

# Albania today

POLITICAL AND INFORMATIVE REVIEW / TIRANA

No. 3 (28) / MAY-JUNE

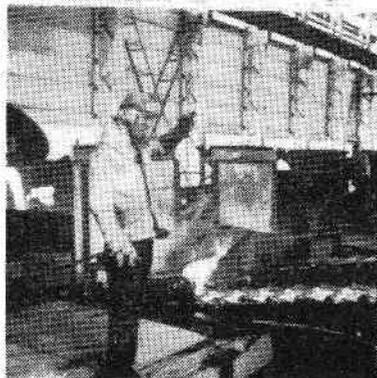


With the inauguration of the new pigironcoke line in the Metallurgical Combine at Elbasan a great forward step has been taken on the road of the further industrialisation of socialist Albania. In the photo of the first cover: The new pigiron of Albanian brand.

A view of the traditional May Day parade in Tirana. On the tribune Party and State leaders with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.



**Albania  
today**



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# DECISIONS OF THE CC AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ON THE REDUCTION OF HIGH SALARIES IN THE PAY SYSTEM OF THE FURTHER NARROWING GAP BETWEEN TOWN AND COUNTRY

The Central Committee of the PLA and the Council of Ministers of the PR of Albania note with satisfaction that in the revolutionary atmosphere which prevails all over the country, the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, inspired by the directives of the 6th Congress of the PLA, the decisions of the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th Plenums of the CC of the PLA and the programmatic speeches of comrade Enver Hoxha, have raised to a higher level their proletarian consciousness, determination, drive and mobilisation at work to consolidate, defend and carry the revolution and the socialist construction in our country constantly ahead.

During more than three decades of socialist construction, Albania has realised deep-going revolutionary transformations in every field of life. The dictatorship of the proletariat and its social basis, the main pillar of which is the alliance of the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, have been further consolidated. The socialist economy has been developed and strengthened unceasingly as a multi-branched, complex economy with stability, which is growing steadily stronger and to which the crises or any other ills, characteristic of the capitalist-revisionist economy are unknown. The defence of the homeland and the socialist victories have been further reinforced. The working masses, freed from all oppression and exploitation, led by the Party and educated with the ideology of the working class, have gone all out and are working with revolutionary drive for the rapid development of the productive forces and perfection of the socialist relations in production, consistently applying the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance. The constant raising of the general material wellbeing and the

cultural level of the people has been secured on the basis of the constant increase of social production, and the essential differences between country and town, mental and physical labour, have been narrowed step by step. This enthusiasm and this high spirit of mobilisation is bursting out with a new impetus during the jubilee year of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the PLA and the discussion of the draft-Constitution of the PSR of Albania, when the working class and the working masses, in town and country, have started a new great battle, the battle of the 6th five-year plan of the development of the people's economy and culture.

These historic achievements were made possible through a stern class struggle against the internal and external enemies, against blemishes and remnants of the past in the consciousness of the working people. They have been achieved by smashing and defeating the attacks, the all-round pressure, blockades and encirclement of our country by the imperialists and modern revisionists.

In the unceasing process of the development and deepening of the socialist revolution, the Party of Labour has always consistently applied the line of struggle against manifestations and influences of bourgeois and revisionist ideology and liberal attitudes towards them, the line of the class struggle against liberalism, bureaucracy, technocratism and intellectualism. This is a struggle of great importance for the fate of the revolution and socialist construction, to prevent any split from which the dictatorship of the proletariat might be endangered. Under the leadership of the Party the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia have risen to their feet in this struggle.

# **SION OF THE PLA TERS OF THE PR OF ALBANIA ARIES, ON SOME IMPROVEMENTS WORKING PEOPLE AND OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN AND TOWN**

In the present stage of the struggle for the complete construction of socialism the perfecting and constant revolutionisation of socialist relations of distribution are of great importance. Having a correct Marxist-Leninist revolutionary concept of the role and importance of these relations, the Party has followed the line of the gradual narrowing of differences between the levels of income and the ways of life of the working class and the cooperativist peasantry and the categories within them, between town and country. It has always taken care to maintain as fair a ratio as possible between the salaries of the cadres and the incomes of the workers and cooperativists, not to allow marked differences in incomes, which give rise to the birth of degenerate elements and privileged strata and directly endanger the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism. At the same time, the Party has always fought, also against tendencies of petty-bourgeois equalitarianism in the field of remuneration, which is alien and harmful to socialism.

The system of wages and salaries for workers and officials and the system of remuneration of the work of cooperativists have been built and improved from time to time, in conformity

with this Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line, always on the basis of the socialist law of distribution according to the work done. The application of this system has made it possible to narrow the differences between low and high wages, between the incomes of officials, workers and cooperativists and establish fairer proportions between them. Quite the opposite occurs in capitalist and revisionist countries, where the remuneration of work is based on the enrichment of the minority which oppresses and exploits the majority.

To further develop the line followed in the field of distribution, bearing in mind the directives of the 6th Congress of the PLA and the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha as well as supporting and approving the revolutionary initiatives of the working people for the improvement of the system of pay and remuneration for work done, to further narrow the differences between mental and physical labour, between country and town according to the conditions and possibilities which the socialist development of the people's economy has created, the Central Committee of the PLA and the Council of Ministers of the PR of Albania,

## **DECIDED**

### **I. ON THE REDUCTION OF HIGHER SALARIES AND ON SOME IMPROVEMENTS IN THE SYSTEM OF WAGES AND REMUNERATION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE**

1. With the aim of achieving more correct proportions between the pay of workers and officials, and between the salaries of different categories of officials, to reduce the higher salaries

of leading cadres, the intelligentsia, and cadres of the armed forces, which are from 900 leks and upwards a month, without affecting low and medium wages, with the exception of certain

cases to preserve the necessary proportions. The reductions of higher wages will be from 4 to 25 per cent of the present wage.

This measure of great ideopolitical importance has as its aim the further revolutionisation of the cadres, bringing their standard of living nearer to the general level of the masses, to bar the way to careerism, to encouraging the desire for office work, and many other evils whose influence is towards bourgeois-revisionist degeneration.

2. In response to the revolutionary initiatives of the workers of literature and arts, education and science to do away with extra bonuses over and above their basic salaries and to achieve better harmony of material incentives with moral ones, giving priority to moral incentives, to reduce the salaries of pedagogic-scientific workers of the higher schools and scientific research institutions from 14 to 22 per cent, to reduce bonuses for scientific titles and degrees up to 50 per cent and the bonuses for literary, artistic and scientific creative works 30-50 per cent, and to cancel a number of other extra payments in certain branches of the economy which are unjustifiable in the present conditions.

These measures assist in the revolutionary education of the working people in this important field of social activity and the strengthening of the feeling of proletarian modesty, encourage them to always be guided by the general interest of the revolution and socialism and to live in conditions similar to those of other working people.

3. To raise the wages of the workers of agriculture and fruit-growing on the state farms, by linking the rewards for their work with realisation of the targets of the production plan.

4. To achieve an even better appreciation of the jobs where material blessings are produced, so that people work and live wherever the interests of the homeland require and to combat any manifestation of careerism and bureaucracy, the salaries of specialists working in the same economic branch will be unified, irrespective of the category of the district or enterprise where they work. Likewise, these measures are aimed at unifying the salaries of specialists working in production with those in the administration of enterprises and cooperatives of the same economic branch and the apparatuses of the executive committees of the district people's councils.

For the purpose of improving the relationship between the pay of higher and middle specialists and that of qualified workers with long working experience, beginning from April 1, 1976, the young specialists, after graduating from the higher schools, for the first two years at work, will receive a salary close to that of the workers with the highest level of qualifi-

cation of the same branch, while the young specialists who finish vocational middle schools and are appointed as staff officials will, as a rule, receive the wage of one stage lower.

5. To further stimulate the interest of the workers and specialists of enterprises, executive committees of the district people's councils, ministries, and other central institutions, in raising their ideopolitical, cultural and technical-professional level, the system of assessment of the level of qualification of the workers and specialists through cultural-professional certification will be applied.

This system will aim at carrying into effect the vital demand that not only must the working class produce ever better and more and more material blessings, but first and foremost, as the class in power, it must ceaselessly improve its capabilities, so that under the leadership of the Party, it will play its role more actively in running the entire life of the country. The cultural-professional certification should also help the workers and specialists to respond better to the tasks of the development and deepening of the technical and scientific revolution, by applying science and technology more broadly in production and placing the organisation and management of the people's economy on a sounder scientific basis.

6. To improve the implementation of the principle of remuneration according to the quantity and quality of the work done, as well as the socialist organisation of the work, changes will be effected in the classification of processes and places of work and remuneration on the basis of place of work will be extended.

7. To further improve the proportions between the wages of workers in different branches of the economy, certain disproportions which have been verified in the wages of workers in fishing and maritime transport will be adjusted.

8. Parallel with the changes and improvements in the system of wages and remuneration, the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers recommended that high retirement, invalidity and length of service pensions for militarymen, should be reduced in proportion with the reduction of high salaries.

Thus, fairer proportions are achieved between the remuneration of the working people who continue their activity in production and other social fields, on the one hand, and old age or other pensions which the working people enjoy, on the other hand. This is also aimed at narrowing differences in incomes between various categories of pensioners.

9. It is recommended to the agricultural cooperatives that they, too apply the above measures in the field of the organisation and remuneration of work.

## II. ON THE FURTHER NARROWING OF ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TOWN AND COUNTRY

The narrowing of essential differences between town and countryside has been and remains one of the fundamental questions of the general line of the Party for the construction of socialism in our country. To achieve this aim, the Party has implemented an extensive programme of measures of a profound ideological, political, economic, social and cultural character. On the basis of this programme the productive forces have been

developed at rapid rates, socialist relations in production have been constantly improved and the systematic raising of the material and cultural wellbeing of cooperativist peasantry has been and continues to be ensured. Useful social work, united work for the continuous increase of socialist production, has been and still is the only solid basis for the increase of wellbeing in the countryside. The efforts, toil and sweat of all the coopera-

tivist peasantry must be poured into the work and struggle for the increase of production of material blessings which are the main source for the increase of their own wellbeing and happiness and that of all the working masses.

1. For the further narrowing of the differences between town and countryside and within the countryside, between the hilly and mountainous zones and the lowlands, to increase the economic, social, and cultural level of the peasantry more rapidly and to further improve the working and living conditions in the countryside, the State will take upon itself in the countryside too, expenditure for outpatient clinics, consultation centres, maternity homes, kindergartens and nurseries, the wages of the personnel of houses of culture in the centres of enlarged cooperatives, investments for the construction of schools, kindergartens and nurseries in the villages, as well as of houses of culture and health projects in the centres of agricultural cooperatives, the maintenance costs of the internal power system in the villages and the telephone network to the centre of joint cooperatives.

The peasantry is called upon to continue to contribute as much as possible to these projects through voluntary work and local materials.

2. The Central Committee and the Council of Ministers recommend the raising of the percentage of pensions of cooperativists, equalising them with those of the city workers, the raising of minimum pensions of cooperativists, meeting expenditure for maternity leave for women cooperativists from State social security funds, the unification of the percentage of maternity leave pay and childbirth benefits in town and countryside

3. State investments will be increased in hilly and mountainous areas, for the construction of irrigation projects, for the opening of secondary canals, and for the extension of the existing irrigation network, to partially or totally cover the value of the work day for the opening and systematisation of new land and for the creation of new plantations of fruit trees and vineyards, for the financing by the State, up to fifty per cent, of the value of the work day spent on the heavy pruning of olive trees, for building retaining walls round olive trees and planting olive saplings.

With the aim of increasing draught animals, the State will help the cooperatives of the hilly and mountainous areas with financial means for the purchase of these animals.

4. The price of nitrogenous fertilisers will be lowered by 9-15 per cent for the agricultural cooperatives of the hilly and mountainous regions.

5. The machine and tractor stations will defray all the costs of the agricultural cooperatives for the transport and storage of fuel and agricultural machinery. Investments for the construction of sheds for the machine and tractor stations will be financed by the State.

6. The agricultural cooperatives of the hilly and mountainous areas will be exempted from paying bank interest on all the loans they have received and will receive in the future, and the percentage of this interest for other cooperatives will be reduced.

The premiums for state insurance of agricultural crops, livestock and the other assets of the agricultural cooperatives will be reduced to such a level as to merely cover the costs.

These measures have been made possible thanks to the development and strengthening of our socialist economy, the self-sacrificing work of the working people of town and country, headed by the working class for the increase of industrial and agricultural production. They are a systematic implementation of the correct line of the Party for the construction of socialism in the countryside, too. Our patriotic cooperativist peasantry will, as always, make a current assessment of the measures which are being taken in their favour, by increasing their revolutionary drive and mobilisation at work, for the increase of the production of agricultural and livestock products, and first and foremost of bread grain, for the all-round development and flourishing of our socialist countryside, for the strengthening of the alliance of the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, for the further consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The measures for the reduction of high salaries, for certain improvements in the system of wages and payments and for the further narrowing of differences between town and countryside, will come into force beginning from April 1, 1976.

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The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania are fully convinced that the measures which are being taken express the desires, will, and interests of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, and the people's intelligentsia. They will give a new impulse to the revolutionisation of the life of our country and will become a new source of inspiration to achieve even greater new victories in all fields of socialist construction.

The Party has always educated the communists, the working people in town and country, and the leading cadres to be proletarian revolutionaries, to place all their energies in the service of the great cause of the revolution and the construction of socialism, to strengthen and defend our socialist homeland against all the attempts of the internal or external enemies. The Party has unshakeable confidence that we shall build our happiness, prosperity and even better future with our work, with our own forces, with our incessant efforts.

Great tasks lie ahead of us. We have just begun the first year of the 6th five-year plan. In November this year our people will celebrate the 35th anniversary of the founding of our glorious Party of Labour, organizer and leader of all the historic victories achieved in the revolution and our socialist construction. Let this outstanding jubilee serve to mobilise all the forces of our heroic working class, cooperativist peasantry, and people's intelligentsia in all fields of socialist construction, to raise the socialist emulation and revolutionary actions even higher, always keeping unfurled and unsullied the red banner of triumphant socialism in the PR of Albania.

THE CC OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR  
OF ALBANIA

THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE PR  
OF ALBANIA

# A NEW VICTORY OF THE POLICY OF FOR RAISING THE

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

**The revolutionary social  
policy which our Party carries out  
demonstrates that it  
is only in the conditions of  
genuine socialism and when the  
principles of socialism  
are implemented consistently,  
that the general wellbeing of the  
whole people  
can be steadily raised  
and their aspirations realised**

THE DECISION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PLA AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE PRA ON THE LOWERING OF HIGH SALARIES, ON SOME IMPROVEMENTS IN THE PAY SYSTEM OF THE WORKING PEOPLE, AND A NUMBER OF MEASURES TO RAISE THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL LEVEL OF THE PEASANTRY, WHICH LEAD TO THE FURTHER NARROWING OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TOWN AND COUNTRYSIDE WAS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS YESTERDAY. THIS DECISION OF GREAT POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL IMPORTANCE, IS A CONTINUATION AND DEEPENING OF THE POLICY OF THE PARTY, THE BASIS OF WHICH HAS ALWAYS BEEN THE DEFENSE OF THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE, THE FULFILMENT OF THEIR GROWING MATERIAL AND CULTURAL DEMANDS. THE COMPLEX OF MEASURES ENVISAGED IN THIS DECISION ARE THE CONCRETE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE IMPORTANT GUIDE-LINES PROVIDED BY THE 6TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY. COMRADE ENVER HOXHA SAID AT THE 6TH CONGRESS: «IN THE FUTURE TOO THE PARTY WILL CONTINUE TO PURSUE ITS CORRECT POLICY FOR INCREASING THE WELLBEING: GENERAL WELLBEING FOR THE ENTIRE PEOPLE MUST BE ACHIEVED; THE MOST URGENT ECONOMIC, CULTURAL AND SOCIAL NEEDS OF THE BROADEST MASSES OF THE WORKING PEOPLE MUST BE FULFILLED, THE DIFFERENCES IN THE LEVELS OF INCOMES AND LIVING STANDARDS OF TOWN AND COUNTRYSIDE, BETWEEN VARIOUS GROUPS OF THE POPULATION, MUST BE STEADILY REDUCED».

The classical teachers of Marxism-Leninism teach us that the distribution of the product in socialism should be based on the principles of «from each according to his ability, to each according to his work», and «equal pay for equal work». However they have stressed that differences in pay should be as small as possible, that the pay of an official, as Lenin said,

# F THE PL OF ALBANIA GENERAL WELLBEING OF THE PEOPLE

should not be higher than the average pay of a good worker».

Upholding the policy of the unceasing revolutionisation of the life of the country, the Party has always, been guided by the correct Marxist-Leninist principle of no favouritism for anybody, that we must not fall into equalitarianism, but must not allow great disproportion in the remuneration of working people of various categories either. Thus, in our country the ratio between the average pay of the workers and the higher salaries of the officials at the moment is 1:2.5.

By reducing the higher salaries above 900 leks a month, from 4 to 25 per cent without affecting the lower and middle salaries, the new decision of the Central Committee of the PLA and the Council of Ministers of the PRA brings this ratio down to 1:2. This is a concrete and unprecedented implementation of the Marxist-Leninist theses, a great reality of proletarian justice, which will be welcomed by all the working masses, cadres and intelligentsia, who see and conceive their own wellbeing as linked with the general wellbeing of the people and inseparable from it.

The reduction of higher salaries, as well as the measures being taken to do away with extra records on top of the basic pay of people working in literature and art, education and science, and to achieve a better harmony of material incentives with moral incentives, to unify the pay of specialists working in the same branch of the economy, to put into operation the system of assessment of the qualification of workers and specialists by means of cultural-professional certification, together with certain adjustments in the working people's pay system, further revolutionise socialist relations in the field of distribution. They are an expression of the class treatment of the problem of salaries, and the purpose of them is to revolutionise the relations between the masses and the cadres, as well as the relations within the ranks of the cadres themselves, from

the material viewpoint, which is an essential premise, for the protection of people especially the cadres, from alien influences and degeneration.

Our course is diametrically opposed to the course of the revisionists. At the 25th Congress of the Soviet revisionist Party they openly declared that their policy in the field of incomes and consumption, as previously, proceeds from the principle that the main way to increase incomes is pay increase, in the first place increases in the salaries of leading cadres and specialists, who have now degenerated into bourgeois of the new type. In the revisionist countries, where savage oppression and exploitation are the rule and where class polarisation is becoming more and more profound those of the revisionist caste, through their salaries and legal bonuses alone, secure incomes 20 and more times greater than those of the workers, without taking into account here what they get by other speculative methods. In the countries of the capitalist-revisionist world, where everything is subjected to the aim of ensuring maximum profits, the life of the working masses is becoming steadily worse, the rich are getting richer, and the poor poorer.

Of special importance are the measures envisaged in the decision to give a further stimulus to the economic, social and cultural uplift of the peasantry. During his visit to the Korça district, comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at his meetings with the working people and cadres: «The working class sees in the peasantry its most faithful ally. Therefore it is of the opinion, — and this is the opinion of the Party, — that the life of the peasantry should be improved, its standard of living should be raised. . . This is what the Party wants, and the working class, and the entire people are working for this». The present measures are a clear testimony to this great care. On the basis of these measures from now on the wages of the workers of agriculture and fruit-growing in the state farms will be raised, by linking their rewards for their labour with the realisation of

the targets of the production plan. The State will undertake to defray the costs of outpatient clinics, consultation centres, maternity homes, kindergartens and crèches in the villages just as it does in the towns, as well as the payment of the personnel of houses of culture in the centres of enlarged cooperatives. The State will also provide the investments for the construction of schools, kindergartens and crèches in the villages, of houses of culture and health units in the centres of agricultural cooperatives; the costs of maintaining the internal network of electric and telephone lines in the villages. An important measure will be the raising of the proportion of pensions to normal income among the cooperativists, unifying it with that of the working people of the town, the raising of the minimum pension for cooperativists, the defraying from the State Social Insurance Funds of maternity leave payments for the cooperativist women, for equalising the percentage of maternity leave payments and child-birth benefit in town and countryside. Along with these measures, in the hilly and mountainous areas the state will provide increased finance from the budget for the construction of irrigation projects, opening up, levelling, draining and terracing new land, establishing new plantations of fruit-trees, vineyards and olive trees, and buying draught animals, while the price of ammonium nitrate and urea will be reduced by 9-15 per cent.

For all these things and other measures in favour of the countryside, the State will spend from its budget over 140 million leks per year, a sum which greatly exceeds the biggest of the prices reductions that has been carried out in our country in previous years.

The decision of the Central Committee of the PLA and the Council of Ministers of the PRA, with the very important measures it contains, is a new victory for all our industrious, patriotic and revolutionary people, led by the Party with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, in the jubilee year of the 35th anniversary of the founding of our glorious Party. It demonstrates the strength and vitality of our socialist order, of our State of the dictatorship of the proletariat. On this basis, a new, very important step is taken in the direction of the gradual narrowing of differences between town and countryside, for the further raising of the wellbeing of the entire people. On this basis the proletarian consciousness of the working people is further tempered, the solidarity between them is strengthened, the unity of the people and the militant alliance of the working class and cooperativist peasantry under the leadership of the working class and its Party, which is the guarantee of all our victories, is made even stronger.

The working people of town and countryside welcome this very important decision with boundless joy and enthusiasm. Correctly grasping the significance of the measures contained in it, they will draw other revolutionary tasks, so that old and young swing into action and set to work with multiplied energies for even better organisation and further development of our entire people's economy and culture, and in particular for the vigorous development of agriculture, livestock farming, fruit-growing, etc. The Party committees and organisations, as

well as the State organs, must struggle to see that in all the cooperatives, especially in the mountainous and hilly cooperatives, which are not so economically strong, the work will be organised better, and participation in work and incomes will be increased, by spreading the experience of other cooperatives which have similar conditions, but which secure good incomes per member or per work day. Not only in many cooperatives but also on a district scale, practice shows that when they work well, the level of the incomes of the cooperativists has already approached or equalled that of the workers.

The measures which the decision envisages are an expression of the superiority of our socialist socio-economic order, of the rapid and continuous development of our planned economy. These measures assume particular importance when we compare the situation of our country with that in the capitalist-revisionist countries. In socialist Albania, where the Party follows a correct revolutionary Marxist-Leninist policy, life develops normally, the economy advances by relying firmly on its own forces and develops without knowing crises, unemployment or price rises, and the general wellbeing of the people is steadily increasing. And all these things are achieved through a fierce class struggle against internal and external enemies, against the blemishes and hangovers of the past and alien influences in the consciousness of the working people, smashing and defeating the attacks, allround pressures, blockades and encirclement of our country by the imperialists and modern revisionists. Such is our revolutionary reality. The opposite is occurring in the capitalist-revisionist world. The deep-going economic and financial crisis, chaos, spontaneity and anarchy are gnawing away at it like an uncontrollable erosion. The entire structure and superstructure of capitalist-revisionist world has been shaken to its foundations, it has badly lost its equilibrium and is sliding nonstop into inevitable decline, making the situation of the working masses more and more serious.

Our reality knows, only the road of assent to great new achievements. Here, industrial and agricultural production, the total social product and national income, the fund of accumulation and that of consumption are in constant growth. Within the last five years total industrial production in our country increased 51 per cent, and agricultural production-30 per cent. The national income in 1975, as against that of 1960, increased about 2,8 fold. It is precisely this general upsurge of our economy that has made it possible to take the measures envisaged in the decision of the Central Committee of the PLA and the Council of Ministers of the PRA.

The revolutionary social policy which our Party carries out shows that it is only in the conditions of genuine socialism and when the principles of socialism are implemented consistently that the general wellbeing of the whole people can be steadily raised and their aspirations realised. The clearest indicator of this is the continuous increase of that part of national income which goes to fulfil the individual and social needs of the broad working masses. In our country his monthly pay is not all real income that the working man

receives from society, whoever he may be, whether a cadre or a simple working man: there is also a whole fund which society outlays in favour of the individual through other channels. Thus, in 1975, as against 1960, the fund of consumption more than doubled, while that part of it which is used to defray the costs of social and cultural measures, education, health, social insurance, increased 2,7 times. For financing these expenditures, which go directly to the advantage of the people, the State spends one quarter of its budget each year. On the average each family benefits to the extent of about 4000 leks per year from the State expenditure on social and cultural measures. The measures which are being carried out now still further increase these benefits and the trend is for them to increase in the future.

In socialist Albania, where there are no exploiting classes, private property, and exploitation of man by man, that terrible social evil, unemployment, has been eliminated. Our people are guaranteed jobs and incomes, they are secure and optimistic about their present and future. In 1975 the number of people employed in the State sector alone in our country had increased 2,5 times over 1960, and on this basis the incomes of every family have increased and continue to do so. What a great contrast with the situation of the working people in capitalist and revisionist countries, where unemployment is hanging over their heads like the sword of Democles! At this moment there are over 100 million people in these countries totally or partially unemployed. In capitalist Europe alone there are about 20 million such people, deprived of the necessary means of livelihood.

But this is not all. The unbridled and unprecedented inflation, which has invaded the entire capitalist-revisionist world, is rampant there. The prices of mass consumption goods last year, as compared with those of 1970, have increased as follows: In the USA 140 percent, Britain 190,6 per cent, Italy 171,4 per cent, Greece 182,5 per cent, while in Yugoslavia 252,1 per cent. In the other revisionist countries, too, a similar situation prevails. In socialist Albania there is complete economic stability. The market is regularly supplied with goods, and the prices are stable. They do not rise; on the contrary, a policy of reducing prices on the basis of the increase of production is followed.

The gloomy picture of the reality of the «consumer society» becomes still more complete if we bear in mind also the other fact that in the structure of family incomes there, 60 per cent of them go to pay house rent, rates and taxes, the consumption of electric power, insurance, medical expenses and other things of this nature.

The working people of our country are the first in the world who pay no taxes or levies. A working man's income for 1-2 days work is sufficient to pay the house rent for one month. The charges for drinking water, light and other services of this category are symbolic. Thus, almost all the incomes of the working people of our country are available to them to fulfill their needs for food, clothing and household equipment at stable or downward moving prices. Precisely

because of this, the standard of living here knows only rises. The facts speak clearly: In 1975, as compared with 1970, the real income per head of the population increased about 16 per cent. Quite the opposite is happening in capitalist and revisionist countries where living standards are falling continually. Over the period 1970-1975 the cost of living in the USA increased by 42,4 per cent, in Britain — 97,3 per cent, Italy — 77,8 per cent, Greece — 89,2 per cent and Yugoslavia — 163 per cent.

The theory and practice of socialist construction have confirmed that the continuous improvement of the general wellbeing of the working masses is achieved on the revolutionary course of the increase of production of material blessings, of the allround growth and steady development of the economy, by carrying out the instruction of the Party: «Produce more, more quickly, better and cheaper». Therefore, in the future too, the working masses of our country will advance on this Marxist-Leninist course, the only correct course to raise the wellbeing of the people, which our Party has followed and continues to follow. This wellbeing is linked with the raising of labour productivity on the state farms and agricultural cooperatives, with the increase of production in all sectors, with the improvement of quality and reduction of costs, factors which lead to the reduction of prices of foodstuffs and industrial goods and to the creation of reserves in all direction and strong organisation. The Party's work to educate and convince people, as comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, must lead, and certainly will lead, to a further upsurge of the revolutionary drive of the masses, to the strengthening of their practical spirit and the spirit of actions.

