadre in Luanda continue to struggle with the same faith and certainty that victory will surely come.

The people turn to UNITA constantly as their only hope. Many times we are not able to cope with all these expectations, requests and demands, for we lack the means. But it inspires us to know that our people are fighting. And the people's general resistance will be protracted.

WE HAVE ALREADY LEARNED TO SURVIVE CUBAN OFFENSIVES OF ANNIHILATION BY ENCIRCLEMENT

Already five Russian/Cuban/MPLA offensives which attempted annihilation through encirclement have been launched against our forces. UNITA regrets the deaths of two commanders, Lt.-Col's Gaio Kakoma and Kazombwela. In all, very few soldiers and commanders were lost. While we are deeply pained by the loss of a few, we feel fortunate that the number was not larger. Especially, when we consider the superb quality and enormous quantity of weapons that the enemy used, we can say that we came out victorious.

There have already been two consecutive offensives in the Cunene Province, and even today, right this minute, another offensive is underway, simply because the MPLA, Cubans and Russians want to displace the UNITA population in Cunene and replace it with Sam Njoma's faction of SWAPO. But they will fail now just as they did in the previous offensives.

We are learning how to effectively resist the Russian/Cuban annihilation through encirclement campaigns. And the people's support has been decisive.

Then we shall suffocate the enemy forces inside the larger towns and cities. We will cripple all enemy communication routes: roads, railways and airports. Cuban/MPLA power will soon be "daylight city rule" only; at night these cities, too, will come under our control.

CUBAN CASUALTIES ARE HEAVY AND WILL BE HEAVIER

Since last February, the intensity of our guerrilla activities has resulted in a high number of Cuban casualties: about 2,500 Cubans killed, countless wounded, 45 captured; more than 200 armoured cars were destroyed, more than 30 copters and 15 reconnaissance planes were shot down.

CUBANS WILL HAVE TO LEARN TO RESPECT ANGOLA'S RAINY SEASON

November through March will be crucial because we want to show the enemy that just as the American imperialists were weary of the Vietnam Tet offensive, so will the Cubans learn to beware of Angola's rainy season. We warn the Cuban usurper and the Russian imperialist that our Tet offensive begins in November.

THE STRUGGLE WILL BE PROTRACTED BECAUSE PROFOUND TRANSFORMATION IS REQUIRED IN MEN AND WOMEN IN ORDER TO WIN FREEDOM AND KEEP IT

We must understand that the struggle will be protracted because we need, more than ever before, a strong national consciousness, to create a conscience among the masses enabling them to define and fight for their own collective interests.

We need time to form a new soldier who is not just a military man, but a seasoned revolutionary as well, capable of analyzing both political and military problems.

We must create a new nation in which the people know they are the backbone of today's struggle and tomorrow's national reconstruction.

The meek, subservient, timid and cowardly man and woman must disappear, so that tomorrow the Angolan people may achieve their victory and keep it.

We need to create a structured Party which will have as its line principle "from the masses to the masses".

We want to consolidate a Party whose political commissar will be the administrative pillar, worthy of the trust and confidence of the popular masses and the Party leadership.

We must immediately create an army which will take over in the interest of the people's power. We want to create cadre capable of defining and solving our people's and country's problems.

For these reasons, we must prepare for a long struggle so that tomorrow there shall be no more occupation, infiltration, penetration, lies; so that the people will be able to identify the enemy for themselves; and so that the people will be able to find the means to fight the enemy.

THE YEAR OF 1976 WAS IMMENSELY SAD BUT ENLIGHTENING FOR US

The year of 1976 which is now coming to an end has

Continued on page 6

AGAINST SOVIET-CUBAN INVADERS SURGES FORWARD

UNITA COMMUNIQUE:

ON THE BENGUELA RAILWAY LINE (C.F.B.)

Very much has been said and written about the resumption of activities of the Benguela Railway Line (C. F. B.).

All excuses and lies given by the Luanda Neto government for not being able to re-open the Railway Line to national and international traffic only demonstrate that the struggle waged by U. N. I. T. A. against the military occupation of Angola by the Russian and Cuban troops continues unabated.

The Revolutionary Military Commission of UNITA, faithful to the general guidelines outlined by the River Cuanza Manifesto of May 10, 1976, firmly reiterates the following:

1. The operation of sabotaging the Benguela Railway continues and will continue. With the coming rainy season in Angola, the operations against the Railway Line will be intensified.

2. We now have well-trained teams of "Special Saboteurs" who will use new techniques to continue to make the Benguela Railway inoperable.

3. Those countries and individuals that have interest in the Benguela Railway must realize that MPLA's promises cannot be fulfilled. The reality is that the Benguela Railway will never operate again as long as the Russians, Russian tanks and Cuban troops continue to occupy Angola. It is not, however, the intention of UNITA to affect adversely the economy of the friendly neighbouring countries. UNITA is today standing firm and alone against Soviet imperialism and Cuban adventurism in Angola.

4. To avoid misunderstandings, we address this message especially to all those countries and individuals whose interests in the Rail Line may have been hurt by this state of war in Angola. We fully understand their predicament, but we can do nothing about it unless we surrender to the Cuban and Russian soldiers of fortune in Angola.

5. Any attempt to re-open the Benguela Railway by the Luanda Neto government will be at the latter's own risk. UNITA fighters and the population along the Rail Line will make sure that not a single train will move so long as the Cubans and Russians remain on the Angolan soil to oppress the people.

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!
UNITED WE SHALL WIN! Angola, October 3, 1976.

Signed: The President of UNITA (Jonas Savimbi)
The Nat. Political Commissioner of the Army (N'zau Puna)
The Commander-General of the Army (Samuel Chivale)
The Chief of General Staff (Chindondo)

FIDEL CASTRO'S TROOPS CONTINUE TO KILL AND MAIM THE PEOPLE

Comrade Jonas Savimbi, the President of the National Union for Total Independence of Angola (U. N. I. T. A.), writing from the party's mobile headquarters inside Angola on October 1, 1976, stated:

"North-South, East-West, Angola has become a vast cemetery: the Cubans are killing, raping women, and oppressing the survivors just like the Portuguese during colonialism. But our Motherland has risen again! Bie Province is now a fortress of our people's resistance; Huambo Province has become a quagmire for the Cubans; the entire Moxico Province is a training field for our people; and the Provinces of Cunene and Cuando-Cubango are a ring of fire. . . . We are sure victory is within the reach of the struggling people of Angola. Our confidence grows clearer and stronger because the illustrious sons and daughters of Angola are on their feet, learning fast through suffering, while the liars and opportunists have fled. For the freedom and liberty of our people, for the peasant-worker majority of the people of Angola to seize their rightful power supremacy, we must pay the price in time, men and women. Avante! . . ."

Angola is now "a vast cemetery" for both Angolans and Cubans. More than 20,000 Cuban troops are serving their tour of combat duty in Angola, killing, raping, maiming, exploiting the people, and also getting wounded and killed! Thousands of Cubans have already died and many more will die as Soviet cannon fodder on the battlefield in Angola. Fidel Castro has committed the Cuban people to such treacherous, ignominious role against Angola, against Cuba, against the Third World, at the pay of Soviet social-imperialism.

Throughout the months of July, August and September, 1976, the Provinces of Huambo, Bie and Moxico along the Benguela Railway, and Huila, Cunene and Cuando-Cubango on the southern border came under repeated ground and air raids by large contingents of Cuban troops supported by Soviet tanks and MIG bombers. Hundreds of villages have been destroyed by this massive offensive. The Napalm bomb has been used against defenseless civilian population, especially along the Benguela railway which they have so desperately in vain tried to reopen.

True, press coverage on the continuing war in Angola ceased last July when Western journalists were expelled from Angola by the Luanda government of MPLA-Agostinho Neto. Moreover, the international power brokers wish to maintain the Soviet-Cuban union to Angola; it is not in their interest to publicize the continuation of a war they thought they had won (or allowed to win. . .). But, despite this conspiratorial-

silence, the truth leaks out and imposes itself. And despite the formidable Soviet-Cuban military apparatus, Angola has "risen again" just like it did against Portuguese colonial rule.

The Soviet-Cuban puppet minority government of Agostinho Neto is bound to crumble because the people of Angola want freedom, liberty and a DEMOCRATIC government of national unity controlled by the peasant-worker majority, free from any foreign imperialist or social-imperialist tutelage. Right now, as one Latin American newspaper quoted NATO information sources in Brussels (Belgium) on October 4, 1976,

"Most of Angola's territory is outside the control of Neto's Luanda government. Neto's government controls only one third of the country. . . . The guerrillas of UNITA. . . have been carrying out their attacks and liberating more and more territory. . . ."

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, UNITA CENTRAL COMMITTEE
End.

SPECIAL COMMUNIQUE

Recent reports from the home-front have drawn our attention to the actions of the so-called SWAPO guerrillas against defenceless civilians in southern Angola.

First of all, UNITA would like to point out that the "SWAPO" involved in these abominable acts of banditry is the wing led by Mr. Sam Nujoma from his exile headquarters in Luanda. This clarification is necessary because it is not generally known that there are no less than four separate factions which call themselves SWAPO today. As a party which has since 1968 been helping the people of Namibia to launch an armed struggle against South Africa, UNITA is well-placed to identify these factions.

There is Mr. Sam Nujoma's faction led mostly from Luanda and which is under the direct control of the Soviet Union and Cuba. The faction inside Namibia itself is mostly influenced by the founding members such as Herman Ja-Toivo who was arrested by the Pretoria regime years ago and is still languishing in jail. Then there are the first armed forces of SWAPO equipped by UNITA. These forces have been with UNITA since 1968 and are the only ones to have penetrated inside Namibia to wage the armed struggle. This guerrilla army also controls more than 5,000 Ovambo refugees who have been crossing into Angola from Namibia during the past two years.

The newest SWAPO faction was born in Zambia and is led by the former Secretary for International Affairs, Andreas Shipanga. Mr. Shipanga is now detained by the Tanzanian authorities and, according to Sam Nujoma, he and 53 others might be executed if found guilty by a SWAPO military tribunal set up in

Tanzania to deal specifically with the case.

Although he has all these problems on his hands, Sam Nujoma now feels strong enough to join with his Russian and Cuban masters to launch attacks against UNITA and the civilian population in the villages of southern Angola.

Unfortunately for Nujoma and his masters, they found the area under the effective control of a UNITA commander, an Ovambo by origin, Major A. Vakulufu, who inflicted heavy losses on the invading forces and captured their Russian-made weapons. Many civilians were, however, forced to flee into Namibia where they sought shelter in the nearby villages.

This campaign by the Nujoma faction of SWAPO is part of an attempt to wipe out the Angolan Ovambos because he has totally failed to gain support among them. His claims of majority support within Namibia itself is also proving to be without any foundation whatsoever.

But UNITA would like to repeat what it has stated ever since the South African policy of establishing Bantustans in Namibia was announced. Before Mr. Vorster carries out such a scheme in Ovamboland, we will see to it that all the Ovambos are returned to Angola where they belong, and where the overwhelming majority of them are living today.

Now that the Nujoma faction of SWAPO has decided to side with our impeccable foes, that is, the Soviet Union, the Cuban forces in Angola and the so-called "Faplas" of MPLA, UNITA has no alternative but to regard Nujoma and his exiled followers as the fourth enemy.

Dr. Neto's MPLA is our enemy because it has betrayed the Angolan people and shamelessly made Angola the only state in Africa to be physically occupied by a foreign army under the direct manipulation of a foreign power -- the Soviet Union.

Cuba is our enemy because 17,000 of its armed forces have invaded Angola to kill Africans and to exploit Angola's abundant natural resources.

The Soviet Union is UNITA's enemy because it is the new colonial power in Angola today.

UNITA is determined, in spite of all the present short-comings, to defeat these enemies, including the Soviet Union and Nujoma's SWAPO. UNITA owes no allegiance to anyone but the Angolan people. And since our people are still not free, our just struggle must continue. The only thing that remains to be seen is who will be first: the master or the slave!

UNITA OFFICE, London, Oct. 4, 1976
End.

Congo (Kinshasa): The Struggle Continues and Is Organized Under the Leadership of the Proletariat

In recent years, the Congolese people have struggled for their true independence, their dignity and their interests, shedding blood and making hard sacrifices to attain this goal. Several movements, uprisings and revolutions have taken place at different times in our country. The numerous demonstrations, protests and strikes led by the students have gained a renown unprecedented in the history of the revolutionary spirit of our people.

Began in January 1964, the armed struggle of the Congolese people had an outburst never achieved by any other revolutionary civil war in the world. In less than four months, more than three-quarters of our country was liberated. But the lack of a correct, competent leadership having a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory, the absence of an ideology of people's war, neglect of the task of forming a real People's Army, failure to mobilise the masses in the spirit of class struggle, the lack of a strategic and tactical line equal to the demands of people's war, plus the absence of real unity based on the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, gave opportunities to reaction to stamp out the victory which was appearing on the horizon. In the light of this debacle, everyone finally realised that unity of the revolutionary forces around a vanguard Organisation led by the proletarian revolutionaries was the only road towards total victory. For only such an Organisation could, in the conditions of the revolutionary war in the Congo, spearhead the revolutionary struggle of the Congolese people, that is, on the ideological level: wage a victorious struggle against the reactionary ideologies of the bourgeoisie and arm the masses with the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism; on the political level: wage an unremitting struggle against imperialism, revisionism and all the forces of reaction which are opposed to the legitimate interests of the working masses; and on the military level: lead the people in the total destruction of the bourgeois state machine and its replacement with the proletarian state machine.

The Marxist Revolutionary Party of the Congo-Kinshasa, abbreviated MRPC, was formed for this purpose. It has since then elaborated a strategy and a tactics for people's war.

RELATIONS OF FORCES AND METHODS OF STRUGGLE

In the current period of our struggle, the relations of forces between us and the enemy are unequal. The enemy is still superior to us materially; it has a large number of well-trained troops, armed with rifles, tanks, armoured cars, modern artillery and an effective air force. We, on the other hand, are poorly equipped, and our troops are still few and badly armed. It with this inequality of forces we permitted our-

selves, as in the past, to throw our forces into decisive battles, we would commit an adventurist error and could not advance. Given this fact, we have opted for protracted war as our strategic line. As a tactic: we resort to guerrilla, mobile and positional warfare. These three stages follow each other in turn and complement each other. Guerrilla warfare and mobile warfare are our main tactic, while positional warfare is our secondary tactic. This will allow us to preserve and augment our forces, to instruct our army, to mobilise the masses, to obtain what we lack and in the long run to reverse the relations of forces.

At this rate, in a period of 10 to 15 years of struggle, we will already have accomplished very great feats, shored up several of our weaknesses and gone on to fight great battles. The struggle of the Congolese people could spread out over a period of more than twenty years of fighting. This is due to the nature of the enemy, of imperialism and of reaction. Our victory will never come about as if by magic for, at the heart of vast Africa, our country, the Congo, holds a special interest for imperialism.

STRATEGIC INTEREST

The Congo-Kinshasa is the only country in black Africa which possesses immense and varied potential resources, a material base for development which could allow it use day to join the ranks of the economically advanced countries in a position to take charge of the revolutionary struggle in Africa against imperialism and neo-colonialism, for the consolidation of independence and for social liberation. Such an economic power would acquire a moral and political authority capable of spurring on the anti-imperialist forces. The capitalist powers want to prevent the advent of such a state, which could upset their strategy throughout Africa. Against this danger, they are making plans for counter-revolution using the Congo as a base. It is in the Congo that are found the large military bases with airfields enabling military planes and invasion troops from Europe or America to make that indispensable stopover which, after the Atlantic crossing, would put them in a condition to carry on their flight towards the rest of the continent. Today, several countries in Central Africa send their troops to be trained in the Congo. All the military equipment for this is supplied by the United States. This is an imperialist plan designed to train a genda whose goal would be to overthrow any progressive regimes which might see the light of day on our continent.

The Congo-Kinshasa is a strategic artery for the imperialists. This is what American Undersecretary of State, Mennen Williams, wrote in AFRICA-REPORT in August 1965: "The first and perhaps the most important basic fact about the Congo is that this country

is the geographic and strategic heart of Africa. What happens in the Congo has the greatest impact on all its neighbours and on the rest of Africa. For these reasons and in addition for its great wealth, control of the Congo has been and remains the fulcrum sought by many. The United States is interested in everything that goes on in that country. It cannot tolerate the Congo coming under communist control."

ECONOMIC INTEREST

Besides the strategic interest, the Congo is a source of raw materials for the capitalist powers: because of its size and population, it is a good outlet for the flow of their finished products. From palm oil to cobalt, the considerable inventory of still unexploited wealth which this country contains turns the heads of the vultures of the earth, from Western Europe and from North America. For the prosperity of their trade and for the acquisition of foodstuffs and industrial materi-

From The Liberator, Organ of the Marxist Revolutionary Party of the Congo (Kinshasa) No. 3, June 1976

als necessary for the life of their inhabitants, the imperialists take a great interest in the Congo. American capital alone invested in the mining sector now represents one and a half billion dollars. The United States today controls almost all the rare metals of strategic value in our country for the manufacture of nuclear weapons: 100% of cobalt, 99% of uranium, 80% of diamond, 66% of manganese, 53% of tin, etc.

The profits extracted by the American monopolists represent about 8 times the total value of the national product in our country. Wall Street today controls more than 90% of total investments in the Congo. They could never accept the loss of this abundant source of profits. That is why we say that it will only be a long war that we will put an end to imperialist domination and exploitation.

But for this war to work, it is necessary for the Party which leads it to properly define its programme, the changes it wants to bring about and the goal to achieve. We have done just that. End.

PROGRAMME OF THE MARXIST REVOLUTIONARY PARTY OF THE CONGO (KINSHASA) TO SERVE THE PEOPLE

Our Organisation, the Marxist Revolutionary Party of the Congo-Kinshasa (M. R. P. C.), is a vanguard party of the proletariat, armed with Marxist-Leninist principles and dedicated to the cause of the social liberation of the Congolese people. Its programme is entitled: Manifesto of the Marxist Revolutionary Party of the Congo-Kinshasa. Thus, the MRPC as servant of the interests of the nation and enlightened guide of the labouring masses of our country in their struggle against imperialism and its henchmen, for the building of a society without classes and without exploitation of man by man, assigns itself as its historical mission the implementation of the following 8-point programme:

1. The overthrow of imperialist domination and of the puppet regime of national submission
2. Destruction of the bourgeois state machine and the establishment of a national new democratic regime

Whereas one of the fundamental objectives of the MRPC is to ensure for our people the benefits flowing from real and total independence, by restoring to them their national heritage and their political and democratic freedoms, it is imperative:

- (a) to abolish the bourgeois regime established by old and new colonialism and to organize a new regime of proletarian dictatorship;
- (b) to formally guarantee the democratic freedoms: freedom of opinion, freedom to hold meetings, freedom of trade unions, freedom of belief, freedom of movement, etc.;
- (c) to ensure the emancipation of the Congolese woman, restore to her dignity and involve her in all the activities of national life;
- (d) to abrogate all the anti-democratic laws passed by the puppet regime against the working people and all the unequal treaties signed counter to national sovereignty and dignity;
- (e) to free all the prisoners incarcerated for their political and philosophical opinions.

3. Building of a People's Red Army
Whereas the present National Army is an instrument in the service of the imperialists and internal reaction
Continued on next page

Denounce the Murders by the Ethiopian Junta

Reports from Ethiopia say that the fascist military junta of Brigadier-General Bante has assassinated twenty-three Marxist-Leninists of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP) and other anti-junta heroes. The Workers' Advocate denounces this latest crime against the Ethiopian people committed by the fascist junta. Such cold-blooded assassinations show that the junta is extremely isolated in Ethiopia and that the revolutionary movement of the Ethiopian people is broad and deep. Such crimes are moves of desperation, not of strength.

The hoax under which the junta "tried" the comrades was that they were "guilty of murdering farmers, teachers, students and others" and of "damaging the socialist revolution in Ethiopia".

These lying charges follow the formula of every fascist: attribute the crimes of the fascists to the revolutionary forces. It is the fascist junta which has been murdering the people, from every section of the Ethiopian society, including the Marxist-Leninists, farmers, teachers, students, workers and others. It is the Bante junta which has usurped the democratic revolutionary upsurge of 1974, which overthrew Haile Sellasie. The Bante junta has turned the revolutionary democratic upsurge into its opposite and established a counter-revolutionary, anti-democratic and murderous regime in place of revolution. The "socialism" of the Bante junta is police "socialism" in service of U.S. imperialism.

In February 1974, a massive upsurge of the people against the Sellasie-U.S. imperialist regime, a democratic revolution aimed at the three mortal enemies of the Ethiopian people: imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism. It was a revolutionary upsurge that brought all democratic sectors and classes of the society into the struggle in an unprecedented manner.

However, the Bante military junta was able to seize the fruits of this upsurge by taking power

in a military coup. This was possible because the masses were not sufficiently organized. In particular, the proletariat which was in the forefront of the class struggle did not have a strong proletarian vanguard political party to lead the revolution on its historical course. The Ethiopian people now have such a Party, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party. Not only do the people have their Party, they also have their army, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Army (EPRA). It is against this Party that the fascist junta has directed its most vicious attacks. It has declared that it will "finish off" EPRP and toward this end, has rounded up progressive people into concentration camps and has committed murder against revolutionaries through executions and other means.

The police "socialists" of the Bante junta "celebrated" this year's International Working Class Day, May 1, by shooting down workers in anti-junta demonstrations throughout Ethiopia. Bante's junta had organized demonstrations on May 1 to promote the fraud that he is a "socialist" and to mobilize workers and others for the campaign of genocide against the Eritrean people. When the workers took over these demonstrations and refused to let the junta's agents speak, police fired into the demonstrators. Earlier, airline workers were massacred for persisting in distributing an anti-junta resolution of CELU (a trade union central now banned by the junta). The junta also shot workers at Fine Art when workers fired their managers. This also exposed the "workers control" fraud of the junta's police socialism. Other massacres of workers include Asebe Teferi, Jimma, Naaret and Awash Valley, where workers were massacred for demanding democratic rights.

Many students and peasants have also been killed by the junta. The junta claims to support the peasantry, for whom the content of the democratic revolution is seizure of land from the landlords and plantations. Yet, when the

peasants rise up against the local landlords, the junta disarms the peasantry and leaves them to the mercy of the feudalists. In several incidents, the junta's armed forces murdered and looted rural villages and bombed the villages, to suppress the anti-feudal activities of the villagers. The junta has imitated the form but not the content of the socialist movement in China, where revolutionary students go into the countryside to learn from the peasants and to serve their struggle against class enemies. Thousands of progressive students were mobilized into the junta's Zematch (campaign to the countryside) under the hoax that the junta would assist the students in leading the peasantry in its struggle against the landlords. Thousands of students went into the countryside only to find out that they were to be used as propagandists not for agrarian revolution, but for reaction. Students were abandoned in the countryside by the junta and slaughtered by the feudalists. The actual purpose of the Zematch was to liquidate the organized student movement. Progressive teachers are another victim of fascist repression and the junta has harassed, imprisoned and massacred many teachers who defied the fascist rule.

As in any country where fascist repression is used against the revolutionaries, in Ethiopia the revisionists fully support the attacks on the Marxist-Leninists and various sections of the people. The revisionist intellectual clique of Haile Fida has become part of the repressive state apparatus. This clique's job is to propagate "justifications" for these murders and to float "mass" organizations controlled by the state in opposition to the independent mass organizations of the people. The role of the revisionists is an important one because there are now mass organizations for every democratic section of the people in Ethiopia. The situation is now the opposite of 1974 when the people were insufficiently organized to overthrow the feudalists and the counter-revolutionary coup

of Bante. Ethiopia is an important link in the war preparations and superpower contention of U.S. imperialism. Ethiopia together with Eritrea and the French colony of the Afars and Issas is located on the sea passage between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea. The strategic significance of this area is reflected in the fact that several U.S. imperialist military communications bases are located in the region. Ethiopia is also an important link in superpower contention in Africa. U.S. imperialism will support any state form which can serve its plunder of the land and labor of a vast country and which will enable U.S. imperialism to obtain secure bases for contention with Soviet social-imperialism. U.S. imperialism backed the dark rule of the Haile Sellasie feudal regime; now it is backing the police "socialism" of the Bante junta. The murder of the twenty-three comrades of the EPRP by the Bante junta on behalf of U.S. imperialism and internal reaction, are a part of the war preparations of U.S. imperialism. Imperialism too knows that there are two possibilities in the world today, that either war will give rise to revolution or the revolution will prevent the war. The massacres of revolutionaries by fascist regimes in Ethiopia and elsewhere are an important part of U.S. imperialist war preparations, since the imperialists think they can change the course of history through murdering revolutionaries.

These murders and others by the junta will not fulfill their aim. Instead they will only further arouse the Ethiopian people against the fascist regime.

The Workers' Advocate firmly denounces the fascist regime and U.S. imperialism for the crime of murdering the EPRP comrades and other Ethiopian people. The Workers' Advocate salutes the EPRP and EPRA fighters and other fighting contingents of the Ethiopian people for their courageousness against their enemies. End.

CONGO

Continued from previous page

in their policy of aggression, oppression and exploitation of the broad masses of the people of our country, the MRPC, in order to accomplish its historic mission, must build an army of a new type, called the People's Red Army, completely in the service of the people and for the defence of the nation. Starting from this principle, it is necessary:

- (a) That the relations between officers and soldiers be founded on a spirit of comradeship and fraternity, and not of master and slave. Let the people themselves be flesh and blood relations. To formally prohibit brutality and cruelty towards the soldiers. The Red Army being born and formed of the sons of the people must return to the people, that is, serve the people with total disinterest and devotion, have full confidence in the people and be indissolubly united with the people;
- (b) to grant the soldiers political and democratic freedom and involve them fully in the political, economic, cultural and social life of the nation;
- (c) as an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Army must be under the absolute control of the Party and follow its ideological, organizational and administrative guidelines.

4. Abolition of the bourgeois administrative apparatus and establishment of a popular revolutionary administrative apparatus

Whereas the present administration, that is, the courts, police, security and prisons as well as the other branches of the administration, are inherited from a colonialist and neo-colonialist regime, the main goal of which is to serve the reactionary forces and assist them in their policy of oppression and exploitation of the people, the MRPC will struggle unflinchingly for the complete abolition of the present administrative apparatus and its replacement with a popular revolutionary administrative apparatus.

3. The building of an independent national economy with a view to the final emancipation of the people from exploitation of man by man

Whereas economic independence is the fundamental condition for real political independence and the final emancipation of the labouring masses, the MRPC undertakes:

- (a) to give over the national patrimony to the working people --
 - by unconditional and irrevocable nationalisation of the means of production belonging to the monopolist corporations of international capitalism. (banks, transport, mines, external trade, etc.)
 - by the improvement of all the resources of the country,
 - by creation and diversification of all the branches of industry,
 - by collectivisation and mechanisation of agriculture by organising the peasants into people's communes;
- (b) to protect and encourage existing national capital;
- (c) to build an independent national economy based on the inviolable principle of relying on one's own means,
- (d) to stimulate and encourage economic exchange between the city and country;
- (e) to educate the people in love of work, discipline and devotion to the interests of the nation.

The people must consider work as an absolute vital necessity in order to liberate themselves and finally bring the country out of underdevelopment and imperialist exploitation.

- (f) to organize social assistance by --
 - putting an end to unemployment,
 - dispensing medical and pharmaceutical care to the whole population,
 - organizing assistance for orphans, old people and the infirm,
 - granting special care to anyone who becomes an

invalid or finds himself without means of support following participation in the revolution.

6. Building a national democratic and revolutionary culture and education

Whereas the present culture and education are in the service of the imperialists and reaction to mystify the masses of the people, the MRPC must:

- (a) fight imperialist cultural aggression and drastically suppress the enslaving and depraving influence of all bourgeois culture and education;
- (b) build a national and revolutionary culture and education completely in the service of the workers, peasants and other labouring classes of our country. Culture and education must answer to the interests and needs of the people;
- (c) nationalise and revolutionise teaching, eliminate illiteracy. Create many general education schools for all school-age children and make primary education compulsory and free. Develop professional schools and introduce the system of part-work-part-study. Totally abolish fees for secondary and higher education.
- (d) stimulate science, technology, literature and national art;
- (e) guarantee to the intellectuals every opportunity to put their knowledge to the service of the nation and people.

The MRPC affirms that the roots of war are the existence of imperialism and its policy of expansion, exploitation and aggression around the world. The MRPC considers it its most sacred duty to vigorously denounce all imperialist wars of aggression for these are unjust wars the goal of which is to subjugate the broad masses of the people and keep them in eternal imperialism. On the other hand, the MRPC declares its unshakable support for all wars of national libera-

tion and resistance aimed at emancipating the people by freeing them from imperialist and reactionary oppression and exploitation. The MRPC furthermore declares its adherence to the sacred cause of world peace, but nevertheless believe that the only way to abolish war and to bring about and ensure lasting peace is to unflinchingly and uncompromisingly wage tit-for-tat revolutionary struggle against imperialism and all its stooges and camp followers, and to build a real and authentic, Anti-imperialist United Front. The MRPC opposes and forcefully denounces the non-Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence advocated by the modern revisionists, a policy whose goal is to disarm and divert the oppressed peoples and nations from revolution so that, bound hand and foot, they surrender to imperialism and become its slave.

U. ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Faithful to the principle of proletarian internationalism and to its motto: "Proletarians of all countries, oppressed peoples and nations, unite!" the MRPC considers itself a detachment of the International Revolutionary Movement of the working class, and the national liberation struggle which it is waging and an integral part of the great world revolution. In regard to the different conceptions and interpretations of the strategy and tactics to adopt in the struggle against imperialism and all reactionary forces throughout the world, the MRPC firmly upholds the correct Marxist-Leninist line. It affirms that the only correct path in the struggle against imperialism and its flunkies is to wage an active and consistent revolutionary struggle, and rejects the policy of collaboration and capitulation to imperialism. The MRPC declares its militant fighting solidarity with the struggle of the proletariat and oppressed nations of the world! End.

MEETINGS SUPPORT MALIK CHAKA, FRIEND OF THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE

On September 29, Temple Student Movement sponsored a successful revolutionary meeting to oppose the persecution of Malik Chaka by the U.S. government. Twenty-seven students attended this meeting in support of Malik Chaka, Afro-American activist and journalist, and close friend of the Angolan people. The next day, over 40 students gathered at the Community College of Philadelphia in defense of Malik Chaka. Two days later, on Oct. 2, 30 people met at International House for the same just cause, opposing the government's fascist frame-up of Malik. This meeting was sponsored by the Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists, Philadelphia Branch.

Malik Chaka himself was the main speaker at all of these meetings. In his remarks and discussion with the audience, Malik vividly described how in 1970 the mayor of Camden, N. J. violently attacked the Black people in that city, and directed armed raids against members of Malik's organization, the Black People's Unity Movement. Malik's comments were riddled by the police and FBI at 2 AM with the intention of murdering him. It was only by fighting back with arms against the police that Malik lived through this violent police attack.

Recognizing clearly that he could never obtain justice from the courts of the monopoly capitalist oppressor, Malik left the U.S. for Africa soon after the attack on his home. Inside Africa, Malik Chaka worked as a free-lance journalist writing on the liberation struggles of the

African people against imperialism, colonialism and racism. He travelled to Angola, where he became a strong supporter of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), which led the Angolan people in defeating U.S.-backed Portuguese colonial rule and is now waging the Second Anti-Colonial War against the Soviet/Cuban imperialist army of occupation in Angola. Malik returned to the U.S. to tell the American people the truth about Angola and UNITA. On his return this past June he was immediately arrested by the FBI on the phony charges against him from his defense against the violent police attack on his home in 1970. The government is using these charges to suppress Malik from speaking about Angola and the U.S. government's collusion with the Soviet social-imperialists to suppress the revolutionary struggle led by UNITA. The arrest of Malik is a big exposure of who is really backed by the western imperialists in Angola -- the Soviet puppet government of the MPLA traitors.

Thus, in order to protect the super-profits of the U.S. Gulf Oil Monopoly, an other imperialist U.S. monopoly is preying on Angola with the blessing of the pseudo-socialist MPLA government, the U.S. government is continuing its campaign of systematic attacks on militant Afro-American leaders, as well as its campaign of lies against UNITA.

At all 3 of these meetings, in opposition to the government's persecution of Malik Chaka, large numbers of students and other people again

SAVIMBI

Continued from page 4

been immensely sad, immensely unswerving, especially in addition to our tireless peace and unity efforts during 1974 and 1975. But 1976 has also been rich in experience; it was rich in lessons, it was rich in teachings.

May them all year represent for us a step forward in size and quality.

Notes:

1. The First National Liberation Struggle refers to the struggle against the Portuguese colonial rule which ended with the signing of the Alvor Agreement in January 1975. The Second National Liberation Struggle covers the Civil War from August 1975 to February 1976 when the Soviet/Cuban/MPLA took over the cities and imposed their puppet minority government on Angola. The Third National Liberation Struggle is the current phase of an anti-imperialist struggle against the Soviet/Cuban occupation and the puppet minority government of MPLA. The Third National Liberation Struggle may be interpreted as a phase -- the second phase -- of the resistance to the post-colonial foreign invaders. The second and Third National Liberation Struggles are therefore often rightly regarded as one -- the Second Anti-Colonial Struggle.
2. In the aftermath of stepped up massive Soviet/Cuban involvement in the Angolan civil war, the cities were the easiest target for the enemy's highly sophisticated,

forward to take up this cause, pledging to become active in this struggle. End.

(Reprinted from Temple Student Movement, Vol. 5, #2, Oct. 16, 1976)

highly mobile military equipment. However, the importance of the hill of cities should not be overestimated, since 5% of the Angolan population is rural. 3. These are areas adjacent to or included in the towns of Saurama. They involve the provinces of Benguela, Namibe, Bia, Moxico, Cabinda, Huila, Cuando-Cubango, Cunene, and part of Malange, accounting for 30% of the population of the region. 4. Luta is a town on eastern Angola-Zaire border. End.

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UNEMPLOYMENT
Continued from page 2

Current Unemployment Including Those Who "Want a Job Now"

1973--	8,734,000	9.3%
1974--	9,562,000	10.0%
1975--	13,074,000	13.3%
1st Q.	13,319,000	13.5%
2nd Q.	12,774,000	12.7%

Thus, just by including workers in the "want a job now" category, who are obviously unemployed, the "official" figure for unemployment jumps from 7.9% to 13.1%!

There are, however, many more workers who may not be included in the "want a job now" category but are also unemployed. But due to the tricky definitions used in the survey, which obscure the true magnitude of unemployment, it is not possible to tell to what extent these categories overlap each other. So, although we cannot simply add these categories to the "unemployed", the following figures strongly suggest that there are many unemployed workers who are even left out of the combined "unemployed" and "want a job now" BLS figures.

In the first half of this year there were 884,215 seasonal workers who were thrown out of work due to seasonal fluctuations in capitalist industry and agriculture. These workers worked within the last year, were reported as not working at the time of the survey and were reported as not looking for work. Obviously, these workers are unemployed (what else is unemployment?) but the BLS calls these workers "not in the labor force".

In the first half of this year there were 9,451,000 people who "intend to seek work in the next twelve months". While this figure presumably includes the over 5 million "want a job now" category, no doubt it also includes large numbers of other unemployed workers as well.

Further, there are at least some 5 million underemployed workers who are only working part-time because of inability to find full-time work, or are temporarily on part-time schedules due to slack work, etc. There were 18,896,000 workers this September who were reported as working between one and 34 hours per week. According to the BLS figures themselves, over 5 million of these are normally full-time workers who have been forced into taking part-time jobs because of inavailability of full-time work or who are on part-time schedules due to cut-backs in production in their plants, etc. Many of these workers are actually basically unemployed and are earning even less than they would drawing unemployment insurance.

