

Albania today

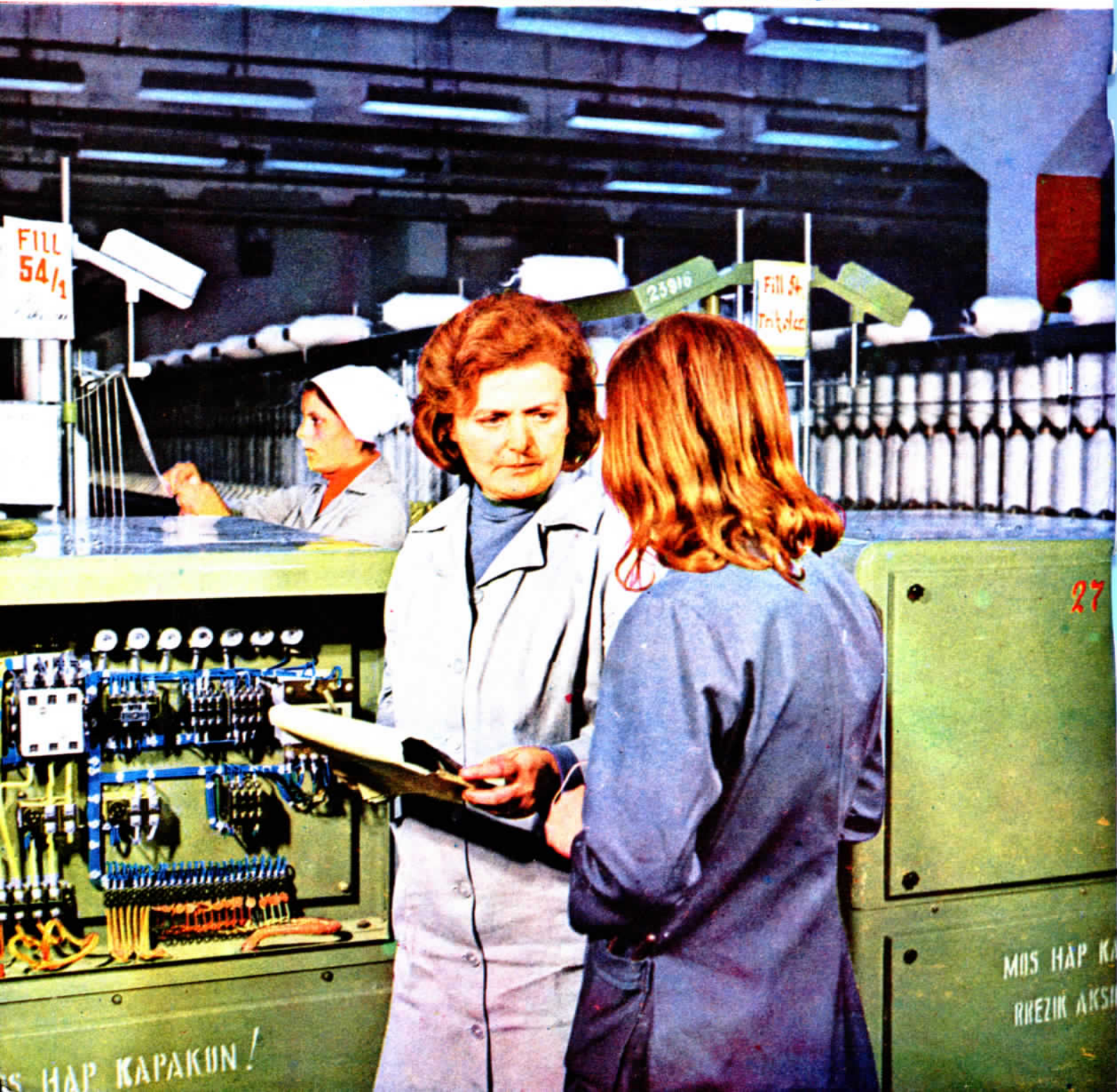
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**«The People's Socialist
Republic of Albania is
a state of the dictatorship
of the proletariat,
which expresses and
defends the interests of
all the working people».**

*(Excerpt from art. 2
of the Draft-Constitution of the PSRA)*

*The role of the woman in Socialist Albania is ever more rising.
She works now in every sector of life and enjoys the love and respect of everybody.
In textile industry the women comprise the overwhelming majority of the workers and managers.*



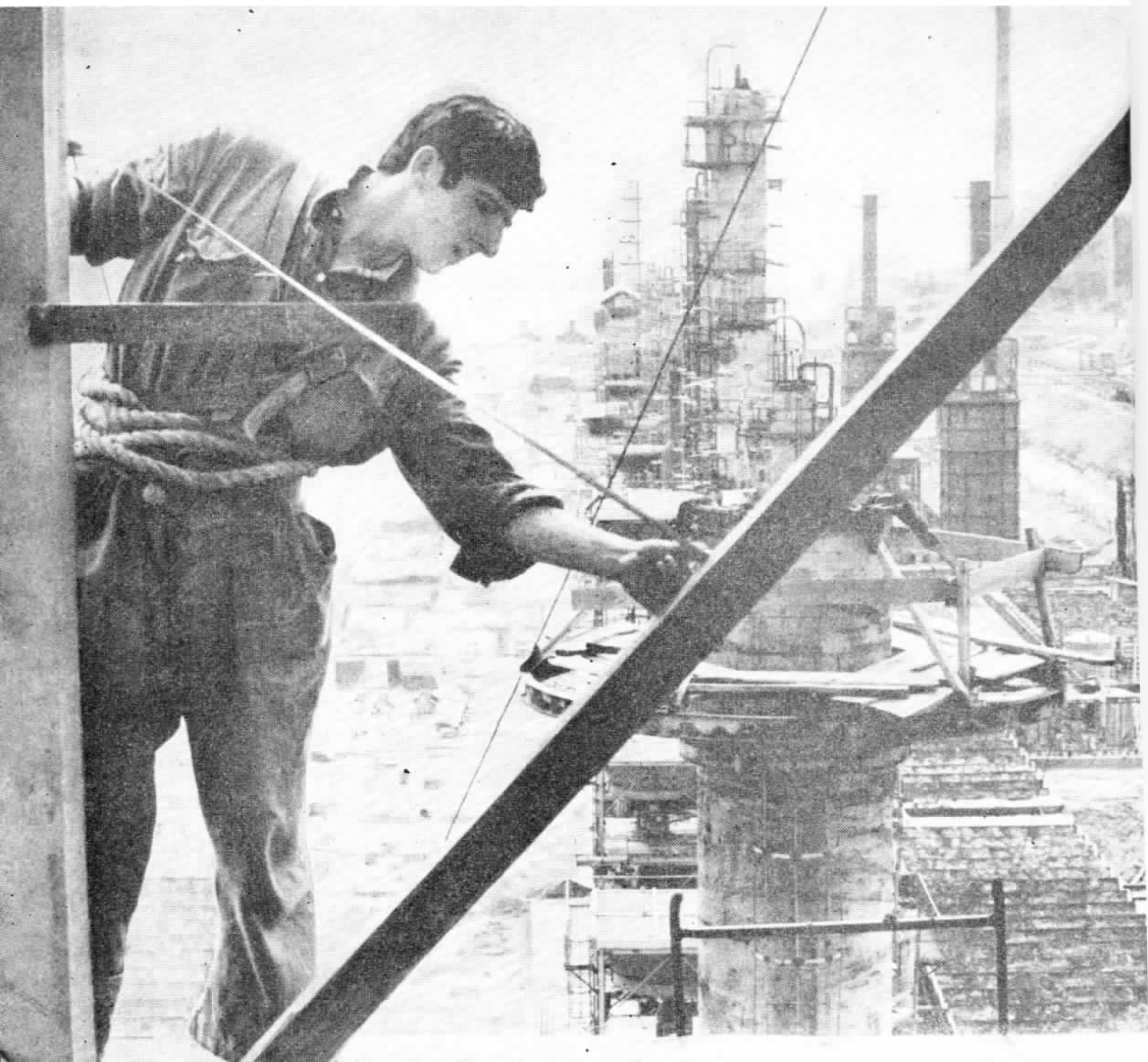
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CLEAR REFLECTION OF THE AND STABILITY OF THE ECON



SELF-ACTING CAPACITY OF THE ECONOMY IN THE PR OF ALBANIA

by **PETRO DODE**



The stability created by the economy of the PR of Albania clearly shows the great superiority of the socialist system, which stems from the total mobilisation, the work, and the great and heroic struggle carried out by the working class and the broad working masses, under the leadership of the Party, to surmount the difficulties of growth, and the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade

The year 1975 and the entire period of the past five-year plan was characterised by the further revolutionisation of the whole life of the country, by the struggle and unceasing efforts of the working class and the other working masses to fulfill the tasks laid down by the 6th Congress of the Party, by the struggle and efforts to implement the very important decisions of the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th Plenums of the Central Committee of the PLA and the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha, which consolidated and carried forward the revolution and our socialist construction in all fields, in resolute and fierce struggle against US-led imperialism and Soviet-led modern revisionism.

PETRO DODE - Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Chairman of the State Planning Commission. Parts from the report delivered on behalf of the Council of Ministers at the 4th Session of the 8th Legislature of the People's Assembly

The results achieved in the allround and deep-going class struggle against bureaucracy, liberalism, and other alien bourgeois-revisionist influences in the ideological, political, economic, cultural, and military fields, are very great victories of the working class and all the working masses, which made possible the further strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and our socialist socio-economic order.

This great, broad, and deep-going struggle further strengthened the alliance of the working class and cooperativist peasantry, and, on this basis, the unity of our people around the Party with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head was further steeled, making our country still more powerful to defeat any attempts of the internal and external enemies.

The victories achieved in the economic development and the strengthening of our socialist socio-economic order and the unshakeable determination of our Party and our people always to advance on the road of the revolution for the complete construction of the socialist society have found their reflection and sanctioning in the new draft Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, which constitutes a document of very great historic value for the present and the future of our people, under the leadership of the Party.

The broad popular discussion, which is taking place everywhere in all parts of our homeland about the draft of the new Constitution, the great concern of the entire people about the problems it deals with testify not only to the thoroughly democratic character of our social and state life and to the great political maturity of our people, but also to the profoundly revolutionary and socialist content of this important document which, while being a synthesis of the Marxist-Leninist line of our Party, at the same time, opens up the prospect of the further development of our country and inspires the working people in the struggle for the construction of socialism and communism.

With the year 1975 an important period on the road of the socialist construction of the country, the period of the 5th five-year plan came to an end. Under this five-year plan the productive forces and the people's economy as a whole were raised to a new and higher level on the basis of the implementation of the principle of self-reliance, the self-acting capacity of the people's economy increased, and the defence might of our homeland was further strengthened in struggle against the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade; the general wellbeing of the people marked forward strides, and the socialist relations of production were further perfected in a revolutionary way.

During the year 1975, the working masses, under the leadership of the Party and drawing inspiration from its directives and the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha, have worked and struggled with a revolutionary impetus to put into practice the plans for the economic and social development of the country. The working class, the cooperativist peasantry, and the people's intelligentsia took revolutionary initiatives to utilise the internal resources and reserves better for the increase of production and the implementation of the strict regime of thrift, and raised the creative spirit, revolutionary optimism and the spirit

of action to a higher level, marking new achievement in all fields of the socialist construction.

In industry, in general, the tasks laid down for the year 1975, were fulfilled in accordance with the approved plan. In many branches of industry and for many important products the plan was fulfilled or overfulfilled. The targets of the plan, according to branches, were attained as follows: in the coal industry 100 per cent, in that of iron-nickel 104 per cent, copper 102 per cent, mechanical engineering industry 103 per cent, building materials 104 per cent, light industry 103 per cent, the food processing industry 101 per cent, etc. Total industrial production was fulfilled 101 per cent, achieving an increase of 4 per cent over 1974.

Increases in production in 1975 as against 1974 were: chromium ore 9 per cent, coal 5 per cent, blister copper 5 per cent, machinery and equipment 8 per cent, spare parts 17 per cent, cement 5 per cent, timber 4 per cent, sugar 22 per cent, etc.

In agriculture in the year 1975, as a result of a more profound grasping of the tasks laid down by the recent Plenums of the Central Committee of the Party and the programmatic speeches of comrade Enver Hoxha, and of a greater mobilisation of the agricultural workers, better results were achieved than in any other year of the past five-year plan. Thus in 1975 bread grain increased about 6 per cent as compared with 1974, while the targets for wheat were exceeded by 7 per cent. According to preliminary figures increases in production in 1975 as against 1974, were cotton about 15 per cent, sugar-beet about 18 per cent, sunflower about 36 per cent, tobacco 7 per cent, potatoes about 47 per cent, beans about 88 per cent, vegetables about 9 per cent etc.

The increased care and more organised struggle to look after olive trees and avoid fluctuations in production of olives, as well as the great work done by the youth in this important crop were the main factors, in nearly doubling production of olives, according to anticipated figures, in comparison with the year 1974.

Increases were achieved also in livestock products. In comparison with the year 1974, in 1975 5 per cent more meat and milk and 8 per cent more eggs were produced.

The increase of agricultural and livestock products was secured mainly through the increase of yield rates.

In motor transport of goods the targets of the 1975 plan were fulfilled 100 per cent.

The total volume of construction and installation envisaged in the plan was fulfilled 98 per cent, with an increase of 7 per cent as compared with 1974, whereas the enterprises of the system of the Ministry of Construction it was fulfilled 95 per cent. Although the plan was not fulfilled 100 per cent, the 1975 targets for the construction of some principal projects of the five-year plan are fulfilled and overfulfilled. Thanks to the work and mobilisation of the construction workers many of these projects have entered the final stage and during the year 1976 it is envisaged that they will be put into operation.

Good results have been achieved also in the other branches and sectors of the economy. The plan for turnover of retail

goods was fulfilled 100 per cent, with an increase of 3 per cent over the year 1974.

During the year 1975, education, culture and health were further developed in compliance with the needs of the economy and with the tasks laid down by the Party for the general raising of the educational and cultural level of the people and for the protection and strengthening of their health.

As a result of the fulfilment in general of the targets for the development of the people's economy and culture, the targets of the State budget, too, for the year 1975 are fulfilled 99 per cent in income, while expenditure is fulfilled 96 per cent, with a surplus of 437 million leks income over expenditure.

Despite the above results of the year 1975 in the economic and social development of the country, in some branches, sectors, and enterprises, there have been shortcomings and weaknesses in the organisation and direction of work and production, bureaucratic and liberal manifestations and attitudes in the work of some State and economic organs, which have been obstacles to achieving still better results.

The 1976 plan, which is presented to the People's Assembly for approval, has been drawn up on the basis of the realisation of the tasks of the plan in 1975 and the guide-lines, directives and tasks set by the Party for the year 1976. In this plan the economic problems connected with the situation and the internal and external conditions in which we are building socialism are concretised.

During the drawing up of the 1976 plan, under the direction of the Party organisations, better and more organised work was done for the implementation of the line of the masses and to reflect the creative thinking of the working people, concentrating attention particularly on the following main directions:

On setting the tasks for the development of the people's economy in general and for its individual branches and sectors, implementing the principle of self-reliance better than up till now.

On setting more correct proportions for the development of the economy, giving priority to the sphere of material production in the development of productive forces, and primarily, of the heavy extracting and processing industries and agriculture, the improvement of the export-import balance and the foreign exchange balance, a fairer distribution of the resources of manpower and the improvement of relations in this field, etc.

On envisaging concrete measures for the further strengthening of the savings regime in all the branches of the economy and in other social activities.

On defining measures aimed at the further revolutionary perfecting of the entire system of relations of production and in particular to support, better than up to the present, the economic, social and cultural development of the countryside, in general, and of the hilly and mountainous areas, in particular; to establish fairer ratios in the rewards for labour among various categories of working people; to perfect the planned direction of the economy, especially in the field of competences, control, and distribution.

On the further overall strengthening of the defence capacity of the country.

Working with a higher feeling of responsibility in drawing up the most realistic, mobilising, and revolutionary plans, the base presented draft-plans, which, in general, correctly upheld the quotas approved by the Council of Ministers for construction and imports, efforts were made for more realistic demands for manpower, and better work was done to concretise the guidelines laid down by the Party.

Total industrial production in 1976, as compared with the year 1975, is envisaged to increase 4.5 per cent. In 1976 important increases will be marked by the branches of production of means of production (group A), the production of which, in comparison with the year 1975, will grow 6 per cent.

For some of the most important products the following increases have been envisaged in comparison with the year 1975: chromium ore 5 per cent, coal 9 per cent, iron ore 16 per cent, chemical fertilisers 9 per cent, electric power 21 per cent, spare parts 10 per cent, sugar 5 per cent, cheese 3 per cent, etc.

Very important tasks are envisaged for the development of agriculture. Total agricultural production, as against 1975, is expected to increase 15 per cent. Production of bread grain in 1976 is expected to increase 29 per cent above that of 1975, potatoes 23 per cent, sugarbeet 10 per cent, sunflower 7 per cent, cotton 14 per cent, etc. Likewise, in the production of meat and milk increases of 8 per cent as against 1975 are envisaged. The fulfilment of the plan of agriculture, especially of bread grain, constitutes one of the fundamental tasks for the Ministry of Agriculture, for the executive committees of the district people's councils, and for all the agricultural workers.

In 1976, as compared with 1975, the volume of construction-installation work will increase about 6 per cent. It is expected that the first stage of the metallurgical complex, the intensive oil processing plant, the urea plant, the soda and PVC plant, the plastics moulding plant, the coal enriching factory in Valias, etc., will be completed and handed over for operation. At the same time important tasks have been planned for the completion of such land improvement projects as: the reclaiming of the Hoxhara plain, Bisticë-Vagalat, and the acceleration of the rate of reclamation at Velipoja, Karavasta, the plain of Rajcë, etc. For the year 1976 targets have been envisaged for a fairer distribution of the fund of construction of dwelling houses in cities, in mining centres in the remote areas of the country, and in agricultural enterprises and cooperatives.

Increased targets are envisaged for 1976 also with regard to transport, trade, education and culture, health, etc.

The retail goods turnover in 1976 is envisaged to increase 4 per cent over 1975.

The number of pupils and students in 1976 is expected to reach 720,000, or 2 per cent more than in 1975. Likewise, the number of children in kindergartens will increase considerably. The Ministry of Education and its dependent organs will take the necessary measures for the fulfilment of the tasks laid down by the Party in the field of education and culture,

particularly for maintaining the contingents of pupils and working people enrolled in schools, the improvement of the quality of the educative-teaching work, as well as to raise the pass rates and progress of pupils in their studies.

The targets of the plan in the field of the protection of the health of the people require that the working people of this sector raise the level of all the health services, strengthen and extend preventive measures in general, increase and improve the service, directing their efforts better to strengthening the health service in the countryside.

For the year 1976 important tasks are envisaged also for the increase of labour productivity. It is envisaged that about 30 per cent of the increase of industrial production in 1976 will be ensured from this factor. In construction-installation work, labour productivity will increase 8 per cent as against the year 1975. Continuing the struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism and strengthening the socialist organisation of work, the 1976 plan envisages the improvement of ratios between workers and officials, between main force workers and auxiliary workers, as well as between the working people of the productive sphere and those of the nonproductive sphere.

The 1976 State budget has been drawn up in conformity with the tasks of the plan for economic and social development. The budget is envisaged to increase 2,4 per cent in income over 1975, while expenditure will be 6 per cent greater. Expenditure for the sector of the people's economy represents 63,3 per cent of the total expenditure of the State budget, for social and cultural measures 22,3 per cent, for the administrative apparatus 1,2 per cent, and for the defence of the country 10,9 per cent.

According to the instructions of the Central Committee of the P.L.A., the Council of Ministers is studying and dealing with a series of important measures for the further improvement of relations in the field of distribution according to work done for the improvement of the ratios in the incomes of the working people, and for the further narrowing of differences between the countryside and the city. The general aim of these measures will be the further improvement of the living standards of the working people.

In broad outline such are the main targets of the State plan and budget for the year 1976.

For fulfilment of the tasks of the 1976 plan, the Council of Ministers will see that the State and economic organs direct more attention to thoroughly understanding their ideological and political content, to dealing with and analysing them in detail, keeping firmly in mind the internal and external conditions in which the work to fulfill the set tasks will be done, so that they struggle to develop initiative and to create the conviction and revolutionary optimism among the masses that it is possible and essential to fulfil the 1976 plan in every item and part of it. In particular, for the fulfilment of the tasks for 1976, the State and economic organs and all the working collectives of town and countryside must take even more thorough measures for a better understanding and implementation of the principle of self-reliance.

This very important principle has been and still is fundamental to all the activity of the Party, of our socialist State and the broad working masses, at every stage of the socialist construc-

tion of the country. It has demonstrated its vitality and continues to do so day by day. For our country, as comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, the implementation of the principle of self-reliance assumes a special importance today, for we are building socialism in the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade, in the conditions of the deepening of contradictions and aggravation of the crises of the imperialist and revisionist world. This situation faces every worker, every collective, every economic and State organ, with the necessity of understanding correctly the difficulties which are created for our socialist State and economy, of thoroughly understanding the duty that we must work, fight, and live as in encirclement and blockade.

The ceaseless economic and social development of our country which is taking place in the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and economic blockade, fully confirms the correctness of the economic policy implemented by our Party. Thanks to the care and farsightedness of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, our country is advancing with firm strides towards the complete construction of socialist society, the material and cultural standards of our people are steadily rising, and the defence capacity of the homeland is becoming stronger.

Implementing a correct economic policy, utilising and combining all the internal objective and subjective factors, step by step and at rapid rates, the Party is developing and strengthening all the various branches and sectors of the economy and culture. On these sound foundations the self-acting capacity, independence and stability of our people's economy have increased.

During the 5th five-year plan further strides were made in strengthening and increasing the stability of our people's economy, at a time when in the capitalist and revisionist countries, as a result of economic and financial crises, their economy has landed in a process of general decline in which production is diminishing, unemployment, inflation and prices are rising, and the material and cultural level and the purchasing power of the working masses is constantly deteriorating.

The stability which our economy has created clearly shows the great superiority of our socialist system of economy which stems from the total mobilisation, the work and the great and heroic struggle carried out by the working class and the other working masses, under the leadership of the Party, to surmount the difficulties of growth, of the encirclement and blockade, tapping all the potential resources and reserves and in the allround struggle being waged for the constant strengthening of the regime of thrift.

But, taking into account the conditions in which our people's economy is developing, and with a view to duly fulfilling the tasks laid down by our Party to preserve the economic stability and the wellbeing of the people and to increase them further in the future, the State and economic organs and the working masses must increase their efforts to fulfill the plan in all its indices even further, must work and manage things better for the rational and most efficient solution of every economic problem, must deeply implant in the consciousness of everyone the spirit of the savings regime, of working to calculations and economising in every expenditure made, etc.

In the 1976 plan, the tasks set for the strengthening of the savings regime are extended to all the branches of material production and the social and cultural sectors. The Council of Ministers has once again drawn the attention of the State and economic organs to the fact that they must further intensify the struggle to set and carry out strict targets for savings. Not only must we avoid exceeding the planned quantities in supplies of materials and financial funds, but we must reduce them, while further increasing the material reserves, particularly in imported materials and those in short supply.

The struggle against bureaucracy, and in particular the measures which were taken in the past year to simplify the administrative apparatus at all levels, brought about a further improvement of the indices of work and of labour productivity, and the raising of the socialist organisation of work to a higher level.

But, irrespective of the results achieved, in the direction of the socialist organisation of work and the targets which are laid down for the increase of labour productivity, a series of important tasks are facing the State and economic organs in the centre and at the base for a fairer distribution of the resources of manpower according to the needs of the branches of the economy, to do more organised and thorough-going work in direction of the utilisation of working time, raising the level of work with norms, etc. In these directions the reserves are still great.

The working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the other working people of the country have begun the great battle to fulfill the tasks of the plan for 1976, which is the first year of the 6th five-year plan, in a more organised and better prepared way.

The preliminary results of the month of January indicate a further increase in their mobilisation to fulfill the set tasks. The publication of the draft Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the discussion of it among the people have increased the revolutionary optimism of the working masses, have increased their impetus at work and their general mobilisation for the successful fulfilment of the tasks of the development of the people's economy, as a very important factor for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the further, allround increase of the defence capacity of our socialist homeland.

The Council of Ministers is fully convinced that, under the leadership of the Party, the broad working masses and the State and economic organs, in the centre and at the base, will intensify their efforts and struggle, will work tirelessly to put into practice the directives of the Party and, in honour of the jubilee of the 35th anniversary of the founding of our glorious Party, will raise socialist emulation to new heights in order to come to this great holiday of our Party and people with their tasks accomplished in all the branches and sectors of our people's economy and culture. They will strengthen their readiness and revolutionary vigilance even more, so that we always advance on the road on which our Party of Labour and its Central Committee with our beloved leader comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, lead us with Marxist-Leninist wisdom and unflinching determination.



The assembly workers are doing a good job in the construction of the new works of the five-year plan. They work with self-denial and courage on all fronts.

A DOCUMENT OF EXTENSION FOR THE PRESENT OF SOCIALISM

During the first half of February a scientific conference on the problems of the Constitution of the PR of Albania was held in Tirana. This conference, which was organised by the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies under the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Academy of Sciences of the PR of Albania, and the University of Tirana, examined the ideas and fundamental principles of the new draft constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. As already reported, the new draft constitution of the PSR of Albania was prepared by a special commission of the People's Assembly headed by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha.

Five papers and about 40 communications of a good scientific and ideological level were presented at the conference by workers from various sectors.

Finally, the member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, comrade Ramiz Alia, drew the conclusions from the proceedings.

In the present issue we are publishing parts from the opening speech of comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, the concluding speech of comrade Ramiz Alia and from the 5 papers.

A reflection of the revolutionary political line of the PLA

by **NEXHMIJE HOXHA**

THE DRAFTING OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF SOCIALIST ALBANIA IS AN EVENT OF HISTORIC IMPORTANCE, BECAUSE IT SERVES THE FURTHER STRENGTHENING AND PERFECTING OF THE STATE OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IN OUR COUNTRY AT THE STAGE OF THE COMPLETE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM. IT IS, AT THE SAME TIME, OF MAJOR THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL VALUE BECAUSE IT SANCTIONS THE GREAT PRINCIPLES OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM WHICH THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA HAS FAITHFULLY IMPLEMENTED, DEFENDING THEM FROM ALL THE DISTORTIONS MADE OF THEM BY THE MODERN REVISIONISTS AND HAS CREATIVELY DEVELOPED THEM, SUMMING UP OUR REVOLUTIONARY EXPERIENCE IN GENERAL AND THAT OF SOCIALISM IN OUR DAYS.

This Marxist-Leninist document, of exceptional value for the present and future of the cause of socialism in our country, clearly shows the working class and the

NEXHMIJE HOXHA - member of the CC of the PLA, directress of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies under the CC of the PLA. From the opening speech.

other working masses which it leads that the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is theirs; that socialism is being built for them, that the prosperous present-day Albania, which will be still more prosperous in the future, belongs to them, therefore it mobilises them to guard it like

the apple of their eye and strengthen it more and more. Thus the new Constitution is a sound weapon in the hands of our patriotic working people in their ceaseless advance towards the bright socialist and communist future to which our Party of Labour and its Central Committee with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, are leading us with Marxist-Leninist wisdom and unwavering determination.

The work of the Conference will be a valuable assistance in the great popular discussion on the new Constitution, which is now taking place in our country in a lively militant atmosphere, as a major political action, including old and young, all the working people in all parts of the home-

EXTRAORDINARY VALUE AND THE FUTURE IN ALBANIA

land. At the same time, the materials of the Conference analysing the fundamental principles of the draft of the new Consti-

tution, which reflects the revolutionary political line of the PLA and sums up the historical experience of the dictatorship of

the proletariat in our country, will serve the work of the Party for the revolutionary education of the masses.

Affirmation of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism about scientific socialism

by **RAMIZ ALIA**

THE HOLDING OF THE SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE DEDICATED TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE CONSTITUTION, PROVES ONCE MORE THE GREAT AND CONTINUOUS CARE OF THE PARTY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE IN GENERAL AND, IN PARTICULAR, OF SOCIAL SCIENCES WHICH ARE DIRECTLY CONNECTED WITH THE STUDY AND SUMMING UP OF THE REVOLUTIONARY EXPERIENCE OF OUR COUNTRY.

THE MAIN VALUE OF THE WORK OF THIS CONFERENCE CONSISTS IN THE ANALYSIS AND SCIENTIFIC ARGUMENT IN CONNECTION WITH THE FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE DRAFT OF THE CONSTITUTION. THE DRAFT OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION REPRESENTS A MARXIST-LENINIST DOCUMENT OF EXTRAORDINARY IMPORTANCE TO THE CAUSE OF SOCIALISM. IT IS A SYNTHESIS OF THE CONSISTENT MARXIST-LENINIST GENERAL LINE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA, A SYNTHESIS OF THE UNRELENTING STRUGGLE AND CREATIVE WORK OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE, OF THE MAJESTIC SUCCESSES AND VICTORIES THEY HAVE ACHIEVED IN THESE 31 YEARS, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR AND ITS CENTRAL COMMITTEE WITH COMRADE ENVER HOXHA AT THE HEAD.

The generalisations, conclusions and arguments brought up at this Conference about matters contained in the draft Constitution will certainly become the object of further studies in the future with a view to bringing out even more clearly the cor-

RAMIZ ALIA - member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC of the PLA. From the concluding speech.

rectness of the Marxist-Leninist line of our Party, the creative force of its ideas and of the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha, the originality of the Marxist-Leninist solutions the Party has provided for such cardinal problems as those of the struggle for national liberation, the revolutionary transformations, the successful development of the revolution in the field of the

construction of the State, in the ideological, economic, cultural, social, defence, and other fields.

But our studies, the summing up of our revolutionary experience cannot have only an historical character. On the contrary, by thoroughly mastering this experience and on the basis of this, as well as of Marxism-Leninism in general, the scientific work must help in the grasping and solving of the new problems to which the construction of socialism and the tasks laid down by the Party, give rise.

A prominent place in the materials of the Conference was occupied by polemics with the bourgeois and revisionist theses and preachings, particularly the exposure of the distortions made by the modern revisionists in theory and practice to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism about the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Today when a fierce struggle is taking place in the international workers' movement between the two lines, the Marxist-Leninist line and the revisionist line, the

maintenance of a clear-cut stand on the fundamental questions of revolutionary ideology and practice, has great importance of principle. Now, just as in the past, the central issue of the struggle between these two lines is: to carry out the revolution or to undermine it, to accept the dictatorship of the proletariat or negate it, to build socialist society uninterruptedly or restore capitalism, in the final analysis it is: to defend Marxism-Leninism or abandon it.

It is well known that the fundamental question of the proletarian revolution, the essence of Marxism-Leninism itself, is the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Khrushchovite revisionists, who have irrevocably deviated from Marxism-Leninism and betrayed it, have proclaimed the dictatorship of the proletariat as outdated and obsolete, as something which may be necessary only for the first stage of the revolution. The Soviet leaders, on the basis of the general revision of Marxism-Leninism and particularly of its theory about the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat, invented the so-called «state of the entire people». Time has confirmed that, in formulating these «theories» which are as absurd as they are counterrevolutionary, «the aim» of the Soviet leadership was to eliminate the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism in the Soviet Union, to restore capitalism and establish its bureaucratic dictatorship. It sought to conceal its transition to social imperialism and its efforts to divide the world with US imperialism.

The Italian, French and other revisionists are going even further. They are openly propagating that in the present-day conditions of the development of industry and the technical and scientific revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat is entirely unnecessary, indeed even impossible. The general secretary of the French revisionist Party, Marchais, went as far as to officially declare that there cannot and must not be any more talk about the proletariat as a class notion, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a dogma which must be abandoned. His Italian counterpart, Berlinguer, has long been advocating a so-called, «pluralist socialism» or «democratic socialism» in which the workers and the capitalists will collaborate and live «in peace», in which the working people and the bourgeoisie will build socialism. It is obvious that all these «new theo-

ries» are as old as opportunism itself, that they aim to conceal the going over of the revisionist parties to the bourgeois camp behind the ugly disguise of what they call «the development» of Marxism.

But today, when the revolution has become a general aspiration of the peoples, when the workers' and liberation movement is growing and developing with a new impetus, the revisionists can never palm off their betrayal and opportunism for communism. The revisionist inventions are nothing but labels and advertisements for bourgeois ideology. «Wherever Marxism has become popular among the workers», said V. I. Lenin, «there, this political trend, this «bourgeois workers party» will swear great oaths in the name of Marx. You cannot stop them doing this, just as you cannot prevent a commercial firm from using any kind of label, and any kind of advertisement».

By proclaiming to the whole world that our Republic is a State of the dictatorship of the proletariat, our new Constitution not only stresses the fact that it exists as such, and that in Albania it is constantly developing and becoming stronger, but at the same time on the basis of the revolutionary experience of our country, it defends and confirms, the immortal thesis of Marx and Lenin, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the indispensable and decisive weapon to carry the revolution and the construction of the socialist society through to complete and final victory. Hence the new Constitution of our socialist State is a decisive affirmation of the immortal and life-giving teachings of Marxism-Leninism about scientific socialism, a valuable contribution to their enrichment and, at the same time, a blow against all the dangerous anti-Marxist and counterrevolutionary preachings of the modern revisionists of all hues. It is a document with a lofty internationalist spirit, an important act which contributes to the strengthening of the cause of the revolution and socialism in the world.

The experience and ideas of our Party concerning the leading role of the working class and its party, the unceasing revolution and the struggle to bar the ways to the restoration of capitalism, the questions concerning centralism and socialist democracy, the line of the masses and the workers' control, the rights and duties of the citizens, etc., which are fixed in the draft of the Constitution as juridical norms, and which were threshed out also at this Con-

ference, present a wide field of studies for the present and the future.