The measures contained in the decision of the Central Committee of the PLA and the Council of Ministers of the PRA are not measures of a technical and administrative character, they have a profound ideopolitical and social content. They have their national value, but they are also an important contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism. They show that our Party is carrying out systematic and revolutionary creative work in order to implement the principles of Marxism-Leninism with courage and maturity. They express the desires and interests of the entire Party and people, of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and our people's intelligentsia. In further revolutionising the life of our country, they will become a new source of inspiration and mobilisation for all the working people of town and countryside. Let us march constantly forward under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, under the leadership of the glorious Party of Labour with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, multiply our efforts and pour out our energies in our work, let us realise the economic tasks better than ever and achieve new, greater victories in all fields of the socialist construction and defence of the country, for the prosperity and further strengthening of our beloved homeland, and go to the great jubilee of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Party as it befits our industrious, valiant and revolutionary people!

# THE WORKER-PEASANT CONTROL—AN IMPORTANT FACTOR FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF THE SOCIALIST ORDER

by HEKURAN ISAI

IN SOCIALIST ALBANIA THE WORKING CLASS IS THE LEADING CLASS OF THE STATE AND SOCIETY. COMRADE ENVER HOXHA HAS POINTED OUT: «WE ARE A COUNTRY OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, LED BY THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA. THIS MEANS THAT THE WORKING CLASS, WITH ITS PARTY AT THE HEAD, LEADS THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM IN ALLIANCE WITH THE WORKING PEASANTRY». THEREFORE, IT IS UP TO THE WORKING CLASS, IN ALLIANCE AND TOGETHER WITH THE COOPERATIVIST PEASANTRY, ALSO TO EXERCISE CONTROL EVERYWHERE, IN ALL THE SECTORS AND LINKS OF THE ACTIVITY AND LIFE OF OUR COUNTRY, OVER ANYONE AND EVERYTHING NOT ONLY THROUGH ITS PARTY AND STATE, BUT ALSO DIRECTLY.

The direct worker and peasant control is a means of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a right and duty of the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, which emanates from the mission they have, from the position they occupy and the role they play, under the direction of the Party, in the socialist construction, for the continuous development of the revolution. This control is sanctioned also in Article 10 of the Draft-Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, which says: «The working class, as the leading class of the society, as well as the other working masses, exert direct and organized control over the activity of state organs, economic and social organisations and the working people in them,

for the purpose of defending the victories of the revolution and strengthening the socialist order.»

New light is shed on this major theoretical and practical problem by the decision of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA «On the further strengthening of the direct worker and peasant control». In this new special decision on the further strengthening of the worker and peasant control the positive experience gained in this field in Albania during these recent years, is summed up, the ways to place it on more organised basis are defined and by means of profound Marxist-Leninist ideo-theoretical argument new horizons are opened to the Party organisations and organs, the working class and cooperativist peasantry, and they are assisted to gain a better understanding of the necessity for the exercise of this control, to

correct the weaknesses and shortcomings that have shown up in it to make it an ever more powerful means of revolutionary education and action for the strict implementation of the line of the Party, for the realisation of all tasks of the construction and defense of socialism in our country.

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The direct worker and peasant control constitutes a major issue of principle which stems from the nature of the socialist system. Therefore, the Party of Labour of Albania has always shown special care to develop an ideological understanding of this and to organise and guide the exercise of this control on a broad scale. In this matter, it proceeds from the classical teachings of Marxism-Leninism, from the lessons with which the 32 years of positive experience of socialist Albania in this field provide us and from the lessons stemming from the negative experience of the revisionist peaceful counter-revolution in the Soviet Union and a number of other countries.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us and practice has confirmed that the decisive role

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**The direct worker and peasant control constitutes a major issue of principle which stems from the nature of the socialist system and is of decisive practical importance to the fate of socialism.**

**Therefore, the Party of Labour of Albania is specially careful to develop an ideological understanding of this and to organise and guide the exercise of this control on a broad scale**

in history always belongs to the masses of the people. This is even more true of socialist society, where the role of the masses is raised to a new higher level. Comrade Enver Hoxha says: «The masses build socialism, the Party makes them conscious».

The qualitatively new role of the masses in socialist society is expressed in the fact that, under the leadership of the proletarian party, they build socialism consciously, with their own hands and for themselves, and participate actively and directly in solving social and state problems, in running the country. The Party of Labour of Albania regards this participation, which as the 6th Congress pointed out, constitutes the main direction of the deepening of socialist democracy in action, not only as a right of the working people liberated from oppression and exploitation who have the state power in their hands, but also as an historical necessity for the ceaseless advance of the revolution and socialist construction barring the way to all dangers which threaten the dictatorship of the proletariat.

One of the most vivid expressions of this qualitatively new role of the masses of the people in socialism and of their

direct participation in running the country is the direct control by the working class and peasantry, in general the control exercised by the broad strata of working people from below. «The control by the broad masses of workers and peasants, by our entire people over the activity of the organs and people of the state power», says comrade Enver Hoxha, «is one of the most important conditions for the further strengthening and democratisation of the people's state power and to fight bureaucracy successfully... By strengthening the control by the masses from below over the activity of the organs of state power and their apparatus, by increasing the participation of the people in running the country, and constantly developing socialist democracy, we shall cut off any source which arouses bureaucracy, we shall bar the way to any manifestation of the birth of revisionism and to any possibility of the restoration of capitalism in our country, and we shall further strengthen and democratize our people's state power, the most powerful weapon in our hands for the complete construction of socialist society and for the defence of the homeland».

Proletarian control in socialism is an

historical necessity which has at its foundation the checking on the amount of work and consumption. Firmly based on Marxism-Leninism, the PLA has always rejected any kind of liberal or anarchist preachings and practices on socialism and socialist democracy which lead to laxity, to paving the way to the degeneration of the socialist order and, in the final analysis, to the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the restoration of capitalism. «Accounting and check-up», wrote V.I. Lenin after the October Revolution, «... accountig and check-up everywhere, total and universal, — accounting and check-up on the quality of work and the distribution of products — this is the essence of socialist transformation now that the political domination of the proletariat has become established and secure». **We must check up on people and check-up on whether the task is truly carried out.** It is on this, I repeat, on this and this alone, that the whole essence of our work, of our entire policy now rests». (V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 26, p. 453 and vol. 33 p. 245).

This necessity is connected with the fact that socialism constitutes the transition period in passing from capitalism to

classless communist society, therefore, traces and influences of capitalism are inevitably preserved in it, which are nurtured by the remnants of the overthrown exploiting classes, by the various enemies of socialist order, as well as by the continuous pressure of the capitalist world. Consequently, a life and death class struggle goes on incessantly in socialism between the two roads-socialist and capitalist, between us and the enemies and in the ranks of the people. Therefore, without a sound and rigorous proletarian control to stop, discover and violently suppress any hostile activity, to prevent and eradicate any kind of alien influence and negative phenomenon, it is impossible to ensure the complete and final victory of the socialist road or to ensure the construction of socialism and communism at rapid rates.

This proletarian control in socialism is exercised, in the first place, by the revolutionary Party of the working class and by the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But control from above alone is insufficient. Along with it, the direct control of the working class and the other working masses from below is also necessary, because:

**First**, only with a combined control from above and below it is possible to discover, attack, and eradicate the shortcomings and negative manifestations, only with such a control, as J.V. Stalin pointed out, is there a greater guarantee that there will be no surprise developments, that negative manifestations will be caught in time and the necessary measures taken for their elimination. This control by the masses from below is necessary especially for the verification in practice of the correctness of the decisions and directives of the Party and the state for the continuous revolutionarisation of the life of the country. Comrade Enver Hoxha gives us a great lesson on this when he stresses that "Firm reliance on the masses is especially important for the verification of the correctness of decisions in the living practice of life. The continuous verification, the continual critical and self-critical reexamination of all the previous work and experience in all spheres of activity, for the purpose of preserving and developing that which stands on a sound basis

amending that which is not justified by practice or which has been left behind by life, of finding new ways and means of solving problems, this constitutes a law of the socialist revolution which, as Karl Marx said, is invincible because it continually criticises itself" (Enver Hoxha, Report to the VI Congress of the PLA).

**Second**, the necessity for the control of the masses from below also stems from the great historical lesson of the Paris Commune, according to which "...In order to avoid losing its newly-won domination, the working class must, on the one hand, completely destroy the old oppressive machine, which has been used against it, and, on the other hand, must ensure itself from its deputies and officials, «must take measures» against the transformation of the state and state organs from servants of society into masters of society" (K. Marx - F. Engels, selected Works, vol. I, p. 453 and 454). The danger of which K. Marx and F. Engels spoke in summing up the historical experience of the Paris Commune became a reality in the Soviet Union, where, after the death of J.V. Stalin, the dictatorship of the proletariat was liquidated and degenerated into a new bourgeois and social-fascist dictatorship, as a result of the revisionist peaceful counterrevolution carried out by the renegade group of N. Khrushchev with the support of a whole stratum of bureaucratized, privileged leading cadres, divorced from the people and their life, who did not have the feeling of the class and the class struggle, who were inspired by bourgeois ideology and the bourgeois way of life and who stood outside the control of the masses.

Now in the Soviet Union it is no longer the working class in power but the new revisionist bourgeoisie. Therefore, there can be no talk of worker control there. The state and the party there have been transformed into tools in the hands of the revisionists to defend and consolidate their political and economic domination precisely over the working class and the working masses. The socialist and communist disguises which the Soviet revisionists put on their party and state are only to deceive people. As a matter of fact, the working class and the broad

working masses in the Soviet Union and in other revisionist countries are oppressed and exploited in the same way as in the capitalist countries.

A similar situation is also in Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav revisionists claim that under their «system of self-administration» the true role of the working man and the working class in general is allegedly affirmed, pretending that it self-administers the means of production, manages the economy and makes the distribution of social product. In fact quite the opposite occurs. The dismemberment of the state property and the negation of the leading role of the socialist state is the dismemberment of the working class, the negation of its leading role in the life of society. In these conditions the working class not only is unable to lead and control, but is also unable to act as a class, it is unable to express and defend its interests. It has been transformed from a leading class into a class which is oppressed and exploited by the bourgeoisie.

**Third**, the positive experience of the socialist construction in Albania shows that the active participation of the working class and the broad working masses in running the country, especially their direct control from below, also constitutes one of the most effective means and a necessary condition for their revolutionary education, «to make the working people ever more conscious of the fact that they, themselves, are the all-powerful masters of the country, who must have their decisive say about everything» (Enver Hoxha, Report to the VI Congress of the PLA). On the contrary, as the negative experience of the birth and advent to power of revisionism in the Soviet Union shows, diverting the working class and the working masses from their control and direct participation in running the country, causes them to become indifferent and politically apathetic, which is fraught with extremely dangerous consequences for the fate of the socialist order.

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The success of the worker and peasant control depends, in the first place and above all, on its correct leadership. For

this reason, and having in mind the vital importance of this control for the cause of socialism in Albania, the decision of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party reaffirmed that *this control must be guided directly by the Party*. It points out that the leadership of the PLA, the revolutionary vanguard of the working class of Albania, constitutes the number one condition for the realisation on the right road of the worker and peasant control, which is not a spontaneous and anarchic action, but an organised control, at the foundation of which is the implementation and defence of the norms, laws, and rules established by the Party and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This is a matter of profound, theoretical and practical principle. The PLA has exposed and refuted the revisionist preachings of the liberal-anarchist type about the role of the working class and its control in socialist society, which treat this control as something spontaneous, which excludes the leadership of the proletarian party and which is counterposed to the socialist state. The PLA and comrade Enver Hoxha have pointed out that not only is the worker and peasant control not counterposed to the revolutionary party of the working class and the proletarian state, but that it is a powerful weapon in the hands of the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat to carry the revolution and socialist construction constantly forward to its complete and final victory, because the party itself and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for their part, are nothing but weapons in the hands of the working class for the realisation of this objective. In this matter, as in everything else, the dialectical connection and inter-action of party-state-class-masses find their implementation. This is how the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha that «class control means that the working class should rise and assist its party in the implementation of a directive it has issued», that «the class control sees to the carrying out of the directive of the party, ensures its correct implementation», must be understood and implemented correctly.

The Party of Labour of Albania has continually stressed the question of ensur-

ing, strengthening, and perfecting its leadership in the direct worker and peasant control. Following the 5th Congress of the PLA the 10th Plenum of the CC of the PLA which dealt in particular with the problem of the worker control, stressed that the direct control by the working class is not and cannot be a spontaneous and arbitrary control on whose behalf anyone can commit abuses; that it cannot and must not be left in the hands of the Trade Unions alone as a matter which belongs to them alone; that in the first place, it is a party problem, therefore the Party itself must take it in hand and it must be appreciated as one of the most important problems of the Party branches and members. In the decision of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA on this issue, clear guide-lines are given as to how the leadership by the Party of the worker and peasant control can be realised better in practice, beginning from the organisation of it, the programming of its activity, and instructing it down to the exercise of it in practice.

The worker and peasant control groups are set up under the party branches or the Party bureaus in the work centres, agricultural cooperatives, and military units, whereas in districts, regions and big military units they are set up under the respective Party committees. In this way, the Party takes in hand the practical direct organisation of the worker and peasant control groups. Likewise, in this, as in everything else, the organisations and leading organs of the Party have the duty of regularly planning the issues and objects which must be subjected to the worker and peasant control and, from time to time, of making various analyses devoted to its activity.

Of course problems emerge in this which require attention and care so that they are understood and realised correctly in practice. For example, while the worker and peasant control groups are set up only under the organisations and forums of the Party and function under their guidance, it is necessary that before the Party organisations and committees plan the issues and objects which will be subjected to the worker and peasant control, they must hold consultations with the

various state and economic organs and the mass organisations, because these, too, may have opinions and suggestions that direct worker and peasant control should be exercised on definite problems in this or that link of their activity. Likewise, since the worker and peasant control groups report on their activity, on the measures taken, and on the problems which emerge from the control, to the relevant organisations and organs of the Party which have sent them for control, it is incumbent on these organisations and organs to draw lessons, conclusions and duties for themselves and the state and economic organs and the mass organisations, as well as to follow up the carrying through to the end of the problems raised by the worker and peasant control. And it is obvious that such a qualified and practical leadership of the worker and peasant control cannot be achieved by just one or two persons of the leadership of the Party organisation or committee, but this requires the entire leadership of the organisation or the bureau of the Party, all the secretaries of the Party committee and their apparatus, collectively and individually, according to the problems and sectors they follow.

Naturally the greater and better engagement of the Party organisations and organs with the organisation, guidance, and leadership of the direct worker and peasant control should not be understood as if the mass organisations have nothing to do in this field. As broad organisations of the masses and levers of the Party, they have the task of carrying out, under the direction of the Party, allround educational work among the working class and peasantry in order to make them conscious of their role in socialist society, and of how vitally important it is for them to exercise direct control to give all the necessary assistance for the successful carrying out of the activity of the worker and peasant control groups and support them in all their work; as well as to mobilise all the people for the implementation of the tasks which the worker and peasant control puts forward in the various sectors of the socialist construction and the defence of the country in which this control is exercised.

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One of the fundamental factors which makes the direct worker and peasant control a powerful and effective means in the struggle for the strict application of the line, directives, and decisions of the Party, for the preservation of them and of our socialist order in general from any bureaucratic-liberal distortion or deformation, is **the exercise of this control without any limitation, including all fields of social and state life without exception, exercising it both within and outside the centres of work, production and agricultural cooperatives, over everybody and everything.** The clearest synthesis of the unlimited character of this control was defined by the 6th Congress of the PLA which stressed that it is a control «over the entire activity of the organs and organisations of the Party, the state and the economy, of the apparatus and cadres, which extends over everything and over anyone, both in the city and in the countryside» (Enver Hoxha, Report to the VI Congress of the PLA.

Comrade Enver Hoxha instructs that along with production in all its links and aspects, from the utilization of working time, the rate of production and quality of products, down to supplies of materials and savings, etc., special care must be devoted to the exercise of worker and peasant control also in the sectors which deal directly with services for the people, such as trade, social catering, communal and repair services, public health, transport, etc., for the purpose of barring the way to theft, speculation, favoritism, irregularities and any sort of unlawful action, with the aim of providing the people with the best possible services.

A permanent object of the worker and peasant control is the activity of administrations, apparatuses and leading cadres with the aim of thoroughly combatting manifestations of routine and procrastination in solving problems, and in general bureaucratic, technocratic, and other tendencies which pose a great danger to the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. No one should be allowed to remain outside this control of the masses.

We stress this matter because, as com-

rade Enver Hoxha has said, «there are some people in the Party, in the organs of state power and in leading positions in the agricultural cooperatives who feel themselves answerable for their work and behaviour only to those in positions superior to them and who forget that they are answerable for everything first to the people and the mass of the party, because both those superior to them and the elected organs of the party and the state power are answerable, in the first place, to the people, to the mass of the party. Therefore, in order to eradicate such unhealthy views from these people, we must place them under the control of the people and the party. This is the only way to cure them» (Enver Hoxha, Letter addressed to the assembly of the old men of Kukës, the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit», February 15, 1967).

In struggle to extend the sphere of action of the worker and peasant control, it is also essential to break some incorrect and inhibitive concepts, that this control cannot be carried out in certain so-called «special», sectors such as the sectors of education, science, culture, art, commerce, the army, etc. The ever more extensive and better exercise in appropriate forms of the direct worker and peasant control even in such sectors not only serves the strict implementation in them of the line of the Party, but also teaches the class to acquaint itself with these sectors at first hand and to create the conviction that they are neither the property of a chosen few, not an untrodden field beyond the understanding of the workers and peasants.

Nor can the activity of the organisations, organs, and apparatus of the party itself remain outside the direct worker and peasant control. The workers and peasants have the right and duty to protect the party from any danger, so that its members, cadres, organisations and organs will always remain revolutionary and continually revolutionise themselves further. For this purpose too, as comrade Enver Hoxha instructs, «the Party must organise various groups of workers who should be instructed and sent to check up on everything... indeed, even on party branches and party committees, if it

deems it reasonable. This is a great revolutionary education for the class, which assists its party, so that the Marxist-Leninist line will not be violated, will not degenerate». Undoubtedly, in order to prevent any sort of spontaneity and speculation, it is essential that this worker and peasant control over the activity of the basic organisations, organs, apparatus and cadres of the Party, too, should be carried out in an organised way, under the direct leadership of the higher leading organs of the party, defining with complete clarity the aspects and problems which will be subjected to this check-up.

Special care must be devoted also to what kind of problems the direct worker and peasant control will deal with. «The worker control», says comrade Enver Hoxha, «is not an administrative control for minor, current and superficial matters. It is an expression of the opinion and stand of the working class on key political, economic and social problems» (Enver Hoxha, Report to the VI Congress of the PLA). It is essential that this instruction be kept well in mind because there have been tendencies to reduce the worker and peasant control to minor matters, to consider it as «incompetent» and «unable» to exercise control over the important ideological, political, economic military, social and other problems, to divert it precisely from these fundamental aspects. The very good results last year from the many instances of direct worker and peasant check-up on such fundamental problems as those of the struggle against manifestations of bureaucracy constitute a wealth of positive experience which demonstrates that this control is turned into a powerful weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat when it is not confined to trifles and second-rate things, but is concentrated on major issues of the line and decisions of the Party.

Likewise, with the aim that the direct worker and peasant control should be up to its mission, it is essential that it should be developed also as a self-control of the working class and cooperativist peasantry, as criticism and self-criticism within their ranks, as a persistent struggle against manifestations of complacency, indifference and running after nar-

row personal interest, against any spirit of conciliation with phenomena which hinder our advance.

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In the decision of the Political Bureau «On the further strengthening of the direct worker and peasant control (the problems dealing with the organisation and concrete functioning of this control occupy an important place, the criteria for participation in its groups are laid down, the ways to train the participants, and the competences of the direct worker and peasant control, etc., are defined.

In order to avoid leaving the exercise of the worker and peasant control to chance and desire, and to make it possible for its participants to acquire the necessary training and habits to exercise such check-up, this control is organised in permanent groups which act continually over a set period. It is organised at all levels from the base to the centre, as a single, group, but sub-groups are created within it according to the problems and needs that arise.

At the base, groups of worker and peasant control are set up under the branches and bureaus of the Party in work and production centres, in agricultural cooperatives, as well as in those centres of various services where the workers are the pivot of the activities. Whereas in administrative apparatus and various educational, cultural, scientific research, health and other institutions, where the workers do not represent the main and decisive element of the work, control groups of their own are not set up. When necessary, the regional party committee sends control groups there from outside. The worker and peasant control groups are set up at different levels according to the Party branches, bureaus and committees, also in army, border, and police units, with the participation of rank-and-file soldiers and policemen who come from the ranks of the workers and peasants. Whereas in districts and regions, groups of worker and peasant control are set up under the Party committees with workers and peasants from the va-

rious production centres and agricultural cooperatives.

Of course, the number of participants in the worker and peasant control groups at the base, at district level or in the centre will be dependent, among other things, on the extent of the problems to be subjected to the check-up, while as to who will take part concretely in these control groups is decided by the relevant Party organisations and organs from the base to the centre, after having sought the opinions of the working collectives, the Trade Unions, the Front and Women's organisations and the youth organisation to which they belong.

The fundamental thing in this matter is that in every case, the direct worker and peasant control should be characterised by its mass nature, with a large number of workers and peasants taking part in it and not just certain individuals, by drawing the broad masses of workers and cooperativists, in turn into the control group, including all those who have the political and moral guarantees, who enjoy the confidence and respect of the masses, and who are capable of performing this function. It is obvious that in order to give the masses of workers and cooperativists the possibility of being activated in these groups, they must be renewed every year with other people, to the degree that the basic organisation itself or the relevant organ of the Party considers necessary, proceeding from the aim, on the one hand, that as many new workers and cooperativists as possible should be gradually drawn into the control groups, and, on the other hand, that these groups should always have people in them who have gained experience in exercising the control in previous years, with a view to maintaining the continuity of the work. Whereas, in order to preserve the class character of the worker and peasant control it is necessary to keep well in mind the directive that only workers and cooperativists, and not officials, should take part in the control groups. The control groups may draw in officials only as specialists, as assistants of the control, but they should not be members. The exclusion of officials, including in this category all the administrative, production and

creative intelligentsia, the officers in the army, etc., from participation in the worker and peasant control groups, is based on the conclusions of V.I. Lenin and J.V. Stalin and on the revolutionary experience of the PLA which teach us that the participation of officials in the worker and peasant control would cause it to lose its character of the direct control of the masses from below over the administrations and managers, while precisely this control of the masses from below-upwards constitutes the fundamental aspect of the worker and peasant control to combat and avoid the bureaucratic degeneration which threatens the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is important also to understand and implement correctly the directive that in the composition of the worker and peasant control groups there should be a fair combination between the party and non-party participants, and between men and women, aiming especially at the more and more active and extensive drawing in of women, as well as combination of ages, so that, along with workers and cooperativists of long experience, including pensioners, many young men and women will be drawn in, too.

In the efforts to increase the quality of the direct worker and peasant control comprehensive work must be done for the general education and concrete training of the participants in the groups so that they have a thorough knowledge of the line, orientations, directives and decisions of the Party, the Constitution, the laws, and the other most important dispositions of the state, and of the economic policy of the Party and the State, etc. of course the many-sided day to day work of the Party, the State, and the mass organisations, etc., serves such an education and preparation of the entire people. Whereas, concerning the worker and peasant control groups it is a matter of special, organised and programmed preparation of the members of these groups to give them the expert knowledge and ability to exercise the control with highest possible quality and complete competence.

The worker and peasant control groups carry out their check-up on the basis of

a monthly and quarterly plan, approved by the relevant organisation or organ of the Party, as well as surprise checks on problems which emerge within these periods. As a rule, these are sudden and operative controls.

Being a social activity, the worker and peasant control is carried out mainly in spare time so as not to divert people from production, while the success of its activity depends greatly on how the group sent to carry out the check-up organises its work. Here it is a matter, particularly, of to what extent and how it relies on the working collective where the control is carried out, how it builds its relations with the state or economic leading organs, to what extent and how these organs make all the necessary information and documentation available to the worker and peasant control and, finally, how it draws its conclusions and how it lays down the tasks. The thing is that everybody, both those who are carrying out the control and those who are controlled must put themselves in positions which are helpful to the examination of the issue, to the taking of measures to improve the work and the implementation of the orientations and directives of the Party. Since these are the aims of the worker and peasant control, the results of the work it carries out, the conclusions it draws, the recommendations it makes, and the tasks it defines, it puts before the working collective of the work centre, cooperative, institution, or military unit in which it exercises the control, keeping proper documentation in all this, in which the conclusions reached, the responsibilities of each individual and the measures to be taken are clearly reflected.

It should be pointed out that the task of the worker and peasant control is not merely to observe this or that shortcoming, weakness, irregularity, etc., but is in particular to take measures on the spot to clear up the situation, or, when there are things which do not depend on it, to come out with concrete proposals for the measures to be taken, to lay down the clearest and most concrete, understandable and controllable tasks, and possibly, with definite time limits. The direct worker and peasant control is vested with competen-

ces. It has been given the right to order the immediate correction of actions which are contrary to the laws, dispositions and ordinances in force issued by the State, to the Constitution or the instructions of the Party, etc., as well as the right to take or to suggest the taking of administrative measures, up to the suspension from their functions, against persons who violate the laws of the State, the instructions of the Party, etc. If there are differences of opinion with regard to the conclusions of the control, between the group which exercises the control and the collective, the Party organisation, and the managers of the centre where the control is exercised, the matter is referred to the organ which has sent the worker and peasant control group, for decision on what further action should be taken. It is up to this organ, too, to take all the necessary practical measures to carry things through to their conclusion, to provide solutions for them, and follows up their implementation.

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The worker and peasant control does not eliminate other forms of control in socialist society.

Although it dwells mainly on the problems of the further strengthening of the direct worker and peasant control, the decision of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA in no way eliminates the other kinds and forms of the proletarian control in our socialist society, and **deals with the question of the relationship of this control with the state control and with the other forms of the control by the masses from below.**

The proletarian control, which is exercised in our socialist society, includes three kinds of fundamental controls; the Party control, which stands above everything; the general and specialised state control; the direct control by the working masses from below in various forms, in which the direct worker and peasant control is decisive. All these constitute one single, decisive, and undivided control, which serves the cause of the complete construction of socialist society and bars the way to the danger of turning back, the restoration of capitalism. The Party has con-

tinually made this problem clear. The 10th Plenum of the Central Committee following the 5th Congress of the Party pointed out that «there is one and not two or three controls. This is the control of the working class in power, which is realised in various ways and forms, from above and from below, under the leadership of the Party. All the forms of control in our country are in essence one single control, working class control. Therefore, there is no room for any counterposing of the direct working class control from below to its control from above through the Party and the proletarian state».

While the decision of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA lays down the necessity for the strengthening, further perfecting and placing the direct worker and peasant control on a more organised basis, it must in no way be thought that now we no longer need the other forms of control, nor that the other forms of control are perfect and need not be strengthened, enlivened, and developed further.