Thus, once the figures provided by the BLS' faulty surveys are scrutinized, according to the government's own figures, unemployment over the first half of 1976 stands at well over 13.1%, or over 13 million workers unemployed. By adding the five million workers who have been forced off full-time work onto part-time work a total of over 18 million unemployed and underemployed is reached, that is, 18.1% of the labor force.

Furthermore, the bourgeois statisticians inflate the size of the "employed" category by including the capitalists and their flunkies -- supervisors, government officials, policemen, etc. (who are not workers and experience little unemployment). This distorts the figures on the rate of unemployment since the unemployment rate is the percentage of the "labor force" (sum total of "employed" and "unemployed" including capitalists and flunkies) who are unemployed. This distortion is illustrated by the fact that the official unemployment rate among industrial and other workers is significantly higher than that of the entire "labor force".

BLS "Unemployment" Rate Among Different Sections of Workers (not including those who "want a job now")

	1975	1st half
Manufacturing workers (Industrial)	10.9%	7.6%
Construction workers	19.1%	15.5%
Agricultural workers	10.2%	11.4%

The unemployment rate among workers of the oppressed nationalities, particularly among Black workers, is at extremely high levels. The unemployment of Black youth is the most severe of any sectional society.

	1975	1st half
Black workers "unem." & "want job"	2,547,000	2,513,000
% of Black workers "unem." & "want job"	24.7%	23.8%
% of Black workers "unemployed"	14.7%	14.1%
Black youth age 16-19 "unem." & "want job"	685,000	685,000
% of Black youth 16-19 "unem." & "want job"	54.4%	55.4%
% of Black youth 16-19 "unemployed"	38.7%	37.5%

The unemployment rate among youth as a whole is also very severe.

	1975	(thru Sept.)
Youth age 16-19 "unem." & "want job"	3,231,000	3,228,000
% of youth (16-19) "unem." & "want job"	31.3%	30.5%
% of youth (16-19) "unemployed"	19.9%	19.2%

3. UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE RECIPIENTS

Only a small fraction of the unemployed workers receive unemployment insurance payments. And if they are able to get them, the payments are very meager. The average weekly income on unemployment insurance in the first half of this year was less than a quarter (24%) of what the government itself admits a family of four must earn to live at an average standard. The figures below indicate the great hardships endured by the unemployed workers.

(1st six figures in thousands) (1st half)

"unem." + "want job"	1974	1975	1976
	9,562	13,074	13,046 (thous.)
Av. weekly recipients of unem. ins.	1,874	3,366	3,449 (thous.)
% of "unem." + "want job" receiving unem. ins.	20%	25%	26%
Av. weekly check per recipient	(fiscal '75-7/4-6/75) \$64.20	(fiscal '76-6/76) \$73.04	

Govt.'s estimate of required weekly income to maintain a family of 4 at an "average" standard -- \$302,000, before taxes

4. WELFARE RECIPIENTS -- ALSO MEMBERS OF THE RESERVE ARMY OF LABOR

Another large section of the population -- those who find work with extreme irregularity, most of whom barely subsist on meager welfare checks -- are also members of the reserve army of labor, the unemployed. This vast section of the reserve labor force brings pressure to bear on the employed workers as they are used by the capitalists as an additional reservoir of labor-power. The added competition created by this section is also a necessary tool of capital in depressing the wages and struggles of the employed workers. The capitalists demagogically use this development, which is caused by their dying monopoly capitalist system, to attack the welfare recipients and turn the employed workers against them in order to disrupt the struggle against the capitalists. While the capitalists claim that the people on welfare are unwilling to work, the above-mentioned figures on unemployment show that the claim that work is available is a cruel joke. The vast size of this part of the reserve labor force is reflected (although not wholly measured) by the figures on adult welfare recipients who number over 7 million. The BLS, of course, considers the majority of these working people, too, as "not in labor force", thus further obscuring the massive depth and character of unemployment caused by capitalism.

5. ANOTHER SECTION OF RESERVE ARMY -- PEOPLE ABOUT TO ENTER WORK FORCE

There is still another section of the reserve army of labor which adds to the great weight it places on the working class. It is that part of the population which is on the edge of entering into the work force, giving rise to increased competition between it and other workers for available jobs. Several groups within this section of the reserve army -- students, married women, displaced agricultural population -- can be illustrated by the bourgeois statistics.

There were 7,920,600 students, ages 16 to 24, who were "not in labor force" (1974). Many many of these are on the edge of entering into the work force.

As rising prices make it necessary for more and more members of a family to work in order to sustain a family, many more women are entering into the work force. The percentage of married women in the labor force grew from 20% in 1947 to 42.4% in 1975. This is further illustrated by the fact that while the labor force grew by 1.3 million in 1975, 1.1 million of these increase were women.

6. HISTORICAL GROWTH OF THE PERMANENT ARMY OF UNEMPLOYED

Comrade Stalin pointed out that after World War II and the October Socialist Revolution in Russia, the general crisis of capitalism broke out. It gave rise to "AN ARMY OF UNEMPLOYED NUMBERING MILLIONS... (WHICH) HAS BEEN TRANSFORMED FROM A RESERVE INTO A PERMANENT ARMY OF UNEMPLOYED." The truth of this analysis is confirmed more strongly from year to year in the United States as unemployment continues to rise.

As can be seen in the chart below, after each of the five previous post-war economic crises, the unemployment rate has not dropped back down to pre-crisis levels, but rather has continued to rise during economic "good times" as well. (The drop in unemployment in the late '60's, while the U.S. imperialists were heavily arming themselves in the war of aggression against the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian peoples, is the one temporary exception to this trend.) At the same time, the growth of the permanent army of the unemployed is also illustrated by the growing welfare rolls (also below).

Year	"Unem." lab. force	Percent of Adult welfare recip.
43	1,070,000	1.9
44	670,000	1.2
45	1,040,000	1.9
46	2,270,000	3.9
47	2,311,000	3.9
48	2,276,000	3.8
crisis -- 49	3,637,000	5.9
50	3,288,000	5.3

OIL MONOPOLIES
Continued from page 1

sense that the greater their profits, the greater the supply of oil. The first thing to point out is that there was and still is an overabundance of oil and other fuels in the United States. In their 1975 annual report, the executives of Exxon Corp. explicitly point out that "Excess of supply over demand (in 1975), put strong pressure on profit margins in most markets." So much for their so-called shortage. Secondly, let's look at the relationship between increased profits and the rate of production. Profits for the oil corporations have doubled while domestic crude oil production has dropped 10.4% since 1973. Exxon's reported profit in 1972 was barely one half of its 1974 record profit of over \$3 billion out of \$45 billion in sales. At the same time Exxon produced 13% less crude oil in the U.S. in 1975 than in 1972.

The other big lie of the monopoly bourgeoisie is their claim that without soaring energy prices, the U.S. will be in "danger" of "strangulation" by the Arab oil-producing countries. This is called turning truth completely on its head. It is U.S. imperialism and other imperialist powers which strangle the oil-producing countries and have violated their independence for decades. It is the U.S. government that threatens the oil-producing countries with "retaliation" and possible invasion if they "go too far" in defending their own oil resources and demand a just price for their oil.

Furthermore, three years of soaring prices and doubling profits have witnessed a tremendous increase in oil imports. From 1973 to the first half of 1976, crude oil imports increased by over 80% to nearly 3 million barrels a day or 38% of U.S. consumption. This has nothing to do with the capitalist propaganda about "dwindling reserves". The demand for oil has dropped off sharply in Europe, Japan and the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America with the world capitalist economic crisis. The U.S. oil corporations have been capping wells, cutting back domestic production and stepping up imports in order to retain their control of the world market. In the face of overproduction of oil in the capitalist world, the U.S. imperialists want to buy up the surplus, monopolize the market and use its monopoly to "strangle" the people of the world.

Expenses & Prices of Electricity of Major U.S. Electric Utilities
Rate of increase from 1973 to 1975

1) Wages & Salaries	Up 20% to \$3.9 Bil.
2) Interest Charges	Up 50% to \$2.9 Bil.
3) Price of Elec.	Up 55% to \$4.7 Bil.
4) Fuel Costs	Up 133% to \$13.9 Bil.

For decades, U.S. imperialism has used its domination of the world oil market as a weapon in its drive for world hegemony. On the one hand it is used as a lever to exert control over the oil-producing countries with the U.S. "sphere of influence", making them dependent on the U.S. monopolies for oil. On the other hand, it is used to keep the oil-producing countries dependent on the U.S. monopolies for the marketing of their oil. As U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism prepare for war, it is extremely crucial for U.S. imperialism to retain control of the strategic supplies of oil in the oil-producing countries. This control of strategic oil, particularly in the Middle East, will become even more crucial with the outbreak of war.

What are the oil monopolies doing with their huge hoards of capital accumulated during the "energy crisis"? They are consolidating their monopoly position by maximizing profit and developing potential profits in preparation for war. The big oil companies have been buying up billions of dollars of leases for offshore drilling (\$4.9 billion in 1975 alone) and acreage from the federal government, as well as tracts for onshore drilling and uranium mining. While oil extraction has decreased, the rate of oil wells being drilled has increased by 7% from 1973 to the first half of 1976. New areas of exploitation are being developed, particularly offshore and the Alaskan North Slope with the opening of the

	51	2,055,000	3.3
	52	1,883,000	3.0
	53	1,834,000	2.9
crisis --	54	3,532,000	5.5
	55	2,852,000	4.4
	56	2,780,000	4.1
	57	2,859,000	4.3
crisis --	58	4,602,000	6.8
	59	3,740,000	5.5
	60	3,852,000	5.5
crisis --	61	4,714,000	6.7
	62	3,911,000	5.5
	63	4,070,000	5.7
	64	3,786,000	5.2
	65	3,366,000	4.5
	66	2,875,000	3.5
	67	2,975,000	3.0
	68	2,817,000	3.6
	69	2,832,000	3.5
	70	4,088,000	4.9
crisis --	71	4,993,000	5.9
	72	4,840,000	5.6
	73	4,304,000	4.9
crisis --	74	5,076,000	5.6
crisis --	75	7,830,000	8.8

Alaska oil pipeline.

This rapid development of the energy industry is a crucial part of U.S. imperialism's militarization in preparation for war. Gasoline, and diesel, jet and nuclear fuel, are the very life-blood of U.S. imperialism's aggressive armed forces. In case of war, a steady flow of fuel is absolutely necessary to carry out war production in the rear. Without the fuel to supply the U.S. imperialist war machine, it would be extremely difficult for the U.S. imperialists to wage aggressive war against their Soviet imperialist rivals.

Fully aware of this fact, the Nixon and Ford administrations have launched a multi-billion dollar government campaign, so-called "project independence", to serve the energy monopoly capitalists in their drive to extract maximum profits and prepare for war. This "project" had four main points:

1) Increasing the supply of capital to the oil monopolies in order to finance the development of the energy industry through:

a) "Tax incentives" such as tax write-offs on capital construction, research, etc. (This can only go so far, as oil monopolies already pay negligible domestic taxes.)

b) Guaranteeing loans with the working people's tax money and granting direct loans to the oil billionaires, such as granting \$6 billion in guaranteed loans in 1976 to develop synthetic fuels from coal. President Ford and his vice-president Nelson Rockefeller, the world-hated billionaire of the Exxon group, the richest of the oil empires, have proposed to establish a \$100 billion "Energy Independence Agency" to finance the oil monopolies' operations. Robert Ford says with pride that this proposal will "create a new partnership between the private sector and the federal government".

2) Develop expensive and risky technology for the energy monopolies with taxes exorted from the working people; the main federal agency for this purpose, the Energy Research and Development Administration, has a 1977 budget of \$6.1 billion. The ERDA researches nuclear power, coal gasification, shale oil, etc., and then hands over this technology to the energy monopolies free of charge.

3) Government construction of one billion-barrel strategic oil storage facilities and other measures to build up reserves in preparation for war.

4) Government controls over the energy industry: the price controls and allocation regulations, which the "liberals" in Congress claim "protect the consumer" from the "oil price" play an important role in the long-term maximization of profits and development of the energy industry in preparation for war. Price controls, quotas and allocations stabilize the rate of profit over a long period, control markets and limit competition. An example of how these controls work is the Energy Policy and Conservation Act of December 1975, which "controls" the price of well-head crude oil at a guaranteed annual rate of increase of at least 13% through 1979, bringing the price up to \$14 per barrel, thus doubling the price of domestic crude oil. Another example is the Federal Power Commission which has "controlled" the well-head price of natural gas from new wells from \$4.40 per thousand cubic feet in 1973 to over \$11.60 per thousand cubic feet in October 1976, a 300% increase!

Thus, with "project independence" the federal government is imposing soaring prices for energy on the masses and infusing massive quantities of capital and technology, originating from the people's tax money, into the development of the energy industry, the most powerful industry in the economy.

The bourgeois media has been lecturing the people that the "energy crisis" is only going to get worse. Indeed, the energy monopolies and the monopoly capitalist government are sucking the blood of the people without let up, making them pay for even greater profits for the rich and for U.S. imperialism's preparations to plunge the world into another world war.

On The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China

SPEECH BY A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COUSML TO THE 4TH CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA (MARXIST-LENINIST), MAY 16, 1976

Comrades: We are extremely honored and happy to be able to participate in this very vigorous Fourth Consultative Conference with you, to be able to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution together and to be able to address this body.

As Comrades Marx and Engels have pointed out, ever since the modern proletariat has come onto the historical stage, a specter has haunted the capitalist world — the specter of communism. In Marx's time, all the reactionary powers of Europe entered into a Holy Alliance to try to exorcise this "demon", but to no avail. In recent years, since the middle of the 1960's the bourgeoisie of the imperialist and social-imperialist countries have been haunted by a new form of that same specter. This new form is the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a continuation and development of the proletarian struggle along the path first opened up by Comrades Marx and Engels. Many of the comrades here were first aroused to participate consciously in the class struggle during the revolutionary storms of the 1960's and can remember well how it was that Chairman Mao's China, the revolutionary masses of China, held up the beacon of rebellion and revolution, raised high the bright red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, disseminated the Red Book of Quotations from Chairman Mao Tsetung by the millions, in China and throughout the world, and gloriously marched forward on the road of the proletarian revolution. Comrades can recall how the international bourgeoisie fumed and raved and cursed at the Great Cultural Revolution in China and made threat after threat against it and against those who followed its banner, and, where it could, attacked them violently. But far from killing this specter of communism, the frenzied ravings of the bourgeoisie only still further convinced the people of the world that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is their revolution and Mao Tsetung Thought is their great weapon against reactionaries, that China's path is their path and China's Chairman is their Chairman too. Today, as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution continues and deepens in the present struggle against the capitalist-roaders in China, Chairman Mao's banner is becoming ever more the fighting banner of the world's people.

Today is May 16. May 16 marks the tenth anniversary of the historic May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party drawn up under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao Tsetung. This great historic document laid down the theory, line, principles and policies of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and constituted its great program. It was with its publication that the full-scale opening of the Cultural Revolution, guided by Chairman Mao took place, the great salvo of the proletarian revolutionaries was fired and the Cultural Revolution broke out. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which opened with the May 16 Circular, was an important sign that Marxism-Leninism had developed to an entirely new stage, that of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

What is the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and why are cultural revolutions necessary?

Chairman Mao has stated: "The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is in essence a great political revolution carried out by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. It is a continuation of the prolonged struggle waged by the Chinese Communist Party and the masses of the revolutionary people under its leadership against the Kuomintang reactionaries, a continuation of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie." He also stated that: "The current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism."

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the continuing of the revolution of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The immediate aim of the Cultural Revolution is to defend and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is part of the long-term struggle of the Chinese proletariat to wipe out the bourgeoisie together with all the soil for its regeneration once and for all in order to create the conditions for the complete elimination of classes and the creation of a classless, communist society. In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which is continuing and deepening today, the Chinese people, led by Chairman Mao and the Communist Party of China, have shattered the bourgeoisie headquarters of the revisionist renegades Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao and smashed their attempts to restore capitalism, have ousted the unrepentant capitalist-roader Teng Hsiao-ping and are counter-attacking heroically against the right deviationist attempt by the capitalist-roaders to reverse the correct verdicts of the Cultural Revolution in order to defeat their attempts to restore capitalism.

Why are cultural revolutions necessary? Chairman Mao has frequently pointed out the basic thesis incorporated into the Constitution of the Communist Party of China that: "Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. Throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. These contradictions can be resolved only by depending on the theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and on practice under its guidance."

This was clearly illustrated by the example of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union was the land of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the land of the Communist Party of Lenin and Stalin. But after Stalin's death a clique of revisionists led first by Khrushchov and now by Kosygin and Brezhnev staged a counter-revolutionary coup d'état and restored capitalism. To hide his crimes, Khrushchov advocated the theory of the "dying out of class struggle", claiming that there were no longer hostile classes and class struggle in the Soviet Union, and hence the dictatorship of the proletariat should be packed up and be replaced by "the state of the whole people", while the Communist Party would become "the party of the entire people". Under the signboard of these revisionist theories of class peace, Khrushchov in fact waged a most intense class struggle against the Soviet workers and peasants in the interests of a new-type bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class. Chairman Mao cut to the core of the matter by pointing out: "The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie" and "The Soviet Union today is under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the German fascist type, a dictatorship of the Hitler type." Thus the Soviet Union became a dark, fascist social-imperialist state which is contending with U.S. imperialism for world hegemony and is making all-out preparations for an aggressive world war. This restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union was a big set-back for the world working class movement but it was a valuable lesson by negative example. Chairman Mao paid close attention to the historical experience of the Soviet Union. He pointed out that this experience proves that classes and class struggle continue to exist in the entire period of socialism and that the possibility of capitalist restoration also continues to exist. He pointed out that "Lenin said that 'small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale'. They are also engendered among a part of the working class and of the Party membership. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state and other organs there are people who take to the bourgeois style of life." Chairman Mao solved the theoretical and practical questions of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing such a restoration of capitalism.

In China, too, a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists, led at first by China's Khrushchov, Liu Shao-chi, infiltrated the Party on behalf of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes and seized portions of political power away from the proletariat. These people in power taking the capitalist road sought to corrode the Party from within. The bourgeoisie particularly used its traditional domain, the

cultural superstructure, to create public opinion for capitalist restoration. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class." Although the bourgeoisie was overthrown, it was still trying to use the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes to corrupt the masses, capture their minds and endeavor to stage a come-back. Class struggle still exists under socialism and becomes very acute at times. The proletariat must exercise dictatorship in the superstructure, including all fields of culture, art, education, press, health, etc. As Chairman Mao teaches, "The working class must exercise leadership in everything." The socialist transformation on the economic front (the ownership of the means of production) is thus insufficient by itself and cannot be consolidated by itself. There must also be a thorough socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. This shows the necessity of waging cultural revolutions.

Chairman Mao always attached major importance to the struggle on the ideological front. He criticized those departments of literature and art controlled by China's Khrushchov, Liu Shao-chi, as "still dominated by the dead" and said of the Ministry of Culture, "if it refuses to change, it should be renamed the Ministry of Emperors, Kings, Generals and Ministers, the Ministry of Talents and Beauties or the Ministry of Foreign Mummies" while the Ministry of Health should be renamed "Ministry of Health for Urban Overlords." With regard to the field of education, Chairman Mao pointed out: "The domination of our schools and colleges by bourgeois intellectuals should not be tolerated any longer."

Armed with these instructions and Chairman Mao's teachings on class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Chinese revolutionary masses plunged into an unprecedentedly profound revolutionary struggle. Using the method of mass democratic debates, the Chinese masses denounced, criticized, overthrew and repudiated the representatives of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie who had infiltrated the Party and state, shattered Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters and smashed his attempts to restore capitalism. Chairman Mao himself personally initiated and guided the revolutionary mass struggles, issuing the big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters". He personally encouraged the revolutionary initiative of the masses, receiving six million Red Guards in massive rallies at Tien An Men Square. He gave them his blessings with the inspiring call: "It is right to rebel against reactionaries" and "Serve the people". In February 1967, in the midst of the Cultural Revolution Chairman Mao pointed out that "In the past we waged struggles in rural areas, in factories, in the cultural field, and we carried out the socialist education movement. But all this failed to solve the problem because we did not find a form, a method, to arouse the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly in an all-round way and from below." The Political Report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1969, drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance, pointed out: "Now we have found this form — it is the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It is only by arousing the masses in their hundreds of millions to air their views freely, write big character posters and hold great debates that the renegades, enemy agents and capitalist-roaders in power who have wormed their way into the Party can be exposed and their plots to restore capitalism smashed." Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Never before in any mass movement have the masses been aroused so thoroughly and on so broad a scale."

In addition to overthrowing the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution criticized and repudiated a whole series of bankrupt ideological and political lines promoted by the capitalist-roaders in order to prepare public opinion for capitalist restoration. In doing so, the Cultural Revolution vigorously prepared public opinion against capitalist restoration and in favor of deepening the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It repudiated the revisionist theory of the "dying out of class struggle" promoted by Liu Shao-chi and by Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping after him. Chairman Mao's analysis and the practice of the Cultural Revolution deeply educated the Chinese people to the fact that the bourgeoisie continually spouts the fallacy that class struggle has "died out" and that this is only a smokescreen from which the bourgeoisie launches the most vicious class struggle against the proletariat in order to overthrow the proletarian dictatorship and restore the lost "paradise" for the bourgeoisie and misery for the toiling masses. The Cultural Revolution also forcefully repudiated the bourgeois revisionist "theory of the productive forces" trumpeted by the capitalist-roaders. This theory claimed that it is not class struggle by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, in order to perfect the socialist relations of production and bring them more fully into harmony with the socialist economic base, which moves socialist society forward. Instead it claims that the development of production and the productive forces should be put in command and class struggle be forgotten. Again, this is a smokescreen for the bourgeoisie to wage class struggle against the proletariat and overthrow it. The theory of productive forces is the theory that production should be in command of revolution. Chairman Mao incisively criticized this theory and put forward the guideline "Grasp revolution, promote production" which correctly sets forth the relationship between revolution and production, pointing out that it is revolution and the change of the productive relations which liberates the productive forces and leads to the development of production. Whether revolution is in command of production or production is in command of revolution is a matter of class struggle and dictatorship of the proletariat. Putting revolution in command necessarily means putting the proletariat in command of everything and suppression of the capitalist-roaders. Putting production in command is to put the bourgeoisie in command of the proletariat and this means restoration of capitalism. In fact, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution led to a tremendous growth of China's production, far outstripping anything the capitalist-roaders are capable of, thus proving that only by grasping revolution can production be really promoted. The Cultural Revolution also exposed and repudiated Liu Shao-chi's theory of self-cultivation, which advocated detaching Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and its study from solving the actual problems of Chinese and world revolution and those of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and instead turning study into a tool for the promotion of detached bourgeois experts, overlords who suppressed the masses and deprived them of Marxism as a living guide to action.

At the same time as it led to mass repudiation of many bourgeois and revisionist fallacies, the Cultural Revolution brought into being many vigorous, healthy socialist new things. These included the direct supervision and dictatorship by the working class over all fields of culture, education, science, technology, etc., domains held sacred by the bourgeoisie which considers that the supposedly ignorant workers cannot handle these matters. The crux of the matter is political line, whether or not the cultural superstructure serves proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship or is used instead as a base area for the bourgeoisie to attack the proletariat. Armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, the workers marched into the universities, criticized and repudiated and overthrew the bourgeois experts and struggled to turn the schools into instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Many other socialist new things emerged in the course of the Cultural Revolution, including large scale cadre participation in collective labour, the re-settling of educated youth in the countryside, and many others.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao. In leading it, Chairman Mao solved a whole series of crucial questions facing the international communist movement. As the Chinese article "A Great Historic Document", published in 1967, says in discussing the May 16 Circular: "Are there still classes and class struggle in a socialist society, particularly after the socialist transformation of the

ownership of the means of production has in the main been accomplished? Do all the class struggles in society still center around the question of the fight over political power? Under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, do we still have to make revolution? Against whom should we make revolution? And how should we carry out the revolution? Marx and Engels could not possibly solve this series of major theoretical problems in their time. Lenin saw that after the proletariat seized power the defeated bourgeoisie remained stronger than the proletariat and was always trying to stage a come-back. At the same time, small production continuously engendered capitalism and the bourgeoisie anew, thus posing a threat to the dictatorship of the proletariat. In order to cope with this counter-revolutionary threat and overcome it, it was therefore necessary to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat in practice over a long period of time. There was no other way. However, Lenin died before he could solve these problems in practice. Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist who actually cleared out a large number of counter-revolutionary representatives of the bourgeoisie who had sneaked into the Party, including Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kameney, Radek, Bukharin, Rykov and their like. But where he failed was in not recognizing on the level of theory, that classes and class struggle exist in society throughout the historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat and that the question of who will win in the revolution has yet to be finally settled; in other words, if all this is not handled properly there is the possibility of a come-back by the bourgeoisie. The year before he died, Stalin became aware of this point and stated that contradictions do exist in socialist society and if not properly handled might turn into antagonistic ones. Comrade Mao Tsetung has given full attention to the whole historical experience of the Soviet Union. He has correctly solved this series of problems in a whole number of important writings and instructions, in this great historic document (the May 16, 1966 Circular - ed.) and in the most significant practice of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by him. This is a most important sign indicating that Marxism has developed to an entirely new stage. In the early years of the twentieth century, Marxism developed into the stage of Leninism. In the present era, it has developed further into the stage of Mao Tsetung Thought.

The lessons of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution are of universal significance. A fresh wave swept through the international communist movement, giving rise to new Marxist-Leninist parties and anti-revisionist centers in many countries. In India, Comrade Charu Mazumdar, martyred leader of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) and organizer of the Naxalbari uprising, pointed out: "Naxalbari represented the first ever application of Mao Tsetung Thought on the soil of India". In the Philippines, the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army were re-established on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. And in many other countries the communist movement surged forward. North America was no exception. In Canada the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) was founded at the call of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In the U.S., the American Communist Workers Movement (Marxist-Leninist), a predecessor of COUSML, was founded as the first national center for the dissemination of Mao Tsetung Thought. The imperialist cultural counter-revolution of the 60's, used to undermine the youth and student movement, also gave particular urgency to the study of the lessons of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Thus the victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which were summed up at the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, had great significance both for China and for the entire international communist movement. But Chairman Mao had already pointed out that the issue of who will win in the revolution can only be settled over a long historical period. Not one or two, or even three or four cultural revolutions will suffice to settle everything. As Chairman Mao teaches: "The present Great Cultural Revolution is only the first and there will inevitably be many more in the future. The issue of who will win in the revolution can only be settled over a long historical period. If things are not properly handled, it is possible for a capitalist restoration to take place at any time. It should not be thought by any Party member or any one of the people in our country that everything will be all right after one or two Great Cultural Revolutions, or three or four. We must be very much on the alert and never lose our vigilance." Thus the class struggle in China did not stop with the defeat of China's Khrushchov, Liu Shao-chi. Soon Lin Piao, the ultra-rightist and supersetty for Soviet social-imperialism, jumped out for a trial of strength with the proletariat. Lin Piao regarded the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution as "ultra-left" and cursed the socialist new things that had come into being. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique slandered intellectuals integrating themselves with the workers and peasants and going to the countryside as "reform through forced labor in a disguised form", slandered the communist spirit displayed by the working class in criticizing the revisionist "material incentives" as "exploitation in a disguised form" and slandered office cadre going to May 7 Cadre Schools as "unemployment in a disguised form." Lin Piao was rabid about these things because they blocked his ambitions to restore capitalism in China and set up a fascist Lin dynasty ruling China in the interests of the New Tsars of Russia. The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China summed up the great victory of the Chinese people in smashing the Lin Piao anti-Party clique.

Today, on the tenth anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a profound revolutionary mass movement is stirring all across China, a movement to defeat the right deviationist wind of the capitalist-roaders and denounce the arch-unrepentant capitalist-roader, Teng Hsiao-ping. Teng Hsiao-ping had worked in collaboration with China's Khrushchov, Liu Shao-chi, in pushing a counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Criticized during the Cultural Revolution, he claimed to express his willingness to mend his ways and declared that he would "never reverse the verdict". Yet once back in a position to wield some power, he again practiced a counter-revolutionary revisionist line negating class struggle in words while waging bitter class struggle in deeds against the proletariat to try and overthrow it. The right deviationist wind fanned up by him seeks to reverse the correct verdicts passed by the masses in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and to negate the Cultural Revolution itself. The capitalist-roaders represented by Teng Hsiao-ping are out to restore capitalism in China. The counter-revolutionary incident staged by them on April 5 of this year is a further illustration of the profound nature of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The smashing of the counter-revolutionary elements who staged the incident by the might of the proletarian dictatorship, by the workers' militia, caused great consternation to the bourgeoisie in China and abroad. The sorrow shown by the Soviet revisionists upon the dismissal of Teng Hsiao-ping from all posts inside and outside the Party is eloquent testimony concerning whose class interests the right deviationist wind serves! Chairman Mao has penetrated to the essence of the matter and, defending and developing Marxism, has pointed out: "With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the co-operative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, when it comes to criticizing bourgeois right, they resent it. You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party — those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road."

The struggle against the right deviationist wind in China is a continuation and deepening of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It is of great significance internationally and to the U.S. Opportunism is international and the revisionists, hidden and open, corroding the American people's revolutionary movement from within, are sympathizers with the right deviationist wind in China.

We U.S. Marxist-Leninists are also sons and daughters of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, nurtured on Mao Tsetung



Chairman Mao Tsetung greets one million Red Guards in Tienanmen Square at the outbreak of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution on August 18, 1966

Thought, the Marxism-Leninism of our era. In the U.S. too it is necessary to staunchly oppose revisionism and beat back the right deviationist wind trying to corrode the American Marxist-Leninist movement from within. We vigorously denounce the revisionists in the U.S., both hidden and open, who are trying to reverse the verdict of the international communist movement against Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, portraying its fascist aggression in Angola as "socialist aid". We also denounce those other American right deviationist elements, who are also American — Liu Shao-chi's, Lin Piao's and Teng Hsiao-ping's who have all along opposed the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, who have sought to reverse the verdicts of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution by describing it as "ultra-left" and by describing the revisionist renegade Lin Piao, aptly and correctly denounced in the Report to the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China as an "ultra-rightist" and a "superspy" for Soviet social-imperialism, as "ultra-left". In ally themselves with the capitalist-roaders in China, these bad eggs are not only trying to assist them in restoring capitalism there but are also trying to prevent proletarian revolution in the U.S. and preserve the rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class, since revolution in the U.S. cannot be led to victory unless the Marxist-Leninists build a Party which firmly adheres to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and applies the lessons of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, to defeating revisionism.

All these revisionists have directed the spearhead of their attack at Chairman Mao and the universally applicable theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. They have tried their best to prevent the American workers, oppressed nationalities and other progressive people from hearing Chairman Mao's important statements and instructions and have concocted the theory that "Peking Review is not suitable for American workers" and "Mao Tsetung Thought is not applicable to American conditions". These revisionists are seeking to undo the gains of the past period — the recognition by the revolutionary activists from the mass movement that only Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought can be the foundation of the proletarian party and lead the American revolution to victory.

Let us take a longer look at the positions of some of these American Lin Piao's and Teng Hsiao-ping's. Take for example the court jester of international opportunism, the "independent radical newsweekly", the *Guardian*. This paper claims to be "among China's foremost supporters". This statement, however, merely omits a few key words, since the paper is actually among the foremost supporters of capitalist restoration in China, to say nothing of its support for Soviet social-imperialist aggression throughout the world.

When the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution first broke out, the *Guardian* slandered it and mostly ignored it. At this time, the questions of fundamental orientation for the U.S. revolutionary movement were under debate. Everyone was asking what path the revolutionary activists should take. It was Mao Tsetung Thought that showed the path forward and millions of copies of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tsetung* were being distributed in the U.S. The *Guardian* opposed Mao Tsetung Thought at this critical juncture. This so-called independent paper which calls the Marxist-Leninists "flunkies", itself became the flunkie of a flunkie and promoted Castroism.

The following quote from an article of the present Executive Editor, Irwin Silber, of the *Guardian* written in 1968 clearly exposes the relationship of the *Guardian's* opposition to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and its American great-power chauvinism: "It has become almost fashionable on the left in recent years to dismiss the Chinese revolution. We know that ping-pong matches aren't won by reading the appropriate passages from the Thoughts of Chairman Mao. Certainly, based on the little we know of the cultural revolution in China, there seems to be a senseless deification of Chairman Mao and an attack on the individuality of the human being, which is a violation of our western and our own revolutionary sensibilities. (Yes, I think our revolution will be western, when it comes.)" This passage is sheer anti-communist garbage, written in the typically vulgar fashion of the *Guardian* and other opportunists. It shows the utter shameless rejection of Mao Tsetung Thought in favour of Khrushchovite revisionism with its idle chatter about the "cult of the individual" or "senseless deification of Chairman Mao". It trumpets the fascist line that communism is an "attack on the individuality of the human being" and positively revels in "western" chauvinism. Mainly, however, the *Guardian* ignored the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, while writing dozens of articles about Castroism. In 1970 Irwin Silber wrote his book on *Cultural Revolution*; this book is all about the Woodstock rock festival and the bourgeois cultural counter-revolution and never mentions the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution at all.

With the admission of China to the UN, the *Guardian* decided that China was no longer "isolated". Further, and more important, the defenders of Mao Tsetung Thought in the U.S. at the time, the ACWM(M-L), were making rapid headway and were putting the *Guardian* and other revisionists in a difficult position. The *Guardian* therefore changed its tactics and adopted the line of Lin Piao of "waving Chairman Mao's flag to strike at Chairman Mao's forces". The *Guardian* began to present itself as the great defender of China, particularly against those nasty ultra-leftists and "maoists" like ACWM(M-L). On May 12, 1971, the social-imperialist agent Wilfred Burchett wrote in the *Guardian* that "It is probably difficult for the outside world to grasp that the 'Maoists' as they are called abroad, were a major problem here at the height of China's cultural

SUMMARY OF THE HISTORIC REPORT OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA TO THE 7th CONGRESS OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA



Comrade Enver Hoxha: First Secretary of the Party of Labour of Albania.

"On the activity of the Central Committee of the PLA" submitted at the 7th Congress of the PLA from November 1 to 2, 1976, by Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA:

At the beginning of the report Comrade Enver Hoxha declared that the great tasks which the Party of Labour of Albania undertook at the 6th Congress have been successfully accomplished. "Today our Party," he said, "comes to its 7th Congress fully prepared and determined to undertake new and more difficult tasks, to carry the cause of socialism and communism and Albania constantly forward to victory."

"Our people and Party come to this Congress full of vitality and dynamism, proud of the successes that they have achieved and with unwavering confidence in the future. Life has proved again that the Marxist-Leninist course of the Party is completely correct, that the road on which it is leading our people is the reliable road of the construction of socialism, the road of the further strengthening of the freedom and independence of the homeland."

"Our internal situation is healthy and stable in all fields and on all fronts. The Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, the magnificent achievements attained, the development of the class struggle in the correct way, have brought about the further strengthening of the moral and political unity of the people and their unbreakable links with the Party, and the creation of a vigorous revolutionary atmosphere."