In order to carry out the revolution and construct socialism, the leading role of the Party, loyal to its own working class and Marxism-Leninism, must be preserved and strengthened. Only through its vanguard Party can the working class ensure a direction in conformity with Marxism-Leninism, correctly combine the solution of the problems of the time with the prospects of the future of the proletariat, and the fulfillment of its national and international duties. Only when the undivided leading role of the Party in the State and in the whole society is secured, can the aims, desires and aspirations of the working class and of all the working people be fully realised. «Our Party», says comrade Enver Hoxha, «has continually upheld the Marxist-Leninist principle that «with the development and consolidation of socialism, not only does the leading role of the party not become steadily weaker, but, on the contrary, it becomes ever stronger and more perfected».

The undivided leadership of the Party and the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat constitute the main basis and guarantee for the uninterrupted development of socialism, the decisive condition to destroy any attempt of internal and external enemies at turning back to capitalism.

The revolutionary proletariat, the genuine communist parties publicly proclaim that socialism is defended and constructed by preserving and strengthening the leading role of the party, by ceaselessly waging the class struggle, by attacking and exposing bourgeois and revisionist ideology. They openly declare their views that they stand for the revolution, for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working class and its Marxist-Leninist party are not afraid to call themselves proletarians. They do not submit to the intimidation and mockery of the bourgeoisie, have never given up their principles, have never denied the leading role of the party, as the revisionists are doing with their theories and practices of the «party of the entire people», etc., in order to win trust and respect among the capitalists.

In opposition to the revisionist renegades, who deny the hegemony of the working class and the leading role of its vanguard in the revolution and the construction of socialist society, our draft



Partial view of the Presidium of the Conference. Comrade Ramiz Alia drawing the conclusion

Constitution has the principle of the leadership of the party right in the top line. - This principle constitutes one of the main pillars on which it is based.

In loyally upholding the Marxist-Leninist principles, in reflecting the revolutionary experience of our country, as well as that of world socialism, ours will be a constitution of genuine socialism. It will embody, as comrade Enver Hoxha has said, the true features of socialism which distinguish it from all the distortions and deformations the modern revisionists have imposed on it.

Many norms, principles and ideas contained in the articles of the draft Constitution merit further studies, but I would like to stress in particular those concerning sovereignty, which, in the conditions of the present world developments, have assu-

med first rate importance, not only from the theoretical, but also from the practical viewpoint.

Today the majority of the peoples of the world have thrown themselves into all-round battle for the achievements and consolidation of political freedoms, for the liquidation of all the old colonial laws, against the rules, traditions, customs, agreements and norms established during centuries by the imperialist bourgeoisie, against all restrictions and discriminations in international relations. They are courageously opposing the aggressive and hegemonistic policy of the two superpowers which are seeking to interfere in internal affairs, to violate the sovereignty, plunder the riches, and enslave all countries. The struggle for the establishment of full sovereignty over raw mate-

rials, the struggle for the elimination of the imperialist privileges in commercial exchanges and in the existing international financial systems, the struggle for justice in prices, for what is called, today, a new economic order, etc., is establishing a new demarcation line between the peoples who want to defend their sovereignty and the imperialists and the big bourgeoisie of the countries self-styled industrialised which want to deny it to them.

In defending full national sovereignty in all fields and in all aspects, Albania, its Party, our Constitution, are strongly opposed to any such theory and policy as the «limited sovereignty» of the Soviet social imperialists, or the «interdependence of nations» of US imperialism.

Our new Constitution makes it clear that the defence and continual strengthening of

national sovereignty constitutes another fundamental condition to guarantee the victories of the revolution and the continued development of socialist society. The defence of sovereignty is in complete conformity with the lofty principles of self-

determination and independence of the peoples proclaimed by Marxism-Leninism, with the lofty principles of proletarian internationalism. The negation and violation of sovereignty as the revisionists are doing in theory and practice, is an expres-

sion of bourgeois ideology, is a justification of imperialism. Our new Constitution will be the constitution of the freedom, independence, and the defence of the supreme interests of the homeland and socialism.

Constitution of the complete construction of socialist society

by **ARANIT ÇELA**

ABOUT THIRTY YEARS HAVE ELAPSED SINCE THE FIRST CONSTITUTION OF THE PRA WAS DRAWN UP. DURING THIS PERIOD OUR PEOPLE'S STATE POWER HAS DEVELOPED AND BECOME STRONGER. IN THE PROCESS OF THE SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF THE COUNTRY THE SOCIAL BASIS OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED AND PERFECTED, THE STRUCTURE AND ORGANISATION OF OUR SOCIALIST STATE HAS BEEN IMPROVED AND, PARALLEL WITH THE ALLROUND DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY, ITS FUNCTIONS AND DUTIES IN GENERAL HAVE BEEN BROADENED. THE GREAT TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, CULTURAL AND SOCIAL FIELDS ACHIEVED DURING THESE YEARS UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY, THE STRUGGLE AGAINST BUREAUCRACY AND LIBERALISM, CARRIED OUT ON THE BASIS OF THE TEACHINGS OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, LED TO THE FURTHER DEEPENING OF OUR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY, TO THE STRENGTHENING OF THE WORKING CLASS CONTROL OVER THE STATE APPARATUS, TO THE INCREASE OF THE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION OF THE MASSES IN GOVERNING THE COUNTRY.

As a consequence of all these major transformations in the life of the country the drawing up of a new Constitution has become necessary.

In his report to the 6th Congress of the Party comrade Enver Hoxha outlined the main directions which should be taken into consideration in drafting the new Constitution. It is precisely on the basis of these guidelines that the draft of the Constitution under discussion has been worked out.

One of the characteristics of the draft of the new Constitution is its realistic character, the fact that it consistently upholds the principle of faithfully reflecting the economic-political and social development of our country.

Today all the social relations in our country are developing on a consolidated socialist economic structure.

As a result, the new Constitution bears the socialist seal not only for the reason of the aims it pursues and the duties it has, not only for the reason of the classes whose will it expresses and the character of

the state it represents, but also for the reason of the economic structure on which it is set up and which it serves, a structure which is socialist.

Adhering to the orientations given by comrade Enver Hoxha at the 6th Congress of the Party, the draft of the new Constitution presents in itself a reflection of our socialist reality, the majestic victories achieved thus far and the stage of development of our society, and, at the same time, it is an important direction showing document which takes into account and shows the perspective, the various tendencies of the development of our country.

The new draft of the Constitution has been worked out on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist ideology. The great ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have been reflected and concretised in it. It embodies the teachings of our glorious Party, as well as our revolutionary experience gained during these more than 30 years of the construction of socialism and defence of the homeland from the imperialists and modern revisionists, as well as the experience of world socialism.

The working out of the draft of the Constitution was guided from the outset

by comrade Enver Hoxha. His ideas and teachings run through this whole document like a red thread. In particular, comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings concerning the great problem of carrying the revolution forward uninterruptedly, of averting the danger of turning back, and the bourgeois-revisionist peaceful degeneration of the socialist order, which are a creative contribution to the theory of scientific socialism, form the main axis of the draft of the new Constitution.

In the conditions of the construction of socialism, the policy of the proletarian party, based on knowledge of the laws of social development, becomes a great force.

The policy of our Party not only expresses and defends the aims and duties of our working class as a ruling class, but also defines the forms and means by which the working class and its party struggle for the realisation of the complete construction of socialism.

Our Party realises its policy both directly, and through our State.

One of the principal means of realising the policy of the Party through the State is our socialist law. The law itself, as well as the Constitution, as a component part of it, are political categories in content, they are simply the policy of the Party, of our socialist State, expressed in a defined juridical form, the realisation of which is guaranteed through state compulsion.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that politics create, set in motion and define the development of the law. There is no law without politics. Law, and the constitution along with it can never be placed above politics nor stand independent, outside politics.

The developments which the policy of the Party and State undergo, must, without

fail also find their reflection in socialist law, in other laws and juridical norms, right up to our Constitution. The proclamation, amendment, and abrogation of juridical norms simply shows the development of the policy of the Party and the State on given problems, simply serves the aims and tasks of our working class and other working masses.

The draft of the Constitution is based, from start to finish, on the general political line of the Party, and expresses in all directions the requirements of the policy of the Party at this stage of the development of the country. The partisanship, presentation and defence of the interests of the working class and the other working masses are among the outstanding features of the draft of the new Constitution. «The Party of Labour of Albania, the vanguard of the Working class», says Article 3 of the draft Constitution, «is the only leading political force of the State and society».

The draft Constitution reflects the fundamental aspects of the policy of the Party and, in the first place, the problem of state power of the leadership of our working class in the State and society, of its alliance with the working peasantry.

The draft of the Constitution sets out correctly the policy of our Party in the field of the class struggle.

The construction of socialism in our country is taking place through the uninterrupted development of the class struggle in all directions, in all fields of life. The struggle of the working class and all the working masses, led by the Party, against the internal enemies, against alien hangers-on in the consciousness of people, against the manifestations of bureaucracy and liberalism, especially in the organs and activity of the State, the struggle against the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, against the continuous pressure which the imperialists and revisionists exert in most diverse ways and forms on our country and our people, constitute the only way to ensure the continuity of our revolution, to guarantee the defence and construction of socialism.

World experience, and especially the degeneration of socialism in the Soviet Union and the other countries of Eastern Europe and the turning back to capitalism, provided world socialism with colossal experience concerning the discovery of the causes of the degeneration of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and

the measures to be taken to ensure the final victory of the socialist road over the capitalist road.

Faithfully expressing the policy of the Party in this direction the draft of the new Constitution sanctions a series of important measures both in the political field as well as in the economic and social fields. All these measures of a profoundly political and ideological character, which have long been put in practice by our Party, aim at barring the ways to the degeneration of our socialist order, and helping to keep our Albania always red.

In a concise, but complete and clear-cut manner, the draft of the Constitution sanctions the main principles of the Marxist-Leninist foreign policy of our Party and State. These principles have been and remain the basis of the policy of our country in the international arena. The consistent defence of them has ensured the sovereign rights of our socialist State and great authority before the peoples of the whole world, these principles have been successfully counterposed to the policy of aggression, blackmail and deception of imperialism and the Soviet revisionists.

Albania has been and remains an impregnable fortress in the centre of Europe. The Party, the State and the entire armed people firmly united, stand vigilant and on guard day and night to make our socialist homeland inviolable.

The draft of the new Constitution sanctions the military policy and the policy of our Party in the field of defence in general, from the juridical viewpoint. Precisely in the context of this policy is included the content of Articles 62, 91, 92, 94 and 95 of the draft of the new Constitution, which deal with the sacred duty and right of every citizen in the defence of the socialist homeland, with the inalienability and inviolability of the territory of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, with the principles of the building of the armed forces and leadership of them by the Party of Labour of Albania, with the denial of any right to accept the capitulation and occupation of the country, as well as with the prohibition of the establishment of foreign military bases and forces in our country. The principle sanctioned in article 26 of the draft Constitution also ensures the independence and sovereignty of our socialist homeland. It states: «In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania the granting of concessions, the creation of foreign companies and other economic and

financial institutions or joint ones with the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist monopolies and states, as well as receiving credits from them is prohibited».

The entire draft of the Constitution, beginning from the introduction, from the provisions dealing with our social order, from those which sanction the rights of the citizen and the guarantees of their realisation, etc., up to the simple and understandable manner of construction of all the constituent norms, speaks of a thoroughly democratic spirit, which also reflects one of the main requirements of the general political line of the Party.

The new Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania will be a living example for the Marxist-Leninists and the peoples of the world in the struggle for national and social liberation, in the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism. At the same time, it will be a theoretical document in which, on the basis of the teachings of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, relying on our socialist experience, important conclusions are drawn, which have to do with cardinal problems of Marxism-Leninism, such as the problems of the state and the law.

This fact is of major importance, especially today, when a fierce ideological struggle is taking place throughout the world between the Marxist-Leninists and various revisionist trends. In the centre of this struggle are precisely the problems of the state and law, which have been, and remain, the most acute questions of the class struggle, and this for the simple reason that they affect the fundamental, vital interests of all social strata.

The great classical teachers of Marxism-Leninism founded their theory about the proletarian state and law in irreconcilable struggle with the various petty-bourgeois theories. After the death of Marx and Engels, when opportunism and reformism became the dominant ideology of the Second International, the most zealous representatives of the opportunist trends at that time, K. Kautsky, E. Bernstein, O. Bauer, K. Renner and others, striving to divert the workers' movement from the road of the revolution and set it on that of reformism, conciliation and understanding with the bourgeoisie, distorted the Marxist theory on the state and law.

All these efforts of the opportunists of the Second International were defeated by V. I. Lenin who described the struggle against opportunist, reformist trends about

the state and law as an indispensable condition if the working masses were to be liberated from the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influences.

With the usurpation of the state power and the party in the Soviet Union by the modern revisionists headed by Nikita Khrushchev, the revisionist element revived in many countries of the world, and the various anti-Marxist «theories» on the state and law began to pop up like mushrooms after a shower.

Irrespective of the new conditions in which the modern revisionists are acting today, and of the deceptive forms in which they present their ideas, in the final account they take the same anti-Marxist stand which the opportunists of the Second International took in the past.

In essence all the so-called theories of the modern revisionists about the «state of the entire people», «the party of the entire people», etc., are nothing but a negation of the leading role of the working class party, of the dominant role of its Marxist-Leninist ideology, of the dictatorship of the proletariat. With all these theories the Soviet revisionists and those of the other former socialist countries aim to disguise their savage domination, their bourgeois dictatorship. Thus, for example, as a rule, in the constitutions that have been approved in recent years in these countries there is no mention, no trace at all, of such Marxist notions as the class struggle or the dictatorship of the proletariat, nor is the idea of the domination of the Marxist-Leninist ideology in the state and society sanctioned in them.

While the modern revisionists, like the bourgeoisie, avoid any public admission of the real class nature of their states, as the devil avoids incense, deny the existence of the dictatorship of one class, which represents the minority and is exercised against the majority (which, in the final analysis, constitutes the content of the bourgeois state, even in the variant when revisionist castes are in power) and propagate, in various forms and ways, the deceptive idea of national reconciliation, i.e. the negation of the class struggle, our draft Constitution, reflecting our reality, clearly and without equivocation sanctions the existence in Albania of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leading position of the working class, with its party at the head, the dominant role of the proletarian ideology — Marxism-Leninism, the development of the class struggle as a mo-

tive force in the development of our socialist society.

The modern revisionists proceed from anti-Marxist ideological positions also concerning the problems of the revolution and the triumph of socialism in the capitalist countries. The revisionist parties and their theoreticals in the countries of Western Europe and everywhere in the world, powerfully supported by the Soviet revisionists, praise to the heavens their «theory» of peaceful transition to socialism through the parliamentary road while respecting the requirements of the bourgeois constitutions. Of course, these «theories» and «theorisations» are nothing but camouflaged deception with a definite objective. Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «History has provided no example whatever of the peoples and the working class taking state power into their hands through the parliamentary and reformist road».

«The modern revisionists advertise this road far and wide, indeed they consider it as the only road, because they are against revolutions, against the proletarian revolution, against the liberation of the peoples, they are for the reconciliation of the proletariat with the capitalist bosses, they are for reforms, from which the proletariat should get the crumbs that fall from the wellfilled table of the capitalists, they are for the «historical compromise» of the Italian revisionists who are exchanging kisses with the reactionaries of their countries».

All these arguments of the modern revisionists have the purpose of disorientating the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. Compelled by the pressure of the working masses, the bourgeoisie makes some concessions here and there with the aim of deception. But these concessions are such that have nothing at all to do with changing the class content of the bourgeois state and law. Apart from this, when it sees that these concessions are endangering its domination as a class, even in the slightest, the bourgeoisie eliminates them in various ways. Today, it has become more than customary, that as soon as the revolutionary movement threatens the positions of the bourgeoisie, the latter, not being stopped either by the «democratic» constitutions or by any other kind of law, prepares the coups d'état and establishes fascist dictatorships by means of open force and conspiracies. This is what happened in the first half of our century with the advent to power of fascism in Italy, of

nazism in Germany, of the falangists in Spain, etc., and this is what is happening also in these recent years with the establishment of the fascist dictatorships in Brazil, Chile, etc.

The Italian, British, American, and other revisionists, with the full support particularly of the Soviet revisionists, are pouring out endless praise on the bourgeois constitutions of their countries, making a great fuss about their «invention» that not only can the transition to socialism be made in a peaceful way, while respecting and making use of the great possibilities provided by these constitutions, but these fundamental laws of the bourgeoisie can even be used as a basis to begin the construction of the new socialist order.

All the constitutions of the bourgeois states represent nothing but the will and interests of the bourgeoisie in power, reflect, in essence nothing but the system of capitalist social relations, the right of private ownership and of capitalist exploitation and the relevant measures to keep this exploitation in power. In the final analysis, however democratic these constitutions may be, they remain essentially an expression of the will and defence of the interests of the bourgeoisie.

Being servants of the bourgeoisie, being counterrevolutionaries, the revisionists are seeking to feed the masses with the pacifist idea of the respect for the bourgeois constitutions and laws, with the illusion that socialism can be won and constructed within the limits they allow.

It is precisely these distortions and falsifications which the modern revisionists have perpetrated and continue to perpetrate against the theory and practice of the socialist state and the law, that the draft of the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is counterposed. Our new Constitution will be another vivid testimony, before the entire world, not only to the unshakeable loyalty of our Party towards the proletarian ideology — Marxism-Leninism, which the Soviet-led modern revisionists have trampled on with both feet, but also to the great ability of our Party in the concrete implementation and further development of Marxism-Leninism in the field of the state and law in the conditions of our country, in the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, of the intensification of the class struggle in the international arena, of the continuous and allround pressure of the enemies against socialist Albania.

The political organisation of socialist society in Albania

by FOTO ÇAMI

THE DRAFT OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF OUR REPUBLIC BEGINS PRECISELY WITH THE CHAPTER DEVOTED TO THE DEFINITION AND CHARACTERISATION OF OUR SOCIAL ORDER. THIS IS A QUESTION OF PRINCIPLED IMPORTANCE BECAUSE THE PROBLEMS CONCERNING THE SOCIAL ORDER ARE THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS AND DETERMINE THE MAIN FEATURES OF THE STATE AND THE SOCIETY.

THE GREAT POPULAR REVOLUTION, WHICH WAS CARRIED OUT IN ALBANIA UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY BROUGHT ABOUT RADICAL QUALITATIVE CHANGES IN THE SOCIAL ORDER OF OUR COUNTRY. IT OVERTURNED THE OLD FEUDAL-BOURGEOIS EXPLOITING ORDER, AND OPENED THE WAY TO THE NEW, HIGHEST AND MOST JUST ORDER IN HISTORY, THE SOCIALIST ORDER. NOW, AS A RESULT OF ALL THE REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATIONS THAT HAVE BEEN MADE IN THE BASE AND SUPERSTRUCTURE OF OUR SOCIETY, THIS ORDER HAS BEEN CONSOLIDATED AND IS SUCCESSFULLY DEVELOPING TOWARDS THE COMPLETE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM AND, LATER, OF COMMUNISM.

The great historic merit of our Party is that it not only introduced our people into the bright epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, but is also leading them with determination and wisdom, not allowing any turning back nor even any zigzags on this glorious road which has ranked our country among those with the most advanced social order in the world.

The taking up of problems of the social order from the outset is an important feature of the constitution of a socialist country, which distinguishes it from the constitutions of capitalist countries, in which the real character of the bourgeois order is not revealed, its reactionary and antipopular essence is hidden and distorted.

A very important component part of the social order is the political order. This order, with its main components, — the state, the party and the organisations of the masses, — is treated in the draft of the new constitution from sound Marxist-Leninist positions, on the basis of the rich experience of our Party and international communism, as well as taking into account all those great changes which have taken place in the base and superstructure of our society at the present stage of its development.

The principled theses of our Party and

FOTO ÇAMI — member of the CC of the PLA, professor, specialist in problems of Marxist philosophy.

comrade Enver Hoxha on these questions, which are a new contribution to the theory and practice of socialism, have been reflected correctly and in an appropriate form in the draft.

The state occupies the main place in the political organisation of society. In conformity with the teachings of Marx and Lenin, with world revolutionary practice, and with the experience of our own revolution, the basic idea 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» (Article 2) has been clearly expressed in the draft of the new Constitution. With this definition, right from the start a line of demarcation from all the trends of old and new opportunism in the workers' and communist movement has been established.

«The question of the attitude towards the dictatorship of the proletariat», said comrade Enver Hoxha at the 5th Congress of the Party, «is one of the most vital questions of socialist development, for which two diametrically opposed lines exist and a fierce struggle is being waged between the Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists. «All the demagoguery of the present-day revisionists about «bureaucratic state control», the «liquidation of the consequences of the cult of the individual», «liberalisation and democratisation», «direct democracy» and «the state of the entire people»

are a flagrant deviation from Marxism-Leninism and serve only one aim — the degeneration and liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Unlike all the other revolutions in history, the socialist revolution does not end, but only begins with the seizure of state power. It is a continuing revolution which goes on up till the achievement of the ultimate objective—the triumph of communism within the country and on a world scale. And as long as this victory has not been achieved, the question of the state power, as the main weapon in the hands of the working class, the working masses, to carry this revolution through to the end, remains the fundamental question of the revolution.

While being a stern dictatorship for all the enemies of socialism, internal and external, our socialist State is at the same time the broadest and fullest democracy for the masses of the people. A dialectical connection exists between these two aspects of the socialist state. «Without socialist democracy», said comrade Enver Hoxha at the 6th Congress of the PLA, «there is no dictatorship of the proletariat, just as there can be no real democracy for the working people without a dictatorship of the proletariat». Only the opportunists and revisionists, as the servants of the bourgeoisie that they are, counterpose dictatorship to democracy, and see the liquidation of the dictatorship as a condition for the development of democracy. Indeed some of them go even further, counterposing democracy to the state in general. The former deny the democracy of the socialist state, while the latter say that the very existence of the state is a negation of democracy. Whereas Lenin said that democracy is also a state, that there is no democracy without a state, that with the disappearance of the state, democracy too, disappears.

This aspect of the socialist state, as the broadest and most real democracy for the working masses, has found its complete reflection in the draft of the new Consti-

tution and runs through it like a red thread, embodying the principled Marxist-Leninist thesis of the 6th Congress of the Party that the general way to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and the whole socialist order, is the development of the democracy of the masses and that the participation of the masses in running the country is the main direction of the deepening of socialist democracy in action.

In close connection with the type of the state is also its form and, together with it, also the naming of the state. Lenin said that the transition from capitalism to communism, cannot fail to bring about a diversity of political forms, but their essence is one and the same — the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our State, which was born from the people's revolution, has been from the beginning a dictatorship of the proletariat, but which was realised in a new political form, that of the people's democracy. Therefore, in the Constitution in force it was rightly called a People's Republic. The changes effected in the base and the superstructure of our society dictate the necessity of also changing the name of our State, so that it will conform best, not just to its objective, the readiness and determination to achieve socialism, but to the socialist reality itself which we have in Albania today. The new proposal that has been put forward to call our State a People's Socialist Republic is accurate and has a number of points in its favour.

The dictatorship of the proletariat, as an expression of the state leadership of the society by the working class, is realised not only through the State organs and apparatus, but also through a whole system of non-state social organisations of the working people, which are included in the mechanism of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as an integral part of it. This is another expression of the deep-going democracy of our political order. At the head of all the state organs and social organisations which constitute the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat stands the Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class. «The dictatorship of the proletariat», said Lenin, «cannot be realised except through the communist party». This idea has been embodied in Article 3 where it says «the Party of Labour of Albania, the vanguard of the working class, is the sole political leading force of the State and society». Three main

points in opposition to the views of the modern revisionists, are brought out clearly in this paragraph: first, that the Party of Labour of Albania is not a party of the entire people, but the vanguard of the working class, thus underlining its proletarian class character; second, that it is the sole leading political force, a thing which also expresses the reality of our country, where there are no other political parties, and the fact that it does not share this leading role it has with any other body; third, that the working class cannot play its leading role otherwise than through its proletarian political party.

The affirmation in the Constitution of the leading role of the Party is a question of great theoretical and political importance right now because it is armed against all the distortions of the modern revisionists, who in fact deny this role with their preachings about the party of the entire people, about the party as a purely ideological or economic force, about the system of many parties in socialism, or about the transition to socialism even under the leadership of non-proletarian parties, etc. This question assumes major importance also in the present-day struggle against the enemies of socialism within the country, who, to realise their counter-revolutionary aims, have directed and continue to direct their attack against the party first of all, against its leading, directing and controlling role.

For this reason, comrade Enver Hoxha has forcefully pointed out that the party is the keen sword of the working class, and that we must devote our greatest care, our minds and hearts to its defence, strengthening, and continued revolutionisation.

The new draft of the Constitution likewise sanctions the other very important idea, that the ideology of the working class and its party — Marxism-Leninism — is the dominant ideology in the People's Republic of Albania, and that the entire socialist order is organised and developed on this basis.

The great importance of this thesis of the new draft lies in the importance and role of the Marxist-Leninist theory in the present ideological struggle, which has become the main front of the class struggle for socialism and communism. The guarantee of the victories achieved in the political and economic field, as well as the assurance of the total and final triumph of the socialist road over the capitalist

road, can be attained only when the complete victory of the revolution is ensured in the field of ideology, too.

In the political system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, apart from the State and the party, the organisations of the masses, the role of which constantly increases in the process of the socialist development of the country and the deepening of socialist democracy, also occupy an important place. The new draft of the Constitution has correctly defined the role of the mass organisations, their place in society and the relations with the State, as one of the main subjects of the Constitution.

On this question, too, the new draft has drawn a demarcation line with the modern revisionists, both with those in the capitalist countries, who advocate the so-called «independence» of the mass organisations from the Marxist party of the working class, and with those in revisionist countries, who under the pretext of allegedly giving them some state functions, have transformed the mass organisations, into appendages to the apparatus of their bureaucratic state, and instruments for the deception of the masses.

The introduction in the draft of the Constitution clearly reflects the changes made in the class structure of our society, where there are no longer exploiting classes, where private ownership and exploitation of man by man have been eliminated and are prohibited, and where we have a society comprised of two friendly classes and the stratum of the intelligentsia, the relations between which are characterised by alliance, collaboration and mutual aid.

The Draft defines the social basis of our State in conformity with these changes that have been effected in the economic base and the class structure of society, pointing out that «the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is based on the unity of the people and has as its foundations the alliance of the working class and co-operativist peasantry under the leadership of the working class». (Article 2).

There is no doubt that in the conditions of our country, the alliance of the working class and peasantry, which comprise the overwhelming majority of the population of the country, constitutes the foundation stone of the social basis of the socialist state.

The alliance of the working class and the peasantry, under the leadership of the

working class, is a question of principle of vital importance to the fate of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, which has been broadly and scientifically argued by the great classical teachers of Marxism, and in particular by Lenin, who has called this alliance the alpha and omega of the socialist state, the highest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The merit of the draft of the new Constitution is that it takes into consideration all the changes effected in the social basis of the state, while at the same time, avoiding the lack of a clear class definition of this basis and the class distinctions which still exist. Thus, it is stressed that along with the alliance of the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, which underlies our socialist state, our Republic is also based on the unity of the people. By stressing the idea of the unity, a very important feature of our socialist society, which distinguishes it from bourgeois society which is split and corroded by antagonistic contradictions, is brought out. This unity is a reality of new socialist Albania, one of the most outstanding victories of socialism and the Party, a new great motive force of society.

The essence of the activity of our State, which also constitutes its historical mission, is to ensure the continued development of the revolution, the triumph of the socialist road of development, the complete construction of socialism and communism. In order to ensure the attainment of this aim, it carries out extensive activity in the political and economic, educational and cultural, military and foreign policy fields, activity which is permeated by the class struggle between the two roads of development, the socialist road and the capitalist road.

In the process of the development of the state of course there must be appreciable changes made in its functions, changes which are linked with those major transformations effected in the economic base, in the social structure and in the superstructure of society. Like every other state, the socialist state, too, is a machine to suppress another class. But from the outset here, there is a great difference, because all preceding states, including the most democratic bourgeois state, have been dictatorships of the exploiting minority over the exploited majority, whereas the socialist state is a dictatorship of the over-

whelming majority of the working people over the exploiting minority.

An even greater change is made in this direction because the old exploiting classes have disappeared. Here we are faced with a state which not only differs radically from the bourgeois state, but differs a great deal also from the socialist state when the exploiting classes existed. This marks also that starting point of the new stage of the development of our socialist state of which comrade Enver Hoxha spoke at the 6th Congress of the PLA.

But does this mean that this function of the socialist state in this second stage of its development disappear? Of course the function of violence undergoes changes, and it cannot fail to do so, in the process of the development of the socialist state. But irrespective of the weight it represents at this stage of the development of the socialist state, this function is preserved and will be preserved as long as the class struggle continues, as long as the danger of a turnback exists.

There are two most dangerous internal enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat, especially after the disappearance of the exploiting classes. These are bureaucracy and liberalism, which act together, nurture one another, and both jointly erode the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat from within and lead to its degeneration. This is what happened in the Soviet Union, in Yugoslavia and in the other countries which followed their road. To our Party and comrade Enver Hoxha belongs the great merit that they not only showed clearly the danger of bureaucracy and liberalism, but also uncovered their deep roots and defined the concrete roads that must be followed in order to fight them successfully. In the draft of the new constitution, this new experience and these valuable lessons find their legal sanctioning.

One of the most dangerous manifestations of bureaucracy is the separation of the organs of the state power from the people and the placing of the executive and administrative organs over the representative organs of the people, the identification of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat with the administrations and the officials. The draft constitution counterposes two fundamental principles to these possible distortions: first, that the representative organs and the representatives of the people are not only elected by the people, but are also controlled by

them and render account to the people; and second, that all the other state organs are directed and controlled by the representative organs, are answerable and render account to them. In this context the definition of the position and role of the elected representatives of the people is of special importance.

In our country the exploiting classes have disappeared, but the danger of the birth of new privileged strata and classes has not disappeared. The new historical experience has confirmed that this danger arises when the state cadres and employees become bureaucratized, divorced from the people, and transformed from their servants into rulers over them, when the socialist principle of payment according to work done is distorted, and the cadres and officials are allowed to receive high salaries and bonuses; when the position of the cadres and officials is decided only from above and the class and masses have no right to have their say about them; when sound class and revolutionary education of the cadres and masses is not carried out, etc. The whole question is how to establish correct relations between the cadres and the masses, so that the non-antagonistic contradictions that may emerge between them will not be transformed into antagonistic contradictions, as did occur, in fact, in the Soviet Union and in some other former socialist countries.

In order to bar the way to such a regressive phenomenon, our Party devotes special attention to the education of the cadres, to the establishment of correct relations between them and the masses, and to putting them in such material and economic conditions that they will always work, fight, and live, like proletarian revolutionaries. For this purpose it has adopted a series of important and effective measures which have found their complete reflection in the draft of the new Constitution.

Closely connected with this question, too, is another major idea of our Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, which is sanctioned in Article 10, on the direct and organized control by the working class as the leading class of the society, as well as by the other working masses, over the activity of the state organs, the economic and social organisations and the people who work in them.

In dealing with all these problems, the new draft Constitution is based firmly on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and

scientific socialism, correctly reflects the line of the Party embodied in our revolutionary practice, sanctions the new rea-

lity of present-day Albania, clearly expresses the tendency of the uninterrupted development of the revolution and opens

the prospect of the complete construction of socialism and communism in the future. —

An economy based on the socialist ownership over the means of production

by **HASAN BANJA**

THE NEW CONSTITUTION HAS AS ITS OBJECTIVE TO ACKNOWLEDGE IN LAW THE VICTORIES ACHIEVED IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORDER, TO GUARANTEE AND DEFEND THEM JURIDICALLY AND OPEN THE WAY TO NEW VICTORIES IN THIS FIELD IN THE HISTORICAL STAGE OF THE COMPLETE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY. THIS BECOMES POSSIBLE WITH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF A BROAD PROGRAMME OF MEASURES OF A DEEP-GOING IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTER, WHICH IS REALISED UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY THROUGH AN UNINTERRUPTED REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS IN THE FIELD OF PROPERTY RELATIONS, RELATIONS OF EXCHANGE AND DISTRIBUTION, OF ORGANISATION AND MANAGEMENT OF THE SOCIALIST ECONOMY, ETC.

The fundamental Marxist-Leninist thesis that the socialist social ownership over the means of production constitutes the basis of our socio-economic order has found its embodiment in the draft Constitution. It points out: «The economy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a socialist economy which is based on the socialist ownership of the means of production.

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania there are no exploiting classes, private property and the exploitation of man by man have been eliminated and are prohibited» (Article 15).

This formulation is a synthesis of the essence of our socialist socio-economic order. The ownership of the means of production is the basis on which the social order is erected: it determines the class structure and the entire superstructure of society.

The correct scientific understanding and treatment of the content and historical character of the types and forms of property and other socio-economic relations rising on this basis, constitute a main line of demarcation between the Marxist-Leninists and all the various bourgeois ideologists, including the petty-bourgeois, opportunist, and the modern revisionist ones.

In the countries where modern revi-

sionists are in power, property is nothing but a twin of capitalist property; it has totally degenerated into capitalist property of a special kind, irrespective of the labels it bears.

In the countries ruled by the new revisionist bourgeoisie, we are dealing with a state capitalism of a special kind, because by being in possession of the property through the party and the state, which are in its hands, this bourgeoisie appropriates the surplus value created by the labour of the working class and the other working masses, on the basis of the place the bureaucratic functionary occupies up the hierarchic ladder in the system of bureaucracy of the revisionist party and state, in the apparatus of the administration of the economy or in other institutions, by using the most diverse forms of material incentives, not to mention the appropriation of surplus value in other secret forms, such as through theft, graft, the black market and speculation, the many privileges the new bourgeoisie enjoys, etc.

In Yugoslavia the domination of the revisionist bourgeoisie and the restoration of capitalist relations of exploitation and oppression of the working people have been achieved through the so-called system of «self-administration», which, although different in form, in essence has the same content as the capitalist system that has

been established in the Soviet Union and in some other former socialist countries.

Taking into consideration that in the entirety of the relations of production the decisive role belongs to ownership, in the new draft Constitution the socialist character, both in form and in content, of the social ownership is recognised in law. At the same time, the draft Constitution also contains the necessary legal guarantees that the socialist property should operate effectively and develop as such, truly as socialist property and as a reliable base for the other aspects of socialist relations of production and the rapid development of the productive forces.