The control over people's work according to the principle of «trust and check-up» constitutes the most reliable and fairest standard for judging each one's worth, particularly of the leading organs and cadres whether elected or appointed. The sounder this basic control, the better and more effective all the various forms of control which are carried out in our State and our socialist society will be. This means that a great and continuous work must be done to implant in all the communists and all the working people the sound revolutionary spirit to check-up on one's self and one's comrade, combatting any manifestation of indifference and of standing aside as an onlooker, as an alien and extremely dangerous phenomenon; and seeing everything from the angle of the interest of society as a whole. This means, likewise, that the organised social and state control must be strengthened still further, with all the Party, State and social organs, as well as the elected representatives of the people fully performing the controlling functions which belong to them. In particular, the State control, both the general and the specialised control, should be further strengthened.

The decision of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA points out that «the strengthening of the worker and peasant control, putting it on a more organised basis, and the vesting it with competences, should not lead to ignoring, avoidance and replacement of the state control. On the contrary, the latter must carry out its duties fully and through to the end, according to the competences given to it, and must be made as effective as possible. The state control will exist as long as the state itself exists, and the task which the Party is now laying down is, not the weakening, but the further strengthening and perfecting of this control. «Likewise, the decision requires that the organisation of the worker and peasant control in permanent groups must be associated also with the other forms of the control by the masses from below, such as the control through the development of criticism and self-criticism, the control through the rendering of account from the leading organs and cadres before the masses, the control through the active participation of the working people in the discussion, working out, and solution of the problems of socialist construction, etc., which must become more and more lively, profound and perfected, and must not be under-rated, weakened, and emasculated.

In order to preserve correct proportions between the direct worker and peasant control and other forms of control, particularly the specialised state control, their actions are coordinated, so as to avoid unnecessary parallelism. In performing its functions, the state control relies heavily on the worker and peasant control but, on the other hand, any tendency to place the direct worker and peasant control under the tutelage of the state control and make it an appendage to it, under the disguise of collaboration and coordination of the work, is combatted, for such an action would mean that the direct worker and peasant control would lose its aim as a control of the masses from below, which is exercised over the administrations, the apparatus and leading cadres, over every one, in a uniform and decisive manner.

# A DOCUMENT OF EXT FOR THE PRESENT OF SOCIALISM

*As we have announced, the Scientific Conference for the problems of the Constitution of the PSR of Albania was held in Tirana in mid-February this year. This Conference, which was organised by the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies under the Central Committee of the Party, the Academy of Sciences of the PR of Albania and the University of Tirana, analysed the fundamental ideas and principles of the draft-Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.*

*The Conference proceedings were valuable to the great popular discussion on the draft Constitution, which continued more than two months throughout the country.*

*In the previous issue we published a summary of the 5 main papers of the Conference, while in the present issue we are publishing some of the communications delivered there.*

## The leading role of the PLA in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat

by **FIQRET SHEHU**

**THE YEAR OF THE 35TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PLA, THE ARCHITECT OF ALL THE GLORIOUS HISTORIC VICTORIES ACHIEVED BY OUR PEOPLE IN THESE RECENT DECADES, WILL ALWAYS BE REMEMBERED AS THE YEAR OF A GREAT EVENT -THE DRAFTING OF THE SECOND CONSTITUTION OF OUR STATE OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.**

As a component part of the socialist superstructure, of so important an element of it as the law, our new Constitution must express, as it does in fact, the will, the aims and objectives of the working class, which is the dominant class of our society, whose supreme ideal is to ensure the final victory of the socialist road over the capitalist road, the complete construction of socialism, and finally communism, in our country, while the most powerful and absolutely essential weapon for the realisation of this ideal is its state, the dictatorship of the proletariat, which must be led by its Party, the PLA.

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The definition given in the draft of the new Constitution about the essence of the state as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the direct sanctioning in it of the undivided leading role of the PLA in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the statement that Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary ideology of the working class and its Party is the dominant ideology in our socialist state, the clear stress on the hegemonic role of the working class -- are some of the fundamental constitutional points which reflect without equivocation the profoundly proletarian class character of the new Constitution, and comprise an elevation of those political and ideological norms of our revolutionary Party and our socialist State, which have

already become a reality of the life of our society, to juridical-constitutional norms.

In this context, of special importance is the establishment as a constituent norm of the Marxist-Leninist principle about the necessity for the Party of the working class to play the leading role in socialism, which is a fundamental condition for the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the construction of classless society. This basic principle, this general law of scientific socialism, which is a concentrated expression of the leading role of the working class and its ideology, finds its expression not only in one of the first articles of the draft-Constitution, which clearly proclaims and sanctions that «the Party of Labour of Albania, the vanguard of the working class, is the only leading political force of the state and society», but also in a series of other

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articles. This fundamental principle runs through the entire content of the new Constitution.

The whole draft-Constitution has been constructed entirely on the ideological basis of Marxism-Leninism and the general line of our Party, on the basis of the precepts of the classical teachers of Marxism-Leninism, the PLA, and comrade Enver Hoxha, about the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the working class party. Thus, on the one hand, the draft of the new Constitution embodies the positive experience of our Party about the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is an incontestable affirmation of the Marxist-Leninist truth that the socialist order, like the socialist revolution, can be realised only under the leadership of a political party of the working class, and precisely of the Communist Party, which is guided in all its activity by the proletarian ideology. On the other hand, it gives juridical sanction to the necessity for the Party to exercise its leading role in all sectors of the life of the country, — of the economic basis and the superstructure — which has the aim of producing a juridical guarantee of the continuity of our socialist road and its complete and final victory over the capitalist road.

In the present conditions, when the Soviet, Yugoslav, Togliattist, French and all other revisionists have unscrupulously distorted, in the most diverse ways, such cardinal problems of Marxism-Leninism, as the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leading role of the working class party in the revolution and socialist construction, the proclaiming in the draft-Constitution of the indivisible leading role of the PLA under the system of the dictator-

ship of the proletariat has exceptional theoretical and practical importance, not only nationally but also internationally.

The present historical epoch has put a series of important problems before the Marxist-Leninists. But, in the final analysis, the struggle is centred on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is the key problem of the socialist revolution and remains such until the complete triumph of communism on a world scale. But Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be realised, can serve as a weapon for the construction of the socialist and communist society, and can be complete, only if it is led by the political party of the working class, the communist party, which does not, and must not, share the leadership with other parties or anyone else.

Historical experience has fully confirmed this Marxist-Leninist teaching, which stems from the fact that the communist party is the vanguard of the working class, such a vanguard which, concentrating the revolutionary energy of the most revolutionary class in its ranks, is capable of leading the class and all the masses in the struggle for the seizure of state power, as well as of taking them to socialism, of organising and directing the new order, of teaching and leading all the working people in the organisation of the new life, without oppressors and exploiters. Historical experience has completely proven also, that the undivided leading role of the revolutionary party of the working class, which is the directing staff of the working class in the struggle for socialism and communism, is essential for just as long as the existence of the proletarian state and the proleta-

rian party is essential: until the classless society has been built and all the essential differences between people of mental work and physical work, between town and countryside, have been eliminated; until all the conditions and causes, objective and subjective, internal and external, for the birth of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in a socialist country have been finally eliminated; thus, until communism has achieved its complete and final triumph.

This necessity is determined by many factors, but it is neither possible nor necessary to analyse all of them here. The main thing is that during this whole period the law of class struggle continues to operate, the class struggle continues fiercely, in an allround and complex way on all fronts, the struggle between the two roads—socialist and capitalist—continues, and, on this basis, there are two opposite possibilities of development: the possibility of the progressive development of society, in conformity with its objective laws, of socialist society progressing towards communism, as well as the possibility of a regressive process, of its turning back, to capitalism.

Only the revolutionary party of the working class, which has as its ultimate objective the building of communism, is determined and able to carry the cause of socialism constantly forward and avert the possibility of a turning back to capitalism. And this, apart from other things, because only the revolutionary party of the working class, which is guided by the most progressive and most revolutionary theory — Marxism-Leninism — is in a position to recognize and to appreciate properly both the positive elements and

factors, which help in the realisation of the revolutionary aims, and those factors, objective and subjective, which could threaten this realisation and which, in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, not only inhibit and hinder the process of the development of the socialist society, but even become cause for its turning back to capitalism. As the party of the working class which expresses and defends the interests of this class and its ally, the cooperativist peasantry, as well as of all the working masses, the Marxist-Leninist party by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat, encourages and develops, the positive elements and factors, and restricts and fights the negative factors, i.e. takes the measures necessary to consolidate and advance socialism and avert the danger of the restoration of capitalism, either as a result of the degeneration of the socialist order from within, through the birth of revisionism, or as a result of aggression by external enemies, who coordinate their activity with that of the internal enemies.

One cannot escape the dialectic of history. And the historical events of these recent decades have confirmed with the force of many facts the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist teachings about the necessity for the leading role of the party of the working class and its ideology in socialism. Experience shows that, if the communist party is truly a revolutionary party of the working class, the loyal vanguard of the working class, if it implements to the letter the Marxist-Leninist teachings about the fundamental features of the party of the new type, as well as its norms, if it preserves intact and ceaselessly strengthens its undivided leading role in the socialist state and in the entire system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, then the cause of socialism is carried steadily ahead. This is what has happened in our country, where the Party has always pursued a correct Marxist-Leninist line, has never allowed itself to be displaced from the leading role, and has defeated all the internal enemies-behind whom there have always stood the external enemies-who, with all sorts of tactics, have tried to undermine the leading role of the Party, to divert

the Party from the exercise of its role in different sectors and in the most important and delicate spheres of the life of the country, to liberalise and bureaucratise the Party, to liberalise and revise its Marxist-Leninist line, with a view to bringing about the degeneration of the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat which it leads, to changing their proletarian class character and making them tools for their counterrevolutionary aims. And the result of the consistent exercise of the leading role of the Party in our State and in our society, the result of the struggle against manifestations of liberalism and bureaucracy in the Party and the measures for the continuous revolutionisation of the Party from top to bottom as well as of the loyal adherence of our Party to all the principles of Marxism-Leninism, is the continuous development of socialism in Albania, averting the birth of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in our country.

But historical experience shows, also, that even though it may have served for a period as a conscious vanguard and guiding staff of the working class, and may have led the class in revolution and socialist construction, if a communist Party does not implement to the letter the Leninist principles on the structure of the party and its norms, which make the party militant, vigorous and truly a vanguard of the working class, it may be caught off guard by a revisionist traitor clique, comprised of bourgeoisified cadres, that usurps the leadership of the party and the state and works for the complete degeneration of the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, which are gradually transformed into a bourgeois party and a bourgeois dictatorship and undertake the transformation of the entire social order, through the «peaceful» counterrevolution. As is known, this is what happened in the Soviet Union and in some other former socialist countries, in which capitalism has now been fully restored.

From the regressive phenomenon of the birth of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, from the process of the degeneration of the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat in these countries, which led as

it could not fail to do, to the changing of the character of the economic basis, too, as well as from the revolutionary experience of our country, the PLA and its leader, comrade Enver Hoxha, have drawn important theoretical conclusions and have defined directives and guidelines of great value for our revolutionary practice in connection with the fundamental measures to ensure the continuity of our socialist course, to avert the danger of the birth of revisionism in the Party itself and in our society, and to ensure the defence of the socialist state from the external and internal enemies.

Among the most important theoretical conclusions which our Party and comrade Enver Hoxha have drawn in connection with the leading role of the Party in socialism we can mention the following: «Without the Marxist-Leninist party in the leadership of the working class the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot exist, and socialism cannot be built»<sup>1)</sup> «With the development and consolidation of socialism the leading role of the party not only does not become weaker, but on the contrary, it grows steadily stronger and more perfected»<sup>2)</sup>; with the ever more active participation of the masses in the socialist construction of the country, in social, economic and state life, the raising of the leading, educative and organising role of the party to a higher level and the strengthening of proletarian ideology in the entire life of the country becomes essential. In our socialist society «the working class and its party have the hegemony and allow no duality in anything. Quite another thing are the means they use to achieve their strategy, which is the building of socialism and communism»<sup>3)</sup>; in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat the class struggle must be continued consistently, in all its forms, on all fronts and sectors, even in the ranks of the people, and this struggle must be led by the party, etc., etc. All these ideas about the necessity for the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party during the entire historical period of the transition from capitalism to full communism, as well as the measures carried out in our country on the basis of these ideas, the aim of which is the consoli-

dation of our dictatorship of the proletariat, the continuous advance of socialist construction depriving internal enemies who may emerge of any possibility of undermining the leading role of the party in our state and society, or causing degeneration of the party, find full reflection in the articles of the draft of the new Constitution. And this is a direct and open rebuff to those perversions, distortions and falsifications which the modern revisionists commit, in theory and practice, against the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the role of the party in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, particularly in the «phase of the building of a developed socialist society», when, according to them, the Party of the working class is transformed into a «party of the entire people», thus, into a «non-class» Party, a Party «above-classes». Whereas, as Marxism-Leninism teaches us and as life has shown, there never was, is not, and never can be any such thing as a non-class or above-class political party, because a political party, like the state, is a weapon of the class struggle and expresses and defends the interests of a definite class.

The writing into the draft-Constitution of the undivided leading role of the PLA in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat is in open opposition also to those revisionist views, according to which the existence of a single party is not a condition for the construction of socialism, and neither is it necessary for the dictatorship of the proletariat to be exercised by the communist party», because, allegedly, the existence in socialism of a working class party, the communist party, leads to its becoming bureaucratic, to its turning into a party which rules the working class. These attacks and calumnies, the aim of which is to deprive the working class of its revolutionary vanguard, its leading staff, in the stern struggle for socialism and communism, which, in fact, are aimed against socialism and which exploit as an «argument» the tragedy that occurred in the Soviet Union, where the working class today is oppressed and exploited as in any other capitalist country, cannot stand up to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the party,

nor to the historical reality. In fact, the party in power in the Soviet Union today is not a party of the working class, but a party of the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie, which is «communist» only in name. But Marxism-Leninism teaches us, and historical experience convinces us, that political parties must be judged not on the basis of the names and labels they bear, but on the basis of their deeds. «Whether a party is or is not really a worker political party», said V. I. Lenin 55 years ago, «this depends... on who leads it and what is the content of its political actions and tactics. This alone is what determines whether we have to do in fact with a political party of the proletariat»<sup>4</sup>). Life, practice, has shown that the name communist party can be used, and is used, both by the Marxist-Leninists and by the revisionists. However, the issue is not one of the name, but of the essence, not of the form, but of the content. When the Yugoslav revisionist betrayed Marxism-Leninism, undertook the restoration of capitalism, and spread their theories which negated the leading role of the proletarian party, they by no means cast off their communist label», but name their revisionist party «The League of «Communists», which served, and still serves the interests of the ruling class of present-day Yugoslavia, the interests of the Yugoslav bourgeoisie, very well. The Soviet revisionists, likewise, did not change the name of their political party, although they radically changed its class character, transforming it from a party of the working class into a party of the new bourgeoisie. Even today they continue to call their party «communist party», for purposes of disguise and demagogy although now it is nothing but a fascist party which inspires and legitimises the actions of the Soviet fascist state which are contrary to the interests of the working class and all the working people of the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries and against other peoples. Today the revisionist leading clique of the Soviet Union is making a great fuss about the «strengthening of the leadership of the party», as well as about «the strengthening of centralism». But the notion of «leadership of the

party» on the lips of this clique has a thoroughly reactionary content: it means political control by the leading group of the new Soviet bourgeoisie over the broad masses of the working people and all the peoples of the Soviet Union, and the «centralism» it advocates serves the further centralisation of the political, economic and military power in the hands of the usurper clique which is now ruling in the Soviet Union, and means further oppression and pressure on the working masses.

In exposing and stigmatising this characteristic of the anti-proletarian, anti-socialist activity of the Soviet and Yugoslav revisionists, which is characteristic also of all other revisionists in power, who, under Marxist-Leninist and communist disguises destroyed socialism in their countries and under the same disguises are continuing their course of betrayal of the cause of the working class, our Party has stressed that it is policy, leadership by means of a correct line and policy, based on Marxism-Leninism, i.e. policy that serves the working class that is decisive. Therefore, comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that «the policy of the Party is a capital question»<sup>5</sup>). The character of a party or a state is defined on the basis of the policy it pursues, because every political party and every state of any type carries out all its activity for the benefit of the class whose interests it represents, and because without a definite political attitude a given class cannot maintain its domination. Likewise true socialism is distinguished from pseudo-socialism, from false socialism, on the basis of its policy and ideology. And the ideology, the policy, which expresses the direction, aims, and programmes of the class and its political party in regard to the political power, is defined in the constitution of the state. Hence, in the new Constitution of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which will be «the Constitution of a country that remains loyal to the principles of scientific socialism and which implements and develops them in a creative manner»<sup>6</sup>), in which «the true features of socialism, which distinguish it from all the distortions and perversions the modern revisionists have committed against it»<sup>7</sup>)

will be presented, the proclamation and sanctioning of the undivided leading role of the PLA in the socialist state and in our whole socialist society, and the proclamation of that reality of our life that the revolutionary ideology of the working class is the dominant ideology in our country are made clear and concretised in a series of articles. This is expressed not only in articles which have to do with the political order, but also in articles which deal with the problems of the economic order, — by means of which it is aimed to ensure the implementation of the line of the Party, of its policy, of its political ideology. Such, for example, are those articles which reflect the teachings of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha concerning relations between the cadres and the masses, the establishment of fair proportions in the distribution of incomes between the higher cadres and the various categories of working people, the non-recognition of any kind of privilege due to social position, or concerning the establishment of correct proportions between the general interest and individual interest, between moral and material incentives, etc., the aim of which is to keep the cadres always revolutionary, to protect them from bourgeois degeneration, to prevent the creation of a basis favourable to the birth of revisionism, to save our country from the emergence of a new bourgeoisie, from the tragedy of the restoration of capitalism which is by no means decreed by fate to be inevitable, but is only a possibility, a danger, which can be averted on the basis of a correct Marxist-Leninist line and policy of the Party, as it has been averted in our country so far.

The PLA exercises its leadership in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the organs of state power and state administration, — from the supreme organ of the state power and state administration, i.e. from the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers, down to the base, — as well as in all the social organisations, in the first place through its line and directives and through the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

According to the Marxist-Leninist concept on the leading role of the Party in socialism, the internal and foreign poli-

cies of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat are defined on the basis of the general line, directives and instructions of the Party. The economy, education and culture, literature and arts, the defence of the socialist homeland, science, — all sectors of the life of the country are guided on this basis. Only in this way can the policy of the socialist state be a principled, proletarian policy, a weapon in defence of the interests and victories of the working class, because only in this case will it have at its foundation the ideology of the working class, Marxism-Leninism, which makes it possible for the Party, by knowing the objective laws of society, particularly the law of the revolution and the class struggle, the laws of economic development, the principal laws and trends of social development in the world, the main bases of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics to be in a position to work out a correct revolutionary strategy and tactics, to build a correct policy and programme for the economic, educational, cultural-educative, military and other development, of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and all social organisations in conformity with the objective laws and in favour of the revolution and socialism.

On the other hand, by means of the Marxist-Leninist ideology and on the basis of this ideology, the communist party, the vanguard of the working class, links itself indissolubly with the entire life of its class and with all the masses, establishes and preserves correct relations between the party, the class, the masses, unites the masses, educates them and makes them conscious of the correctness of its directives and general line, channels their energies and creative abilities towards a single objective, coordinates and directs the activities of social organisations and all institutions of the superstructure and draws the masses into running and governing the country and organises and leads them in work and struggle for the construction of socialism and communism. As our experience shows, the party realises this directly through its various leading organs, through the party branches and through all the communists; it realises this through the state organs

and state administration and its apparatuses, which must be in the hands of the proletariat and its party, as powerful means for the education of the masses in the spirit of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism; it realises this through the special sectors and institutions of the superstructure which it creates and which have cultural-educative functions, which have the task of educating the working people with the ideology of the working class, of spreading this ideology; it realises this, likewise, through various social organisations which are important levers in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, «transmission belts» which link the party with the broad working masses.

Proceeding from such a Marxist-Leninist concept of the leading role of the party in socialism, which, thus far, has found its proper implementation in the life and reality of our society, in which contrary to the preachings of various revisionists about the «independence» of the state and mass organisations from the proletarian party, the leading role of the PLA has been fully exercised in the socialist state and in the entire system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the whole life of the country, not only have the aims and functions of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the main directions of its activity been defined in the articles, of the draft of the new constitution on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary line of our Party, and the teachings of its leader, but a special article, that which deals with the competences of the supreme organ of our state power, the People's Assembly, stipulates, as a constitutional norm, that the People's Assembly defines the main directions of the internal and external policies of the state in conformity with the general line and directives of the Party of Labour of Albania.

Along with this, in many articles of the draft of the new Constitution, where the cultural-educative tasks of the state are defined, such as those concerning its broad ideological and cultural activity for the communist education of the working people, for the formation of the new man, and particularly for the education and all-round training of the younger generation in

the spirit of socialism and communism, or such as the tasks defined for schooling which, as is stressed in the draft-Constitution is built on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, or those concerning the development of literature and arts according to the method of socialist realism, or the task of supporting the development of atheist propaganda and implanting the scientific materialist world outlook in people, — the leading role of the PLA in our state with its Marxist-Leninist ideology in such very important and delicate ideological sectors and such elements of our superstructure, as schooling, culture, literature and arts, which are powerful educative means in the hands of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Party which leads it, is very clearly expressed. The inclusion of such tasks as constitutional norm is of major importance both to achieving the thorough inculcation of Marxist-Leninist ideology, which clearly and scientifically expresses what the working class thinks and feels, in the minds and consciousness of our people, so that they are inspired to revolutionary actions, remain consistently loyal to the cause of the working class, whose hegemonic role they should consider and accept as an historical necessity and also to making our revolutionary ideology an insurmountable barricade for the various reactionary bourgeois-revisionist «theories».

Another expression of the leading role of the party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, also is the emphasis given in the draft-Constitution to the fact that social organisations work for the communist education of the masses and the broad strata of the people which they unite in their ranks and which they draw, in an organised manner, into the socialist construction and the running of the country.

From all we have said it is clear that the draft-Constitution not only sanctions the great Marxist-Leninist principle of the leading role of the party as the sole leading political force of our state and society, but it also raises to constitutional norms those necessary measures which have entered into our practice and through which the Marxist-Leninist principle of the party as the vanguard of the work-

ing class is realised here. It also proclaims as constitutional norms those measures aimed at the implementation of the line of the masses, at ensuring correct party-class-masses relations, a problem which has vital importance to revolutionary practice, to the fate of socialism in our country, because the strength, the invincibility and vitality of the party are based precisely on its close ties with the working class and all the working masses, and because, as the negative experience of the Soviet Union demonstrates, the violation of this Leninist principle was one of the causes of the birth of revisionism in that country and elsewhere. The problem of the party-class-masses relations, for the correct understanding and implementation of which the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha have shown great and permanent care, and which is dealt with in the draft-Constitution from clear and correct proletarian class positions, is such an important theoretical problem that V.I. Lenin, speaking of the role of the communist party as a vanguard of the working class, said: «The incorrect understanding of the role of the communist party in its relations with the non-party proletariat, and then in the relations of the first and second factors with the entire mass of working people, is a radical theoretical deviation from communism... »<sup>8</sup>).

Of exceptional importance for the fate of socialism in our country is the sanctioning in the draft-Constitution of the leading role of the party in the armed forces, as well as of the organisational form of the exercise of this role, in the highest instance, through the explicit statement of the fact that the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania is the Commander-in-chief of the armed forces and Chairman of the Defence Council. The statement of such a fact of an organisational character has, in itself, a profound ideological content. The aim of this is that, apart from the other ways the Party realises its leadership in the Armed Forces, just as in all sectors of the life of the country (through its line and ideology, through the Party organs, and branches and all the communists, through loyal cadres, resolute for the cause of socialism, for the implemen-

tation of the line, ideology and directives of the Party, resolute for the implementation of the revolutionary military science of the people's war), — the defence of the homeland and the victories of socialism, which is one of the fundamental duties of our dictatorship of the proletariat, must be under the direct leadership of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party. This means that the political and military line and the directives and instructions of the Party for the people's army and the other armed forces must be taken to the supreme organ specially created for the direction, organisation, and mobilisation of all the forces and resources of the country for the defence of the homeland, — the Defence Council, — directly by the leader of the Party. This means, likewise, that everything to do with the defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat of our entire socialist order from the internal and external enemies, must be directed and controlled directly by the First Secretary of the CC of the Party. This and all the other articles in which the teachings of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha concerning the defence of the country and the armed forces are reflected have the aim of preserving the popular, revolutionary character of the army of our dictatorship of the proletariat, so that the armed forces of our socialist state will always be loyal and sharp weapons of the working class and all the working masses, and will never change their character, will not become blind tools of the counterrevolution. Positive and negative experience, both national and international, has shown that a condition for the army to be a weapon of the revolution is precisely the securing of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, the implementation of its line and ideology, putting proletarian policy in command. The articles of the new Constitution dealing with the problems of Defence and Armed Forces, which are based on the rich and allround experience of our Party on this important problem, which take into consideration the lessons and conclusions of the 5th and 6th Plenums of the CC of the Party, are aimed at averting in our country that bitter tragedy observed in the Soviet Union, where the army and the

other armed forces became blind tools of the counterrevolution and are now used by the dictatorship of the new Soviet bourgeoisie, by the fascist and social imperialist Soviet state, to exercise violence against the Soviet working people and other peoples in the interest of the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

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In broad outline this is how the leading role of the PLA in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is treated in the draft of the new Constitution, the aim of which is to sanction juridically that reality of our society, in which the exercise of the leading role of the Party has been complete, allround, and extended, to all fields— political, ideological, economic, administrative, educational-cultural, military, etc., and has been a decisive factor of all the victories which the working class, the working masses, and all the Strata of our socialist society have achieved in these three last decades. The aim of such a treatment to ensure the continuity of our socialist course in the juridical field too, and not to allow, the great cause of the working class to be jeopardised in our country, under any circumstance or in any way, because, as comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, without the Par-

ty, the working class cannot ensure victories, whereas «nothing can happen to our socialist country if our Party remains as it is - «the organised vanguard detachment of the working class». On the contrary, this detachment, guided by Marxism-Leninism with the spirit of the class and leading the class struggle... will strike mercilessly at the enemies of the Party, the enemies of the proletarian class.»<sup>9)</sup>.

Since all the problem are dealt with in the draft of our new Constitution entirely from the positions of Marxism-Leninism, also taking into account the positive and negative experience of the international communist movement in these last two decades, since it also reflects the new theoretical theses worked out on this basis by our Party and its leader, as well as our revolutionary practice, in connection with such cardinal problems of Marxism-Leninism as the doctrine on the party and that on the dictatorship of the proletariat, — our new Constitution will be a political, ideological and juridical document of truly vital importance for the present and the future of socialism in our country, it will be a heritage of great value that the present generations, which, under the leadership of our revolutionary Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, laid the

foundations of socialist Albania and are now fighting like revolutionaries to ensure that the socialist construction will always advance, leave to the coming generations to use as a juridical weapon in the struggle to carry the socialist revolution through to the end, to the complete and final victory of communism. The new Constitution of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat will constitute, at the same time, a great new contribution of the PLA and comrade Enver Hoxha to the treasury of scientific socialism, a major contribution of theirs to the practice of revolution.