This year, for the first time, Albania produced all the bread grain the country needs

"The program of the Party for the building of a complex heavy and light industry, its expansion with new sectors of modern production has been proved by practice to be fully capable of realization. Now we note with satisfaction that with rapid industrialization that the Party's objective of transforming Albania from an agricultural-industrial country into an industrial-agricultural one is coming ever closer to attainment. With the workers' skilful hands, with their spirit of perseverance and keen minds, the great metallurgical combine at Elbasan has begun to pour the first steel in the history of Albania. The oil refinery at Ballsh will soon be commissioned and the oil of our wealthy soil will be processed into products for which the economy and our country has great need. The Fierza hydro-power plant on the Drin River is advancing towards completion, together with many other projects. With the new factories and plants that have been and are being commissioned, another major objective of the Party, namely the most rational utilization, the further processing and increasing of the value of our raw materials, is being successfully attained."

We are all witnesses of the radical change that is taking place in our agriculture. Responding to the call of the Party, with their fiery patriotism, tireless work and unshakable confidence in their own strength, this year, for the first time, the cooperativist peasantry and the workers of the state farms produced all the bread grain that the country needs.

"Under the special solicitude of the Party and its direct leadership, the defence potential of the country has been further increased and strengthened. With might and main our worker and soldier people are striving to make Albania an impregnable socialist bastion, trained and on guard so as to always be ready to defend the revolution and its achievements against any threat from the enemies."

"The 6th Congress charged the Party, the working class and all the masses of the working people with the task of further strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat as a fundamental condition and guarantee for attaining the majestic objectives put before the Party and the people. Now we can say that the measures which were taken and carried out by the Party have further strengthened our state, have extended and improved our proletarian democracy, have raised the level of the direct participation of the working people in governing the country."

"The rise in the capabilities of the working class and in its consciousness of the leading role it must play in socialist society, the establishment of worker and peasant control, the struggle of the Party to root out bureaucratic, technocratic, and liberal distortions and tendencies, have further enriched the experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the struggle to defend and consolidate our socialist order. They have contributed greatly to barring the way to the danger of bourgeois and revisionist degeneration and of a switch back to capitalism. This is a major victory for the Party, the working class, and the entire people."

The unbreakable unity of the people, their unity around the line of the Party, is a distinctive feature of our internal situation."

Strength and Stability of Socialist Albania, Its Political and Economic Stability Are Evidence of the Superiority of Socialism

"The revolutionary atmosphere and spirit that prevails in our country," stressed Comrade Enver Hoxha, "is in complete contrast with what is happening all around us. In this period of grave crises that have gripped the capitalist and revisionist world, the strength and stability of socialist Albania, our political and economic stability, are evidence of the superiority of socialism, of the wisdom of the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, and the correctness of the principle of self-reliance. The fact that small socialist Albania, with all these great political, economic, financial, and other storms beating against its shores is in a position to cope with all the difficulties and march constantly ahead, fills the hearts of all of us with legitimate pride."

"The internal situation of our country has been strengthened and consolidated through a sharp class struggle which our Party and people have waged with determination on all fronts, against the all-round pressure of the hostile imperialist and revisionist encirclement, against the savage ideological aggression hurled against our country day by day."

"The external and internal enemies will never find a breach in our Party and our people."

Albanian Communists Have Always Honourably Done Their Duty Towards Their Own Working Class and People, As Well As Their Internationalist Duty

"The 7th Congress," said Comrade Enver Hoxha, "is taking place in the days of an important jubilee, the 35th anniversary of the founding of our glorious Party of Labour."

"The thirty-five years of revolutionary activity of the Party are Continued on next page

RED SALUTE TO COMRADE ENVER HOXHA AND THE ALBANIAN PARTY OF LABOUR!

On November 1 and 2 the Party of Labour of Albania, led by the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Enver Hoxha, held its Seventh Congress, a Congress of far-reaching historic importance not only for the Albanian people but for the international communist movement and the people of the whole world. On November 8th the heroic PLA marked the 35th year of its militant work. These events bring great joy to the revolutionary people of all countries, including the U.S. proletariat and oppressed people, who place great hope and trust in the fraternal Albanian people and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The Party of Labour of Albania, under Comrade Enver Hoxha's leadership, has a glorious history of daring to fight and fighting correctly against all the enemies of the Albanian people and the international proletariat. The PLA led the Albanian people in defeating the German and Italian fascists and the internal reactionaries to achieve national liberation, in socialist revolution and socialist construction, continuing the revolutionary class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat and transforming Albania from a backward country to an increasingly industrialized country, and in the struggle against Titoite revisionism, which tried to take over Albania and annex the country. The revolutionary spirit of Comrade Hoxha and the PLA glows in the words which he has hurled at the Soviet revisionists at the Seventh Congress: "The revisionist Soviet Union established a savage blockade against us, but Albania is living and can live a thousand years without trading with the Soviet revisionists and in spite of their blockade."

Comrade Enver Hoxha and the PLA have played a leading role, together with Chairman Mao Tsetung and the Communist Party of China, in the great struggle against Khrushchevite modern revisionism. Today, at this critical time following the death of the beloved leader and teacher of the communists and people of the whole world, Chairman Mao Tsetung, Comrade Enver Hoxha has shouldered the heavy task of leading the international communist movement in the complex struggle against modern revisionism and all reaction, and has launched a mighty counter-offensive against international opportunism of all brands.

Comrade Enver Hoxha is a great Marxist-Leninist, a continuer of the work of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao. He has defended the purity of Marxism-Leninism against the distortions of its enemies at every turn and persisted in promoting the revolutionary class struggle at all times. He is a great fighter against revisionism.

On November 1 Comrade Enver Hoxha presented a report on the activities of the Central Committee to the Seventh Congress of the PLA.

This speech is a great historic document against revisionism, an extremely powerful blow to the opportunist trend in every country. At a time when the agents of the bourgeoisie in the working-class movement, such as, in the U.S., those new Browderites who are capitulating to U.S. imperialism, are attacking and calling into question the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech, like a brilliant ray of light, cuts through all their sophistries, all their tricks and hoaxes. *The Workers' Advocate* proudly reprints this speech as a special supplement.

Speaking of the world situation as a whole, Comrade Enver Hoxha said:

"Our Party is of the opinion that the world situation today is turbulent, and consequently, there is no room for complacency, passivity or euphoria. Therefore, analysis and assessment of, and a consistent class stand towards, the policy and activity of the imperialist bourgeoisie of the two superpowers assume, in the current conditions, first-rate importance for all the revolutionary forces, all the nations and peoples fighting for liberation and independence, for peace and security among nations. A principled stand on this fundamental question constitutes the only correct basis for defining a consistent and revolutionary strategy and tactics, and the criterion for assessing who are the progressive forces and separating them from the reactionary forces."

"Concrete facts and actions and the objective reality, lead us to the conclusion that in the world today the two superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, are the biggest and most dangerous aggressive imperialist powers known in history. Separately or together, the superpowers represent, in the same degree and to the same extent, the main enemy of socialism and the freedom and independence of nations, the greatest force defending oppressive and exploiting systems, and the direct threat of mankind being hurled into a third world war."

Comrade Enver Hoxha added: "Our Party consistently upholds the view that U.S. imperialism is aggressive and will remain so as long as it has a single tooth left in its head" and "The peoples of the world are also fighting a great battle against the other enemy, just as dangerous and barbarous, Soviet social-imperialism." He drew the revolutionary conclusion: "One must never rely on one imperialism to fight or escape from the other."

These ringing words constitute a sharp refutation of the social-chauvinist line of those in the U.S. who side with the U.S. imperialists and call for the American workers to direct their "main blow" at the Soviet Union. Comrade Enver Hoxha's statement is also a sharp blow to

those who capitulate to the Soviet New Tsars under the hoax that the Soviet Union is still a "socialist country".

Comrade Enver Hoxha also inexorably exposed the thesis of the revisionist Teng Hsiao-ping that the world is divided into "three worlds", which is in opposition to the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the world is divided into two forces - on the one hand the forces of imperialism and slavery, and, on the other hand, the forces of socialism and freedom, which are comprised of the socialist countries, the world proletariat and the liberation movements of the oppressed nations. Comrade Enver Hoxha said: "All those terms, which refer to the various political forces acting in the world today, cover up and do not bring out the class character of these political forces, the fundamental contradictions of our epoch, the key problem which is predominant today on a national and international scale, the ruthless struggle between the bourgeois-imperialist world, on the one hand, and socialism, the world proletariat, and its natural allies, on the other."

"The most that these terms and divisions can indicate is the extent of the influence and impact of world capital, international or national, on various states and areas of the world. They can also indicate the more powerful or less powerful support points of imperialism and social-imperialism, and they may also indicate the existence of the people's aspirations to live free and independent of the superpowers. But, viewing the question from the angle of the class criterion, with some exceptions, in these states, antagonist classes and the exploitation of man by man exist, and the proletariat and working people of these countries are ruled by the bourgeoisie in this or that form. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that in our epoch countries are grouped according to the social system prevailing in them, into bourgeois-capitalist countries and socialist countries."

Speaking of the "second world", Comrade Enver Hoxha said: "NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, together with the bourgeois and revisionist armies of the member countries, provide the main protection for the capitalist and revisionist systems and the greatest armed force to attack the revolution and socialism, the freedom and independence of the peoples."

Speaking of the "third world", Comrade Enver Hoxha said: "The terms 'third world', 'non-aligned states' or 'developing countries', create the illusion among the broad masses fighting for national and social liberation that a roof has allegedly been found under which to shelter from the threat of the superpowers. These terms conceal the real situation in the majority of these countries, which, in this or that manner, politically, ideologically, and economically, are

bound to, and depend on the superpowers and the former colonial metropolises." And: "The slogan of 'non-aligned states' gives the false impression that a group of states which have the possibility of 'opposing' the superpower blocs being created. It gives the impression that these countries, all of them, without exception, are anti-imperialist, opposed to war, opposed to the dictate of others, that they are 'democratic', and even 'socialist'. This helps to strengthen the pseudo-democratic and anti-popular positions of the leading groups of some states which participate among the 'non-aligned' and creates the impression among the people of these countries that when their chiefs establish or dissolve relations, of any kind and nature, with the imperialists and the social-imperialists, openly or in secret, they do this not only in the capacity of 'popular governments', but also in the capacity of a group of states 'with which even the superpowers must reckon'."

Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed: "Our Party is of the opinion that the peoples must be told openly about the situations, because it is only thus that their true unity, the unity of the truly anti-imperialist and progressive states and governments is aided. In order to unite the peoples in the fight for freedom, independence and social progress, against any oppression and exploitation by whomsoever, first it is necessary to establish the dividing line, to make clear who is their chief enemy, against whom they must fight, and with whom they must unite." He also said: "The defense of Marxism-Leninism is a question of principle. It cannot be made dependent on the circumstances which arise, on the basis of which the enemies of the proletariat combine and divide their interests."

Reading these words brings the genuine Marxist-Leninists in the United States, as well as internationally, great joy and instills us with greater courage to fight against the opportunists and the bourgeoisie. They penetrate deeply into the devious arguments which the opportunists in the United States employ to defend and excuse their capitulation to one or the other superpower and to the bourgeoisie generally. *The Workers' Advocate* calls upon all Marxist-Leninists and other revolutionary and progressive people in the United States to study this speech intensively and apply its principles as a guide to action in revolutionary struggles.

The *Workers' Advocate* sends an enthusiastic red salute to Comrade Enver Hoxha and the Party of Labour and hails the Party's Seventh Congress and 35th anniversary!

LONG LIVE THE GREAT PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA!

LONG LIVE THE GREAT MARXIST-LENINIST COMRADE ENVER HOXHA! End.

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thirty-five years of heroic efforts and battles at the head of the Albania working class and people, for the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the revolution, to free Albania from poverty and raise it from its ruins, and to build this life, so rich in content, so just and happy, which we enjoy today. This is a period of victorious struggles against numerous enemies, both internal and external, against the U.S. imperialists and the modern revisionists, headed by the Soviet revisionists, a period of struggle to defend our right to live always free and independent, to defend the road of true socialism and communism. The strong international position of socialist Albania, the high prestige it enjoys in the world, the support and solidarity it has among the revolutionary peoples and its numerous friends, are a result of the correct line of the Party in its foreign policy, of the consistent and principled struggle our Party and people have waged unceasingly against imperialism and revisionism. We can affirm with full conviction that the Albanian communists have always honourably done their duty towards their own working class and people, just as they have always done their internationalist duty towards international communism and the peoples to the letter.

"Our Party has succeeded in attaining these brilliant victories because it has always stood loyal to the interests of the working class and its own people, because it has stood loyal to the immortal teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, because it has never separated its words from its deeds."

I On the New Constitution

The First Chapter of the Report is devoted to the Draft-Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Comrade Enver Hoxha said that "the 6th Congress of the Party put forward the task of drafting a new constitution and instructed that it should be the continuation of the existing one, which would express the continuity of the existing one, which would express the continuity of the revolution in Albania, the uninterrupted struggle to guarantee the freedom and independence of the homeland and the building of socialism."

"During these years the Central Committee of the Party has carried on all-round work to complete the necessary studies and prepare the draft of the new constitution. The 8th Plenum of the Central Committee devoted itself especially to this problem. It examined the draft which the People's Assembly published and presented to the people for discussion in January of this year."

"In this great political and ideological action, the broad working masses aired their views freely on the new fundamental law of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

"The unanimous approval of the Draft-Constitution was, in essence, approval of the Marxist-Leninist general line of the Party, of the revolutionary course it has pursued."

Valuable Creative Contribution to the Theory and Practice of Scientific Socialism

"The new constitution", stressed Comrade Enver Hoxha, "is permeated through and through by the ideology and fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, embodies the teachings and the revolutionary experience of our Party of Labour, and bears the stamp of the creative thinking of the broad masses of our people. It proclaims the basic principles of scientific socialism and makes them its own, principles indispensable for a genuine socialist society, in which the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established, in which the working class, with its own Party at the head, really plays its leading role."

"Summing up the line and experience of our Party in the field of development of the socialist revolution, this important document also sanctions the juridical, political, ideological and economic dispositions to bar the way to revisionism and the restoration of capitalism. In this respect, our constitution constitutes a valuable creative contribution of the Party of Labour of Albania to the theory and practice of scientific socialism."

"The new constitution does not conceal its class character. It proclaims and sanctions the character of our state as a dictatorship of the proletariat in power, it proclaims and sanctions the undivided leading role of the Party in the state and in the whole society, it proclaims and sanctions the class struggle as the main driving force of our entire society."

The Stand towards the Dictatorship of the Proletariat has Served and Continues to Serve as the Marker of the Line Dividing the Marxist-Leninists from Opportunists and Renegades

Comrade Enver Hoxha said: "The preservation and ceaseless strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the period of transition from socialism to communism is also dictated by the negative experience of the Soviet Union and some other countries, where departure from the principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat gave birth to revisionism, the most dangerous weapon of the counter-revolution, which led to the destruction of the socialist order and the reestablishment of capitalist slavery and social-fascism."

"The enemies of socialism, both internal and external, have always aimed their main blows against the dictatorship of the proletariat. Now, it is fashionable among all the revisionist renegades and the lackeys of the bourgeoisie to launch savage attacks on the dictatorship of the proletariat and indulge in unrestrained demagoguery about the alleged restoration of the 'lost democracy'. Their purpose is to attack the very essence of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution and to destroy the fundamental instrument of the proletariat for the building of the new socialist life. Therefore, the stand towards the dictatorship of the proletariat has served and continues to serve as the marker of the line dividing genuine Marxist-Leninists and proletarian revolutionaries from opportunists of every hue and renegades from the working class."

"Reflecting and summing up the rich revolutionary experience of our country, as well as international experience, rejecting the anti-Marxist theories of the revisionists that the stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat has allegedly been left behind, or about the 'state of the entire people', the draft of the new constitution states in a clear-cut manner that the 'People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which expresses and defends the interests of all the working people'."

Our Socialist Democracy is True Democracy for the People, for the Masses of the Working People and for Them Alone

"The Draft-Constitution is a vivid reflection of genuine socialist democracy and humanism. It is a confirmation of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism that the dictatorship of the proletariat is inseparable from the broadest, most thorough-going and complete democracy for the working people. Ensuring broad socialist democracy constitutes a fundamental condition for the protection and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat itself, just as the dictatorship of the proletariat constitutes an indispensable and decisive condition for the existence of genuine democracy for the working people."

"With us the building and functioning of the entire socialist state and social mechanism," stressed Comrade Enver Hoxha, "proceed on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism, the essence of which is the centralized leadership by the working class of the entire life of the country through its Party and the proletarian state, the combination of centralized management with the creative initiative of the local organs and the working masses. By fully embodying this great Marxist-Leninist principle, the Draft-Constitution is counterposed to all anti-Marxist concepts and practices of the revisionists, both the liberal-anarchist concepts that negate

proletarian centralism, and the bureaucratic centralist concepts, which prevent participation by the working masses in governing the country."

"In socialist Albania, the rights of the working people to work, to education and medical services, free of charge, to the means of livelihood in old age, freedom of speech, the press and organization, have been ensured under the law and guaranteed in practice. Complete equality before the law, without any restriction or privilege in rights and obligations on account of sex, race, nationality, education, position or material conditions, etc. are guaranteed. One of the great achievements of the historic work of the Party and the people's power is the emancipation of the Albanian woman and her complete equality with man in work and pay and in all fields of our life. All these colossal political and social victories achieved by our Party and people, occupy an important place in the new constitution."

"Our reality, our socialist democracy, refutes all the slanders of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists who charge that the socialist order lacks democracy. With us, freedom and democracy are only for the broad masses of working people, and are not, and cannot be, for the enemies of the working class and the people, for those who seek to undermine the proletarian state power and the socialist social order, as the bourgeoisie and the revisionist traitors would like. In full compliance with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, our Party and our dictatorship of the proletariat have not allowed and never will allow this kind of democracy. Our socialist democracy is true democracy for the people, for the masses of the working people, and for them alone."

The Leadership of the Party Represents the Concentrated and Highest Expression of the Leading Role of the Working Class

"With the greatest loyalty and unwavering consistency our Party has upheld the great principle that ensuring the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party constitutes the decisive condition for carrying out the revolution, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism. It has always been aware that the leadership of the Party represents the concentrated and highest expression of the leading role of the working class and the number one subjective factor for putting its revolutionary program into practice."

"The fact that this has been made a fundamental principle of the constitution is further evidence that our Party, as always, is determined to implement and defend the immortal teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on every issue and in all fields. The leading role of the Party in our society and state not only constitutes the basic demand of Marxism-Leninism but it also represents an historic reality."

The revisionist theories which claim that, in the transitional period, the leading role of the party comes to an end, or turns into an educative function only, are aimed at leaving the working class and the people without a leadership, so that the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism can be overthrown and the counter-revolution triumph."

Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed: "The statement of the constitution that 'Marxism-Leninism is the dominant ideology in our socialist state, that the entire socialist social order is developed on the basis of its principles', is a great historic victory of socialism in Albania."

The modern revisionists with the Soviet revisionists in the lead claim that class struggle dies out with the liquidation of the exploiting classes. This is a fraud designed to disarm the working class and lull it to sleep, to open the way to the restoration of capitalism. This has been most clearly proved in the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries where the new capitalist bourgeoisie has come to power."

"Our country's experience," said Comrade Enver Hoxha, "refutes these false and capitulationist theories about the dying down of the class struggle in socialism."

"Our Party and people have waged the class struggle in all fields with stern consistency and in a correct Marxist-Leninist way, as the decisive condition to ensure the final victory of the socialist road over the capitalist road."

"The defence of freedom and independence of the country are guaranteed."

"— the establishment of foreign military bases and the stationing of foreign troops are prohibited."

"— the territory of Albania will never be used as a base for aggression against the other countries."

"— socialism is not built with credits and aid from the bourgeoisie and the revisionists."

"In drafting the new constitution, the Central Committee has seen to it that the line of the Party concerning major questions of national sovereignty and defence of the country's freedom and independence is fully reflected and clearly formulated in it. In the circumstances that our country is encircled by imperialists and revisionists, that all-round political, ideological, economic and military pressure is being brought to bear against it, that chauvinistic theories and practice on the limitation of sovereignty and on robbing the peoples of their independence are being spread and imposed by violence, these problems assume great importance, not only theoretical and juridical but practical and political as well."

"Proceeding from the sacred goal of preserving and unceasingly strengthening the freedom, independence, and defence potential of the homeland and the gains of the revolution, the Draft-Constitution states that nobody other than the representative organs of state power can exercise sovereignty of the people or any of their attributes in the name of our Republic, that the territory of the homeland is inalienable and its borders inviolable. Under the constitution, the establishment of foreign military bases and the stationing of foreign troops, in whatever form, in the territory of socialist Albania are prohibited. As well as this, no one has the right to sign or accept the capitulation or occupation of the country."

"These revolutionary principles of vital importance unequivocally and clearly express the sovereign right and determination of the Albanian people to defend their life, their achievements, and their free and independent socialist homeland to the end. At the same time, the principles sanctioned in the constitution, especially the one about the prohibition of the establishment of foreign bases and the stationing of foreign troops, constitute a solemn pledge that the territory of socialist Albania will never be used as a base for aggression against other countries."

"Also of great importance for safeguarding the independence of the country and the socialist order is the provision in the Draft-Constitution prohibiting the granting of concessions to foreign countries, the setting up of foreign economic and financial companies and other institutions, or embarking on joint ventures with bourgeois and revisionist capitalist monopolies and states, as well as obtaining credits from them. This is an extremely important question of principle. No country whatsoever, big or small, can build socialism by taking credits and aid from the bourgeoisie and the revisionists or by integrating its economy into the world system of capitalist economy. Any such linking of the economy of a socialist country with the economy of bourgeois or revisionist countries opens the door to the action of the economic laws of capitalism and the degeneration of the socialist order. This is the road of betrayal and the restoration of capitalism, which the revisionist cliques have pursued and are pursuing."

"Our people always regard the defence of freedom and national sovereignty as the duty above all duties. Therefore, the Party and the people's power have adopted a series of very important measures of a political, ideological, military and other character, which have also been sanctioned in the Draft-Constitution, for the organization of a reliable and impregnable defence, capable of guaranteeing the socialist victories and coping with any enemy aggression, no matter where it comes from. The constitution sanctions the great Marxist-Leninist principle that the defence of the homeland and the gains of socialism are guaranteed by the armed people organized in the armed forces."

"Our country's experience proves that the safeguarding of the economic and political independence and the defence of national sovereignty are closely linked with the consistent implementation of the principle of self-reliance. In connection with this major question, the Draft-Constitution says that in all the construction of socialism, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania upholds the principle of self-reliance."

Just as the freedom and independence of a country are not donated, neither are the revolution and socialism imported. They are

the outcome of the resolute revolutionary struggle of the broad working masses of each country with the working class at the head and under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party. The principle of self-reliance does not rule out the internationalist aid of the proletariat, revolutionaries, and socialist countries. However, the external factor, internationalist solidarity and aid, is an auxiliary and complementary element, but not the decisive one, despite its great importance."

"The new constitution", stressed Comrade Enver Hoxha, "will make the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania even stronger and more invincible; it will open up broader vistas to the progress and prosperity of our fatherland."

II On the Economic Development of the Country and the Tasks of the Party

In the second Chapter, Comrade Enver Hoxha spoke about the economic development of the country during the Fifth Five-Year Plan, 1971-1975, and the tasks of the Party for the period of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, 1976-1980.

"Under the leadership of the Party and inspired by its correct Marxist-Leninist line", said Comrade Enver Hoxha, "our working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia mustered all their energies and, in general, successfully fulfilled the tasks set by the 6th Congress for the development of the economy and culture."

Neither the Imperialist-Revisionist Encirclement, nor the Pressure of the Economic-Financial Crisis of the Capitalist-Revisionist World, Was Able to Stop the Triumphant March of Socialist Albania

"By implementing the Party's directive that the economy must be developed in a proportionate and harmonious way, further growth and strengthening of all its branches was ensured in the 5th five-year period. In 1975, as against 1970, social production increased by 37 per cent and the national income by 38 per cent, at an average rate 3 times higher than the increase in the population."

"During this period, proceeding on the road of socialist industrialization, the role of industry as the leading branch in the over-all economic development was further enhanced. Now industrial production makes up about 65 per cent of total industrial and agricultural production. In 1975, as against 1970, industrial production increased by 52 per cent, at an average annual rate of 8.7 per cent."

"During these years, vigorous revolutionary work was done to put into practice the correct policy of the Party for the rapid development and modernization of socialist agriculture, as the basic branch of the economy. Agricultural production increased by 33 per cent, at an average annual rate of 5.9 per cent."

"In this five-year period the volume of investments was 50 per cent greater than in the previous five-year period. Work was done on 310 important economic and social projects, half of which have already been commissioned."

"On the basis of the over-all growth of production, a further rise in the material wellbeing and the cultural level of the people was ensured. The real income per capita increased by 14.5 per cent, the target set by the 6th Congress. The purchasing power of the population has increased and supply has steadily improved. Eighty-five per cent of the people's needs for industrial and agricultural goods of everyday use were met by local products. During the past five-year period, 62,000 flats and dwelling houses were built in towns and villages. The educational and cultural level of the masses of the people was raised higher. In the last five years, over 12,500 people graduated from higher schools, and 72,000 others from secondary schools. The rise in the well-being and cultural level and the extension and improvement of the health services resulted in the extension of the average life-span and a high rate of increase in the population."

"The major victories attained in the material and spiritual development of our society have created a powerful basis which opens up great prospects for our irresistible drive forward."

Fundamental Task of the 6th Five Year Plan

"In compliance with the guidelines provided by the Party in the draft-directives for the development of the economy and culture in the 1976-1980 period, the following basic task is laid down:

"To go on at rapid rates with the socialist construction of the country for the transformation of socialist Albania into an industrial-agricultural country, with advanced industry and agriculture, according to the principle of self-reliance; to achieve a further all-round strengthening of the country's economic independence; to further improve the socialist relations of production and the superstructure; to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and enhance the defence potential of the homeland; to raise the material and cultural level of the working masses higher by carrying further the narrowing of distinctions between town and countryside; this is to be achieved on the basis of the consistent waging of class struggle and the mobilization of all the forces and energies of the people under the leadership of the Party."

"Over-all industrial production will increase by 41-44 per cent, of which the production of means of production will increase by about 60 per cent. The total value of industrial production in the 6th Five-Year Plan will be greater than that realized during the four Five-Year Plans, from 1951 up to 1970."

"The directives of the Party for the intensification and modernization of agriculture and for the vigorous growth of agricultural and livestock production, are fully reflected in the tasks assigned to this vitally important branch. Over-all agricultural production in 1980, as against 1975, is expected to increase by 38-41 per cent, and in this five-year period, it will be nearly equal to the production realized in the first, second, and third five-year periods taken together."

"The volume of investments is expected to be 35-38 per cent larger than that of the previous five-year period. It will be nearly equal to the total volume of investments made during the 20 years from 1951 to 1970."

"National income is expected to increase by 38-40 per cent. The supply of food-stuffs and industrial products for the people will show further improvement. Retail goods turnover will increase 22-25 per cent, and real income per capita of population by 11-14 per cent. Education, culture, health and science will make important steps forward. In 1980, about 730,000 pupils and students will attend schools of all categories, 18,000 students will graduate from higher schools, and 97,800 from secondary schools."

In the Development and Consolidation of the Socialist Economy, the PLA Has Always Followed a Correct Marxist-Leninist Line

"Right from the start, the Party, in its program for the development and consolidation of the socialist economy, has always followed a correct Marxist-Leninist line, giving priority to the setting up and expansion of industry, to strengthening and modernizing it. The victories achieved in all fields, in industry, the mines, construction, communications, etc., are the result of the courageous implementation of this correct policy of the Party for the socialist industrialization of the country. In 1975, as against 1960, when the Soviet revisionists began their savage blockade, total industrial production had increased 3-4 fold, of which the production of oil and chromium industries was 3-4 fold, copper industry was 2-1 fold, power industry was 7-1 fold, chemical industry was 2-8 fold, and the engineering industry was 14-4 fold."

"Looking at the results achieved and the prospects opened for the further development of our country, one can realize how correct and far-sighted was the struggle which the Party has waged against the 'suggestions' and pressure of the Yugoslav and Soviet revisionists and the defeatist viewpoints of the internal enemies, who sought to divert our country from the correct path our Party had chosen for its socialist industrialization. They strove with might and main to sabotage the development of industry, concealing the geological

data with the aim of proving that our country allegedly lacked the raw materials, that it was not worthwhile making investments in the mining industry, that it would be better to spend these funds on sunflowers and oranges."

Speaking about the development of various branches of the economy, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that "the orientation of the Party for the Sixth Five-Year Plan period is to ensure a more rational exploitation of the existing resources on which the principal forces and means must be concentrated, to put new resources into economic circulation and to increase the value of our minerals through their enrichment and processing within the country; to increase chromium ore extraction by 47 per cent, copper 55 per cent, and iron-nickel about 3-3 times over; to concentrate oil prospecting on already known and promising areas to ensure the discovery of new oil and gas fields and to define the prospects for the coming five-year periods; to bring the new mines into production as quickly as possible, to maintain the existing mines and increase coal extraction in them, etc."

"The correct policy of our Party of appraisal of the value of our natural resources and consolidation of the sound and reliable basis of the socialist industrialization of the country", said Comrade Enver Hoxha, "has found full application in the setting up of an extensive processing industry. One of the main characteristics of this five-year period is the fact that new branches are added to the existing processing industry, such as the full cycle ferrous metallurgy, the ferro-chromium and pyro-metallurgical industries, the copper rolling industry. New plants of chemical industry, as well as many plants and factories for the enrichment of ores and fuels will also be commissioned. These create the possibility of processing more mineral and non-mineral raw materials locally, as well as the necessary basis to further develop the existing branches of industry and to set up new branches in the future. In this way, the economy is further strengthened, export possibilities and the value of processed products are increased. Thus, the economy serves the strengthening of the defence potential of the country better."

"With this development of the processing industry, in 1980 over 65 per cent of the volume of exports, will be made up of locally processed goods as against 46 per cent in 1960. This is a significant index of the correct policy followed by the Party. Continuing on this course, a task for the future is that we must be able to process all our minerals locally, and cease exports of crude ore."

"During this five-year period our industry will be greatly strengthened. Large-scale production will start in the Elbasan Metallurgical Combine which, apart from pig-iron and high quality steel from smelting our ore, will also give our country nickel and cobalt which have very great value also on the world market."

"As early as its 4th Congress the Party decided to build a metallurgical combine. But the Soviet revisionist leadership sabotaged the realization of this plan at that time. They refused to accord our country credits for this project, because they followed a neo-colonialist policy; they wanted our country to be economically dependent on them, and to impede the construction of socialism in Albania. But with the internationalist aid of the Chinese comrades, of the Chinese Communist Party and government, our people are successfully building this great project, as they are completing many other projects with Chinese fraternal aid. Our Party and people express their deep gratitude to the Chinese Party and people for their very valuable support and aid."

"Another great project which will soon be commissioned is the oil refinery of Ballsh, where the crude oil will undergo a modern refining process. When this plant commences work it will produce motor fuels and lubricants of high quality which will fulfil the needs of industry, agriculture and transport, better, and the import of a number of kinds of motor fuels will be reduced, as will exports of crude oil."

"With the powerful and advanced machinery base", said Comrade Enver Hoxha, "all the possibilities now exist for it to go over, on a broader and more organized scale, to the production of all the special machinery for mining, farming and the other branches of the economy, to build complete factories and production lines on the basis of self-reliance. In 1980, as against 1975, the production of the engineering industry will increase by 40-43 per cent."

A Real Revolution has been Carried out in our Agriculture

"Our Party of Labour", said Comrade Enver Hoxha, "enlightened by Marxism-Leninism, has always borne in mind that, besides developed industry, the construction of socialism requires advanced and modern agriculture. Agriculture is the basis of the economy, which to a large extent, determines and conditions the fulfilment of the tasks in the other branches, the raising of the general wellbeing of the people, and the strengthening of the defence potential of the country."

"A real revolution has been carried out in all directions in our agriculture. A powerful material-technical base, which is serving the ever greater intensification of agriculture, has been set up. Agricultural and livestock products have rapidly increased from year to year, ever better satisfying the needs of the people and the economy. During the previous Five-Year Plan alone, bread grain production increased by 35 per cent, of which, wheat production doubled. Production of cotton increased by 48 per cent, sugar-beet by 76 per cent, milk 47 per cent, and so on. Our socialist countryside has radically changed its appearance, and the standard of living and wellbeing of the peasantry is beyond comparison with the past. All these successes are evidence of the correctness of the line of the Party, of the course it has set for the socialist transformation of the countryside. The collectivization of agriculture, carried out over a period, step by step, as well as the increasing strengthening of the common property, are proving the superiority and vitality of the socialist cooperativist order right now, when all over the world, not only in the backward countries, but even in the so-called advanced countries, there is a great shortage of agricultural products. Many of these countries, including the revisionist Soviet Union, are holding out their hand to U.S. imperialism for bread. The revisionist countries are experiencing a grave crisis in agriculture, precisely because they have abandoned the countryside and opposed collectivization, leaving the field free for the capitalist mode of production in the countryside."

"In this five-year period, the main objective of the Party in agriculture is to achieve full self-sufficiency in bread grain. It has been planned that, from this year on, sufficient grain will be produced to satisfy all the needs of the country, to increase the state reserves and gradually create reserves in the agricultural economies as well, and to ensure better supplies of feed for the livestock. The production of bread grain in 1980 is expected to be 56-60 per cent, and that of potatoes 48 to 56 per cent higher than in 1975."

"The first year of the Five Year Plan closed with a great victory. The cooperativist peasantry and the other farm workers successfully fulfilled the plan in grain production, ensuring all the grain required within the country for the first time. This year's grain production was about 30 per cent larger than in 1975, which was a record year in the production of grain."

Great Investments and New Projects During the 6th Five Year Plan

"The policy of the Party has always been directed towards channelling investments, first of all, to the development of the branches of material production, giving priority to industry and agriculture in compliance with this orientation, the new Five Year Plan envisages a great volume of capital investments. In comparison with the Fifth Five Year plan, the total volume of state investments is envisaged to increase by 43 per cent and the volume of construction-assembly work by 48 per cent. The fact that we can cope with these large investments is evidence of our constantly increasing economic and financial potential and our increased possibilities in the field of accumulation."

"During this five-year period the construction of many large-scale projects begun under the previous five-year plan will be completed. Apart from these, work will start on the construction of the Koman Hydro-power plant on the Drin river, the Shkroter power plant at Fier, new tea and soda plants, mines and ore enrichment factories, engineering plants, factories of the light and food-processing industry, the Fier-Vlora railway, new motor-roads, many reclamation

and irrigation projects, and so on.

The People's Wellbeing at the Centre of Attention of the Entire Activity of the Party

"Concern for the constant improvement of living conditions and raising the cultural level of the whole people, has been and remains at the centre of attention of the entire activity of the Party. During the past five-year period, thanks to the consistent implementation of the directives of the 6th Congress, the general wellbeing of the people has been constantly and steadily raised. Real per capita income increased by 87 per cent among the urban population and 20.5 per cent in the countryside. Our market has been and is stable. In no instance have the prices for food-stuffs and industrial goods been increased. On the contrary, for some articles they have been reduced.

"In this five-year period, too, the people's wellbeing will be improved step by step. The increase in real income per capita, in 1980, as against 1975, will be 11-14 per cent higher, giving priority to its increase in the countryside. In the coming five-year period the rates of increment of real income per capita in the countryside will be more than three times higher than that of the town."

On the Principle of Self-Reliance

"The complete construction of socialist society", said Comrade Enver Hoxha, "is closely connected with the understanding and implementation of the principle of self-reliance in every step and every field of life. This great Marxist-Leninist principle of profound revolutionary content is not only a law for the construction of socialism but also, in the present conditions, an urgent necessity for our country to cope successfully with enemy blockades and encirclement.