The preservation and further strengthening of the socialist social property in our country in its two forms (state and cooperativist) are ensured and guaranteed with the Constitution through the correct line and Marxist-Leninist leadership of the PLA, through the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, through the activation of the Party levers — the organisations of the masses, the revolutionary organising, directing and controlling activity of the working class and all the working people.

In our country the main and predominant form of social property over the means of production is the property of the entire people, which is administered on behalf of the society by the socialist State. It is the highest and most developed form of socialist property, which extends to all the branches of the people's economy, exerts the greatest weight in the national wealth and in the creation of the social product, represents the highest stage of the socialisation of the means of production, labour and production. The main role and historical perspective of becoming the only form of property in the means of production belong to it. The state socialist

property provides more than 80 per cent of the total social production and nearly the three-fourths of national income. This form of property includes the decisive sectors which play the leading role in the development of the entire national economy. On the state socialist property the working class, the class which leads the entire life of the country and constitutes over 36 per cent of the population (together with the families), is militating as an active productive and leading force.

Recognising this position and this great role of the state socialist ownership, the draft Constitution supports and legally guarantees its consolidation and non-stop development, defines the objects comprising it, guarantees its inviolability, prohibits its turning back and bourgeois or revisionist degeneration in any form.

The proclamation of the land as the property of the state reflects a reality that has long been attained in our country concerning ownership of the land. This matter has been dealt with and solved along with the overall development of our socio-political and socio-economic order. In connection with the land, as a part of the programme for the solution of the agrarian question, in our national historical conditions the Party acted with wisdom and followed an original course. Our Party, and our socialist State undertook and carried out a series of measures: the sale and purchase, leasing and alienation of land in any other way for use as private property, as a means of speculation and exploitation, was prohibited by law.

Summing up the revolutionary experience of our country in regard to the ownership of land, comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out: «Our people's revolution made such laws by which in practice, it nationalised the land, it carried out the land reform and did away with the property which was used to exploit the work of others. Gradually, through persuasion, and proceeding by the «economic road» as Marx and Engels advise, our peasant came to the collectivisation of the land and the other means of production, etc.» As stated in the draft Constitution, «The land is given free of charge for social use to the economic enterprises and state institutions, agricultural cooperatives and social organisations, as well as for personal use to individual citizens» (Article 19).

The time is ripe for the proclamation of land as state property because of some

other factors too. The complete collectivisation of agriculture brought great changes to the psychology of the peasant about the land. The psychology of individual work and small-scale private property in land and other means of production, as comrade Enver Hoxha has said, has given way to the psychology of working together and extended socialist production.

The proclamation of the land as the property of the state alone in no way changes the relations stemming from giving it free of charge for social use to agricultural cooperatives and individual citizens.

The draft Constitution acknowledges in law another great victory that has been achieved in our country under the leadership of the PLA in the field of ownership — the existence of the cooperativist property in the countryside along with the property of the entire people. When the Constitution in force was approved, the collectivisation of agriculture was in its first steps. Since that time, a true revolution has been carried out in the countryside, the most radical change in the social and economic relations of the countryside. The cooperativist socialist order has triumphed completely. Deep-going economic, social and cultural changes have been made in the countryside.

The cooperativist property, as a form of socialist property, has a transitory character. In the process of its socialist development, it is gradually coming closer and closer to and changing into property of the entire people. This is an uninterrupted process which is realised in a voluntary way by the cooperativist peasantry, in definite conditions of the development of the productive forces and the perfecting of the socio-economic relations and is guided in an organised and conscious way by the Party.

A new contribution of our Party to the enrichment and development of the Marxist-Leninist theory about the ways of gradually bringing the cooperativist property in the countryside closer to property of the entire people and eventually transforming it into the latter, is the creation of cooperatives of the high type. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «The creation of cooperatives of the higher type is of major theoretical and practical importance, for the present and the future of our socialist agriculture and the complete construction of socialism in the countryside. The immediate objective of this measure is

that, agriculture should be developed at more rapid rates on the most fertile plains of our country and ensure stable increases of production of those agricultural and livestock products of which the people's economy is most in need. On the other hand, these cooperatives will represent a higher stage of the socialisation of group property in the course of bringing it closer to the property of the entire people».

To defend the economic independence of the homeland, to preserve intact the socialist socio-economic order and its foundation, the socialist property, the draft Constitution proclaims that «in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania the granting of concessions, the creation of foreign companies and other economic and financial institutions, or joint ones with the bourgeois capitalist and revisionist monopolies and states, as well as receiving credits from them, are prohibited». (Article 26).

The attitude towards capitalist private property is one of the essential questions of the socialist revolution. The classical teachers of Marxism-Leninism have pointed out that «... the communists can sum up their theory in this single thesis: elimination of private property». The new historical experience shows that not only the elimination of private property but, at the same time, also the adoption of measures to prevent its revival, is one of the main tasks of the uninterrupted socialist revolution. This, as is clearly proved by the tragedy which occurred in the countries where revisionist cliques are in power, is connected with the fact that in socialism there exists the danger of «peaceful» degeneration of the socialist relations of production, including socialist ownership, and of turning back to capitalism.

While it eliminates the capitalist private ownership over the means of production and the capitalist appropriation of the work of the wage earner, socialism by no means eliminates the individual appropriation of products on the basis of the socialist principle of distribution according to the work done and, in this connection, does not eliminate the personal property of the working people. On the contrary, the personal property of the working people is recognised and defended by law. This also is expressed in the draft of the new Constitution. The objects which comprise the personal property of the citizens are also defined in it.

In our socialist order the management of the economy is, in the first place, a political management which is realised by the socialist State under the leadership of the Party. On this matter, our Party resolutely upholds the Marxist-Leninist thesis that without correct political and ideological leadership the working class will be unable to preserve its political domination and, consequently, will not be in a position to fulfill its tasks in production either.

Based on the general line and the policy of the Party, our socialist State performs important functions in the organisation and management of the economy.

This important role of our socialist State finds legal expression in the draft Constitution which points out: «The State organises, manages and develops the entire economic and social life with a single overall plan, with a view to fulfilling the ever-increasing material and cultural needs of the society, strengthening the independence and defence of the country, by incessantly increasing and perfecting socialist production on the basis of advanced technology» (Article 25).

This constitutional norm has a profound ideological and political content. The fundamental duty of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not just the exercise of violence towards the overthrown exploiting classes, the remnants of them and other enemies of socialism. Another fundamental duty is the running of the country, the creation and unceasing strengthening of the new socialist order, the organisation and management of all aspects of the extended socialist reproduction, the development, in this great revolutionising process, of the creative, leading, and transforming abilities of the class in power - the working class, the education of the working class and the other working masses with the spirit of organisation, order, and proletarian discipline at work. The aim is that they should take an active part in running the country and managing the economy, because living, creative socialism is the deed of the working masses themselves. The Party teaches us that the working class absolutely must have its say, exercise control and demand rendering of account also on questions of the management of the economy, on an enterprise, district, and national scale. «For the working class», says comrade Enver Hoxha, «it is especially important that it should understand in the first place not only

its role as the decisive productive force, but also its political role as the vanguard class in our society».

One of the general principles of the revolution and socialist construction is self-reliance. Our Party of Labour has consistently implemented this Marxist-Leninist principle which stems from the Marxist-Leninist dialectical thesis on the decisive role of the internal factor in the process of development. In accord with this thesis, comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that «...in the revolution and the construction of socialism the internal factor is decisive, that in every action the people must rely on their own forces».

The principle of self-reliance is a fundamental principle of permanent action, which has decisive importance for the revolution and the construction of socialism, for ensuring and strengthening the economic independence of the country, a principle which revolutionises the minds and the creative work of people and arouses their confidence and optimism for the future. It has never been and is not a temporary, transitory thing. But in the conditions of the savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade in which we are building socialism, self-reliance must be specially emphasised to ensure the maximum use of every possibility, of every subjective and objective factor, with the working masses exerting all their creative energies.

In the system of socialist relations of production an important place in strengthening the socialist socio-economic order is occupied by the relations of distribution. Our Party of Labour firmly upholds the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the relations of distribution, particularly those of reward, depend directly on the nature of social order, on the character of the property relations, on the mode of production. At the same time, the relations of distribution exert their active influence on the entire system of the relations of production.

In the entirety of the relations of distribution, the draft Constitution devotes a special place to the relations in the field of work and its reward. It not only gives legal recognition to the importance of work as the foundation of our socio-economic life, but also proclaims and guarantees the most essential norms which ensure the socialist development and defence of the revolutionary character of the relations of work and of the rewards for work.

The quantity and quality of the work performed is the fundamental criterion for the reward of each person. The acceptance, as a constitutional norm, of the fact that work constitutes the main source to ensure the means of livelihood of every citizen, is of great ideopolitical, economic, and social importance. This means that in our socialist society, nobody is allowed to live by appropriating another's work, or to ensure means of livelihood which do not have useful social work, as their basis. The inclusion of this norm in the Constitution aims at closing the road to the labour market and the system of wage labour, to speculation, parasitism and the exploitation of working masses, phenomena which are characteristic of the capitalist and revisionist countries.

Payment according to work done is complemented in the draft Constitution also with other socialist principles, such as equal pay for equal work, coordination of material incentives with moral incentives, giving priority to moral incentives, fulfilment of a part of the needs of the working people through the fund of social consumption, thus creating the beginnings of communist distribution, strengthening state control over the proportions of work and consumption (Article 30).

In putting into practice the socialist principle of rewards according to work done, a great role is played by the establishment and implementation of a fair pay structure. Today in our country the ratio between the low and high pay is 1:2-2.5. But these ratios are not fixed once and for all. In order to further narrow the differences in the levels of income between the various strata of the working people and between the city and the countryside, to prevent great differences in their levels of income and ways of life, differences which encourage the bourgeois degeneration of individuals and the creation of privileged strata, the Party has instructed that these differentials must be further reduced, that cadres' pay must be brought into closer relationship with the pay of the working class and the other working masses of city and countryside. This is one of the conditions to defend the cadres from the danger of bourgeois-revisionist degeneration, from the danger of their divorce and withdrawal from the working masses. On this matter, our Party always has in mind Lenin's instructions

that the corrupting influence of high salaries, both on the state power and on the mass of workers, is indisputable.

Another norm of major importance to the theory and practice of the development of socialist relations of production, which has found reflection in the draft Constitution, is that dealing with the question of reducing the essential differences between the city and the countryside, between work in industry and work in agriculture, between mental and manual work, reductions which are realised gradually right from socialism and are completed in communism, when there will be only non-essential differences.

Concerning these questions comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us: «If we do not take measures right now to narrow these differences, and, willy nilly, we allow them to deepen, then not only will they stop our country developing on the road towards our ultimate aim, but they will become a cause for many evils, for incorrect relations between people of mental and manual work, between the city and the countryside, between the working class and the peasantry».

The uplift and the allround and unceasing socialist development of the countryside, are of decisive importance to ensure the complete construction of so-

cialism. For our country, this is a primary task also because about 65 per cent of the population live in the countryside.

The historical experience of our country is a brilliant confirmation of the universal character and present validity of the Marxist-Leninist theory that in the epoch of the proletarian revolutions any people, whether large or small is able to set about and crown the socialist revolution, to set out on the road of socialism and reap one victory after another on this road, when it is led by the Marxist-Leninist party and remains loyal to the end to the cause of the working class, the revolution and socialism.

The content and importance of the constitutional rights and duties of the citizens

by **GRAMOS HYSI**

THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION IS ANOTHER AFFIRMATION OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST TRUTH THAT ONLY IN SOCIALISM, WHERE THE STATE POWER IS IN THE HANDS OF THE WORKING MASSES WITH THE WORKING CLASS AT THE HEAD, IT IS POSSIBLE TO ENSURE THE TRUE FREEDOM OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

IN THE DRAFT OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION, THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF THE CITIZENS EMERGE AS A CLEAR EXPRESSION OF THE REAL LIBERATION OF THE WORKING MAN IN THE CONDITIONS OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY. ONLY IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY IT IS POSSIBLE TO HAVE DEMOCRACY FOR THE BROAD WORKING MASSES. IT IS MEANINGLESS TO TALK OF REAL CIVIL LIBERTIES AND RIGHTS WITHOUT THE VICTORY OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, FOR THIS ALONE REALISES THE ELIMINATION OF PRIVATE OWNERSHIP AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SOCIAL OWNERSHIP OVER THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION, WHICH CONSTITUTES

the basis for the liquidation of the exploiting classes and of all kinds and forms of exploitation. Private ownership of the means of production is the source of the enslavement of people, of their division into an exploited majority without rights or with rights only on paper, and an exploiting minority with all the rights which its property and state power give it. Therefore, for the working masses the only road to ensure full freedom and real rights is the road of «the last fight» to destroy

the old world and to build in place of it, the new world, just as the militant anthem of the revolutionary proletariat says. This is what took place in Albania with our people's revolution, which led to the liberation of the country and the establishment of the people's power, as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Speaking of the decisive turn which the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat marked in the life and fate of our people, comrade Enver Hoxha shows that only through this did the achievement of true freedom become possible, that only

after this, and with the nonstop advance of our socialist revolution do the victorious people feel themselves free.

In the bourgeois and revisionist countries the oppression and exploitation by the bourgeoisie and the revisionist cliques in power is a heavy burden on the people, therefore, there we have to do, just as in the earlier exploiting societies, with that «monstrous institution of the exploitation of the overwhelming majority of the people by a small minority» as the classical teachers of Marxism-Leninism put it, in which there is not and «there cannot be real and true freedom». As to the high-sounding phrases, great words and beautiful promises about «freedom», «equality», etc., dished up in the revisionist constitutions, the working masses of these countries counterpose to them the Leninist call «Down with these dirty lies!» «The working masses», said Lenin, «want to win, not the promise of freedom, not freedom on paper, but true freedom». The mere proclamation of the rights and duties of ci-

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tizens, the declaration of them on paper, totally divorced from the possibility of realising them, sums up the whole meaning of the bourgeois and revisionist so-called democracy. These proclaimed rights and freedoms can be realised, not by the masses, but by the bourgeois ruling class or by the revisionist cliques in power. Of what value is «the right to work» in these countries when unemployment and poverty reign there? Of what value is the «freedom of the press», of «assembly» etc., when the working people have no material guarantees for their realisation? Of what value is the paper «equality» when a great gulf separates the working people from the capitalists or the new revisionist bourgeoisie? The bourgeois and revisionist so-called democracy is democracy only for the oppressing and exploiting minority and a savage dictatorship of the latter over the working masses; it is, as comrade Enver Hoxha says, «a privilege of the exploiting minority and a shameless deception for the masses of the people».

In the draft of our new Constitution the rights and duties of the citizens are included in their full measure, in conformity with the socialist achievements already attained, or to be attained in the immediate future. The constant strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, as the distinctive feature of our entire socialist course and the main condition for further advance on this course, is inseparable from the development of the personality of the working man.

Having the state power in their own hands, the working masses of our country, with the working class at the head, have discovered and realised all sorts of effective forms to increase their role in all fields of socio-political life. This has followed a continuous line of ascent during the entire period of the people's power, and particularly with the construction of the economic base of socialism and the process of the further revolutionisation of the life of the country. All these things have brought about relevant changes in the further extension, strengthening, and guaranteeing of the rights and freedoms of the citizens, which, in the draft of the

new Constitution, find their clear and complete reflection, in conformity with the level of the socialist achievements of our society and the prospects opening to it. In this way, the draft of our Constitution represents an important document in which triumphant socialism in Albania reflects its colossal achievements and demonstrates to the working people of the bourgeois and revisionist countries the necessity of the establishment of socialist democracy.

The extensive rights and freedoms sanctioned in the draft of the new Constitution demonstrate better than anything the growth of the personality of the working man, the development of the creative abilities of the members of our socialist society, their possibilities to play their full part in the whole life of the country, all that radical about turn which the epoch of the Party brought, when, as comrade Enver Hoxha says, «the Albanian people, savagely oppressed until yesterday by the reactionary regimes, today have state power in their hands, are allpowerful masters of the country, and are building a new life for themselves with their own hands». The whole range of the rights and freedoms contained in the draft of our new Constitution speaks of this achievement.

In the socio-economic field the draft of the Constitution proclaims the right to work and ensures all the necessary guarantees for its realisation on the part of the citizens, linking their participation in and contribution to work with the ability of each, while the payment for the work done with its quantity and quality. In our socialist society, work is considered a duty and a matter of honour for all able-bodied citizens, who choose and exercise their professions in compliance with their abilities and personal inclinations, as well as with the needs for our socialist society. In close connection with the right to work, the draft of the Constitution proclaims the right to rest after work, supplementing this and giving further guarantees for the realisation of it through the wide network of rest homes and other organised recreational and cultural centres for the working people. For the security of the

working people of town and countryside in old age, in case of illness or loss of ability to work, the necessary material means are made available to them. Special care is shown for the protection and rehabilitation of invalids from the National Liberation War, and from the struggle for the defence of the homeland and the work of construction, as well as to the upbringing and education of the young children of those who have fallen in defence of the country and the socialist construction. The citizens are guaranteed the right to education, the entire educational system being organised by the State which defrays all the necessary costs. The necessary medical services and treatment in the health centres of the country are guaranteed to all the citizens and are paid for entirely by the State. Our citizens are not burdened with any kind of levies or taxes, Albania having become the first country in the world to attain this great success which was achieved some years ago.

In the field of political freedoms, the draft of the Constitution proclaims the freedom of speech, of the press, of organisation, assembly and public manifestation, as well as guaranteeing these freedoms, the State making the necessary material means available, such as providing printing houses, buildings, means of communication and information, etc.

In the field of electoral rights, the draft of the Constitution proclaims the right of citizens to elect and be elected to the organs of the State power through universal suffrage, equal, direct and secret ballot. The election right in our country is inseparable from participation in the activity of these organs of State power, as well as from the control over the activity of the organs and people elected, being extended in the case of the latter, to their immediate recall when they do not justify the trust put in them.

In the field of individual rights, the draft of the Constitution proclaims the inviolability of the individual, of the home, the secrecy of correspondence, the right to make demands, complaints, remarks and proposals to competent organs, both about personal matters as well as about any

other question of socialist organisation and management, the activity of State and economic organs, social organisations, official persons, or other citizens.

In the field of the equality of the citizens, the draft of the Constitution proclaims not only the general principle of the equality of the citizens in the exercise of their rights and fulfilment of their duties irrespective of race, nationality, education, social position and material conditions, but also such concrete rights as the equality of all citizens before the law, the equality of the woman with the man in all fields of life, guaranteeing the Albanian woman, liberated from political and economic oppression as a result of the people's revolution, all the conditions so that she can take part actively and freely in the socialist construction of the country and the defence of the homeland; the equality of national minorities, ensuring the protection and development of their culture and popular traditions, the use of their mother tongue and its teaching at school, equal development in all fields of social life.

In the draft Constitution the great rights

and the many freedoms which our citizens enjoy are not separated from their duties. These duties with which socialist society charges its members do not impair or limit their rights and freedoms, but on the contrary, serve the realisation of them.

The rights and duties of our citizens are outstanding for their deep-going spirit of socialist democracy and their active role in the allround development of the individual and the progress of the socialist society in general. The essence and importance of the rights and duties of our citizens are linked with the very nature of the socialist State, the organisation and activity of which cannot even be thought of without the broad participation of the working masses.

In our socialist order the rights and freedoms of the citizens do not remain an empty phrase, but have an entirely realisable content. In the Constitution and the other socialist laws they receive the broadest sanctioning, with the relevant juridical guarantees thus added. In the socialist order there is no gap whatever between the proclamation by law and the possibility of realisation in life of the

rights and freedoms of the citizens, as occurs in the bourgeois and revisionist countries. The elimination of any difference between word and deed, law and reality, becomes possible only in the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, only with the establishment of socialist democracy.

Our socialist State and society are profoundly interested in encouraging and supporting the working man, in the allround development of his abilities and personality, in moulding him with the revolutionary spirit of the active builder and resolute defender of socialist society, in the creation of the new socialist man. The Party and comrade Enver Hoxha have stressed that the new socialist man does not emerge spontaneously, but is formed and educated through day to day revolutionary activity. In this direction the rights and duties of the citizens, play and must play an important and continuing role, creating full possibilities for our citizens to exercise their great freedoms and rights, without hindrance, as well as to fulfill the duties with which they are charged.

On some main problems of state organisation

by **ISMET ELEZI**

THE 30-YEAR PERIOD FROM THE APPROVAL OF THE FIRST CONSTITUTION HAS FULLY VINDICATED THE MARXIST-LENINIST PRINCIPLES ON WHICH OUR STATE ORGANISATION IS BASED. FOR THESE REASONS, IN ORDER TO RESPOND TO THE DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS OF THE STATE OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AT THE PRESENT STAGE AND IN THE FUTURE, THE DRAFT OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION WITH NEW STRENGTH REAFFIRMS THE MARXIST-LENINIST PRINCIPLES ABOUT OUR STATE IN STRUGGLE AGAINST THE REVISIONIST DISTORTIONS AND DEFINES THE MAIN PROBLEMS CONCERNING THESE PRINCIPLES OF STATE ORGANISATION, SOME OF WHICH WILL BE DEALT WITH HERE.

In line with the teachings of the classical teachers of Marxism-Leninism about the experience of the Paris Commune, which should not have been a parliamentary corporation but a working corpora-

tion, legislative and executive, at the same time, the principle of the unity of the state power was reflected in the documents right from the time of the Antifascist National Liberation War.

Speaking about the organisation of our

people's state power, comrade Enver Hoxha has said that this power is one and indivisible. These teachings have been placed at the foundation of the Constitution in force and the draft of the new Constitution, in the definition of the principle of the unity of legislative activity with executive activity, as one of the main principles of state organisation. The working class, the co-operativist peasantry, and the other working people, exercise the state power through representative organs, as well as directly.

In this way, in sanctioning the princi-

ple of the unity of state power, our theory, practice and Constitution, are in open opposition to the bourgeois theory of the «division of powers» sanctioned in bourgeois constitutions, according to which the legislative, executive, and judicial powers are divided.

In the revisionist countries, too, as a consequence of the bourgeois degeneration, irrespective of what is written in their constitutions and the demagoguery of revisionist authors, the general tendency is the concentration of state power in the hands of revisionist governments.

With the acceptance of the principle of the unity of the state power as a basic principle of our state organisation, the fact that state activity is manifested in various fundamental forms is, of course, not negated.

One of the fundamental forms is the legislative activity which is carried out through the People's Assembly, as the supreme organ of state power. The People's Assembly and the people's councils, as representative organs, constitute the political basis of our State and have some common principal characteristics.

Another fundamental form of the exercise of our state power is the executive order-giving activity, which is carried out by the state administration.

The Marxist-Leninist meaning of the administration is of major principled importance because, as comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, the dictatorship of the proletariat is not only the administration, but in the first place is the state power of the working class, victorious in the socialist revolution, which is led by the Party.

Proceeding from these precepts, the aim of the draft of the Constitution is that the administration should be closely linked with the people, that it should always be under the control of the working class and the other working masses, as well as of the representative organs.

The implementation of the correct political line of the Party and the fulfilment of the principal functions of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat require the continual strengthening of the directing, organising, coordinating, and control-

ling role of the Council of Ministers, which stands at the top of the organs of the state administration. For these reasons, the draft of the Constitution, like the Constitution in force, devotes a special place to the Council of Ministers and its broad competences.

The principle of democratic centralism, another Marxist-Leninist principle, is among the basic principles of the organisation, running and functioning of our whole economic and state life. Embodying the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the decisions of our Party and the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha, the Constitution reflects the principle of democratic centralism in a special provision.

The principle of democratic centralism, on which our State has been organised, radically differs from and is the complete opposite of the principle of bureaucratic centralism on which the bourgeois state and the states in which the modern revisionists are in power, such as in the Soviet Union and other revisionist countries, as a consequence of the restoration of capitalism in them, are built and function.

The draft of the Constitution, in continuation of the Constitution in force, envisages the concrete forms in which the principle of democratic centralism in the State apparatus is expressed.

Proletarian centralism and the democracy of the working masses, as two indivisible aspects of the dictatorship of the proletariat, are in dialectical unity and complement and aid one another. Any one-sided attitude on this great issue of principle, comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, the violation either of the principle of proletarian centralism, or of socialist democracy, is extremely dangerous for the socialist order.

Reflecting the line of the Party, the new Constitution creates conditions for our state organisation to become stronger and more and more perfected on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism, closely and reciprocally linked with the principle of socialist legality.

Socialist legality, as a fundamental principle of the activity of state organs, according to V.I. Lenin, implies, on the one hand, the existence of the revolutionary

legislation and, on the other hand, the observance and strict implementation of the laws and other provisions.

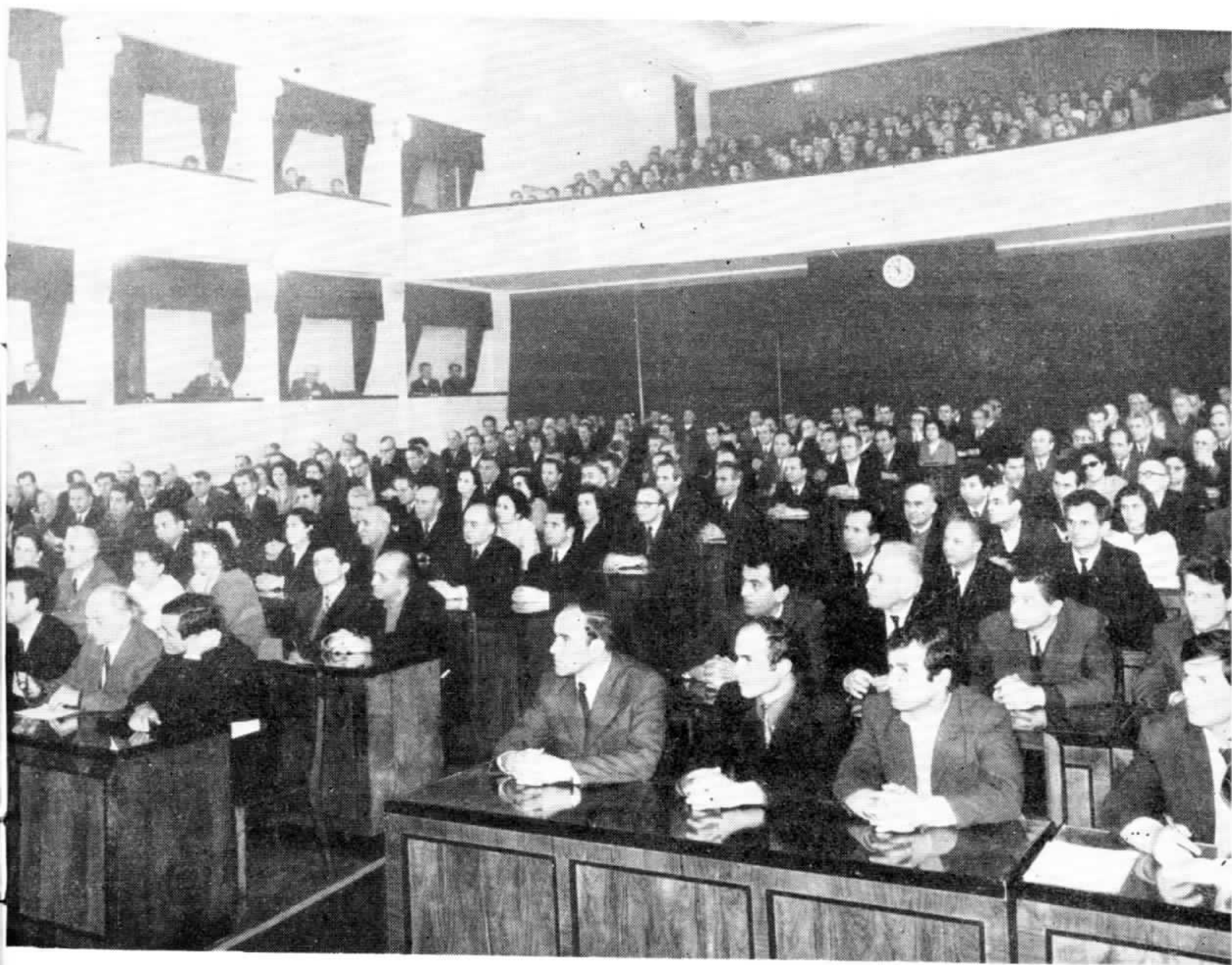
Our laws, as the draft of the Constitution says, express the will of the working class and defend the interests of the broad working masses. They are opposite in principle to the bourgeois and revisionist laws which express the will of the exploiting minority and serve to oppress the great majority of the people and keep them in bondage.

Our legislation, as an element of the superstructure, is determined by the socio-economic base and, for its part, operates actively to preserve and strengthen the socialist economic base. With the perfecting of socialist relations of production, the juridical norms too, are perfected and changed. In this dialectical process our Party is guided by the Marxist-Leninist thesis that our legislation should reflect the objective reality in each stage of the development of our socialist society.

The draft of the Constitution reflects the principle of socialist legality as follows: «The state organs, enterprises, institutions, organisations, the representatives of the state power and officials are duty-bound to observe and implement the Constitution and laws in their activity...» (Article 11).

The main link in the struggle for the strict implementation of the laws is the strengthening of the educative work with the cadres and the masses so that they know the laws and create deep convictions about the necessity of implementing them.

The fact that, as a result of the continual raising of the ideopolitical and cultural level of the masses, the laws in our society are respected and implemented by the great majority of the people voluntarily, does not negate the need to exercise the violence of the dictatorship of the proletariat against the minority which does not submit voluntarily to the requirements of the laws does not negate the need for the implementation of state coercitive measures. The people's court is an organ to exercise the oppressive function of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which,



An aspect of the plenary session of the Conference

under the leadership of the Party, realises socialist justice.

A special organ for the control of the strict and uniform implementation of the laws is the State Attorney's Office.

The Party of Labour of Albania has always devoted great importance to the problem of the defence of the homeland,

because without it there is neither people's state power nor socialism.

Proceeding from the decisions of the Party and the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha, that defence is the duty above all duties and that the homeland belongs to the entire people, therefore it is defended not only by the army, but by

the entire people, the draft of the Constitution, in the section on state organisation, devotes a special place to the defence of the country, reflecting its main principles.

In the present historical circumstances, when our country is surrounded by savage imperialist enemies, with US impe-

rialism at the head, and by revisionist enemies, with Soviet social imperialism at the head, it can cope with any external aggression wherever it may come from, with one aggressor or a coalition of aggressors, by means of replacing «the barracks army» with the people armed and organised militarily, by means of the people's war.

Precisely for these reasons, the new Constitution proclaims the principle that «the defense of the homeland and of the victories of socialism is guaranteed by the armed people».

People's war requires that the armed people should have their people's army, without castes and privileges, but united like flesh to bone with the people, like our people's army which is qualitatively different from the antipopular and aggressive armies of capitalist and revisionist countries, which serve to carry out aggression, suppress the freedom of other peoples, and ensure superpower hegemony.

The direction and organisation of our armed forces is done on the basis of the revolutionary military science of people's war, which reflects the line of our Marxist-

Leninist Party on the problems of the country's defence.

For the direction, organisation and mobilisation of all the forces and resources of the country for the defence of the homeland, the Defence Council is created, which acts according to the instructions and directives of the Central Committee of the Party. The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party is the Commander in Chief and, at the same time, also Chairman of the Defence Council.

The leadership of the Party in the army has been and remains the decisive factor in all the victories over the external and internal enemies. Therefore, the draft of the Constitution expressly sanctions the leading role of the Party in the army, which constitutes one of its distinctive features.

Our socialist State is an independent, free, and sovereign state. To defend our complete independence, freedom and sovereignty, the draft of the Constitution proclaims that the territory of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is inalienable and its borders are inviolable, the establishment of foreign military bases and forces within it, is prohibited.

This principle is of very great political importance, for it expresses once more the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist line of our Party, loyal to the end to our socialist homeland, to the people and socialism, and consistent fighter for the defence of national independence and the sovereignty of the people.

The draft of the Constitution lays down that nobody has the right to sign or accept, on behalf of our State, the capitulation or occupation of the country. Such an act is treason towards the homeland. The aim of this principle is to educate the broad masses of the people with the feeling of love for the homeland, sacrifice, self-denial, and determination to fight against any enemy and in any situation, and to give them a powerful weapon against anyone who betrays the homeland and capitulates to the enemy or recognises foreign occupation.

The draft of the Constitution likewise proclaims that nobody, apart from the organs defined in the Constitution, can exercise the sovereignty of the people and any of its attributes in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and in its name.

THE ECONOMY OF THE PRA IS SUCCESSFULLY COPING WITH EVERY IMPERIALIST - REVISIONIST BLOCKADE

by **KIÇO KAPETANI**

The People's Republic of Albania is one of the few countries in the world without taxes and levies, with complete electrification of the villages, with jobs for everybody and stable prices. There are very few countries which, despite the grave crisis that has gripped the economy of the capitalist-revisionist world, have maintained so stable an economy

OUR PARTY OF LABOUR AND COMRADE ENVER HOXHA HAVE CONTINUALLY STRESSED THAT THE DECISIVE FACTOR IN THE REVOLUTION AND IN THE CONSTRUCTION AND DEFENCE OF SOCIALISM IS THE INTERNAL FACTOR, THE COLOSAL FORCE OF THE PEOPLE LED BY THE PARTY, THE INTERNAL HUMAN, MATERIAL, AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES OF THE COUNTRY. BECAUSE IT HAS BEEN GUIDED BY THESE TEACHINGS AND HAS FOUGHT TO PUT THEM INTO PRACTICE, ALBANIA TODAY HAS A STRONG ECONOMY, AN INVINCIBLE DEFENCE, GREAT ENTHUSIASM AND A HIGH SPIRIT OF CREATIVENESS AMONG THE BROAD WORKING MASSES AND, IN THE FIRST PLACE, AMONG THE RANKS OF THE WORKING CLASS. THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL REALITY IS SUCH THAT IT IS CHARACTERIZED BY HIGH AND STABLE RATES OF DEVELOPMENT, BY THE CONTINUAL STRENGTHENING OF ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE, BY THE DEFEAT OF ANY IMPERIALIST-REVISIONIST BLOCKADE AND THE STEADY ALLROUND IMPROVEMENT OF THE MATERIAL AND CULTURAL LEVEL OF THE WORKING MASSES. AND THIS RATE AND STABILITY IN ITS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT HAS BEEN ENSURED BECAUSE IN THE PR OF ALBANIA THE GREAT MARXIST-LENINIST PRINCIPLE OF SELF-RELIANCE HAS ALWAYS BEEN CONSISTENTLY IMPLEMENTED.