1. *Enver Hoxha Speech at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party, March 5, 1975, pamphlet, p. 57.*
2. *Enver Hoxha VI Congress of the PLA; page 169.*
3. *Enver Hoxha Speech at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party, March 5, 1975, pamphlet, p. 62.*
4. *V.I. Lenin Works, volume 31, page 285.*
5. *Enver Hoxha «We must always understand and implement the line of the Party correctly», pamphlet, 1975, p. 36.*
6. *Enver Hoxha Report to the VI Congress of the PLA, p. 126.*
7. *Enver Hoxha Report to the VI Congress of the PLA, p. 127.*
8. *V.I. Lenin Works, volume 32, page 285.*
9. *Enver Hoxha Speech at the conclusion of the 6th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA, December 1974, pamphlet, page 37.*

# The form and name of our state

by **LUAN OMARI**

ALONG WITH THE DEFINITION OF THE TYPE OF OUR STATE AS A STATE OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, WHICH CONSTITUTES THE CARDINAL ISSUE OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION, AMONG THE PROBLEMS OF POLITICAL ORDER THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION ALSO DEALS WITH THE FORM OF THE STATE.

THE PROBLEM OF THE FORM OF THE STATE HAS GREAT THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL IMPORTANCE, FOR IT CONCERNS THE STRUCTURE OF THE STATE, ITS ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURES, AS WELL AS THE METHODS OF GOVERNMENT USED BY THE CLASS IN POWER, BEING LINKED WITH AND CONDITIONED BY THE VERY CONTENT OF THE RESPECTIVE STATE, BY ITS TYPE, THE FORM OF THE STATE IS NOT MERELY AN EXTERNAL APPEARANCE, BUT ENSURES THE MOST SUITABLE CONDITIONS, IN THE CONTEXT OF A GIVEN TYPE OF STATE, FOR THE RULING CLASS TO IMPLEMENT ITS POLICY EFFICIENTLY.

The notion of the form of the state includes the form of government, i.e. the manner of organisation (republican, mo-

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narchich, etc.) of the supreme organs of the state power, the political regime, which is defined by the methods with which a state is run, as well as the form of the state structure (unitary or federal state), that is the relationship between the

the state as a whole and the territorial-administrative units of which it is comprised.

These various aspects of the form of the state also find complete reflection in the Draft Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

For our people the term «republic» has always had a broader meaning than the regime of an elected head of state, than a form of government which is the opposite of the monarchic form. In the aspiration of the people, in the political struggles from the beginning of the 20's and onward, the republic has been conceived as more than an antithesis of the monarchy. It was the synonym of a democratic state based on the sovereignty of

the people, on the rule of the majority, on the predominant role of a representative assembly, on recognition of and respect for the liberties and rights of man. Hence, in essence, for our working masses, for the democratic circles which expressed their aspirations, the notion of the republic expressed the idea of the power of the people, of freedom, social progress.

But every historical period, every class or social group has brought something of its own to the notion of the republic. This happened also with the people's revolution in Albania.

The question of the form of the state and political regime, parallel with the main problem of the destruction of the old state apparatus and the creation of a new people's democratic state, was at the centre of the fierce political struggle which was waged during the National Liberation Antifascist War between the revolutionary and patriotic forces led by the Communist Party of Albania, and internal reaction, which became the social support of the Italian and German fascist invaders.

In its political platform, initially adopted at the Peza Conference and developed later at the Labinot Conference, the Communist Party of Albania, while defining the creation of a free, people's democratic Albania, as a task of the Antifascist National Liberation War at the same time envisaged that the question of the future regime in Albania (and by this the form of government was meant in the first place) would be resolved by the people themselves after the liberation of the country, on the basis of their free and sovereign will.

In sanctioning the creation of the people's democratic Albanian state, the Antifascist National Liberation Congress of Permet adopted very important decisions which concerned its content and form. From its class content, the people's democratic Albanian state was a revolutionary dictatorship of the working classes, which was the embryo of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which was fully and definitely established with the liberation of the whole country on the 29th of November 1944. From the aspect of its form, although the Congress of Permet took a decision that this issue should be finally settled after the liberation of the country, the categorical condemnation of the Zog regime, the prohibition of his return

to Albania, the setting up of the new supreme organs of the revolutionary state power such as the Antifascist National Liberation Council and its presidency, effectively predetermined the republican form as the form of government of our state.

After the liberation of the country, as envisaged in the platform of the Communist Party of Albania and in the decisions of the Congress of Permet, the Constituent Assembly, which emerged from the first free elections in Albania, completely and finally and in proper juridical form settled the question of the form of the state, sanctioning a situation which had been created in practice during the war. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «On January 11, 1946, Albania was proclaimed a People's Democratic Republic. With the war the people buried the old regime of the feudals and the bourgeoisie, destroyed the oppressive apparatus of the ruling classes to its foundations, and established the regime of the people's democracy, the form of the dictatorship of the working class and the working masses...».

The first constitution of our Republic, approved by the Constituent Assembly on March 14, 1946, clearly defined all the aspects of the form of the state, as well as its republican form of government as the political regime and state structure.

With the exception of the name of the Republic, in regard to the form of the state and its component elements, the draft of the new Constitution retains those same principles which have been sanctioned by the Constitution in force, while complementing and making them more precise in conformity with the further development of our country on the road of socialism.

From the viewpoint of the form of state structure Albania has been and remains a unitary state, in which the political and economic life is carried on by combining the centralised leadership with the self-action of local organs. The homogenous national composition of our state, its territorial proportions, as well as its traditions make its unitary character logical and essential.

In many of its articles the Constitution in force has defined the character of our political regime, as a socialist democracy, where the working people, masters of their fates, govern with the most democratic methods. The principles of socialist democracy, the most democratic regime known to history, find further, more com-

plete, and more perfect reflection in the Draft-Constitution. The democratic principles of the electoral system, the right of recall of their representatives which the electors have, the superiority of the representative organs over all other organs, the sanctioning of the line of the masses and of the control of the working class as constitutional principles, the proclamation of the fundamental rights and duties of the citizens, and the real juridical and material guarantees for exercise of them, are a clear reflection of our socialist democracy in action of the uninterrupted development of the political regime in our country in an ever more democratic direction. «In general the way to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, the entire socialist order», says comrade Enver Hoxha, «is to develop the democracy of the masses. Without socialist democracy there is no dictatorship of the proletariat, just as there can be no real democracy for the working people without the dictatorship of the proletariat». This reality is expressed by the political regime in our state.

The form of the state is closely connected with the name of the state. Nevertheless, these two notions are not identical. The name of the state usually expresses only one definite aspect of the form of the state, mainly the form of government (sometimes, in federal states, also the form of the state structure). Whereas the form of the state, as an overall notion, has a broader meaning, is a more complicated category, which includes several aspects or elements. Apart from this, the name of the state may, if it conforms with the reality, also express the class content of the state, its type.

From the beginning our state has been a dictatorship of the proletariat, in the form of the people's democracy. Proceeding precisely from this, the Constituent Assembly proclaimed Albania a People's Republic on January 11, 1946.

After 30 years of socialist existence the problem arises: Will the new Constitution continue to retain the name of our state as a People's Republic or should this name be changed, bringing this, too, into conformity with the great socialist transformations which have occurred in our society during this whole period, reflecting the class character of our state more completely?

Our state is a socialist state, it is a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as

has been clearly expressed in Article 2 of the Constitution. Besides this, the economic base of socialism has been built in Albania and the complete construction of socialist society is continuing successfully. Today our country has reached a high level in perfecting the socialist relations of production, and from this viewpoint it would be fully justified for our state to be called a Socialist Republic. This is the more true if, making an historical comparison, we bear in mind that the Soviet state was named a socialist republic immediately after the revolution. Concerning this, Lenin said at that time that «the expression Soviet Socialist Republic means that the Soviet state power is determined to go over to socialism and it does not mean at all that the new economic system is called a socialist system». Whereas Stalin wrote in 1928: «...We say that our Republic is a socialist republic. Does this mean that we have realised socialism...? It is clear that it does not mean

this. Do we, then, have the right to call our republic a socialist republic? Certainly we have. From what viewpoint? From the viewpoint of our *determination* and our *readiness* to achieve socialism, to eliminate classes, etc».

In the present conditions our state is in a much more advanced political, social and economic stage in comparison with the Soviet socialist state of the years after the revolution and the civil war. Hence, in our case, if we judge not only from the viewpoint of our determination and readiness to realise socialism, but also from the viewpoint of this realisation (because we have eliminated the multi-form economy, the antagonistic classes, and the exploitation of man by man) the name of Albania as a Socialist Republic could be adopted.

However, in naming the state we must not fail to take into consideration also the fact that with the name of «People's Republic» a sound tradition has been created,

both at home and abroad, in regard to the great successes our country has scored up till now and the position and respect it has won in the international arena.

For this reason, the solution that has been adopted in the draft of the Constitution by naming Albania a «People's Socialist Republic», is fully correct and justified.

This name, above all, has the advantage that it accurately reflects both the content of the state and the great progress our country has made in the building of socialist relations, a thing which should be explicitly stated in the new Constitution which will be approved 30 years after the first Constitution.

Second, by maintaining the term «people's», in the new name the broad social basis is reflected, which has always been one of the most distinctive features of our state of people's democracy, even in comparison with the first socialist state, which was set up and consolidated in other historical conditions.

# On sovereignty and its class political content in the draft of our new Constitution

by ARBEN PUTO

FIRST OF ALL IT MUST BE POINTED OUT THAT THERE ARE TWO ASPECTS OF SOVEREIGNTY: AN INTERNAL ASPECT AND AN EXTERNAL ASPECT.

CONSIDERED FROM ITS INTERNAL ASPECT, STATE SOVEREIGNTY IS THE SUPREME POWER IN EVERY STATE, WHICH RECOGNISES NO OTHER SUPERIOR POWER. HOWEVER, ANY STATE POWER HAS A CLASS CHARACTER, CONSEQUENTLY SOVEREIGNTY TOO, IS A CLASS CATEGORY. IT HAS A CONCRETE SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTENT WHICH IS NOT THE SAME AT ALL TIMES AND IN ALL COUNTRIES.

In the Middle Ages sovereignty was the unlimited power of the absolute monarch, which expressed the interests of the feudal class. In the period of the bourgeois revolution, in their efforts to draw the broadest masses of the people to the side of the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois ideologists came out with the theory of «people's sovereignty», i.e. of the supreme state power which allegedly belongs to the entire people and is exercised by them in the forms of bourgeois democracy. However, after the bourgeoisie came to power, it started its attack on the rights and freedoms won by the broad masses of the

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people. «People's sovereignty» was transformed into a means to consolidate the rule of the bourgeoisie, it became a juridical fiction which has the purpose of concealing the dictatorship of the exploiting classes.

Only after the triumph of the Socialist Revolution, with the creation of the state of a new type, the socialist state, is the people's sovereignty no longer a fiction, but expresses a real situation. This does not mean that the supreme power in the socialist state belongs to the «entire people», in the meaning the modern revisionists are trying to give it in order to come to the ill-famed thesis on «the state of the entire people». When we say that the people's sovereignty expresses a real situation

in our country, we mean that it reflects for the first time at such a high level, the will and interests of the broadest masses of the working people under the leadership of the working class. The idea of the hegemony of the working class in the socialist state is not in the least contrary to the people's sovereignty, because the working class is the only social class in a position to represent the fundamental interests of the broadest working masses. Indeed for this reason, the hegemony of the working class constitutes the essential premise of the fullest possible realisation of people's sovereignty in the present-day circumstances of the transition of human society.

The Draft-Constitution provides a formulation of sovereignty which is counterposed to the demagogic slogan of the «state of the entire people» adopted in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist states. Without deviating at all from the

idea of the people's sovereignty, on the contrary, strongly upholding it, the authors have proceeded from the aim of giving its class content, more accurately, particularly its basic element, which is the hegemony of the working class.

In this instance, a comparison between the Constitution in force and the Draft will assist greater clarity. It cannot be said that the present Constitution either, left any way open to such eclectic interpretations in the spirit of revisionist distortions which began with the Khrushchevian period. In fact, Article 4 of the Constitution in force stipulates that «the all power in the PRA belongs to the working people of town and countryside represented by the people's councils». The only comment that could be made in connection, with this is that in this single phrase both the problem of to whom sovereignty belongs as well as that of the manner of its realisation in practice are reflected.

There is no doubt that in this sense the draft of the new Constitution is somewhat more precise and complete, as is necessary, with changes which of course, are linked with the new stage of development in which our socialist society is living. With the formulation provided in Article 5, taken as a whole, the problem of sovereignty has found a complete and coherent solution. The five paragraphs of this article create an adequate picture, not only of the problem of sovereignty as a whole, but also of its component elements.

First, it is said there that «all state power in the PRA stems from the working people and belongs to them» and with this we lay down a clear line of demarcation against revisionist distortions. But even more important is that the idea of the hegemony of the working class is reflected there, too. In fact, the second paragraph does not confine itself to making clear the concept of the working people (the working class, cooperativist peasantry and other working people), but also, by means of the order in which the social forces are listed, the primary role of the working class in our socialist society. If the question is then considered in the complex of the first articles of the Draft (2-5), there is not the slightest doubt that the idea of the hegemony of the

working class in the state and society has been expressed with the greatest clarity.

Second, the Draft also contains a necessary addition in the formulation of Article 4 of the existing Constitution. There the question of the exercise of sovereignty is linked only with the people's councils while the People's Assembly, which is the main bearer of sovereignty in our country is left unmentioned. Therefore, the draft of the new Constitution, very correctly states that «the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the other working people exercise their state power through representative organs...», representative organs which are «the People's Assembly and the people's councils».

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If we consider sovereignty in its external aspect, then it is more correct to speak of «state sovereignty». In this case sovereignty expresses the relationship of the state to other parties in international relations.

The fundamental feature of this relationship is its independence, i.e. its capacity to emerge as a party in itself in the international arena, without being subjected to any control from outside, to any form of juridical dependence on other existing states.

Sovereignty should be an attribute of every state, a quality inseparable from it. Concepts in regard to this second aspect of sovereignty too, have not always been the same, but have evolved according to the time and circumstances. In past centuries there was much discussion on the possibility of the division of sovereignty. Some claimed that sovereignty could be divided: a part of it could be kept by the state, the other part could be «delegated» to another state. On this basis a division was made of states into «fully sovereign states» and semi-sovereign states».

The ideologists of the bourgeoisie long ago gave up this discussion in relation to the division of sovereignty. Now the theoreticians of the bourgeoisie are discussing the value of sovereignty in general. They describe sovereignty as a category of the past, an anachronistic concept, as the source of all the evils in the world today. To national independence they counterpo-

se the slogan of «world interdependence», which allegedly expresses the needs and tendencies of the development of modern society. In reality, they are putting themselves in opposition to the real tendencies of the development of mankind at the present time, when one of the main distinctive features is precisely the collapse of the colonial system and the process of the emergence of new independent states in the international arena.

Of course, the theme of sovereignty always needs discussion, clarification and precise definition. However, this is not to put in doubt the value of sovereignty in itself, but to put forward as a need of the time that sovereignty should not be merely formal, just a juridical fiction, but a reality which must find concrete expression in the activity of the state in the field of foreign policy.

V.I. Lenin said: «Finance capital and its international policy which is expressed in the struggle of the great powers for the economic and political division of the world, have created a whole series of transitional forms of dependence of states. Typical of this epoch are not only the two main groups of countries: the colonies and the countries that have them, but the various forms of dependent countries which are formally independent politically, while in reality they are bound hand and foot with all kinds of chains to other states».

These words of Lenin have great importance at the present time, because despite certain changes, they express a reality which the world is still going through, to this very day. In compliance with this reality, even today we are witnesses of a two-fold process: a) on the one hand, the collapse of the colonial system; b) on the other hand, the emancipation of small states from the tutelage of the big ones. In these circumstances, the fight against various theories which negate sovereignty is an imperative duty, a fulfilment of the historic duty of the liquidation of various forms of dependence which divide the states into «principal» and «second rate» and place the latter in positions of inferiority in the international arena, turning them into appendages of the mighty.

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The history of the Albanian people is a concentrated expression of this reality, this double process, the two aspects of which also constitute the two main stages in the history of the development of the Albanian state in our century from its emergence in its own right.

The first stage is that of the old Albanian state of the feudal-bourgeois classes. It begins with the creation of the independent Albanian state on a national basis, which starts before the First World War, but which ends after it.

The independence of the old Albanian state was only formal. The briefest glance, at the external relations of the past shows that there have been more agreements on the Albanian problem, on Albania, than agreements in which the Albanian state has come out as a party in itself. Albania was more an object of international relations rather than an independent factor in itself, however little active in the international arena.

One of the greatest historic victories of our people's revolution is that after the Second World War it brought into existence an Albanian state which was new in principle, and this constitutes the essence of the second historical stage. We have now a new state, not only from the viewpoint of the socio-political order, but also as a factor of foreign policy. Now we have an Albanian state which is independent not because international acts which have recognized this independence say so, but because this independence has been materialised in its concrete actions and attitudes in the international arena.

One of the most characteristic features which has given and continues to give content to the independence of the foreign policy of socialist Albania, is, without doubt, the worthy place which it has now taken in the historic world movement for the emancipation of small countries from the dictate and tutelage of the big powers of imperialism and social imperialism.

Vivid proof of this is all the diplomatic activity our state has carried out in relation to the capitalist powers, the main result of which has been the elimination of the old position of subjugation and the

ensuring of effective independence. Another testimony to this is the fight our Party has waged and continues to wage against the theory and practice of the revisionist states in the field of foreign policy. The modern revisionists, too, with their ill-famed theory of «limited sovereignty», have added their voices to the general chorus of the ideologists of the imperialist bourgeoisie who want to prove the uselessness, and indeed the danger of the principle of sovereignty.

It is known that this theory found terrain in which to spread in the Soviet Union, especially after the aggression against Czechoslovakia in 1968. This fact in itself is sufficient to demonstrate that such theorisations are aimed only at echoing the arbitrary actions and hegemonistic tendencies of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. They are needed to ensure that ideological and juridical platform on which the policy of aggression, dictate and violence of the self-styled «socialist» superpower must be based.

What is the content of the theory of «limited sovereignty»? It pretends to express «the supreme interests of the socialist community», i.e. of the bloc of revisionist countries which, in fact, have long since fallen under Soviet subjection in which efforts are now being made to include them in sophisticated forms of subjugation from the juridical viewpoint, too. This theory tries to prove that the interests of this «community» represent «the supreme sovereign right» and that for this reason these interests must be put first, on top. On the contrary, the interests of this or that ordinary member state of the «community» have been described as narrow and particularist, and dependent on and conditioned by the collective supreme interests. Therefore it is demanded that «the individual sovereign right» must yield to the «superior will» on the scale of «the socialist entity».

The modern revisionists are striving in vain to give to this theory the colour of Marxism, to describe it as a logical expression of proletarian internationalism and a higher form of fraternity of the peoples. Our Party has clearly shown that we have to deal here with one of the most flagrant distortions of the basic principles

which ought to guide the relations among states in general, and the more so among socialist states.

The purely deceptive character of the theory of «limited sovereignty» comes to light at once if we keep in mind that it is precisely the Kremlin leadership, that «supreme instance», which considers itself competent to decree the limitation of the sovereignty of any member state, under the pretext that this sovereignty runs counter to the «supreme interests of the socialist family». The mechanism of such an arbitrary action was seen with the greatest clarity in the case of the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968. It is obvious, therefore, that in these conditions, the absolute sovereignty of the Soviet revisionist leadership corresponds to the «limited sovereignty» of each member state.

Our Party long ago pointed out that the theory of «limited sovereignty», which has by no means remained within the sphere of academic discussions but has found concrete expression in a series of aggressive actions of the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union, constitutes a great danger to the peoples, just like the aggressive policy and ideology of US imperialism.

Our Party has had its say not only on the theoretical plane. It has attacked this theory in its international practice: first by coping with the various pressures, blackmail, blockades of the Soviet Union and other revisionist states; second, by denouncing with courage and principled determination the revisionist distortions concerning a series of cardinal issues of international relations and foreign policy at the present stage.

In his speech of October 3, 1974, to his electorate, comrade Enver Hoxha made the following generalisation which is at the same time also a principled formulation of the attitude of our Party and State on this question:

«The People's Republic of Albania has its own opinion and implements its constructive policy openly, in the light of day. There is no problem which is foreign to it and it does not allow anyone to shut its mouth. Every state, every nation has the right to express its opinions freely, to oppose those of others with which it does

not agree, just as the others have the same right to oppose its views when they do not approve them. It is utterly wrong to sit by with folded arms and sealed lips when the others are acting to the detriment of people and nations, or to accept as some might wish, that since you are a small state or people it is sheer arrogance to speak out in defence of your rights or those of your friends and come out with your opinions before the «mighty». False modesty and the slavish opportunist spirit are alien to the policy

of the Albanian state and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In this, not only has one of the most distinctive features of our socialist state been expressed, but the essence of a very important problem of the entire international life of the present time has been grasped. In fact the constructive development of relations among states has no course other than that of complete equality and rigorous respect for the sovereignty of all states, irrespective of their «size» or «potential».

It is entirely natural that this great idea, too, should find its proper place in the new Constitution, as it has done especially in the last paragraph of Article 14:

«The People's Socialist Republic of Albania opposes any form of imperialist aggression, colonial exploitation, tutelage, dictate and hegemony, national oppression and racial discrimination. It upholds the principle of self-determination of the peoples, the exercise of full national sovereignty and equality of all countries in international relations».

# The draft-Constitution and the right of ownership over land

by VAHID LAMA

THE RIGHT OF PROPERTY IN THE LAND, WHICH IS THE PRIMARY AND PRINCIPAL MEANS OF PRODUCTION IN AGRICULTURE, CONSTITUTES A FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM.

AS IS KNOWN, PROPERTY IS AN ECONOMIC SOCIAL RELATION AND AS SUCH, IT IS A RELATION AMONG PEOPLE LINKED WITH THE APPROPRIATION OF MATERIAL BLESSINGS, IN THE FIRST PLACE, OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION.

Property is governed and protected by the law, which expresses the will of the ruling class in society. In this sense it is not only a socio-economic relation, but also a juridical relation. By being raised to the level of a juridical relation, property is transformed into a right of ownership. Thus, *the right of ownership over the land* is in essence a raising to the level of juridical relations of those socio-economic relations which are established among people in regard to land.

When we discuss ownership of the land we are aware that this problem is of practical and theoretical importance at the present stage of the socialist construction of our country. In solving this problem our Party, with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, has followed an original Marxist-Leninist course.

Since the period of the Antifascist National Liberation War, the Party had promised the peasantry the solution of the agrarian question and had taken preliminary measures to this end. It devoted spe-

cial attention to the elimination of the old agrarian relations. To hinder the savage exploitation of the farmers by the big land owners, in the liberated zones the payment of tithes was cancelled, the handing over of the lands of the beys and exponents of traitor organisation for use without payment and the administration of some summer pastures by the national liberation councils, etc., was protected. It follows from this that, during the Antifascist National Liberation War, the question of the relations of ownership over the land was one of the cardinal points, which could not be reduced to a mere juridical problem, but constituted in the first place, a political, ideological, economic and social problem.

Immediately after liberation, the Party launched the slogan: «The land to those who till it!». Through the implementation of this revolutionary slogan the greatest democratic transformation which had remained undone till that time in agrarian relations was realized. This slogan contained in itself the idea of the expropria-

tion of the big land owners and the transfer of the right of ownership over the land into the hands of those who tilled it. By using the land as a means of production to appropriate the products of the labour of the others, the exploiters had become intolerable to the landless peasants or those with little land. Therefore, this slogan involved the radical solution of the antagonistic contradictions between the peasantry and the big land owners.

The first steps of our revolution were taken in August 1945 with the proclamation of the land reform law under which the estates of the state as well as the properties of religious institutions and all the privately owned land in excess of the size envisaged by the law were expropriated and alienated. This expropriation was done without compensation. The land was distributed free of charge to the landless peasants and to those with little land. Under this law, the land as whole did not pass over to the exclusive ownership of the state, thus there did not remain only one kind of property in land. Both the Constitution in force, and the decree on property which was issued on the basis of the Constitution recognised private property as well as socialist property (See Article 7 of the Constitution and article 3 of the decree on property). The land was

not excluded from this juridical regime.

However in our country, the juridical regime in regard to the land, as an object of private property, differs greatly from the juridical regime in regard to other fixed assets which are included in this kind of ownership. After liberation in Albania, in the period before, during and after the land reform, many legal dispositions were issued which prohibited the alienation of land, thus they prohibited the selling, gifting, exchanging and renting of land. This prohibition was aimed against the owners who were to be expropriated, so that they would not have the possibility to sell the land which, according to the law on the land reform, was to be expropriated. The restrictions of the right of ownership at agricultural land were aimed, among other things, at hindering the fragmentation of large properties, because if alienation were allowed, they might be reduced to below the area affected by the legal provisions on expropriation. With the prohibition of alienation the possibility of a new build up of big landed properties by the village wealthy at the expense of the poor and middle peasants, was prevented.

By expropriating the big private property in land, which was used to exploit the labour of others, by depriving small land owners of the possibility of disposing of it, such as alienation, which constitutes the essential element of the right of ownership and by imposing many later restrictions on the right of ownership of the land, it could be said that, although juridically we have still not proclaimed the land nationalised, in practice have long since placed it in the conditions of nationalisation. Speaking at the jubilee meeting on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Party School, comrade Enver Hoxha said among other things: «Our people's revolution made laws such that in practice it nationalised the land, it carried out the land reform and abolished the property which was used to exploit the labour of others».

Speaking of the practical measures which must be taken to secure the political domination of the proletariat, Marx and Engels mention also «the expropriation of property in land». But why was the na-

tionalisation of land not sanctioned by law in our country immediately after liberation? This was not done for several reasons:

First, because if nationalisation had been carried out at that time, it would have affected the strata of the middle peasantry who were allies of the working class for the implementation of the policy of the Party in the countryside.

Second, because of the aspirations and spiritual state of the peasantry. For centuries on end the feeling of private property in land had been very deeply implanted in the psychology of our peasant. Even those peasants who had no land prior to the establishment of the people's power had dreamed of a day when they would have their own land. Throughout their entire history, our peasantry have clashed many times with arms against the feudals and big land owners. The land had always been an arena of the class struggle. It was impossible to come out immediately after the war with the slogan of nationalisation of land because our peasant fought, under the leadership of the Party, to win freedom and land. The external and internal enemies would have exploited the legal sanctioning of the nationalisation on the entire land area as a pretext to put the poor and middle peasantry in opposition to the working class, in order to damage or weaken that alliance between these two classes which the Party had carefully created and strengthened in the heat of the war.

It is known that on the agrarian question, in conformity with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the social, economic and historical conditions of our country, the original course was followed of the elimination of large scale land ownership while preserving the small private property of the working peasantry and establishing the essential limitation of the prohibition of alienation. On this question, as on all others, our Party has borne in mind the teaching of Lenin: «In no instance may we move ahead of the development of the masses, but must wait until from the experience of these masses themselves, from their own struggle the need to go forward emerges».

The fact that we did not proclaim the nationalisation of the land, and sanction

this by law, but realised it in practice in many directions, by establishing those many limitations mentioned above, was aimed, in the first place, at fulfilling the desire of the working peasantry, without giving up gradual preparation towards the realisation of the future objectives i.e. towards the socialist organisation of agriculture through the voluntary collectivisation of the land, thus forming the co-operativist property in the countryside. The Party was not hasty in this, but, of course, neither did it retreat from the road of the collectivisation of agriculture. Through recognition of the limited right to small scale private property in land, the peasantry was given the opportunity to express its own will to pass over to socialist collective property with complete freedom and conviction. And so it happened. The collectivisation of agriculture in our country was a natural, conscious uniting, achieved on the basis of the conviction and free will of the working peasantry liberated from oppression and exploitation. In these circumstances, the final freeing of the Albanian peasant from the feeling of private property in land was not done by decree, but gradually, with systematic work of conviction organised by the Party on the economic road, as Marx and Engels teach. The course followed was correct from the viewpoint of principle and fully justified in our concrete national conditions.