"The freedom won, all the successes achieved so far, our socialist and independent life, are practical verification of the Leninist conclusion that self-reliance, the internal factor, is the decisive factor, both in the struggle for the triumph of the revolution and the seizure of power, and in the struggle for the construction of socialism and the defence of the homeland.

"Our Party has always defended the viewpoint that self-reliance is not a temporary policy imposed by circumstances, but an objective necessity for every country, big or small, developed or underdeveloped, a principle applying both in liberation wars and the proletarian revolution, and in the construction of socialism and the defence of the homeland. The implementation of this principle bars all paths to the inflow of credits from bourgeois and revisionist banks and states, by means of which the imperialists and the social-imperialists enslave countries and nations, and fatten on their blood and sweat. The so-called aid of the imperialists and social-imperialists to the developing countries constitutes a great fraud and is aimed at exploiting the economies of these countries and dictating their imperialist policy to them.

"The bourgeois-revisionist propaganda endeavours to spread and cultivate among the peoples, especially in the developing countries, the sense of bowing and submission to the big imperialist powers. The Soviet revisionists, in particular, distort the revolutionary essence of the principle of self-reliance, labelling it as 'slipping into positions of narrow nationalism', as 'departure from the positions of proletarian internationalism', as 'rejecting reciprocal aid among socialist countries'. With these anti-Marxist theses they seek to justify their policy of imperialist expansion and their practices of capitalist exploitation of other countries. Their aim is to undermine the confidence of peoples in the possibility of building an independent life, and generally, in their existence as free nations.

"While working for the construction of socialism according to the principle of self-reliance, our Party has never dreamed of creating an autarkic economy, isolated within itself. At the same time, while combating any feeling of inferiority and worshipping every thing foreign, it has not negated the value of progressive world thinking, of the achievements of science and technology in other countries. It has always prized the revolutionary experience of all peoples, everything that serves the cause of the emancipation and progress of mankind.

"Far from excluding reciprocal collaboration and aid among the revolutionary and socialist forces, self-reliance presupposes it. The aid which the victorious revolution gives to countries and peoples fighting for national and social liberation, the mutual aid among countries building socialism, is an internationalist duty. It is devoid of any sort of selfish interest and inspired by the lofty interests of Marxism-Leninism. This aid is to the advantage not only of the country which receives it but also of the country which gives it, because the triumph of socialism in any country serves the triumph of revolution in the other countries, too, in its triumph over capitalism and revisionism.

"Day by day, the road traversed by our country has steadily strengthened the conviction and trust of the people in the correctness of the course steered by the Party, in the great possibilities which exist to carry forward the complete construction of socialist society by relying on our material and human resources.

"The principle of self-reliance demands, first of all, firm reliance on the creative mental and physical energies of the people guided by the Party. Socialism is the work of the masses, therefore, everything produced and created is the fruit of work, of the sweat and brains of the people.

III On the Strengthening of the Party and the Increase of Its Leading Role

In the third part of the Report, Comrade Enver Hoxha spoke about the continuous strengthening of the Party and the further increase of its leading role.

He said: "The architect of all the victories achieved by the Albanian people in their struggle for national liberation, in the people's revolution, and the socialist construction of the country, is the Party of Labour of Albania.

"The mighty work and all-round efforts to implement the tasks set by the 6th Congress, have further strengthened and revolutionized the Party, steered the ideological and organizational unity of its ranks and raised its leading role in the entire life of the country to a higher level. The struggle to put its decisions and programmatic tasks into practice in all directions, the struggle for the revolutionary implementation of its principles and norms, the struggle against the class enemies and the all-round imperialist-revisionist pressure, have made our Party more militant, more mature, and more farsighted."

The Leading Role of the Party Has Been Constantly Strengthened in Struggle Against Any Bureaucratic and Technocratic Influence

"The theory and practice of socialism, the revolutionary life and activity of our Party have always proved completely that the constant preservation and strengthening of the leading role of the Party is decisive to the fate of the people and the revolution. Only under the leadership of the Party can the people's state power be strengthened and consolidated, can the country be defended, the socialist economy developed, culture promoted, the new man educated, and the non-stop march towards communism ensured.

"The leading role of the Party is not ensured and affirmed automatically, simply from the fact that the Party is in power. The enhancement and strengthening of the leading role of the Party is ensured through the persistent political, ideological and organizational struggle to apply its general line, its decisions and directives, its principles and norms.

"The leadership of the Party is one and indivisible. It is achieved only when its Marxist-Leninist ideology and policy, its decisions and directives are successfully implemented in all fields and in all directions, in the state power and the economy, in culture and the army, when all the state institutions, social organizations, all the cadres and working people are guided by this ideology and policy, by

these directives and decisions in all their activity."

Comrade Enver Hoxha further said, "The edge of the struggle to strengthen and perfect the leading role of the Party is directed especially at two major dangers, which may benumb and then completely eliminate this role: at liberalism and bureaucracy as well as their offsprings — technocracy and intellectualism.

"The Party has combated the symptoms of these diseases, wherever they have emerged, with revolutionary class methods; it has exposed and unhesitatingly attacked errors and distortions, any action and stand that damage its correct line and norms.

"The leading role of the Party in all its links has been constantly strengthened in struggle against any bureaucratic and technocratic influence of the state, economic, military apparatuses over the basic organizations.

"Neither are the Party apparatuses immunized against bureaucratic influences; like the state and economic apparatuses they, too, can be affected by bureaucracy and become its carriers. This is not something unknown. The Bolshevik Party was strangled by the notorious 'apparatchiki'. Together with the other bureaucratized cadres of the state apparatus, who had deviated from the road of the working class and the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, they became the main support of Khrushchev, Brezhnev and the other usurpers, who carried out the counter-revolution, seizing the leadership from the hands of the working class and its party.

Steel-like Ideological and Organisational Unity

"One of the main factors which has enabled our Party to ensure its leading role throughout its whole existence, to ensure so completely, monolithically and effectively the hegemony of the working class, is its steel-like ideological and organization unity.

"Our Party has not allowed and will never allow the existence of factions within its ranks. It has had and has one line only, the Marxist-Leninist line, which it has loyally defended and resolutely implemented.

"As has been proven by the negative experience of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and a series of other communist and worker parties which betrayed the cause of Marxism-Leninism, the bourgeois degeneration of the Party of the working class is also directly linked with renunciation of the principles and norms of the proletarian party or with their transformation into lifeless formulae.

"Therefore, to preserve and strengthen its unity, to achieve the indisputable leadership of the working class, the faithful implementation in a revolutionary way of the line of the Party, the Leninist principles and norms are of decisive importance in the activity of every leading organ, every basic organization and every communist. Only in this way are shortcomings and weaknesses prevented from proliferating and growing into incurable diseases, which the class enemy exploits for its own ends against the Party and socialism."

Our Party has Always Upheld the Principle of Collectivism in the Work of its Leading Organs

"Our Party", stressed Comrade Enver Hoxha, "has always upheld the principle of collectivism in the work of its leading organs. Collective thought and action is more mature and correct, and plays the decisive role in the performance of Party leadership. Collectivism eliminates bureaucracy and arbitrariness, while at the same time it enlivens individual thinking and acting, and does not permit the creation of routine and the spread of conformism.

"The implementation of the principle of collectivism in the policy of cadres as a monopoly of the Party is particularly important. All are obliged to submit to the general line of the Party, to the criteria, orientations, establishments and procedures it has laid down on cadres. Nothing should be done in an individual way in this field. The principle of collectivism is not only a basic ideological and political principle, but it also strengthens everybody's conviction that the position of each individual is in the hands of the Party and the working class. Otherwise, not only is subjectivity not avoided, but many negative manifestations, such as servility, fear, arrogance, prepotence, etc. are cultivated."

As to Social Status, Workers Occupy First Place in the Party

"In the years since the 6th Congress thousands of new members from among the finest sons and daughters of our people, the most conscientious and most tempered as revolutionaries, the most loyal and resolute in the cause of communism, tested in revolutionary action, distinguished in the struggle for the socialist construction and the defence of the homeland, have been admitted to the Party.

"At present 101,500 communists, of whom 13,500 are candidate members, or 14,500 more communists than at the previous congress, are militating in the ranks of the Party. The communists make up more than 4 percent of the population. Workers make up 37.5 percent of the total membership and 29 percent are cooperativists.

"As to social status, workers continue to occupy first place in the Party. Party organisations and organs have adhered to the orientation to increase the ranks of the Party mainly with elements from the working class: more than 41 percent of those admitted to the Party come from this class, while 38 percent come from the cooperativist peasantry, and nearly 21 percent from among the office workers, intelligentsia and the army-men.

"In the future, too, the Party will give priority to increasing its ranks from the working class.

"Constant care has been shown for the admission of women to the Party. Women communists now make up nearly 27 percent of the total number of the communists as against 22 percent in 1971, and 12.5 percent in 1966.

"The overwhelming majority of those admitted to the Party during the years 1971-1976 are 30 years of age and under.

"Nearly 82 percent of the worker communists admitted to the Party following the previous Congress come from the sphere of material production.

"Now one seldom comes across a sector, department or production brigade without communists, a group of communists, a Party group or a Party basic organisation. In the extension and distribution of the Party members, priority has been given to the sphere of production and, within this sphere, to the main fronts of work such as the mines, the heavy processing industry, the major construction projects, agriculture, etc.

"More than in any other five-year period, during the past five-years communists have been sent from administration to production, and from town to countryside. Today about 62 percent of the total number of communists work in the sphere of production, and of these 82 percent directly in production. In the agricultural cooperatives, the number of communists directly engaged in production comprises 87 percent of the total.

"Just as for the composition of the Party in general, the Central Committee has shown continuous care also to strengthen the social composition of the leading cadres of the Party, of the state, the economy, the mass organizations.

"In the leading forums of the Party in districts and military units, presently 44.2 percent are of worker status, background and origin. This, and the other fact that a considerable number of the members of plenums of Party committees continue to work directly in production as workers and cooperativists even after they have been elected to those forums, speaks of the continuous concern the Party displays for preserving and strengthening the revolutionary character of its leading organs. Likewise, in the ministries and other central state institutions, too, 40 percent of the personnel are of worker background. In the elected organs of the state, the mass organizations and agricultural cooperatives, more than 70 percent of those elected are workers and cooperativists. On the other hand, 72 percent of them are non-Party members. All this constitutes a great triumph for the policy of the Party and clearly expresses the consistent implementation of the Leninist teachings.

"The opposite occurs in the revisionist party of the Soviet Union and the other revisionist parties in which the cadres belong to the upper stratum of the bourgeois technocratic intelligentsia. There, the overwhelming majority of members of party committees of different levels are bureaucratic officials, whereas the secretaries of these committees are almost a hundred percent intellectuals and technocrats.

"In compliance with the task set by the 6th Congress of the Party, many young cadres have been promoted to posts of responsibility. Of the total cadres of all establishments, 40 percent belong to the age-group up to 30 years; 31 percent are from 31 to 40 years; 21 percent from 41 to 50 years; and 8 percent over 51 years.

"Of the members of the plenums of Party committees in districts and regions and of the total of elected and appointed cadres, about 40 percent are women. The increase in the number of women promoted to posts of responsibility is a positive trend which should be constantly carried forward."

The Strength and Invincibility of the Party Lie in its Steel-like Links with the People

"The strength of our Marxist-Leninist Party", stressed Comrade Enver Hoxha, "lies in its steel-like links with the people. Without these links it would be lifeless. The Party-people unity was created historically in the war for national and social liberation, and in the socialist construction. At the foundation of this unity lies the unwavering confidence of the masses in the correctness of the political line of the Party, in the loyalty and courage with which it defends the interests of the people, in its capability as a leading, organising, and mobilizing force.

"The line of the Party has never remained the line of the Party alone, it has become the line of the masses. At every period of its existence, for the solution of every problem, and the carrying out of every task, the Party has struggled together with the people.

"The past five-year period has provided further powerful testimony of the unbreakable links between the Party and the people, of the steel-like Party-people unity. In order to strengthen this unity further, the Central Committee has solved a series of problems and put forward important tasks to enhance the role of the masses, to ensure always correct relations between them and the Party, to intensify the struggle against bureaucratic, liberal and sectarian manifestations that harm the ties of the Party with the masses.

"Consultation with the masses, giving them information and rendering account to them and the worker and peasant control, are of inestimable assistance to the Party to ensure that it takes correct and timely decisions, tests their correctness in revolutionary practice, draws lessons and continuously improves its leadership.

"The relations of the cadres with the masses exercise a major influence on strengthening the unity of the people around the Party. The close ties of the cadres with the people are absolutely indispensable to preserve them from subjectivism, from bureaucracy, and to enhance their capability and maturity. These ties grow stronger when the cadres preserve and develop the revolutionary qualities the Party cultivates in them, such as modesty, honesty, wisdom, the spirit of sacrifice and self-denial, the readiness to always serve socialism. They temper these virtues in daily life by going again and again to the school of the working class, which means that they must listen to the voice of the working class and act in its interests, must toil like the working class and work with its vigour and discipline, guided at all times by the proletarian ideology and the policy of the Party.

"The measures adopted by the Party for the revolutionization of cadres, such as their systematic circulation, their work in production, the system of rendering account, and so on, must be applied firmly and without let-up. These measures serve to strengthen the ties of the cadres with the people, guard them against the disease of bureaucracy, increase their abilities and knowledge, and keep them always revolutionary.

IV On the Struggle of the Party on the Ideological Front

In the Fourth Chapter, Comrade Enver Hoxha deals with problems of the struggle of the Party on the ideological front — the class struggle, the leading role of the working class and the education of the working masses, the mastering of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in close connection with the teaching of the Party, problems of education, culture and science.

The Main Danger and Enemy for our Party and the Entire International Revolutionary Communist and Workers' Movement Has Been and Still Is Right Opportunism, Revisionism

"The construction of socialism is a process of stern class struggle between the two roads, the socialist road and the capitalist road, a struggle waged on all fronts, political and economic, ideological and military.

"In socialism, too, this struggle is an objective phenomenon, the main driving force that carries the revolution and the construction of socialism forward, that protects the Party, the state and the entire country from bourgeois-revisionist degeneration and the restoration of capitalism, that cleanses the consciousness of working people and strengthens their proletarian spirit.

"The class struggle waged during the whole existence of the Party, as well as recently, has shown that the main danger and enemy for our Party and the entire international revolutionary communist and workers' movement has been and still is right opportunism, revisionism. This danger always threatens a country which is building socialism under the conditions of capitalist encirclement, but the danger has now become greater still, especially since the liquidation of the socialist order in the Soviet Union and the bourgeois degeneration of many communist parties of the world. In a country where socialism is being built with success, the enemies find it difficult to come out openly with the banner of anti-communism. Pseudo-Marxism, revisionist counter-revolution, is their favourite weapon to overthrow socialism.

"International experience, and that of our country, show that the hopes of the bourgeoisie and reaction for the restoration of capitalism are not based only on the remnants of the old exploiting classes nor only on the agents and diversionists in the pay of foreigners. Their hopes are based especially on other enemies of socialism who emerge from the socialist society itself, on people seriously contaminated by the hangovers of old ideologies, with marked individualistic and career-seeking tendencies, confused by the impact of modern bourgeois and revisionist ideologies, who yield to the pressure of external and internal enemies, and who eventually desert the revolution and degenerate into counter-revolutionaries.

"In socialist society, there exists the danger of the degeneration of individuals, of the emergence of new bourgeois elements, of their transformation into counter-revolutionaries. As Marxism-Leninism teaches, this comes about not only because the new socialist society preserves traditions, customs, ways of behaviour and concepts of the bourgeois society from which it has emerged, but also because of certain economic and social conditions which live on in this society in the transitional phase. The productive forces and the relations of production, and the way of distribution based on them, are still far from being completely communist. The distinctions which exist in different fields, such as between country and town, manual and mental work, qualified and unqualified work, etc., which cannot be wiped out immediately, also exert their influence in this direction. Added to them must be the powerful and all-round pressure which the capitalist and revisionist world exerts from outside." "Socialism," said Comrade Enver Hoxha, "can greatly restrict the emergence of negative phenomena alien to its nature, but it cannot avoid them completely. Therefore as long as the class struggle continues, and as long as the hostile bourgeois pressure from within and without exists, the danger of emergence of new enemies and of their activity against socialism also continues to exist."

Socialist Albania Provides a Major Example which Shows that the Emergence of Revisionism and Return to Capitalism Are not Decried by Fate to be Inevitable

"Socialist Albania provides a major example which shows that the emergence of revisionism and return to capitalism are not decreed by fate to be inevitable, as the bourgeois ideologists try to make out.

It proves the vitality of socialism, the invincible strength of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, which, when they are consistently applied, carry the cause of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat forward with sure steps. The correct understanding of this problem, the dialectical appreciation of it, is of great principled importance and is directly linked with the fate of socialism.

"There exists a very close connection and coordination between the internal and external fronts of the struggle waged by the class enemies. They are united by their anti-communist ideology, and the need they have of each other's support in their struggle against the Party and the socialist order. It is important to recognise not only this fact, which will continue to exist as long as the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and the survivals of capitalism themselves exist within the country, but especially that this coordination may be strengthened and become very dangerous if we are careless, lacking in vigilance, and fail to carry out a resolute struggle against it.

"The Party has carried out great and persistent work to give the people a correct understanding of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and the struggle which must be waged against it. The results of this struggle are evident in all fields. Under the leadership of the Party, our people have coped resolutely with political pressures, economic blockades, military threats and the ideological aggression of the enemies. They have never been taken in, either by the blandishments and demagogy of the enemies or by their diplomatic manoeuvres.

"The imperialist-revisionist encirclement is not in the least passive and merely geographical, but a threatening and active encirclement which fights us in all fields and in all directions.

"The aggressive policy of the superpowers is spearheaded first of all against socialism, the revolution and the liberation of the peoples, against those forces that unmask and oppose their hegemonistic and expansionist course. Therefore the danger of foreign military aggression against socialist Albania is real and should be neither underrated nor overrated.

"Besides their measures of force, the imperialist and revisionist enemies also use the tactics of peaceful degeneration of the socialist order, attaching special importance to ideological aggression, to the counter-revolutionary course which proved so fruitful in the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries.

"The powerful imperialist-revisionist encirclement is operating very powerfully in the field of the economy as well. The savage economic blockade, discrimination in trade relations, the efforts to impede the development of production, are the weapons of the enemies to sabotage the construction of socialism and undermine the economic and political independence of the country.

The Struggle on the Ideological Front Constitutes One of the Main Aspects of the Class Struggle

"The struggle on the ideological front", said Comrade Enver Hoxha further on, "constitutes one of the main aspects of the class struggle. This is a fierce struggle waged on a broad front against all alien ideologies, old and new, which are kept alive, inspired and encouraged by internal and external bourgeois pressure. This is a major front of struggle, extremely important and complicated, which demands the permanent attention of the Party.

"Our practice of revolution and socialist construction teaches us that, unless it is waged in all its main directions, political, economic and ideological, no class struggle can ever be complete. These three forms of class struggle are intertwined with and complement each other. At given periods, now one or now the other form of class struggle may come to the fore, but in every case it should be waged on all fronts."

The Working Class is the Leading Class of the Society

"As Marxism-Leninism teaches us, no class or social stratum other than the working class can play the leading role in the struggle to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and in the construction of the new socialist society. This role will also be preserved and strengthened in the future, so long as classes and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat exist.

"The revisionists of every hue, old and new, have spread and are spreading all sorts of views to negate the historic mission of the working class, especially to liquidate the leading role of its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist party, in the revolution and socialist construction.

"With their 'theories' of the party and state of the entire people, of the party as merely an ideological factor or an instrument of coordination, with their sermons about spontaneity in the workers' movement, pluralism, and transition to socialism under the leadership of other political classes and force, they intend to leave the working class without leadership and disarmed in the face of the enemy, which is organized and armed to the teeth, to sabotage the revolution, to eliminate the theory and practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Our Party has contemptuously rejected these reactionary theories, as well as the anti-Marxist and anarchist views of 'self-administration', and 'direct leadership' by the working class. It has put our working class in the historic role which belongs to it in the socialist society. This is in complete opposition to the concepts and practices of the Khrushchevite revisionists who treat the working class (of their countries) as merely a productive force, and have transformed it into an oppressed and exploited class, at whose expense the new bourgeoisie is growing rich.

"In our country, there is no problem of Party and state policy on which the working class and the other working masses do not have their say and in the solution of which they do not take an active part. The Party has attached and continues to attach great importance to consulting the working class and the other working masses, to the extensive development of the criticism by the masses of shortcomings and weaknesses at work, and encouraging the active participation of the working class in governing the country.

"The Party has paid and continues to pay special attention to direct control by the working class and the other working masses, to the implementation of this great Leninist teaching in practice. It regards this control, which is exercised under its leadership over all state and social activity, as a universal and permanent principle of our socialist society in all its spheres and links, as an expression of the exercise of the dictatorship of the proletariat by the working class in alliance with the peasantry. Worker control is one of the vital aspects of the class struggle to ensure the triumph of socialism, to prevent the degeneration of the socialist order, and is a great school for the revolutionary education of the working class and the other working masses."

Our Party has Always Correctly Assessed the Place and the Potential of the Peasantry

Comrade Enver Hoxha said: "While recognizing the leading role of the working class, the Party has always correctly assessed the place and the great potential of the peasantry in our society.

"The Party and the state of the working class have implemented a broad program of an all-round political and ideological, economic and social-cultural character, that has led to deep-going revolutionary transformations in the countryside and the strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry. Today the whole of our countryside, without exception, has set out on the road of socialism. This is a great historic victory of the line of the Party and our revolution.

"Because of the great role it has played and continues to play in the socialist society, the peasantry of our country deserves everything that has been done to make the countryside progress and flourish. It bore the main brunt of the earlier liberation struggles and the anti-fascist national liberation war, it became the decisive force for the reconstruction of the country, from its ranks it brought forth the new working class, it has always shown itself to be patriotic, revolutionary, and loyal to the Party and the cause of the working class.

"In the future, too, the Party will give special attention to drawing the peasantry into increasingly active participation in the political, economic and social life of the country, to educating it politically and ideologically, to raising its educational, cultural, and professional level, and to consolidating the cooperativist system more and more."

nobody spoke out against or openly attacked the United States of America and the Soviet Union by name and opposed their aggressive and warmongering policy and activity. However, they did find it opportune and advantageous to attack France.

"Many states which pretend to be non-aligned have concluded among themselves defensive and aggressive military treaties in which imperialist powers also take part. None of the participants have denounced these treaties. Soviet social-imperialism is trying to set up the 'Asian Security Treaty', tomorrow a similar treaty on 'African Security', etc. All these are different forms of organization intended to turn an allegedly non-aligned country into a country enslaved from every viewpoint.

"The slogan of 'non-aligned countries' gives the false impression that a group of states which have the possibility of 'opposing' the superpower blocs is being created. It gives the impression that these countries, all of them, without exception, are anti-imperialist, opposed to war, opposed to the dictate of others, that they are 'democratic', and even 'socialist'. This helps to strengthen the pseudo-democratic and anti-popular positions of the leading groups of some states which participate among the 'non-aligned' and creates the impression among the peoples of these countries that when their chiefs establish or dissolve relations, of any kind and nature, with the imperialists and the social-imperialists, openly or in secret, they do this not only in the capacity of 'popular governments', but also in the capacity of a group of states 'with which even the superpowers must reckon'.

"Our Party", stressed Comrade Enver Hoxha, "is of the opinion that the peoples must be told openly about the situations, because it is only thus that their true unity, the unity of the truly anti-imperialist and progressive states and governments is aided. In order to unite the peoples in the fight for freedom, independence and social progress, against any oppression and exploitation by whomsoever, first it is necessary to establish the dividing line, to make clear who is their chief enemy, against whom they must fight, and with whom they must unite."

The Enemies of the People are Imperialism, Social-Imperialism and the International Big Bourgeoisie

"The enemies of the people", said Comrade Enver Hoxha, "are imperialism, social-imperialism and the international big bourgeoisie, which pursue a policy of expansionism and exploitation towards the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The superpowers and world capital want to keep intact all the international forms and institutions established in the old colonial period. When their interests are affected, even in the slightest, such as in the case of raising the prices of oil and some other raw materials, they rise in wrath and do not hesitate even to threaten war against the peoples and countries that want to establish sovereignty over their own national assets, that fight for justice and equality in world exchanges and economic relations.

"But this plunder and savage exploitation cannot go on forever. Now economic decolonization has been placed on the order of the day, and there is nothing which can stop this new revolutionary process which has emerged on the world stage. The peoples have the undeniable right to establish complete sovereignty over their natural resources and to nationalize them. However protracted and fierce the resistance and counterattack of the imperialists and other exploiters may be, nothing can prevent attainment of this objective.

"The struggle of the peoples for economic independence is spearheaded against the superpowers, against the monopoly of the imperialist states, against the multi-national companies. Therefore, the proletariat, all those who are for the revolution and socialism, must closely link their struggle with the struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence. This can be done only by resolutely struggling against the bourgeoisie of one's own country, by struggling against imperialism and predatory war. This is also the most effective and direct aid the proletariat can give the liberation movement of the peoples."

Within the Revisionist Bloc, the Political Animosity and Ideological Differences Exist Everywhere in Secret and are Manifested in Various Fields and Forms

"Within the revisionist bloc, Soviet social-imperialism is keeping a strict watch over its 'allies' to prevent any attempt to break ranks. Despite this, the political animosity and ideological differences, if not as open as in Czechoslovakia at the time of Dubcek, exist everywhere in secret and are manifested in various fields and forms, especially around economic issues. All the discontent that is showing up in the relations between the revisionist countries and the Soviet Union is covered over with the theories of 'limited sovereignty' and 'economic integration' expounded by Brezhnev, which means, in other words, in the interests of 'socialism' the Soviet dictate over them must be preserved and must not be opposed.

"The friction between the revisionist states of the East with the Soviet Union, their discontent are further incited by U.S. imperialism and its allies. The United States of America is making great efforts to weaken social-imperialism, to keep its aspirations for hegemony under tight rein, to split the satellites away from the Soviet Union and draw them closer to itself.

"And this is the desire of the satellites of the Soviet Union too. They have had and still have hopes of developing this tendency with the aid of the United States of America. Aware of the economic weakness of the Soviet Union, its urgent need for technology, and especially its pressing need to release internal funds for armaments, now U.S. imperialism is trying to make the most of this situation and to put its plans into practice. It is giving credits to the Soviet government, but giving them to the other revisionist countries, too, and at the same time encouraging the western capitalist states to invest their capital in these countries. This venture is facilitated also by the fact that in these periods of crises West European capital is seeking economic expansion wherever it can.

"Despite its efforts to keep its satellites under its military and political yoke, economically subjugated and shackled with many steel chains, the revisionist Soviet Union is obliged to allow them to build contacts with the United States of America and the other big capitalist countries of Western Europe, to ask for and receive credits from them. Of course for each credit they must pledge some economic-political collateral security, and it is precisely this which worries the social-imperialists most.

"On their part, the Soviets, also, are trying to open some breach and infiltrate the western countries. These countries made a great fuss about what was happening in Portugal, about the interference of the Soviet Union through the revisionist party of Cunhal. And, in fact, such an attempt was made. But all the fuss was raised more for sensation than from fear that the Soviets might eventually get a foothold in the Iberian peninsula."

The Contradictions within the Political, Military and Economic Alliances Headed by U.S. Imperialism Have Become Very Acute

"At present, the contradictions within the political, military and economic alliances headed by U.S. imperialism, have become very acute. The squabbles and competition between the monopolies of Western Europe and Japan, on the one hand, and the monopolies of the United States, on the other, have now reached a new stage at which each party is trying to secure the maximum superior positions, privileges and favours for itself.

"Within the framework of the alliances of the West, the greatest quarrels are those between the United States and the Common Market, which, under the pressure and various manoeuvres of the Soviet bloc also, tend to increase.

"Because of the competition, in order to prevent the Common Market from affirming itself and becoming consolidated, the United States tries to manipulate its members separately and to incite them against one another. Besides its enslavement of the other weak members, the United States is making special efforts to impede the German-French rapprochement by weakening France and supporting Federal Germany and Britain.

"It must be said that, despite the organs they have created, the countries of Western Europe have not given up their great individual efforts in which each strives to grab for itself the maximum number of

concessions and markets all over the world.

"As Marxism-Leninism teaches us, from these situations, the proletariat and the revolutionary forces reach the conclusion that they must intensify their all-round struggle against U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, and the reactionary capitalist bourgeoisie, the struggle to deepen the contradictions and divergencies that exist among their enemies. The enemies must not be given a moment's respite to come to agreement, to group their forces and organize themselves to fight the revolution, socialism, and the peoples with new strength. In this struggle the allies of the proletariat are all those who are oppressed by, and suffering at the hands of, the imperialists, the bourgeoisie and reaction, who want freedom and independence for their peoples, those who oppose imperialism and social-imperialism and their hegemonic plans.

"Loyal to the interests of the revolution, socialism, and the peoples, our Party will support the proletariat and the peoples who are against the two superpowers and for their destruction, against the capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie and for its overthrow."

Albania Publicly Exposes the So-Called Theory About the Need to Preserve the "Balance Between the Superpowers" and Rejects the Imperialist Concepts on the Preservation of the "Spheres of Influence", "Limited Sovereignty" and the "Interdependent World", of "Bipolarisation", the policy of blackmail, etc.

"Never before has the world been subjected to such a campaign of propaganda and diplomatic diversion as this one the imperialists and the social-imperialists are engaged in at present, which is intended to prettify the hegemonic and expansionist policy of the superpowers, to justify their aggressions and to conceal their war preparations. Both in the East and in the West, the imperialist and social-imperialist leading circles claim that mankind is living in a period of 'reduced tension', that the 'cold war' and the confrontation threatening a clash between the superpowers has given way to 'détente', peaceful coexistence, 'international harmony', 'general security', etc., that the dangers have passed and the clouds of war and disaster have been dispersed. By means of these high-flown slogans, the superpowers, the international bourgeoisie and reaction, are trying to dupe the peoples, to weaken their resistance and to establish their imperialist control and domination.

"The People's Republic of Albania does not accept and publicly exposes the so-called theory about the need to preserve the 'balance between the superpowers' as a condition or a basis to avoid war and defend peace. It rejects the imperialist concepts on the preservation of the 'spheres of influence' allegedly as factors of stability and security, the concepts of 'limited sovereignty' and the 'interdependent world', of 'bipolarisation', the policy of blackmail, etc. These so-called 'theories and doctrines' invented in Moscow and Washington, are meant to create a capitulationist opinion that no state or nation can live outside the domination and tutelage of one or the other superpower.

"The history of Europe has proved that the 'balance of forces' among the big powers has always been a weapon in the hands of exploiting classes to suppress the national liberation and revolutionary movements. Intervention has always been the weapon of the system of balance, to restore it when it is upset, or to guard against its being upset.

"Peace and international security in Europe and in the world are not achieved through the establishment of 'harmony' or 'balance' between the superpowers, but through struggle against imperialist pressures and intervention, through efforts for the liberation of the peoples, and through the strengthening of national independence and sovereignty."

The Hostilities Between the Arab Peoples and Israel are a Consequence of the Endeavours of the Two Superpowers to Seize the Oil Resources

Speaking about the situation in the Middle-East, Comrade Enver Hoxha said, "the hostilities between the Arab peoples and Israel, the situation amongst the Arab peoples themselves, who are split and in disagreement with one another, a situation aggravated by the Soviet-U.S. intrigues, are a consequence of the endeavours of the two superpowers to seize the oil resources. The blood of the Arab peoples has been and is being shed on account of this wealth. United States imperialism openly assails Israel to keep the Arab world divided. The Soviet Union allegedly helps the Arab peoples by selling them arms, but it also sends large numbers of Soviet Jews to Israel where they are used as cannon fodder against the Arab peoples.

"At the same time, the superpowers are also trying to elbow each other out. Notwithstanding its clearly pro-Israeli stance, U.S. imperialism not only succeeded in keeping the course of 'friendship' with Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf emirates in its favour, but it also managed to undermine the Soviet positions in the area. Egypt's denunciation of the Egyptian-Soviet treaty as well as the expulsion of the aggressive Soviet naval fleet from its ports, is a defeat and not a victory for Soviet social-imperialism.

"Now it is the Americans who have the upper hand in dictating their schemes in this region. Of course, Soviet social-imperialism is not sitting idly by with folded arms either. It is striving to make good its loss in Egypt either by clinging to the positions it still has in some Arab country, or by seeking to secure some new base by attacking itself to new 'friends'."

One Must Never Rely on One Imperialism to Fight or Escape from the Other

"Our Party", stressed Comrade Enver Hoxha, "upholds the thesis that both when the superpowers work together and when they quarrel, it is others who pay the bill. The collusion and rivalry between the superpowers are the two sides of the one contradictory reality, important expressions of the same imperialist strategy to rob the peoples of their freedom and to dominate the world. They pose the same danger; therefore the two superpowers are the main and greatest enemies of the peoples. That is why one must never rely on one imperialism to fight or escape from the other.

"There are states that, aware of a threat from either one or the other superpower, base their defence on the military protection of the United States of America or of the Soviet Union. But military protection by the superpowers is an illusory defence because its aim is to convert the 'defended' country into a protectorate. Shelter under the 'defence umbrella' of the superpowers is always accompanied with political and economic concessions, with concessions in the realm of national sovereignty and restrictions in the field of decision making on internal and external issues.

"The peoples should not fall into the trap of the so-called 'anti-imperialist front' advertised by the Soviet social-imperialists, in which they are seeking to embroil all those who are opposed to and fight against United States imperialism. To join this 'front' means to sacrifice the loftiest interests of your country, to expose the people to danger, to become a minion of the social-imperialists and cannon fodder for their ambitions. The contradictions between the Soviet Union and the United States of America are not contradictions between socialism and imperialism, as Moscow is trying to pass them off as, but contradictions between the two big imperialist powers.

"While rejecting the demagogic and deceptive tactics of 'anti-imperialism' preached by the Soviet revisionists, it is necessary also to reject the 'anti-social-imperialism' which the United States of America and the monopoly bourgeoisie of the world are propagating. The peoples cannot allow themselves to fall victims to the rivalry of the United States and the Soviet Union and become pawns in their imperialist manoeuvring."

The Helsinki Meeting Was a Comedy with the Soviet Union and the United States as the Star Performers

The bourgeois and revisionist propagandists are now having a great deal to say about 'secure borders', 'renunciation of the use of force', 'peaceful cooperation' and so on, presenting the Helsinki Conference as the model. "Our Party", said Comrade Enver Hoxha, "declared its view about this conference at the proper time, calling it a 'meeting of European insecurity'. We condemned it from the very

beginning and refused to participate in it. We acted in this way proceeding from a Marxist-Leninist analysis of events. It was not only the Soviet revisionists, but the United States imperialists as well, who wanted the conference. They wanted it as a breathing space to get over the crisis, to build up their strength, to pull themselves together and to create the illusion that Europe is being secured, that it will not be attacked by the Soviets since it will be defended by the Americans for the sake of appearances. The superpowers sought to freeze the situation in our continent, especially the relations between the two blocs of the East and the West.

"The Helsinki meeting was a comedy with the Soviet Union and the United States as the star performers. All the rest who took part in it did not believe, either before or after the meeting, that it would do any good. The mountain laboured and brought forth a mouse. In fact, nothing has altered from the previous situation except that attempts are being made to create the atmosphere that a political and ideological status quo and more developed economic cooperation between the states of Europe, with the exception of Albania, are being established. In all these areas, not only was the status quo not confirmed, but new conflicts, such as that between Greece and Turkey, flared up.