The principle of self-reliance is one of the fundamental principles with permanent and allround application, in achieving the

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success and triumph of the revolution, in the construction of socialism and in its defence. It stems from the main place which the development and solution of internal contradictions occupies in the process of

the development of society and the decisive role they play. The Marxist-Leninist theory teaches us this, while proven practice has confirmed it with thousands of facts.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out that «the internal factor in the revolution and the construction of socialism is decisive» that «in every activity the people must rely on their own forces». The external factor constitutes a complementary condition, a favorable circumstance or an obstacle, which may accelerate or slow the process of development, which indeed, exerts its influence not directly but through the internal factor and which is used effectively only when the internal factor exists and acts powerfully.

The modern revisionists have come out against this principle, describing it as «slipping into the positions of narrow nationalism», as «a deviation from prole-

tarian internationalism», as «isolation and enclosure in the national shell», etc. Of course, these inventions are in pursuit of their general anti-Marxist-counterrevolutionary aim. Through them they aim to justify the ill-famed theory of «limited sovereignty» which constitutes a permanent threat to the national dignity, freedom and independence of the peoples. Experience confirms that the economic integration which is being implemented today among the revisionist countries on the part of the Soviet Union has assumed a completely neocolonialist character.

The principle of self-reliance is a militant principle which expresses the revolutionary spirit, the readiness and determination to fight, to work and live under any conditions, however complicated they may be, to cope with all obstacles and difficulties and surmount them successfully, with unshakeable confidence in victory. It is, at the same time, an expression of proletarian internationalism because the working class and the communists of any country perform their fundamental duty, not only national but also international, by carrying the revolution to victory and building socialism successfully in their own country, making it a fortress and a base of support for the world revolution. He who has no faith in his own people, can never be an internationalist. The principle of self-reliance in no way excludes, on the contrary it presupposes, internationalist solidarity, as well as the forms of mutual aid and support which, undoubtedly, have their own importance.

For our Marxist-Leninist Party and our people, educated and led by it, self-reliance has never been either a temporary policy deriving from some special internal or external conjuncture, or a vague slogan, as various enemies have sought and are seeking to interpret it. Non self-reliance has been and remains a fundamental, permanent, and unshakeable Marxist-Leninist principle of the revolution and socialist construction.

Self-reliance is a question of the entire people and demands that everybody should devote his energies and talent to promoting the great cause of socialism, so that the material and cultural wellbeing of the masses is unceasingly raised on the basis of sweat and toil. In this field the P.R. of Albania has accumulated a wealth of experience which is of national and international importance.

The idea and practice of self-reliance starts from the beginning of the struggle for national and social liberation and runs through the entire history of the revolution and socialist construction, the preservation and strengthening of national independence and sovereignty in Albania. The Albanian people did not expect others to bring them freedom. Centuries of experience had taught them that freedom is not donated, but won. The Party made this fact very clear and, at the call of the Party the people rose up, seized weapons from the enemy, fought and defeated them. After the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat the Albanian people followed the same course. They set about the work to heal the wounds caused by the war, to carry out revolutionary transformations in the field of the economy. They built the economic base of socialism, set up industry from its beginnings, intensively developed agriculture and the other economic branches relying, primarily, on their own forces, on socialist accumulation, on the internal human and material resources.

During the entire 30-year period of the socialist construction of the country, a period replete with storms and threats, pressures and blockades, the PLA and the Albanian people, have never felt themselves desperately hard pressed because they have consistently pursued and implemented the principle of self-reliance. Right from the start, the PLA has upheld the principle that every country, relying on its internal resources, on its own assets, must build up a diversified economy, with heavy and light extracting and processing industry, with advanced agriculture, capable of guaranteeing the nonstop advance of socialism. And now, after three decades, we see the correctness of the line of the Party, its farsightedness. On top of this, the P.R. of China has given, and continues to give our country allround, internationalist, fraternal aid.

Today Albania has a developed complex industry, based on the local raw materials, which is ever better fulfilling the needs of the economy. A main characteristic of this development has been and remains the development of the revolutionary, creative and transforming initiative and self-action of the masses, the utilisation of the wealth of the country, the increase of the basic funds of the people's economy, the rapid and stable rates of the

increase of social production, the continual rise of the material and cultural wellbeing of the masses, and great economic and political stability.

The greatest proof of the correctness of the policy of the Party of Labour of Albania in the economic, political and social development of the country on the basis of the principle of self-reliance was given in the period after the year 1960, a period during which the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade was coped with successfully.

As is known, in the early 60's the Khrushchevite revisionists undertook allround attacks against socialist Albania in the economic field too, thinking that in this they had found the «Achilles'heel» to subjugate our Party and our country. The pressures exerted by Soviet revisionists in this field and the arbitrary measures they took were unprecedented in relations not only between socialist states, but even between bourgeois states. From beginning to end, these arbitrary measures and various pressures clearly express the imperialist character and the imperialist immediate and ultimate objectives of the Moscow revisionists.

Kruschov began his blackmail and pressure against our Party and country in the economic field with such «theses» and «theories» that the economic relations between the Soviet Union and Albania should be built and strengthened on a «new basis». By such «theories» and declarations he aimed and hoped to shackle the Party of Labour of Albania with agreements, so as to bring it to its knees later. But when they were exposed there and then by comrade Enver Hoxha, the revisionists went over to dirty arbitrary measures, such as: cutting off all credits, annulment of agreements on trade and technical and scientific collaboration, direct sabotage of the third five-year plan, withdrawal of the Soviet specialists from our country, along with the designs of projects and the expulsion of the Albanian students who were studying in the Soviet Union, the forming of an anti-Albania economic bloc with all the countries of Eastern Europe to sever or limit economic relations with our country, the efforts for economic isolation in the international arena to close foreign markets to Albania, refusal to supply grain in the most difficult period when, due to drought, a grave situation had arisen in Albania, in which even the

reserves, had almost run out. With this latter measure the Khrushchovites, aimed and hoped to starve our people into submission.

The Khrushchovites nurtured great hopes that with these measures and pressures they would soon realise their aims – the economic and political subjugation of our country. They did not believe that the Albanian economy was capable of being developed independently with its own material and financial resources, they did not believe that Albanian industry had the possibilities and capacities to fulfil the needs of the people's economy (particularly with spare parts for machinery which, until that period, were nearly all imported from the Soviet Union), they did not believe it was possible to secure the raw materials, fuels, machines, etc., for the economy within the country, they did not believe it was possible for our agriculture to fulfill the country's needs, and finally they did not believe that our specialists and cadres could possibly have the ability to run the country's economy independently.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has given the Khrushchevites an immediate clear-cut and courageous answer, declaring that «the Albanian people and their Party of Labour will even live on grass if need be, but they will never sell themselves for 30 pieces of silver, they would rather die honourably, on their feet, than live in shame on their knees».

The PLA immediately began to take a series of measures to defeat all the efforts of the Soviet revisionists to subjugate them economically. The revolutionary measures which it took had the aim and resulted in success in coping with the economic blockade by the Soviet imperialists and their minions and all the other imperialists and revisionists. On the basis of self-reliance every blockade was successfully combatted and high and stable rates of development of the people's economy in all its branches and sectors were ensured.

It is known that the most important index, which is a synthesis characterising the allround economic development of a country, is the index of national income. In 1974 our national income was several times higher than in 1960. To understand the importance and proportions of our rapid economic development, particularly after the year 1960, let us compare our rates of growth with those of various countries and areas of the world.

Concretely, the average annual rate of increase of the national incomes in Albania and other countries have been: (the figures have been calculated on the basis of the publication «Statistical Yearbook 1974, United Nations, pp. 10-11, 14 and 599-601).

	1960—1973	1970—1973
1. Albania	7.9	8.9
2. Industrialised capitalist countries	4.9	5.1
3. Revisionist countries	6.9	6.3

These figures clearly show that the rates of economic development during the period 1960-1973 in Albania have been much higher than those of the industrialised capitalist countries and the revisionist countries. During the period 1970-1973 alone the average annual rate of increase of national income in Albania has been 7.4 per cent higher than that of the industrialised capitalist countries; and 41 per cent higher than that of the revisionist countries. Characteristic is the fact that while the average annual rate of increase of national income in Albania has continued to increase, in the revisionist countries this rate has steadily declined (from 6.9 per cent to 6.3 per cent). And these figures are only up to the year 1973 the latest for which international statistics exist. If we also take into account that the figures of the years 1974-1975 (for which international statistics have not yet been published) during which the capitalist-revisionist world has been submerged in a grave economic crisis, the rapid economic development in Albania, in comparison with many other countries, will stand out even better.

The ensuring of high rates in our economic development and in the first place, in the increase of the country's national income, has brought about the constant growth of the internal material and financial resources which constitute the best guarantee of the consistent implementation of the principle of self-reliance. Relying on our own forces we have ensured rapid and independent economic development, while this development itself has created further conditions for the consistent implementation of the principle of self-reliance.

It must be pointed out that the implementation of the principle of self-reliance

in the field of the economy requires not only ensuring the maximum mobilisation of our material-financial and human resources but also the building of a correct and farsighted policy and practice for the use of these resources. The successes in the economic field, the successes in the implementation of the principle of self-reliance, depend not only on the quantity of the mobilised resources, but also on their efficient use for the present and the future.

It is the great merit of the Party and the Government of the P.R. of Albania that during the implementation of the principle of self-reliance not only have all the country's resources been mobilised, but a policy, a strategy and a tactic for the most efficient use of these resources has been built up giving the best combination of the interests of the present with those of the future. This has found its concrete expression, first of all in the use of the national income, in the use of all the material, financial and human resources of the country.

In the field of industrial development the PLA has pursued the policy of the continuation of the socialist industrialisation of the country at rapid rates. The building of a correct policy of rapid industrial development, giving priority to the increase of production of the means of production and, in the first place, to the key industrial branches such as the extracting, electric power, mechanical engineering chemical and other industries, the mobilisation of all the internal resources and the creative energies of the working masses, have resulted directly in a great development of industry, at stable and rapid rates, and the transformation of industry into a leading branch of our socialist economy. Through such vigorous industrial development, today industry provides more than 45 per cent of the national income realised in the country.

The implementation of the correct policy of industrialisation consists not only of ensuring high rates of development of industry, but also of the creation of modern, multi-branched industry, capable of fulfilling the most urgent needs of the country, of giving priority to the development of the branches of the production of the means of production, particularly of such branches as the mining, power, mechanical engineering, chemical, metallurgical, and other branches.

Only by pursuing this correct policy of industrialisation was Albania able to cope with the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade after the year 1960, to ensure the fulfilment of many needs of our economy for spare parts, machines, electric power, chemical fertilisers, etc.

After 1960 the modern revisionist tried to hinder our industrial development at all costs with a view to weakening our economic independence in this way, to make the consistent implementation of the principle of self-reliance quite impossible. It is obvious that without the rapid development of industry it would have been impossible to ensure our economic independence.

But despite the efforts of the revisionists and internal enemies to hinder the vigorous industrial development, since the year 1960, Albanian industry has scored its greatest successes. We need only mention that, in comparison with 1960, the volume of total industrial production increased, 3,71 times, or at an average annual rate of 9,8 per cent.

In order to have an idea of how great are our successes in the field of the development of industrial production today, comparisons can be made with the world as a whole and with its various regions. Thus, if we take only the period 1968-1973, it turns out that the average annual rate of increase of industrial production in Albania has been 10,6 per cent, or almost 100 per cent higher than the average rate of the industrialised capitalist countries, almost 80 per cent higher than the average rate of the countries of Western Europe, and 23 per cent higher than the average annual rate of increase of industrial production in revisionist countries. Characteristic is the fact that the rate of increase of industrial production in Albania has been higher than that of all the revisionist countries, and, in particular, 86 per cent higher than that of Hungary, 65 per cent higher than that of East Germany, 43 per cent higher than that of the Soviet Union, etc. (The figures have been calculated on the basis of «Statistical Yearbook 1974 United Nations», pp. 24-29, 32, 153-157).

While in the years 1974-1975 industrial production in Albania continued to increase at rapid rates, in the capitalist-revisionist world, gripped by the heavy economic-financial crisis, industrial production suffered big falls. Thus, towards the middle

of 1975, in comparison with the beginning of the crisis after 1973, industrial production had fallen in the USA by 14,3 per cent, in Italy 14,3 per cent, France 11,2 per cent, GFR 9 per cent, Britain 7,5 per cent.

The rapid industrial development in the PR of Albania is characterised, in the first place, by priority in the increase of production of the means of production as against the total increase of industrial production. Thus, while during the period 1960-1974 industrial production as a whole increased 3,71 times, production of the means of production increased 4,45 times, and its specific weight in total industrial production rose from 49,1 per cent in 1960, to 59,1 per cent in 1974.

Characteristic is the fact that in the period after 1960 an important qualitative turn was made in industrial development, which consists not only in raising the specific weight of the production of the means of production in general, but in the first place, in the increase of the production of work implements and whole machines, which constitute the most vital element of the production of the means of production. Thus, while during the period 1960-1974 the production of the means of production as a whole increased 4,4 fold, the production of work implements (including the bulk of the production of machines) increased 14,65 fold.

Industrial development in Albania during the last 15 years also has important qualitative features of a further improvement of the whole structure of the branches of industry, of the bringing into operation of very great and important industrial works in the future, giant projects comparable with those of many developed industrial countries (metallurgy, Fierza, Ballshi, etc.) Outstanding in the entirety of the strategy and tactic of our Party for rapid industrial development is the development of the most important branches of the extracting, electric power, mechanical, chemical, and other industries. While total industrial production increased 3,71 times in the period 1960-1974, the production of the power industry increased 7,3 times, the mechanical engineering industry 12,9 times, the chemical industry 23,3 times, etc.

Another direction in which the application of the principle of self-reliance stands out in bold relief is the general orientation to advance at rapid rates also in the development of agriculture. Comrade

Enver Hoxha has pointed out that in order to be strong, the Albanian economy must stand on both feet, on developed industry and advanced agriculture, for these constitute the two branches which increase the self-action of the economy, strengthen the economic and political independence of the country, and increase its defence capacity. If industry is developed divorced from agriculture, then the economy will surely be lame, will have a one-sided character, will be dependent on foreign countries for agricultural and other products so indispensable to the population, and will be under the influence of the fluctuations of the foreign market. The correct policy pursued by the Party of Labour of Albania to ensure a harmonious development of both industry and agriculture obviates such a situation.

Thanks to this policy, our socialist agriculture has developed and continues to develop at rapid rates, is becoming more and more intensive, is ever better fulfilling the needs of industry for raw materials and those of the population for agricultural and livestock products and is continually increasing exports. Another clear expression of our being guided, by the principle of self-reliance is the priority given to the production of bread grains, over all other agricultural crops, to become self-sufficient in bread, considering this as a question of great importance for strengthening the economic and political independence of the country.

By consistently pursuing the line of the intensification of agriculture (without neglecting its extension), by increasing its use of mechanised and chemical means, by turning agriculture into a concern of the entire people, the Party of Labour of Albania has continually mobilised the working masses to tap all the reserves to increase agricultural production. Thanks to these measures, in 1974 as against 1960, the volume of agricultural production increased almost 2.2 times over, i.e. at an average annual rate of 5.8 per cent. Such a success is rarely achieved by other countries of the world. In order to become convinced of this, we need only compare the data of international statistics, the indices of the growth of volume of agricultural production and average annual rates of increase for the period 1965-1973. (The figures have been calculated on the basis of «Statistical Yearbook 1974 United Nations pp. 23-24).

World reports	1973 as against 1965	In percentage
	I n d e x	Average annual rate
1. Albania	151	5.3
2. Industrialised capitalist countries	117,3	2
3. Western Europe	119,4	2.2
4. Revisionist countries	140	4.3

These figures clearly show that the average annual rate of increase of volume of agricultural production during the period 1965-1973 in Albania has been 165 per cent higher than that of the industrialised capitalist countries, 23 per cent higher than the average annual rate in revisionist countries, etc. This is the best demonstration of our majestic successes in the agricultural branch, achieved thanks to the correct policy of the Party of Labour of Albania, thanks to the consistent implementation of the principle of self-reliance and the allround and selfless mobilisation of the cooperativist peasantry.

The measures of the Party and Government of the PR of Albania which ensured the rapid development of agriculture after the year 1960 consisted, first, in the increase of the motor power of agriculture. In 1974, as against 1960, the motor power of agriculture in 15 HP tractors units increased 3,37 times over. At the same time, while improving the technical equipment of agriculture, draft animals, and in particular draft oxen, which are of great importance to the cooperatives, have not been neglected for a single moment.

Second, these measures consisted in extending the use of chemicals in agriculture. The vigorous development of the chemical industry made possible an 8-fold increase of chemical fertilisers used in agriculture in 1974, as against 1960.

Third, as a result of the increase of the irrigation capacity of agriculture, in 1974 as against 1960, the irrigated area in agriculture was 2,37 times greater. This is very important in the conditions of Albania where, during the summer the quantity of rainfall is small.

Fourth, they consist in the improvement of the organisation of agricultural production, the dissemination of advanced experience and science to every agricultural cooperative.

All these measures, together with the selfless work of the working masses under

the leadership of the Party, yielded their results in the increase of agricultural production and particularly in the rates of yield of agricultural crops. In 1974, as against 1960, the wheat yield rate was 2,93 times higher, maize 2,7 times, etc.

The consistent implementation of the great revolutionary principle of self-reliance has given its wonderful results not only in industry and agriculture, but also in all the other branches of the economy. This is seen in the proportional development of the entire economy, and particularly in the rapid development of construction work. Now the construction enterprises in Albania are capable of undertaking the building of such giant projects as the metallurgical complex at Elbasan and the Fierza hydropower station. This is seen also in the great development of the branches of transport, communal economy, trade, education and health.

All this vigorous development has been expressed, in the final account, in the unceasing increase of the wellbeing of the working masses. While the working masses in the capitalist and revisionist countries find it more and more difficult to secure even the minimum means of livelihood, in our country we have a steady increase of the wellbeing of the working masses. In 1974 as against 1960 the per capita consumption fund has increased over 2 times. Ours is one of the few countries free of taxes and levies, with complete electrification of the villages, with jobs for everybody and stable prices. It is difficult to find another country in the world where, despite this grave crisis of the capitalist-revisionist world, retail prices have remained stable as they have done in Albania. This is a proof of the superiority of our socialist system and of the correct policy of the Party of Labour of Albania which consistently implements the principle of self-reliance.

It is precisely for this reason that comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «Historical experience in general and the reality of our country in particular, the majestic successes which socialist Albania has achieved have once again confirmed the correctness of the great Marxist-Leninist principle, that the internal factor in the revolution and socialist construction is decisive, that in every action, the people must rely on their own forces». (Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches 1969-1970, pp. 213-214).

THE VITALITY OF THE ART OF SOCIALIST REALISM IN PRESENT-DAY ALBANIAN ART

by DALAN SHAPLLO

The philosophical basis of present-day Albanian art is Marxism-Leninism, the teachings of the classical teachers of Marxism, the Marxist-Leninist aesthetic principles, as well as the teachings of the Party of Labour of Albania and comrade Enver Hoxha applying the Marxist-Leninist theory in the concrete national and international conditions

THE PRESENT-DAY ALBANIAN ART EXPRESSES THE SITUATION OF ALBANIAN SOCIALIST SOCIETY, ITS SPIRITUAL AND CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS. IT IS BASED ON THE CONCRETE REALITY AND ON THE SOCIO-AESTHETIC IDEAL. THIS IS THE ART OF A SOCIETY IN GROWTH, IN CONTINUOUS DEVELOPMENT. THE PRESENT-DAY ALBANIAN ART IS EXTENDING EVER MORE WIDELY AMONG THE MASSES, BECOMING A SPIRITUAL NOURISHMENT FOR THEM. IN THE CULTURAL LIFE OF THE COUNTRY, LITERATURE, THE FIGURATIVE ARTS, MUSIC, CINEMA AND THEATRE, PLAY A VERY GREAT ROLE; THEY HELP IN EDUCATING THE NEW MAN, GIVE HIM AESTHETIC PLEASURE AND BROADEN THE HORIZON OF HIS LIFE. THE NUMBER OF READERS IS CONSTANTLY RISING, THE AVERAGE SIZE OF AN EDITION OF A NOVEL IS UP, AND THE NUMBER OF VISITORS TO FIGURATIVE ARTS EXHIBITIONS LIKEWISE.

THE BROAD EXTENSION OF THE ART OF SOCIALIST REALISM AMONG THE MASSES IS A SIGN OF ITS MATURITY, ITS DEMOCRATIC CHARACTER AND PROFOUNDLY REVOLUTIONARY CONTENT, THE NATIONAL SPIRIT IT EXPRESSES, AND OF A HIGHER LEVEL, IN COMPARISON WITH THE PAST, OF THE UNITY OF THE CONTENT WITH THE FORM.

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The philosophical basis of present-day Albanian art is Marxism-Leninism, the precepts of the great classical teachers of Marxism, the Marxist-Leninist aesthetic principles, the teachings of the Party of Labour of Albania and comrade Enver Hoxha, applying the Marxist theory in the present-day national and international conditions. These guide our art on the correct course of the revolution. The ideological sources are closely linked with the economic and social reality, with the man of today who is building socialism, with the development of the class struggle in the present situation and the prospects of the future. The present-day Albanian literature, which had its beginnings in the National Liberation War, has socialist realism as its

creative method. The principles concentrated in this method have been based on the world revolutionary artistic tradition and on national experience. The new Albanian art, which began with clarion call songs, with battle hymns, was born on Albanian soil, was based on revolutionary facts, on the features of the new man and was developed further with major genres, with numerous creative voices, with a rich variety of works which reflect life in broad and complex planes.

What is the national tradition of the Albanian art? It has had a distinguished tradition, especially literary, and particularly in the field of poetry. The freedom-loving romantic feelings, the exaltation of the beauty of the country, of man, the hatred

PRINCIPLES IN THE PRESENT -

towards the occupier, led to the poetry which sang so passionately to freedom, nature, the homeland and love. The romanticism of the national renaissance was born on the Albanian soil; it has points of similarity with European romanticism and to some extent also with oriental poetry, especially with those works which sang to patriotism and saw the problem of national liberation as an historical necessity and as an internal demand of the individual, of the man of the people, thirsting for freedom.

There have been traditions in other arts, too, although not in the same proportions as in literature, especially in figurative arts, in architecture, as well as in music. Outstanding in these arts is the Albanian spirit through the centuries, the yearnings of the man in bondage but also the undying popular optimism, the feelings of taste and elegance of the common man, his great work and strivings in society with antagonistic classes. The new Albanian art of socialist realism has profited from this progressive Albanian tradition, from the work of the great poets such as Naim Frashëri, De Rada, Çajupi, Mjeda, Fan Noli, Migjeni, and others; of painters such as Onufri, Miho, etc., Folklore with its immortal poetry, music, and dances, has been and remains an important source.

Apart from the national tradition, the world tradition of progressive and revolutionary art has also served as a literary and artistic source. In the post-liberation

period, many masterpieces and notable works by foreign writers, from Homer down to writers of our days, have been translated and published in Albania. We have works by Servantes, Shakespeare, Hugo and Balzac, Goethe and Schiller, Tolstoy and Gorky, Shaw and Ibsen, Lu Sun, and many others in Albanian.

Socialist realism continues the progressive tradition and, in the first place, the realist tradition. A critical stand is adopted towards the heritage of the past: In evaluating creative works account is taken of the historical conditions and the world outlook of the writer.

Along with the national tradition, which occupies the main place, the works of foreign writers, composers, painters and sculptors, the creative methods and trends developed in different historical periods, are also studied in the schools.

While evaluating authors of socialist realism like Gorky and Mayakovski, the present Albanian historico-literary thinking seeks the premises of this creative method even earlier, in the poems of the Paris Commune, in poets like Heine, etc., who was highly valued by Marx and Engels for the revolutionary accents of some of his poems.

Despite the revisionist betrayal, which is expressed with the total departure from the positions of socialist realism in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, despite the fight that the bourgeois and revisionist aesthetes are putting up against this

method, its principles are immortal and rank as a summing up of the practice of revolutionary art and of Marxist-Leninist creative thinking in this field. Revolutionary art has its own values in many countries of the world and constitutes an incontestable historical reality.

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Basing itself on Marxist-Leninist philosophy, on the materialist concept, present-day Albanian art, which is guided ideologically by the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, proceeds from the basic principle that the reality is fundamental, that themes and inspiration are found there, and that the world of the artist is not just his subjective consciousness. The Albanian artists combat subjectivism, in whatever form it may appear. On the other hand, neither are they for cold objectivism, which would lead to naturalism or to an indifferent picture of life. The ideas, the transforming thinking the solution which the artist gives to the problems of life, play a major role in the works of socialist realism. Hence, the principle of the truth of life is closely connected with the world outlook that motivates the artist and with that principle which we call communist partisanship.

Literature encompasses the epic, lyrical and dramatic aspects of life. The truth is that the very events and circumstances of our life, the struggle against the impe-

realist-revisionist blockade, the heroism of life have emphasised the epic aspect, therefore such genres as the monumental novel, film, painting and sculpture, etc., have had notable development. But this does not mean that lyrical and dramatic aspects have not had their own development. These aspects have been interwoven with one another. The internal world of the poet is a part of the present-day Albanian reality and he does not divorce himself from the great problems of the nation.

In the main documents of the Party, in comrade Enver Hoxha's speeches, the need for knowledge of life of the working man, for delving deep into the class struggle and the reflection of these things from revolutionary positions, has always been stressed.

Speaking of the further assimilation of the teachings of the Party and of becoming more deeply immersed in the impetus of life in his speech of December 20, 1974, comrade Enver Hoxha says about the creations of our writers and artists:

«As to their usefulness and majesty, their works will be like the giant hydropower stations, the factories and combines, the beautiful plains with wheat and the hills covered with fruit trees, they will be like the beauties of our cities, schools and crèches where the happy children of our socialist country laugh and sing, where the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, with their minds and skills are creating and building a new happy, and prosperous life».

The best works in literature and other arts testify to close connection with life, to the implementation of the principles of realism, of the reflection of «typical characters in typical circumstances», as Engels said, thus, for example, the Albanian novel of socialist realism filled the gaps of the past by providing complete, realist tableaux through multi-plane subjects. Knowledge of life, of man, of his social activity and psychological world underlies many artistic works. The novel «The Dead River» by Jakov Xoxa is a multi-coloured reflection of the life of the Albanian peasant of the pre-liberation period, with his sufferings, dreams and desires, with his hopes and disillusionments, presented

through a class struggle, realistically conceived. The spiritual force of the people is clearly brought out in this work. Likewise, novels like «Before the Dawn» by Shevqet Musaraj, or «Commissar Memo» by Dritëro Agolli, present aspects of the National Liberation War. The former tells of the political struggle and the participation of various strata in the National Liberation Movement; the latter tells about the awakening of the masses under the influence of the ideas of the Party, about the figure of the communist acting amongst the fighters. Similarly a number of novels have been written which give broad pictures from post-liberation life, such as the novel «Confrontation» by T. Laço which describes the post-war years when we were struggling to ensure food supplies to establish new norms in the relations between town and countryside, through a fierce class struggle with the feeling of private ownership in one's consciousness, giving us the enthusiasm of the masses in embracing the line of the new state.

In other arts, too, particularly in painting, in the genre of composition or portrait, we find realised aspects of the life, and heroism, of the people, of Albanian history and the present. The colours of painting are vivid, as the Albanian nature is; the figures are understandable and clear, but with an artistic beauty which is connected with the realistic concept and with the light of the perspective shed on them by the communist ideal. Thus, among many works of figurative arts, mention can be made, from the viewpoint of trueness to life in various periods, of «Story from the National Liberation War», by Nexhmedin Zajmi, which gives the atmosphere of war, in a simple peasant home; a composition of our days, «The Voice of the Masses» by Sali Shijaku, reflecting types of workers in the painter's studio giving their judgements on the artistic work, the portrait, «Shote Galica», by Ismail Lulani, about a heroine who led the unit against the enemies, the tableau «Comrades in war, comrades in life», which takes us to the days immediately after the war, when a partisan couple pose for their wedding photo in the ruins of the city, etc.

The principle of truth, clarity, and rich vital material runs through the whole of Albanian art, in all its kinds and genres.

This principle is closely linked with the communist partisanship which is fundamental to the method of socialist realism. In basing ourselves on this principle, we clearly recognise that the nature of art at all times is always tendentious, and the great aim which has always characterised real art in the service of the people and the development of this trend up to clear communist partisanship, in the period of the intensification of the class struggle, the period of the great clash between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The Leninist principle of partisanship is being implemented today in a creative manner in Albanian art and stands in confrontation to the bourgeois-revisionist attacks and distortions. The accusations made about dogmatism rebound on the enemies of the revolution who, through hypocrisy, falsity and demagoguery, are striving to conceal their real features and their dependence on capital, on imperialism or social imperialism.

Many examples of our art could be cited to demonstrate that communist partisanship does not turn the artist away from the truth of life, but on the contrary impels him towards it and thus a harmonious merging takes place between the two. The patriotic and internationalist elements are seen in many works, especially in poetry, which sings to the homeland and to the peoples who are fighting for freedom, and independence. The ideas of communism and patriotism were brought out clearly in poems such as «Prishtina», by Ll. Siliqi, which describes a German concentration camp and the moral strength of the prisoners, «What are these mountains thinking about», by Ismail Kadare, in which a summing up is made of the course of the Albanian people in history, poems by A. Çaçi, L. Qafëzezi, D. Siliqi, «Bloody Alarms» by F. Arapi, dedicated to the National Liberation War, or the poem «Mother Albania», by D. Agolli, in which the qualities of a mother are attributed to the homeland, making it tender, immortal, and brave like a mother. Many poems ha-

ve been and are being written about the struggle of the peoples against imperialism, for example about the African peoples, Vietnam and Cambodia. The revolutionary history of various peoples enters the structure of many works, particularly poetical works.

Songs, too, and Albanian music in general, with such noted composers as N. Zoraqi, T. Daija, Ç. Zadeja, F. Ibrahim, A. Mula, A. Prodani, T. Harapi, L. Dizdari, express the communist partisanship and the national character of our art. Music relies heavily on popular creations and, of course, also on progressive world tradition. Ballets like «Halili and Hajrija» with music by T. Daija, choreographer Panajot Kanaçi, or «The Lass of the Mountains» with music by N. Zoraqi, choreographer Agron Alia, etc., also provide vivid, dynamic tableaux of history and of the present, expressing, through colourful dances, the spiritual wealth of the people, and their struggle for freedom.

Along with these characteristics realised in concrete works, the Albanian art has an important distinctive feature: its national and popular spirit. In defending these principles, we are fighting against the cosmopolitanism spread in the reactionary theories in the world, and against aesthetism, the aristocratic attitude towards art. The national tradition implies the internationalist spirit. No country whatever can contribute to the treasure of world culture unless its culture has a national colour, unless it gives the spirit of its own people. One work, among others which presents the stand against revisionism and friendship with the upright people of the world is the novel «The Discovery», by Anastas Kondo, which describes the hostile plans of a group of foreign geologists, sent by a revisionist country, among whom there is also one honest man and friend of our country, like the many there are in the world today.

These main principles of Albanian art have ensured its flourishing and have also brought about the harmonious development of the genres, the defining of creative individualities which are becoming more and more accentuated. There is a great variety of styles. Some are inclined more

towards narrative prose, such as S. Spase with his historical novels «The Awakening», or «Torchbearers», dedicated to the distinguished figures of the National Renaissance, others are distinguished for descriptive abilities and drama, such as F. Gjata with his novel «The Swamp», still others base the narration rather on historical documents, such as S. Godo with «Skënderbej», a great national figure, or are inclined towards symbolism and allegory within realism, such as I. Kadare with his «General of the Dead Army», still others are distinguished by a psychological style, like Dh. Xhuvani with his novel «On his Feet Again», A. Abdihoxha with «A Stormy Autumn», Dh. Shuteriqi with his short stories, and many others. Women writers such as L. Leka, E. Kadare, E. Mandia, etc. have also distinguished themselves. The number of women artists is constantly increasing both in literature and in other arts.

Likewise in painting and music the individualities of the artists stand out through genres and the method of painting or composition. Other creative personalities in figurative arts, apart from those mentioned above, who are distinguished for their styles, are O. Paskali, A. Buza, F. Stamo, K. Rama, K. Buza, M. Dhrami, Sh. Haderi, L. Dhrami, F. Haxhiu, etc.

There is pronounced realism and beautiful creative work in the field of cinematography too, just as there is in dramatic theatre. Stage art is becoming more and more popular, more beloved by the masses. Films like «The Commissar of the Light», with director V. Gjika and Dh. Anagnosti and scenario writer Ll. Siliqi. «White Road», with director V. Gjika and scenario writer Vath Koreshi, etc., enjoy great popularity here.

The film «The Commissar of Light» proceeds from the noble idea of spreading education even to the remotest corners of our homeland and shows with what a struggle this was achieved in post-liberation Albania. The spreading of the written world in Albanian required sacrifices and sometimes complete self negation in struggle with the clergy and with ignorance. Whereas the film «White Roads», through a simple human drama, shows the

work of a telephone linesman who sacrifices himself so that people may communicate with one-another and enjoy the New Year celebration. There is much lyricism, sincere love and vivid colours in this film.

Artistic creativity is becoming ever broader and of a higher quality.

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Proceeding from the principles of the method of socialist realism, the present-day Albanian art puts even more stress on realism. Those who accuse this creative method of being dogmatic and stagnant, base their allegedly scientific opinions on the so-called idea of continuous innovation, of new techniques which must replace one-another, on the theories of «non-alignment» and «self-expression» of art, which, in their opinion, has only subjective values and has no reason to proceed from the aim of serving society. All these and other so-called theories are a continuation of the subjectivist formalist schools and, in reality, are trying to conceal the dependence of artists on capital; they are direct expressions of the spiritual or philosophical chaos of the vacillating petty-bourgeois strata.