Three decades have elapsed since the triumph of our people's revolution. Over this period colossal changes with a revolutionary content have occurred in our political, economic, social and cultural life. Great strides forward have been made in the development and modernisation of agriculture. Apart from other things the socialist collectivisation of agriculture also brought about fundamental changes in the psychology of the peasant concerning the right of ownership over the land, because, in the conditions of collectivisation, he no longer considers the land as his own, but the property of all the members of the cooperative. Since the break with private property in land, the question of ownership over the land, the question of to whom the land belongs — to the entire people or to the mem-

bers of the cooperative, no longer worries the cooperative peasantry. Today the psychology of our peasantry concerning ownership over the land is no longer what it was many years ago, therefore the main concern of the cooperativists now is: to whom does the production belong, how much production there is, how to increase their wellbeing and extend the economy of the cooperative and its means, how to protect and strengthen the collective property, etc.

Today, almost five-sixths of the whole territory of our country, including the cultivated land, forests, pastures, the areas covered with water, the non-agricultural land occupied by buildings, roads, etc., are the property of the state and only one-sixth is property of the group. Even the small area of building sections and surrounding garden, which in any case is not more than 200 square mètres, cannot be alienated, thus it cannot be sold, given away, etc., even if the building itself is sold (See Article 8 of Decree Nr. 4823, dated 2.3.1971 «On the protection of the land»).

As to the land area under crops, 21 per cent of it is the property of the state, 79 per cent is the property of agricultural cooperatives, and only 0,05 per cent is the property of a few families comprised of

people incapable of working due to old age or state of health. But, it is obvious that, with the passage of time, even this small area will be liquidated.

In our country, the land used by agricultural cooperatives has been extended from the fund of state land. A major part of the land administered and cultivated at present by agricultural cooperatives results from the right of state ownership. This has come about as a result of the opening up of new land by the agricultural cooperatives. About 35 per cent of the area of cultivated land these cooperatives have in use today has been extended from the state fund of land. This process, in our conditions, has not caused and could not cause us any concern. On the contrary, it has served the increase of agricultural production.

Apart from what we have mentioned, the fact that our socialist state has spent about 2 billion leks for the reclamation and irrigation of the land owned by the agricultural cooperatives must also serve as an argument in favour of the reflection in the draft-Constitution of the nationalisation of land in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Since the state has been an investor for the improvement of the land, it has its rights which the law recognises. The existence of co-ownership

between the state and the group has been legalized with the creation of the agricultural cooperatives of the higher type.

Consequently, we arrive at the conclusion that the situation realised «de facto» should also be expressed «de jure». The nationalisation of the land, on the one hand, would express the existing situation reached long ago, and, on the other hand, to some extent would serve, all the respective legislation on land as an appropriate and more complete constitutional basis for its possible evolution in the future.

For all the reasons presented, it seems to us that the reflection of the nationalisation of the land in the draft-Constitution is a necessary requirement. Lenin proclaimed it by a legal act immediately after the revolution. We solved the problem without proclaiming in law the nationalisation of the entire land area, but, we repeat, by establishing a series of restrictions by law, which led to the same thing.

For all these reasons, on the basis of the circumstances created, on the basis of the objective and subjective factors, which have brought about the changes we mentioned, taking account of the reality and the prospect of further development, the provision in the draft-Constitution of sole ownership of land by the state is completely realistic and correct. -

# Socialist state property and its development

by DERVISH GJIRITI

IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC FIELD OUR REVOLUTION LIQUIDATED THE OLD FEUDAL-BOURGEOIS RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION, ELIMINATED THE PRIVATE PROPERTY OF THE FOREIGN AND LOCAL BOURGEOISIE, WHICH IT TURNED INTO SOCIALIST STATE PROPERTY, REALISED THE SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF SMALL-SCALE PRODUCERS AND ESTABLISHED SOCIALIST SOCIAL OWNERSHIP OVER THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION EVERYWHERE IN TOWN AND COUNTRYSIDE; IT ELIMINATED THE PROFOUND SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKWARDNESS AND THE WEAK AND ONE-SIDED STRUCTURE OF SOCIAL PRODUCTION, WHICH WAS COMPRISED MAINLY OF SMALL-SCALE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION, AND BUILT AN ECONOMY WITH A NEW MULTIBRANCHED STRUCTURE, CONSISTING OF LARGE-SCALE INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION, BASED ON THE USE OF ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY.

On this basis the exploiting classes and the exploitation of man by man have

been eliminated, relations of collaboration and mutual aid among people have been established, anarchy and competition in production have been eliminated, the

planned and harmonious development of the people's economy has been ensured, the principle of distribution according to the quantity and quality of the work done is implemented, the rapid development of productive forces and the perfecting of socialist relations of production has been ensured, and the continuous increase of the wellbeing of the working people has been made possible. It is precisely these developments which testify to the incontestable superiority of socialist state ownership over the means of production.

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The above features demonstrate that socialist property constitutes the powerful material base of our people's state power. Therefore, the draft-Constitution emphasises that: «The socialist property is the inviolable basis of the socialist order, the source of the wellbeing of the people and the strength of the homeland; it has special protection from the state.

«Socialist property in the means of production is comprised of the state property and the cooperativist property in agriculture». (Article 16).

The socialist property and socialist group property which exist in our country are property of the same type — the type of socialist property which appears in two forms. They are the exact opposite of private property and exclude the exploitation of man by man; they serve the interests of the working people. The two forms have a simple aim: that socialism and communism must be built. As pointed out in the draft-Constitution, «State property belongs to the whole people and is the highest form of socialist property.» (Article 17). It includes the key branches of the people's economy. It includes the major part of the national wealth of the country, and the principal means of production, it realises the major part of the funds of accumulation and consumption, and is the basis for extended socialist reproduction. The socialist state property plays the leading and guiding role in our entire socialist system of the economy. The socialist state property is distinguished for the place it occupies and the role it plays; it is the most developed form of socialist property. To it belongs the historical perspective of becoming the only form of social property of the whole people. It has a more complete social character, marks the highest scale of the socialisation of labour and the means of production. The working class, the vanguard class of our society, is directly linked with socialist social property. The working class is the prime factor in the socialist state property relations.

Characteristic of the socialist state property in our country is its rapid creation, development and increase in strength.

This development and strengthening which is expressed in the increase of what it embraces and in the social product, has not been achieved easily. It has been achieved in struggle with many obstacles and difficulties, in fierce struggle with the internal and external enemies. It has been achieved despite inheriting great technical and economic backwardness from the past, in conditions of the double imperialist-revisionist encirclement and economic blockade, organised by the imperialists and the modern revisionists. Our people have achieved their socialist victories under the leadership of the Party and by relying firmly on their own forces. The unceasing development and proper administration of socialist property on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, has been and remains one of the decisive conditions for the strengthening of the political and economic potential of the country, a condition for the preservation and perfecting of the socialist character of the relations of production, for the purpose of preventing their degeneration into capitalist relations.

The bourgeois and revisionist ideologists consider the socialist state ownership and the state ownership which exists in their countries as the same. In fact they are by no means the same. In capitalist state ownership the relations of production remain relations of exploitation. Exploitation in capitalist state enterprises is no different from exploitation in capitalist private enterprises. Anarchy, competition, and other negative phenomena, prevail there. Reality shows that the more means of production the bourgeois state takes over as its property, the more the exploitation of the working class by monopoly capital increases. State ownership capitalism is paradise for the capitalists and hell for the workers. F. Engels stressed that as long as the wealthy classes remain in power, state ownership represents not the elimination of exploitation, but only a change in its form. All the clamour that the bourgeois and the revisionist propaganda makes about the theories of political and economic integration of capitalism into socialism through capitalist state ownership,

presenting it as socialist, is aimed at perpetuating capitalist private property, and diverting the working class from the course of the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism.

In the revisionist countries, in the Soviet Union and its satellite countries, for purposes of demagogy they still keep the terminology «socialist state property» in their constitutions. In reality, the former socialist property in these countries has been transformed into capitalist state property of a special kind. Demagogy cannot alter the real content of things and phenomena. Karl Marx stressed that the question is not who is the nominal owner of state enterprises, but who draws economic profits from this ownership. It is an undeniable fact that the new revisionist bourgeoisie exploits its dominant position to grab the material blessings created by the working class and other working people. Using the force of the state power it has seized, the Soviet revisionist bourgeoisie appropriates state property and has accumulated great fixed and liquid assets. It is leading a parasitic and dissipated life, while the broad working masses are more and more feeling the burden of oppression and exploitation. The working class in that country is deprived of the means of production, and labour power has been turned into a commodity. By law, decisions, ordinances and other juridical acts, the revisionist bourgeoisie have ensured for themselves many rights, profits and privileges as the owners of the means of production. The degeneration of the political power there, led to the degeneration of socialist state property into capitalist state property of a special kind.

The Marxist-Leninist treatment of state property in the draft-Constitution testifies to the thoroughly principled stand the Party of Labour maintains in regard to this problem. This treatment is at the same time an exposure for the bourgeois-revisionist ideology, which seeks to deny the class content of property relations. Reflecting the reality of the property relations which exist in our country, the draft-Constitution deals correctly, in a scientific way, with socialist ownership

over the means of production, with the process of the development of socialist property and its perspective.

The establishment of socialist state ownership is by no means the ultimate objective. Vigilance and care must be constantly increased for its development and consolidation. Without this the danger of distortions and the degeneration of socialist relations of production cannot be prevented. This danger appears whenever an indifferent attitude is adopted towards damage to property, when the principle of democratic centralism is violated, when the trend of running after narrow personal interest is nurtured, when the socialist legislation which regulates production and distribution is violated, and when no stand is taken against these alien manifestations. In these circumstances the danger exists that socialist relations of production will be turned into relations of exploitation. But when a correct Marxist-Leninist line is pursued to the end it is quite possible to bar the way to these phenomena. This is precisely the line that has been reflected in the draft-Constitution, in which those norms which will keep the socialist character of socialist social property always pure and bar all the ways to the birth of private property have found expression. The draft-Constitution legalises measures which lead to the strengthening of socialist ownership, to the perfecting of socialist property relations, making possible the continuous revolutionisation, both of political and ideological relations and of socio-economic relations. The norms defining the role of the state in the management of socialist property have found reflection in the draft-Constitution. This role stems from the objective and subjective conditions, from the nature, content, and need for the development of the socialist property.

Just as it did not emerge spontaneously, neither can socialist ownership be developed spontaneously. The socialist state, led by the Party, is used as a main weapon to preserve its socialist content and its development. Thus, socialist state ownership requires a centralised and planned state leadership, a thing which is dictated by the demands of the objective economic laws of socialism. Through

its political power, the working class realises its fundamental interests, its political and economic interests. Dealing with ownership in close connection with the socialist state, the draft-Constitution brings out the unity of politics and the economy, and the predominance of politics over the economy becomes evident. This is natural and necessary. The question of the dictatorship of the proletariat constitutes the most important question also in regard to the existence of socialist state property. What is important is not so much the external form of property as its socialist content, which is inconceivable without the political power of the working class. The norms reflected in the draft-Constitution make it clear that our State is a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat which expresses and defends the interests of all the working people. It undertakes the organisation, management, administration, and protection of the socialist state property. The draft-Constitution stipulates: «The state organizes, manages, and develops all economic and social life under a unified general plan»... (Article 25). It manages the economy on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism. «The amount of accumulation, its distribution and use, is regulated by the state in a centralized manner» (Article 27). Such ownership, guided by the socialist state, increases the personality of the individual, encourages the creative initiative of the working masses, makes it possible to advance the process of economic and social development. Such socialist state ownership strengthens the dictatorship of the proletariat, and increases the role of the working class, as the leading class of our society. The socialist state property cannot exist, develop and be strengthened outside the fundamental Marxist-Leninist norms and principles. Therefore, our draft-Constitution does not legalize socialist state property as a matter of form, but it reflects such principles and norms which conform with the socialist content of ownership. The need for the consistent implementation of the principle of democratic centralism in political and economic life, of planned organisation and management of the economy, the preservation of correct proportions between

the two forms of ownership, of perfecting the distribution of the product for the individual and for society, finds expression there. The necessity of harmonising economic interests and moral and material incentives, giving priority to collective interest and moral incentives, etc., also finds expression there. Without the rigorous implementation of these principles the existence of socialist state property as the granite foundation of our socialist social order cannot be guaranteed.

The future belongs to state socialist ownership. Therefore work has gone on ceaselessly for its development and consolidation and at the same time for the gradual transformation of group property into the common property of society. As a result of this correct line, conditions were gradually prepared, and it became possible in 1970, for the cooperativist property of the artisan sector and the buying and selling cooperatives to finally go over to state ownership, without mentioning individual instances in which some agricultural cooperatives with territorial continuity have merged into state farms. This is what will happen in the future with all the cooperativist property in the sector of agriculture. Of course, shall proceed cautiously, parallel with the maturing of political, ideological, economic and social factors to achieve this strategic aim. On this question the draft-Constitution (Article 22) stipulates: «The transition of the cooperativist property into property of the entire people is done in conformity with the objective conditions, according to the free will of the cooperativists and with the approval of the state».

The main ways which will make possible the uninterrupted further development of the socialist social property have found their reflection in the draft-Constitution. This development will be achieved on the basis of the objective economic laws of socialism.

The strengthening of the socialist state property is achieved in the first place through the constant increase of the social product, a part of which, through accumulation, increases the socialist state property. The more the social product is increased, the greater the possibility of turning a part of it into the form of accu-

mulation for the purpose of adding new objects of state property, in the first place in the productive sphere, and parallel with this in the nonproductive sphere, too. In these conditions, the increase of the sources of accumulation and their use with the greatest possible efficiency is a duty of special importance. The main road to the increase and strengthening of socialist property is the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the state plan, the broad and active participation of the working people in material production, the continuous increase of the productivity of social labour, the reduction of costs of production and circulation, the discovery and tapping of internal reserves, the strengthening of the savings regime everywhere. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us: "... We must fulfill all the targets of the state plan to the letter, on time and through to the end, because any non-fulfilment creates difficulties which are a burden on the economy and life of the people". (Enver Hoxha, Our policy is open, a policy of proletarian principles).

The working people are the bearers of socialist property relations. They carry forward, strengthen, and protect socialist property.

The increase and strengthening of property is also linked with the perfecting of the organisation of production, the forms of which do not stand still. Having a dynamic character, they must always respond to the stage of development. Linked with the organisation of social production is the concentration, specialisation and co-operation of production. If this process is not deepened, the state property is damaged, leaving production fragmented into small economic units, which also creates a field for bureaucratic activities. The draft-Constitution stresses the need for the struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism. The organisation of production into large and middle-sized enterprises creates more favorable conditions for the working class to exercise its direct control over the management and administration of the socialist state property, makes possible the increase of the efficiency of social production, the rational use of the material elements of production and labour resources.

For this reason the draft-Constitution stresses the need to increase the concentration of production and develop specialisation. This leads to the increase of material production and raising the productivity of labour, improves the management of social production, averting bureaucratic and technocratic manifestations in the management of the socialist state property. On this question comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out: "... instead of fragmentation into small enterprises we must move towards concentration of them, towards the uniting of many similar enterprises or those making the same products, into a single enterprise". (Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches 1970-1971, p. 139, Albanian edition).

Closely linked with the continuous increase and social administration of socialist property is the task of protecting it. It is senseless on the one hand to fight with might and main to increase the socialist property, while on the other hand to fail to appreciate sufficiently the need to protect it. If the bourgeois state in its constitution proclaims capitalist private property as holy, inviolable, and sternly punishes those who damage it, the working class has much greater right to proclaim the socialist state property inviolable, to guard it like the apple of its eye. For this reason the draft-Constitution says: "Citizens have the duty to protect and strengthen socialist property.

Violation of socialist property constitutes a serious crime. (Article 60).

The socialist attitude towards property, the conscious struggle for the increase and preservation of socialist property, are features which characterise the activity of the broad working masses of our country. But along with this care, there are also cases of its misuse, damage and appropriation. These alien manifestations have their source in the hangovers of the psychology of private property and the imperialist-revisionist ideological pressure. If they are not combatted, they spread, become active and dangerous. To shut one's eyes to these alien manifestations means to leave the way open to the activity of internal and external enemies against the state property, means to fail to appreciate the danger of the bourgeois de-

generation of the socialist property relations. A decisive factor which ensures the preservation and further development of social property is the putting of the entire people on guard of it. It is the property of the whole people, the people should and can protect it.

Our country has now entered a new stage of development, the stage of the intensive socialist development of the people's economy. This stage requires multiplied efforts for the increase, strengthening, and socialist administration of social property. The consistent performance of these tasks, the increase of the care for the state property, without neglecting the cooperativist property, constitutes a fundamental duty which will make possible the uninterrupted development of our socialist revolution in all fields. This is only natural. The political, economic, and military strengthening of our homeland, the continuous strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, cannot be achieved without a strong economic base and, vice-versa, there can be no talk of strengthening our economic order without continually strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat.

# THE DEEPENING OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE ON THE IDEOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL FRONT

by HAMIT BEQJA

**The cultural, artistic, recreational activity of the bourgeois and revisionist propaganda means is nothing but a drug to befuddle the working masses, opium and poison for them. Its aim is to put them to sleep, to divert them from political and social struggle, to plunge them into purposeless apathy and urge them towards an empty and dissipated life**

THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA HAS CONSISTENTLY DEFENDED AND ENRICHED THE MARXIST-LENINIST THESIS THAT IN SOCIALISM, TOO, THE CLASS STRUGGLE CONTINUES IN ALL FIELDS OF LIFE, THAT ITS DEVELOPMENT IS DETERMINED BY THE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL CIRCUMSTANCES AND BY THEIR INTER-ACTION, THAT IS A PROTRACTED STRUGGLE WHICH COVERS THE ENTIRE PERIOD OF TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO COMMUNISM, UP TO THE VICTORY OF COMMUNISM ON A WORLD SCALE.

WHILE DISCLOSING THE MUTUAL RELATIONS BETWEEN DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF THIS CLASS STRUGGLE, THE PLA HAS STRESSED THE MARXIST-LENINIST THESIS THAT IT IS WAGED WITH PARTICULAR SHARPNESS, ESPECIALLY ON THE IDEOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL FRONT. «ONLY WHEN THE OLD BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY HAS BEEN DESTROYED» SAID LENIN, «ONLY THEN CAN WE SAY THAT WE HAVE DRIVEN THE LAST NAIL IN THE COFFIN OF THE OLD EXPLOITING SOCIETY».

The present-day historical reality of Albania shows that the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established and the struggle is being waged to strengthen and consolidate it, that socialist relations of production have also been established, and that the struggle is going on here too, to consolidate and perfect them, that a series of major transformations have taken place in the field of the superstructure, including ideology, and the struggle is being waged to consolidate them. But the PLA has underlined that although socialist ideology is dominant in Albania, it has

not yet become a completely dominant ideology because it is not the only ideology which exists and influences society, because alien ideologies, old or new, of exploiting classes are in confrontation and struggle with it. In these conditions the problem of the correct understanding of the deepening of the class struggle on the ideological and cultural front and its consistent development is especially acute and important at the present time.

The PLA has always regarded and treated the problems of the development of the class struggle in general, and in the field of culture in particular, in the close dialectical connection which exists bet-

ween the internal factors and the conditions of the existing international situation. Comrade Enver Hoxha has made a deep-going and allround analysis of these conditions, particularly in his historic speech of March 15, 1973. «How the imperialist-revisionist encirclement of our country and the effect of its pressure on us should be understood and combatted» (Enver Hoxha, Reports and speeches 1972-1973, pp. 260-296) in which he has developed the thesis that the pressure of the capitalist and revisionist world upon us is allsided, political, military, economic, ideological and cultural.

The imperialists and revisionists have put all possible means into action against Albania-including political threats and trickery, military blackmail and threats, the economic blockade, ideological diversion and cultural aggression. But, from this whole arsenal of means ideological and cultural diversion remains their favourite weapon, that weapon which they, not without reason, consider the most effective and fruitful in their counterrevolutionary aims. Apart from other things, this has been confirmed by the bitter tra-

gedy of the counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and in its East European satellite countries, where spiritual, ideological, and cultural degeneration paved the way to the usurpation of state power by the revisionists and the restoration of capitalism. Precisely by means of this weapon and this aggression, the essence of which is the encouragement of liberalism over the whole front, the imperialists and revisionists aim at eroding the solid and powerful socialist fortress in Albania from within, at implanting the worm of degeneration, their bourgeois and revisionist poison, bourgeois-revisionist confusion and dissipation in it.

On the basis of this analysis, comrade Enver Hoxha once again pointed out at the 4th Plenum of the CC of the PLA in 1973: «The imperialists and revisionists have always desired the liquidation of socialism in Albania. This we know. But what we must bear well in mind is that it is not only the direct military danger, that exists for us, but also ideological aggression. Moreover, the ideological pressure and struggle the enemy is waging against us is also a preliminary preparation and precursor of a possible military attack. Never for a moment should we forget that we are a small country and, because of our principled and revolutionary stand, the allround ideological pressures of the capitalist and revisionist world are focussed on us. On the other hand, we cannot live isolated from the outside world, whose influences through various means of information and propaganda, which today have assumed a mass character and been perfected as never before, as well as through contacts, which cannot be avoided, penetrate into our country and among our people through many channels. Therefore, the Party has stressed many times that along with serious military and economic preparation for any eventuality, all measures must be taken and all the forces mobilised to defeat the ideological aggression of the enemy, too». (Enver Hoxha, Reports and speeches 1972-1973, pp. 304-305).

Of course, in the struggle against this imperialist-revisionist ideological pressure and cultural aggression, which is permanent and against which we are fighting

and must fight and win not only once, but every year, every month and every day, we are not putting up a passive defence; on the contrary, we are counter-attacking with all our forces. This is a struggle for the defeat of this pressure and aggression and for the deepening of the socialist revolution, for the elimination of the influences of alien ideologies and for the implanting of socialist ideology. In this struggle our positions, as a socialist country and nation, as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a Marxist-Leninist party, are affirmed. In this process the affirmation of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary positions in the field of ideology and culture, as well as our contribution to the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideology and the development of socialist culture in the present-day world, occupies a place of first importance.

It is obvious that this ideological class struggle on a world scale is very complicated. The means with which the imperialist-revisionist enemies are fighting are not always open, they are often hidden, disguised, refined and sophisticated. Therefore, we must be well acquainted with our ideological enemies, their composition and groupings, their slogans and theses.

The essence of this problem was explained by comrade Enver Hoxha at the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA when he said that, «A characteristic of the present-day ideological diversion of the bourgeoisie and revisionism against socialism is the uniting in a single front of the fundamental counterrevolutionary trends, from the purely bourgeois ideology of a frankly anti-communist character down to the old, traditional opportunism, from the modern revisionists to the present-day so-called left opportunist trends. Irrespective of from what position, irrespective of what slogans and «arguments» they use against them, all these trends attack Marxism-Leninism and socialism, are united in their main aim of demonstrating that capitalism has overcome its contradictions, that bourgeois society has been improved, that capitalism and socialism are now converging towards a single society, that there is no place now for class struggle, no place for revolution-

nary upheavals, no place for communist ideals, etc.» (Enver Hoxha, Reports and speeches 1972-1973, pp. 306-307).

First among the ideological enemies are those who represent the pure bourgeois ideology, the traditional ideology of the capitalists, which of course have undergone some «evolution» and are always more camouflaged. They include many bourgeois parties which are in power: in the USA the Democrats and Republicans, in other countries all sorts of self-styled Conservatives or Liberals. These include the Christian Democrats, who in various countries are leading governments or are in government coalitions; the Vatican and all its agencies, as well as all the other bourgeois parties and trends. All these are distinguished for the open and declared anti-communist character of their ideology and policy, theses, and slogans. But in the present conditions even these parties and trends are compelled to resort to demagogy, to present themselves allegedly as representatives of the entire people, thus also of the working people, as fighters for a capitalism which is allegedly eliminating, or will eliminate, oppression and exploitation, suffering and poverty, for a «people's» capitalism. The Pope, Ford, and others of this ilk, all speak in this language. In any case, although it is in decline, the influence of their social policy and demagogy on the misled and deceived masses of their countries must not be under-rated, just as the penetration of this influence also in our country must not be under-rated.

Second, we have to do with the old traditional opportunism, with the social democrats. These are in action everywhere, but they have more influence in Western Europe, particularly in the Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands, Britain, Western Germany, Israel, etc. In many of these countries, from time to time they head governments and government coalitions or take part in them. Their demagogy is even more sophisticated. They pose as representatives of the workers, defenders of «the cause of socialism». There where they make the law, they claim to have solved the contradictions of capitalism, raised the living standard of the working people, ensured general wellbe-

ing, hence that they have built their so-called «democratic socialism». It is on these foundations that they build their propaganda on a world scale.

Third, come the modern revisionists who are even more dangerous as ideological enemies, because they dress themselves up in the cloak of Marxism-Leninism, quote Marxist-Leninist phrases, swear great oaths in the name of Marx and Lenin. The modern revisionists have usurped state power in the Soviet Union and in many countries of Eastern Europe, a thing which increases their danger, as well as their possibilities to develop extensive social demagoguery. They have a definite influence also in many capitalist countries, especially in Italy, France, in some Latin American countries, etc. The revisionist views, tinged with Marxism-Leninism, are considered by the enemies as the most appropriate for penetration into the socialist countries. Therefore, special vigilance is needed against them.

Fourth, come the present-day opportunist so-called «left» trends. The composition of this group is very heterogeneous. It includes the various Trotskyists and neo-Trotskyists, putschist elements and political adventurers, radical petty-bourgeois theoreticians of the type of Marcuse and Adorno, and sometimes even the existentialists and others come out with similar slogans. The common factor among all these groupings is their «ultra left», «ultra-revolutionary» phraseology as well as the essential denial of the proletarian revolution. None of them have any faith in the proletariat, or its party. According to them, the proletariat has integrated itself in capitalism in the same way as the bourgeoisie, has become a partner with it; therefore, it has allegedly lost its revolutionary features, which can be found today, again according to them, only in the intermediate strata, in the petty-bourgeoisie and lumpen proletariat, the students, the lower and middle intelligentsia, the emigrants, etc. «The ultra left» phraseology of these people in certain conditions of political and social crises can find fertile ground among the masses and can deceive some of them, often heading them into dangerous adventures.

Our purpose in mentioning only a few of the fundamental trends of the present-day ideological enemies, without going into the groupings, the nuances and differences existing among them, is that we must understand what is common among them, their anti-revolutionary and anti-socialist essence, which is expressed in some fundamental slogans and theses that are the pillars of their propaganda both in the countries where they act, as well as in the influence they try to exert on the socialist countries.

What are some of the fundamental theses of their propaganda?

First, they claim that in the present epoch, the technical scientific revolution has replaced the political and social revolution. Speculating on the present-day results of the technical-scientific revolution, they come out with the thesis that Marxism is now allegedly outdated and no longer has any value. According to them, Marxism might have been more or less valuable for the 19th century or the beginning of the 20th century, whereas now, with the great development which science and technology has assumed, capitalism has allegedly overcome its fundamental contradictions, bourgeois society is, allegedly, no longer that about which Marx spoke; capitalism has allegedly become «people's capitalism». Precisely in these circumstances, they say, the political and social revolution of the working class has lost its meaning; thus, there is no longer room for class struggle, for revolutionary overturns, etc.