"The clamour of the Kremlin bosses about a 'peaceful spirit after Helsinki' has been increased, but alongside this the excursions of the Soviet naval fleet have been increased too, and it has now begun to commit arrogant violations of the maritime sovereignty of the freedom-loving Nordic countries and to try to establish its domination over all the seas of the North.

"Furthermore, the so-called securing of Europe against a world war has not taken a step forward. What is more, this is unattainable, since neither the East nor the West can disarm themselves and can make not even the slightest attempt in this direction, because both the Soviet Union and the United States of America would be damaged. The only efforts these two imperialist powers are making are to increase their offensive weapons for war and their nuclear arms. The SALT meetings, likewise, have yielded no results whatever; they are bogged down. The parties in the discussion are simply indulging in fruitless talk.

"The campaign about disarmament which the superpowers are conducting, their endless plans and schemes, the conferences and talks which have been going on for years on end, are a bluff and swindle aimed at disguising their arming. Their aim is to force the other peoples and states to reconcile themselves to, and allow the sanctioning of, the monopoly of nuclear and modern weapons of the United States of America and the Soviet Union, and to recognize their right to uncontrolled and unlimited arming and ceaseless perfecting of the technology of weapons of mass extermination.

"The imperialists and the social-imperialists know that, by maintaining their stocks and monopoly of the production of modern weapons, they can also maintain their blackmail and threat, the fear and insecurity which their military machine instils in others, and the permanent pressure which their weapons exert even if they are not fired."

The Superpowers are Making Preparations for a World War

"The problems of war and peace," said Comrade Enver Hoxha, "have always preoccupied the peoples of the world, the broad working masses, who want no new disaster to befall mankind again. The danger is real. The superpowers are making preparations for a world war, and, to this end, apart from their unrestrained arms race, they are also trying to create the circumstances which they judge suitable, by playing the bourgeois cliques in various countries off against one another, by stirring up nationalist sentiments, to set the peoples at loggerheads with each other, and so on. All this activity and these hideous methods of the superpowers lead straight to the road of preparation of a new world war."

The Aggressors Will Find Their Own Death in Albania

Comrade Enver Hoxha said that "preparations for a new world war are accompanied with blackmail and many threats, the work of U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism or other capitalist bourgeois countries. They have created the opinion that the future war which is in the making and may be launched by one or the other superpower, whether an all-out or a partial one, will be a lightning war, so short that within three to four days, the Soviet social-imperialists will succeed in occupying the whole of Yugoslavia (since Albania, according to them, 'will be swallowed in one bite'), and thus, the Soviet tanks will reach the east coast of the Atlantic, in Portugal, in a matter of ten days. This is the utterly misguided state of mind that is being nurtured every day by the propaganda of the superpowers to intimidate the states and the peoples, to weaken their defence, to lower the vigilance and morale of the masses of the people, to sap their revolutionary will to fight in defence of freedom and independence. Our Party holds that this propaganda and these views represent a special strategy and tactics to establish imperialist and social-imperialist control and domination over the national, political, economic and military life of all states. Therefore as such, they must be resolutely combatted. As to 'Albania's being only one mouthful' — watch out, gentlemen, for socialist Albania is a hard bone that'll stick in your throat and choke you. Should the Soviet social-imperialists undertake such a venture against our country, they will suffer an irreparable defeat.

"The same holds good for U.S. imperialism too. Should it dare perpetrate such aggression, it, too, will never come out of it alive. The lessons from its defeat in Vietnam and Cambodia are very fresh.

"In any country, its freedom and independence are dependent mainly on the stand adopted, whether you decide to live free and on your feet, or on your knees as slaves. When you are determined to live free and stand ready to fight, then the blackmail is knocked back, strength is revived, the people's courage mounts, and it is difficult for the aggressor to attack you. This is how our people think, and they put this view bluntly to any enemy who may imagine that he would have a 'walkover' in Albania. Our people have never been and are not afraid of any power, whether it is a big power or a smaller one, and no matter how well armed it may be, that might dare to attack our country. Our people will fight valiantly, intelligently, and with every means at their disposal, convinced that they will defeat the aggressors whoever they might be. This stand is based on the sound reality of our country, on the steel-like unity of the people, on the lofty aim of defending the freedom and independence of the homeland and the great victories of socialist construction at all costs, which the Party has inculcated in everybody, old and young; it is based on the intensive military training of the entire soldier people and the configuration of the territory of Albania. The aggressors will find themselves quite unable to 'walk over' Albania. Instead they will find their own death here. The enemies can be sure of one thing, that they will never set foot on our soil, that their weapons and bombs will never be able to subdue the great resistance, the spirit of heroism, and the ardent patriotic feelings of the Albanian people."

The Present Conditions Demand that Merciless and Allround Struggle is Waged by All the Peoples of the World Against Imperialism and Social-Imperialism

"Lenin teaches us", said Comrade Enver Hoxha, "that war breaks out when the depth and abrasiveness of the contradictions reaches the most acute stage, when all the talk, propaganda and 'economic reforms' are no longer able to restrain it. The imperialists and the social-imperialists are heading for war. But they are not entirely free to act at will. Many factors exert their influence on this issue. War may break out in Europe, as it may in Asia, against socialist China, or in other regions, such as the Middle East for example, where so many contradictions are entangled and such dangerous events are unfolding. No possibility can be ruled out.

"The important thing is that the peoples should not fall into fatalism, become passive observers and be caught unawares; they must be prepared for the worst and fight to prevent it from occurring.

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

"It should be driven home to the peoples that the enemies of the revolution and the world proletariat, the enemies of freedom and the oppressed peoples, the instigators and the cause of war, are U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, and the reactionary bourgeoisie of each country. These powers constitute and represent the savage world capitalism, which has its source in, and draws its strength from, the inhuman exploitation of the masses and the peoples. A stern, consistent, and determined struggle must be organized against these savage powers, against their ideology and various forms of organization, from the different reactionary and demagogic parties, the trusts and multinational companies down to their smallest national and international organs, from the banks and political and military alliances down to their aggressive armies, until, in the end, their state power is smashed right down to its foundations.

"The present conditions demand that this merciless and allround struggle is waged by all the peoples of the world, by all progressive people who have the true and complete interests of their nations at heart and have made them the aim of their struggle and life. If this struggle is led by the world proletariat and its vanguard, the Communist Party, which is guided by the unerring theory of Marxism-Leninism, it will be more resolute, unceasing, and ever mounting.

"The imperialists and the social-imperialists have as their close allies the reactionary bourgeoisie of each country where they exercise their influence. They use these allies to do their dirty work and wield the whip on their behalf, so they feed and arm them to have them ready as a striking force in a world conflagration and against peoples who rise in revolution against their internal and external oppressors. Therefore, these two forces cannot be separated from one another. Without combating the one, you cannot combat the other, without combating the internal reactionary force until you have overthrown it, you cannot combat the external enemy, you cannot prevent war. You must destroy every kind of base the superpowers have established and created in a given country, for in this way you weaken and destroy the world influence and strength they have based on the enslavement of peoples and countries.

"It is essential that we Marxist-Leninists work to arouse the revolutionary spirit in the masses of the proletariat and its closest allies, the peasantry, the working masses, the progressive and patriotic people. This we must do without fail, because all the... are competing with one another to destroy socialism, to strangle the revolution and enslave the peoples.

"We must base ourselves on the mobilization and strength of the peoples, on the unity of all those who want to throw off the imperialist-revisionist yoke. We stand for the unity of the world proletariat and all the true anti-imperialist and progress-loving forces who, through their struggle, will smash the aggressive plans of the imperialist and social-imperialist warmongers.

"Consistent in their Marxist-Leninist line, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people, have been and are against the two superpowers, against predatory imperialist war, against the monopoly bourgeoisie and international reaction. Therefore, in the future too, they will spare no effort and will fight, together with all the other anti-imperialist and anti-social-imperialist peoples, with all the Marxist-Leninist parties, all the revolutionaries and the world proletariat, all progressive people, to foil the plans and manoeuvres of the enemies and ensure the triumph of the cause of the freedom and security of the peoples.

"At every moment our country will be found standing beside all those peoples whose freedom and independence are threatened and whose rights are violated. We have repeatedly declared this stand, and not just in good times, but in dangerous times as well; the peoples of the world can be sure that socialist Albania is with them and fears no sacrifice."

The People's Republic of Albania Has Its Independent Foreign Policy

Speaking about the foreign policy of the People's Republic of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: "The important tasks set by the 6th Congress of the Party in the field of foreign policy and our country's relations with the other countries have been successfully fulfilled. Life and the development of events have fully vindicated the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist line and stands of our Party in the field of foreign policy.

"The international position of Albania is unwavering. The People's Republic of Albania has expressed its opinion on international events and problems publicly, unhesitatingly, and courageously, and it has always maintained a wise and unwavering stand in defence of the interests of our socialist homeland, the peoples, and general peace and security.

"The authority and prestige of our country are ever on the rise. The voice and word of socialist Albania are listened to and respected by the peoples, the revolutionaries and progressives. Its many friends and well-wishers love and respect socialist Albania for its frank and principles policy.

"The People's Republic of Albania has its independent foreign policy. Its aim is that its opinions on foreign policy should find the approval of the progressive and freedom-loving peoples, the revolutionary progressive forces, the true Marxist-Leninists. We make no secret of this. This is also in the interests of all peoples, and of those states in the world which respect the freedom and independence of our country, irrespective of differences in the economic and social order.

"Our socialist state does not interfere in the internal affairs of any country with which it has various political, economic and cultural relations. But this does not mean that, for the sake of these relations, or of good neighbourliness with the bordering states or of the policy of non-interference in internal affairs, the Albanian state, should not air its views on international policy in general, as well as on the ideological and political stand of these states, just as they, too, have the right to express their opinions on the ideological and political stands of the Albanian state.

"We think that these attitudes should be no hindrance to economic, cultural and political relations in the fields in which it is considered that we have common interests, because these relations serve to develop friendship among the peoples. For our part, we shall conduct these relations only from the viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism. It is the right of the others to judge them from the viewpoint of their own ideologies and they are welcome to do so.

"The People's Republic of Albania holds that this is the way that relations should be developed with its neighbouring states as well as with the other countries with which we maintain various relations.

But the leaders of some states think, and this stems from their political and ideological views, that to have good neighbourly relations, in the aforesaid forms, means that each side should shut its mouth about the ideological line followed by the other. They think that to trade with a given country means to cease polemics, to refrain from expressing one's opinions on the policy pursued and ideology upheld by that country. The polemic we conduct is always based on facts and well considered. It singles out for criticism those stands and actions that assume an international character, that exercise a negative influence in the world, or that damage the interests of our state.

"It is common knowledge that contradictions of a political and ideological character, sometimes very profound ones, develop between various countries and continually come to light. But irrespective of this, relations of good neighbourliness as well as economic, commercial, and cultural relations are maintained between our country and a series of states. Our differing political or ideological views do not constitute an obstacle in this direction.

"The imperialists and the social-imperialists claim that the smaller states should not be allowed to raise their voices as loudly as the bigger states over different problems. True, Albania is a small state, but it cannot accept such a view. It rejects this discriminatory claim of great power chauvinism. Our country does not agree that international politics should be a monopoly of the big states alone. They base this monopoly on their economic strength and the powerful propaganda means they have at their disposal, through which they strive to create the opinion and the mental attitude that the world can never find stability except under their tutelage. In other words, this means that he who wants to live, in slavery, of course, should never speak his mind, but should be soft-spoken and wear a sweet smile in face of the crimes, blackmail, fraud and double dealing of the great or medium imperialist, capitalist or revisionist powers. They accompany those above stated claims with the fear of

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war and with direct and indirect threats addressed to this or that state, with the threat and act of the cancellation of some promised credit, etc. These states, whether big or medium, that submit to political blackmail or are afraid of war, are constantly in a fever and lose much if not all, of their confidence in their own strength.

"The bourgeois and revisionist politicians resort to all sorts of trickery, deceit, feints, flattery and hypocritical attitudes according to the circumstances created in the international situation. They are all trying to create, and to a certain extent have succeeded in creating, the opinion that this is the proper way to act, for this is how 'politics' is conducted. According to them, to engage in 'politics' means to change flags at any time and on any occasion, to have good relations with one and the other, not to do him some good but to outwit him, to conceal one's real intentions by covering them with smiles. Politicians of this sort aim, on the other hand, to create the false and very harmful opinion that those who openly defend the rights of the peoples, who do not conceal the opinions they have on states and their leaderships, are not skillful politicians, but inflexible and sectarian people.

"The Albanians are a people who fear no one, who do not fear the attacks of enemies, let alone slanders, for we are convinced of the correctness of our line and determined to defend it. In case of war, if we are attacked, we have the rifle ready, likewise we have a ready tongue to reply to enemy slanders.

The Bourgeois and Revisionist World Think We Are an Isolated Country. This is the Capitalist-Revisionist View of Things.

"The bourgeois and revisionist world", said Comrade Enver Hoxha, "think that we are an isolated country. This is the capitalist-revisionist view of things. The imperialists and revisionists consider that country which has closed its doors to the invasion through enslaving credits, through tourists and spies, through decadent culture and degeneration as isolated. From this point of view we really are, and intend to remain, an isolated country. But this is all to the good of our people. Our country is progressing and flourishing and our people are living very well. If we were to act otherwise we would become slaves. We have known fascist slavery and the revisionist pressure and attacks, therefore it is not easy for them to deceive us with their slogans and ways of life. We do not and never will allow fascists, spies and agents, people who want to smuggle in bourgeois and revisionist degeneration, to enter Albania. But we are happy to welcome, honest and correct people who wish Albania and her people well, friends of our country, even though their beliefs may be different from ours. We respect their friendly feelings, and attitude towards the Albanian people. All these, and they are the representatives of the majority of mankind, are welcome here. With these we are friends, with the peoples fighting for their freedom and rights we are friends, with the proletarians and Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries we are friends. With the capitalists and revisionists who want to enslave and oppress the peoples and suppress their progressive ideas, we have been and shall be enemies.

"The capitalists and the revisionists measure isolation with trade. We have traded and continue to trade with all countries with the exception of the United States of America, the Soviet Union, Spain, Israel, and some other states ruled by fascists and racists. But trade is of mutual advantage. The capitalists need our goods, just as we need some of theirs. If anybody thinks that Albania will die if some state, for evil aims, refuses to sell us these goods, he is grossly mistaken. The revisionist Soviet Union established a savage blockade against us, but Albania is living and can live a thousand years without trading with the Soviet revisionists and in spite of their blockade.

"Cultural exchanges with different countries are a very good thing. We have practiced cultural exchanges and will go on practicing them in the future, too, but in agreement and equality with one another. Those who want to have cultural relations with us, must respect our traditions, customs, feelings, and tastes. Decadent culture is not accepted in Albania. Others, for their part, have the right to accept such of our performance, films, books as are acceptable to their country. This, also, is a question of reciprocity. Our country carries on this practice with many states. Besides socialist China, which is our ally, the People's Republic of Albania maintains cultural relations with such fraternal countries as Vietnam and Korea, but also with France, the Scandinavian countries, Egypt, and many other countries.

"We want to develop these relations further, and with each passing year possibilities are created to expand them. Of course, we have our own art, music, literature, traditions and culture, which we love, and would like others to be acquainted with them as well. But we also respect progressive world culture, from which we take what is useful to us and spread what serves us in our country."

Albania Maintains Diplomatic Relations with 75 States

"Our Party has always given importance and devoted the proper attention to the question of the promotion and expansion of international relations in all fields, between the People's Republic of Albania and the states in favour of respecting the well-known principles of equality, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual benefit. During the years since the 6th Congress of the Party the activity of the People's Republic of Albania in the international arena has been constantly increased and strengthened. Today our country maintains diplomatic relations with 75 states. The People's Republic of Albania takes an active part and has its say in the UN and many international organisations, meetings and conferences, on the problems preoccupying mankind today."

PLA and the Albanian People Are Loyal Friends and Allies of the CP of China and the Chinese People

"Faithfully and consistently abiding by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in its foreign policy", said Comrade Enver Hoxha, "the Party of Labour and People's Republic of Albania have aimed, first and foremost, at developing and strengthening the relations of fraternal friendship and militant unity, of cooperation and mutual aid with the People's Republic of China. The close friendship and cooperation between our two peoples, two parties and two countries have been forged and tempered in the great class struggle against imperialism and revisionism, against the hegemonic policy of the two superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, and against all the reactionary forces in the world, in the common struggle for the construction of socialism and the triumph of the cause of the revolution and Marxism-Leninism. The Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people are loyal friends and allies of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people. Our two peoples and countries are comrades-in-arms of the same ideal, and are inspired by the same aims and internationalist tasks. No slander or concoction of the bourgeois-revisionist propaganda can cast any shadow over the Marxist-Leninist character and the vitality of the Albanian-Chinese friendship. Our Party and people will constantly strive to keep the fraternal friendship and collaboration with the great Chinese people, their glorious Communist Party, great People's China pure and strong.

"The Albanian communists and the Albanian people are immensely rejoiced at the successes achieved by the fraternal Chinese people under the leadership of the Communist Party of China in the socialist revolution and socialist construction in China, in the class struggle for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the strengthening and progress of their homeland. The victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the smashing of the counter-revolutionary plots of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao, and Teng Hsiao-ping, have created a revolutionary situation and have consolidated the positions of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat in China.

"The historic victories which the Chinese people have attained in their glorious revolution and the construction of socialism, the creation of the new People's China and the high prestige it enjoys in the world, are directly linked with the name, teachings, and guidance of the great revolutionary, Comrade Mao Tsetung. The work of this outstanding Marxist-Leninist represents a contribution to the enrichment of the revolutionary theory and practice of the

proletariat. The Albanian communists and people will always honour the memory of Comrade Mao Tsetung, who was a great friend of our Party and people.

"Our Party and people hail these victories of the Chinese Party and people and wish them new successes. Our Party and country energetically support the right of the fraternal Chinese people and of the People's Republic of China to liberate that inalienable part of their territory, Taiwan.

"Our people and Party have hailed the great victory achieved by the Vietnamese people in their armed struggle against U.S. imperialism and its flunkies. The liberation of South Vietnam and the unification of the whole country into a single state marked the realization of the lofty national aspirations of the Vietnamese people, for which they have made innumerable sacrifices. We will preserve and further strengthen the militant friendship between our two fraternal countries.

"Our Republic maintains relations of friendship and fraternal collaboration with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Our Party and people support the just cause of the Korean people for the liberation of south Korea and the reunification of the country, and their struggle against the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism.

"A close fraternal friendship and a powerful militant solidarity, tempered in the struggle against imperialism and its collaborators, exist between the Albanian people and the Cambodian people. We will strive to further promote the relations between the People's Republic of Albania and Democratic Cambodia on the basis of this friendship.

"The Albanian people have hailed with joy the crowning with victory of the prolonged struggle of the Laotian people against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and the local reactionaries, and the creation of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos. We stand for the development of friendly relations between the two countries, in the interest of our two peoples and of the struggle against imperialism and reaction.

On the Relations with the Neighbouring Countries

"The People's Republic of Albania has always stood for the development of normal relations with the neighbouring states on the basis of the well-known principles of equality, respect for state sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and mutual benefit. The development of relations based on the policy of good neighbourliness responds to the interests and aspirations of the neighbouring and Balkan peoples to live in terms of friendship and understanding with one another."

We, Albanians Maintain and Will Always Maintain a Marxist-Leninist Stand Towards the Peoples of Yugoslavia, as well as Towards the Problem of the Albanian Population in Yugoslavia

"Our country maintains normal trade and cultural relations with Yugoslavia which are beneficial both to us and to the Yugoslavs.

"Our policy towards Yugoslavia has not changed and will not change, provided that the Yugoslav government, too, is correct towards us. The declaration of the Party of Labour of Albania, that in case of any eventual aggression against Yugoslavia by the Soviet Union or some other power the Albanian people will stand by the Yugoslav peoples, will always hold good. But the Yugoslav side must respond to this stand of Albania with just and correct actions towards us.

"The Yugoslav state, of course, has the right to pursue whatever policy it finds most reasonable, but the Albanian state, also, has the right to criticize those acts which are detrimental to the good neighbourliness between our two countries. The Yugoslav government makes concessions to, provides facilities for, and admits to its ports the warships of the aggressive naval fleet of the Soviet social-imperialists. That is its own affair, but it also concerns Albania, the other Balkan countries, and the countries of the Mediterranean basin.

"As a true Marxist-Leninist Party, our Party has always maintained a correct stand with regard to our Albanian brothers who live on their land, in Kosovo, Macedonia, and Montenegro. The endeavours made by some Yugoslav authorities to stir up enmity between the Albanians in Yugoslavia and the People's Republic of Albania are in vain, but they do great harm. We Albanians are still the same now as we were before, we maintain and will always maintain a Marxist-Leninist stand towards the peoples of Yugoslavia, as well as towards the problem of the Albanian population in Yugoslavia. Our fraternal ties of blood and language with the Albanians in Kosovo, Macedonia and Montenegro, the ties of tradition and national customs give us the right, without interfering in the internal affairs of the Yugoslav state and respecting international norms, to concern ourselves to see that they enjoy all the rights, freedoms, and advantages that the other peoples of the Yugoslav federation have. And this is not a question of some agricultural cooperative in Albania, which has a Macedonian population who enjoy all the rights provided by the constitution of the People's Republic of Albania, or about some non-existent minority from Montenegro in Albania, as the Yugoslav propaganda claims. When we speak of our brothers living in Yugoslavia, we are speaking about more than million five hundred thousand Albanians.

"It has always been our opinion and desire, that the ugly stands and acts of the time of Rankovic should never be repeated, that the Albanian population in Yugoslavia should not be persecuted, or left in poverty, that the Kosovo region should not be discriminated against in the political, economic and cultural fields, and that it should be given equal treatment with the other nationalities. It would be considered as unfriendly policy towards the People's Republic of Albania if attempts of whatever nature by the Soviet revisionists to harm our country from Kosovo were permitted.

"We consider the peoples of Yugoslavia as fraternal peoples, and are convinced that neither now nor in the future, will they allow the territory of their homeland to be treated like Czechoslovakia. They will accept nobody's yoke, they will not allow the Soviet tanks of the Warsaw Treaty, nor those of U.S. imperialism, to 'roll' freely over Yugoslav soil. Despite the irreconcilable contradictions of principle between us and the Yugoslav state and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in ideology and politics, over which we have not shut our mouth and will not do so in the future, either, we respect and trust the peoples of Yugoslavia, because history has shown that they are valiant peoples."

We, Albanians Do Not Want Our Policy with the Greek State to be a Temporary Policy Dependent on Circumstances, But a Realistic, Friendly and Durable Policy Between Our Two Peoples

"In regard to our relations with Greece, for our part, they are based on the policy of good neighbourliness, of non-interference in each other's internal affairs, of mutual benefit and respect for territorial integrity, sovereignty and national independence. We have sought and wish to live in terms of friendship with the fraternal Greek people, and have made and continue to make every effort to ensure that the ties linking our two countries become constantly stronger. The present Greek government has sought and continues to maintain a friendly stand towards our country. This is in the interests of our two countries and to the detriment of our common enemies.

"We realize that the present Greek government is a government of a coalition of parties, and that it has many opponents in the ranks of the opposition parties. Each of these parties has its own stand. Naturally, this is an internal question of the Greeks. Nonetheless, we think and desire that all these parties should consider the friendship, cooperation and good neighbourly relations between Greece and Albania as beneficial both to Greece itself and to Albania.

"At any time and under any circumstance, the struggle of the Albanian people in defence of their independence, freedom and sovereignty is at the same time beneficial to the defence of the freedom and independence of Greece and its people. This we say to the fraternal Greek people with an open heart, for we are the descendants of those who aided them and stood loyal to the end in the revolution of the year 1821, when others abandoned and betrayed it. The friendship between our two peoples has been tempered in our common fight against Italian fascism and the German nazis.

"We Albanians do not want our policy with the Greek state to be a

temporary policy dependent on circumstances, but a realistic, friendly, and durable policy between our two peoples. As for the monarcho-fascists and the crazy self-styled northern Epirotes who, from time to time, seek to create a tense atmosphere in the relations between our two countries with their absurd claims, we wish to say that their cries have brought only loud laughter from the Greek minority living happily in Albania. We tell them: carry on, if you wish, with your old trade of styling yourselves as 'northern Epirotes', because neither we nor the Greek minority in Albania have anything to fear from you since the Albanians and the Greek minority are closely linked to each other, like brothers.

"We are convinced that there are reasonable politicians in Greece who view problems realistically and are clear that no evil will ever come to them from socialist Albania, and that the friendship of the Albanians is valuable to them, just as the friendship of the Greek people is valuable to us."

We Want and Try to Be Friends with the Italian People

"As for the overseas neighbour, Italy, we maintain normal diplomatic relations with it and are trying to develop trade and cultural relations. But it is understandable that this does not depend on our side alone. We want and try to be friends with Italian people. This desire emanates from the pure feelings of the Albanian people and the correct policy of our socialist state. We hope that every Italian and every Italian politician who takes a realistic view of things may also think that friendship with Albania is very important for Italy.

"To sum up, in regard to these three neighbouring countries, it is our desire to live as good neighbours, in open cooperation, without interfering in the internal affairs of each other, and without anybody trying, in one way or the other, to impose his own views.

On Relations with Other Countries

"Good relations exist between the Turkish Republic and Albania. Trade and cultural exchanges are developing normally. There is no obstacle to our peoples always being friends and living as good neighbours with each other.

"We continue to cherish sincere friendship for the fraternal Bulgarian people. But we are obliged to point out that we do not trust the leadership of the Bulgarian Party and state in the slightest degree, since it has demonstrated its hostility towards our country and has become a tool in the hands of the Soviet social-imperialists. Bulgaria has been turned into a country which conceals intrigues and has become a Soviet bridgehead. Proceeding from these positions, it is trying to blackmail the neighbouring countries, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Greece and Albania. With the social-imperialists behind it, Bulgaria is ready at an opportune moment to seize the Dardanelles and thus to react the San Stefano Treaty. For these reasons, it is our desire that relations between Turkey and Greece proceed towards the best and most appropriate solution for these two Balkan peoples and states, via open and frank negotiations between the two parties. That would be a great victory for us as well as other Balkan countries.

"With Rumania too, as a Balkan country, we want to have good relations and develop them normally. We hail the efforts of the fraternal Rumanian people for the progress and prosperity of their country."

The Development of Bilateral Relations Is at Present the Best Way to Create a Spirit of Trust and Understanding in the Balkans

"A great deal has been and is being said about allround cooperation of the peoples of the Balkans, about a Balkan conference and so on. Our Party and the government of the People's Republic of Albania," said Comrade Enver Hoxha, "long ago stated their opinion about Balkan cooperation and have explained why they did not take part in the Athens meeting. In our view, in the situation in the Balkans today, the indispensable conditions necessary for a multilateral meeting and agreement do not exist. We believe that, at present, the development of bilateral relations is the best way to create a spirit of trust and understanding in the Balkans and the conditions to achieve genuine and sincere cooperation on a broader basis in the future."

For the Arab People We Nurture Sincere Feelings of Affection and Friendship Which We Shall Continue to Develop Further

"Our relations with the Arab Republic of Egypt, the Democratic and People's Republic of Algeria, and the other Arab countries are developing normally, in a positive direction on the basis of the traditional friendship which exists between the Albanian people and the Arab peoples, and to the benefit of the struggle against the aggressive hegemonic policy of the two imperialist superpowers and reaction.

"For the Arab peoples we nurture sincere feelings of affection and friendship which we shall continue to develop further. They are progressive and peace-loving peoples, who have made a valuable contribution to many aspects of world culture. We believe that the Arab peoples will achieve their complete liberation from the yoke of foreign capital and the blood-thirsty imperialists and victory in their just struggle against the Israeli aggressors.

"We will powerfully and firmly support the just cause of the Arab peoples to oppose imperialist-Zionist aggression, to liberate the occupied Arab territories, and to cope with the conspiracies of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. Our people and our country support the just struggle of the Palestinian people to gain their national rights and to return to their homes, of which they have been robbed by Israel, the instrument of U.S. imperialism. We maintain ties with and support the Palestine Liberation Organization. We would like to see a strong militant unity, which is the reliable basis of their triumph over the Zionist and imperialist enemies, established among the Arab peoples.

"The People's Republic of Albania maintains friendly relations with France and relations are developing in the interests of the two countries. We respect the French people for their revolutionary past and their progressive culture. Distinguished men of French science, art and culture are sincere friends of Albania. We maintain normal relations with the French state, though they do not approve of our regime, nor we of theirs. But we observe that the French government does not interfere in our affairs.

"The same holds true for the governments of Belgium, Austria and Switzerland, with which bilateral relations are correct. We observe with satisfaction that our country's relations with Sweden, Norway, Finland and Denmark are developing, and we appreciate the realistic and friendly attitude of these countries towards Albania.

"The People's Republic of Albania has established diplomatic relations with a large number of countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America and will work to promote exchanges in various fields with Mexico, Peru, Tanzania, Pakistan and others, step by step, and within the possibilities. Albania is ready to establish relations with other states who desire them, on the basis of the recognized principles governing relations between sovereign countries."

The Problem of the Reparations for the Damage Which the German Barbarity Inflicted on Albania and its People Will Be Pursued by our Side

"With the Federal German Republic, we have unresolved problems dating back to the Second World War. There, the German revisionists are alive and engaged in full-scale activity. Their policy is expansionist and has hegemonic tendencies. The Bonn government, which poses as a democratic government, defends the crimes of German fascism and does not make even the slightest attempt to pay the reparations for the damage which the German nazi barbarity inflicted on Albania and its people. The Bonn government should not think that this problem will remain just a propaganda issue. It will be pursued by our side, with evidence and facts, in all the international bodies."

On the Relations with East European Countries

Ever since the revisionist cliques in power in the countries of East Europe embarked on the road of hostility towards socialist Albania, blindly carrying out the commands of the revisionist Soviet leadership, they have reduced relations with our country to a very low and restricted level. As long as they follow this road, there can be no change in our relations with these countries."

Albania Has Not Maintained and Will Not Maintain Any Relations Whatsoever with the Moscow Social-Imperialists

"The stand of Albania towards the revisionist Soviet Union, the enemy of Albania, socialism, the freedom and independence of all the peoples remains unaltered," said Comrade Enver Hoxha. "Our country has not maintained and will not maintain any relations whatsoever with the Moscow social-imperialists. The Soviet Union is, in pursuit of openly expansionist aims, especially in the Balkans and the Mediterranean. It has hegemonic designs not only on Rumania, but also on Turkey, Yugoslavia, Greece and Albania. It is seeking to achieve these ambitions through aggression or subversion. Under these conditions, we, the Balkan countries, have a duty to sharpen our political and military vigilance and be prepared, to cope with a possible attack. It is common knowledge that the enemies strike wherever they find weakness and division.

Albania and the Albanian People Are Not Consumed with Grief Over the Lack of Relations with America

"Our stand towards the United States of America is already known," declared Comrade Enver Hoxha. "Albania and the Albanian people are not consumed with grief over the lack of relations with America, which has pursued and is pursuing a savagely hostile policy towards our country. In the future, as in the past, we shall always resolutely denounce and oppose the aggressive and hegemonic policy of U.S. imperialism, which is aimed against socialism and the freedom and independence of the peoples."

Britain Must Return the Gold It Plundered from Albania

"With respect to Britain," said Comrade Enver Hoxha, "this country is very closely linked with the policy of the United States, and in its stand towards Albania takes the same position. Consequently, our stand cannot be different either. Britain must return the gold it plundered from the Albanian people and make good the damage it has caused Albania. We will never renounce this right.

"In its analysis of situations, in the conclusions it has drawn, in the assessments it has made and the stands it has adopted," stressed Comrade Enver Hoxha, "our Party has always acted and continues to act in close unity with the people. That is why, the entire Party firmly defends this policy, why the entire people support and implement it."

VI On the Marxist-Leninist Movement and the Struggle Against Modern Revisionism

In the 6th Chapter Comrade Enver Hoxha spoke about the Marxist-Leninist movement and the struggle against modern revisionism.

"Just as in the past, during the interval between the two Congresses, too," said Comrade Enver Hoxha, "the Party has waged a consistent and principled ideological struggle against modern revisionism, has unceasingly exposed the evil, anti-Marxist, chauvinist and counter-revolutionary activity of the Soviet revisionists. With wisdom and courage socialist Albania and its Party of Labour have faced up to all the hostile ideological attacks, political pressures and military threats and, with an iron fist have smashed the many counter-revolutionary activities which the various revisionists have undertaken against the country. This struggle of major ideological importance has armed the members of our Party and made them ever more aware of the great danger posed by Soviet modern revisionism and its adherents."

Life Has Proved that the Course of Open and Uncompromising Struggle Which Our Party Chose for the Exposure of the Soviet Revisionists, Was the Only Reliable Course

"Life has proved," said Comrade Enver Hoxha, "that the course of open and uncompromising struggle which our Party chose for the exposure of the Soviet revisionists, its resolute defence of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, was the only reliable course to save the situation and to triumph. This encourages us and makes us all the more determined and unyielding to the end in the struggle against revisionism and any other sort of opportunism.

"The Party of Labour of Albania has made an extensive and profound analysis of the revisionist betrayal, and it has done this on the basis of the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the experience of the revolutionary struggle of the world proletariat, and its own experience.

"Modern revisionism, which seized power in the Soviet Union and the European countries of people's democracy, with the exception of Albania, and established itself, also, in a large number of communist and workers' parties of the world, emerged as a strong international reactionary current. It represents a motley of anti-socialist currents and pseudo-theories which are counterposed to Marxism-Leninism with the aim of combating it and hindering it from becoming, what it is, a powerful weapon and unerring guide to action in the hands of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party, to destroy capitalism to its foundations and to build the new socialist society and later, communism, in its stead.

"The Party of Labour of Albania has courageously and consistently exposed the fiendish tactics which the Khrushchevites used in order to throw mud at Bolshevism and Stalin, at the revolution and communism. It has shown that the Soviet revisionists have destroyed all their connections with communism once and for all, that they would transform the Soviet Union from a centre of the world revolution, as it was in the time of Lenin and Stalin, into a centre of the counter-revolution. Our Party warned that the Khrushchevite revisionists and their followers in the various parties and countries would turn into zealous collaborators of the bourgeoisie and strive, first of all, to destroy the socialist system, and not only would they work to do this in the countries where they were in power, but they would make, as they actually did, every effort to fight socialism in Albania and China, too. It also predicted that these savage enemies of communism would strive to weaken and eliminate the confidence of the world proletariat and progressive people in the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, in the future socialist and communist society.

"Life has now fully vindicated these predictions and conclusions of the Party of Labour of Albania."

The Khrushchevite Betrayal Has Transformed the Soviet Union into an Aggressive, Neo-Colonialist, Warmongering Imperialist Power

"The Khrushchevite betrayal," said Comrade Enver Hoxha, "has transformed the Soviet Union into an aggressive, neocolonialist, warmongering imperialist power. The Soviet society has become bourgeois down to its tiniest cells and capitalism has been restored in all fields. The revisionist bourgeois dictatorship represented by the

stratum of the new Soviet bureaucrats, technocrats and capitalists makes the law in everything. The former socialist base and superstructure have been destroyed by their foundations. Great Russian chauvinism has been set up as the dominant ideology, national oppression has become part and parcel of the bourgeois class policy pursued by the ruling clique."