Albanian revolutionary aesthetic thinking strives in the first place to keep art loyal to the socialist and communist ideals, and permeated by the popular and national spirit. This requires that its Marxist-Leninist purity and direct connection with life, with the working masses from whom the themes and inspiration stem must be preserved. This revolutionary spirit of Albanian art is in opposition to the decadent modernist trends and the art which upholds the present day revisionist ideas and policy in the Soviet Union and other former socialist countries.

Revisionism in politics and ideology has found its complete expression in the literary and artistic works which have appeared in the Soviet Union since the time the Khrushchevite clique came to power. The art of that country has rejected any revolutionary tradition. Despite the demagoguery used by the Soviet revisionist theoreticians, nothing has remained of the former tradi-

tion. The antirevolutionary spirit of this art, which proceeds from pacifism and abstract humanism and anti-heroism, is clearly seen in such works as «The Thaw» by I. Ehrenburg, «The Fate of Man» by M. Sholokhov, «After space, space» by A. Tvardovski, «The Living and the dead» etc., by K. Simonov, as well as in many conformist poems, which openly follow the Khrushchevite policy, by Yevtushenko and others. In later works, this spirit continues to deepen in two main directions, which have a common antirevolutionary basis: openly in the direction of the policy of the social imperialist superpower, which is expressed in works which inspire the great-Russian «grandeur», in chauvinist works which are predated by the idea of pan-slavism, far from any social view, as well as the other direction, which is becoming more pronounced of moral decadence. This direction is seen in works in which the cripple is defended and the former heroes of the patriotic war are ignored or regarded with scepticism; it can be seen in works where shady moral relations and the decline of the family, its bourgeois degeneration and the flood of all the individualist yearnings and self-pity are featured. This is also seen in works with an open nostalgia for everything old and slav. These are clear indications of the penetration of modernist-decadent trends in present day Soviet revisionist art.

In the Soviet Union today they are trying to justify this kind of art which is produced. Demagoguery is also much in use, although there is a wide gap between the words and the creativity itself. In the Soviet theorisations about art they often come out openly with the views that the theses about partisanships, the positive hero, are allegedly outdated, but, above all, they negate the class struggle, the communist ideals and their reflection in the work of art. They justify all this from the external aspect, with the alleged idea of the continuous «evolution» of art in the present-day conditions. There is nothing more sickening and false than the hypocritical statements in which degeneration is presented as «progress» and the negation of revolutionary principles as a «creative attitude» towards them.

The art of socialist realism in Albania, which rejects this art and this view, is an art with deep-going innovation, because its innovating character does not proceed from subjectivist experimentations, but from the new in life, from the overturn of the old feudo-bourgeois relations and their replacement with socialist relations. This innovation of content brings innovation also in form, but we regard this relation between content and form with a dialectical eye and we do not reconcile ourselves to the negation of tradition, just as we do not reconcile ourselves to anachronistic, outdated forms, either. Innovation does not consist in changing the terms or naming the schools, the main thing here is the content, and there is nothing more innovatory than true realism, and particularly revolutionary, socialist realism, because it starts from life, and it is precisely life which is constantly changing according to certain definite economic and social laws. The Partisan thought, criticism, and literary opinion in Albania, have always defended and continue to defend the idea that socialist realism must be conceived, not as something petrified and static, but always in movement, dynamic because socialist society is advancing at rapid rates, and the mechanical repetition of the same themes and the same artistic solutions must be avoided. The struggle against modernism and conservative routine is a reality which is observed in practice and felt in the course of the development of art. Thus the novel has evolved taking broad proportions in reflecting the masses and the individual, in the combination of time planes to bring out better the analogy of the times and the thought of the writer; monumental sculpture has further developed, presenting the majesty of the time, genres which are known and developed earlier, such as portrait and landscape, have undergone changes; poetry has merged reality with the inner world of the writer; film has been enriched with drama and massive scenes, whereas ballet has blended the classical and national forms, obtaining new powerful emotions, worthy of an art which proceeds from the idea that the people are the principal motive force of history and that the

outstanding individual has his roots among the people and in their history. All these forms of evolution are typical of Albanian art and create a diversity of styles, a wealth of content, and artistic individualities. But the artists have a common aim, the revolution, its spirit and ideas, reflection of the people. This unites the individualities which do not act separately, do not get lost in the labyrinth of individualism.

Man must be the focus of art; the views of dehumanisation have no long life as they are essentially erroneous. This problem should not be looked at in the abstract and outside the class struggle. In art and theoretical thinking, man is seen as a social being, belonging to a given class; he is seen as an «entirety of social relations», as Marx said. Expressions of humanism that overrides classes or expressions of the exclusion of man from art, replacing him with symbols, with conventional signs, are alien to Albanian art, and when they have appeared here and there in individual works or theories, they have been criticised and combated. At all times, true art has been centred on man, the progressive strata of society, and extreme conventionalism or abstractionism has nothing to do with the deepening of generalisations and philosophy, as is claimed, but on the contrary, with the deformation of thought, with the philosophy of disorientation and pessimism. It is natural that true art today is becoming more philosophical, more poetic, because thought is penetrating deeper and deeper into the fabric of the contemporary work, which has fact and reality at the heart of it. The stylistic forms may be many and variegated, hence the need to use symbols and convention when they emanate from life and when they do not spoil the correct relationships between objects and their reflection (art may give better explanations of the various aspects of phenomena and the world of man, but must not deform and distort them until they are unrecognisable and absurd). Because we proceed from the philosophy of life and not of death, from revolutionary and not abstract humanism, from the possibility of knowing the world of man and not from agnosticism, we are

against abstractionism or existentialism, as well as against revisionism in art.

The theories which justify departure from realism describe the figurative nature of art as outdated; they pretend that, in contemporary art the necessity for the concrete reflection of man, in time and space, as well as of real forms of nature, no longer exists, and indeed they consider even the very reflection of them to be unnecessary. These theories began in the manifestos of the subjectivist trends of the beginning of the century and continued later with the theories of the «anti-novel», with the formalist structuralist forms, and they have idealism as their philosophical basis. It is obvious that reflection does not provide an adequate copy of the objects (and for the realist art this is not necessary either), because the realist imagination combines the essence and its concrete manifestation, seen in the light of the ideal, of the artistic world outlook. The possibilities of knowing are many and inexhaustible, so the artist who wants to discover the truth, cannot be satisfied with the level attained and is always inclined towards emotional and rational knowing of the world. Socialist realism does not reconcile itself to naturalism and always aims towards the extension of the possibilities of knowledge of life. But this cannot be done by negating the specific figurative quality of art. The new ways of artistic expression can point out better one or another aspect of the phenomenon, according to the theme, the idea, the objective of the author, the distinctive features of a culture, the folklore of a country, etc. But departure from the figurative character of art (we are not speaking of decorative arts) brings only deformation, it isolates art from life, and leads automatically to its dying out. In these cases, as we noticed in various modernist schools, when any real form is destroyed or schematised and expressed with symbols which are only incomprehensible conventions, art no longer has to do with the great aim of serving mankind, as it set out to do from the most ancient times, but is turned into a lie, emptiness and total degeneration.

Manifestations of formalism and isolation from life in poetry, painting, etc.,

have occurred in Albania, too; but they have always been combated, and these arts too, are advancing on a correct course, towards clarity, ability to communicate, which does not mean either schematism or vulgarisation. Thus, the progressive thinking from Albanian practice and relying on the best examples of world art, is fighting for the realist art which it takes in its own dynamic, but always proceeding from reality, from man, from the class struggle and materialist and revolutionary philosophy.

Albanian aesthetic thinking has defended and continues to defend the idea of the reflection of the positive hero in literature and art, of the best man in society, who is now encountered more often in day to day life. This hero must be schematic, but alive, vital and must emerge in the course of struggle through the reflection of contradictions, with clear and powerful social ideals. The reflection of the contradictions of life and their correct resolution is a major problem of socialist realism. There are ample traditions in this field. Because of their thorough disclosure of the conflicts of bourgeois society, works by Balzac, Tolstoy, Dickens, Ibsen, Dreiser, Shaw, Kazantzakis, and others are very highly thought of in Albania. For their anti-conformist, revolutionary, and anti-fascist spirit, poems or dramas by Euler Lorke, Brecht, Maçado enjoy respect; even today they arouse hatred against the forces of darkness, against Francoism and its followers. The works of anti-imperialist patriotic poets of Asia, Africa, Latin America, who are fighting for their rights and freedom are also very well liked.

The Albanian art of socialist realism is developing and has a sure perspective. The sympathy which the works being published and performed enjoy among the masses, the real influence they exert on the consciousness of people testify to this. The Albanian artists have many friends and comrades-in-arms in all parts of the world and they are convinced that the future belongs to the art which tells the truth and is raised and will be raised to the level of revolutionary communist thought.

FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY

The 20th volume of the Works of comrade ENVER HOXHA came off the press

The 20th volume of the Works of comrade Enver Hoxha came off the press in Albania. This volume of the Works of comrade Enver Hoxha includes documents belonging to the period January-April 1961. These documents, the majority of which are published for the first time, were written at a time when our country had just entered the third five-year plan, while in the ranks of the international communist movement, the modern revisionists, headed by the Khrushchevite revisionists, had intensified their disruptive activity, pressures, and blackmail, and were striving to organise a bloc against the Marxist-Leninist parties which were opposed to revisionism.

In these conditions the PLA considered that its first duty was to vigilently defend and consistently implement its revolutionary line, the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice of socialist construction, to consolidate the victories achieved, to defend and propagate the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism at which the modern revisionists were aiming their attacks.

The most outstanding event of this period, to which the majority of the materials of the present volume are dedicated, is the IV Congress of the PLA, which was held from 13-20 of February 1961. Drawing the balance-sheet of the deep-going transformations that had occurred in our country, this Congress arrived at the conclusion that in the PRA the economic base of socialism had been built in both town and countryside and that now Albania was entering a new historical stage – the stage of the complete construction of the socialist society. The Congress also discussed and approved the directives of the third five year plan (1961-1965) for the economic and cultural development of the PRA.

The materials included in the present volume, particularly the historic report and the closing speech at the Congress, the speech at the I Plenum of the CC of the Party, the conversations with delegations of the communist and workers' parties that participated in the Congress, etc., are a clear reflection of the profound Marxist-Leninist analysis and scientific generalisations which the PLA and comrade

Enver Hoxha made of the revolutionary experience of the socialist construction of the country and the international communist movement. They show the Marxist-Leninist treatment of major problems, such as the leading role of the working class and its party, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the uninterrupted development of the class struggle as well as of the problems of the revolution and revolutionary transition to socialism, the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism etc.

The IV Congress of the PLA was another powerful blow against the anti-Marxist-Leninist views and the hostile activity and aims of the modern revisionists. The Soviet revisionist leaders and their followers hoped that the IV Congress of the PLA would not approve the activity of the delegation of the PLA to the Moscow Meeting of November 1960; they dreamed that the leadership would be isolated from the bulk of the Party and the events would be turned to their advantage. It was for these sabotaging and conspiratorial aims that the delegations of the CPSU and of some other countries came to the IV Congress of the PLA.

But quite the opposite occurred. By unanimously approving the historic report delivered by comrade Enver Hoxha, as well as the activity of the delegation of the PLA at the Moscow Meeting of the 8th communist and workers' Parties, the IV Congress of the PLA demonstrated the steel-like unity of the Party of Labour of Albania, its Marxist-Leninist maturity, courage and valour and its fighting spirit. It expressed its unwavering determination to always march on the correct Marxist-Leninist course of the Party.

At its IV Congress, the PLA showed self-restraint and did not bring out publicly the revisionist activity of the Soviet revisionist leaders and their followers. But it gave the reply it deserved to the anti-Marxist and conspiratorial actions of the emissaries of the Soviet revisionist leadership and those in their service. While maintaining their composure, the delegates to the Congress put the provocateurs with their backs to the wall and completely associated themselves, not only with the



Every volume of the works of comrade Enver Hoxha is welcomed with great interest by the entire Albanian people. Young people are among the first ones to fill the book-shops in this case. The first day of the sale of the 20th volume in one of the book-shops of the Capital

report of the Central Committee but also with the contributions to the discussion of the leaders of the Party and other delegates to the Congress, which all had the same spirit of Marxist-Leninist ideological and organisational unity as the report.

In the writings published in this volume, special care and attention is devoted to the problems of enhancing the revolutionary vigilance and strengthening the preparedness and defence capacity of the Homeland. The Party and comrade Enver Hoxha annihilated the efforts of the Soviet revisionists to weaken the defence potential of the PRA and to use the Warsaw Treaty as an instrument of pressure and violence, and destroyed the joint imperialist-revisionist plot concocted against the PRA, which was accompanied by provocative manoeuvres of the US 6th Fleet in the waters of the Mediterranean and the Adriatic, and which had the camouflaged support of the Soviet leadership. The destruction of the plans of the enemies was ensured thanks to the com-

plete readiness of the working masses to defend the victories achieved and the freedom and independence of the Homeland.

The problems related to the analysis, and understanding of the great and difficult tasks laid down by the historic IV Congress, and the general mobilisation to carry them out in practice, occupy an important place in this volume. Seeing that the Soviet revisionists and their followers were intensifying their sabotage and anti-Albania activity and were going over to the organisation of plots and blockades, the Central Committee of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha instructed that all-round preparations must be made to cope with these conspiracies and blockades, that economic matters must be taken firmly in hand, that they must be understood politically and that all the difficulties must be overcome with courage and heroism to realise the plan in all directions, by relying on our own forces, as well as on the internationalist support of the world

revolutionary forces, particularly of the PR of China, which showed itself ready to help the PRA at those difficult moments. The instruction that the communists should carry out all-round explanatory, and educative work to convince the masses, so that everybody, old and young, would rise to his feet to successfully carry out the great and glorious tasks raised by the new stage of socialist development, was the order of the day.

The documents included in the 20th volume of the Works of comrade Enver Hoxha are of major theoretical and practical importance. Like all his other works they are a weapon in the hands of the communists, the cadres and the working masses, and serve as a banner of work and struggle to mobilise all their mental, physical, and organisational forces in the service of the Party, the Homeland, and socialism, to vigilantly defend the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to reinforce and carry forward the victories achieved in the construction of the new socialist society.

FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY

23rd anniversary of I. V. Stalin's death commemorated

On March 5th, on the occasion of the 23rd anniversary of the death of the great revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist, J.V. Stalin, Lenin's loyal disciple and successor, who advanced and further developed his thought and deed, who together with Lenin laid the foundation of and build the first socialist State in the world, many visits were made to the Lenin-Stalin Museum in Tirana by working people of the capital. Through the materials exhibited in the Museum, workers, school pupils, and servicemen acquainted themselves, with the glorious work of J.V. Stalin, who for 30 years on end successfully led

the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet proletarian State in socialist construction, who led the Soviet people and army in the Great Patriotic War which resulted in the destruction of German fascism and made that priceless contribution to the liberation of the peoples of Europe and the world.

On the same day a commemorative meeting was arranged at the «Stalin» textile combine. The textile workers and school pupils laid fresh flowers on the monument erected at the entrance of the combine in token of respect for J.V. Stalin.

The Teacher's Day

March 7, Teacher's Day, was celebrated amidst the popular joy aroused by the jubilee year of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Party and the discussion of the Draft-Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Various activities, such as conferences, scientific sessions, the opening of exhibitions dedicated to the work of teachers and the school, took place in all districts of the country, in schools, work and production centres, agricultural cooperatives, military units and State institutions.

The festival of the Albanian school is linked with the 7th of March 1887, when the first Albanian school was opened, although it achieved its full brilliance only with the complete liberation of Albania, on the 29th of November 1944. While the fight for freedom was being waged in the mountains the sound foundations of the people's democratic power, which was to put the school in the hands of the working people, were being laid. The people's revolution overthrew the foreign yoke once and for all and opened the doors of the school to the sons and daughters of poor workers and peasants, to those who would build socialist Albania and make it prosper.

The PLA solved all the problems of the school, the training and qualification of teachers, the building and equipping of schools, the plans, programmes and school textbooks, etc., in a revolutionary way.

After the successful all-out struggle,

which was waged against that old ulcer, illiteracy, compulsory 7 and 8 year schooling was extended to the most remote corners of the country. Full time and part time middle and higher education was greatly extended. Today, their efforts to gain schooling and culture have become an integral part of the lives of the Albanians people, are implanted deep in their minds and hearts. Pupils learn at school, but also in fields and factories, the workers and cooperativists pour out their sweat to make socialist Albania more prosperous and powerful but after work they pour into the schools.

In his historic speech of March 7, 1968, comrade Enver Hoxha presented a clear programme of the further revolutionary transformations which our school should undergo. On the basis of the directives of the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, the entire activity of the school was placed on the basis of three components: lessons, productive work, physical and military training, permeated by the ideology of the PLA. This great historical reality is also expressed in the draft of the new Constitution which we are discussing, article 33 of which says that «Education is organised and run by the state, is open to all and free of charge, it is built on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and combines lessons with physical work and physical and military training».

On the front of the school, lessons and

education, the Albanian teachers have become beloved to the pupils, the people and the Party. They have a lofty mission, they are participating directly in the communist education and the allround preparation of the younger generation, so that it will

fully ensure the continuity of the revolution and the socialist course. With the teachings of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha in their minds and hearts, the Albanian teachers and pupils with the backing and support of the entire society,

have transformed the school into a powerful centre of education where the younger generation learns, works, and tempers itself, so that tomorrow it will serve wherever the interests of the homeland require.

March 8 in Albania

The women of Albania and, together with them, the entire Albanian people, celebrated March 8, the day of international solidarity of women.

Meetings, get-togethers, thematic afternoons, festive evenings, and other activities were organised everywhere, at which speakers dealt with the victorious course which the Albanian women have traversed under the leadership of the PLA with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, and with the great contribution the women are making in all fields of life for the complete construction of socialist society.

On this occasion, the General Council of the Albanian Women's Union and the Tirana Council of the AWU organised a solemn meeting in the one of the halls of the Palace of Culture, which was attended by women and girl workers, cooperativists and intellectuals, veterans of the Antifascist National Liberation War, mothers and relatives of martyrs, and distinguished activists of the organisation. Party and State leaders were present among them, too.

The main address was delivered by the vice-President of the AWU General Council, Fahrije Saliçaj.

All the press organs dedicated their leading articles to March 8. In its leading

article dedicated to the Women's International Day, the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit», organ of the CC of the PLA, writes in part:

«All the victories which our people have scored in these past 35 years are closely and indissolubly connected with the name of the Party, with its revolutionary line, with its legendary struggle. The contribution of the Albanian women to the Antifascist National Liberation War and their participation in it shoulder to shoulder with their husbands, sons, and daughters, was massive, powerful, and apparent in town and countryside. After liberation, their strength, courage, maturity and patriotism burst out with the ever increasing power of a mighty, irrestrainable torrent. The women, as a part of the entire people, do everything for the implementation of the Party line. And on every March 8 they draw up the balance-sheet of the marvellous achievements that have been scored in the general framework of the triumphant revolution. The women workers, cooperativist and intellectuals, exemplary soldiers and tireless fighters, came to this year's celebration with a number of fresh victories in the struggle for the

strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for their complete emancipation, and the further strengthening of the great role that is theirs by right in the building and defence of the socialist homeland.

The revolution in the heart of the Albanian women is one of the wonderful deeds of the Party. After liberation, like everything else, the women of our country were regenerated, too, as a colossal progressive force, who, drawing inspiration from the lofty ideals of the Party, are working, thinking, creating, organising and running things in political, economic, social, educational, cultural and military life. Because of the contribution they made in the past during the great Antifascist National Liberation War, and are making today for the prosperity and the defence of the homeland, the Party and the people are deeply indebted to our mothers, wives, sisters.

On the occasion of March 8, International Women's Day, our comrades, mothers and sisters express their powerful solidarity with all the women who are fighting to throw off the heavy and detested capitalist and revisionist yoke. With all the warmth of their hearts they manifest their feelings of love, friendship and respect for the women and the great people of Mao Tse-tung's China and for the revolutionary women of the whole world».

One of the most ancient mosaics of the world of antiquity

The most ancient mosaics of our country and one of the most ancient of the world of antiquity was discovered in the city of Durrës recently.

The mosaic is in the form of an ellipse with a large diameter of 5.10 m., and a small diameter of 3 m. As a central figure it represents the head of a woman with a monumental posture. Her oval face is bright, with black eyebrows and with the contours of her eyes also black. In the middle of the black irises two small

yellow and red stones stand out, giving the eyes a special brilliance, while an orange coloured stone beautifies the inner corners of the eyes.

Ornamental plants surround the central figure. In a harmonious and not entirely symmetrical way, two large sprays of flowers and leaves have been drawn, full of roses, lilies, and daffodils about 18 all told, which have been worked with a rare taste and create a complete polychrome picture on an overall background of small

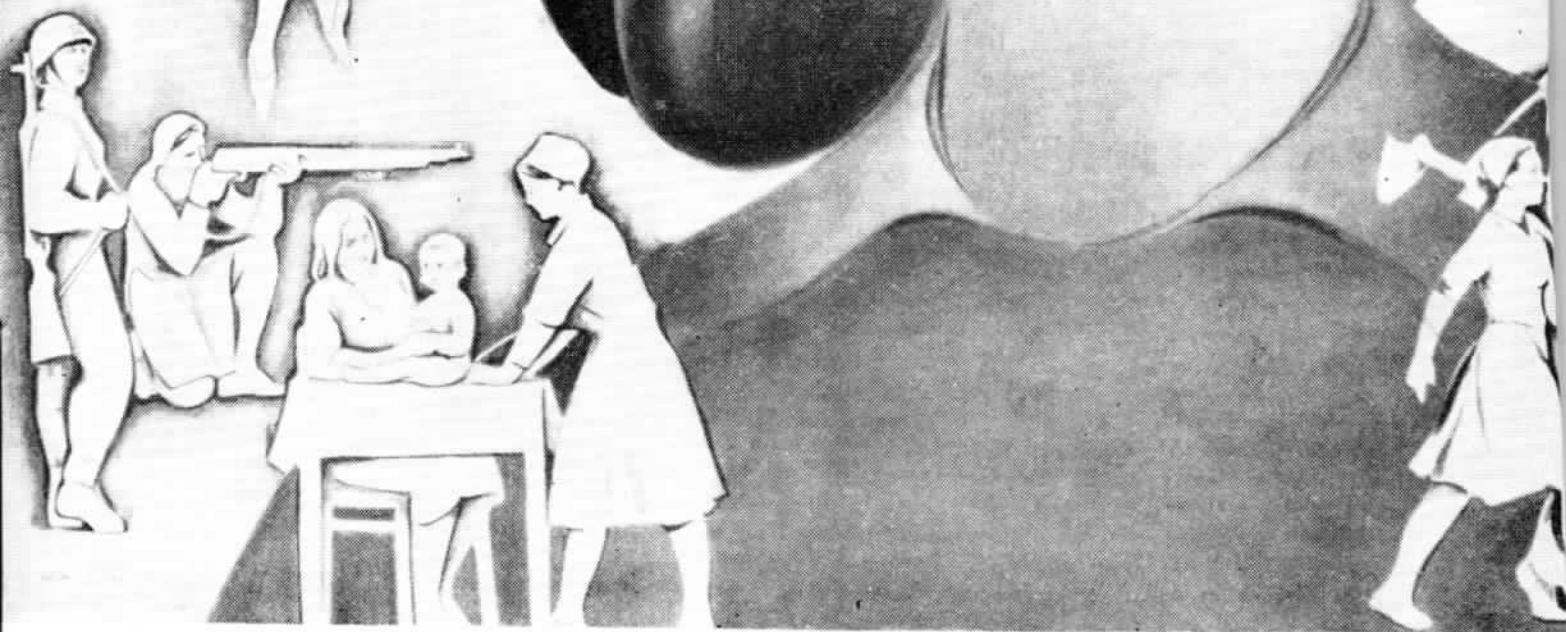
black stones, which attracts immediate attention for its beauty, elegance, freshness and simplicity of line.

Judging it from the technique of construction, ornamentation and the manner of composition, this decorative work belongs to a very ancient time, the end of the fourth century, or the beginning of the third century, before our era. As yet the nature of the complex of the structure to which this mosaic stratum belonged cannot be definitely determined as it has not been completely uncovered because of the structures built over it. Nevertheless, judging from the deepened stratum, the form and the water channel near by, it is likely that this surface adorned the floor of the pool of a luxurious bath-room.

GRUAJA DHEKU

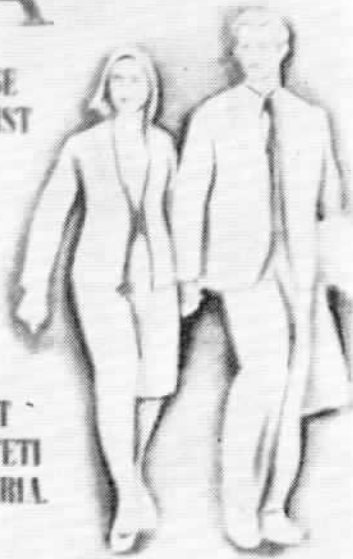
SHTETASIT GEZOJNE
TE DREJTEN E FALIS,
TE SHITYPIT,
TE MBLLEDHJES.

IBROJTJA
ATDHEUT
DETYRA ME
LARTI DHE
DEBI ME
MADRI.



SHTETUTA

- GRUAJA SHQIPTARE MERR PJESE
AKTIVE NE NDERTIMIN SOCIALIST
TE VENDIT DHE MBROJTJEN
E ATDHEUT.



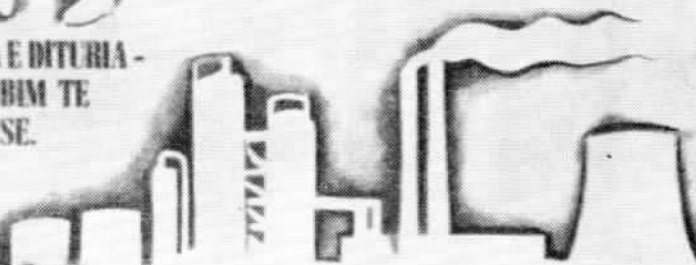
- FAMILJA
MBROHET
NGA SHITETI
E SHOQERIA.



- SHIKIMI E KULTURA -
E MASAVE
ERA -
PULLIT.



- SHKENCA E DITURIA -
NE SHERBIM TE
SHOQERISE.



- PUNA ESHTË
DETYRE E ADER.

**«Experience
shows us that we
must measure
advance
and progress
with the advance
and progress
of the woman.»**

ENVER HOXHA

A CONGRESS OF DEMAGOGY AND SOCIAL IMPERIALIST EXPANSION

SOME DAYS AGO THE TWENTY-FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE REVISIONIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION ENDED IN MOSCOW. FOR TEN CONSECUTIVE DAYS, DURING ITS PROCEEDINGS, THE BELLS OF THE SOVIET PROPAGANDA RANG OUT WITH ALL THE POWER AT THEIR COMMAND TO THE GLORY OF THE GREAT CZAR, BREZHNEV AND THE GLORY OF THE POWER OF THE NEW REVISIONIST RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

IN HIS SPEECH BREZHNEV TRIED TO PAINT AN IDYLIC PICTURE OF THE SOVIET UNION AND TO PRESENT THE PRESENT POLICY OF ITS LEADERSHIP AS AN INTERNATIONALIST, SOCIALIST POLICY OF PEACE AND SECURITY. HIS INTERNAL LIEUTENANT AND FOREIGN ADMIRERS ALSO SPARED NO EFFORT TO PRESENT THE PERIOD OF THE BREZHNEVAN RULE IN «EPOCHAL» COLOURS, TO PUT IT DOWN IN HISTORY AS A «BRILLIANT» PERIOD, ALMOST AS BRILLIANT AS THAT OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION OR THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR.

But reality remains reality. It cannot be disguised with advertisement nor be made brilliant with words, no matter how talented their users or how skilful the apologists.

The twenty-fifth congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was a continuation and a further deepening of the course of the new Khrushchovite leadership towards the intensification of the capitalist exploitation within the country and imperialist expansion abroad. Neither in essence nor in form did this congress differ from the previous ones organised by Brezhnev and his clique: just the same stale trifling with the term Leninism, the same refined social demagoguery, the same deceptive political phraseology, the same statistical juggling, the same vain boasting and empty promises. Only that this time the general secretary of the Soviet revisionist party had to exploit his entire arsenal of political somersaults and all the tricks of the opportunist propaganda, to present black for white, the failures as

«ZERI I POPULIT», organ of the Central Committee of the PLA

triumphs, the imperialist aggression as pure internationalism, degeneration and revisionist disintegration as the acme of unity and solidarity.

Brezhnev tried to dodge the tender spots and the discussion of the major political internal and external problems.

Thus for example, he did not mention the «normalisation of Czechoslovakia» and he skimmed over the growing divergencies with several revisionist countries by saying that «a number of parties have specific viewpoints on a series of questions, but the general tendency is characterised by the increase of the solidarity of the socialist countries». Which are these parties, what are these questions? Outside the Soviet Union, everyone knows, but the Soviet people must live with illusions that «the solidarity is increasing», that «the community is growing stronger». And when new events occur, like those of Prague and Gdansk, Brezhnev has the slogans ready to say that the tanks were sent «to save the community», to «strengthen the solidarity».

In the same manner, Brezhnev avoided

any explanation in regard to the conflicts in which the Soviet Union has been involved especially in recent years, for example, the deterioration of relations with Egypt, the complications in Portugal, etc.

But despite this in the problems of foreign policy dealt with at the congress, the hegemonistic and expansionist course of the Soviet superpower, its efforts to dominate the peoples and nations, its aims to go even further in its preparations for war, were manifested in all their monstrous proportions.

«There is no such corner in the world», he said, boasting like a former British monarch, «the state of affairs of which we have not taken into consideration in the formulation of our foreign policy». Translated into normal language, this means, there is no question anywhere in which Soviet social imperialism is not trying to intervene, no area in which it is not interested, no zone where it is not fishing in troubled waters, or no international conflict from which is not trying to profit. Brezhnev again openly announced his plan to advance towards the complete liquidation of the national sovereignty of the revisionist countries and placing them under the direct control of the Soviet state organs and unconditional subjugation to the directives and orientations of Moscow.

In addressing foreign countries, he spoke, not only in the name of the bloc, but also as its patron.

Just for demagoguery he did not fail to say that «there is a flourishing of the socialist nations and a strengthening of

**The proceedings of the 25th Congress
of the revisionist Communist Party of the Soviet Union demonstrated once more
in all directions and in all aspects that the Soviet Union is dominated
today by a caste of bureaucrats and technocrats, which
holds tight in its hands all the
commanding links and instances of the Party, the State, the economy and culture**

by «ZËRI I POPULLIT»

their sovereignty», but he hastened to declare that «now the reciprocal ties between the socialist nations are becoming closer, more and more common political, economic and social elements are emerging». With this, he was repeating the ultra-chauvinist thesis which has long been circulating in the Soviet Union and which expresses the course of denationalisation followed by the Kremlin, according to which the national sovereignty in the socialist countries is dying out, while a new type of sovereignty, «internationalist», «supranational sovereignty» is arising. And from the tribune of the congress, with the arrogance of an absolute monarch he orders the «leading parties to struggle against withdrawal into themselves and national peculiarities, to bear in mind the common international duties», with the aim of advancing this process which he alleges is «a law».

The particularly large place in the reports of Brezhnev and Kosygin and in the contributions of the speakers at the congress, devoted to the plans of economic, military and ideological integration of the CMEA countries, the efforts which were made to put these plans on a theoretical basis, testify to the fact that the Soviet leadership is demanding very forcibly and urgently, the elimination of all borders, the liquidation of any remaining sign of individuality and independence.

The congress also touched on relations with the other revisionist parties, but Brezhnev tried to pass lightly over the ideological, political, tactical and other differences which have emerged between

Moscow and many other parties of the revisionist camp.

The Moscow chieftains call their party «the mother party», the Soviet Union, «the center of communism», and Moscow— «the headquarters of the world revolutionary process». It pleases Brezhnev to frequently stress the «leading» role of his party, and at the 25th congress he missed no opportunity to mention to the others, «the programme of the 1969 meeting», or «the laws collectively formulated in definite forms by the international meetings of the sister parties». At the same time he did not fail to repeat the demand for a «new world meeting of the communist and workers parties», at which, according to him, «the general laws of the development of the revolution and the construction of socialism and communism», «will be formulated».

But Brezhnev did not say either to the congress, or to his party, that the meeting of the European revisionist parties, on which the Kremlin has been so insistent has now been dragging on for years, because many «sister parties» do not want to be linked, through a joint document with Moscow, do not want to take orders from it.

The «anti-opportunist» criticism, without naming any body, made at the 25th congress by Brezhnev himself and many other leading figures of the Soviet Union and the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe, but which were aimed directly at a number of western parties, represent an ill-camouflaged bluff. Words such as those of Brezhnev at the congress that allegedly for his party «there can be not talk of

compromises over questions of principle, of reconciliation with the viewpoints and actions which are opposed to communist ideology sound not only demagogical, but also quite ridiculous. The patriarchs of modern opportunism are now criticising the minor exponents of revisionism because they are not advancing on a correct road.

But, was it not Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Suslov and their ilk who, at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, brought out the «theory» of the parliamentary road and peaceful transition to socialism? Are these not the very ones who invented the revisionist «peaceful coexistence» between the states and classes as the «general principle» of the communist movement? Was it not their 20th Congress which put forward the thesis of rapprochement and collaboration with social democracy? Who invented «the state of the entire people» and the «party of the entire people» which deny the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leading role of the working class and its vanguard party? Who was the first to call Titoism «genuine socialism»?

When Soviet leaders reprimand the Italian, French, Spanish and other revisionists over «concessions to opportunism», they are not worried about their ideology, nor are they much concerned that these concessions «will rebound to the detriment of the parties which make them».

«The tragedy of Chile», says Brezhnev, «does not in the least wipe out the conclusion of the communists on the possibility of various roads of the revolution, among which the peaceful road. «We are not going to stop at this point to say that

«the tragedy of Chile» confirmed precisely the bankruptcy of the «roads» preached by Brezhnev. This is already clear. But when the secretary general of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union is «for various and peaceful roads of the revolution», why does he deny this right to his Italian, French or Spanish colleagues? What else are Berlinguer, Marchais or Carillo saying, that is making Brezhnev so worried?