Second, as a result of this technical and scientific revolution which has a tendency to develop everywhere, according to them, capitalism and socialism are converging into a single society, because allegedly both in capitalism and in socialism, the same economic and social processes are taking place. To support this thesis they refer to the developments in the Soviet Union and other revisionist countries, which they call socialist. And, in fact, this sort of «socialism» has converged with bourgeois society, because capitalism has been restored in these countries.

Third, as a result of this technical and scientific revolution, again according to them, a society with a high level of econo-

mic development is being created, the post-industrial society, which is a consumer society, an affluent society, which allegedly creates many material and cultural blessings, sufficient for all. Therefore, they conclude, the present-day workers and officials are allegedly no longer exploited and oppressed, as they were, but are joint shareholders in the great «wealth», the great «abundance» which has been and is being created.

On this basis, our enemies are striving to convince people that now there is allegedly no room for revolutionary and communist ideals. On this basis, they are building all their social demagoguery which they are linking closely with their political demagoguery, directed by the two superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, which is a pacifist demagoguery aimed at diverting the peoples and the workers from revolutionary struggle for their political and social liberation.

It is unnecessary to analyse and uncover all the lies in these theses of the bourgeois and revisionist propaganda one by one. It is enough to glance at a few phenomena of the present-day development of the capitalist and revisionist world, at the deep-going contradictions, which are becoming sharper day by day and which are eroding the so-called wealthy countries of this world, as well as at that poverty and misery in which the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the capitalist world continue to live, to see clearly how rotten are «the pillars» of this propaganda and demagoguery, to prove its entire falsity.

Precisely when this propaganda was at its peak, the oil crisis burst like a bomb on the capitalist and revisionist world. It grew into a general energy crisis and was accompanied by the food crisis, and the currency and financial crisis, with all their consequences, particularly with the rise of prices, the increased cost of living, the increase of unemployment, thus, a crisis in every field, down to that of the environment. And all these could not fail to be accompanied by the political crisis, especially by the growth of the reactionary political trends, indeed with open fascistisation.

It is precisely this reality of the present-day bourgeois and revisionist world which once again fully confirms the Marxist-Leninist theses about the exploitation and oppression of the working people, about the intensification of this exploitation and oppression, social polarisation, and so on, in these countries. Here we want to bring forward another supplementary argument in support of our theses. It is no accident that precisely in those capitalist countries which are considered the richest and most developed, with the highest standards of living, such as the United States of America and the Scandinavian countries, that the number of cases of neuropsychic illness and suicides, without speaking of other phenomena of decay and degeneration, is higher than anywhere else. It is obvious that in these «very rich» countries the existing social system turns the ordinary working man into a machine, from whom all his energies are mercilessly sucked out by intensive oppression and exploitation.

However, the penetration of the theses of the bourgeois and revisionist propaganda should not for a moment be underestimated. The fact that the «pillars» of this propaganda are rotten does not exclude the possibility of its influence on unformed people, who are easily deceived, who can easily be taken in by some external advertisement, without speaking of hostile elements who might try to become conscious propagators of the bourgeois and revisionist poison.

The bourgeoisie and the revisionists try to carry out an intensive spiritual «processing» of people. To the traditional centres of this processing, such as the family, church, and school, have been added powerful means of social information, mass culture and propaganda—every kind of printed material, mass publications of artistic literature, especially about what is called boulevard art, film, theatre and any other kinds of spectacles, radio, and recently also television which are extremely widespread, have a very extensive coverage, intensify, and rapidity of action. In this direction radio and television are particularly notable, especially television which, as a result of the combination of the acoustic influence with the visual in-

fluence, as a result of the combination, through many variations, of various genres of propaganda, culture and art, has a special force of action.

The bourgeoisie and the revisionists also give this ideological processing the colour of a cultural activity, striving to influence the whole world, particularly the smaller countries, with it. This is nothing but the world-wide cultural aggression which they want to realise. They even try to justify this activity theoretically, by referring to the present-day conditions of the development of the world. Comrade Enver Hoxha points out: «The imperialist bourgeoisie has always striven to cause the degeneration of or to eliminate the cultural traditions of the small peoples, the national spirit of their art and culture. This is one of the ways for the realisation of its cultural aggression and subjugation of the peoples. The reactionary bourgeois concept about the «internationalisation» of culture and art, the ideas that «the phase of national schools has now been left behind», have as their aim the elimination of the cultures of other peoples». (Enver Hoxha, Reports and speeches 1972-1973, p. 319). From this emerges the duty that all the peoples, and particularly the small peoples, as well as those who have liberated themselves from the yoke of imperialism and colonialism, must display high ideological vigilance towards this imperialist and revisionist cultural aggression, particularly towards that of the two superpowers. US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, and must set about the development and enrichment of their national culture with might and main. For us, too, it always remains an imperative duty to wage an intensive struggle to preserve and develop the cultural wealth of the people, its national features.

Another fact that must not be underestimated either, is that the imperialist-revisionist ideological diversion and cultural aggression are dressed up, as comrade Enver Hoxha puts it, with an external lustre veiled with a deceptive external glitter. Characterising the present-day degeneration of bourgeois culture, he stresses that «precisely this culture dressed up with an external brilliance, accom-

panied with clamorous advertisement, dealt with in the most commercial way, and which is supported and financed by the bourgeoisie, floods the cinema and television screens, the magazines, newspapers, and the radio, all the mass media of information and propaganda. Its aim is to turn the ordinary man into a passive consumer of the poisonous bourgeois ideas, to make this consumption a need and a habit with him». (Enver Hoxha, Reports and speeches 1972-1973, p. 321).

The cultural, artistic, recreational activity of the bourgeois and revisionist means of propaganda is nothing but a drug to befuddle the working masses, opium and poison for them. Its aim is to lull them to sleep, to divert them from the political and social struggle, to plunge them into apathy and urge them towards an empty and dissipated life.

In these circumstances it is necessary to be very well aware of the essence of the present-day bourgeois and revisionist culture, of its content, its philosophic basis, its fundamental directions and characteristics.

Characterising these phenomena, comrade Enver Hoxha points out that «Today the phenomena of the decay and degeneration of bourgeois culture are becoming more and more accentuated. Its «isms» which spring up like mushrooms, are the clearest sign of this decay. «New schools» which resemble the countless religious sects and heresies are emerging every day. Nevertheless, they have a common philosophic basis which is idealism with all its endless sophistications. This is the essence also, of those trends which, at first sight, emerge allegedly as left, radical protests against official bourgeois society, against its culture and morality.

Under the disguise of an art which allegedly does not recognise social prejudices and ideological commitments, the cult of empty content and ugly form, of the base and the hideous, is created. The main themes and heroes of decadent modernist art are murderers, prostitutes, immorality, social pathology. Its banner is irrationalism, its liberation from «reason». Its ideal is the primitivism of the cave man.» (Enver Hoxha, Reports and speeches 1972-1973, p. 320-321).

Of course when we speak of the character of the culture in the bourgeois countries we always keep in mind that this is a complicated phenomenon. In bourgeois society, as Lenin pointed out, we shall always find two cultures — one of the dominant class and the other of the oppressed and exploited strata, but the culture of the dominant class always prevails, the culture of that class which has political power and the means of production, hence the most powerful means of culture, in its hands.

Today, too, in the bourgeois countries there are two cultures: the bourgeois culture, as the dominant culture of the society, and the culture of the proletariat and other revolutionary and democratic strata. At one time bourgeois culture had its own progressive trends, but in the epoch of imperialism it became decayed and degenerate. The representatives of the bourgeoisie themselves described this culture as decadence, hence decline, decay.

In our century, and particularly in the present period, since the second World War, this decay has become still more accentuated: Precisely this is the fundamental characteristic of the present-day so-called modernism, which is nothing but the same decadence rolling ever further downhill.

This present-day modernist culture has within it a number of off-shoots. In the first place we distinguish what is called the elitist culture, hence culture of the «select» few, of the «intellectual» and «spiritual» upper crust of society. It is notable particularly for its sophisticated content and form and is incomprehensible to the masses.

But the main and the most widespread off-shoot of bourgeois culture is what is called mass culture, or standard culture, standard art; it is precisely that culture which is aimed at the broad masses, at the rank-and-file common man and which has the aim of implanting bourgeois ideas in him and enslaving him spiritually, at standardising his reasons and feelings, at making him bourgeois. It is precisely this culture to which the bourgeoisie devotes the most finance. This is that stupefying drug which fills the newspapers and magazines, the mass publications, the cinemas, the radio and television program-

mes. Apart from other things, this culture is distinguished for its vulgarity which has the aim of confusing and bastardising the taste of the masses.

There is also a third direction, which is called anti-culture or anti-art, which is elaborated by the so-called «left» trends or «left cultures». As in all fields, in culture too, these trends themselves declare that they are against the traditional society, against its culture and art, against its ethical and aesthetic norms, against its conventions in general, that they are allegedly for another culture, entirely different from that of present-day bourgeois society. Herein lies the source of the so-called «left protests» in the field of culture, which then degenerate into such movements as that of the hippies and others of this kind even more vulgar and confused. The representatives of these trends say, for example, that we do not need sentimental and emotional music. But with what do they replace this? With the music of the primitive orgy. They roam as far as to the caves of the Himalayas looking for its motifs. The bourgeoisie is not in the least afraid of all this so-called anti-culture; on the contrary, this trend is to its benefit, because it diverts people, workers and youth, from the true struggle for liberation and plunges them into an empty and dissipated life.

This is not the occasion to speak of other nuances which exist within these trends and ramifications of bourgeois culture; on the contrary, the fundamental thing is to stress what is common among them. And in the first place, as comrade Enver Hoxha points out, the common factor among them is their philosophic basis, idealism, with its endless refinements, especially subjective idealism, in which the trend of irrationalism, elaborated by Bergson and other bourgeois philosophers, is prominent. The essence of this philosophical trend consists in the negation of human reason. In art, the influences of this trend are interwoven with those of Freudism and neo-Freudism, elaborated by Freud and his followers, which have as their essence the denial that man is a social being, the contention that he is a biological being, an animal. According to the Freudists the essential thing in the

psyche of man is his instincts and, among them, the most important is the sexual instinct. The existentialism of Sartre, Camuse, and others like these, with their verge of death philosophy and aesthetic and their sophisticated presentation of anxiety about it also contribute to this trend.

It is precisely these doctrine, which form the predominant climate of bourgeois art and worship social pathology amorality, pessimism, fatalism, fear and anxiety about death. These doctrines present man as a primitive cave-dweller, as an animal, extol the lack of reason, the prevalence of the sexual instinct and violence in the life of man. From this stems the widespread presentation of violence and crimes, the countless murders in the works of bourgeois art.

The influence of these trends in present-day bourgeois society is so strong that it even affects generally progressive, realist and neo-realist authors. Even their novels and films, as for instance the novel, «The Great Families», by the French writer, Drion, the work of the American playwright, Arthur Miller, «A view from the bridge», the film of the Italian director, Visconti, «Rrok and his brothers», etc., along with the realist line they have, are also permeated by accentuated irrationalist and Freudist motives, which seriously detract from their realist or neo-realist character itself.

Mention must be made, also, of the phenomena of degeneration of culture, literature, and art in the revisionist countries, which began with their departure from the method and fundamental principles of socialist realism, with their negation of the basic principle of proletarian partisanship, with their vilification of the heroic spirit of the communist hero, with their preaching of anti-Leninism, pacifism and bourgeois humanism, the fear of war, and of any kind of struggle. Our reader and spectator have seen how such trends began to appear in Sholokov's story, «The Fate of a Man», and the film made from it, in such films as «Ballad for the Soldier», etc. These counterrevolutionary features become steadily more pronounced in revisionist literature and art. Later they began to be combined with chauvinism and blatant nationalism, as well

as with the preaching of religion and mysticism. At the same time the revisionists opened the doors wider and wider to degenerate bourgeois culture. Of course they do this according to the internal and external circumstances, at times they relax their control and at other times they tighten the screws, but it is a fact that the penetration of the open bourgeois influence of disparation and confusion in their culture and art is becoming constantly stronger and more systematic. Moreover, the revisionists themselves are imitating this spirit, spreading it among youth, the intelligentsia, and the masses.

In Albania the struggle against the influences of revisionist art is being maintained with special intensity. It is a fact that alien influences in the Albanian art aim to penetrate in the first place through revisionist art. Among them are those phenomena which the PLA has continually criticised such as trends of anti-heroism, sterile theorisations about the positive hero for the purpose of denigrating him, the aim of presenting vacillating heroes who can be broken departures from the great themes and the militant spirit of our literature, art and our entire culture, etc.

In this complex of external circumstances, in which our ideological class struggle is taking place in the field of culture, comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out: «we have valued and continue to value only the revolutionary, progressive and democratic foreign art, be it of the past or of our century. We shall utilise it in a critical way in the future too, for this is necessary for the cultural development of the masses, for their ideoaesthetic education, as well as for the forming of those tastes which resist the degenerating and vulgar bourgeois-revisionist influence.

All this requires careful, mature, differentiated work on our part; it requires avoiding extreme attitudes based on xenomania or xenophobia, liberalism or sectarianism, avoiding the lack of a critical attitude or being afraid to take a stand». (Enver Hoxha, Reports and speeches 1972-1973, p. 321).

At the same time he has strongly emphasised that all the bridges linking with

the degenerate bourgeois and revisionist culture must be smashed, that «not only have we nothing to learn from this culture, not only have we no reason to acquaint the masses and youth with, it but we must reject it with contempt and fight it with determination.» (Enver Hoxha, 1972-73, p. 321).

Besides the external circumstances, it is essential to have a thorough knowledge of the internal conditions in which the implanting of socialist ideology and the development of socialist culture are realised, as well as of the influence and the struggle against alien manifestations in these fields. In the final analysis, it is the internal conditions which determine the most fundamental aspect of this process, to the extent that we may even say that the action of external circumstances becomes possible only when it finds suitable soil in the internal conditions which determine social development.

The socialist revolution, in the field of ideology and culture is one of the fundamental laws of the building of the new socialist society. It constitutes a very complicated social process, closely linked with all the revolutionary transformations on the road of socialism, in the first place, with the establishment and consolidation of the state power of the working class and socialist relations of production. But, at the same time, in solving many complex problems, such as the destruction of the old ideologies and reactionary culture, the triumph of the new socialist ideology and culture, the creation of the new man with communist world outlook and consciousness, etc., this ideological and cultural revolution serves the consolidation and carrying forward of the revolution in all other fields, too.

The decisive importance of the formation of political viewpoints and socialist consciousness in this whole process, is a recognised fact. This has to do with education in socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, new moral and political features these, which have reached a very high development in the ranks of the working people, as well as with a correct understanding of the political power of the working class, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of all its mechanisms,

and with a correct attitude towards the strengthening of them in the fight against bureaucracy, technocratism and intellectualism, very relevant problems these, which have been forcefully raised by the Central Committee of the PLA. All these features are fundamental aspects of the communist world outlook of the new man of socialist society. Likewise, a recognised fact is the decisive importance in this process of the formation of socialist concepts and attitudes towards work, social property, in general towards those tasks which are linked with the struggle for the consolidation of our socialist socio-economic order and which require the eradication of individualism and the cultivation of collectivism.

All these are fundamental problems of communist education, of the realisation of the class struggle in the ideological field, of implanting the new socialist morality. But within this general framework of problems, deep-going transformations and allround ideological struggle, we are dwelling, in this article, on some aspects of those processes which occur in the daily social life and culture of the people, in the narrowest and direct meaning of these terms.

Of course these processes must not be seen as divorced from several main circumstances of the political, economic and social development in Albania. We set out on the road of the construction of socialism and we are building it in the conditions of a profound backwardness inherited from the past in all fields, and in particular in the field of culture and way of life, in the conditions of a savage economic blockade imposed by the external enemies, the imperialists and modern revisionists; in the conditions of the revisionist betrayal on an international scale and of the stand of the Albanian Party and people against it; in the conditions of the overcoming of numerous and exceptional difficulties in all fields of life, in continuous struggle with the external and internal enemies; in the conditions in which we are fighting for the systematic implementation of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance. It is precisely these fundamental circumstances that have determined and conti-

nue to determine the transformations in the field of ideology and culture, of our way of life and mentality.

In these circumstances, the question arises automatically. What sort of spiritual life do the Albanian people need? What kind of culture and art do they need? Can it be permitted that we leave the way open to the penetration, however limited, of that stupefying drug of bourgeois-revisionist ideology, to adopt a tolerant and liberal attitude towards it?

It is clear that the Albanian people had and still have a need for a revolutionary militant spirit which is irreconcilable with any alien influence, for a pure socialist spiritual life, for a culture and art of a lofty revolutionary content, which inspires them and sets their hearts ablaze, so that they keep their muscles and nerves tense, as the circumstances of our political and socio-economic development require. What is needed is that such a revolutionary militant spirit should penetrate every cell of nay life, from education in every family home up to the level of the entire society, from the understanding of the fundamental tasks in the political and economic fields and up to those of culture, art, education, behaviour, etc. In all these fields the Albanian people are guided by the communist revolutionary ideal which is irreconcilable with any spirit of ideological concessions, liberal or conservative attitudes, apoliticism and spiritual emptiness, vanity, foolishness, and naivety.

It is precisely from such circumstances and requirements that the complexity of the ideological struggle stems. The problem is that in the struggle to implant the socialist ideology, and for its victory, it encounters numerous obstacles and alien influences. Some of them are old; they come from the present-day imperialist and revisionist world. We are in struggle with all forms of the ideology of the exploiting classes known to human society, with religion and the old canons of the patriarchal tribal order, with the pressure of the present-day bourgeois and revisionist ideology, with all their many variants.

In the irreconcilable ideological class struggle against any alien influence, old

or new, external or internal, conservative or liberal, we must always be guided by revolutionary Marxism-Leninism not allowing ourselves to be deceived by the external form but considering the content, the essence of the phenomena first of all. Comrade Enver Hoxha points out «In our opinion, a conservative attitude is that which justifies, supports, and defends anything outdated, which is against progressive transformations, against the new, which curbs the revolutionary impetus of the masses, their allround emancipation, which hinders our advance on the road of socialism. From the position of such a revolutionary class concept, it is not only the old ideologies which come from the depths of the centuries which have a conservative character, in the broadest political and social sense, but also the present-day degenerate bourgeois and revisionist ideology and culture, all their liberalism and modernism». (Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches 1972-1973, pp. 322-323). And he stresses that, «For us, the Marxist-Leninists, the new is that which serves the destruction of anything outdated, regressive and reactionary, of anything alien to our society and ideology; it is that which serves the affirmation of anything progressive and revolutionary, the development of socialist society, its base and superstructure, of production and spiritual life. We always see the new, in the first place, in content and then in form. This is how we see it in literature and art too». (Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches 1972-1973, p. 318). Such a concept also helps us to distinguish the false «new», the brilliant external glitter, the false external «beauty», especially in culture, art, fashion, advertisement, etc.

We consider the complexity of the struggle for the implanting of socialist ideology also from another angle. The new socialist consciousness is a total phenomenon, but which at the same time also has its various aspects, which do not develop in a completely equal manner. Thus, the political consciousness of man is transformed more rapidly, whereas his consciousness and attitude towards work lags behind. But it is important to stress that the aspect of social consciousness

which is linked with the way of life, with the tastes, traditions and customs, with mentality, with that which, as distinct from the consciousness of a scientific character, is called ordinary consciousness and which is manifested in the day to day life of man, particularly in his actions outside of work, remains even more backward. This phenomenon is based on the relative backwardness of social psychology as against social ideology.

It is known that social consciousness in general remains relatively behind the material conditions of the development of society. But this general reality presents differences in its various component aspects and phenomena. Thus, the various political, moral, scientific and other views can, and in fact do, change more rapidly, while the ordinary mentality of daily life and especially the routines and habits of life, behaviour, etc., change slowly, their inertia is very great and is what is usually called the terrible force of habit. That is why it happens that among many people, who have progressed a great deal not only politically and in their stand towards work, but also in their general formation as members of socialist society, there are also those who, particularly in their daily life, in their behaviour after work, and especially in the family, in their stand towards their wives, children, etc., maintain backward and outdated attitudes which are alien to our socialist morality. And there is nothing paradoxical, in the fact that precisely in this field we also see the other side of the same coin, liberal attitudes towards alien influences in the way of life, indeed even imitations, at times disguised and at other times more open, of the ugliness of the bourgeois and revisionist way of life, which come above all through art, especially through foreign music, fashion, advertisement, and which are more apparent among young people.

The whole thing is that the unformed element, in which the principles and norms of socialist morality, way of life, education, behaviour and taste have not been implanted and consolidated as yet, inclines sometimes to one side and sometimes to the other. The whole matter is that precisely in these fields we are living through the period of a typical transition,

when the old traditions of life have not yet been completely uprooted and when the new traditions are in the course of formation, when a fierce struggle is taking place between them, when the socialist new is advancing, but the old does not easily yield its positions, and, at the same time, when the false, alien «new» penetrates. Day by day we see this process of ideological class struggle being waged on the scale of the entire society, in all its organisms and cells, and in particular within the family.

The process of the birth, formation and development of the new socialist culture warrants special analysis.

In this field the force of social inheritance has a special action. The new culture is not born in a vacuum. It inherits and absorbs all the best aspects of the culture of the past both national and world culture. But even this is done through struggle, through an ideological sifting out in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. The culture of the past epochs is not entirely homogenous. As Lenin said, in it we distinguish two cultures: that of the ruling classes generally with reactionary tendencies especially when these classes have given up their first progressive ideals and slogans, as the bourgeoisie have done, as well as the culture of the oppressed, with democratic and revolutionary tendencies. The working class and its party cannot take over everything from the culture of the past, but, rejecting what is reactionary, they take over what is valuable and useful to their cause. And they take it over not in a mechanical way, but with a critical attitude; moreover, developing the positive traditions of the past, enriching them with new content and ideas.

But the creation of the new socialist culture can never be reduced simply to the critical absorption of the cultural heritage of the past and the present-day cultural values. The main thing here is the new socialist content of this culture which finds suitable soil for mass development only in socialist society. This is precisely the new culture of this society which is distinguished, in principle, by its proletarian revolutionary essence, from every culture of past epochs.

Let us look at this process in the example of the development of literature and arts in Albania. It is known that they absorb, in a critical way the progressive heritage of the past, from the nation and the world, as well as the truly progressive values of the present-day world art. But they are a literature and art distinguished in the first place for their new socialist content, their profoundly popular spirit, which develop on the basis of the method and principles of socialist realism, new in principle as compared with the other artistic methods, including the progressive ones which are permeated by proletarian partisanship; and which embody the new revolutionary ideal and present it through the new revolutionary heroes.

The creation of this new socialist culture is a protracted and complicated process. The problem is that along with the essential qualitative changes, at the same time, indeed at a still more rapid rate, deep-going quantitative transformations must be realised, too, so that culture, from an instrument in the hands of the ruling classes, will be turned into the property of the working people. The more backward the country when it enters the course of socialist construction, the more difficult and complicated this process becomes. This has been clearly seen in Albania during the entire period of the realisation of our cultural revolution up till now. It is known that we inherited very little of educational and cultural development from the past. Thus, immediately after liberation the tasks of rapid quantitative transformations presented themselves forcefully, so as to eliminate illiteracy, extend schooling of various categories and stages, raise the educational and cultural level of the masses, create the new people's intelligentsia, and set up the necessary network of propaganda, cultural and artistic institutions. All these tasks were realised in unity with the efforts for the creation and consolidation of the new socialist content. Thus our cultural revolution was both quantitative and qualitative at the same time.

However, as comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 6th Congress of the Party, we have a broader concept of cul-

ture, of the means and ways of its realisation. We are guided by the principle that all social life is and must be culture. On this basis the task has been laid down that the cultural and propaganda means should penetrate on an extensive scale into all social institutions, be introduced further into families, be more available to the individual, especially in his spare time, when work is over.

A decisive factor to ensure victory, as everywhere, but particularly in the waging of the class struggle on the ideological and cultural front, is the ensuring and strengthening of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party in this struggle. It is known that, objectively, the socialist ideological and cultural revolution cannot be realised without a fierce conflict of views with the ideological opponents, without consistently maintaining a Marxist-Leninist stand, overcoming any one-sidedness and mistake, combatting any erroneous, any opportunist and sectarian, liberal or conservative attitude, waging a merciless struggle particularly against any consciously hostile activity, not only of the imperialists and revisionists, but also of the internal declassed hostile, anti-party element, etc. At the same time, a creative stand is required in grasping the complicated process of the development of this class struggle in the ideological and cultural fields, a stand which takes into account the changing circumstances, the emergence of new circumstances, etc. It is just such a consistent and creative stand which has always distinguished and continues to distinguish the Party of Labour of Albania. It has waged an heroic struggle in all fields of life, demonstrating a high level of class vigilance, particularly in the ideological field, nipping in the bud any enemy efforts for deviation in the ideological and cultural fields.

Today, as always, the Party of Labour of Albania stands at the head of the struggle for the ideological purity of our spiritual life, for its development on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the interests of the revolution, the interests of the working people, as well as of their sound national traditions. -

# FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY



## The first pigiron of Albanian brand

The metallurgical combine which is being built at Elbasan, is the biggest industrial project going up in Albania. This project, which is being constructed with the internationalist aid of the PR of China, will further strengthen and consolidate the economy of socialist Albania. Therefore, the builders are striving with might and main to complete it as soon as possible. A great deal of work has been carried out already at the combine. Some sections are completed or are well on the way to completion. On the eve of May Day, International Workers Day, the builders of the project, who have worked with revolutionary drive in honour of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Party, completed the pigiron-coke line which has been put into operation.

This was truly something to be celebrated for the builders of the combine and for the entire Albanian people because, with the bringing of this line into operation, the production of Albanian pigiron began for the first time in history.

On the day of the inauguration of the line, thousands of people, builders of the combine as well as other workers and peasants from the nearby cooperatives, had gathered in the square before the blast furnace. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mehmet Shehu, the member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Haki Toska and other personalities took part in the inauguration ceremony. Also present were the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PR of China to the PR of Albania, Liu Jen Hua, other embassy officials, as well as the Chinese specialists who are assisting in the construction of the combine.

The meeting organised for the inauguration of the project was addressed by the member of the Political Bureau and Minister of Industry and Mining, Pali Miska. He greeted and congratulated the builders on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, the Council of Ministers, and comrade Enver Hoxha personally.

«This day, which will remain unforgettable», he said among other things, «is a

day of joy not only for you who laid the foundations and are completing the important sections of this giant of our industry one after another, but also for the entire Albanian people, for our beloved Party, for our Chinese friends who have given and continue to give valuable assistance in the building of this great project... The joint work of the Albanian and Chinese workers and specialists — continued Pali Miska — is a major contribution to the strengthening of the great friendship which links our two parties, two countries, and two peoples, a friendship forged and steeled by our two leaders, comrade Enver Hoxha and Chairman Mao Tse-tung».