The Revisionist Parties of the East European Countries Have Become Parties of National Betrayal

"The former socialist countries of Eastern Europe which tagged along behind Khrushchev's bandwagon ended up as mere vassals of the Kremlin. Modern revisionism has demonstrated in practice that it is not only an anti-working class and counter-revolutionary ideology, but also an ideology of national oppression and justification of imperialist slavery. The revisionist parties of the East European countries have become parties of national betrayal. Their leaders, who are removed and installed by Moscow according to its desires and plans, have humbly accepted unrestricted Soviet domination as well as the chauvinist doctrines on 'supra-national socialist culture', 'the man of general socialist nationality', and so on, by means of which the social-imperialists want to erase the national identity of ancient and famous countries of Europe that have contributed so much to its culture and history."

The Pseudo-Communist Parties of Western Europe, Latin America and Asia, Which Embraced Revisionism, Have Been Reduced to Bourgeois Reformist Parties

"Life has confirmed, also, that there is no longer anything communist about the pseudo-communist parties of Western Europe, Latin America and Asia, which embraced revisionism. They are no longer guided by the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism, but by anti-Marxist theories, distorted in content and form, though some of them, to disguise themselves, try to keep up a more or less Marxist phraseology. Their entire program, if it can be called a program, has been reduced to a few simple reformist demands which, far from threatening the bourgeois order, are intended to save it from profound upheavals and make it more workable in the new situations."

Communism Did Not Die Out, as the Bourgeoisie Hoped, and the Opportunists and Liquidationists Rejoiced Too Soon

"When Khrushchovite revisionism came out in the arena of the struggle against Marxism-Leninism, the bourgeoisie and all international reaction predicted the finish of socialism, the end of the international communist movement. But," said Comrade Enver Hoxha, "socialism and the revolution not only withstood the concerted bourgeois-revisionist onslaught, weathering the greatest and most severe counter-revolutionary storm that has ever crashed against them, but also succeeded in scoring victories of historic importance for the revolutionary and progressive development of mankind."

"The dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism which were betrayed by the revisionists, have been carried forward by Albania and China, which remained loyal to Marxism-Leninism, defended it with determination, and declared stern ideological war on Khrushchovite revisionism and its followers. Communism did not die out, as the bourgeoisie hoped, and the opportunists and the liquidationists rejoiced too soon. The proletariat rallied its forces, and as occurred in the time of Lenin, with the great split away from the Second International, brought forth the new Marxist-Leninist parties from its ranks. These parties shouldered the great historic mission of upholding and carrying forward the glorious cause of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat for social and national liberation, which the revisionists had betrayed and discarded."

"The revisionist onslaught spread a thick fog over the fundamental questions of the strategy and tactics of the revolution and created no slight confusion that affected broad detachments of the workers' movement and the anti-imperialist forces. But Marxism-Leninism fought off this furious and fiendish onslaught and emerged victorious. While Khrushchev and the other petty theoreticians of their so-called 'creative Marxism' suffered bankruptcy and disgrace, the science of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin remains deeply implanted in the minds and hearts of the entire world proletariat, and is at all times the unwavering compass of the revolution and socialism, the victorious weapon in the class battles of the proletariat and the working masses."

At Present, the Entire Revisionist Camp Is in Disarray

"At present, the entire revisionist camp is in disarray. The various detachments of modern revisionism have split into hostile rival groups, each struggling to defend and advance its own specific road to socialism, its own national 'Marxism'. All but each revisionist party thinks about and works for, 'how it can capture most positions of superiority and domination in the ranks of world revisionism and how it can make itself beautiful and attractive in the eyes of bourgeois opinion."

"The Party of Labour of Albania long ago said that modern revisionists, like the earlier revisionists of Bernstein or Kautsky, can never build that cohesion, that steel-like unity which only Marxism-Leninism, the scientific ideology of the working class, is in a position to do. Revisionism is synonymous with splits, lack of unity, chauvinism and anarchy. Our Party was convinced that with their slogans that they were 'independent', 'sovereign', and 'capable' of applying the Marxist-Leninist theory in the conditions of their own countries, the revisionist parties would not only break away from the Soviet Union and the so-called 'socialist family', but would become involved, as they have done, in irreconcilable conflicts with one another."

"The Soviet revisionists have made many efforts to gather up all the revisionists and keep them united around themselves. They needed this united front of revisionists not only to cope with the great ideological and political struggle and polemics of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Communist Party of China and the other Marxist-Leninist parties, but also to give off the competitive power of U.S. imperialism."

"To achieve and defend this 'unity', especially to keep the parties of the countries where the revisionists hold sway under their thumb, the Khrushchovites have relied on their military and economic strength, as well as on secret subsidies sent by Moscow to the revisionist parties of the capitalist countries. Nonetheless, they have not succeeded. Life has shown that in essence, the revisionist parties did not and do not agree with the Soviet revisionist party. The latter is now endeavouring to save face but its attempts are lame and its struggles with the other revisionist unity is proper and a heralding sign of the end."

The Anti-Marxist Berlin Conference 1960 Remains in History as a Conference that Publicly Proclaimed the Transition of Modern Revisionism to the Social-Chauvinist Position

"Many and unceasing attempts have been made by the Soviet revisionists, with a fresh view at the head, to call the 'communist' parties of the world to meetings, in which they are supposed to affirm their 'Marxist-Leninist' ideological 'unity', but these efforts were like trying to round up a flock of hares. Discussions were an hour more than two years about a meeting of the European revisionists, and the procrastination, caprices, and unexpected difficulties, resulting from the existing contradictions, were almost never ending. But even when it was held, this meeting, like every previous one, showed only that the revisionists had sunk still deeper into the mazes of opportunism and counter-revolution."

"The anti-Marxist Berlin Conference will remain in history as a conference that publicly proclaimed the transition of modern revisionism to the social-chauvinist positions which social-

democracy has defended up till now, that officially and publicly abandoned the idea of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The 'specific national roads to socialism', which each of them advertised on its own behalf at the meeting, in fact, showed the road the revisionist parties follow to betray socialism, the plans and methods they employ to undermine the revolution and to split the proletariat, and to sabotage the liberation struggle of the peoples. Under the bogus slogan of independence from a single leading centre they rose against the scientific ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism, and proletarian internationalism, which are one and indivisible. Their substitution of 'international solidarity' for proletarian internationalism is a reflection of their replacement of the proletarian ideology with bourgeois ideology. To the revisionists, solidarity means solidarity with the bourgeoisie and struggle against the proletariat, solidarity with the imperialists and struggle against the peoples. On the lips of the revisionists 'solidarity' is a formula of justification that allows them to join forces with a devil and his son, with the social-democrats and the Vatican, with the multinational companies and the fascists, with NATO and U.S. imperialism, with anyone who is against the revolution, the proletariat and socialism, anyone who defends the system of capitalist exploitation."

"The Berlin Declaration, in which the participants each put down their own political and ideological views as though it were the visitors book of an exhibition, represents a really rare document of self-exposure of the revisionists as incorrigible opportunists and anti-communists."

"In point of fact, the revisionist camp has now split into several opportunist trends in which each has assumed a well defined political and ideological physiognomy and is scrambling for pride of place in revising Marxism-Leninism and disrupting the revolution, by openly proclaiming their 'specific', 'socialist theories'. On the one hand, this indicates the extent of the degeneration of revisionism, its utter disintegration, and on the other hand, it reflects the efforts of revisionism to serve the bourgeoisie better and to refine its methods in the fight against Marxism-Leninism and the revolution."

"The situation in the revisionist camp is also a consequence of the persevering and incessant struggle the Marxist-Leninists have waged against them. This is a victory for the Marxist-Leninist parties and their revolutionary line, which we must always carry forward, increasing our vigilance still further and even more resolutely carrying on the ideological struggle against modern revisionists of all hues, as well as against all reactionary ideologies. The enemies of communism have now stepped up their diversion against Marxism-Leninism. Split or united, dependent on or independent of Moscow or anybody else, in their role as anti-communists, they fight in unison against the revolution and our parties, against Marxism-Leninism."

Anti-Marxist Trends — Fifth Column in the Ranks of the World Revolution

"To confuse the people, to benumb the revolutionary thought and action of the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist parties," said Comrade Enver Hoxha, "innumerable anti-Marxist trends are in action, the most varied revisionist and 'leftist' theories are emerging and being spread. They are the fifth column in the ranks of the world revolution, the aim of which is to prolong the life of international capitalism by fighting the revolution from within to prevent it from breaking out and, in case it does, by having firemen to put it out and scabs to break the will of the working class."

"The bourgeoisie and its press have given and give a major space to all the propagandists of anti-communism, ranging from Marcuse to Garaudy, from Gilas to Fisher. The theories of Proudhonist anarchism against the revolution and communism are flourishing all around, and Trotskyism has become the fashion."

Yugoslav Revisionism Remains a Favourite Weapon in the Hands of the International Imperialist Bourgeoisie in the Struggle against Socialism and the Liberation Movements

"The first to come out in support of world capitalism and to apply itself with unrestrained zeal to the fight against the revolution and Marxism-Leninism," said Comrade Enver Hoxha, "was Yugoslav revisionism, the so-called self-administration socialism. Born as an opportunist ideological trend and as a political practice to undermine socialist society and the true communist parties from within, it remains a favourite weapon in the hands of the international imperialist bourgeoisie in the struggle against socialism and the liberation movements. The danger of Yugoslav revisionism stems from the fact that it offers ready-made concepts and 'tested ways' to all those who embark on the road of revisionist betrayal and capitalist degeneration. First the Khrushchovites, and then the Togliattists and others have been inspired by Yugoslav revisionism, and found support and encouragement to fight socialism and the Marxist-Leninist ideology in it."

"Masquerading as 'socialism non-aligned' with Soviet 'socialism', Yugoslav revisionism carried on sabotage and undermining activities among the progressive forces of the developing countries, striving to set their sincere socialist aspirations on a wrong course, and mislead the efforts many of them are making to eliminate the vestiges of colonialism and create free, democratic, and independent states. Everywhere and on the largest scale possible, it engages in demagoguery of the 'autumnal' type, and has become the greatest champion of anarchist and liberal-Trotskyite views. This 'self-administration' has proven to be an eclectic bourgeois doctrine which has led to permanent political and ideological confusion, to weak and disproportionate economic development, to great social differentiation, to squabbles among nationalities and degeneration of spiritual life in Yugoslavia."

"The 'self-administration structure' which covers all the fields and all aspects of life, the elimination of democratic centralism and the role of the unified management of the state, the anarchist federalism and the anti-state ideology in general, have brought about a great fragmentation of the working class, a competitive opposition among its various sections, and what is worse, a marked bourgeois individualist spirit of looking after local and sectional interests. Not only does the working class not play a hegemonic and leading role in the Yugoslav state and society, but on the contrary, through the system of self-administration, it has been placed in such conditions as to be unable to defend its overall interests and act as a compact and united body."

"As always and in the future, too, our Party will fight to expose the deceptive nature of the Yugoslav variety of revisionism and the danger it presents."

Khrushchovite Revisionism Remains the Leader of the Modern Revisionist Front

"The ideological struggle against modern revisionism," said Comrade Enver Hoxha, "is broad and all-sided. The theories and views of the Soviet revisionists and their opportunist practices must be dealt with and denounced, as they have been up till now, but with even more determination. Being the ruling ideology of a big country which has large material and propaganda means at its disposal, Khrushchovite revisionism remains the leader of the modern revisionist front. The theories of Bernstein and Kautsky were confined at the 20th Congress, which became a source of inspiration and base of support for all the revisionist trends. Soviet revisionism represents the most complete and highly elaborated theory and practice of revisionist counter-revolution, which has revised the Marxist-Leninist theory in all fields and on all questions."

"The 25th Congress of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union, which was held at the beginning of this year, confirmed the intentions of the Soviet leadership to persist in this course. This revisionist front the future revisionists will continue to exploit as a source of ideological aggression against Marxism-Leninism and the true socialist countries, that it will continue to fight to undermine the revolution, to subordinate the liberation movements of the peoples and to sabotage them."

"Despite the efforts it has suffered, Soviet revisionism still continues to exert influence, not only when it represents the ruling ideology of a state, but also in the majority of revisionist parties, in some national democratic parties of the developing countries, and elsewhere. It is still able to spread its poison throughout the Soviet Union,

on the name of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, and it has further perfected communist phraseology as a mask. It is clear that without a radical exposure of the ideological platform of Soviet revisionism, which also constitutes the theoretical basis for its imperialist policy, its expansion and hegemonism cannot be effectively opposed, the mobilization of the genuine anti-imperialist forces to the necessary extent and in the proper form cannot be carried out, and the aggressive plans of the superpowers cannot be defeated."

"The historic importance and necessity of exposing the ideological roots of Soviet revisionism also rests on the fact that this serves to expose all other opportunists too, who pose as opponents of Soviet hegemonism but who, with their policy and attitudes, actually serve it."

The Extension of the Ideological Struggle against Revisionism Constitutes an Important Duty for All the Marxist-Leninists

"Our Party," said Comrade Enver Hoxha, "holds that the continuation and extension of the ideological struggle against revisionism in general, and Soviet revisionism in particular, and the deepening of that great polemic which began after the 1960 Moscow Meeting constitute an important and imperative duty for all the Marxist-Leninists, for all true revolutionaries. Now, as at that time, the historic burden falls on them to defend Marxism-Leninism from revisionist attacks and distortions, to defend the revolutionary line of the true world communist movement from influences and pressures brought to bear upon it by the bourgeoisie and the various opportunist forces, to defend proletarian internationalism against the great power chauvinism of the Soviet social-imperialists and bourgeois nationalism of the other opportunists. Lenin's saying that without fighting opportunism, it is impossible to fight imperialism, remains valid and indispensable today. The defence of Marxism-Leninism is a question of principle. It cannot be made dependent on the circumstances which arise, on the basis of which the enemies of the proletariat combine and divide their interests."

"The Khrushchovite idea, so loudly trumpeted, that the time of violent proletarian revolutions has allegedly gone, and that state power can be taken from the hands of the bourgeoisie 'in a peaceful way', 'in the parliamentary way', was music to the ears of the revisionists in the various countries of the world. Exploiting this idea, they built up strategies and tactics which they thought would help them to win the trust of their bourgeoisie, who would see that the communists had now become tame, that the dangerous old doctrine preached by Marx and Lenin was dead, that their revolution would be a 'peaceful', 'reformist', 'humanitarian' revolution."

The Italian Revisionists — The Most Zealous Champions of European Opportunism

"The Italian revisionists, headed by Togliatti, and with all his followers up to Berlinguer, this big landowner from Sardinia, have long been waiting to kindle the fire of the struggle against Marxism-Leninism. For years, they sharpened their weapons for the anti-communist struggle, first, by proclaiming their theories of 'polycentrism' and 'structural reforms' and later with their 'historic compromise'."

"Our Party," said Comrade Enver Hoxha, "long ago exposed the opportunist character of the Togliattist theories and their counter-revolutionary aims. At the same time, it explained that the Togliattists, encouraged and supported by the Soviet revisionists, would go further with their betrayal, that they would become the most zealous champions of European opportunism."

"The facts show that, from seeking collaboration with social-democracy, the Togliattist revisionists went on to turn into social-democrats themselves; from demanding the implementation of the bourgeois constitution, they became the most zealous defenders of the bourgeois order; from peaceful travellers on the road to socialism they turned into armed soldiers of capitalism."

"Like all the other revisionists, the Italian revisionist leadership boasted loudly that with its new theories it had found the key to the explanation of world events which neither Marx, Engels, Lenin nor Stalin had foreseen, that it had found the most creative solutions to the problems of the revolution. But phenomena and events overturned all the theories and sermons of the revisionists."

"This is especially the case with the events in Chile, which brought to light just how silly the revisionist theories are and the great damage they cause the revolution. The revisionists advertised Allende's Chile as the most correct example of the struggle for socialism, which conformed completely to the new revisionist standards. To them Chile proved that the transition to socialism could be made in a parliamentary and peaceful way. To them, Chile was the 'living proof' of the implementation of the so-called 'pluralist', 'democratic', and 'national' socialism, the concrete implementation of all theories trumpeted by the whole revisionist world chorus."

"But what for the Chilean people is a great tragedy, although a temporary and passing one, for the modern revisionists constitutes an irreparable defeat, a collapse of castles built on sand, of all their opportunist theories."

"The fascist coup in Chile was a very stark disproof of the revisionist theories on the peaceful and parliamentary way, just as in the case of Indonesia several years earlier. It showed that the iron laws of class struggle, of revolution and counter-revolution do not change to suit the morbid dreams and subjective desires of the revisionists."

"Following the events in Chile, the Italian revisionists, as the zealous servants of the bourgeoisie they are, further elaborated their theories committing themselves even more deeply to their course of betrayal. They came out with the thesis that, under the 'new conditions', a communist majority in parliament was no longer sufficient for the transition to socialism, that they had first to conclude a general alliance with the main bourgeois parties as well. Thus, the 'historic compromise' with the Italian Christian-Democratic Party, with the party of the Vatican and Fiat, NATO and the Common Market, came into being. Now the Togliattist revisionists, entangled in their reformist theories, are intently bagging the social-democrats and the Christian-Democrats for a slice of the profits which speculative capital is drawing from the sweat of the Italian people."

"It is regrettable that these renegades, who seek to become administrators of the affairs of the bourgeoisie, continue to mislead the Italian proletariat. But we express our belief that the working class of Italy will emerge from the stagnation into which the revisionists and their reformist anti-revolutionary trade unions have plunged it and will realize that in the present conditions of Italy, it must take up the red banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and forge a head towards the revolution, or fascism is bound to come with all the grave consequences with which it is only too familiar."

According to Georges Marchais, in Socialism, Everybody Will Live in Peace, the Wolves and the Lambs Together

"In step with the Italian revisionists," said Comrade Enver Hoxha, "Marchais the French revisionist, who also has become zealous mouthpieces of the bourgeoisie to attack and denigrate Marxism-Leninism."

"The revisionist party of France has now turned into a party of the bourgeoisie. This came out very clearly at its 22nd Congress, when its Secretary, Georges Marchais, presented his 'strategy' for the transition to socialism. The French revisionists dropped all disguise. They launched an attack against Marxism over a broad front and on the most fundamental principles. They declared to the world that they have renounced the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, that their socialism would be achieved without class struggle or the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, without the need for the leading role of the party of the proletariat. The revisionist Marchais called it 'socialism in French colours' from all the colours in which this 'socialism' is decked out only the red of Marxism-Leninism is missing, the colour which infuriates and terrifies the bourgeoisie and the traitors."

"According to Marchais, the transition to socialism will be achieved through the development of bourgeois democracy and freedoms. Under this socialism everybody will live in peace, the wolves and the lambs together. The thesis on the utilization of the bourgeois democracy and freedoms as the road to socialism is a great

deception for the masses, a veneer over capitalist society. It is known that in the epoch of imperialism a development of increasing freedoms and democracy for the masses can never take place in the framework of bourgeois society. On the contrary, this is the period of the great development of the forces of reaction, the militarization of the economy and the other aspects of life, the oppression of the proletariat and nations, which reaches its most savage and barbarous stage under fascism. Only the violent revolution and establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat can secure the conditions for freedom and democracy for the broad masses of the people to flourish."

"In his report to the 22nd Congress of the French revisionist party, the petty-bourgeois Georges Marchais, borrowing from the reactionary theories of bourgeois ideologists, to the effect that class differences are smoothed out in the industrial society, said that now, 'in France one can no longer speak of a proletariat, but of a working class.' But the revisionist Georges Marchais cannot liquidate the proletariat with a stroke of the pen. It lives on and fights to dig the grave for capitalism and revisionism."

"In negating the existence of the proletariat as the main revolutionary force of the society, as the grave-digger of capitalism, the revisionists want to open the way to other anti-Marxist theories as well. Since there is no proletariat, there is no longer any need for a dictatorship of the proletariat, either. On this key problem of the theory of scientific socialism, in fact, everybody in the revisionist camp takes the same positions. However, for tactical reasons, for the sake of appearances, some of them defend the form of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat', as do the Soviet revisionists and the parties of the countries taking part in the so-called socialist family, while others, like Marchais, Berlinguer, and Carrillo, drop this mask. In fact this is a bluff on the part of the Moscow revisionists, because the dictatorship of the proletariat no longer exists, either in the Soviet Union or in the countries of Eastern Europe. Only the dictatorship, the capitalist, fascist dictatorship, exists there."

"In the Soviet revisionist 'bloc' they even talk about the theory of class struggle, but this, too, only for appearance sake, for the purpose of misleading people, because class struggle in its Marxist-Leninist sense is not waged either in the Soviet Union or in the other countries of Eastern Europe. Marchais, Berlinguer, and company, for their part, preach 'fraternization despite divergencies' fraternization and unity to go to socialism through reforms', bourgeoisie, capitalists, workers, police, bourgeois army, etc., all together. Long ago the Khrushchovites declared the class struggle within the Soviet Union to be extinct. But in fact the struggle which the new bourgeoisie is waging against the working class exists there, in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries, the struggle of the proletariat against the savage exploitation by the new bourgeoisie exists and is developing, and as the events in the Soviet republics, in Poland and elsewhere show, the working class is rising in revolts against exploitation. This struggle is bound to gather momentum in the future."

Opportunists and Renegades Come and Go, But the Proletariat and its Ideology, Marxism-Leninism Remain an Indomitable Force

Proletarian Internationalism Is an Indivisible Whole

"Taken as a whole, the revisionist trends, which emerged on the basis of the deviation from Marxism-Leninism and the betrayal of communism," said Comrade Enver Hoxha, "are the offspring of their capitulation in face of new situations in the conditions of the further sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism and the pressure of the bourgeoisie, in the conditions of ever increasing contradictions between western capitalism and Soviet social-imperialism, the result of the rivalry between the two superpowers, in general."

"The bourgeoisie and the social-democrats are jumping with joy now that the revisionists have thrown out the 'Leninist heritage' and are putting themselves forward as 'loyal partners in the democratic confrontation'. But the bourgeoisie and its lackeys are rather hasty in celebrating their 'victory'."

"The betrayal and opportunism of the social-democratic and revisionist chiefs has brought grave damage to the class interests of the proletariat, but the revolutionary struggle of the working class can never be extinguished. Opportunists and renegades come and go, but the proletariat, and its ideology, Marxism-Leninism, remain an indomitable force. The socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat are an historic necessity, and there is nothing which can stop them from coming about."

"In the revisionist parties of the world, the Soviet, French, Yugoslav, and other definitions of proletarian internationalism are being discussed. In fact what they are discussing is how to oppose proletarian internationalism."

"In the phrase 'proletarian internationalism' only the term proletariat, links internationalism indissolubly with the world proletariat, links it in unity of struggle against the capitalist bourgeoisie, against the trusts and monopolies, against imperialism and social-imperialism. Proletarian internationalism is the unity of thought and action of the proletariat of each country in particular and of the world proletariat in general, for the purpose of overthrowing the old capitalist world by violence, smashing the power of the bourgeoisie to its foundations, and becoming the masters of the means of production and everything else that serves the capitalists for the exploitation of man by man."

"Today the world proletariat is not a single bloc, it is split by various bourgeois ideologies: capitalist, reformist, social-democratic, 'socialist', revisionist, etc. All these different ideologies and political trends have the single objective: to split the proletariat, to prevent it from rallying and organizing itself into a great force as the grave-digger of capitalism that it is. Therefore, all these anti-Marxist ideologies and trends, are props for local and international capital, are forces against the revolution, socialism and proletarian internationalism."

"For us Marxist-Leninists, the international solidarity of workers and proletarian internationalism is understood from the angle of and developed according to the principles of Marx and Engels expressed in the Communist Manifesto: 'Workers of all countries, unite! This motto of Marx and Engels, to which Lenin and Stalin remained loyal and which they carried further ahead is militant, revolutionary, and always very important."

"After the Second World War, with the victory over fascism, the reactionary bourgeoisie, the working class took state power into its hands, established the dictatorship of the proletariat and began the construction of socialism in many countries of the world. The motto of Marx and Engels became still more powerful, because the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin had triumphed in many countries, and the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism was thus confirmed in practice."

"The modern revisionism emerged and usurped power in the Soviet Union and in many other former socialist countries. Many communist and workers' parties of the world deviated from and betrayed Marxism-Leninism, they turned into social-chauvinist parties, even into social-fascist parties. In this situation, in which these pseudo-socialist states are no longer the dictatorship of the proletariat and these pseudo-communist parties are no longer parties of the proletariat, whether in power or not, they have definitely broken all their connections with communism, with Marxism-Leninism, with scientific socialism, the proletariat and its doctrine which Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin elaborated. To them, the call, 'Workers of All Countries, Unite!' has lost all meaning."

"In this situation the greatest evil is that amongst the proletariat there still exists the correct idea, created in its consciousness about the first socialist state, the Soviet Union, which Lenin founded after the triumph of the October Socialist Revolution and which became the first powerful state of the proletariat and a colossal support for the entire world proletariat. Now this state no longer exists, because the revisionists have turned it into an anti-proletarian state. This situation can and does cause weaknesses, uncertainty about final victory, because willfully, the cult of the 'great proletarian state' has been created. This weakens the unity of the proletariat and its force in the struggle against the capitalist bourgeoisie and the traitors to Marxism-Leninism."

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"The present situation in the international communist movement resembles the heroic period in which Marx and Engels struggled and worked. The world proletariat, we Marxist-Leninists, must return to, and study, the doctrine of Marx and Engels, their strategy and tactics of struggle and victory. Marx and Engels are no longer alive, but their doctrine lives on, and it should guide us. They are our irreplaceable leaders.

"The present situation in the international communist movement resembles the period of the principled revolutionary struggle of Lenin, Stalin and the Bolshevik Party. They had Marx and Engels as their only and unerring guide. At the head of the Russian proletariat, they led the revolution to its triumph and established the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin and Stalin died, the Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union turned into a revisionist party and the first state of the proletariat, was transformed into a bourgeois chauvinist and social-imperialist state. Neither Lenin nor Stalin had the experience of a proletarian state prior to them, but they created it with the Revolution, through revolutionary violence and work, being guided step by step by the doctrine of Marx and Engels which they further enriched.

"Now the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice remains as a great store of wealth for the world proletariat. It should study and apply it consistently.

"In this great and difficult struggle the proletariat should act in close unity, but the unity of its ranks is achieved only by faithfully following and applying the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. Our Party has marched and will continue to march on this road. It has and always will put Marxism-Leninism in command.

"Proletarian internationalism is the ideology of the proletariat, is one of the most powerful weapons and a condition for the triumph of the revolution and the construction of communism. It is an indivisible whole, and there are not several kinds of internationalism, one Soviet, one Italian, one Yugoslav, one French, etc., as the revisionists claim. There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, wrote Lenin as early as April 1917, 'and that is working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in one's own country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) this struggle, in, and only in, this, in every country without exception'". (V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 24, p. 63 (Albanian Edition)).

The Party of Labour of Albania Proclaims Its Complete Internationalist Solidarity with the Marxist-Leninist Parties

"In the struggle for the cause of the revolution and communism, in struggle against modern revisionism, the Marxist-Leninist parties of the various countries of the world are developing, growing stronger, and achieving successes. Our Party sincerely rejoices at their victories which it regards as common victories that belong to the world proletariat as a whole.

"The existence of Marxist-Leninist parties in all the continents and regions of the world shows that conscious champions, determined revolutionaries who fight with all their strength for the great cause of communism, have now risen in defence of the interests of the world proletariat, of the revolution and socialism.

"A good number of fraternal parties are working in difficult conditions of illegality because the fascist regimes attack them with the most furious means of suppression and terror. Others are compelled to carry on their activity under the difficult circumstances of the struggle that the big bourgeoisie, the social-democrats and revisionists conduct against them. But all these difficult conditions and circumstances have failed to check the revolutionary drive of the Marxist-Leninist communists, have not been able to prevent the consolidation of their ranks, or the ever greater growth of the influence of these parties among the working class and the masses of the working people.

"Many outstanding fighters of the Marxist-Leninist movement have been barbarously murdered by the fascist criminals who are ruling in many countries, have died under police torture, or are still languishing in the dark dungeons of reaction. Through their determination, their courage, their loyalty to the cause of the revolution, their devotion to the great cause of the proletariat, they have become radiant beacons of the struggle of the masses of the working people for national and social liberation.

"With every step we respect the memory of our beloved comrades Pedro Juan Arbeláez, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia (Marxist-Leninist), Carlos Chacel, member of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil, Chakir Zia, Chairman of the Central Committee, and Tahir Chit, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Burma, Chou Maumün, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Korea (Marxist-Leninist), as well as the memory of the brave Spanish IRAP fighters and the Basque patriots. Their unblemished image and revolutionary life will live on in the hearts of all true patriots and communists as a lofty example, inspiration, a call to arms in the struggle against the inhumanity of bourgeois and fascist reaction.

"The Party of Labour of Albania proclaims its complete internationalist solidarity with the Marxist-Leninist parties. The bourgeoisie and the revisionists would like our Party to stop supporting and helping the new Marxist-Leninist parties. But this will never happen. Now, as always, our Party is of the opinion that for the freedom of nations, the revolution, the defeat of the bourgeoisie, imperialism and social-imperialism it is an important duty to give internationalist aid. Marx and Lenin have taught us this and it is lessor guides the struggle of our Party. Just as the Marxist-Leninist parties of the progressive peoples everywhere in the world have helped us, in the past, in our struggle for national liberation and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we have a duty bound to help the proletariat, the Marxist-Leninist parties and all the progressive forces, in the struggle they are waging so that their peoples, too, will win their freedom and build socialism.

"The Party of Labour of Albania supports the revolutionary struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties with all its strength. In our view, each Marxist-Leninist party relies, first of all, on the proletariat and the broad masses of the working people of its own country, but it also enjoys and should enjoy the support of the proletariat of the whole world, the support and solidarity of all the true Marxist-Leninist parties of the different countries, and, above all, of the true socialist countries. But in order to ensure this support continuously and unceasingly, it is essential that each party should be guided consistently by Marxist-Leninism, the ideology of the proletariat."

Today the New Marxist-Leninist Parties Are Resolutely Facing Up to the Savage and Wild Struggle of the Capitalist and Revisionist Bourgeoisie

"Today, the new Marxist-Leninist Parties are resolutely facing up to the savage and wild struggle of the capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie, as well as of their ordinary and secret police. Our comrades have gained rich experience in this struggle, which helps them take the necessary measures to repulse the attacks that may be launched against them from various quarters, even the most varied fronts. The Marxist-Leninist parties of the different countries, the Albanian 'bourgeois imperialists', and the 'banned' trade union frontists of the capitalist countries.

"At the same time, as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin taught us, the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries also take advantage of the legal conditions that always exist in a given country. The conditions must not be regarded as a hindrance in the struggle of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. The true communists never for a moment forget these lessons and strive to make them their own. Lenin and Stalin, for it is only in this way, that the new Marxist-Leninist parties can successfully lead the struggle of the proletariat, and the internationalist and revolutionary forces, in the struggle that is neither easy, nor painless, nor without sacrifices.

"Great sacrifices have been, are, and will continue to be, made by the members of the true Marxist-Leninist revolutionary parties and their comrades in that they make these sacrifices for the sake of the victory in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. Victory at these sacrifices, without fighting, without revolutionary violence, without victory, cannot be attained. Under the example of the sacrifices of

each Marxist-Leninist party, the proletariat of each country marches forward and likewise the proletariat of the world. This is what instils confidence in Marxism-Leninism and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist communist party, among the proletariat. The party is tempered in unceasing battles and struggles till final victory.

The Bourgeoisie is Afraid of the Revolutionary Organisations of the Proletariat and its Vanguard

"The bourgeoisie is afraid of the revolutionary organisations of the proletariat and its vanguard. On the face of it, the capitalists and the revisionists make light of the new Marxist-Leninist parties, but this attitude of apparent unconcern is by no means real. They fear the revolutionaries, therefore either openly or secretly they prepare their attack. The great leaders of the revolution have taught us that, along with the legal struggle, we must also organize the illegal struggle. Our Party has been and still is of the opinion that the second variant, the illegal struggle, is the greatest guarantee for the achievement of victory. If this is not organized, the great striking force of the bourgeois dictatorship, at the moments it finds appropriate, wreaks havoc and extinguishes any resistance of the proletariat and its vanguard.

"The bourgeoisie has adopted and continues to adopt numerous laws to protect itself against this organization. Apart from its incessant surveillance and onslaughts on the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries, it encourages crime, anarchist and terrorist struggle, and prepares, supports, and sets in motion fascist gangs that kill, attack, and rob the masses in the streets. It does this in order to keep the working people under terror and to intimidate them. In the end, they carry these actions as far as the establishment of a fascist dictatorship in this or that capitalist country.

"But through these organizations and actions the bourgeoisie is also trying, on the one hand, to create confusion among the masses, and on the other, to present them as actions of the communists and the revolutionary proletariat, in order to discredit them. The Marxist-Leninist parties always bear in mind these manoeuvres and wiles of the class enemies and fight to expose and foil them.

"Everyday the Marxist-Leninist parties are confronted with dealing demagogic, pseudo-democratic, pseudo-Marxist, profascist propaganda conducted by the reactionary bourgeoisie in every capitalist country, as well as by social-imperialism, and the revisionist traitor parties in the world. The aim of the enemies is to influence the immature and untested revolutionaries with the aim of throwing them into confusion. They think that, through such intensive demagogic propaganda, they may gradually and imperceptibly create dangerous illusions in the ranks of Marxist-Leninist parties and make them lose their revolutionary impetus, leading to their weakening, degeneration and liquidation.

"The Marxist-Leninist parties respond to these all-round attacks and manoeuvres of the enemies by unceasingly strengthening their ranks, by always aiming at quality rather than quantity in their ranks. Along with this, they attach importance to theoretical education of Party members in Marxism-Leninism, to their constant tempering in the daily revolutionary activity to make them vanguard fighters unwavering under any circumstances. They keep in mind the well-known fact that, if their ranks are not strengthened with members of a special quality, the enemies, who are very experienced in undermining the revolutionary parties, will smuggle their agents into the organizations in order to cause disruption and create factions in the ranks of the Party, to weaken and liquidate it.

"Lenin and Stalin have taught us that the assessment of the people to be admitted to the Party should not be based on words, but on deeds. Communists are tested and tempered through concrete revolutionary actions, which require maturity, but also courage and a lofty spirit of sacrifice and self-denial. Such virtues are found first and foremost among the best elements of the working class, of the poor, oppressed and suffering peasantry, in the ranks of the true and truly revolutionary youth.

"Facing a savage enemy of many faces, who strives to infiltrate our ranks by all manner of means, the Marxist-Leninist parties also thoroughly understand the need which the working class of each country has for unity, for a truly revolutionary leadership, its Marxist-Leninist party, of which there is only one, because Marxism-Leninism is only one, and the proletarians have no differing or opposing interests among themselves. The Marxist-Leninist parties have gained valuable experience in the struggle for the unity of the Marxist-Leninist forces. They fight both against narrow sectarian and subjective attitudes, and against the liberal concept of unity for unity's sake, which may endanger even what has been built with so much difficulty and effort. The Marxist-Leninists cannot accept unity divorced from principles and revolutionary actions, or unity which may bring the spirit of opportunism, liberalism, pragmatism and sectarianism into the Party.

"Our Marxist-Leninist parties are preparing the revolution and are in struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism and the reactionary bourgeoisie. In order to come out victorious from this struggle, they draw up correct and appropriate strategy and tactics, which enable them to find loyal allies from among the various strata of the masses of the working people, first and foremost, the poor peasantry. On this question Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have bequeathed us very valuable teachings. We must deepen these teachings in the conditions of the epoch we are living in without being deceived by pacifist slogans, or bourgeois parliamentarism and electoralism."