Why, on the other hand, do the Soviet leaders enthusiastically approve such «concessions» as those of Ali Yata, secretary of the C.P. of Morocco, who has turned into an open royalist, or Dange, secretary of the Communist Party of India, who is the most ardent supporter of the Indian Congress Party, a party which has established a regime, scarcely distinguishable from that of the fascists, in that country?

It is clear that the Soviet Union is not in the least worried about the attitude the parties take towards Marxism-Leninism, which they themselves have betrayed. The criterion by which the Soviet Union appraises them is their loyalty to Soviet social imperialism, the approval and the support of its foreign policy, their submission to its diplomatic gambles. It does not judge the parties on whether or not they are for the revolution, whether or not they are for socialism, but on to what extent they are pro-Soviet, to what extent they support the Soviet Union and submit themselves to it.

The Soviet revisionists want, also, to avoid having the revisionist parties of the West come out frankly, publicly and officially with their social democratic views, and publicly proclaim their abandonment of the Marxist-Leninist science. This puts Brezhnev's party in a somewhat difficult position, because it tries to camouflage itself with Leninism and still speculates with the term socialism. The stand of the Western European revisionists reduces many of Moscow's propaganda cards to ashes, but in particular it incites the disobedience to Moscow and the breaking away of other parties from it.

The ideological degeneration and the continuing disintegration of the revisionist camp is an unceasing process which nothing can stop. It is a consequence of the counterrevolutionary course of the Soviet

Khrushchevite leadership, of its chauvinistic and hegemonistic policy, a consequence of the revisionist betrayal. The Party of Labour of Albania had warned from the very beginning that the differences, quarrels and disintegration are inevitable for the various detachments of modern revisionism, that they are like a basket of crabs and the more the time passes, the more the contradictions increase and the more severe become the clashes.

Brezhnev and others had a great deal to say at the congress about «proletarian internationalism», the principles of which allegedly guide the entire Soviet foreign policy, not only towards those countries and parties which, he calls socialist and communist, but also towards the new states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. «We, Soviet communists, he said, consider the defence of proletarian internationalism as a sacred duty for all Marxist-Leninists». He left it to his personal herald from Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, whose terms of praise to policy and the person of Brezhnev went far beyond all bounds and norms even of the most zealous lackeys, to explain what this sacred duty is. Speculating with the past, he sought to explain that proletarian internationalism is identified today, just as it was in the past, with the stand towards the Soviet Union, and, above all, with the stand towards Brezhnev's policy.

In this way, according to Zhivkov, it follows that when Brezhnev orders the occupation of Czechoslovakia — this is internationalism; when he defends Lon Nol against the Cambodian people, again he is acting as an internationalist, when the Kremlin leaders send tens of thousands of emigrants to Israel year after year, they are performing a great internationalist act; when they divide Pakistan and instigate the civil war in Angola, they are sacrificing themselves for others, when they supply with weapons, credits to a great number of reactionary regimes to suppress the revolution, even then they are acting in the name of internationalism.

But whatever the efforts of Brezhnev and his discredited supporters like Zhivkov and Husak, the counterrevolutionary principles by which the present day Soviet Union is guided, cannot be put across

as proletarian internationalism. The hegemonism and expansionism of the Soviet revisionist leaders, their brutal interference in the internal affairs of sovereign countries and states, and the imperialist intrigues and plots they hatch up against them are apparent in every step, all peoples encounter and fight them.

At the time of Lenin and Stalin, when the Soviet Union was the center of the world revolution, the stand towards it was truly a criterion of proletarian internationalism. But today, when Marxism-Leninism and the revolution have been betrayed in the Soviet Union, when its revolutionary policy, its support and solidarity with the liberation struggle of the peoples have been replaced by a hegemonistic and expansionist policy, by brutal interference in the internal affairs, and imperialist intrigues and plots against the sovereign states and countries as comrade Enver Hoxha has said, an internationalist «is he who fights against the Soviet revisionists, exposes their treachery, opposes their anti-Marxist and imperialist policy and line with all his might».

Proletarian internationalism is the ideology of the proletariat alone, it represents its international class unity in struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, for the construction of socialism and the independence and liberation of the peoples.

Therefore, the anti-proletarian revisionist states, the social democrat and revisionist parties, which are lackeys of the bourgeoisie cannot be internationalist. They regard and interpret internationalism according to their bourgeois and social chauvinist interests. Proletarian internationalism can never be reconciled with and is in struggle against the big capitalist bourgeoisie, the imperialist trusts and monopolies, with the suppressors of the revolution and enemies of communism».

It is a fundamental requirement of proletarian internationalism that the working class and its vanguard in each country help the revolutionary struggle for national and social liberation, for the construction of socialism and the defence of the victories of the revolution in other countries, with all the strength and means.

The 25th Congress made it clear that the social imperialists want to use the

mask of «proletarian internationalism» as a means to interfere and divide, especially in the new developing countries. At the present time, the revisionists are up to the most diabolic demagogic manoeuvres, most sophisticated intrigues and most barbarous plots against those countries. Posing as their defender, the Soviet Union is trying in every way to get them within its economic orbit and through the selling of arms to hitch them to its chariot militarily and politically, too.

Brezhnev's theses in regard to the national-liberation movements, despite all the cloaking of them in «Leninist» terminology, remain reactionary in essence, an expression of the savage social imperialist policy. Lenin saw the national liberation movements as a very important factor for the strengthening of the world revolutionary process and as natural allies of the proletarian revolution. He considered the support of socialist states and the communists for the peoples' liberation movements as a duty which was linked with the interests of the world proletarian revolution as a whole. While the «aid» Brezhnev has allegedly rendered to these movements, and which he boasted so much about at the congress, has nothing to do either with the revolution, with internationalism or with socialism.

The aid of the soviet revisionists has always been accompanied by political conditions and has always been connected with expansion. The Arab East is the clearest example. They have regarded such aid as they have given this or that state from time to time, not from the angle of helping the Arabs to carry their liberation struggle through to a victorious conclusion, but from the angle of their rivalry with the USA and the deals with it over the division of the Middle East into spheres of influence. They have considered this aid as a capital investment to capture political, economic and military positions in that region of great strategic importance, as the giving of a loan to bind the Arabs hand and foot.

As expected, at the congress a great fuss was made about the so-called «detente», the policy on which Brezhnev has staked his reputation and career. In this field, the demagoguery flowed in rivers and

the oratory knew no bounds. The colours in which Brezhnev painted the present international situation were rosy. «It has required great efforts, he boasted, for men, especially those who guide the policy of states, to begin to get used to the thought that it is not the balancing on the brink of war that is natural, but the talks about the issues in dispute, not confrontation but peaceful collaboration».

But the reality is quite different, and people are not in the least deceived by the demagoguery of the revisionists. The fact is that as a result of the armaments race, the fierce rivalry between the two superpowers, their persistence in their aggressive and neocolonialist policies, their interference in the internal affairs of other peoples, their attacks on the freedom and sovereignty of the nations, not only has the danger of war not been removed, but it is becoming more and more threatening. The war budgets of the two superpowers have reached astronomical levels and have surpassed the record figure of 100 billion dollars per year. Day by day atomic weapons, are being increased and perfected, new model tanks and airplanes are produced, the number of submarines increase, the variety of missiles becomes more extensive. Why all this expenditure, why all these weapons? The aim of the two superpowers is the domination of the world and the means to realize it is the war.

The Soviet social imperialists and the US imperialists have always tried to hide their expansionism and hegemony, interference and plunder behind fine phrases and false slogans.

This is still going on, now. Brezhnev lauded the conference on the so-called European security to the sky and according to him, as a result of it «favourable conditions have been created for the preservation and strengthening of peace throughout the continent». But the peoples of Europe and the world are becoming more and more aware that the pacifist euphoria, demagoguery and the advertisement of the relaxation of tension represent a great diabolic manoeuvre to confuse the people, to cover over the worries which stem from the aggressive policy of the two superpowers with empty promises and false illusions.

It is a fact that no matter how much Brezhnev may defend and advertise it the European Security Conference was a big fraud, that its product is not a commodity which can help peace and strengthen security. The existence of foreign bases, the presence of the US and Soviet troops in many countries, the introduction of masses of atomic weapons has been and remains a problem for Europe. Can the worries of the European peoples be dispelled by the reassuring words the revisionists say at their congresses, when they are sleeping on a powder magazine? How can they feel at ease when the warships of the superpowers have surrounded the continent from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea, when their aircraft are roving like hungry ravens around the skies of Europe?

That is why however many «peace programs», «security conferences», or «general plans on disarmament» Brezhnev may fabricate and from what tribune he may trumpet them, he will find few naives to deceive.

When Brezhnev speaks about «the liquidation of the cold war», about the «transition from the danger of war to peaceful collaboration», etc., he does not have in mind the efforts of the peoples to oppose the aggressive policy of imperialism and to prevent war. The appeal for «peaceful collaboration and not confrontation», for «talks in regard to the matters in dispute» is directed exclusively to US imperialism. Despite the obscure language diplomacy requires when it is speaking from public tribunes and not in the secret tête-à-tête talks, Brezhnev made an open appeal to the USA to strengthen the Soviet-US collaboration and to make it the dominating factor of present international life.

It is not fortuitous that at the present congress of the Soviet revisionists, «anti-imperialism» was not used even as propaganda. The soviet leadership thinks that the present balance of forces between the two superpowers is such that the bargaining with US imperialism, to the detriment of the peoples and against their freedom and independence, should be carried on as between equals.

The Soviet social imperialists and their supporters show their real class hostility

only against the PR of China and the Chinese people, against the PR of Albania and the Albanian people, against the revolution and socialism.

If the 25th Congress examined the present world processes and the foreign policy of the Soviet Union from the positions of the imperialist superpower, it saw the internal problems completely from the positions of bureaucracy and technocracy. The great ideological poverty, lack of creative ideas and the prevalence of an ordinary empirical practiciness, with which the problems of the party, the economy, culture, science, etc., were treated, made this congress a convention of technocratic businessmen who are interested only in the efficiency of the economy, its dynamism, profitability and profits, which measures everything in tons and rubles.

When Brezhnev came to power one of the main justifications for the putsch against Khrushchov was the «urgent need» to lift agriculture from backwardness and disorganisation, and he proclaimed himself as the saviour of the collective farms. He issued one program after another and he promised white bread and roast meat for all. But today, even the mice in the granaries of the Soviet Union are hungry. Twice in succession within a few years despite those hundreds of millions of hectares of arable land, despite those boundless areas of pasture and forests, despite those great human forces and that great park of machines, the Soviet Union has been on the brink of famine. If it had not been for the grain stores of the U.S., Canadian and Australian farmers and the gold of Siberia, the catastrophe would have been even greater than those experienced by the Volga peasants in the time of tsarist Russia.

At the congress Brezhnev gave no explanation at all, even as a matter of form, of this dreadful situation. He touched on it passing as if nothing had happened, as if everything in the field of agriculture is going normally, despite the fact that the local newspapers and radio-stations are making daily appeals to the bakers to make the loaves smaller, so that not a crumb will be left either for hens or for chickens.

Five years ago, Brezhnev called the 24th Congress an «historic» one, for it laid down «magnificent targets» for the extensive production of consumer goods, the improvement of their quality, the increase of their range, etc. Indeed, for the first time in the history of the Soviet Union, the rates defined for development of light industry were higher than those of heavy industry. In this field too, the Soviet leadership has utterly failed. The rates remain very much lower than the levels set, the quality of commodities did not advance, the shelves of the stores stayed empty and the black market flourished.

According to Brezhnev, the shortage of commodities is explained by the fact that «not everybody has managed to completely overcome the attitude towards consumer goods as something of second rate importance». But through such worn out propaganda «arguments» the Kremlin rulers cannot convince the Soviet people to stand in rows for days on end to buy woollen jersey, or a pair of warm shoes. The thing is that when guns are produced, butter disappears.

In his report to the congress, Brezhnev says: «We have not yet learned that, while ensuring high rates of development of heavy industry, we must also rapidly develop group «b» as well as the spheres of services». Can it be said that this is a question of «learning» and education? It is clear to everybody that the great disproportions and distortions in various sectors of the Soviet economy, which have such a negative influence on the material and living standards of the working masses, are a result of the Khrushchovite line of restoration of capitalism, the militarisation of the country, the armaments race, and the expansionist course. The situation is such, because heavy industry is working for the army, the great funds poured into it go for the production of armaments, most of the best materials are put into the military arsenals, the main scientific institutions and the best working forces are working for war.

In these conditions only a few crumbs, insufficient to keep body and soul together remain for the consumer goods industry, agriculture, services, etc.

Brezhnev boasts that the Soviet Union produces so many million tons of steel and so many million tons of oil, so many million tons of coal and so many million tons of cement. But, where does all that wealth, all that toil and sweat of the Soviet working people go? The imperialist army and the preparations for aggressive wars are like an insatiable monster which, the more you feed it the more it demands. This is what eats up the iron, which consumes the oil, which burns the coal, or consumes cement, which costs the greater part of the state budget.

A meaningful example of the militarisation of the life of the country and of the increase of the weight of the army in the political and economic fields was provided by this very congress of the party.

For the first time, the army sent a special group of armymen to the congress, to greet it in the form of a parade, as the pioneers usually do. With this solemnity, it tried to show that it was present not only as a military force, but also as a political force, which plays a decisive role in the life of the Soviet Union.

Such phenomena which are occurring in the Soviet Union are identical with those in the United States of America. Within the framework of its aims for aggression against the freedom and independence of the peoples, for the preparation of a new world war, American imperialism has militarised the entire economy and has developed the frenzied arms race to unprecedented proportions. This has resulted in uncontrollable inflation which has seriously hit the standard of living of the masses, an unemployment affecting almost 9 million people, never known to America, without mentioning the increase of prices which are quite beyond the reach of the ordinary people. It has already been proved that the economic potential of the superpowers, their material and manpower reserves, are incapable of supporting the huge military expenditure and unbridled arms race and at the same time preserving some sort of stability of the standard of living of the masses.

The cheap promises made by Brezhnev about «the further increase of the production of consumer goods, improvement of services or the development of agricul-

ture», are simply propaganda, which is repeated from congress to congress and year to year. As long as the course of the militarisation of the economy and capitalist profit exist, the sectors connected with the needs of the people will always go short, and along with them, the broad working masses, who have to foot the bill.

Looking at the ideological and political directives of the Congress, it can clearly be seen that all the internal problems of the Soviet Union have been reduced to economic efficiency, which itself is regarded entirely according to capitalist criteria and standards. The Soviet leaders regard «efficiency» as the key to solve all the problems, all the difficulties, all the crises they are experiencing. It is «efficiency» which will allegedly eliminate the growing social conflicts, which will reconcile mounting national quarrels and will also solve the many contradictions of the new bourgeois society which are piling up. This is the same language which has been heard for years on end in the capitalist world of the West, where the bourgeoisie is striving through a number of various economic expedients, to ease the crisis, deceive the working people, and sabotage class struggle.

The consideration of the political-social problems outside class relations as well as their identification with simply technical problems, as the soviet leaders are doing, is not accidental nor is it a question of methodology. It is an ideological expression of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, of the complete domination of bureaucracy and technocracy which constitutes one of the characteristics of the present day societies of developed capitalism.

On the other hand, this tendency expresses a burning thirst and a concrete effort to increase the capitalist profits through the intensification of production.

The proceedings of the 25th Congress proved in all directions and aspects that the Soviet Union is ruled today by a caste of bureaucrats and technocrats which keeps all the commandeering links and instances of the party, state, economy, culture, etc, firmly in its hands. The figures announced at the congress in connection with the composition of the party

make this very plain. Officials make up 44.5 per cent as against 41.6 per cent workers, and 13.9 per cent collective farmers in the total number of party members. But while the number of worker members is somewhere near that of officials not a single representative of their ranks is in the leading organs of the party. According to figures provided by Brezhnev, 99.5 per cent of the secretaries of the party central committees of the republics, districts and regions, are intellectuals, mainly engineers, and specialists of the economy. This ratio should also be true of the bureaus and secretaries of the party branches. Brezhnev tries to explain this technocratism of the party by referring to the so-called aim of its «qualitative improvement» but everybody can see for himself that the transformation of the party into a party of the high bureaucratic stratum and working class aristocracy is becoming more marked year by year. It is precisely these technocrats and this stratum who constitute the main support of the new bourgeoisie in the Soviet revisionist party.

Until now, the Soviet leaders have raised a hue and cry about those things they called «problems of developed socialism». Indeed, they have tried to formulate some of them as new «principles and theses» which they considered as «further development of Leninism». They have had a great deal to say also about how they would be reflected in a new constitution which a commission led by Khrushchev and later by Brezhnev had undertaken to draft. But they ran out of ideas and now the theoretical problems have been reduced to current problems of the administration of the economy and its technical aspects. The constitution has been postponed for better times. On these questions, the congress testified to a petrified routine and stagnation, which only an immovable bureaucracy can spawn.

Brezhnev and his clique tried to give the 25th Congress a lofty euphoric tone and present it as the congress of stability, unity, and security. But the false optimism and soothing words they employed unsparingly at the congress, cannot cover the grave problems with which the present day capitalist society in the Soviet Union

is preoccupied, cannot dispel the worries and disillusionment of the masses. Brezhnev had promised abundance at home and peace abroad. He went to the congress with a torn sack and an empty spoon. Now he is singing the same old refrain hoping that the masses will obey him and will not stir as long as he is occupying the throne in the Kremlin. But can this situation last for long?

It is true that in the present day Soviet Union there is stagnation and by no means a slight political and ideological passivity among the working people. The chauvinistic propaganda, social demagoguery, the incitement of great power arrogance has stupified the Soviet people more than a little. But this dizziness cannot last long. The failures are piling up and one day they may burst out into a real tragedy. It would be good not only for the Soviet people but also for the people of the whole world, if the Soviet people were to awaken and see the reality. Brezhnev and company have turned the Soviet Union into a capitalist country where the masses are exploited and the nations are oppressed, into an imperialist power which is hated and cursed by all the peoples.

We should like to hope that the Soviet people, who have known freedom and socialism, a people from whose bosom Lenin, Stalin and the bolsheviks emerged, will again find the strength to emerge from this gloomy period of their history into which the revisionists have plunged them. The overthrow of revisionism would be a new page they could inscribe in the glorious history of the revolutions, freedom and independence of the peoples.

The Party of Labour of Albania has predicted and warned that the betrayal by the Soviet revisionists will lead to great misfortunes for the Soviet people and dangerous threats for other peoples. Therefore considering it as a great internationalist duty, in the future, just as in the past, our Party will resolutely continue its struggle for the exposure of Khrushchevite revisionism and the hegemonistic and expansionist actions of the Soviet leaders, the aggressive policy of social imperialism and US imperialism, these two savage enemies of the revolution, socialism and the peoples.

THE FRENCH REVISIONISM IN THE POSITIONS OF THE REVOLUTION AND

**The 22nd Congress of the French Communist Party put
to the advanced opportunist and anti-Marxist positions
front-runners in lining themselves up and amalgamating**

by «ZËRI I POPULLIT»

THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA LONG AGO WARNED THAT THE REVISIONIST COURSE OF THE 20TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION WOULD INEVITABLY LEAD TO THE COMPLETE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC DEGENERATION OF THOSE PARTIES WHICH FOLLOWED THIS COURSE. IT ALSO POINTED OUT THAT TO JOIN THE KHRUSHCHEVITE LINE OF THE FIGHT AGAINST STALIN AND HIS MARXIST-LENINIST TEACHINGS, AGAINST «DOGMATISM», ALLEGEDLY CREATIVE DEVELOPMENT OF MARXISM-LENINISM, WOULD LEAD TO COMPLETE DEVIATION FROM LENINISM AND TO PLUNGING INTO THE MORASS OF OPPORTUNISM AND ANTI-COMMUNISM.

Our article of April 7, 1964 entitled «Modern Revisionists On the Road Of Social Democratic Degeneration And Fusion With Social-Democracy» said that, by following the opportunist course of the 20th Congress and by recommending it to the communist and workers' parties of other countries, the Khrushchevite revisionists «aim to cause the degeneration of the communist parties into reformist parties of the Social-Democratic type, to strengthen the influence of bourgeois ideology and reformist illusions among the working masses, to weaken the militant revolutionary spirit of the working class movement and to sidetrack it from the only correct road against the capitalist order of oppression and exploitation». This article dealing with the concessions made to the Social Democrats at the 17th Congress of the French Communist Party directly denounced the plot of the French revisionists for the Social Democratic degeneration of that party.

Since then 12 years have gone by and now, at the 22nd Congress some days ago, the French revisionists went over to the

positions of open struggle against the revolution and communism.

The 22nd Congress of the French Communist Party put the seal on the complete transition of the French revisionists to the advanced opportunist and anti-Marxist positions of the Italian Togliattists, who have long since won the black reputation of the front-runners in lining themselves up and amalgamating with Social Democracy and putting themselves openly in service of the bourgeoisie.

The key problem on which the Secretary General of the French revisionist party, George Marchais, concentrated on his lengthy report, was that of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He did his utmost to justify the erasing of this fundamental principle of Marxism-Leninism from the party documents. He declared that the dictatorship of the proletariat does not figure in the draft document presented to the congress, because «it does not respond to the reality of our policy, the reality of what we propose to the country». According to him, the state which allegedly will carry out the socialist transformations of the so-

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THE OPEN FIGHT AGAINST

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ciety will not be the dictatorship of the proletariat, but the «state of the working class and other categories of the working people, of physical and intellectual labour, of town and country, that is, the overwhelming majority of the people».

In coming out so openly against the dictatorship of the proletariat Marchais rejects it as a dogma, obsolete, unnecessary, inapplicable, and impossible in the present conditions of France, and of our epoch in general. With his great zeal to serve the bourgeoisie, Marchais places himself in the ranks of the worst renegades from the cause of the working class, from Bernstein and Kautsky to Brawder, Tito and Khrushchev and their ilk. The theoretical havers he is trying to peddle as the creative application and development of Marxism-Leninism are nothing but a banal copy of the opportunist theses long since exposed and rejected by Marxism-Leninism and world revolutionary practice.

Marchais claims that in abandoning the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, he allegedly bases himself on the scientific socialism of Marx, Engels and Lenin, implying that they allegedly did not consider the dictatorship of the proletariat as a foundation principle, but only as something necessary for certain countries and conditions, and for a short period of time. But Marchais cannot hide his treachery to the immortal teachings of Marx and Lenin behind such manoeuvres. It is not fortuitous that in his long speech he never once referred to either Marx,

Engels or Lenin on this question. Because Marx stressed that, «the class struggle inevitably leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat», that the state in the transition period from capitalism to communism «cannot be anything else but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat». While V.I. Lenin considered the dictatorship of the proletariat as the main thing in the Marxist theory and strongly emphasized that, «only he who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a Marxist». Lenin considered the rejection of the dictatorship of the proletariat as treachery and idiocy. He said, «Either the dictatorship (that is the iron power) of the landowners and capitalists, or the dictatorship of the working class. There is no middle road. The sons of the gentry, worthless intellectuals, petty-proprietors who have mislearned from bad books dream in vain of a middle road. There is not and cannot be a middle road in any country of the world. Either the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie... or the dictatorship of the proletariat. He who has not learnt this from history... is a hopeless idiot».

His abandoning the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the dictatorship of the proletariat could not but lead Marchais, as it did, to abandoning all the fundamental principles of scientific socialism, first and foremost, to abandoning the revolution through violence and the class struggle as the absolute law and the only road for the

overthrow of capitalism and the socialist transformation of society.

For the proletarian revolution Marchais substitutes the so-called «democratic road». He says, «There is no better or shorter road to socialism than the road of democracy... today democracy and freedom are the main terrain of the class struggle, of the revolutionary struggle».

According to Marchais, on this road alleged reforms will be realized which are destined to make profound transformations in the economic, social and political structures of the country, and which will allegedly limit the hegemony of big capital and the exploitation of the working people, while they will give the latter the possibility of seriously influencing the running of the country. This is the French revisionist variant of the preachings of the Italian revisionists, who claim that they can allegedly pass to socialism through «structural reforms» within the framework of the bourgeois Constitution, through the parliamentary game, etc., without the need to destroy the bourgeois state machine with all its institutions.

And how will all these miracles be achieved? If you are to believe Marchais about all this, there is no need either for the revolution with violence or the class struggle or the dictatorship of the proletariat, but it is enough to secure the unity of the overwhelming majority of the people, and through universal suffrage, compel the big bourgeoisie to respect the will of the people. «In the struggle for socialism,»

Marchais declares, «nothing, absolutely nothing, in our epoch and in a country like ours, can replace the popular will of the majority, which is expressed democratically through struggle and universal suffrage. Whatever the mode through which the march towards socialism in our country will be carried out... we must be certain that in every stage the political majority and the arithmetical majority must coincide».

Reading what Marchais states, it truly seems as if one is hearing the words of Bernstein, Kautsky and Co. Bernstein said: «Today, through voting, demonstrations and other such means of influence, we are able to realize reforms for which one hundred years ago bloody revolutions were required». Kautsky, on his part, tried to prove that in the conditions of bourgeois democracy violent revolution is unnecessary, that the aim of the political struggle of the Social Democrats is «the seizure of state power through winning the majority in the parliament and the transformation of parliament into master of the government».

Lenin long ago replied to these renegades, beginning from Bernstein down to Marchais. «The opportunist gentlemen, including the Kautskyites,» he wrote, «as if to trifle with the theory of Marx, «teach» the people in this way: first the proletariat must win the majority through the universal right to vote, then, on the basis of such a vote by the majority, seize the state power, and then, on the basis of this «consistent» democracy (some call it «pure») organize socialism. While we, on the basis of theory of Marx and the experience of the Russian revolution say: first the proletariat must overthrow the bourgeoisie and secure the state power for itself, and then use this state power, that is the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a weapon of its own class to win the sympathy of the majority of the working people». Like all the renegades, Marchais, too, tries to hide his betrayal of Marxism-Leninism by referring to the new conditions, the changes that have taken place in the development of society. According to him, the reformist, parliamentary and «democratic» road is justifiable, because allegedly «in the final account it is reaction and fascism that are retreating, while democracy is advancing».

But the speculations of Marchais in regard to the new conditions are baseless in the face of history and facts. Naturally, changes have taken place and will take place in the development of capitalist society, too, but they have not changed its exploiting and oppressive essence. Moreover, daily facts prove that the tendency of this development is not towards exten-

sion of freedom and democracy, but towards its further limitation. Many facts speak about the increase of imperialist reaction in all fields, about the unprecedented inflation of the bureaucratic, military and police apparatus of the bourgeois state, about the extensive use of military fascist putsches and the increase of the danger of fascism. In these conditions, to preach that violent revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat are outdated, as Marchais is doing, and to spread illusions that the bourgeoisie and reaction will peacefully agree to give up their domination and to obey «the democratic majority», without the need to exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat over them, means to go over openly to the side of the bourgeoisie and reaction, against the working class and the working people.

Marchais comes out openly against revolutionary violence and says that any idea of replacing «the political will of the majority of the people with the weapons of oppression» is a dangerous illusion and provocation, which puts the weapons in the hands of reaction and leads the revolutionary movement towards isolation and defeat. He tries to justify this counter-revolutionary thesis with the lessons which allegedly stem from the events in Chile, and to peddle this as an invention to avoid a repetition of what happened there.

According to Marchais, it emerges that in the present conditions the revolution is fraught with the danger of the establishment of fascism. But what did the events in Chile show? They clearly showed the failure of the peaceful road preached by the revisionists, the failure of the reformist illusions. They showed that without opposing the forces of reaction with the armed force of the revolution, without smashing the bourgeois state machine to its foundations, and without the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, without the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist proletarian party, the revolution is doomed to failure.

The revisionists were scared to death and capitulated completely in face of their defeat in Chile and plunged even deeper into the morass of opportunism. As a result, the new strategies of the revisionists emerged, such as that of Berlinguer in Italy on the «historic compromise» with the Christian-Democrats, that of Carillo in Spain on the unity with the Legitimists, that of Cunhal in Portugal on the revolution through the army, or that of Marchais on the rallying of the French people, etc. In this way, they want to sidetrack the working class from the revolution, to intimidate it with the bogey of fascism, and to assure the bourgeoisie that it has nothing to fear on the part of the revisionists,

that they are its best guarantors and defenders.

The fascist coup in Chile showed that Allende and his circle were Social Democrats. When they came to power and tried to take steps in the direction of democratic transformations, fascism cut off their heads. In face of these events, the revisionist Marchais, this petty bourgeois, prefers to remain the slave of the bourgeoisie rather than take the road of the revolution, the only road which can avoid fascism.

Marchais, as a typical representative of bourgeois liberal revisionism who worships class peace, went so far as to demand in the Congress the prohibition of the clenched fist salute. He declared that the French revisionist party «is not the party of the clenched fist, but the party of the outstretched hand».

In his attacks on the dictatorship of the proletariat Marchais outdid all the records of past renegades from the working class and went over openly to the camp of the most frenzied anti-communist propaganda. With utter shamelessness he says that the dictatorship of the proletariat «automatically reminds one of the fascist regimes of Hitler, Mussolini, Salazar and Franco».

The presentation of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the denial of the democracy, as Marchais is doing, is the most banal and discredited invention of the bourgeois propaganda against socialism. For whom does Marchais seek democracy? Democracy and freedom for the exploiters, for fascists, the bourgeoisie? The proletariat has publicly declared that there is no democracy in socialism for the enemies and exploiters, but oppression. There is freedom only for the people in socialism. The dictatorship of the proletariat, as Lenin stressed, is the broadest and most complete democracy for the working people.

It is precisely the oppression of the bourgeoisie and the reactionaries that Marchais does not accept. In his socialism not only is there room for small and middle capital, but even for the free political organization of the reactionary and anti-proletarian forces. «To ensure the success of socialism», he says, «is not a matter of depriving the minority, which the reactionary forces constitute, of their liberties... Can the reactionaries organize themselves in a reactionary party? They do this even now,» says Marchais, «this will not be anything new».

All the «arguments» Marchais brings out to justify the so-called socialism he preaches aim, in essence, at assuring the bourgeoisie that this will not be a proletarian and anti-bourgeois socialism, but a «socialism in French colours». The only thing lacking in these colours is the revolution, the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the destruc-

tion of the bourgeois state machine, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the suppression of the exploiters, the liquidation of capitalist private property, the proletarian party and its unified leadership, proletarian centralism. But if the capitalist property and the bourgeois reactionary parties remain intact, then what sort of socialism is this?

This sort of «socialism à la Marchais», purchased in the consumer society, has nothing in common with genuine socialism which is built on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The socialist society, Marchais preaches, is nothing but the present capitalist society in which the workers' aristocracy, and together with it, the leaders of the French Communist Party and all the revisionists who follow them, aim at running the affairs of the bourgeoisie, at collaborating with it and sharing the surplus value, just as the Social Democrats have done and are doing in many countries.

The abandoning of the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat is linked with the negation of the leading role of the working class in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and in socialist society. On this question, too, the anti-Marxist countenance of Marchais comes out clearly. He rises against the very notion «proletariat» counterposing it to the notion «working class», in which, openly distorting Marxism, he also includes broad non-proletarian strata, such as the intelligentsia and wage-earners in general, that is, all the officials and functionaries of the bourgeois state apparatus and of capitalist production, the trade union bureaucracy, etc. In essence, what we have to do with here is a refined variant of the known bourgeois theories of the deproletarianization of capitalist society and the replacement of the leading role of the working class with the role of the non-proletarian classes and strata. Thus, the leadership of the French revisionist party adopted the known ultra-opportunist theses of R. Garaudy whom it expelled from the party and branded, just as he was in reality, as a dyed-in-the-wool revisionist.

Marchais also comes out openly against the proletarian class nature of the party. The doors of his party, which has assumed the mission, not of the revolution, the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but the running of the affairs of the bourgeoisie, are wide open for people of all sorts, non-proletarian ideologies and outlooks, bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, idealist and even religious. Marchais says that even Christians «without giving up any part of their faith, or religious practice», may militate in his party.

This, in general terms, is the anti-Marxist road that Marchais, this petty-bourgeois megalomaniac and charlatan theoretician, this spokesman for the bourgeoisie in the workers' movement, is preaching from the rostrum of the 22nd Congress of the French revisionist party. He is trying to put the betrayal by the revisionists of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of the proletariat, which they have long been practicing, on a «theoretical» basis.

Though Marchais proclaims himself a champion of pluralism, though he speaks about «a French road towards socialism», at the same time he tries to impose this road, which is as far removed from Marxist-Leninist principles as the earth from the sky, on all countries and peoples, presenting it as the only road for the transition to socialism not only in France, but also in our epoch in general.

The 22nd Congress marks the complete and final transformation of the French revisionist party into a Social Democratic type party, its official and open going over to the camp of the bourgeoisie. This congress clearly proves that the French revisionists have openly and completely betrayed those revolutionary ideals which in 1920, at the Tours Congress, led to the breaking away of the communists from the Socialist Party and the foundation of the French Communist Party as a party of the French proletariat. Now, nothing, absolutely nothing, distinguishes the revisionist communist party of Marchais from the «bourgeois workers' party» of Leo Blum and Guy Mollet and from the socialist or Social Democratic parties of other countries, known worldwide as loyal watchdogs of capitalism and bourgeois domination.

This great betrayal of the revolution and socialism by the French revisionists, their complete going over to the positions of Social Democracy, is a direct consequence of the betrayal and the counter-revolutionary course of the Soviet Khrushchevite leadership. It is not difficult to see that the present theories of Marchais, the entire open anti-Marxist course adopted at the congress of the French revisionists have as their foundation the ill-famed theses of the Khrushchevite revisionist renegades, on the so-called «peaceful, democratic and parliamentary road to socialism», on the «state and the party of the entire people», on the rapprochement and collaboration with Social Democracy, their thesis on the struggle against «dogmatism» and Stalin, with which they imply Marxism-Leninism, etc.