The head of the group of Chinese specialists Han Chin Chuang, also addressed the meeting. On behalf of all the Chinese specialists, he conveyed his warmest congratulations to the Albanian comrade-in-arms. He said that the building of the metallurgical combine is a great expression of the unbreakable Chinese — Albanian friendship, forged personally by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and comrade Enver Hoxha. In conclusion, Han Chin Chuang said that the Chinese specialists, guided by the teachings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, will work to complete the project as soon as possible. After Pali Miska cut the ribbon to inaugurate the pigiron-coke line, those present cheered the pouring of the first pigiron of Albanian brand.

The Party and State leaders, the local authorities of Elbasan, and the project managers then visited the various units of the combine.

Two days later, at the premises of the Central Committee, the first Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, comrade Enver Hoxha, received a group of Albanian and Chinese workers and specialists who are working on the construction and putting into operation of the metallurgical combine at Elbasan and held a very warm and cordial conversation with them.

Taking part in this meeting were the members of the Political Bureau and secretaries of the Central Committee of the Party, Haki Toska, Hekuran Isai,

# FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY



*Comrade Enver Hoxha in the midst of the delegation of the*

Hysni Kapo, Ramiz Alia, the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Minister of Industry and Mining Pali Miska, as well as the member of the Central Committee of the Party and Minister of Construction, Rrahman Hanku.

The eyes of the workers who entered the hall were shining with joy and pride. They were proud because they are carrying out with honour the task assigned to them for the construction of the combine. It was a moving and unforgettable moment when they handed a simple but symbolic gift to the beloved leader of the Party and the people — a sample of the first pigiron of Albanian

brand. Comrade Enver Hoxha shook hands with them and embraced them one by one.

«This is truly a joyful day for us who are meeting here today», said comrade Enver Hoxha to the workers and specialists who took part in the meeting. The inauguration of the pigiron-coke line of the metallurgical combine is a great political and economic victory which strengthens socialist Albania. This is the most important project being built by the working class of our country under the leadership of the Party and marks a decisive stage in the development of our industry; it is the project in which the material to feed our industry will be produced. On behalf of the Central Commit-



*Albanian and Chinese workers and specialists who are working in the construction of the Metallurgical Combine*

tee, I would like to warmly congratulate you Albanian and Chinese workers and specialists once again on this great victory. You, Albanian and Chinese comrades worked together like comrades-in-arms, you have worked together like brothers, and have created this great project which further strengthens the glorious and unbreakable friendship between the Albanian people and the Chinese people, between our two Marxist-Leninist parties and strengthens our love for the distinguished leader of the Communist Party of China and the beloved friend of our people, the great Marxist-Leninist, comrade Mao Tse-tung.

You, comrades, are bringing the Albanian people good news and great inspiration for May Day, the day of international solidarity of the workers. With this project we show the world proletariat what socialism is, what the dictatorship of the proletariat is, what true internationalism is, the brilliant results of the consistent waging of the class struggle at home and on the international arena.

Then comrade Enver Hoxha spoke of the great work and the many complicated experiments which had to be and were carried out for the construction of this project, in which the lofty revolutionary spirit and the ability of the Chinese and Albanian specialists have stood out in

bold relief. He pointed out that the PLA has consistently followed its correct Marxist-Leninist line and policy for the socialist industrialisation of the country. On this course, said he, our Party has encountered hostile activity on the part of the Soviet revisionists and their satellites in all fields, particularly concerning the processing of our iron-nickel ore. For a time they deceived us. Finally they arrived at the colonialist conclusion that a metallurgical complex could not be built in Albania on the basis of the local ore; but we must send it to Czechoslovakia, because the combine could be built there. And thus we would have to sell our ore at prices they would impose on us. I want

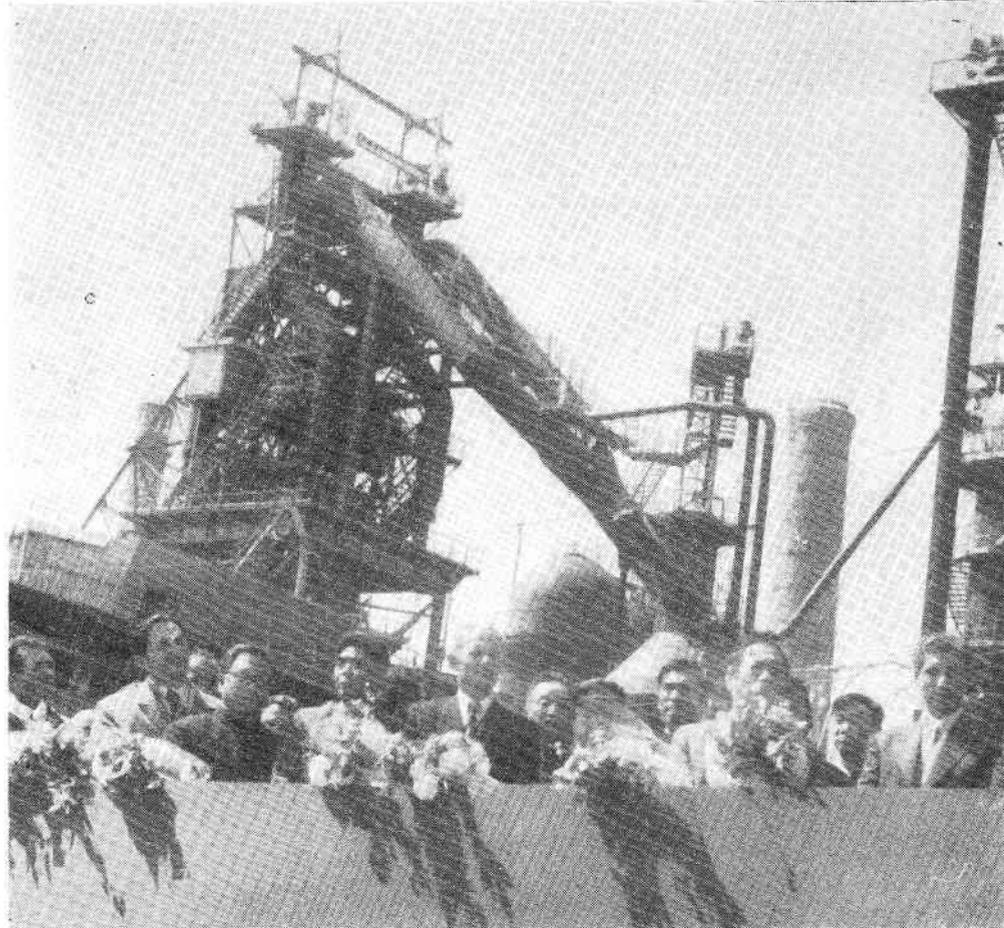
# FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY



to mention this, both for the Albanian comrades and for the Chinese comrades, in order to stress what savage enemies the Soviet revisionists and other modern revisionists have been and are. The great internationalist aid of the People's Repu-

of our enemies and they will go on doing it.

A Hungarian newspaper even wrote that allegedly the Chinese are no longer sending materials for the construction of the metallurgical combine at Elbasan and the project is being left half finished. All rea-



*A view of the Metallurgical Combine at Elbasan on the occasion and other Party*

public of China successfully solved this problem so important for our economy. We are grateful to the great Chinese people, the Communist Party of China, and comrade Mao Tse-tung.

Comrade Enver Hoxha made a high assessment of the great revolutionary Albanian-Chinese friendship. This friendship is based on Marxism-Leninism and will never die. Let the enemies spread their slander, continued comrade Enver Hoxha. For some time now a campaign has been whipped up in the capitalist-revisionist world that allegedly the friendly relations between China and Albania have cooled off. There is no baser calumny! But this does not surprise us, for this is the work

of our enemies and they will go on doing it. This is the doing of the enemies of our two countries, who are the savagest enemies of the revolution and socialism, of all the peoples, said comrade Enver Hoxha.

The internal enemies and traitors, too, are acting against the friendship between our two countries. Our Party has discovered, unmasked, and wiped out such enemies and revisionists, who have counterposed themselves to the line of the Party, who have sought to sabotage the construction of socialism, to erode at the foundations of our socialist homeland. They also wanted to ruin our friendship with our sister China, with the Communist Party of

Mao Tse-tung, and to link the country with the Soviet revisionists.

In China, too, a resolute class struggle is being carried out against the counter-revolutionary, capitulationist revisionist line of Teng Hsiao Ping, who demanded

wherever they are. One person, or a group of persons, can do some harm for a certain time, but they can never manage to damage our great friendship. Our Marxist-Leninist parties have always fought and worked and always will fight and

himself to the machine driver Maks Manushi. «Yes», he replied. «You have learned many things there. You must deepen those lessons-comrade Enver Hoxha instructed, — you must apply them properly. This precious jewel for our country, this



*of the inauguration of the pigiron-coke line. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers Mehmet Shehu and State leaders attended the inauguration ceremony*

the re-examination of the correct conclusions of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and aimed at overthrowing the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao. But the great Chinese people, led by the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, all rose to their feet and showed that, faced with the revolutionary force of Marxism-Leninism, these enemies are like bits of straw before a great typhoon. The enemies who work against socialism, against the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania, against our unbreakable friendship, cannot stand up to such a force, which is inspired by Marxism-Leninism, a force which crushes all the revisionist plotters

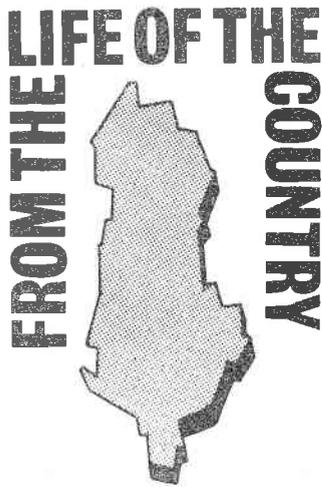
work for the further strengthening and steeling of our unbreakable friendship which is based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Now you have set to work even harder, said comrade Enver Hoxha turning to the Hero of Socialist Labour, Mehmet Bektashi, whom he had beside him. Naturally we must work and learn. The teachers of Marxism-Leninism instruct us that the more we learn the less we must say that we have learned. We must learn from the great experience we have gained, we must learn from the great experience of our Chinese comrades and brothers. Many comrades have gone to China. «Have you been?» comrade Enver Hoxha addressed

powerful metallurgy with a very great future, we must exploit to the maximum, with skill and mastery, with scientific discipline and organisation. And we must produce not only these kinds of metals and steels that have been decided, but we must extend their range. We must do this for the good of our homeland, the revolution and socialism, to increase the economic power and further strengthen the defence capacities of the country.

«We shall achieve all these things, comrade Enver», said the veteran fitter Maqo Polena. «We shall achieve them on time and with the proper quality, because we have the Party at the head, we have your teachings».

Then comrade Enver Hoxha proposed a



toast. Let us drink to your health, he said, and that of all the comrade workers, technicians, specialists and leading cadres, Chinese and Albanian, for this work you have carried out. At the same time, let us drink toast to our sister Marxist-Leninist parties, to our unbreakable friendship and to the health of our great comrade and respected friend, Mao Tse-tung.

«It is an exceptional joy that we have the honour to meet comrade Enver Hoxha, the great leader of the Albanian people and the most respected friend of the Chinese people», said Huang Ching Chuang, in charge of the group of Chinese specialists. «We shall never forget this very happy day. Our friendship is unbreakable because it is based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism».

The minutes passed quickly and comrade Enver Hoxha, surrounded by the Chinese and Albanian workers and specialists, continued to talk warmly. He spoke of the brilliant prospects of our country. Everything will work out well for us, he said, in industry, and in agriculture, in all fields, for we have an heroic working class, a revolutionary peasantry, a wonderful people who, with the Party at the head, are advancing with sure steps on the road of the complete construction of socialist society.

Comrade Enver Hoxha told the workers that in recent days the Party relieved of their functions the Minister of Agriculture and the Minister of Education and Culture, who have committed serious faults in the line of the Party and in the performance of their duties. And do you know whom the Central Committee appointed to these posts? As Minister of Agriculture, comrade Themie Thomai, a woman from the mud of the fields. At first she

was an ordinary worker, then a team-leader, then Chairman of the agricultural cooperative at Këmishtaj, an economist and an agronomist with higher schooling. Certainly the women cooperativists will feel great joy and be encouraged when they see that for the first time in the history of Albania, a comrade from among them has earned the right to manage such a vital sector for our country as the Ministry of Agriculture. Comrade Themie will be assisted powerfully by the Party and by all the cooperativists, so that our socialist agriculture will advance and develop further, in the way the Party thinks. In education, too, the Central Committee of the Party appointed as Minister a woman, comrade Tefta Cami, who also has come from the countryside. She graduated from the University, she has been ordinary teacher, a school principal, and then secretary of the Party committee. Two women comrades young in age but with mature minds and capable. This is a victory for the policy of the Party on the complete emancipation of women. The line of the Party is that everybody must carry out the duties he is charged with. Whoever does not work well must go to the base, and people, from the base who work and run things well the Party raises to leading posts.

Finally, upon leaving, comrade Enver Hoxha and the other Party and State leaders embraced the group of Chinese and Albanian workers and specialists.

— Is there anyone I have not met? Ah, yes! I have not met the people there, at the combine. When you go back, please, embrace them all on my behalf. I wish you successes and victories. Long live the Party!

## The great holiday of the workers

The working class of Albania held a magnificent celebration of May Day, the day of workers' international solidarity.

This is the 32nd year that this red-letter day, which has now become the holiday of the entire people, has been celebrated in freedom in socialist Albania. And year by year the Albanian people have come to this celebration with ever greater victories and ever greater determination to march boldly ahead under the

leadership of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, on the road of the revolution, on the difficult but glorious road of socialism and communism.

The holiday atmosphere had begun to build up several days earlier. The whole of Albania, decked out like a bride in her wedding finery with national and red flags, with large slogans and streamers, as well as with the portraits of the classical teachers of Marxism-Leninism, of comrade

Enver Hoxha and other Party and State leaders, was echoing the songs and dances.

On the 1st of May, traditional May Day parades were arranged in all the main cities of the country, at which the working people displayed with graphs, placards, and samples of products, the victories achieved in work and life. The May Day parade in Tirana, the capital city of socialist Albania, was majestic and exceptionally enthusiastic. The «Martyrs of the Nation» Boulevard where it took place was filled with people from early morning. Tens of thousands of people of all ages and occupations waited eagerly to file past the Party and State leaders and express to them their great love for the Party of Labour of Albania and comrade Enver Hoxha, their readiness to march constantly forward on the course they set.

Precisely at 10:00 a.m. the entire boulevard echoed to enthusiastic cheering and applause. The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania Enver Hoxha, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Haxhi Lleshi, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers Mehmet Shehu, as well as other Party and State leaders took their places on the tribune set up for the parade. On the tribune, too, was a delegation of the Ministry of Communications of the PR of China, headed by deputy Minister, Peng Teng Ching, as well as the foreign delegations that had come to take part in

the May Day celebrations in Albania. The heads and functionaries of the diplomatic representations accredited to the PR of Albania also attended the parade.

After the band played the national anthem, Hekuran Isai, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, greeted those present and the entire Albanian people on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Council of Ministers, and the Central Council of the Trade Unions.

«The achievements with which Albania comes to this May Day», said he among other things, «have made it an impregnable fortress of socialism. The heroic working class, the cooperativist peasantry, all the working people of our country, are marching today proudly, with the red banners of class battles, great victories, and the brilliant prospects which the new five-year plan opens, unfurled and held high. They are marching with enthusiasm, optimism, and their hearts full of joy over the draft of the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania which they themselves are drawing up and which is a monumental victory of the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Party. . .

«While the working people of Albania are celebrating May Day happy and joyful — he continued — the working people in capitalist and revisionist countries are being subjected to savage and inhuman op-

pression and exploitation. The capitalist and revisionist world is sinking more and more deeply in the political, economic and social crisis which is gnawing at its vitals and immeasurably increasing the suffering and poverty, the unemployment and misery of the masses. Everywhere in the world today the proletariat is firmly closing its ranks and has thrown itself into fierce class battles with its enemies. On the occasion of May Day we express our revolutionary solidarity with the workers and peoples of the whole world, we send them our revolutionary greetings and wish them victory in the struggle for freedom, independence, social progress, against imperialism, social imperialism and reaction.

«We send our most ardent revolutionary greetings and congratulations to the Chinese working class and the fraternal Chinese people, who under the leadership of the Communist Party of China with comrade Mao Tse-tung at the head, are successfully carrying forward the construction of socialism».

Then began, the march past of the working people, which continued more than one hour. Once again it demonstrated the steel-like unity of the people around the Party of Labour of Albania with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, their determination to always hold high the banners of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, their readiness to carry the cause of the revolution constantly forward.

## We commemorate the martyrs with respect

May 5 is a day marked by the Albanian people. On May 5, 1942 the Political Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Communist Youth and one of the leaders of the Communist Party of Albania, Hero of the People, Qemal Stafa, was killed in battle with the fascists and traitors. For many years, in memory of this event, May 5 has been celebrated in Albania as Martyrs' Day. Every year on May 5 the entire Albanian people old and young bow with respect to the memory of those who laid down their lives for the freedom, independence and prosperity of the homeland. On this occasion, numerous cultu-

ral and artistic activities are organised in all parts of the country, homage is paid at the graves of the martyrs and to their families.

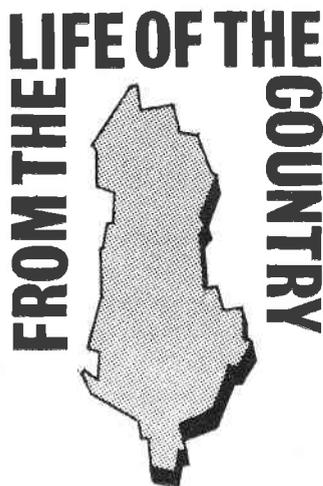
This year, too, the Albanian people commemorated the 28.000 who fell, with veneration and profound respect. Thousands upon thousands of people with wreaths and bouquets of fresh flowers in their hands went to the martyrs cemetery, to the busts and memorials that have been erected in their memory in all parts of the country, and visited the families and relatives of the martyrs.

In the capital city, tens of thousands of people paid homage and laid wreaths and

bouquets of fresh flowers on the graves of the martyrs. At 10:00 a.m. the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, comrade Enver Hoxha, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Haxhi Lleshi, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mehmet Shehu and other Party and State leaders also went there, to honour those who fell for the freedom, independence, and prosperity of the homeland.

After the band played the national anthem the Party and State leaders, together with many martyrs' parents, bowed with respect before the «Mother Albania» monument on which they placed wreaths and then filed past the graves of the martyrs with their fists raised in salute.

Later, the diplomatic corps accredited to the People's Republic of Albania, as well



as the trade union delegations which had come to Albania to take part in the May Day celebrations, paid homage and laid wreaths on the graves of the martyrs.

In the evening more than 30.000 people participated in the mass meeting devoted to May 5, Martyrs' Day, which was organised in the central square of Tirana, which bears the name of the National Hero, Gjergj Kastrioti-Scanderbeg. Present at the meeting were Party and State leaders and representatives of mass organisations.

The main address was delivered by the Chairman of the executive Committee of the District People's Council, Nesip Ibrahi-

mi. After this, the square echoed with songs dedicated to the martyrs and sung by a choir of 2500 people. At the same time torches were set ablaze in the square in memory of those fallen.

The many activities devoted to May 5, Martyrs' Day, served, this year too, to raise still higher the enthusiasm with which the people are working, to further strengthen the unity of the people round the Party of Labour of Albania, the organiser and leading force of all the victories of the Albanian people, which will celebrate the 35th anniversary of its foundation on November 8 this year.

## A living example of militant spirit, revolutionary optimism and socialist solidarity

On May 24 this year an extraordinary hail storm occurred in the Myzeqe basin, Central Albania, which gravely damaged the crops. In the Lushnja district alone, 11150 hectares sown to wheat and other crops were damaged, of which about 3000 hectares were totally destroyed.

A difficult situation was created, but in response to the call issued by the Party organisations all the working people of Lushnja immediately went into action, with revolutionary optimism and full confidence in victory. Volunteers from other regions: cooperativists, tractor and combine drivers, and servicemen went at once to their Lushnja brothers, and all together, under the leadership of the Party Committee, they set to work to eliminate the aftermath of the storm.

On June 3, only 10 days after the storm which caused all that damage, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, comrade Enver Hoxha, received a telegram from a meeting of the working people and cadres of the Lushnja district, which read in part:

«Dear Comrade Enver,

We gathered today and drew up the balance-sheet of the work of these days to overcome the difficulties created for us by the heavy hail storm in a number of the economies of our district, and it is with great joy that we inform you that the communists and working people of the Lushnja district, under the leadership of the Party organisation, have crowned the action for the liquidation of the hail dama-

ge with complete success and have restored the situation in agriculture every-where.

This achievement was made possible because old and young responded immediately to the call issued by the special plenum of the regional Party Committee to eliminate the consequences as quickly as possible and to triumph over this natural calamity.

The Party branches, like real fighting staffs, took over the direction of the whole work resulting in a brilliant manifestation of the complete confidence, revolutionary optimism, and socialist solidarity of all the working people of the region, features with which the Party and you, comrade Enver, have tempered our new man.

As always, in these special conditions which were created in our district, right from the first moments we felt the hand and special care of the Party, the Central Committee and you, comrade Enver. They gave us heart and strength, guided us and showed us the way to overcome the difficulties as quickly as possible.

Our entire socialist homeland stood beside us. Volunteer actionists from various regions and from our People's Army, poured into the Myzeqe plain and under the slogan «one for all and all for one», united their minds, hearts and strong hands with those of the working people of our district. Working together day and night, they made it possible, within one week of effective work, to complete the drainage of the whole damaged area of 11.100 hectares, the ploughing, discing and re-sowing of 3000 hectare with maize, cot-



*Comrade Enver Hoxha placing bouquets of fresh flowers on the graves of the martyrs*

**FROM THE**  
  
**TO THE COUNTRY**



*A view of the mass meeting*

ton, beans, sunflower, vegetables and fodder crops. At the same time the necessary attention was given to the partly damaged crops including dosing with supplementary fertiliser, cultivation, thinning and hoeing over the whole of the remaining area.

This was a great test for the Party organisation and all the working people of our district, who, elighted by the correct line of the Party, overcame this natural calamity and emerged victorious in this battle, too. This could be achieved only in our socialist order, where the people, led by our Marxist-Leninist Party are in power.

The great action for the elimination of the aftermath of hail became a real school for us, because the Party's teachings on how, young and old, we must rise quickly to our feet, how we must organise the

work and further increase our confidence in our own forces, and fight to overcome difficulties and achieve victories, were concretized.

Guided by the correct line of the Party, and basing ourselves on the readiness and revolutionary spirit of the working masses, as well as on the initiative of the cooperativists of Toshkēzi to overfulfill this year's production plan in bread grain and other agricultural crops, which was supported by all the unharmed cooperatives, we assure you, and the plenum of the regional Party Committee decided this, that irrespective of the damage caused, we shall realise the tasks of the 1976 plan in bread grain, cotton, etc., and will fight to overfulfill them.

We shall carry forward the mobilisation, revolutionary optimism and the confidence

# PUNES TE SHOQIPERISE



*which was held in the Central Square of the capital city on the occasion of Martyrs Day*

in our own forces, which this action raised even higher, in order to go to the glorious jubilee of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Party of Labour of Albania proud of our successes.

Long live the Party of Labour of Albania and its Central Committee with you, comrade Enver, at the head!»

Immediately after this, meetings of the Party activist were held in all the districts of the country, which discussed the damage caused by hail in the Lushnja and other districts, as well as the enthusiasm with which the working people of the Lushnja district fought to overcome the difficulties. Inspired by this, and responding to the Party's call to increase agricultural products, they pledged that, following the example of the working people of Lushnja, they will mobilise all their for-

ces to overfulfill the planned production targets for 1976.

In this way the great militant unity, the powerful socialist solidarity, the mass heroism, the strength and vitality of the socialist order, where everything is produced and built on behalf and interests of the working people, on behalf of the happiness of the people, and the prosperity, the further strengthening and tempering of our socialist homeland, were once more manifested in all their brilliance.

Third, through this name an element of the sound tradition and the worthy place occupied in the international arena by the «People's Republic of Albania», is preserved.

Of course, the name of the state does not change its content. This is the more obvious when, as is known, in a series of countries where revisionist cliques are in

power, the preservation of the term «People's Republic» or its substitution with «Socialist Republic» cannot conceal the reality, the fact that an antipopular and anti-socialist state power has been established in these countries, the dictatorship of the new bourgeois class of bureaucrats and technocrats, which has trampled under foot the victories of the revolution and has betrayed the interests of the working masses.

In our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which expresses and defends the interests of all the working people, under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, the name has been and will always be in conformity with its class character, with its historic mission. This character, this mission is very well expressed by the name the «People's Socialist Republic of Albania».

# PLUNDERERS OF THE PEOPLES OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The imperialist  
powers, and in the first  
place the US

imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists, are doing

their utmost to hinder the independent development  
of developing countries by forcibly implementing a savage policy  
of oppression and colonial exploitation against them

AS A RESULT OF THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION STRUGGLES, TODAY, THE OLD COLONIAL EMPIRES HAVE COLLAPSED AND MANY NEW STATES WHICH ARE SEEKING TO DEVELOP IN COMPLETE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE HAVE EMERGED IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA. WITH THEIR EFFORTS AND THE IMPORTANT MEASURES THEY HAVE TAKEN TO ELIMINATE THE BACKWARDNESS INHERITED FROM THE LONG COLONIAL RULE, TO STRENGTHEN THE UNITY AND COLLABORATION AMONG THEM, AND TO NATIONALIZE AND PLACE ALL THE NATURAL RICHES OF THE COUNTRY AT THE SERVICE OF THE RAPID AND INDEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR ECONOMIES. THESE STATES ARE PLAYING AN EVER MORE ACTIVE ROLE ON THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SCENE.

But the imperialist powers, in the first place the US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists, are doing their utmost to hinder the independent development of these countries by forcibly implementing a savage policy of oppression and colonial exploitation against them.

The pursuit of such a policy by the two superpowers stems from the aggressive nature of imperialism itself, from its insatiable thirst for maximum profits. As imperialist powers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union cannot live without economic expansion, without political interference and military aggression, without oppressing and exploiting other peoples. However, the ways and

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means used by the imperialist powers to oppress and exploit other peoples have not been, and are not always, the same. Thus, whereas in the past they used mainly the open and direct forms of colonial exploitation, today, when the struggles and efforts of the peoples for liberation and independent development have assumed great proportions, imperialism is compelled to find new disguised and indirect forms and methods to oppress and exploit the peoples of other countries.

An important role in this direction is played by finance capital, which, as Lenin pointed out, «constitutes such a great, indeed we might say decisive, force in all international economic relations, that it is capable of subjugating, and in fact subjugates, even the states that enjoy the

most complete political independence. «One of the main forms used by finance capital to oppress and exploit the peoples of other countries and to extract maximum profits from them is the granting of economic financial and technical-organisational «aid».

But what in fact is the «aid» which the US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists pretend to give the developing countries? The facts show that the various forms of imperialist «aid» are only links of the neo-colonialist chains, which are secured through the barbarous exploitation of the working class and peoples of the world by the imperialist powers and which hinder the independent economic and social development of the countries receiving the aid.

Thus, although the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are rich in resources of the most useful minerals, have large reserves of energy and fuels and possess abundant raw materials, manpower and other great possibilities for development, the level they have attained in the field of socio-economic development is exceptionally low. About 1 billion people from the population of these coun-

should be sought neither in the «lack of experience and qualified cadres» nor in the «rapid increase of the population» of these countries, as the bourgeois-revisionist ideologists preach, but in the «aid», in the all-out economic and political expansion of world imperialism, in the first place of the two superpowers, in these countries.