The Youth — A Great Reserve for the Revolution in the Countries Dominated by Capital

"In the countries dominated by capital, the youth constitute a great reserve for the revolution. The mass of the unemployed youth, abandoned and deprived of all hope and prospects by the bourgeoisie, number in the millions. A great revolt against social injustice is seething among them. Great forces are gathering and building up for revolutionary outbreaks. It is up to the Marxist-Leninists to unite the enthusiasm of the youth, its revolutionary aspirations, with the drive and aspirations of the working class, to lead it on the correct course towards the liberation of all society from the yoke of big capital."

The Problem of Unity and Alliances — A Problem of First-Rate Importance for the Marxist-Leninist Parties

"The problem of unity and alliances in various fronts and organizations, in which the Marxist-Leninist parties should never conceal their identity, is a very delicate problem of first rate importance. A single mistake in line, an incorrect or rigid attitude, disregard of progressive thinking on his friendship and unity created in struggle, is fraught with great dangers.

"The Marxist-Leninist parties of different countries face a common enemy and wage a common struggle, relying on common basic principles, on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. But, this struggle cannot be the same, it cannot be waged without regard for the conditions and circumstances of each country. It is impossible to lay down prescriptions on how to act in all the varying and intricate situations which arise and which can not be foreseen, and in any case, they are not always advantageous. On the contrary, striving to implement a rigid line, which does not conform either to Marxism-Leninism or to the concrete conditions of the particular country, in which each Marxist-Leninist party is carrying out its activity, is often harmful and dangerous.

"In its time, the Comintern carried out intensive and very useful activity for the organization and tempering of the communist parties. It was created at a time when it was essential to carry Marxism-Leninism, as a scientific theory, deep among the masses of the world proletariat, when it was necessary to clear the minds of the revolutionary elements infected by the opportunist ideas of social democracy of the Second International, and make them conscious of the need for the consistent implementation of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism in their struggles. In creating new Marxist-Leninist and workers' parties in the world, the Comintern tried to help them become independent from the bourgeois parties, to launch them into struggle against the parasitic and imperialist forces. Thus, in the time of Lenin and Stalin, the Marxist-Leninist parties were reorganized, strengthened, and they passed, step by step, from the stage of infancy, to a higher stage of revolutionary maturity and

organization. "The revisionists savagely attack the great work of the Comintern, precisely because it created and developed the communist parties in the world, which taught the millions of the proletariat how to fight the bourgeoisie of their own country so that it would not be able to perpetuate its power. The modern revisionists, and together with them, the bourgeoisie, unceasingly attacked the Comintern, and spread the slander that it had allegedly become a tool of the Soviet Union and Stalin. But, at that time, the Comintern was an indispensable organization, which made a major contribution to the strengthening of the revolution, and the victory of socialism.

"There are people who do not fail to say that the Comintern allegedly made mistakes. That mistakes may have been committed cannot be ruled out, but mistakes involving violation of major principles were not made. On the other hand, it should be realized that, even those mistakes that may have occurred, were either brought about deliberately by deviationist elements who had managed to infiltrate the world communist movement, or, some of them, by inexperienced revolutionaries. Thus, sometimes, inaccurate or completely wrong information was sent to the Comintern, and consequently, being misinformed, willfully it took incorrect decisions in some cases. However, the grave conditions of the bourgeois-fascist terror under which the communist and workers' parties and their sections in the Comintern had to carry on their activity, must not be forgotten. The present critics of the Comintern fail to realize that the communist and workers' parties of that time had to seek and create alliances with progressive elements and groupings who sometimes changed their positions. Thus, the directives issued by the Comintern were useful for activities at a given time, while later, when new circumstances arose, they lost their value.

"It is not our intention here to analyse the activity of the Comintern or to raise the question of setting up such an international organ again. For the first time, it is inappropriate and it would not bring the benefits expected to the revolutionary struggles which are being and will be waged by the Marxist-Leninist parties all over the world."

The Cooperation in the True Revolutionary Way Between Our Marxist-Leninist Parties, Must Be Many-Sided

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"Our Party holds that having a correct concept of the major role formerly played by the Comintern at the time of Lenin and Stalin, we, the Marxist-Leninist and workers' parties are duty bound to constantly strengthen and temper the close cooperation among our parties, of course, with none being dependent on, or taking orders from, any other. As internationalist communists, we need to exchange our experiences and, each of us, in the conditions of his own country, must act on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. It is essential that this should be done, because, of course the bourgeoisie and the revisionists are carrying on collaboration between themselves, and are doing so in many forms and ways, right up to holding so-called regular 'international' meetings. Their aims are clear to us. First and foremost, they are struggling to preserve their exploiters' state power to the detriment of the people, and, by means of the numerous intrigues they hatch up, to fight the proletariat and prevent it from organizing and tempering itself with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and establishing socialism and communism through revolutions.

"We think that the cooperation in the true revolutionary way between our Marxist-Leninist parties must be many-sided. The exchange of experience may be done on a bilateral or multilateral basis. The situation may also mature to the point that a large meeting of the representatives of all the Marxist-Leninist communist and workers' parties can be achieved. Long ago, at the time of its 5th Congress, our Party raised this important question. Our Party is determined to defend and implement the great principle of revolutionary cooperation between the Marxist-Leninist parties.

"We, the Albanian communists," Comrade Enver Hoxha said in conclusion, "assure our brothers of the same ideals and comrades-in-arms that we shall continue to fight with determination against the common enemy for the victory of the revolution and Marxism-Leninism, as we have done up till now. The international working class and the Marxist-Leninist parties, all those peoples who are fighting against the superpowers, against the bourgeoisie and reaction, have found and will always find in the Party of Labour of Albania, in the Albanian working class and people, a loyal ally, a reliable support and backing. We consider this our basic internationalist duty, which we shall carry out resolutely and conscientiously.

(Reprinted from Albanian Telegraphic Agency, Nov. 2, 1976)

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THE WORKERS' ADVOCATE Newspaper of the Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists. P.O. Box 11942, Ft. Dearborn Sta., Chicago, IL 60611. Subscription \$3.00 for 3 issues.

Vigorously Oppose International Opportunism!

INTRODUCTION

In the issue of September 4, 1976, (Vol. 6, No. 59) *People's Canada Daily News*, the national daily newspaper of the Canadian proletariat, reprinted from *The Workers' Advocate* the entire article "Mao Tsetung Thought or Social-Chauvinism: A Comment on the October League's Call for 'Unity of Marxist-Leninists'". This issue of PCDN also contains an editorial entitled "Vigorously Oppose International Opportunism!". In this editorial, PCDN gives its proletarian internationalist support to the struggle waged by COUSML against the social-chauvinism of the October League. The article points out that "The struggle against opportunism is world-wide. Opportunism is an international bourgeois ideological trend" and "The particular line pursued by October League is in no way confined to the U.S. and Canada alone!". The article points out the dangerous character of OL's variety of international opportunism which is revisionism fraudulently hiding itself as a "supporter" of Mao Tsetung Thought. The article sharply adds that "without opposition to this brand of revisionism, the struggle against Khrushchevite re-

visionism cannot be carried through to the end." *The Workers' Advocate* is extremely pleased at the timely support given to us by our fraternal comrades of the PCDN in the struggle against international opportunism. The PCDN and the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) have a consistent history of opposition to international opportunism and have always warmly encouraged all American Marxist-Leninists who wished to maintain the purity of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The bonds of friendship and mutual support between the American and Canadian Marxist-Leninists are bound to continue to grow and flourish in the years ahead.

The Canadian revolutionaries have a particular necessity to oppose the international opportunist sects based in the U.S. These sects invariably infringe on other countries dominated by U.S. imperialism, like Canada. The U.S. is an imperialist superpower. Hence American opportunists, emboldened by the imperialist "national" consciousness of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class, invariably feel a burning de-

sire to take up the "white man's burden" and go to civilize the "ignorant heathens" in the oppressed nations. The "Progressive Labor" Party won particular notoriety in this respect by arrogantly attacking the anti-imperialist struggles of nations oppressed by U.S. imperialism and hitting the revolutionaries of these countries over the head with the trotskyite line that "all nationalism is reactionary". The "PLP" particularly set up a branch plant in Canada, the "Canadian" Party of "Labour" in order to defend U.S. domination of Canada. And today the October League is following in the footsteps of PL and is sponsoring a quisling group in Canada which has come up with the bankrupt slogan "Safeguard Independence of Canada!". In this way the OL (via its friends) is promoting the bourgeois fraud that Canada is presently independent -- rather than being dominated by foreign, mainly U.S., imperialism and having far, far more U.S. imperialist investment than all of Latin America combined. Thus, in order to aim "the main blow" at Soviet social-imperialism, the October League is prettifying U.S. im-

perialism and giving what amounts to a call to "safeguard" U.S. investment in Canada and the reactionary anti-Canadian monopoly capitalist government of U.S. imperialist lackeys headed by Trudeau.

Thus it is no wonder that the just struggle waged by the American revolutionaries against the social-chauvinism of the October League has found a sympathetic ear among the Canadian people. All American Marxist-Leninists should feel pained at the crimes against the Canadian people committed by the October League and other social-chauvinists (such as the other neo-revisionists as well as the revisionist *Guardian*) under our name, the name of the American Marxist-Leninists. The Canadian revolutionaries have made a great contribution to the American revolution by, among other things, resolutely combatting each and every bogus American opportunist that sticks his nose into Canada.

Here *The Workers' Advocate* reprints the complete text of this important PCDN editorial "Vigorously Oppose International Opportunism!"

PCDN EDITORIAL

In this issue of PCDN, we are reproducing an article against a national chauvinist and social-chauvinist organization in the U.S. which is calling itself "Marxist-Leninist" (see page 2) This organization is supporting U.S. imperialism under the guise of "opposing" Soviet social-imperialism. This organization has also sponsored a quisling organization in Canada which has come up with the reactionary slogan: "Safeguard Independence of Canada!". This organization is also capitulating to U.S. imperialism and the monopoly capitalists of this country.

The struggle against opportunism is world-wide. Opportunism is an international bourgeois ideological trend. This particular form of opportunism takes its analysis of the world situation from Right deviationist Teng Hsiao-ping of China and then peddles its own counter-revolutionary line for the U.S. and Canada on that basis. We wrote in our "A message from the PCDN/Central Bureau" on August 26 about the line of Teng Hsiao-ping in this manner:

The entire political line of PCDN/QCP is summed up in the slogan **Make the Rich Pay!** This slogan has a twofold meaning. First, it is the slogan which clarifies the path to deal with the crisis of U.S. imperialism and monopoly capitalism, that is, the proletariat and people must not allow the U.S. imperialists and Canadian monopoly capitalists to shift the burden of the economic crisis onto the workers, but instead they must make them pay for the crisis through mass revolutionary struggle. This is the content of anti-imperialist socialist revolution at this time. Secondly, this slogan also stands against war and war preparations of imperialism and social-imperialism. It opposes the fascistization of the state and the war preparations of the U.S. imperialist-dominated Canadian state. In short, **Make the Rich Pay!** means, prepare for revolution against war. We uphold the Leninist view that either revolution will prevent war or war will give rise to revolution. The twofold activities of organizing revolution and preventing war are intimately linked.

We are against those who are creating hysteria on the question of war. We are particularly opposed to the followers of Teng Hsiao-ping, those who are putting forward

the counter-revolutionary line that "Either they (the two superpowers — "PCDN" CB) will fight each other, or the people will rise in revolution." (1) This line of Teng Hsiao-ping is opposed to the correct proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao Tsetung, which states: "With regard to the question of world war, there are but two possibilities: One is that the war will give rise to revolution and the other is that revolution will prevent the war." (2) Teng Hsiao-ping pretends that he is following Chairman Mao's line but, in fact, dishes out a capitulationist and counter-revolutionary line. He equates "the question of world war" with "Either they will fight each other..." It is not a question of "either". The two superpowers are fighting with one another. Contention between the two takes various forms of "fight". War between imperialist powers is inevitable. And as far as the "people will rise in revolution", it is also not a matter of "or". People are rising in revolution. Already, Cambodia is liberated. The U.S. imperialists have been thrown out of Vietnam and the country is unified. The Laotian people have won a great victory. So this "either" or" which Teng Hsiao-ping has concocted is meant to throw dust into the eyes of the revolutionary masses and to capitulate to imperialism and social-imperialism abroad, and reactionaries at home. The followers of Teng Hsiao-ping have advanced the counter-revolutionary slogan in Canada: "Safeguard the independence of Canada." (3) This "independence" which these counter-revolutionaries are "safeguarding", is the "independence" of the U.S. imperialist-dominated state against the real independence of the proletariat and people of our country. Their programme is one of capitulation to the U.S. imperialist-dominated Canadian state, and is serving it.

In fall of 1971, the leader of the "Left", sloganeering front of Khrushchovite revisionism in Montreal with whom these "Safeguard the independence of Canada" counter-revolutionaries are connected, concocted that "Negotiations and war form a dialectical unity of opposites." (4) Through this concoction, he issued a programme of capitulation to the U.S. imperialist-dominated Canadian state. He distorted the proletarian internationalist and the line of

peaceful co-existence of the People's Republic of China. PCDN/QCP will vigorously oppose this yellow line of:

1. Teng Hsiao-ping: "Either they will fight each other, or the people will rise in revolution."

2. The Forge: "Safeguard the independence of Canada."

3. Leader of the "Left"-sloganeering front of Khrushchovite revisionism: "Negotiations and war form a dialectical unity of opposites."

The **Make the Rich Pay!** political line is opposed both to the capitulationist political line of "Safeguard the independence of Canada", and the international capitulationist line of Teng Hsiao-ping.

In the article we have reproduced from *Workers' Advocate*, it is also pointed out that this right-opportunist organization is also against Mao Tsetung Thought. The key point to grasp here is that these two sister organizations (October League in the U.S. and "Communist" League in Canada) are supporting the Right deviationist of Teng Hsiao-ping under the guise of "opposing" it. In their journal of "Communist Thought", one of the leaders of October League, under the pretentious title: "Taking Class Struggle as the Key Link" belittles Mao Tsetung Thought. With an ulterior motive, this woman author quotes from Lenin on "classes and class struggle under socialism" but nowhere does she give this famous quotation from Chairman Mao Tsetung:

"Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguishing the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite

and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line." (5)

Nor does she give the quotation from the Constitution of the Communist Party China:

"Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. Throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. These contradictions can be resolved only by depending on the theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and on practice under its guidance."

Such is China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a great political revolution carried out under the conditions of socialism by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent capitalist restoration. Revolutions like this will have to be carried out many times in the future." (6)

Furthermore, she creates the illusion that was not Chairman Mao Tsetung who actually in theory and practice sorted out the question of preventing capitalist restoration under the conditions of socialism and dictatorship of the proletariat, but instead, puts forward this baldheaded that "Marxism-Leninism has always recognized that class and class struggle continue to exist throughout the entire course of the transition from capitalism to communism." (7) What does this "always" allude to? Did Comrade Stalin recognize that "classes and class struggle continue to exist throughout the entire course of the transition from capitalism to communism" in the 1930's? No, he did not. Does this mean that Stalin was not a Marxist-Leninist? No, it does not. Because Comrade Stalin did realize his mistake on this question and corrected himself. What is the motive behind the writing of this woman author from the October League? The motive is to completely wipe out Mao Tsetung Thought.

We are aware that Lenin was quite clear on the level of theory, as were Marx and Engels, that classes and class contradictions exist under the conditions of socialism, but Chairman Mao Tsetung applied this theory of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of China under conditions of socialism and dictatorship of the proletariat and sorted out in theory and practice the question of preventing capitalist restoration. He pointed out that classes and class contradictions exist under the whole historical period of socialism, and he stressed the necessity of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. He then personally led the unprecedented and historic Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and subsequently advanced the brilliant Marxist-Leninist thesis that there are bourgeoisie within the Party (8) This entire proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao Tsetung cannot be wiped out by the silly formulation that "Marxism-Leninism has always recognized that classes and class struggle continue to exist..."

We are reproducing this lengthy article from *Workers' Advocate* as a contribution to struggle against opportunism on the world scale. The particular line pursued by October League is in no way confined to the U.S. and Canada alone. It is also the yellow banner of Satya Narayan Singh in India who has concocted the thesis of "split in the Indian ruling classes", one group supporting Soviet social-imperialism and the other U.S. imperialism, and the theory that because Soviet social-imperialism is the "main enemy, the Indian people should capitulate to that section of the ruling class which supports U.S. imperialism."

Today, it has become incumbent upon all the Marxist-Leninists who recognize Khrushchovite revisionism that they also recognize this particular brand of revisionism which is more dangerous as it parades itself as not only a "supporter" of Mao Tsetung Thought, but also an "opponent" of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and Teng Hsiao-ping. Without opposition to this brand of revisionism the struggle against Khrushchovite revisionism cannot be carried through to the end. We heartily congratulate the comrades of Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists (COUSML) for taking this

bold step against October League revisionism. We are particularly overjoyed to read that COUSML has taken up the historic task of defeating revisionism and defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought right in the heartland of one of the two superpowers. These new type revisionists also send their agents across the border to carry on disruptive activity in Canada. We are confident that the Marxist-Leninists in the U.S. will certainly defeat these revisionists of October League and other types.

End item.

REFERENCE NOTES

1. Teng Hsiao-ping, "Speech at Special Session of U.N. General Assembly," *Peking Review* (April, 19, 1974), No. 16, p. 7.
2. Mao Tsetung quoted in *Report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China*, (Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1969), p. 54.
3. *The Forge* (June 3, 1976), Vol. 1, No. 12, p. 3 (*The Forge* is the Central Organ of the "Canadian" "Communist" League ("Marxist-Leninist").
4. *Solidarity* (October 1971), Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 3 (*Solidarity* is the "Journal of the Afro-Asian-Latin American People's Solidarity Movement", but this particular issue was a forgery by the leader of the "Left" sloganeering front of Khrushchovite revisionism in order to peddle his counter-revolutionary revisionist line).
5. Mao Tsetung quoted in *Report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China*, (Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1969), p. 20.
6. *The Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China*, (Documents), (Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1973), p. 62.
7. *Class Struggle*, Journal of Communist Thought (Spring/Summer 1976), No. 4-5, p. 93.
8. Chairman Mao recently pointed out: "With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the co-operative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to enforcing bourgeois rights, they resent it. You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party — those in power taking the capitalist road, the capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." *Peking Review*, March 12, 1976, No. 11, p. 4.

CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Continued from page 8

revolution. "Officially designated today as 'ultra-leftists', the 'Maoists' acted as violence itself was the supreme expression of the thoughts of Chairman Mao." This article was entitled "Who's Problems with Maoists?" and paraded as the *Guardian's* general line about the Cultural Revolution. Besides giving Lin Piao's line of slandering the Cultural Revolution as "ultra-left", Burchett's article was designed to attack all the forces of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in North America led by the ACWM (M-L) and CPC(M-L). The article stated: "In discussions with Chinese officials on the analogy with some Maoist groups abroad, a frequent dry reaction was that perhaps they should get down to studying the thoughts of Chairman Mao! Instead of just planning on Mao badges." This was really only a trap set out to attack Mao Tsetung Thought itself, and in this article the phrase "thoughts of Mao Tsetung" is always put in quotes to make it more ironical. Burchett's view of Mao Tsetung Thought is expressed in another article on May 19 where he states: "To convey his ideas, Mao has fused Marxist dialectics with classical Chinese Confucian concepts of austerity, probity, social responsibility and patriotism." According to the *Guardian*, Chairman Mao is a Chinese Ronald Reagan, and "Maoists" are fascists and Confucianists. Thus the *Guardian* promoted Confucianism under the cover of supporting Chairman Mao. In 1975 the *Guardian* continued this path in its anti-China pamphlet *Unite the Many, Defeat the Few*, written by Jack Smith, its present managing editor. There the *Guardian* approvingly quotes some other than China's Khrushchov, Liu Shao-chi, to prove that Mao Tsetung Thought is "Asiatic Marxism-Leninism". The *Guardian* quotes Liu Shao-chi as saying: "Mao Tsetung's great accomplishment has been to change Marxism-Leninism from a European to an Asiatic form." Naturally so-called Asiatic Marxism-Leninism could be no particular liability to the U.S., except to promote the revisionist theory of "polycentrism".

At the same time that the *Guardian* promoted Lin Piao's view that the Cultural Revolution was "ultra-left", other American Lin Piao's arose. Some claimed that while revisionism was the main danger internationally, "ultra-leftism" was the main danger in the U.S., and in Canada too for that matter, and in Italy, etc. etc. In fact, everywhere that the Marxist-Leninists were getting organized, these American Lin Piao's and Liu Shao-chi's propagated the theory that Lin Piao was "ultra-left" in order to strike at the followers of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in the U.S., the ACWM (M-L), under the cover of supposed loyalty to China.

The Tenth National Congress summed up the struggle against the Lin Piao anti-Party digue and correctly and aptly labeled Lin Piao as "ultra-rightist" and a "superparty" for Soviet social-imperialism. The *Guardian* however was so cowardly over Lin Piao's slash that it could not wait until the Tenth National Congress to put on its mourning clothes. It repressed its diarrhoea over Lin Piao's flow in an article on August 29, 1972 where it states: "The Lin Piao affair, in contradiction to conventional struggles between two lines in the

Chinese Communist Party, is an unfortunate page in Chinese history." Only an agent of capitalist restoration who wanted to turn China into a Soviet colony would find the defeat of the Lin Piao anti-Party digue an "unfortunate page in China's history". The *Guardian* hurries on to give Teng Hsiao-ping's line that class struggle is over. "But it is a page that has been decisively turned. A new page, with China stabilizing itself internally and exercising extraordinary influence externally, has replaced it." The *Guardian* re-emphasizes this in its reporting of the Tenth National Congress a year later. The *Guardian's* first sentence is "Political stability characterizes the People's Republic of China today." Thus the *Guardian* gives the revisionist line of the dying out of class struggle. The *Guardian* has conspired with a campaign to reverse correct verdicts against Soviet social-imperialism and has justified the fascist Soviet aggression against Angola. Last week Irwin Silber speaking in Detroit openly exposed the real nature of these American Lin Piao's and Teng Hsiao-ping's by calling for re-examination of the correct verdict of the international communist movement against Khrushchovism.

Thus the spearhead of this frenzied support to the capitalist roaders in China is directed at Chairman Mao and Mao Tsetung Thought and to reverse the verdicts of the Cultural Revolution and on Soviet social-imperialism. The *Guardian* continually rails at the followers of Mao Tsetung Thought as "flunkies of China". According to the *Guardian*, "polycentrism", i.e. revisionism, is a barrier to revisionism, while adherence to Mao Tsetung Thought is a cause of revisionism! Attacking adherence to Mao Tsetung Thought, Irwin Silber in an article in December 1975 draws a historical parallel and states: "...Thus flunkys of the various parties whose international line was always the automatic reflection of the Soviet party led these parties into the abyss of revisionism without a murmur when Khrushchov and his successors abandoned Marxism-Leninism." Irwin Silber forgets to add that Khrushchov and his successors abandoned Marxism-Leninism to the applause of the *Guardian*, which included Khrushchov, Tito, Dubcek, Cieniek, and others as well as today following the line of Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping. Here Silber again gives the fascist line that communists were "agents of Moscow" under Lenin and Stalin and, by implication, today are "agents of Peking".

Comrades, these are some of the crimes of the American capitalist roaders of the "independent radical newspaper" the *Guardian* and others. You can see that while they are "independent" of the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao and the international communist movement, they are far from being flunkies of the international bourgeoisie, including both superpowers, who are trying to restore capitalism in China in order to rob the people of the world of their bastion of world revolution and start a new world war. Such roaders are in fact the greatest enemies of China and of all the oppressed nations and peoples including the Canadian and American working classes. Nothing will give us the comrades of the Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists more pleasure than to strip these and other American Lin Piao's and Teng Hsiao-ping's of their tasks and annihilate them politically.

But these two-bit flunkies can never stop the forward motion of the world revolution and of the revolutionary struggle in the United

States. Our organization is a contingent of the international communist movement and we are internationalists in the United States. We like you comrades, came into the world at the call of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and like you, we were raised on Mao Tsetung Thought as our mother's milk. The role of the Internationalists led by Comrade Bains, now Chairman of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), is of great significance. Comrade Bains was the only person in the youth and student movement in Canada who consistently upheld a proletarian revolutionary line and fought uncompromisingly for Mao Tsetung Thought, the theoretical basis of our thinking. This struggle, which began in all earnestness in 1968, ended in victory and the CPC(M-L) was established as the Party of the Canadian proletariat. The CPC(M-L) under Comrade Bains' leadership, has established itself in the proletariat on a national scale, with over 2,000 arrests of its comrades by the reactionary Canadian state, and solved a series of problems facing the Canadian revolution, including opposing U.S. imperialist cultural aggression, exposing anarchist-synicalist and revisionist lines in the workers' movement, and setting a general and tactical line for the Canadian workers' movement. Now the opportunists in Canada are trying to reverse the verdict of the Canadian proletariat in favour of Mao Tsetung Thought and replace it with social-fascism.

At the same time, the American imperialists, represented by the ACWM (M-L), the Association of Communist Workers (Leninist) and others, learning from the advanced experience of the Canadian comrades and upholding the lessons of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, won many victories over opportunism, learning and consolidating the Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists, the nucleus of the Party of the American proletariat. The ACWM (M-L) and the COUSML played principal roles in Party-building right from 1965, fought for the unity of the Marxist-Leninists, waged a resistance movement against state attacks, exposed the growing fascism in the U.S. and carried on massive propaganda among the workers and other oppressed sections for proletarian revolution.

The COUSML, led by Comrade Bains, and the COUSML (and its predecessors) have always been firmly united with each other, have shared work and wage and have battled opportunism and the bourgeois side by side. For the first time American and Canadian revolutionaries are writing on an equal basis, on the basis of revolutionary principles, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and proletarian internationalism, and not on the basis of neo-fascist group politics to others. This is a very important historical point. For years American social-chauvinists have been going to Canada and setting up front organizations, disunited efforts. Among the first institutions of American social-chauvinism is the October League (Marxist-Leninist), whose aspirations are entirely consistent with those of a clique of left demagogues in Montreal. But no matter how much they talk, no matter how much they disrupt and attempt to split, they will never prevent the Canadian and the American proletariat from uniting under the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, supporting each other and making revolution.

The question of equal, principled relations between the Canadian and American Marxist-Leninists was sorted out in theory at the Regina Conference in May 1969 and in practice at the meetings.

Only had comrades who don't want to organize on the basis of Mao Tsetung Thought and proletarian internationalism seek agents in other countries in the form of social-chauvinist groups. It is no accident that OL is doing this; the Progressive Labour Party did it before them, establishing its subsidiary plant in Canada, the "Canadian Party of Labour". In fact, a number of people who were in CP when it viciously attacked Chairman Mao and China are now members of the social-chauvinist splinter group in Montreal which is associated with OL.

It is quite contemptible that an organization claiming to be Marxist-Leninist has sought to dictate a wrong line to them, but it shamelessly flouts its international connections to impress others. Everyone knows that it regards others on the basis that it is the organization in the U.S. which is "recognized" by China. Lately it has even taken to printing a scorecard to announce the number of places where its articles have been reprinted. This proves that the OL has been created for foreign consumption, not for organizing proletarian revolution in the U.S. Revolution is not based on international "recognition"; revolution is based on class struggle in the country, on self-reliance. The Canadian people did not have to flout their international connections to make revolution; they were highest on their own right. The arrogance of the leaders of the OL will be smashed by the American proletariat, and in the near future too.

Comrades, through our own efforts Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought has made great headway in the United States. On the anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, it is time for us American revolutionaries to dedicate ourselves to applying the bright red banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the lessons of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, wage a vigorous struggle against opportunism build the proletarian Party in the U.S. and work to lead the working-class movement towards the proletarian revolution.

AZANIA
Continued from page 1

the sea route between the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic, between Europe and the oil-rich Persian Gulf and the East, is a ripe plum in their eyes. But the Azanian people's struggle threatens to rip this plum out of the hands of the U.S. imperialists and deny it to the Soviet New Tsars. Therefore, the Azanian people's struggle is dealing a powerful blow to the world capitalist-imperialist system, and especially to U.S. imperialism, and to the war preparations of both superpowers.

Aware of this, the imperialists, especially the U.S. imperialists, have recently stepped up their futile efforts to prop up the racist regimes in southern Africa in order to hold back the tide of anti-colonial struggle.

The U.S. imperialists are organizing massive fraud and insidious tricks and schemes, backed by the ever-present threat of invasion to rescue the racists' cause. Everyone knows that the racist minority regimes would not last a single day without the full support of Washington and Wall Street. Yet the arch-imperialist Kissinger has been "shuttling" around in southern Africa in the name of "peace" supposedly to "mediate" the conflict between the Africans and their racist oppressors, posing as a "friend of the Africans". (Likewise, his counterparts in the Kremlin pose as the "natural allies" of the African people so as to divert the national liberation movements from within, seize control of them and send their puppets to invade them and establish Soviet bases, as in Angola. In Azania, for decades they have sponsored the revisionist South African "Communist" Party to disrupt the liberation movement by peddling non-violence and reformism.)

Kissinger's plan is to organize "conferences" so as to stave off the revolutionary overthrow of the racist regimes and bring about a "peaceful solution" through "compromises", i.e., establish U.S.-dominated puppet regimes with black faces, full allegiance to U.S. imperialism and an open door to U.S. investment. This is his aim in setting up the present "conference" on Zimbabwe. If it fails to stem the tide of revolution, the imperialists are prepared to invade southern Africa

to restore their lost "paradise".

U.S. imperialism's plan for Azania is to force the Azanian people to accept "citizenship" on isolated reserves, called "bantustans", which would then be declared "independent" of South Africa though still under its thumb. Thus the racists hope to deprive the Azanian people of their birthright-- sovereignty over their entire nation -- in exchange for a few crumbs. When the Vorster regime imposed so-called "independence" on the Transkei, the first such "state", the U.S. delegation was the only one at the United Nations which didn't denounce this as a shameful apartheid fraud. Through such fraud, Kissinger is desperately trying to give the apartheid regime a "humanitarian" facelift to rob the Azanian people of political power.

But U.S. imperialism cannot fool the Azanian masses. The plan of "independence" for the "bantustans" has been massively rejected by all but a few sold-out traitors. When Kissinger went to Pretoria to hatch more "plans" with his brother fascist Vorster, he was met by demonstrations of thousands of Azanians denouncing his visit. Black youth raised placards saying "KISSINGER -- MURDERER!" and "DR. KISSINGER -- DON'T BRING YOUR DISGUISED AMERICAN OPPRESSION TO AZANIA!" While Kissinger had his friendly chat with Vorster, the police killed six demonstrators and wounded dozens of others, further staining Kissinger's hands with the blood of the African people and symbolizing the failure of the Kissinger-Vorster plots.

But the U.S. imperialist murderers, whose hands are stained with the blood of the Azanian patriots, in no way represent the oppressed masses of the white and Black people in the United States. In fact, the U.S. ruling classes have a long and blood-curdling history of savage oppression and atrocities against the African people and against the Black people in the U.S., as well as against all sections of the American working masses. Everyone knows that it was the "civilized" capitalists of America and Europe who kidnapped millions of Africans and imposed on them the most backward, barbaric system of chattel slavery. The "advanced" and "democratic" society of the capitalist West was built on the brutal enslavement of the Black people and with the naked genocide of a large part of

the population of Africa. As capitalism developed into decaying, dying imperialism, Africa was carved up between the imperialist "Great Powers". To this day the U.S. and other western imperialists maintain colonial and neo-colonial domination over Africa, while Soviet social-imperialism is also sinking its fangs into the continent. In the United States the monopoly capitalists subject the Black people to a vicious system of class and national oppression, racial discrimination, violent repression and cruel exploitation no different in essence from that experienced by the Azanian people. At the same time they brutally exploit and oppress the white working masses. Chairman Mao Tsetung, the beloved leader and teacher of the workers and oppressed people of the whole world, taught that "THE EVIL SYSTEM OF COLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM AROSE AND THROVE WITH THE ENSLAVEMENT OF NEGROES AND THE TRADE IN NEGROES, AND IT WILL SURELY COME TO ITS END WITH THE COMPLETE EMANCIPATION OF THE BLACK PEOPLE."

Thus the African people, together with the Afro-American and white working masses, have a common enemy to oppose and a common objective to struggle for -- the downfall of U.S. monopoly capitalism. Every blow struck by the Azanian people against the Vorster regime is also a blow against the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalists over the American people and people of other countries. Just as the stunning victory of the three Indo-Chinese peoples over U.S. imperialism has thrown it into a profound crisis, the forward march of the Azanian people's struggle will further undermine U.S. imperialism and prepare conditions for its overthrow at the hands of the American people.

But the more defeats U.S. imperialism suffers, the more vicious and bloodthirsty it becomes. In addition, the Soviet New Tsars are interfering and committing aggression everywhere. The Azanian people are aware that they will only win liberation through a bitter, violent struggle. Today Kissinger and the U.S. imperialists expect the African and American people to believe that these war-mongers and arch-racists are "working hard" for a "peaceful transition" to "black majority rule". But the revolutionary masses are not fools. They know that U.S. im-

perialism has never stopped imposing colonial and neo-colonial rule on Africa and is presently only shifting its tactics under pressure of the revolutionary struggles, while preparing for an invasion of southern Africa should all its tricks fail to halt the African revolution.

The U.S. imperialists will never succeed in convincing the workers, Afro-Americans and other progressive people in the U.S. that the moneybags of Wall Street and Washington have their interests at heart or are helping the African people. Instead, the revolutionary masses in the U.S. will take inspiration from the Azanian people's glorious struggle, reject all the tricks of the monopoly capitalists and rise up to support their African brothers and sisters in a common struggle against the common enemy. The continuing upsurge of the Azanian people's struggle will certainly inspire the Afro-American people to wage new battles for emancipation. The Black youth of Azania have boldly declared that their heroes include Chairman Mao Tsetung, leader and teacher of the workers and oppressed people of the whole world, and Malcolm X, the uncompromising fighter for Afro-American liberation and for unity between the Afro-American and African people. The Black people in the U.S. will surely rise up still more powerfully than they did in the great rebellions of the 1960's and will return the support of the Azanian people with revolutionary struggle.

The Workers' Advocate calls upon all revolutionary workers, Afro-Americans and other progressive people in the United States to strongly support the national liberation struggle of the heroic Azanian people by launching revolutionary struggles against our common enemy, by preparing to overthrow the criminal rule of U.S. monopoly capitalism through an anti-fascist proletarian socialist revolution.

VIGOROUSLY SUPPORT THE GLORIOUS STRUGGLE OF THE AZANIAN PEOPLE! DOWN WITH THE RACIST AND FASCIST SOUTH AFRICAN MINORITY REGIME! DOWN WITH U.S. MONOPOLY CAPITALISM, COMMON ENEMY OF THE AFRICAN AND AMERICAN PEOPLE!

PAC Interview



David Sibeko, Representative from the PAC Observer Mission to the United Nations and Director of Foreign Affairs of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)

On September 6, an interview was conducted in the editorial offices of PCWA with Comrade David Sibeko, Comrade Sibeko is the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) Director of Foreign Affairs and Representative from the PAC Observer Mission to the United Nations.

In response to the question on the present situation in Azania, Comrade Sibeko said that at the present moment a national uprising for the seizure of political power from the white settler and apartheid colonial regime is underway. The Azanian people are in excellent morale following the victories they have scored since the Soweto uprising on June 16. They have, with their own strength, in a self-reliant manner, demonstrated that, like all revolutionary movements, the South African racist regime is a paper tiger. Up until this massive, violent retaliation of the masses against violent suppression by the South African fascists, the theory had gained momentum abroad that the South African apartheid regime is granite, is immovable, and that it is impregnable. But, with stones, with clubs, and with other primitive weapons, young Azanians, some as little as eight and ten years old, coming from primary schools, junior and secondary schools, have demonstrated that once a people unite under a revolutionary line and they are determined to wage struggle, they can defeat any enemy, no matter how powerful. This thesis has been vindicated over and over again.