Nevertheless, the Soviet revisionists pretend to be astonished that their disciples and followers are going so far. In fact, the Soviet leaders are not worried about the principles, about the face of the revolution and socialism.

What worries the Soviet revisionist chieftains is something else. The 22nd Congress of the French revisionist party shows that the revisionist parties in various capitalist countries, in placing themselves ever more openly at the service of the local bourgeoisie, are showing signs of breaking away from Moscow, going so far that, to prove this break to their bourgeoisie, they are making some criticism to the Soviet leadership and coming out in defence of the Right dissidents in the Soviet Union, as Marchais did. These centrifugal tendencies are contrary to the expansionist interests and aims of Soviet social imperialism, which wants to keep the revisionist parties of other countries under its control, to have them as support points and tools of its policy in its aims for world domination.

The French revisionists, just like the Italian Togliattists before them, have flagrantly cast aside Marxism-Leninism and adopted the tattered banner of Social Democracy and betrayal of the interests of the proletariat. But the French working class, with its outstanding revolutionary traditions, will certainly not fall into line with this treacherous course. On the contrary, it will march on the road which Marxism-Leninism points to, until the achievement of the inevitable victory of socialism. It is the duty of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries, the French working class and its vanguard, a truly Marxist-Leninist party, while mercilessly exposing the revisionist betrayal, to raise high the red banner of the revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the banner of Marxism-Leninism, and carry it forward unwaveringly.

ENVER HOXHA

REPORT DELIVERED AT THE MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE ALBANIAN PARTY OF ALBANIA

COMRADES,

THE CAUSE OF A CERTAIN DEGREE OF ORGANIZATIONAL FRAGMENTATION, AND THE FACT THAT OUR PARTY IS NOT YET CONSOLIDATED AS AN ORGANIZATION, SHOULD BE SOUGHT IN THE GROUP SPIRIT WHICH STILL EXISTS. COMRADES, IN THE RESOLUTION OF THE MEETING OF ALL THE MAIN COMMUNIST GROUPS IN ALBANIA,²⁾ YOU HAVE SEEN HOW THINGS STOOD IN REGARD TO COMMUNIST WORK IN OUR COUNTRY. YOU HAVE SEEN WHAT GREAT MISTAKES THESE GROUPS HAVE MADE. BECAUSE OF THESE ERRORS, ORDERLY WORK HAS STILL TO BE ESTABLISHED, AND WE HAVE NOT YET BEEN ABLE TO ADVANCE AS WE SHOULD.

Vacillation, liberalism, rivalry, an opportunist understanding of issues, etc., brought about a difficult situation for our movement. Everyone was striving for himself, each thinking that the essential thing was to form groups and to make themselves into a «party», by abusing the others, pointing out all their «mistakes», saying that the others were «to blame» for everything, while they alone were «absolutely right».

As you know, we have had many groups, such as those of Korça³⁾, Shkodra⁴⁾, and the «Youth»⁵⁾ group, and we have also had two people, of the communist group of Korça, who have set up a sort of small group. They have gathered around themselves a few people with whom they have some influence, and have kept them «for their own ends». These comrades are A. and M. There were also two Trotskyite groups: that of Fundo⁶⁾ and of Qendro⁷⁾ and, finally, a group of liquidationist

opportunists: the «Zjarri» group (we shall have more to say later about all the groups and individuals).

This was the situation in Albania before the Meeting of the main groups. Things could not go on like that. It was necessary to advance to something new, something more organized, to the Party.

We consider that we found the best and most appropriate means necessary in such a situation. We have used the system of unification from below up, under a single leadership of chosen from those people who were least infected with the old group spirit, and who have given the surest guarantees that they will carry out the line of the Party. We have set to work. But we should not forget that in the course of such a major job much of the old has managed to smuggle itself into our ranks, and many such harmful elements are still to be found today. Comrades accepted from various groups (who, in

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the time of the groups; may have been excellent «militants» and first-rate «agitators» for the cause of their own group) have shown themselves to be very weak as members of the Party. This has come about because these comrades were not known earlier, and thus there are many harmful and unstable elements to be found in our ranks. It seems that the spirit of groups is much stronger than we had thought at first. Many of these people have remained in Tirana, in particular where the situation with regard to the liquidation of the groups is least satisfactory, chiefly because it is here that all the representatives of the groups are to be found, including the most quarrelsome factionalists, those who find difficulty in reconciling themselves to the new organizational line. Their former situation is shaken, and the new situation has not entered their heads, and thus they carry on in the old spirit, outside the line of the Party, hindering its work and orderly development.

It is no secret to any communist that two trends have formed, one of which has agreed to support the Party and has vigorously set about the task, carrying out the line, while the other has reservations on all questions, criticizing (objectively it has tried to prevent the Party

work from developing systematically), putting spokes in the wheel and hindering the activity of the Party. These elements come from various groups, but mostly from the «Youth» group (particularly in Tirana), whose representatives, Anastas and Xhepi⁸), even after promising to end their former activity and to act according to the directives of the Provisional Central Committee, still maintain their old connections.

Up to now we have been of the opinion that we should be patient with these comrades and convince them to submit to discipline and to understand the necessity that they carry out the directives to the letter. Now we should resort to another method, that of purging the Party of harmful elements, of all those who hinder the work and development of the Party. In our opinion, we must resort to this method without fail, if we do not wish to fall into the old bog and if we want the Party to develop in a unity of discipline. An irreconcilable struggle should be waged against all deviations, whatever their origin and whatever group they come from. It is impermissible for us to slip into the position of the old social-democrats, who said: «Better an insecure peace than a good clash». A struggle must be waged also against all those who

attack the work of the Party from outside (Z.)⁹), because we should be clear that only through such a struggle can the Party be consolidated. We should unmask harmful elements before the masses of the people. If we don't denounce them before the people they could deceive others who are honest.

1) *The situation within the Party*

A full understanding of the structure of our organization and how the Party is run has not yet been formed. This is due to many causes, and in particular to the fact that the comrades do not have a good understanding of Marxism-Leninism, that they do not appreciate the importance of linking theory with practice, or that they do not have a grasp of the most fundamental questions which must be grasped by a communist organizer, agitator, and propagandist. It is clear that things cannot go on like this. We must do a great deal of work in every field to raise the level of the comrades' understanding, so that they can make progress and become leaders. But we cannot possibly do this if we do not link theoretical work with practical work, because

-without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement"; that is to say, we have to follow the road pointed out by our immortal teacher, Lenin, towards the linking of theory with practice, linking theoretical development with practical work. It is impermissible for us to neglect the one on account of the other, to underestimate the one and give more importance to the other. In the one direction as well as in the other, our work is lagging. It is lagging painfully. Only those who refuse to look at themselves, who close their eyes to the truth, can fail to see this.

Lack of knowledge causes grave elementary errors in our work, and this is to some extent the reason why the spirit of groups still exists.

The best way to understand this question more clearly is to look back at the past, at history. We shall try to avoid going into detail, and will take up only the most important matters, which have an obvious influence on the development of problems in general. We should speak of these matters, even if only in general terms, although some of them belong to the past. In our opinion, we should continue to discuss them for a longtime yet, until the spirit of groups is totally eradicated and we have fully mastered the work of the Party. But this must not be taken to mean that we should mark time forever while we dig up the past, or that we should point out only this or that mistake of a group, but we should draw from the experience of the past whatever is of value to us for the present and the future.

The lack of firm contacts and knowledge about organizational matters, the lack of unity, the lack of faith in the cause of struggle of the working class and the labouring people, the irresponsibility of comrades, distrust of, and failure to implement, the directives of the Comintern which were of historic importance¹⁰⁾, ambitions and cronyism, the influence of the bourgeoisie, the tendency to lie low in order to conceal that one is a communist and many other such things have caused the old group rivalries to flame up to the point where their struggle has come out into the open.

This has led to individuals and groups working without plans, without check-up, without responsibility to anyone. Serious organizational errors have been committed, which will take a long time and a great

effort to correct. The hang-overs from such organizational errors which, along with group factionalism include sectarianism and pettiness, prevent progress in the organizational work, and hinder the work of the Party from being reorganized as it should. Thus, it is necessary to begin a decisive struggle against those remnants (sectarianism, misunderstanding, and unclarity), which are totally alien to the Party and the worker movement, but which, unfortunately, still exist among us. We shall not allow harmful ambitions and irresponsible elements to destroy the party work, to destroy what we have built with such great effort. We shall not allow the old ills and the old teachings to persist. Astonishing things have occurred and are still occurring among us in matter of organization. Frequently a few people have attached themselves to certain elements, falling under their influence, serving them and trusting them blindly. These elements have become steeped in group work. Under the old mysterious cloak of conspiracy of the time of the groups, they have made approaches to some comrades and today are still endeavouring to win over others by various cunning methods. Amongst them there are some comrades with a low level of understanding, of with little awareness of the importance of this question, who believe all they are told by the old group leaders or the quarrelsome factionalists, who place the individual above the movement, above the Party.

This is an evil which we must rigorously combat without fail. We cannot allow this state of affairs to continue any longer. The comrades must be absolutely convinced to have faith in the Party, to love it and its work. Long discussions have been needed to explain the necessity of work with the masses. These comrades have been very slow in becoming conscious of the necessity of work with the masses. They have denied the possibility of working under fascism. They alleged that "It is possible to work with this organizational system in Greece and other countries", or "perhaps this is an old method of work and we should not be exposed", "we should not go into action, because the police may discover us", "we do not want to lose men, and if anyone wants to go into such actions, let him go alone", etc. In other words, they have refused to work and show themselves as communists before the masses, they have refused to

undertake actions. How then do they think the revolution will be achieved? This is not clear to us. But one thing is clear; in that way we will never be able to achieve the revolution, and nothing good can be expected from such work.

We have already gone ahead of this, but the organizational situation is difficult and cannot be corrected immediately, because with the passage of time this line has struck root. It still crops up, though in a new form. Such concepts are hang-overs from the old work and are totally alien to the revolutionary worker movements. It is essential that we wage an energetic struggle against them (in the "Youth" and Shkodra groups)

Apart from this, the comrades have held the view that we should discuss problems with all elements. They claimed that we could not fight with all elements. They claimed that we could not fight the enemy, because "we are not strong enough". This led them to a great mistake, and they lapsed into a position of conciliation. As well as this, liberalism and familiarity have pushed them along this road.

Enough about that.

The comrades of the Provisional Central Committee¹¹⁾ have gone to various places and have reorganized the old work, have set up communist cells (among which duties and tasks have been divided). The Provisional Central Committee has not only done the organization, but has in fact unified the organizations of various regions and established contacts between them and the Central Committee. While visiting various places and organizations, it has given the comrades full assistance. In fact, it has directed the entire organizational work, giving advice and directives. It has defined its position on all questions and, through its proclamations, has laid down the political line of the work, and brought the organization to life. Its task has been important and arduous. It has been charged with creating the Party, and you know well, comrades, that this task was not at all simple, especially in a domain where a contradiction might emerge at every step. It has fought sectarianism and has begun the struggle against deviations, it has fought pettiness and parochialism, and in the course of this work other problems have emerged, which have been resolved by the Central Committee. The Party is not built in a day. It takes time. The Central Committee will wage a struggle relying on its orga-

nizational experience, so true unity can be created through this struggle. This is why the Central Committee has decided that, parallel with the organization of the Party, the comrades should undertake actions, demonstrations, etc., in which they will learn, become steeled, and link themselves with the masses. We have always had to face numerous difficulties in this work, but they have never stopped us, and up to now we have always overcome them successfully. We want a truly unified party, and we must transform our organizations from small isolated cells into big organizations of the Party, closely linked with the masses, with their roots among them. We want organizations which, through the example of their struggle, encourage others to be self-sacrificing and win the trust of the circles in which they are working. We cannot have a single trace of the old style of work. The spirit of the Party and of communist work should be felt everywhere. We must build such strong organizations that they are invulnerable to the attacks of the enemy. We should link ourselves with the masses and merge with them so closely that the enemy cannot harm us.

Eight leading committees have been set up in various places, and there is nowhere (among the larger towns) that we have not gone. In certain areas also we have organized regional committees.

This is still a long way from what we must achieve, but nevertheless it can be regarded as a major success, considering the external and internal circumstances in which we are working. Besides this, the comrades of the Central Committee have had to carry out even the smallest tasks. They have had to organize the work in the cells, which is the responsibility of the local leaders. In addition to this, they have spoken separately with every comrade, have had long discussions with them, trying to convince those people who were discontented for some reason, of whom there were no small number at the beginning. Their discontent mainly stemmed from the selection of the regional committees. These comrades did not limit themselves to criticism of the system of selection, but went as far as to oppose the leading comrades, and to refuse to accept discipline. Thus, they have brought confusion into the ranks of the Party, creating tendencies towards antiparty work. See, comrades, what a high level

of consciousness they have as party members! They are dissatisfied because they themselves have not been made leaders! How do they know that their representatives have not been appointed? It is evident that discipline has been violated and secrecy betrayed. Old connections have been maintained. These comrades have got the idea into their heads that their group is considered worthless. This, allegedly, is the reason for their revolt. This pretext has been suggested to them by their old chief, because the Party has left no room for the slightest doubt on this subject. They have duplicated propaganda material without the permission of the regional committees. They have undoubtedly notified the old leaders of the group (Anastas Lula and Xhepi) about this and have distributed this duplicated material only amongst their former comrades. This has led to the creation of some petty theories among some persons according to which «work in the countryside is impossible. When you talk with a peasant, he agrees, but once you turn your back, he sticks out his tongue and makes fun of you». Others claim that «it is necessary to move the entire organization into the countryside», or that «some comrades who should be freed from all party work should be assigned to the mission of killing fifth columnists and spies» (professional assassins!), etc.; that «the comrades of the cells lack initiative»; that «the Soviet Union is playing politics like the bourgeois countries».

If these were merely their own opinions, then the problem would have been much easier to solve, but unfortunately such ideas have begun to circulate and to form themselves as a line, and worse still, a line guiding a group (the «Youth» group).

When asked why they maintained their old contacts, they replied that they were indignant at the intrigues going on in their cells, and this is why they kept those old contacts. But is this really the only reason for their discontent? In the course of our talks with them, they accepted that they had been wrong, and promised to put an end to their old connections, but time has taught us to put our trust in deeds alone. These are not the only dissatisfied comrades. Certain elements coming from the strata of «agas» and «beys»¹²⁾ are dissatisfied too. They persist in old forms of work, which, like the class they come from, are alien to the worker movement. Some workers too have associa-

ted themselves with these «agas». Yes, it is true! The old truth has been proved right once again. They are employing empty phraseology, labelling us as Trotskyites. We tell them openly that it is they who have fallen into the bog of Trotskyism. All anti-party elements are bound to join together in struggle against the Party. We must mercilessly expel these types from the Party.

From these people come accusations that they could not tolerate the orders of the regional committee, because the committee was composed of some undeveloped workers. Admittedly, some regional committees are not at the required level. But why do these discontented comrades not ask for an explanation from the higher organs? It seems to us that they are hiding something else; they do not accept the line of the Party although they say they accept it. The worker comrades, who are very young and not at the required level, but who are most likely to become leaders, cannot answer certain questions or solve certain problems of a purely intellectual nature, but within a very short period these comrades have understood the Party line very well, and carry it out to the letter. They know and apply the political line better than the intellectuals who have studied the booklet: «Certain Economic Developments». It is understandable that sometimes the party organs make mistakes, not knowing how to behave with the comrades and people in general, that there is a tendency to commandism, and this is not correct, it is harmful and should be banned. The higher organs should check up on the work of the lower ones and make every effort to prevent them from acting in this manner any longer.

We also support the greatest possible measure of initiative because today we want the communists to become leaders, and not automatons, we do not want to confine ourselves to the work of the party organs. It often happens that certain comrades, because of their contact with the strata of the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie and their ideas, become subject to various influences and implement ideas that are alien to the revolutionary movement. This is caused by the low level of consciousness of our comrades.

Now, let us return to two people we have spoken of above; one of them has accepted the party line on all points,

while the other, who at first expressed his desire and was interested in the election of the Central Committee, has shown dissatisfaction because he himself is not in the Central Committee, because «only workers, and not intellectuals, can become members of the committee». In fact, intellectuals can become members—those who are far removed from the group spirit and have the necessary qualities. This man, who formerly had contacts with the Korça group and who now maintains «friendly relations» and contacts with all the groups, is dissatisfied with the selection of these Committees. He raises some astonishing matters, but one thing is clear, he does not have a single correct idea of the Party and is quite unable to distinguish between communists and nationalists. He goes so far as to criticize our statements, which according to him, are not sufficiently nationalist in content. Astonishing! Under the influence of the nationalist, he has formed the opinion that our fight today is a fight just for solidarity and internationalism, and not for the good of the Albanian people! He has other such ideas in his head, but there is no need to comment on them.

He has refused to hand over the names⁽³⁾ of his contacts. He claims that they have not yet been trained, but they have been trained to have contacts with him! Among them there are both young and mature elements with whom he is unable to do communist work, first, because there are too many of them, and second, because he himself is working underground. For this and other reasons these people are often left a long time without communication or contact. The most important thing is that he does not do regular communist work among them. He maintains contacts with people in Peqin whose names he has still not handed over. He also had connections in Ishëm, but did not hand over their names until the Party itself discovered them. We advise this comrade not to continue in this way, for it is not the way to act, and cannot be tolerated.

Within a short time he should hand over all his connections, and the names of all his contacts (the Party will not deprive him of his friends). If he does not observe party discipline, then the Party will have to take the necessary steps.

We have always been of the opinion that we should correct our comrades. But we should blame ourselves for not taking the

decision to denounce these wrong actions openly right at the beginning. However, we justify this fault by the desire to correct people. We have scored successes in this and we are continuing to follow this method. We bear in mind the teachings of the great Lenin: «We are marching in a compact group along a precipitous and difficult path, firmly holding each other by the hand. We are surrounded on all sides by enemies, and we have to advance under their almost constant fire. We have combined voluntarily, precisely for the purpose of fighting the enemy, and not to retreat into the adjacent marsh, the inhabitants of which, from the very outset, have reproached us with having separated ourselves into an exclusive group and with having chosen the path of struggle instead of the path of conciliation. And now several among us begin to cry out: let us go into this march! And when we begin to shame them, they retort: how conservative you are! Are you not ashamed to deny us the liberty to invite you to take a better road! Oh, yes, gentlemen! You are free not only to invite us, but to go yourselves wherever you will, even into the marsh. In fact, we think that the marsh is your proper place, and we are prepared to render you every assistance to get there. Only let go off our hands, don't clutch at us and don't besmirch the grand word 'freedom', for we too are 'free' to go where we please, free to fight not only against the marsh, but also against those who are turning towards the marsh!»**

Now, comrades, let us speak of a group which is very far from the Party and which is completely in the marsh—this is the «Zjarri» group, a self-styled «party». The Zjarrists claim that they are legal communists. As you can see, comrades, this group occupies a special place. It is a completely liquidationist opportunist group and has been in the opportunist liquidationist marsh since 1935, when it styled itself a party.

Its chiefs have created an arsenal of petty, very harmful theories and hypotheses which every reactionary, even Mustafa Kruja⁽⁴⁾ himself, could subscribe to. Here are some of their theories: «We should not engage in agitational work and propaganda, because the time is not ripe», «the USSR today is making concessions such as in the realm of religion», «in the Soviet Union the communists are on the retreat, and so should we be, we should not carry out actions» (according to them they

have allegedly received directives from the Comintern about this!), «for this reason, we should not undertake any actions until four days before the expulsion of the Italians» (they say «the Italians» and not «the fascist invaders»), «the communists should not undertake any actions for the time being, because those who undertake them now are not communists» (then, when should actions be undertaken?). They say the communists should not act at the present time. And this mysterious thought raises a question: then, when should they go into action? They say only four days before the revolution! How ridiculous that grown-up men should say such things! They have established contacts with the government of Mustafa Kruja⁽⁵⁾. They ask: «Who can guarantee that the USSR will win?» They are slipping into the position of the German fascists who claim that «the war of the Albanian communists (our war) serves Russian Pan-Slavism», because allegedly the USSR is fighting for Pan-Slavism. Then, they declare again that «we should not distribute leaflets, because our people can neither read nor write, and it is not the appropriate time for this», that «those who hold demonstrations, write the leaflets and undertake actions, are not communists, but terrorists!» They claim that «it is not the time for us to fight, it is not the time for revolution», «when we have a communist government and army, the revolution will burst out», etc., etc. There are many such opinions. Here finally, is a typical example. The Zjarrists declare: «Those who undertake actions today, will be condemned by the people's tribunal». The interesting thing is that they show themselves up. If they act in this manner and fall into the position of the fifth column and spies, it is true that the people's tribunal will pass judgement on them, and they can fall into this position very easily.

Comrades, we should be careful, because there are Trotskyites in our country, as the Comintern itself has defined them, such as the infamous Fundo, and Qendro who is connected with the Greek Trotskyites. Both of them oppose the Comintern and its line, and comrade Stalin. We must not underestimate the danger they represent. They are infiltrating among us in various ways, and using every means to try to spread their «ideas». They find various ways to propagate their «ideas», and for this reason we should not underestimate them, but

should wage a fiercer struggle against them; and expose them before the people. «We should brand these dregs of society and put them in the pillory of shame and scorn». (History of the CPSU (B)).

The struggle waged against them so far has been almost non-existent, and some have acted in a liberal and conciliatory manner towards them. Yes! There has been conciliation with the Trotskyites, there have been contacts with them, and comrades have sheltered them in their homes. Communists should not have done this (these communists have themselves admitted that this was wrong).

2) Educational, political, and theoretical work

Very little importance has been attached to educating, uplifting, and bolshevizing the cadres. And even less importance to other problems.

In order to orientate ourselves in this current complex situation, we should be equipped and armed with the tactics and theory of the proletariat, with the knowledge Marx and Engels have bequeathed to mankind, and which Lenin and Stalin have enriched and developed.

The reason why the cadres are not at the necessary level is not that the comrades have failed to study, or have not wanted to learn, but because the comrades have not translated those works which are indispensable to the working class and the communist cadres. Various booklets and pamphlets have been translated, some of them of doubtful origin. There have also been good books among them. But the most necessary ones: «The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B)», «Foundations of Leninism» as well as the report delivered to the 7th Congress of the Comintern by Dimitrov, etc, have been neglected. This is the reason that the theoretical and political level of the comrades is very low. Some comrades who have done some study have considered themselves very learned, and have even started writing various articles, deviating from Marxism-Leninism and attempting to create new theories such as «the theory of the class»¹⁶⁾, the «theory of cadres»¹⁷⁾, etc.

We shall not go into the errors of comrades who were in leading posts in the past and who ruined a great number of cadres, because they neglected them and lacked concern for them, or because they

educated them in the old group spirit. It is easy to see that they are to blame for this.

But we would be very wrong to lay all the blame on the past; we should look for a large share of this responsibility in the present weaknesses in our work. We should use our experience, benefit from it, increase our knowledge and proceed further ahead on this road. We should take this work seriously in hand. The question of the development and raising of the political level of the comrades should not be left solely to their own initiative. They should study collectively, while at the same time individual study should not be neglected. On this point, the Party should exercise careful checkup and give assistance.

It is very difficult for the worker comrades to raise their political level much by relying solely on their own initiative. When he comes home tired from his work, the worker comrade finds it difficult to read, because he is not used to doing this, and thus very precious time is wasted. For the intellectuals, on the other hand, this is possible, because of the very nature of their work. The workers should be given the possibility of collective study as well as individual study. We should make this possible by preparing suitable literature. There are objective difficulties in this field, in particular because, of the lack of literature for the workers. Thus, for quite a while our work will limp along, but we hope that the «History of the CPSU (B)», and the «Foundations of Leninism» will soon be translated. It is necessary to raise the political and theoretical knowledge of the comrades and train comrades for the leadership. There are also other difficulties, such as the difficult conditions in which the work is being carried on, inadequate equipment etc. We tell the comrades not to be content with the single copy they receive from the Central Committee, but to duplicate it by hand or with a typewriter. It sometimes happens that comrades do not study even those materials that come into their hands, such as books, leaflets, etc. There are also communists who distribute leaflets without even reading them themselves. What could they possibly say to the people? Sometimes, only the distribution of the leaflets is discussed in the cells. This should not happen any more. All party members should read and study our leaflets, for in them they will find the political line of the Party. We should study the literature, for

only in this way can we arm ourselves with knowledge. All the materials of the Party should be the subjects of study in the cells. We should not behave with the party materials as we have done up till now; we should study them, not leave them for months in unsuitable places to get wet in the rain, or eaten by mice. The organs of the Party should be very careful about this, and they should organize the distribution of materials properly, because irregularities on this point, as well as other manifestations of laxity on the part of certain comrades, help the factionalists to win over young people by giving them some books which in many cases they cannot understand.

In order to become leaders we should study collectively in courses and study groups, but we should not exclude individual study. The comrades in the higher organs should supervise and check up this work. Every course or study group should be led by the most advanced comrades who were previously least infected by the group spirit, that is, by those comrades who have completely eliminated the old group spirit. The factionalists and those instilled with this spirit should not be assigned to the leadership of any study circle, or educational group, or any other sort of work among the youth. This is done solely with the aim of preventing the old group spirit from infecting others. The Central Committee has undertaken the task of supplying the organization as soon as possible with the necessary translated materials («History of the CPSU (B)», «Foundations of Leninism», etc).

3) On the question of numbers in the Party (On cadres)

It appears from comrades' reports that the number of comrades is low and that the quality of party members is not yet as high as it should be. Today the Party comprises a small number of comrades. Here we observe a narrow and sectarian attitude. Why not bring in all who fulfil the necessary conditions? We should seek the causes of this in our behaviour which is still sectarian, and not only in this, but also in our inactivity; we do not yet know how to select people. We should go further than the desire for increased numbers, and find loyal fighters. It is often said of various people that they are

«friends», «comrades», «good fellows», and many other terms which indicate that they are communists, but very little initiative and ability is shown in organizing them. These people are disciplined, devoted and active, but they are communists outside the party ranks. Some comrades claim that they are not yet «sufficiently advanced», and thus do not fulfil the requirements. But what do the comrades expect of them? This practice should be ended. The dedicated, disciplined comrades, those who would make good party members, especially worker comrades, should be admitted to the Party. This applies to the proletariat and the peasantry. But we should not go too far and admit unprepared sympathizers and similar elements into the Party. On the question of admission to the Party, the party organs should check carefully on the candidates, to see that they fulfil all the necessary requirements, because the present period is dangerous for the Party and the enemy may introduce provocateurs into our ranks. In this period the organizational question is the major one. Our primary task is to consolidate the Party organizationally. Those who are conscious, loyal, convinced, steered, disciplined, fearless and have an unblemished record can enter our ranks. Without these qualities no one can become a party member, or win the right to take pride in the name of Lenin and Stalin.

The higher party organs should care for the comrades and maintain constant contact with the lower organizations; they should be continually in touch with the organizations and always be informed of the situation within them, because, otherwise, the former state of affairs will predominate. We shall go into battle with the existing cadres, until the Party is renewed with new cadres who will emerge in the struggle. Therefore, we should check up on and observe everything that is done in the organizations. Among the masses there are loyal fighters and communists, who will emerge in the front ranks of the struggle and lead it to victory.

a) Because we are going into battle, we should ensure our replacements. Of course, we cannot all go into battle and leave the masses to be misled by spies and the fifth column, so we must without fail leave our replacements behind. As soon as possible, and this is possible, we must train our replacements and raise their political level so that the organizations will not be weakened when those who cannot

stay here go to join the partisan units. In particular, we must train replacements among women. There must not be a single forum without women. On this point, we should not err again and behave in a sectarian manner, but should have a good understanding of the importance of work with women, who will play an important role in our work.

b) Our youth have been organized according to old forms of work. Because the youth organs have imperfectly understood the line of the Party, the youth are fragmented, and in some places there is still a field for the activity of old factionalists. Through their old methods of work they attract the youth (they have included many of the communist youth in their cells, etc.). The leaders of the youth have not correctly understood the struggle of the youth. Thus have not been able to wage an energetic struggle against the old group method amongst the youth and in the educational groups. Here too the factionalists have exploited the situation, doing their old work behind our backs, setting up sectarian educational groups and reviving the old group spirit. We cannot allow the old forms of work to go on among the youth, because this is the most important sector of the Party, from which it is regenerated. We should make every effort, exerting all our energies, to bring about the unity of the Communist Youth of Albania. We should mobilize the youth of town and countryside on a broad scale; this is one of our principal tasks. The task of the Communist Youth of Albania is to mobilize the entire popular youth of Albania. We now have a new method of work among the youth and I shall not speak at length on this, because the comrade from the youth⁽¹⁸⁾ organization will speak to us about it.

c) The work among the workers is extremely valuable. It is essential for us to penetrate among the workers and the poor of the towns, and work among them, among the proletariat. The majority in our Party should be workers. We should henceforth put an end to our old practice. We should not deceive ourselves. No one else can lead, fight and work wholeheartedly for the cause of communism like the proletarians and workers. We should go to countryside too and mainly among the poor peasants in the villages, the semi-proletarians, of whom there are many in our country. We should send the most disciplined and the best organizers, our best propagandists and agitators there, because

today we must mobilize the countryside around our Party, because our Party alone is a fighting party, and today the masses of the people want to fight. We must convince the masses and explain to them what is most essential. We should know how to approach them, to discuss with them openly, and listen carefully to the most immediate and concrete questions. We should not speak to them, for example, as the Vlorë comrades are doing, calling the national liberation councils⁽¹⁹⁾ soviets. This is an error and a left deviation.

d) A few actions have been undertaken, but they have not had a broad communist character. As for the sabotage actions, there have been far fewer of them than there could have been. We should understand clearly that our actions are closely linked with those of other countries, they have an international character and at the same time prepare the people for the struggle for their own liberation. Various forms of action: demonstrations, acts of sabotage, etc., popularize our Party and our struggle.

All our organizations are obliged to undertake actions, and every organization has had the possibility to undertake some, but a very liberal attitude has been maintained towards them. Certain actions which have been carried out have not been given the necessary publicity. One factor which has impeded the carrying out of actions is the fact that we have not yet organized our army. This question has been the subject of much discussion in our organizations, and the absolute necessity of setting up partisan units and town guerrillas has been raised, but they are still not in evidence. The comrade responsible for the military line will discuss this question in his report on the army. The comrades will report on what has been done in this sector. One thing must be stressed, that any hesitancy in this matter must be eliminated and we must get down to the reality, to the formation of our army, to actions.

4) Discipline in the Party

In every organization there must be some kind of discipline. But in our Communist Party, which is the vanguard of the working class there should exist that particular discipline which arises from the high consciousness of Communist Party members, the most highly conscious sons of the working class and the working peo-

ple. The difficult conditions of illegal work demand even greater discipline from us. Without steel-like discipline and without the unity of our Communist Party, which has many powerful enemies, we cannot fight the war successfully.

It is mainly alien elements, introduced into our Party with the intention of destroying it from within, who breach our communist discipline; this discipline is also violated by various people who are not yet free of their pettybourgeois crible, that is, people who are not yet mature enough to become party members, or by various careerists. But if we have our eyes open, it is not difficult to detect these people.

We stress this because recently there

have been breaches of discipline in our Party, often quite flagrant ones, and impermissible carelessness on the part of some comrades, that means to say they are not sufficiently awake; otherwise the persistent group spirit cannot be explained. And then there is a tendency to petty criticism which first of all appears accidental and later becomes a «line».

But we know within what framework to criticize and how far this should go. Outside this framework it is not sound criticism, and it assumes the form of carping criticism-unhealthy criticism. It is noticeable that certain comrades underestimate others and do not reveal their own mistakes; they criticize others but not themselves. In this way they seek to ele-

vate themselves, posing as «the strongest», or «the most developed», boasting about their knowledge of Marxism-Leninism.

Such work implies a return to the old days, to the quarrels and clashes between groups. This means a turning back of the Party. We should unceasingly criticize this backward tendency, not on the basis of the old group spirit, but through a desire to eliminate backwardness and to advance.

Then we must also speak about security in organizational matters. This is generally weak and has gone from one extreme to the other. Much has been said about security and it will also be dealt with by the comrade who reports on equipment and the need for security.

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1) *The 1st Consultative Meeting of the Activist of the CPA began its proceedings in Tirana on April 8, 1942, and continued for three days with some interruptions. The main report was delivered by comrade Enver Hoxha. The meeting adopted a resolution setting out the tasks to be carried out to strengthen the Party, to establish and consolidate its links with the masses, and to mobilize them in the National Liberation War.*

2) *The Meeting of all the main communist groups in Albania was held in underground conditions from the 8th to the 14th of November 1941. On the first day of its proceedings it took the historic decision of merging the groups and of founding the Communist Party of Albania (CPA). The meeting heard the reports on the activity of each group, on the successes and shortcomings of the communist movement in Albania, and the vital problems facing the Party.*

In the course of the discussions of the ideological, tactical and organizational questions of the Party, pronounced divergencies emerged among the representatives of groups. Comrade Enver Hoxha and other comrades waged a bitter principled struggle against the anti-Marxist and liqui-

datationist theses of the chief of the «Youth» group. The social-democrat viewpoints which had hardly begun to spread in Albania by the renegades of the communist movement, the Trotskyite line and activity of the «Zjarri» group which posed itself as the «Communist Party of Albania»; as well as alien views which had struck root in the ranks of the communist groups were condemned. The meeting adopted a Resolution which made a thorough analysis and a Marxist-Leninist assessment of the international situation and the communist movement in Albania, it mapped out the ideological and organizational basis on which the CPA was founded and outlined its revolutionary program and tactics.

3) *The communist group of Korça was formed in June 1929. It was the first revolutionary organization of the Albanian working class, but suffered from marked ideological and organizational weaknesses. Anti-Marxist elements had found their way into the group. The communist literature studied by its members was not entirely Marxist and included also Trotskyite and anarchical materials. Due to these shortcomings it remained isolated from the worker movement and confined itself to the town of Korça only. With the arrival of*

the distinguished communist militant Ali Kelmendi from the Soviet Union, where a communist group of Albanians was created as early as 1928, the activity of the communist group of Korça entered a new stage. The members of the group began to combine illegal with legal work, to take active part in legal worker and trade societies and turn them into revolutionary organizations, they began to translate genuinely Marxist literature, extend their activity to other towns, especially in Tirana where a branch was set up which, directed by comrade Enver Hoxha, later became an important centre of the communist and anti-fascist movement in the capital.