For the twelfth consecutive week, he said, the Azanian people have been advancing wave upon wave against police armed to the teeth, with tear gas, automatic rifles, machine guns, police vans, armoured cars, and backed by an army, air force and helicopters. But revolutionary initiatives in diversifying their struggle. He indicated that at one point they will demonstrate against the imposition of Afrikaans in the schools; at another point they will participate in a massive march, bringing out tens of thousands of ordinary workers, students, and other members of

the oppressed community; at other points, he went on, they have gatted with fire, apartheid administrative offices, pass offices, and other symbols of oppression, like police vehicles. In several areas, police have been liquidated, and informers have been cut down. What is taking place is an unprecedented tactic and strategy in the annals of African Liberation Struggle. A mass movement has been formed and is carrying out the struggle in a self-reliant manner, with a minimum of external assistance, but a maximum of internal resolve and perseverance.

THE GENESIS OF THE STRUGGLE -- THE RELATIONS OF FORCES INVOLVED

Comrade Sibeko went on to say that it is well understood by those who have followed developments in Azania without the jaundiced eye of the bourgeois press, which has tended to play it down, or the blinkered outlook of other forces which have pretended support but have actually betrayed the struggle in Azania with their very sectarian approach and their refusal to see the current phase of our struggle as a national liberation struggle in which the great mass of our people is engaged, and of which, the national liberation movement forms the backbone, particularly the Pan Africanist Congress, since it is the architect of militant resistance to apartheid tyranny in Azania.

After the PAC was formed in 1959, the great leader and president of PAC, and national leader of the Azanian people, Comrade Robert Sobukwe pointed out very succinctly that "external forces can sympathize with us, but they can't liberate us; we must be our own liberators". He pointed out that at home, Azanians are faced with the forces of white settler domination, and internally, we are up against the forces of western imperialism, who are determined to maintain the status quo. Since African people in Azania are the principal victims of this unholy alliance and conspiracy, it is the task of the Azanian people themselves to initiate, lead and develop their own struggle for national liberation. And since it is the African who is the principal victim of vicious oppression in the country, it is the African who must provide the leadership, who must galvanize the forces which must rise up to wage a determined struggle for the overthrow of white domination in Azania.

There have been black organizations opposed to white domination appealing for reforms, appealing for concessions, but up until that point, the question of the total overthrow of the system, and its replacement by an African democratic and socialist order, had never been categorically spelled out -- PAC was the first to do so. PAC insisted that the Africans themselves must carry out this duty, and while there may be intellectual converts from the other sections of the society of Azania -- of European stock primarily -- since they were not in a living way, the principal victims of the system, they could never provide the leadership for such a movement because what had happened is that the revisionist white South African amendment party had very successfully degenerated to manipulate the African organizations under the guise of cooperation between multi-racial opposition to the apartheid forces, and this reduced the struggle to a reformist and pacifist movement. Yet the situation of violent suppression could only be af-

tered with violent revolution. Therefore, it was important that this type of political scheme be unmasked, and that the struggle of the Azanian people be projected as seen by the Azanian people themselves. That is why the PAC struck such an immediate responsive chord amongst the people and within the space of eleven months, was able to call out the historic positive action campaign of March 21, 1960, which marked a turning point in the history of the Azanian people's struggle for rid themselves of white domination and seize political power. This is when the fascist police massacred supporters and cadres of the Pan Africanist Congress at Sharpeville and Langa and other places in our country. This marked the decisive turning point. Journalists from western countries predicted then that the PAC had initiated a campaign which was likely to overthrow white domination.

So the genesis of the current upsurge, which is an independent African initiative, since now, is to be found in the launching of the Pan Africanist Congress, and in the adopting of "positive action", and other militant forms of struggle for the overthrow of white domination. This is why the PAC was only twelve months old when it was outlawed, while other organizations existed for ever up to half a century but never posed a threat to the racist regime which would compel it to outlaw them.

The PAC was then outlawed and decided to pursue the struggle underground and formed POQO, the underground army of the PAC to initiate armed struggle. Over ten thousand PAC comrades have been incarcerated for following this correct line and for waging struggle through various means of sabotage, of attacks on police, liquidation of informers, and down the years, the sacrifices of these courageous young men have inspired the youth of our country. In 1969, this attitude of African self-reliance for national independence and self-determination found its expression in the founding of the South African Students Association (SASO) which kicked out against the gradualistic policies of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) which was created and led by white liberals. As soon as it was formed, it founded the black students movement, which established as its modus operandi, a correct policy of decamping from the campuses and integrating with the broad masses of the African masses. By recognizing that the inferior education and the other oppressive conditions under which they suffered on the campuses were inherent in the colonial political system, and recognizing that there was no solution outside the struggle for national liberation, that only a truly free Azania could provide them with a truly free educational system, SASO then proceeded to become the fertile voice of black consciousness in Azania.

As soon as SASO was formed, a number of mass organizations including parent teacher associations, workers groups, cultural groups, etc., gathered around it and formed themselves into a Black Peoples' Convention, originally through a meeting called under the name in July 1972. The Black People's Convention was formally founded in November 1972. Later, when the historic strikes in Durban and surrounding areas took place, with scattered support from throughout the country, the need for an allied black workers' union was recognized and organized. On the cultural level, the people recognized that one of

the instruments that had been used down the decades indeed the centuries by the white settler colonialists had been to ridicule our cultural heritage and present it as primitive and barbaric and present bourgeois western values as the models to be followed by "civilized" people. Therefore, musicians, artists, dramatists, writers and journalists mobilized and formed the Theatre and Entertainment Cultural Organization of Natal (TECON). On a national basis, they organized themselves into a Black artists union. There have been the standard-bearers of the "black consciousness" movement which has done a tremendous amount of work at the overt level to stimulate black self-determination in Azania.

Throughout this development, the backbone of the resistance in Azania has always been the national liberation movement which is working clandestinely. It can be determined purely from the statistics of casualties suffered at the gallows in Pretoria, where over 100 PAC people have been hanged; or the number of political prisoners incarcerated on Robben Island, where over 15,000 PAC people have been dragged to terms of imprisonment ranging from five years to life. There is one comrade, Isaac Mtshunyane, who is doing a sentence of life plus nine years. Another great hero, a son of Africa in that prison, is Samuel Chibane, who was just nineteen years old when he was handed a sentence of life imprisonment. Another stalwart of the Azanian revolution is the Acting National Secretary of PAC, John Nyatya Pokela, who is serving a stretch of thirteen years for running a guerrilla school in Azania, for planning to derail the blue train which is the luxury white train in South Africa, and other attacks on other government installations. All of these people, much as they have been deliberately ignored by the Western media, and whose reputations and heroism have been suppressed by the sectarian sympathizers, are great folk heroes in Azania. They have been an inspiration to the young people.

PAC INSPIRATION AND LEADS THE YOUTH OF AZANIA

Comrade Sibeko outlined that the Azanian national uprising is throwing up new heroes of the liberation struggle. Foremost amongst the young heroes is Isizwe Mshinyane, an eighteen-year-old high school student who has organized and led all the important demonstrations and marches in and around Soweto since June 16. All attempts by the fascist police to knock him down have failed hopelessly. He is already a legend in Azania whose name is affectionately called him "Isizwe Mshinyane", in short "Punyika", which loosely translated means "Escape Artist". He recently gave an interview to a television crew from Bolair's "Thames" TV company, which was screened last Thursday. A reward of \$575, the highest ever offered has been put on his head. It is further confirmation that informers have been liquidated and the police spy network in Soweto disrupted, that twelve weeks later, Tsietzi, (which means danger), is still free in the underground.

People like Isaac Mtshunyane and Samuel Chibane were in high esteem when they were sentenced by the South African racist authorities for their involvement in PAC underground activities. Some of the leaders of SASO were with them at school at that time, so it can be seen

that there is an organic link between the upsurge that is sweeping through Azania today under a coalition of black self-reliant organizations and the sacrifices that have been borne by the PAC, its leadership and cadres.

Testifying to the correct analysis that the events of June 16 -- the killing of the young comrade Hector Peterson -- a thirteen year-old young Azanian, which detonated the volcanic black explosion which has been rocking South Africa for these past twelve weeks, might have been spontaneous, but the chemistry that fanned the explosion has not been the work of magic at all. It has been deliberately prepared, tenaciously gathered, stored, and collected with sacrifices such as I have already itemized. That is the genesis of the current upsurge.

On August 8, the U.S. paper, the New York Times came out with a very revealing report. This report stated that the young radicals, the young militants, who are spearheading the fight from the Soweto base, are young men who are dedicated to the overthrow of white domination rather than just anti-apartheid activists. In the place of racist South Africa, they want to establish a new state -- Azania. It is very significant that this newspaper revealed that the heroes of these young radicals are people like Mao Tse-tung and Malcolm X. It is self-explanatory as to who forms the backbone of this glorious uprising that is winning world-wide acclaim and support from all the forces that have always been for genuine independence and freedom for Azania.

THE RECENT UPSURGE DID NOT COME ABOUT BY MAGIC

Comrade Sibeko said that at present PAC regards the duty of genuine revolutionaries as not to hijack the current upsurge by laying all kinds of empty claims to leadership. The duty of genuine revolutionaries is when an excellent situation for struggle presents itself to integrate with such a movement and give it guidance and lend it meaningful support. The national liberation movement of Azania in its entirety has proclaimed itself publicly to be for armed struggle.

PAC has a duty to fulfill that obligation on the ground in Azania. For its part, the PAC is determined to fulfill its obligation, for it is a solemn pledge that it has made to the Azanian people; it is a solemn undertaking growing from the mandate given to the PAC by the Azanian people in projecting PAC as their vanguard in the struggle for national liberation, because all other actions must be complementary to one principal source, to one principal method of gaining national independence; and that is armed struggle.

The revolutionary movement is presented with an excellent situation for launching a continuous people's war through the science of guerrilla warfare. The consciousness of the masses is at a very high level. It is inviting genuine revolutionaries to integrate with the masses and to show the masses the way in which to develop a people's war which will prove itself invincible even in the face of the so-called "might" of the South African military forces. The task of mass action is in very competent hands at the moment. The liberation movement must not allow itself to be drawn by the glamour of its successes and cash in on what has been achieved through great sacrifice on the part of the masses of the people. There is nothing to be gained from distributing a leaflet here and there... but Azanians want leadership -- not papers. Leaflets are essential for mobilizing the masses but they cannot lead. That is what PAC is counselling to all revolutionaries who want to make revolution.

FRIENDS AND ENEMIES OF THE AZANIAN PEOPLE

Comrade Sibeko commented that in Canada, the Canadian working people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), have proved to be truly trusted friends of Azanian national liberation struggle.

They thus form an extremely reliable rear base for the Azanian revolution. But we cannot be complacent; the struggle is going to be protracted; the enemy we are facing is extremely formidable -- about that there should be no illusions. It is very important that maximum effort is exerted towards expanding the activities of our supporters in this country, to maximize the drive for the isolation of the racist South African regime, to maximize the drive for the raising of valuable material assistance, to ensure that this national uprising by the Azanian masses is not usurped by sectarian elements and professional sympathizers, whose only interest in the struggle is to divide the forces in the interest of manipulating events and eventually establishing control by proxy of the struggle and the country. All our supporters must be very vigilant against such activity. This is a national uprising in which all of our people are involved, in a very living way. It is not a time for splitting hairs -- it is a time for joining in a determined effort to remove apartheid, colonialism, root and branch, and end exploitation and secure a democratic and socialist Azania.

In discussing world public opinion Comrade Sibeko pointed out that the bourgeois press has been very active in trumpeting out of all proportion the recent incidents where certain migrant forces were blackmailed and bribed by the desperate South African authorities into engaging in some counter-revolutionary activities against the African community in Soweto. This is the "Zulu backlash" being referred to.

Like a sinking man, the South African regime has desperately needed some lifesaver to stop him from drowning in the overwhelming success of the national uprising. In desperate hope, they

felt they could destroy the forces of national liberation, destroy international public opinion, from the genuine character of the national uprising by promoting a mini-Vietnamization of the struggle in Azania. But because of the power of the people's resistance, this sordid scheme has been exposed as nothing more than a classical exercise in divide and rule and a motley crowd of migrant labourers who were caught in this vicious trap have since been severely reprimanded by the national liberation movement at home, and the PAC has solemnly told these elements to fall behind the popular forces in the struggle. Such has been the anger of the masses, and stern warning of the national liberation movement, that even thebantustan chief from KwaZulu has had to recant on his previous statements calling for the formation of vigilante groups by the migrant labour forces from his area who live in the army hostel of Mziblop where the principal culprits in this dastardly carnage came from. This chief has been forced to recant from that statement calling for the formation of vigilantes, and he has joined in denouncing the police for inciting his people into forming a counter-revolutionary bloc against the popular forces in Soweto.

Comrade Sibeko added that, at this stage now, even the bourgeois press in the West has stopped pretending that the militant black activists in the front lines of armed struggle are a bunch of mindless hoodlums and thugs, hell bent on just creating destruction and uncoordinated chaos. They have come to respect the fact that these are freedom fighters, executing the highest responsibility that any man or woman can ever perform; that is, to fight for national liberation, freedom and independence.

Lastly, attention must be drawn to a very grave development that is taking place. For the international community, there has been no more valuable outlet of the events in Soweto, in addition to the communiques that PAC has been issuing from its direct sources inside the country, than the African journalists coming from the black areas, like Soweto, Alexandra township and the other African areas around Pretoria all over the reef, around Port Elizabeth, Durban and Bloemfontein where there has been action against the South African racist authorities.

Nobody has been more valuable than the African reporters because these areas have been completely sealed off to the international press, which is unusual even for war situations of the proportions of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, not to speak of the second world war. There has been a complete blackout for the international mass media. But of course, because of their own vested interests in the status quo in Azania, this press has not been very vociferous in protesting against this blackout, and they have by and large lapped up greedily any of the official statements coming out of the South African information ser-

VICES. The black reporters have been systematically beaten, detained, including a reporter of the black journalists' union, Joe Thlooe. This is a very grave development, because it is the pictures taken by these young men, and the stories which they have brought out which have helped to at least keep the world informed of some even if not the whole range of activities, like for instance this "Zulu Backlash", which the reporters quickly exposed as the work of the racist police who had incited these people, and blackmailed them by saying that they would be deported to theirbantustans if they did not participate on the side of the police in this struggle.

THE FUTURE OF THE STRUGGLE IN AZANIA

Comrade Sibeko ended the interview by pointing out that, as for the future projection, there can be no doubting the fact that the struggle is going to be intensified in a very, very broad manner. Guerrilla war activity is going to be increased, particularly in the areas where the enemy is most vulnerable. Mass action is going to also play a leading part in the struggle. The very highly successful demonstrations staged by the Azanians in the streets of Capetown over the past three to four days, have been a clear pointer to the whites that the actions that they have been hearing of as taking place against government installations and police in Soweto, are not beyond being transferred into the citadels of apartheid fascism -- that is, commerce, commercial areas in the white areas, police and so on.

We have seen here now, how in a revolutionary situation, revolutionary forces are able to turn negative practices of the enemy into positive assets of the struggle. Blacks are locked out of South African cities, and so forth, and they moved in on Capetown to take action in commercial areas. Now, police have ordered the whites to stay home, close shops and everything. Commercial industry is coming to a standstill. So that when this action unfolds and greatly develops we don't even have to all strike anymore.

Just from the fact that we are going to be moving into cities, they are going to have to close down completely their shops and other industries. This is unique in the annals of African liberation struggles because it essentially has been said over and over again down the years, while even the cynics have tried to ridicule the fact that the potential for a national uprising for internal struggle exists in Azania. It has been repeatedly pointed out that in Azania the struggle is going to be waged from within. The struggle is relying to a very minimum on external support. It vindicates a long-standing thesis of PAC which has been most aptly articulated by Chairman Mao Tse-tung: "that the people and the people alone are the most decisive factor in the making of history."

South African weapons can delay our struggle, but they cannot contain our victory. End.

THOMAS KANZA, CONGOLESE TRAITOR, DENOUNCED AT U. OF MASS.

INTRODUCING THE COMMITTEE TO OPPOSE THOMAS KANZA

Statement of the Committee to Oppose Thomas Kanza October 17, 1976

Comrades and friends,
The Afro-Asian Latin American Discussion Group (Boston), the Boston Branch of the Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists (COUSML), Boston Student Movement, and the South Asian Progressive Study Group (Boston) announce the formation of the Committee to Oppose Thomas Kanza.

Every African Revolution has won the support of the masses. The imperialists have never been able to prevent this. Nor have they been able to suppress the revolutionary struggles through the mere use of armed aggression. Faced with the continued advance of the forces of revolution and the failure of their counter-revolutionary violence, the imperialists have time and again resorted to the despicable tactic of splitting the revolutionary struggles from within through the use of national traitors within the national liberation movement. Such a national traitor is Thomas Kanza, the criminal liquidator of the revolutionary struggle of the people of Congo-Kinshasa, now being housed by the CIA at the University of Massachusetts at Boston where he is carrying out attacks against the people, against Africa and against revolution. At this university, Thomas Kanza has repeatedly used the name and prestige of Lumumba, the national hero of the Congolese people, to disguise himself as a patriot. He has nothing in common with Lumumba; he shares the politics and interests of the murderers of Lumumba.

What is the nature of the crime of this man? In 1964, the Congolese people initiated their patriotic armed struggle against U.S. imperialism, Belgian neo-colonialism and domestic reaction. Within four months, over 3/4ths of the country was liberated. Panicking at the vigorous advance of the revolutionary war which endangered their interests, the imperialists sent their agents to sidetrack the march of the struggle towards final victory. In particular, the U.S.-Belgian imperialists conspired to set up a "revolutionary government" by buying-out certain national traitors within the national liberation movement. This government had as its foreign minister, Thomas Kanza. Thomas Kanza sneaked into the company of the liberation movement and proceeded to prepare conditions for the military attack of the U.S.-Belgian aggressors on the people of the Congo-Kinshasa. It was Thomas Kanza who arranged for the clearing of the airport at Stanleyville through criminal deception, clearing the ground for the landing of

the U.S.-Belgian aggressor troops who then carried out a most brutal massacre of the people of Stanleyville.

Thomas Kanza is no ordinary bourgeois academic. He is a criminal betrayer of the Congolese people, the Congolese revolution and the entire African revolution. He has on his hands the blood of the people of the Congo.

But the treachery of the national traitors cannot succeed in liquidating the people's revolution. The armed struggle continued on, and continues today, under the leadership of the Marxist Revolutionary Party of the Congo (Kinshasa). Under its leadership, the people's war of the Congolese people will certainly win victory and usher in an independent and democratic People's Congo.

The Committee to Oppose Thomas Kanza resolutely opposes the presence of Thomas Kanza in our midst. It resolutely supports the armed national liberation struggle of the people of Congo (Kinshasa) led by the MRPC.

The Committee to Oppose Thomas Kanza calls on all progressive and democratic people here in Boston -- on the American working class, on the Afro-American people, on other progressive people, on Africans, Asians and Latin Americans resident here -- to come forward and join the campaign to oppose Thomas Kanza now being organized under the slogans:

DOWN WITH THE NATIONAL TRAITOR,
THOMAS KANZA!
NO FORUMS FOR KANZA!
NO CLASSROOMS FOR KANZA!
NO RIGHTS FOR KANZA TO SPEAK!

LONG LIVE THE CONGOLESE REVOLUTION!
End.

BOSTON STUDENT MOVEMENT INITIATES MILITANT DENUNCIATION OF LACKEY OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

Thomas Kanza, national traitor and betrayer of the Congolese people and presently a "teacher" on subjects of revolution and Africa at U Mass/Boston was vigorously and militantly denounced yesterday by members of the Boston Student Movement and by supporters of the newly-formed Committee to Oppose Thomas Kanza.

Over one hundred people witnessed and participated in the beginning of a campaign to oppose Kanza. Kanza, who has treacherously represented himself as a "supporter" of the Congolese national hero Patrice Lumumba and a "progressive" African, has dishonestly gained some influence at UMass/Boston. Using his professor-

ship and his "authority" and hiding behind the lie that he supported Lumumba, Kanza got himself a forum on October 18 -- at the very beginning of a week dedicated to African revolution at UMass/Boston -- in which he intended to talk about "Evolution in Black Africa and Revolution in Southern Africa". But as a result of the revolutionary initiative of the Boston Student Movement he found himself, first, facing a militant denunciation for his crimes against the Congolese people, and, second, subjected to the questioning of a number of people not from BSM who have been oppressed by his "authority".

In fact, two forums took place; and neither was the forum which Thomas Kanza had hoped to use to spread his counter-revolutionary opposition to the armed struggle of the African masses. In a bold mass democracy carried on from beginning to end of Kanza's presence, the history of his betrayal was given and the essential demand repeatedly raised against this proven U.S. imperialist-Belgian neo-colonialist agent: NO FORUMS FOR KANZA, NO CLASSROOMS FOR KANZA, NO RIGHT TO SPEAK FOR KANZA. And in the second forum, he faced the angry questions of those students he has been most intent to deceive and to whom he has paraded his entire program of lies and counter-revolutionary propaganda.

Kanza sneaked from the scene of "his" forum to the safety of his 2 o'clock class. There further denunciation was taking place and students were avidly reading a leaflet on his crimes and discussing the issue with a supporter of BSM. In a frenzy, he exposed himself to the class, crying out to the comrade, "I know more about the CIA than you! I can find out in a week who is backing you!" Yes, Thomas Kanza, you know a lot about the CIA, even the color of their paychecks, and can find out many things. And who will you find backing this campaign? -- all the working and oppressed people of the world who are advancing everywhere against imperialism and its lackeys.

The African revolution is in the hearts of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist people of the U.S. The U.S. imperialists have all along attempted to control the Congo; they used the UN forces to perpetuate their crimes there; they murdered the Congolese patriot Lumumba and subverted the lawful Congolese government in order to impose their puppets there; they carried out direct armed intervention; and they continue to support the suppression of the people's heroic resistance, prop up their reactionary lackeys and attempt to annihilate the armed struggle. They dream of using the Congo to control the whole of Africa. The denunciation of Thomas Kanza -- who has served these crimi-

nal ends sought by U.S. imperialism -- put into practice the youth and students' deep sentiment for and commitment to the national liberation and genuine independence of the Congo.

LONG LIVE THE CONGOLESE REVOLUTION!
End.

(Reprinted from *Advance News*, newsletter of the Committee to Oppose Thomas Kanza, #1, October 19, 1976.)

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This pamphlet contains the proceedings of the mass rally held in Toronto on Saturday, March 13, 1976 to celebrate the 10th Anniversary of the founding of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and the 13th Anniversary of the founding of the Internationalists in Canada, as well as the press conference held by representatives of UNITA on Sunday, March 14, 1976, in Toronto.

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NEWARK STUDENTS RESIST ADMINISTRATION-POLICE ATTACK ON "DON'T VOTE" MEETING

On Thursday afternoon, Oct. 28, the Essex Community College administration called in the Newark city police as well as campus police to launch a terrorist attack on a "Don't Vote!" meeting organized by the Newark Student Movement (NSM). About 14 police thugs broke into the room where the meeting was being held and violently attacked the NSM comrade and three other students. The NSM comrade and three other students staunchly defended themselves. The four students were charged with five counts each of "assault and battery" and one count each of "creating a disturbance", with yet an additional charge for the NSM comrade: a total of 25 charges. The students were arraigned in Newark Municipal Court the next day, with bail being set at \$20,000 bond each. Plainly the fascist authorities considered the anti-fascist struggle of the ECC students as a great threat to the interests of the monopoly capitalist ruling class. This terrorist attack sharply exposes the sham "election democracy" and reveals the growing fascism behind the fraud of "American democracy".

This administration-ordered police raid was not an isolated incident but only the latest tactic of the administration's continuing efforts to crush the communist organization on campus, the NSM, and squelch every other revolutionary organization and their supporters. It is well known, for instance, that the administration has long sought to get rid of the Afro-Asian-Latin American People's Solidarity Forum (Newark). Over the past summer, the attacks on the Solidarity Forum were intensified to the point where a member of the Solidarity Forum was fired from his job at ECC on the grounds that he had a portrait of Chairman Mao Tsetung in his office. Security guards followed members of the Solidarity Forum around campus

while trying to stop them from selling the Forum's newspaper, *The Patriot*. As for the Newark Student Movement, no sooner had it set foot on campus in September than the campus police were sent by the administration to try to prevent it from distributing *The Workers' Advocate*. Previously, in spring '74, the administration had tried to ban NSM comrades from campus after NSM had led a mass struggle against budget cutbacks.

When the NSM took the national campaign of the COUSML against the capitalist presidential elections onto ECC and gained widespread support among the students for the campaign, the ECC administration made plans to "get the NSM". The administration concentrated its attacks on the day that the NSM held a public meeting on campus under the slogans "DON'T VOTE -- THEY'RE ALL THE SAME!" and "TO HELL WITH THE CAPITALIST POLITICAL PARTIES!". First the ECC administration itself tried three times to remove a banner proclaiming the slogans from the second floor main lounge area. The administrators participating in these attempts included J. Harry Smith, the college president, and Willie Moore, the Director of Student Activities. A few minutes later, an administration official ripped down a poster announcing the meeting that was taped to the door of the meeting room. A comrade from the NSM recovered this poster as the official was cowardly running away down the hall.

The administration then decided to suppress the meeting by police terror. Police were sent to the meeting. Four campus police attempted to arrest the NSM comrade. The students strongly opposed this attack and explained to the people gathering outside the meeting room, as well as those inside, the fascist nature of the campus police. The police prevented the students outside

from entering the meeting, and forced two students to leave with a barrage of threats. At the same time they prevented a student from leaving, thus showing that the administration had marked certain students for attack in advance. When the campus police were reinforced by Newark police, the combined police force, 14 in all, attacked the NSM comrade and three other progressive students. The students vigorously defended themselves. Finally, after about 20 minutes, the 14 police succeeded in handcuffing the four students. While being pushed into the police cars, the four militant students denounced the attack to the people who had gathered around.

In sum, the ECC administration has consciously sought for a long time to drive off campus the communists of the NSM as well as every other revolutionary and anti-fascist organization. This police raid was only the latest phase of this effort.

The reason the administration attacks the anti-fascist and communist students is that the administration is fascist and anti-communist; it represents the interests of the monopoly capitalist class that rules the U.S. The monopoly capitalist class was just in the midst of holding their fraudulent elections that are designed to promote their all-round fascist offensive against the working class and people. The capitalist political parties advocate more exploitation of the working class and people, growing fascism, wars of aggression, and preparation for a new world war with Soviet social-imperialism for world domination. When the NSM called a meeting to denounce the capitalist political parties and the election fraud, the ECC administration attacked it in order to serve its own capitalist masters. From start to finish, the administration's attack on the NSM was a political attack. The administration represents

the monopoly capitalist dictators while the NSM represents the working class and people. While the administration said that students should vote and thereby support the anti-working class, anti-people capitalist parties, the NSM said that students should consciously oppose the capitalist parties and their elections, denounce their fascist programs and not vote. This is why the administration launched its violent attack.

ECC students are all too familiar with the anti-people nature of the ECC administration. The same administration has launched an all-out campaign to make the students bear the burden of the capitalists' economic crisis through cutbacks, tuition and fee-increases. In fact the administration cancelled classes on Election Day to encourage students to vote and select which monopoly capitalist dictator will oppress them for the next four years. In this way the administration encourages students to participate in the capitalists' attacks on the working class and people.

But the attacks of the ECC administration will never succeed in stopping the anti-fascist resistance of the students. Immediately after the terrorist attack by the administration and police on the "Don't Vote!" meeting, the NSM distributed to the students right at ECC a leaflet entitled "Hail the anti-fascist students' defense against administration-police attacks!" The few students arrested have remained staunch and in high spirits both in and out of jail. The repeated resistance struggles waged by the NSM are tempering this contingent of students into staunch fighters for the coming anti-fascist proletarian socialist revolution. End

OPPOSE ECONOMIC ATTACKS ON STUDENTS

(Reprinted from *Temple Student*, organ of the Temple Student Movement under the leadership of the COUSML, Vol. 5, #1, Sept. 7, 1976.)

The economic attacks on the Temple students by the reactionary T. U. administration, and by the bourgeois government of which the administration is a part, have been increasing in their frequency and intensity over the past year. Since January, Temple students have been the target of economic attacks in the form of:

(1) INCREASING TUITION AND FEES:

Basic undergraduate and graduate tuition was increased by \$100 in June. This is the third consecutive increase since 1973. Since '73 tuition has increased from \$970 per year to \$1,300 for undergraduate full-time students, a jump of 35%. Basic graduate school tuition has been raised to \$1,400 this year. Tuition by credit hour for part-time students has also been increased thereby ensuring maximum profit for the administration on the ever-increasing number of part-time students enrolled at Temple. Tuition has also been raised for professional school students in medicine, dentistry, pharmacy and law.

Residence fees for around 1,500 undergraduate students in Hardwick, Johnson, and Peabody Halls have been raised to \$1,750 this year, up from \$1,600 last year and \$1,500 in '74-75. Numerous other secondary fees such as labs, equipment, books and parking have also been increased in the past year.

(2) THE GROWING INDEBTEDNESS AND OVERALL IMPOVERISHMENT OF THE STUDENT MASSES:

As a result of the tuition increases, students are forced to borrow large sums of money from the banks at high rates of interest. At T. U. both the number of students forced to take out a loan and the average size of the loan have gone up in the last two years. The government of Pennsylvania has also increased the ceiling on the maximum amount of money a student may borrow, while at the same time not increasing the amount of funding it extends to students as "grants" or scholarships.

Recently, the Pennsylvania government, acting as the armed hangmen of the big banks, has stepped up its fascist attacks on a number of students and their families by hauling them before the courts for so-called "education fraud" in their application for a student loan or "grant". This "education fraud" is defined as placing any "mis-information" in the application form for student financial aid. The maximum penalty for this so-called fraud is 10 years in prison.

(3) INTENSIFIED EXPLOITATION OF STUDENTS AS A RESERVE ARMY OF CHEAP LABOR:

As an additional consequence of the tuition increases, students are forced to spend more and more time working to ensure their own survival and payment of educational fees, and less and less time dealing with academic affairs. The reactionary T. U. administration and the government are making use of this fact to exploit the student masses as direct wage

slaves laboring at starvation wages while at the same time viciously attacking the full-time T. U. support staff with layoffs, departmental cut-backs, and rationalization. At T. U. there are over 1,900 students working under the federal work-study program with the vast majority earning wages of \$2.25-2.30 per hour. In addition there are large numbers of students working as T. U. part-time employees at similar wages. Some of these "part-timers" work more than 40 hours a week and are involved in work for the university covered under union contracts. They are not paid union wages and are threatened with firing if they expose this to the full-time workers.

The attacks on the students illustrate very clearly that the U.S. educational system, once praised to the skies by the scribblers of the imperialist status quo as a field of "pure democracy" allegedly "neutral and above class struggle" with "equal opportunity for all" is floundering in the throes of a profound crisis. This crisis in education is an aspect of the overall economic and financial crisis now gripping the capitalist system worldwide.

This all-around crisis of the capitalist system in general, and U.S. monopoly capitalism in particular, is the most profound and intense crisis since the depression of the 1930's with deepening recession and industrial stagnation, skyrocketing inflation, and widespread unemployment. This crisis reveals in all its stark ugliness that the monopoly capitalist system is showing all the symptoms of a chronic, incurable and certainly fatal disease.

In the drunken hope of pulling itself out of this crisis, the school administrations and the government, acting for their masters the monopoly capitalists, shift the burden of the consequences of the crisis onto the backs of the students. Thus we face the tuition increases and increased oppression and exploitation all along the line, while the bourgeoisie implements its fascist slogan, Make the People Pay for the Crisis.

Temple students have never taken these attacks of the monopoly capitalists and their government lying down. As sure as the sun rises in the morning, the fighting Temple students will take the path of vigorous opposition to the economic attacks and make their oppressors pay for the crisis their system has brought about. T. U. students will surely unite in their tens of thousands, defend their basic interests which are identical to the interests of the working class and people and totally opposed to the interests of the monopoly capitalists, prepare to go on the offensive and deal serious blows to the bourgeois state and its fascist academic officials. Temple Student Movement count on its fellow students to embark on this revolutionary line of march, reject all appeals for justice based on the "good will" of the T. U. administration, and firmly grasp class struggle as the key link in developing their resistance movement against the economic attacks.

OPPOSE THE ECONOMIC ATTACKS ON TEMPLE STUDENTS! End.

AFRO-AMERICAN STUDENTS STRUGGLE AGAINST RACIST ADMINISTRATION

(Reprinted from *Temple Student*, organ of the Temple Student Movement under the leadership of the COUSML, Vol. 5, #1, Sept. 7, 1976.)

Since last Spring semester, there has been growing sentiment among Black students and their supporters to denounce the Temple administration for its racist educational policy and for racist attacks on Black students, faculty, and staff. Late in the semester, a mass meeting of over 300 Black students and progressive people took place at which the reactionary administration was exposed for its (1) cut-backs in the teaching of Afro-American history, (2) blocking the recruitment of Black students, faculty and staff, and (3) fascist attacks on the union of campus physical plant workers and the firing of the union president, an Afro-American worker.

Despite the fact that final exams were taking place at this time, the presence of over 300 students at this meeting shows the deep desire of Black students and progressive white students to oppose the racist T. U. administration. Shamelessly exposing its rotten racist nature, the T. U. administration of Pres. Wachman did not hesitate to attempt to suppress this motion among the Black students by slandering and viciously attacking Professor of Afro-American History, Dr. Reddick, the featured speaker at this mass meeting. The administrative spokesman denounced Dr. Reddick for his "disloyalty" in "going outside the established channels of dissent", and made the slimy accusation that Dr. Reddick only dared to bring his views before the student masses because he is "over 65 and near retirement".

What snivelling cowards are these racist "gentlemen of letters" residing in Conwell Hall! Instead of coming out openly and denouncing the masses of students for daring to involve themselves in anti-racist struggle, they turn their

guns on Dr. Reddick who has openly stated he is not in fundamental opposition to the university administration and only wishes the administration be more responsive to the demands of Black people in the university. This reveals clearly the utter fright of the monopoly capitalist administration at the mere mention of "student unrest", despite all its demagogic boasting about the "people's university".

In 1968, Chairman Mao Tsetung pointed out in his historic statement in support of the Afro-American people's struggle against violent repression, "Martin Luther King was an exponent of non-violence. Nevertheless, the U.S. imperialists did not on that account show any tolerance toward him, but used counter-revolutionary violence and killed him in cold blood. This has taught the broad masses of the black people in the United States a profound lesson." Likewise, the cowardly attack on Dr. Reddick by spokesmen of the T. U. administration contains an equally profound lesson for the Black and white students here at Temple.

This lesson is (1) the bourgeois administration is fundamentally reactionary and will stop at nothing to attack the student masses, (2) it is a paper tiger which reveals its inner weakness by flying into a frenzy at even the most elementary demands by the Black students.

The Black students and their supporters should and will continue to follow the path of anti-racist struggle and develop their new mass movement against the reactionary and racist administration in the coming months.

SUPPORT THE BLACK STUDENTS' NEW ANTI-RACIST MASS MOVEMENT!
DENOUNCE THE RACIST SLANDER AND ATTACKS ON BLACK STUDENTS AND PROFESSOR REDDICK!

End.

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