4) *The communist group of Shkodra was formed in 1934 and extended also to several other towns. The head of the group was an intellectual of wrong theoretical views and marked political unclarity. When arrested under Zog's regime, he knelt down before the enquiry and told on all the comrades of his group. The activity of the group was limited to student and trade circles, and some working centres. This group had not a clear cut political line, a definite organizational form and a sound discipline and secrecy. Like other groups,*

that of Shkodra, apart from Marxist literature circulated also Trotskyite and anarchical literature.

5) The «Youth» group was formed in 1940 as a result of the division and weakness of the communist movement. It began as a faction of the communist group of Korça and later on emerged as a separate group. Elements of marked Trotskyite and anarchical views placed themselves at its head. The group swelled its ranks with intellectual elements of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois extraction. Its leadership emerged with an anti Marxist ideological and political platform. It held that Albania lacked proletariat, that the class struggle did not exist in Albania, and therefore there was no basis to form the Communist Party, that peasantry was conservative and reactionary, and could not become the ally of the working class, that the links with the masses and the work among them would endanger the cadres, that the fascist occupation promoted the development of capitalism and the growth of the proletariat.

6) Llazar (Zai) Fundo, a deserter, enemy of the Albanian communist movement, of the Communist International and the Albanian people.

7) Aristidh Qendro, a deserter from the communist group of Korça, chief of a small Trotskyite group in Tirana, placed himself at the service of reaction and occupiers.

8) Anastas Lala, ex-chief of the «Youth» group. At the Meeting of the communist groups in November 1941, together with the former vice-chairman of the group, Sadik Premte (Xhepi), he endeavoured to hinder the forming of the Communist Party of Albania. Following the founding of the Party, they fought by every manner of means against the political line of the Party and its Central Committee. At the Consultative Meeting of Activists, the CPA admonished them for the last time to give

up their anti Marxist activity and carry out the directives of the Party. But they did not change their ways. They organized a dangerous faction in the bosom of the Party. In June 1942, the Extraordinary Conference of the Party liquidated this Trotskyite faction and expelled its chiefs from the Party. As they kept up their treacherous activity, the 1st National Conference of the CPA branded them as enemies of the Party and people.

9) The Trotskyite «Zjarri» group was formed in Greece in 1936. It engaged in an openly hostile activity against the communist groups and against the CPA. In the beginning of 1943 it was finally destroyed.

*) V. I. Lenin, «What Is To Be Done?», Collected Works, vol. 5, p. 434.

10) The directives of the Communist International for the communist movement in Albania were drafted on the basis of the decisions of the 7th Congress of the Comintern, which held its proceedings from July 25 to August 25, 1935. They reached Albania in 1937.

11) The Meeting of the main communist groups in Albania elected a Provisional Central Committee of 7 persons. Comrade Enver Hoxha was assigned to guide it, though there was no secretary elected.

12) Titles of the Turkish feudal military regime. The title «aga» was bestowed on low and middle rung officers, and that of «bey» on high rung officers and officials. After the proclamation of Albanian independence «beys» and «agas» were titles applied to all the rich of the town and countryside.

13) The Meeting of the main communist groups for the creation of the Party had decided that the leaders of the communist groups were to hand over to the Central Committee all their connections with the members of their groups.

**) V. I. Lenin, «What Is To Be Done?»; Collected Works, vol. 5, p. 417.

14) Mustafa Merlika (Kruja), an inveterate agent of Italian fascism, prime minister of the quisling government from December 1941 to January 1943.

15) In December 1941, Zisi Andrea, the head of the «Zjarri» group, together with Mustafa Kruja, the quisling prime minister, signed an agreement in which the former promised that «the Albanian Communist Party» (as he styled his «Trotskyite «Zjarri» group») would not fight against fascism.

16) This refers to the erroneous assessment of the situation of the class struggle in Albania by the heads of the communist group of Shkodra and of the «Youth» group. According to this assessment Albania had not yet entered the stage of capitalist development, the working class did not exist, the most progressive class was made up of craftsmen, and, as a result, there was no room to wage the class struggle.

17) The «theory of the cadres» was borrowed from the archio-Marxists, members of an anti-Marxist organization in Greece, who in 1930 joined Trotsky's International and during the Second World War acted as overt agents of fascism and nazism. According to their theory, the communists must not engage in any activity to organize and mobilize the masses, but sit in their secluded cells and engage themselves only in theoretical education, in «training cadres», and only after the cadres are trained can they start their revolutionary activity.

18) Besides the main report by comrade Enver Hoxha, the Conference heard reports on military, youth, equipment and other questions.

19) In February 1942, the CC of the CPA issued the directive for the setting up everywhere of national liberation councils as organs of the National Liberation War, of people's uprising, and simultaneously organs of the revolutionary people's power.

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VICTORY OF THE MARXIST-LENINISTS AND REVOLUTIONARY FORCES IN GERMANY

«ZĚRI I POPULLIT», organ of the CC of the PLA

The Declaration on the founding of the German Democratic Republic Section of the CP of Germany (M-L) was published in our press. This is an important event, a victory for the German working class in its struggle for the socialist revolution. At the same time, it is a major victory in the struggle of all the Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary forces for the cause of the revolution and socialism, against modern revisionism, against imperialism and reaction.

The Declaration on the founding of the German Democratic Republic Section of the CP of Germany (M-L) makes a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the grave situation which has been created in the German Democratic Republic, exposes and firmly denounces the betrayal by the German revisionist leaders, Ulbricht and Honecker, as well as their Moscovite bosses Khrushchev, Brezhnev and their cronies. As pointed out in the Declaration, the course of events clearly indicates that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has long been transformed into a bourgeois social-fascist party, that like in the Soviet Union and in other countries where the revisionist renegade cliques are ruling, including the German Democratic Republic, the socialist victories have been liquidated, capitalism has been restored and the fascist dictatorship of the new revision-

ist bourgeoisie dominates. A double oppression is bearing on the backs of the working people of the German Democratic Republic — that of the local revisionist bourgeoisie and that of its bosses, the Moscow social imperialists, who, through the Warsaw Treaty and COMECON, have turned the countries in these organisations into vassals, have put them in complete political, economic and military dependence, forcing them with threats to carry out the Kremlin's orders to the letter.

The Declaration rightly points out that the German question can be solved only by the German people, and that the course for their national unity is that of resolute struggle against the two imperialist superpowers, that of the expulsion of all the occupation powers from German territory and the overthrow of their lackeys and allies in Eastern and Western Germany by means of the revolution. «Only the socialist revolution in the two German States», says the Declaration, «will create the conditions for a united, independent, socialist Germany».

In the present-day conditions, when the Soviet Union has been transformed into a capitalist state and an imperialist superpower and pursues a hegemonic and aggressive policy, the disastrous consequences of its domination over the countries

where the revisionist renegade cliques are in power are becoming more and more apparent. In these circumstances, the working class of these countries, as our Party has pointed out, is faced today with the historical necessity that it must come out on the battlefield again, throw itself into a determined struggle for the overthrow and destruction of the traitor cliques, carry out the proletarian revolution once more, and restore the dictatorship of the proletariat. This requires courage and sacrifices, in the first place and above all it requires organisation of the genuine revolutionaries into new Marxist-Leninist parties, which must mobilise, organise and lead the general uprising of the proletariat and other working masses to victory. A fresh example in this direction is the founding of the German Democratic Republic Section of the CP of Germany (M-L).

Assuredly, the working class, the other working masses and the true revolutionary forces in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Mongolia, and elsewhere where the revisionists are ruling, will rise, too, as their counterparts in East Germany have done to found their Marxist-Leninist parties.

The founding of the German Democratic Republic Section of the CP of Germany (M-L) demonstrates that, in the struggle

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for the great cause of the revolution and socialism, the ranks of the Marxist-Leninist forces are growing and becoming stronger. Through political struggle and concrete actions against the bourgeoisie, against imperialism, revisionism and reaction, the new Marxist-Leninist movements and parties are tempering themselves, organising and asserting themselves more and more as revolutionary forces in the life of their countries. This infuriates the bourgeoisie and its agents, especially the Khrushchevite revisionists,

who, through their preachings about «peaceful transition to socialism» and their traitorous activity, have united with social democracy and turned into a single counterrevolutionary trend in the service of the bourgeoisie.

The Albanian communists, our working class and the whole of our people, wholeheartedly rejoice over the founding of the German Democratic Republic Section of the C.P. of Germany (M-L) and warmly greet it. «The Party of Labour of Albania», says comrade Enver Hoxha «will do

everything within its power and possibilities, to assist and support the Marxist-Leninist movement, all those who are fighting against imperialism and revisionism, for the triumph of the revolution and socialism». Socialist Albania conveys revolutionary greetings to the German Marxist-Leninists and all the German revolutionaries, on the founding of the German Democratic Republic Section of the CP of Germany (M-L) and wishes them new victories in the socialist revolution.

INSTRUMENTS OF THE GANGSTER POLICY OF THE US IMPERIALISTS AND SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISTS

«BASHKIMI», central organ of the Democratic Front of Albania

In the world press numerous facts continue to be published about the espionage activities of the agencies of the US imperialists and Soviet social imperialists, the C.I.A. and KGB, against various countries. These two international gendarmes are leaving no stone unturned to preserve and extend their spheres of influence, to establish their hegemony everywhere in the world. The agents of the US imperialists and Soviet social imperialists, disguised under the cloak of diplomat or journalist, businessman or tourist, specialist or clergymen, poke their noses into the internal affairs of other countries and threaten their freedom and independence. On a global plane, the feverish

espionage activity has served and continues to serve these two superpowers in the implementation of their hegemonistic and expansionist plans. This activity precedes and prepares the ground for direct or disguised aggressions, coups d'état, murders of progressive elements, economic sabotage, etc. Life has shown that American or Soviet agents are behind any fascist coup d'état, wherever it may take place. The facts exposing the base role played by American CIA in the fascist coup in Chile are widely known. It is also a known fact that behind the dictatorial regimes which came to power through military coups in Paraguay, Uruguay, Guatemala and elsewhere stand the Ameri-

can agents. On the other hand, it is notorious that hundreds of Soviet social imperialist agents prepared the aggression against Czechoslovakia, and took part directly in the military operations during and after the fascist aggression.

Today, the two espionage agencies of US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism have extended their tentacles to all parts of the world. Their embassies, trade attachés, scientific advisers and others like these, have been turned into centres from which the basest conspiracies, putsches and crimes are directed against the freedom and independence of the peoples of Africa or Latin America, Europe or Asia, and so on. They strive to

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put every sphere of life in these countries under the control of the US imperialists and Soviet social imperialists.

In Europe, also, the espionage activity of the two superpowers has greatly increased. Hundreds of Soviet and American agents have poured into various countries of Europe and are acting there. According to the latest figures, more than 75 per cent of the American and Soviet diplomats are agents of the CIA and KGB. Each of them is striving also to get a foot in the door to the other's territory, and to undermine and create uncertainty in the countries they call «allies», in order to dominate them more easily.

In Britain alone, since May last year the number of the US agent diplomats has increased from 60 to 70 persons. In Italy the hand of the CIA is acting in the central government departments in the army, the economy, etc. According to the Italian press, the CIA has 3,728 collaborators in Italy, and up till 1972 its collaborators included 4 Cabinet Ministers, 8 deputy Ministers, 3 ambassadors, 23 spokesmen of various political parties, 31 journalists, 268 officers of the Italian army, and so on and so forth. In recent years alone, the CIA has provided over 75 million dollars to finance pro-American parties and groups.

In recent days, likewise, US espionage activity has been exposed in France too. The French press published the names of 44 CIA agents who were engaged in espionage activity in that

country. According to the admissions of the French press, the overwhelming majority of them were cloaked as diplomats and served in the American embassy. Long lists of American agents have been published recently in other countries, too, such as in Holland, Denmark, etc. where dozens of US espionage agents have been caught red-handed.

Like their American counterparts, dozens of Soviet KGB agents, too, have been caught red-handed while carrying out espionage activity in these countries. Among them is the second secretary of the Soviet embassy in Denmark. A long list of Soviet agent diplomats was published in Luxembourg of late. It emerges that about half the personnel of the Soviet embassy there had been charged with an espionage function by the espionage agency. Justifying the fact that for every 10,000 Luxemburgers there is one KGB agent, a Soviet official, with the logic of a social imperialist gangster, claimed that this was being done by the Soviet Union in order to improve relations with Luxembourg! According to reports in the Dutch press, during these last three years the number of Soviet agents in Holland has doubled. Likewise, in the Soviet embassy in Italy, almost all the diplomatic staff, from the first secretary down to the scientific advisers, are now known to be spies.

In recent times in Tunisia, also, two functionaries of the Soviet embassy as well as a correspondent of the Soviet revisionist

agency «Novosti» were caught red-handed, carrying out espionage activity. In Canada, a «Pravda» correspondent caught in the course of espionage activity was expelled. There are scores of such instances. According to foreign press reports, from 1971 until 1975, more than 1,000 agents of the Soviet social imperialists, disguised under various labels, have been caught red-handed in 30 countries of the world. From France alone, in the last five years 50 Soviet agent diplomats have been expelled, while just in 1971 more than 100 were expelled from Britain.

The activity of the agents of US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism is only a part of that bandit-like, subversive activity of the two superpowers, which is carried out against other countries through spy ships, spy satellites, by means of other institutions specialised in subversive activity against other countries. In this way the two superpowers are seeking to demonstrate their «strength», to create an atmosphere of fear, everywhere in the world, to paralyse the peoples of the world, and curb their efforts in the struggle for freedom and independence. The feverish subversive activity of the CIA and KGB are component parts of and precede the aggressive and predatory actions of the US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists in Europe and Asia, Africa and Latin America, everywhere in the world.

The peoples of the world, from their own experience, are well aware of the policy of aggression

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and war of the US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists, as well as their agencies the CIA and KGB, which have earned the

hatred of the peoples and been branded everywhere. The peoples are enhancing their vigilance and are ever more forcefully

exposing the abhorred activity, plots and subversion of these agencies of imperialist oppression and plunder.

■

IN STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITAL, THE WORKING CLASS IS TEMPERING ITS REVOLUTIONARY FEATURES

«PUNA», organ of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania

In the situation of the deepening of the general economic, political, and social crisis, an intensification of the attacks of the bourgeoisie against the living standards of the broad working masses, an ever greater increase of capitalist oppression and exploitation, is apparent in all capitalist countries. This is an expression of that known reactionary policy of the bourgeoisie of loading the burden of the crisis on to the backs of the working class and all the working masses, of making them pay for the ever deepgoing crisis, and preserving the profits of monopolies intact. This is precisely what is demonstrated by that unprecedented increase of unemployment, that unprecedented rise of prices, taxes, inflation, that unprecedented increase of the intensity of work in factories and plants, and other anti-worker attacks of this nature, which are continually undertaken by the bourgeoisie. But this intensification of the capitalist oppression and exploitation, these fierce attacks of capital against the living standards of the working masses, cannot fail to arouse the legitimate revolt

and struggle of the working class and all the other oppressed strata of the population against the bourgeoisie, which is responsible for all the burden of evils, on the backs of the working people. This is why in the present situation there is a sharpening of the class contradictions in capitalist countries apparent at the same time, a sharpening materialised in that fierce struggle being waged by the working class and all the working masses against the monopoly bourgeoisie.

In Spain and Italy, in the United States and France, in Britain and West Germany, in all capitalist countries, the millions strong army of the proletariat is engaged in fierce class battles against the bourgeoisie.

Facts show that we are faced with a further development of the class movement in capitalist countries. The working class is throwing itself into increasingly fiercer battles against capital, and in these battles it is tempering its revolutionary features. It is courageously clashing with the fascist state apparatus of the bourgeoisie and resisting it, of-

ten counterposing the revolutionary violence of the masses to the counterrevolutionary violence of the bourgeoisie.

In many capitalist countries the working class is throwing itself into actions to occupy factories as a counter to the plans of the monopolies for mass layoffs of the workers. This has happened in Italy, Spain, France, Britain, etc. During the last two months alone, the workers in Italy have occupied more than 100 factories and plants, resisting police violence and threats of the boss. An example in this direction was provided by the workers of the capitalist motor company, «Leyland-Innocenti» in Milan.

One of the main features of the working class movement in the capitalist countries at the present moment is that it is assuming a more and more accentuated political character. It does not protest only against layoffs, price rises, taxes, intensity of work, etc., but also against political oppression, against the reactionary internal and external course of the bourgeois governments, against the monarcho-fascist regimes, demanding the release of political prisoners, free-

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dom and democracy, against the revival of fascism, against participation in the aggressive NATO bloc, and against the presence of the military bases of US imperialism. In all the capitalist countries opposition to the aggressive policy of US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism can also be seen as one of the directions of the struggle of the working class.

In its day to day battles, in face to face clashes with capital, the working class is increasing its political and class consciousness and is becoming ever more aware of the traitorous role of the revisionist cliques and trade-union leaders.

While the bourgeoisie undertakes new attacks on the working class, striving to shift the burden of the crisis on to its shoulders, the traitorous leaders of the trade unions are intensifying their disruptive activity to suppress the struggle of the working class. Thus during the recent

government crisis in Italy, the trade union leaders made haste to assure the bosses of the «responsibility and collaboration of the trade unions», as did, for example, the head of the Italian General Confederation of Labour, Lama. Thus, at moments of crisis, the hostile and reformist nature of various opportunists emerges more clearly; frightened by the revolutionary impetus of the proletariat, they rush to the assistance of the bourgeoisie. In its struggle against capitalist oppression and exploitation, the working class is distinguishing its enemies ever more clearly and understanding that it must strike its blows both against capital and against its lackeys, the traitorous leaders of the trade unions.

The development of the class movement in capitalist countries, the new revolutionary experience gained by the working class on the barricades of the class struggle, are a testimony to the fact

that this movement will continue to grow stronger. The working class, as the most revolutionary class of society, is continually advancing under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties, towards the elevation of the struggle to new heights and forms, towards a more militant organisation and mobilisation, on the road of the fulfilment of its duty as a class which will perform its historical mission as the grave-digger of capitalism. It has strength enough to smash the decayed capitalist order. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «Life shows that only when the working class moves, when it stops work be it even for one day, the whole of the bourgeoisie is shaken and all its institutions are put on a state of alert. The working class is the class with rich traditions of struggle and organisation, it has its own party and scientific theory which guide it in its class struggle».

■

NOTHING CAN CONCEAL THE PREPARATIONS OF SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISM FOR AGGRESSION

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The revisionist propaganda has devoted a great deal of publicity to the military manoeuvres of the Soviet social imperialists, which were carried out recently in the area of the Republics of Georgia and Armenia, in the vicinity of the Soviet-Turkish and Soviet-Iranian borders. As to the number of soldiers who took

part in them – about 25,000 men as to the military equipment and means used, as well as the geographical extension of the operation, they are assessed as the biggest that have ever been carried out by Soviet social imperialism in recent times.

The manoeuvres, which were called Kaukaz and which took

place under the direct inspection of the Soviet War Minister, Grechko, were tendenciously linked by the Soviet social imperialists with the decisions of the Helsinki Conference. This because, in line with the «clauses» of the «agreement» of this Conference, with definite, deceptive, and completely demagogic propagan-

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da purposes, the Moscow revisionists officially invited representatives of other countries, including NATO members, to attend the carrying out of these manoeuvres as observers. This invitation was presented by the revisionist propaganda as evidence of «the relaxation of tension», as an extension of this pretended relaxation also to the military field. Obviously, the stress is deliberately being laid on this superficial fact, for in reality it aims to disguise and leave in oblivion the true character of the «Kaukaz» manoeuvres themselves, the aim and objectives of their social imperialist organisers, of the chiefs of war staffs of the Russian czars.

The revisionist-imperialist fuss about the presence of some other countries at these manoeuvres as observers does not change, nor could it change, anything in this reality. Not only does this presence, in no way hinder the continuation of the military preparations or the further increase of the capacity of the aggressive machine of Soviet social imperialism, but objectively it

brings grist to its mill. The presence of the observers from the NATO countries at the «Kaukaz» manoeuvres in the context of putting into practice the agreements of the so-called Helsinki Conference, serves only to give a certificate of good behaviour to one of the two imperialist superpowers, the Soviet Union, before world public opinion, to throw dust in its eyes, so that it will accept and consider the manoeuvres of the imperialist states and their aggressive military groupings as «steps on the way towards the relaxation of tension». The social imperialists, for their part are seeking through these steps to increase their credibility to present themselves as people that can be trusted, because «they take effective international pledges» and «honour» these pledges! In the final analysis, this whole play has to do with the psychological preparation for aggression. The Soviet social imperialists demonstrate their strength to the NATO representatives, their neighbours, other peoples; and they do this in order to bring

pressure to bear on them, and not as a sign of «good will». It is known that the staffs of the aggressive NATO bloc, in their latest manoeuvres, also invited representatives of Soviet social imperialism for the same purposes.

Through such demagogical trickery, both the Soviet social imperialists and the US imperialists aim to dress up their preparations for war with a «peaceful» cloak, arousing pacifist illusions, and artificially creating situations which aim at disarming the peoples, and putting them off their guard. But the peoples cannot fail to see that now aggression is emerging more and more as the principal means to secure the positions of economic, political and military domination of the imperialist powers, and in the first place of the two superpowers, that these situations make it obligatory for them to increase their vigilance and mobilisation to carry out a strong and more all-sided struggle against all the imperialist and social imperialist enemies on all fronts.

■

NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS SERVE THE PREPARATIONS FOR WAR OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS

«LUFTËTARI», organ of the Ministry of People's Defence of the PRA

Before the first two months of the current year had passed the United States of America and the Soviet Union together, had registered 6 nuclear explosions. While the Soviet social imperialists

carried out one nuclear explosion in mid-January, the US imperialists, in competition with the former, successfully carried out their fifth nuclear explosion within this year.

What do these underground nuclear explosions of the two superpowers, which are being carried out with such reckless intensity, show?

Above all, these explosions tes-

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tify to the extremely aggressive character of the two superpowers and their dangerous warlike nature. The ceaseless arming and preparations for war comprise the main pivot of their foreign policies. An all-out armaments race has long been going on between the two imperialist superpowers. They have concentrated their attention above all, on the strengthening of their nuclear arsenals, with the aim of perfecting their military potential to exert blackmail and intimidation on the peoples fighting against their dictate. Not a day goes by without the imperialist or social imperialist leaders making threats against the peoples, baring their atomic teeth. Neither wants to allow the other superiority. As soon as the one superpower carries out a nuclear test, the other immediately carries out several such tests. As soon as the one superpower appears in a region of the world, the other immediately rushes there. The past year, as always, showed that nuclear explosions followed one another in Nevada, Semipalatinsk or Novaya Zemlya. The two superpowers each carried out 15

underground explosions and now the USA has raised its figure, since the beginning of 1975, to 20. Undoubtedly the Soviet social imperialists will soon carry out other underground nuclear explosions to avoid lagging behind their American rivals.

The intensification of the armaments race and the increase of the nuclear tests by the two superpowers testify to the falsity of the «documents» and «treaties» they have concluded or recommend in regard to nuclear weapons. Thus, since 1963, when the ill-famed phoney treaty on the «partial limitation» of nuclear tests was signed in Moscow, the two imperialist superpowers, have carried out over 300 such tests. Thus, they do not intend limitation for themselves but only for others. And this is also all that pseudo initiatives proposed in the UNO, especially by the Soviet social imperialists on the «complete prohibition of nuclear tests», are worth. This, too, serves the hegemonistic plans of the two superpowers. Once again their aim is to preserve their monopoly and tie the hands of other peoples and

prevent them from developing these weapons in self defence.

The two superpowers are advancing at rapid strides in their preparations for war and they are making more and more use of atomic blackmail to intimidate the peoples. But they are gravely mistaken. Their atomic blackmail does not intimidate the peoples. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «The nuclear weapons are destructive, but they cannot wipe out all mankind and all nations. On the contrary, it will be mankind who eventually will destroy both the atomic weapons and those who want to use them...» The development of events testifies not to weakness and fear of the peoples, but to their invincible strength. Experience so far has definitely confirmed the conclusions of our Party of Labour that it is not the atomic weapons, nor any kind of other weapon in the hands of the superpowers, that are decisive. Above all their weapons, there is another, more powerful weapon, the people's war, the fire of which will sear and destroy any aggressor.



WHAT HELPS AND WHAT DOES NOT HELP THE TRUE SECURITY AND COLLABORATION OF THE BALKANS

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

After the European Security Conference in Helsinki many proposals and plans were made from various directions for continental and regional get-together

and meetings in order to put in practice the so-called «Helsinki spirit.»

In this context the Balkan Conference for economic and tech-

nicol collaboration was held in Athens some time ago which, as it was said in the final communique of the participants, was «inspired by the principles and

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provisions of the final act of the Conference for the security and collaboration in Europe.»

Our country did not take part, and in due time and form made clear the reasons for its refusal to go to this conference. Proceeding from the correct and consistent policy of the preservation of good neighbourliness with the peoples of the Balkans, from the known principles of non-interference in the internal affairs and of full respect of national sovereignty, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania explained that at present there do not exist conditions on the Balkan Peninsula to realise an agreement on a pluripartite collaboration, and much less to carry it out in practice.

At the same time, it pointed out that for the creation of the atmosphere of understanding and true collaboration in the Balkans, the course of the development and strengthening of bilateral relations would be a more realisable objective in practice.

The present-day situation of the relations between the Balkan countries is very complicated and the super-powers, with their many interferences of various kinds, have created dangerous political and military conjunctures. Some countries of the Balkans are linked with NATO, some others are dependent on the Warsaw Treaty. There exist in them troops and military bases of the superpowers, where even nuclear weapons have been deposited. Ships and aircraft of the United States and the Soviet Union, loaded with atomic

missiles and bombs, enter and come out as in their home.

The two superpowers, not only are keeping old conflicts alive, but they are exciting also new ones, as is the case of Cyprus. At the same time, many unsolved bilateral questions exist among the Balkan States, which create no little tension among them.

It is obvious that in such conditions, there cannot even be talk of pluripartite agreements and collaboration. Therefore, meetings like that of Athens cannot lead to any positive result whatever, cannot create bases and premises for a correct solution of the problems which truly preoccupy the peoples of the Balkans. Such get-togethers are fraught with the great danger of creating illusions like those of the Helsinki Conference, which do not serve the strengthening of the freedom and independence of the Balkan peoples, true friendship and normal collaboration among them.

We followed from outside the development of the proceedings of the Balkan Conference and now, as it was expected, we notice that nothing concrete was achieved. Indeed, as it was also extensively announced in foreign press, concerning the procedure of the meeting alone the discussions and debates lasted for whole days. The fact that tens of proposals were made for the procedure, like those concerning the working languages of the conference, the states that should be invited to it, etc., testifies not only to the existence of irreconcilable positions, but also to the appreciable pressure of the su-

perpowers, their policies and rivalry.

One can imagine what troubles would emerge if they would tackle the essence of the many and complicated problems the Balkan countries have to solve among them. In theory, up to a certain extent, these questions might find a course of improvement through talks. But in practice, in the conditions when US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism interfere directly or indirectly in the affairs of the Balkans through states such as Bulgaria, in the conditions when there are states which have linked their national interests with these superpowers and which, as a consequence, are in the impossibility to discuss and solve in a correct way those problems which concern the peoples of this region, this improvement cannot be realised.

The situation in the Balkans is complicated also because there are chauvinistic policies of oppression of national minorities, there are calumnies and incitation of enmities by reactionary elements towards other peoples. Between some countries there are territorial claims and sharp contradictions, in which neither the one nor the other yields.

Some countries are making a fuss about independence, but they are dependent on social imperialism and are playing its game. There are states which demand that also Hungary and Italy be invited as participants in the inter-Balkan talks, indeed even the Soviet Union and the United States be invited there in order to be, as they claim, «guar-

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rantors of the concluded agreements.» This would be tantamount to putting the wolves to guard the flock, to not only flaying the peoples of the Balkans, but also eat their bones.

Therefore, to propagate that the present-day Balkan reality, which includes all those things we said above, is such that allows the possibility of establishing a many-sided and pluri-partite collaboration, not only is not realistic, but represents also a political shortsightedness.

The problems of the Balkans must be solved by the Balkan countries themselves, without the interference of the superpowers and against them.

We say and continue to point out that bilateral collaboration is the only useful one. Only this can help in strengthening the freedom and independence of any country and of peace and general security in the Balkans. Through this course and solving the most acute bilateral questions the way can be paved for going, at a later time, also to a joint meeting. But the principal condition for this, is to fully exclude the superpowers from the Balkan problems, to liquidate their bases from this region as soon as possible, to eliminate those alien factors which hinder the Balkan

peoples from deciding by themselves, in a sovereign way, on the relations among them.

Pointing out the desire of the Balkan peoples to live free in their own countries, comrade Enver Hoxha said in his speech of October 3, 1974: «Let us promote friendship in the most appropriate way to each other, without intervening into each other's internal affairs and without allowing within our territories anything which, for one reason or the other, may violate or threaten the interests of good neighbourliness.»

The strategic position of the Balkans in Europe and the Mediterranean has continually attracted the greeds of the imperialist powers. The great predatory powers have described the Balkans as «the apple of discord», a «powder barrel», «the region of the origins of war», etc.

But the fire of the war in the Balkans has not been kindled by itself. It has been brought by foreign occupiers, the Ottomans and Austro-Hungarians, the czars of Russia and the kings of England, the German Kaiser and Winston Churchill, fascist Italy and Hitlerite Germany, Truman and all sorts of other imperialist wolves, big and small, which have rushed to devour and dis-

member this much-suffering peninsula.

This history teaches many things to the peoples of the Balkans. But in the first place it shows them that in spite of the defeats the imperialist powers have suffered, they do not give up easily their greeds and predatory objectives, their efforts to get in the Balkans, at times through violence and at other times through diplomacy, at times through intrigues and at other times through conspiracies, and set its peoples against one another, with a view to subjugating them and ruling over them.

Therefore, the imperative necessity for the peoples of the Balkans and their main duty is the enhancing of their vigilance towards the hegemonist and expansionist policy of US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, the opposition to any foreign interference in their internal affairs and to any influence on their policy, the strengthening of national independence and sovereignty. This would at the same time promote also the strengthening of true understanding and collaboration among the states of the Balkans, the establishment and preservation of good neighbourliness among them.

■

ALWAYS VIGILANCE AND READY TO DEFEND THE FREEDOM WON WITH SO MUCH BLOODSHED AND SACRIFICES

«BASHKIMI»

Thirty-seven years have been completed from April 7, 1939,

when fascist Italy perfidiously attacked Albania. To carry out

this dirty aggression the Italian fascists were backed up and sup-

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ported by the abhorred regime of satrap Zog, who opened the doors of Albania to Italian fascism and prepared April 7. The people, betrayed, were left unarmed in front of the aggressor, armed up to the teeth, who was invading their homeland. And despite this the Albanian received the fascist invader with bullets. Groups of patriots, workers, school pupils, peasants, intellectuals, fought valiantly, arms in hand, against the aggressors. The National Liberation Antifascist War, which was started by our people as a resistance, as a lawful uprising to defend their freedom and independence grabbed by the foreigners, to face annihilation as a nation and as a people, kept growing always. An entire people, led by the Communist Party of Albania, with the beloved son of our people, comrade Enver Hoxha, at the head, with their people's war, with the force of arms drove the invaders out of the Albanian soil.

Albania counted 1 million inhabitants at that time; a rifle tied up with twine and a bag of cartridges was all the Albanian had, but he continued his sanguinary and manly war for five and a half years nailing down more than 15 Italian and German army divisions and put about 70,000 enemies out of action, including casualties and prisoners. As a member of the antifascist world coalition, in comparison with the size of its territory and population, Albania made a valuable contribu-

tion to the historic victory over fascism and carried quite a heavy burden on its shoulders. Our territory of 28,000 square km was trodden, during the Second World War, by the foot of about 700,000 fascist soldiers who caused us exceptionally great damage and destruction. Twenty-eight thousand martyrs laid down their lives on the altar of freedom. The nazi-fascist hordes burned and destroyed 1,850 cities and villages out of the 2,500 Albania had. Albania occupies one of the first places for losses in human lives and particularly in material and cultural blessings in the course of the Second World War. With their titanic war, the Albanian people once more showed to the entire world that Albania, the sons of the eagle, do not allow themselves to be brought to their knees, just as comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, being alone, in front of a merciless enemy, we have kept our head up in storm, we proclaimed a fierce and uninterrupted war to the enemy.

For the 32nd year the Albanian people are enjoying the fruit of their free and happy life, they are building their beautiful present and their sure and happier future. But the Albanian does not forget for a single moment that his triumphant socialist march infuriates his enemies for whom socialist Albania is a thorn in their flesh. He does not forget for a single moment that the place of the Hitlers and Mussolinis, the place of the Italian

fascists and German nazis has been occupied today by as much savage and perfidious enemies, the US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists, who seek to make the law and order, they have filled the world with military bases; they send to all seas and oceans, off the shores of the others, their cruisers, aircraft carriers and submarines, cause everywhere conflicts and tensions so as to emerge afterwards in the role of arbiter and enslave the peoples more easily, they are developing a frantic armament race and threaten the world with a new war. Our people see also that in Italy, Western Germany and elsewhere in Europe and in the world the fascists are rearing their head again, they have taken a place in parliament, have created their own parties, have organised their armed bands, which are trained in the outskirts of the Italian or West German cities with the most up-to-date weapons provided by the aggressive NATO bloc. The reactionary cliques in power, whose position becomes still more shaky as a result of the general crisis which has struck the capitalist-revisionist world, are seeking a way out in the preparation and outbreak of new dangerous adventures. In his speech of October 3, 1974 to the electorate, comrade Enver Hoxha warns: «Look out! U.S. imperialism and Russian imperialism are leading the world into another world war, more terrible than the two previous world wars!»

«THE VOICE OF THE MASSES» this is how the painter Sali Shijaku has called his tableau. By this tableau the painter shows the importance which the Albanian artists attach to the thinking and judging of the working people. A group of workers have been invited to the painter's studio expressing their opinion about a new work.



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