This «aid», as well as other forms and means of neocolonialist exploitation, serves the imperialist powers to impose on the developing countries such economic, political and military structures and agreements as will facilitate their penetration into these countries and the plunder of raw materials and natural riches, while leaving unchanged the backward economic situation and dependence on foreign countries. The neocolonialist plunder has meant also, that the rates of increase of the gross national production and national incomes in these countries are very low. Thus, whereas the average rate of increase of total national production of the developing countries was forecast to be 6 per cent per year in 1970-1973, in more than one third of these countries the rates of increase did not reach even 3 per cent while in more than half the developing countries, national income per head of population did not show any advance during this period.

Although the actual amount of financial «aid» for the developing countries is usually less than what is promised, the profits which the imperialist powers draw from this aid always exceed the forecasts. Speaking of this problem, the bourgeois press points out that the flow of financial resources from the developing countries to the industrialised capitalist countries now, exceeds the total amount of all forms of financial «aid» given to these countries. Thus, the US imperialists who claim that they are the main «helpers» of the developing countries, spend 0,3-0,4 per cent of their national incomes each year for this purpose but at the same time they plunder these countries of income three to four times greater than the amount given as «aid». In every 10 dollars income of the budget of the United States of America today, 1 dollar comes from the exploitation of the peoples of the developing countries.

The same thing is going on also with the Soviet social imperialists. Striving not to lag behind the U.S. imperialists, they have provided about 40 developing countries with various credits and loans amounting to several billion dollars, through which every year, in the form of

profits, interest, repayment instalments, etc., they extort sums several times larger than the annual «aid». Thus, for every rupee India receives as «aid» from the Soviet Union, it is compelled to repay about 16 rupees.

But the economic benefit of the financial «aid» to the imperialist powers is not confined to extracting just one high profit: In most instances the countries receiving the loans are compelled by the imperialist powers to buy various goods from their countries with the sums borrowed. Thus, as Lenin said, the imperialist powers strip, «two skins from the same sheep», first, the high interest payments on the loan provided, and, second, the difference in the price of the commodities sold, because the prices of industrial goods which are sold to the developing countries by the industrialised capitalist countries, are very high in comparison with the prices of the raw materials the developing countries sell.

Thus, while the prices of processed products and raw materials exported by the developing countries were down by about 56 per cent in April, 1975, in comparison with the previous year, the prices of industrial products which they purchased from the imperialist powers in 1974 were about 20 per cent higher than the previous year. From unequal trade with developing countries the United States of America secures a profit of 2 billion dollars every year.

The Soviet social imperialists also draw colossal profits from unequal trade with these countries. The prices of products they sell to developing countries are constantly rising. Thus, in order to buy a Soviet lorry the developing countries had to pay 2,2 tons of tea or 4 tons of rubber, in 1960, whereas today, to get this lorry, they have to pay 5,8 tons of tea or 10,1 tons of rubber.

The result of all this is that the share of the developing countries (excluding the main oil exporting countries) in world trade has fallen from 14,6 per cent in 1960 to 10,7 per cent in 1973.

As in the sale of arms (which is one of the developing countries (excluding the plunder used by Moscow and Washington), the two superpowers pursue a differentiated policy in the whole process of granting «aid». Thus, they provide aid only to those countries which pursue a policy which has their approval and only as long as this policy is implemented because in the opposite case the aid is held up or cut right off.

tries, suffer from hunger and over 800 million are illiterate, while the number of able bodied people who can find no jobs amounts to 200-250 million. According to some figures, the share of 100 developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America in the total industrial production of the capitalist world accounts for only 10.5 per cent, while industrial production per head of population in these countries is 20-40 times smaller than in the industrialised capitalist countries. Thus, the economic gap separating the developing capitalist countries from the industrialized countries has not only not been narrowed, but is growing ever more pronounced. Evidence of this is the fact that the developing countries, which represent about 70 per cent of the population of the world, dispose of less than 1/3 of world income, and what is worse, the estimates forecast for the year 1980 are that the average income per head of the population in the developing countries will be 12 times smaller than in the developed capitalist countries.

The causes of this gloomy situation which characterises the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America,

During the process of granting «aid» the imperialist powers try to arrange agreements with the «aid receiving» countries which compel the latter to develop those of their economies branches in the proportions that are in the interest of the aid-givers; for instance the branches of extracting industry, those of the production of raw materials, the branches of the sphere of services and the infrastructure, etc. Therefore, in the majority of cases, the economic structures of the developing countries conform less with the national interests of those countries than they do with the economic needs of the aid-giving countries. They have a one-sided and disproportional character because these countries are compelled to devote their whole attention and all the «aid» to one or a few branches which produce raw materials, while the other branches of the processing industry are developed very little or not at all. This has meant that the developing countries have remained on the «ground floor» of world industry, i.e. in the role of suppliers of raw materials to the industrialized capitalist countries in the international division of labour.

A serious hindrance to the creation and development by the developing countries of their national heavy and light processing industry has been the so-called technical «aid». Like the «financial» aid, technical «aid» also ensures favourable conditions to extend the degree of economic dependence and disproportion in these countries even further and to extract big profits for the aid-giving states. This is because the patents or technical equipment supplied to the developing countries in the context of technical «aid», are sold at very high prices and in most instances they are old or incomplete, i.e. incapable of ensuring the full cycle of the processing of raw materials locally, a thing which compels the developing countries to export their raw materials in the form of semi-finished or unfinished products. For example, the equipment for the oil processing plants which the USA sells to developing countries are incomplete and ensures only the primary or semi-processing of oil, whereas equipment for the intensive processing of oil is kept as a U.S. monopoly.

In the context of technical assistance, the imperialist powers often send «cadres» and «specialists» of various profiles to

the developing countries. But in most cases, they are spies and agents disguised as specialists who collect and send to their centres secret information about the establishment of ports, town and roads or about various mineral reserves, from developing countries, or they give information about and take measures to hinder any step in the economic and political activity of these countries which runs counter to the interests of the state that has sent them.

All kinds of imperialist aid do great damage to developing countries also because they continually increase the flight of an ever larger part of the national incomes from these countries to the aid-giving states.

The negative effect of the «aid» which the imperialist powers pretend to give the developing countries has been increased to an appreciable extent at the present time when the capitalist world, and in the first place the two superpowers, is bogged down in a grave and allround economic and financial crisis. To cope with the great burden of difficulties arising from this crisis, they are striving to saddle the working people of their own countries with it as well as to load it on to the shoulders of other peoples of the world, and particularly the peoples of developing countries, through economic and financial «aid». Thus, simply as a consequence of the first devaluation of the U.S. dollar in 1971, the developing countries lost more than 2 billion dollars.

But day by day the peoples of the developing countries are becoming more aware of the negative effect of the imperialist «aid» and the demagogic character of the bourgeois-revisionist propaganda in regard to it. Evidence of this is the continual intensification of their struggles and efforts to throw off these neocolonialist shackles which hinder their free and independent development once and for all.

The resolute stand of the peoples of the developing countries to oppose the policy of discrimination and pressure which the great powers implement in international economic relations, and to put their national resources under their complete sovereignty, by strengthening their unity, collaboration, and mutual assistance, in order to serve the rapid and independent development of each country according to the principle of self-reliance, plays an im-

portant role in this direction. Very significant in this direction is the unity and collaboration of the oil producing countries which, with the imposing of the oil embargo and the price policy they are implementing for this commodity, show that the developing countries have very powerful weapons in their hands to defend their rights, to assist, each other in the development of their national industries and to put an end to their dependence on and exploitation by foreign capital.

Albania could well be taken as an example for the peoples of the developing countries for their advance on the road of free and independent development, according to the principle of self-reliance. Within three decades Albania has managed to eliminate the great backwardness caused by the protracted colonial and semi-colonial rule of the past, and to create its own developed, independent, multibranch economy, with a complex extracting and processing, heavy and light industry, and with an advanced agriculture developed in an all-round way which ensures the increase of the economic potential and the defence capacity of the country and the continuous improvement of the material and cultural level of the broad masses of working people.

These victories are due, in the first place, to the correct line which the Party of Labour of Albania has always pursued, to the consistent implementation of the principle of self-reliance, and to the unity and total mobilisation of all the energies of the Albanian people for the rational exploitation of their natural resources by fighting unwaveringly against the blandishments and demagogic promises of «aid and collaboration», and the pressures, blackmail and blockades of the imperialists and social imperialists. This unwavering line, this consistent and principled policy, finds its complete consecration in the draft of the new Constitution which is now being discussed in the P.R., of Albania, and which states in a clear-cut way that «The granting of concessions to, and the creation of foreign economic and financial companies and other institutions, or ones formed jointly with bourgeois and revisionist capitalist monopolies and states, as well as obtaining credits from them, are prohibited in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania».

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## WHY DOES FEDERAL GERMANY REFUSE TO PAY WAR REPARATIONS?

*«ZËRI I POPULLIT», organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania*

Thirty-one years will be soon completed from the day of the victory of the peoples over fascism and the defeat of Hitlerite Germany, from the conclusion of the Second World War. But the Federal Republic of Germany, the successor to the western zones of occupation of Germany, has still not paid the reparations it owes the People's Republic of Albania. The Albanian Government has drawn attention to this and has demanded that Federal Germany should pay the reparations for the damage caused by the aggressive German armies as soon as possible, as well as the losses that have resulted from the failure to pay up at the proper time.

But those who are running present-day Germany, the Schmidts and Strausses, socialdemocrats and liberals, Christian-democrats and Christian-socialists, are striving to avoid the full responsibility which falls on them for the liquidation of the consequences of the crimes perpetrated by the German fascist armies against the Albanian people during the Second World War. Through manoeuvres, bluffs, and invented «juridical» pretexts, they pretend that they are allegedly prevented from paying reparations by the

clauses of the so-called London agreement. It may please the rulers of Federal Germany to have short memories and to grasp at justifications which have no foundation whatever either in practice or in international law. But, as a defeated state, responsible for unparalleled destruction and sufferings which they have inflicted on other peoples, they cannot escape their international obligations by such stunts.

The responsibility of Germany to pay for war damage was clearly and fairly defined in the Potsdam agreements. It is pointed out in them that Germany must be compelled to pay compensation for the damage and suffering it has caused various nations. The Paris Conference on the reparations for war damage, held in November-December 1945, in which Albania also participated, recognized our country's right to reparations. But Albania's demands for war reparations were not taken into consideration to the proper extent. Since that time we have forcefully expressed our firm and just objections to this flagrant injustice perpetrated by the imperialist great powers, as well as reserving our right to raise this problem again.

Albania's right to reparations is based on the fight, the bloodshed, the countless sufferings and sacrifices of the Albanian people against German fascism. Albania was one of the first victims to the fascist aggression and one of the fighters against the nazi-fascist armies from the very beginning up till the last moment of their defeat. In proportion to the size of its population and territory, the damage our country suffered in human lives and material and cultural values was heavier than that of many other states.

The London agreements, to which the Federal Government refers, have no legal force whatever over our country and do not deal with the reparations Germany is obliged to pay Albania. The Albanian people do not recognize agreements and decisions of the imperialist powers or any kind of agreement which is concluded without their participation, without their approval, and to their detriment. It must be pointed out that even the Bonn Government itself, which pretends that it is allegedly prohibited by the London agreement from paying the reparations, has acted in opposition to this agreement in practice. How and to whom it has paid reparations, we can and will

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tell with documents if need be.

Seeking to dodge their obligations, the rulers of Federal Germany are spreading rumours that allegedly the People's Republic of Albania is making major demands. They are major demands because major damage was suffered. Albania is always prepared to verify these demands and support them with argument. In the first place, the Bonn government must agree to pay the reparations and not invoke the London Agreement as an excuse for considering this issue as closed.

Albania will continue to the end to demand every one of its rights. We shall not cease our denunciation of the government of the Federal Republic of Germany over this action and its unjust and hostile attitude.

The obstinate stand of Federal Germany in refusing to pay the reparations it owes Albania, is not something divorced from the general political course it has pursued since its creation, from its efforts to transform itself again into a great power with world pretensions as in the time of the Kaiser and Hitler. It is an expression of the enmity it has for those countries and peoples who do not reconcile themselves to revanchism and fascism, who do not give up exposing the danger of the revival of German militarism.

German imperialism is not a ghost which belongs to the past. With the assistance, first of the United States, and then of the revisionist Soviet Union, the Prussian eagle has put on not

only feathers but also wings. Profiting from the rivalry of the superpowers each of which is striving to draw it on to its own side by making one concession after another, Federal Germany is now going along in history without signing the peace treaty, without implementing the Yalta and Potsdam decisions and in violation of them. Instead of implementing the measures of compulsion and restriction envisaged by the recognised international agreements towards Federal Germany as responsible for its past, the United States and the revisionist Soviet Union have sought and continue to seek not only to release it from any obligation, but also to rehabilitate it and give it a lustre as a peace-loving and progressive state. In acting like this, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists are acting consciously to weaken the revolutionary, antifascist, and democratic wing of the German people and to give the ruling circles of Bonn a «certificate of political good behaviour», and one encouraging their reactionary, revanchist and expansionist appetites.

It is a fact that now Federal Germany is ever more forcefully striving to impose its will on its West European allies, to weaken them and create serious difficulties for them, to emerge as the dominant power of the European Nine and openly claim the role of the leader in the European community and to incite the old dream of German fascism of «living space», of the

«return of Germany to its historical borders».

As to the People's Republic of Albania, it will continue, as up to date, to demand and struggle to make Federal Germany fully carry out its obligations as a defeated state and which emanate from the international agreements of the time of the war. It will struggle in particular to make the Federal Republic of Germany pay the reparations. If the Bonn government does not respond positively and refuses to pay the reparations, we shall not cease our denunciation of it for this unjust and hostile action.

In his speech of October 3, 1974, referring to the unjust and hostile attitudes of the government of Britain over the plundering of the gold and of the Bonn government over what it owes Albania as obligations for war reparations, comrade Enver Hoxha said: «Are they perhaps expecting us to bow low to these governments that have committed so many evils, so many injustice against us? Never! They are mistaken». We have respect for those Germans and democrats who want to break with and wipe out the past, but not for the fascists, not for those, the Schmidts or Strausses, who refuse to pay the reparations they owe Albania and which they ought to pay immediately. This is our undeniable and indefeasible right; and on this question the Albanian people have had and continue to have the support of all progressive world opinion.

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**THE EXPULSION OF THE FLEETS OF THE SUPERPOWERS  
FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN —  
AN IMPORTANT ACTION FOR THE STRENGTHENING  
OF INDEPENDENCE AND GENERAL SECURITY**

*„ZËRI I POPULLIT“*

The decision of Egypt to annul the Soviet-Egyptian Treaty and expel the ships of the naval fleet of the Soviet Union from its ports, is a bold act in defence of its national independence and state sovereignty.

This step of the Egyptian Government, which has been approved and hailed by all the revolutionaries and peoples of the world, represents a new and heavy blow at the expansionist policy of the Soviet social imperialists, another great exposure of the sham friendship of the Kremlin leaders towards the Arab peoples.

The Albanian people sincerely rejoice that the Egyptian people and Government saw and clearly understood the perfidy of the Soviet revisionist leadership and the danger of granting various facilities to its fleet. They welcome this just and wise decision of the Government of Egypt. Many years ago, in the time of President Nasser, our Government had expressed its opinion officially and in a friendly manner to the Egyptian Government concerning the dangers, which the granting of bases or port facilities to the naval fleet of the Soviet social imperialists posed to Egypt and the other sovereign countries of the Mediterranean.

There is no doubt that from their bitter experience the Egyp-

tian people and their leaders have drawn valuable lessons in regard to the resolute defence of the freedom and sovereignty of their country, and not allowing any kind of naval fleet of any superpower, which may present itself in the guise of an ally and friend to enter their ports.

It has now become clear that no country can base its hopes for the defence of the freedom and independence of its homeland on the United States of America and the Soviet Union, on their armies and naval fleets, and that any illusion in this direction is fraught with grave consequences, not only for its own freedom and independence, but also for that of others.

The expulsion of the Soviet fleet from the Egyptian ports must serve as a lesson and example to other countries of the Mediterranean also, so that the warships of the imperialist and social imperialist warmongers will find no place in their ports, under any pretext or in any form whatever. This will be in the interest of the country which puts an end to concessions, as well as in the interest of other countries, in the interest of the peoples who want to live in good neighbourliness with all peoples, and particularly with those of the Mediterranean.

The fleets of the superpowers take advantage of crisis situations and come allegedly to help, but they «forget» to leave. They come disguised as friends, but they very soon change into enemies of the peoples, into means to implement the old gun-boat policy, to exert blackmail and threaten all the countries that came within their sphere of action.

The People's Republic of Albania has openly and publicly expressed its view and attitude that the granting, on any conditions whatever, of port facilities to Soviet and U.S. warships which are prowling like wild beasts around the Mediterranean, is an extremely dangerous action.

In his speech of October 3, 1974 to his electorate, comrade Enver Hoxha made very clear the determined opposition of the Albanian people to the presence of the fleets of the superpowers in foreign ports. He declared: «We say to our neighbours: In our country there are, and will be, no foreign military bases, but we wish that they too would get rid of the foreign military bases in their countries. There is no valid pretext for the fleets of the two superpowers to be permitted even the right to anchor, to be repaired or supplied, let alone have permanent bases there. This is very

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dangerous, both for the country which grants these concessions and for its neighbours. We cannot agree to anyone granting such actions. We have declared our attitude towards the aggressive US and Soviet fleets in the Mediterranean, and we remain loyal and consistent to this policy».

This speech of comrade Enver Hoxha should be understood correctly by those countries which provide facilities for the fleets of the superpowers because nobody can deny the simple fact which anyone can see, that if for example, in some crisis the Soviet social imperialists, eventually decide to attack Albania by sea, it is easier for them to come and do this from the ports of the neighbouring countries than to set out from the Mediterranean and pass through the Ontranto channel. At the suitable moment selected by their staffs, the «peaceful», «friendly», and «unarmed» Soviet ships which are in these ports for repair or visits, can come out armed on the high seas and attack whoever they want. An attack by the fleet of the Soviet social imperialists might be lauded even against the very country which gives it shelter, maybe not when the ships are in the ports «unarmed», but when they come out from the ports fully armed.

Some might say that from the moment the warships of the superpowers leave the ports of the country that has received them, the government of that country bears no responsibility and washes its hands of what they do later. But its hands cannot

be so easily washed, therefore in an open and principled way, we denounce all those actions, by anyone at all and from whatever side they may come, which endanger the independence of our people, and the general security in the Balkans and the Mediterranean.

As to where the fleets of the superpowers head and what they intend to do when they sail from foreign ports this nobody can control, nor give any guarantee. The Yugoslavs, for example, as they themselves have admitted, were unable to control even their own ship which attacked the Albanian fishing vessel last December and killed its captain while it was within our territorial waters. They are now seeking to wash their hands on this question with various excuses. But this punishable act cannot be hushed up. A provocation occurred, a man was killed, blood was shed. The problem must be treated with the greatest seriousness and not by trying to concoct arguments to wash the hands.

Every state is sovereign and free to pursue its policy in the way it sees fit to defend the interests of its country. But it is impermissible and unacceptable that the defence of the interests of one country should be carried out in such a way as to affect and harm the interests of another country.

Much less can we allow various insinuations to be made about the just policy pursued by the Albanian Government, which is a principled and correct policy in defence of the interests of its own country and the

nearby countries, with whom we want to live in peace and good neighbourliness.

We are astonished by the fact that the Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, Minich, in a speech to the officers of the Belgrade garrison, accused our country of inciting tension, of allegedly not being for this and for that. We reject the groundless reasoning of the Yugoslav Foreign Minister. We do not wish to enter in polemics with him, nor with some other central and regional leaders who unjustly attack Albania. It is not Albania that pursues the policy of raising tension, the Albanians have not killed any Yugoslav ships captain in the waters of Yugoslavia. On the contrary, we have handed over to them, alive and well, the Yugoslavs who have violated our territorial waters in the lake of Shkodra and the Buna.

Certain leaders of the region of Kossovo are gravely mistaken when they try to denigrate Albania and its policy. They know very well that we have never interfered in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia and Kossovo. On the contrary, when we have been asked, we have helped the efforts of the people of Kossovo for the development of their education and culture sincerely and fraternally, to the limit of our possibilities. We have given, and are ready to give this assistance, which we consider as our important duty, whenever it is asked of us. Likewise, we stand for the maintenance of correct trade and cultural relations with the YFSR on the basis of mutual interests and advantage.

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Meanwhile, the Yugoslav Government is making no effort whatsoever to conclude the agreement on cultural collaboration which, through no fault of ours has been held up for long time.

The People's Republic of Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania have their own policy which is correct and consistent, because it is Marxist-Leninist and internationalist. Precisely due to this frank and principled policy, due to our wise stand, constructive and

never hostile to the peoples, our friends, wherever they are, honour and respect us; the international authority and prestige of Albania stand high and unshakeable. We have always defended the principle that all states and all parties are free to determine their own policy and stands themselves, and to act in the way that seems to them best and most reasonable, for their own good and in the interests of the freedom and security of all peoples. As far as Albania is concerned, it pursues a policy

which is not conditioned by the various temporary circumstances, a policy which responds to the interests of our country, but which also respects the freedom, independence and sovereignty of others.

We Albanians love and respect the peoples and our friends but it is our custom to speak out openly, without kid gloves, because sincerity is the most reliable and irreplaceable, weapon to strengthen true friendship and collaboration among peoples.



## THE MEN OF BOURGEOIS GOVERNMENTS ARE READY TO SELL ANYTHING FOR MONEY

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

New and more scandalous facts of the huge proportions of the bribes the CIA and various US monopoly companies have paid to government figures in Italy, West Germany, Japan and many other capitalist countries, are appearing in the press. The practice of paying bribes is quite usual in the degenerate life of capitalist countries. «The money we distribute is not for graft but purely as a gift», — declared one of the managers of the big American firm «Lockheed», which has paid millions of dollars in bribes to government figures in all parts of the world, before the Senate.

It is not any sort of person who receives the «gifts» from «Lockheed», but Cabinet Ministers and Prime Ministers, prin-

ces and high officials. In Italy, they mention the names of the former Defence Ministers and other high officials who ordered the purchase of «Hercules C 130» transport aircraft from the «Lockheed» company, although they were unsuitable.

In Japan, they mention names of high officials, and indeed former Prime Ministers, who suspended work on the construction of Japanese aircraft, causing thousands upon thousands of workers to be fired, and ordered the import of US aircraft. Likewise in West Germany, some years ago 917 «Starfighter» planes were ordered in exchange for a modest «gift» of 10 million dollars by «Lockheed», although they had so many defects that they were described

as «flying graves» (in 14 years 178 «Starfighter» planes have crashed in the GFR). And despite this, despite the indignation and continuous protests of the public, nothing stopped the buying of further supplies of these defective aircraft. It could not happen otherwise: The bribes which the Cabinet Ministers and officials had received from «Lockheed» were very fat indeed.

Government figures of these and many other capitalist countries have taken bribes, have closed down so many factories on their own countries, spent millions of dollars, taken out of the pockets of poor taxpayers to buy defective, frequently unnecessary or unsuitable American aircraft.

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The U.S. monopoly companies had full guarantee that, in exchange, for the bribes they paid they would secure profits several times higher. Thus, for instance, in South Africa «Lockheed» paid 9 million dollars; in Nigeria it paid 3,6 million dollars graft to secure a contract worth 45 million dollars; in Spain — 1,3 million dollars graft to sell «Hercules» planes, worth a sum of 20 billion dollars. And not only «Lockheed» «Gulf Oil», «Occidental Petroleum», «Teneco», «Northrop», «Grumman», «Aerospace», «United Brands», «Ashland Oil», «Exxon» and other companies have acted in the same way. For example, in order to sell Iran its «F-114» fighter planes, the Grumman company handed out bribes amounting to 28 million dollars. Likewise, in Italy alone, there is talk of 9 large US companies which have paid out millions of dollars in graft to sell

their commodity to the detriment of the national commodity. Heading the list are the «Exxon» and «Esso» companies, followed by «Lockheed» and «Mobil» with more than 2 million dollars each paid out in graft, «United Brands», «Mcdonald - «Douglas», «Boeing», «Northrop», «Teneco Inc», and many others. The notorious American CIA does not lag a single step behind these corporations in paying out bribes to buy government figures, military men, journalists and whole newspapers. The fact has now become known that in the last 30 years the American CIA has handed out over 50 billion lira as graft to various Italian political formations and personalities.

Paying bribes, buying or compromising the men of government and officials of other countries, even of those described as «allies», is one of the forms of the unscrupulous in-

terference and blackmail which U.S. imperialism exerts over the others. Sometimes through open aggression and at other times through the notorious CIA or its companies, U.S. imperialism, in rivalry with Soviet social imperialism, is seeking to plunder everywhere, to play the role of international gendarme, to dictate to the others its will as a ruler. This brutal interference in the affairs of other countries is, in the final analysis, a component part of the policy which the two superpowers and their allies are pursuing, a policy in which, as comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, degeneration, falsity and deception reign. The monstrous proportions of the corruption also show that the men of government everywhere in capitalist countries serve and warship money alone, they are ready to sell anything, their honour, their dignity and their nation for money, for graft.

## THE SOVIET BOURGEOISIE ENSURES HIGH INCOMES FROM OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

*«PUNA», organ of the Central Council of the ATU*

Analysis of the present-day Soviet capitalist reality, and in particular of the revisionist policy in the field of incomes and consumption, brings to the fore the ever more rapid class polarisation which is occurring in the Soviet Union, that widening of the insurmountable gulf between the revisionist bourgeoisie

on the one hand, — and the working class and the broad working masses on the other hand. The main course which the Soviet revisionists follow to increase their incomes is that of increasing the salaries of the leading cadres, functionaries of the revisionist party and state administration, the caste of ge-

nerals and senior officers, specialists, writers and artists, etc., in a word, the bourgeois of the new type. And this policy of class differentiation has led to a situation such that the revisionist cadres receive salaries tens of times higher than the workers pay. The primary difference is in pay. As a rule, for

## press review

example, in the revisionist enterprises the manager receives a sum in monthly pay which is ten times larger than that of the most highly qualified worker of the enterprise. This difference becomes even greater for the cadres in the highest posts of the revisionist administration. Concretely, the pay of the manager of the electric bulb plant in Moscow is 1.000 rubles per month, at a time when the pay of the worker is about 60-70 rubles. But their salary is not the only source from which the new revisionist bourgeois accumulate wealth in their hands. The aim of the various revisionist reforms that have been implemented in the Soviet Union has been to create as many and as broad as possible roads of enrichment for the revisionist leaders. Thus, for instance, on the basis of the revisionist rules the pay of the worker in this or that enterprise and plant is not set by government ordinances, but is left at the discretion of the managers, who, irrespective of the work the worker does, pay out whatever they like. It is obvious that the "savings" from the workers' wages funds go into the pockets of the managers who also decide, themselves, on the distribution of bonuses. One way used by the revisionist managers to increase their share of the income is the continual reduction of the number of the workers, or the increase of unemployment, while keeping up the same quantity of production or increasing it, with a smaller

number of workers. The savings in wages made in such a way also go to increase the bonuses of the managers and other revisionist leaders. And the profits and various material incentives which are distributed after the realisation of the sale of the product are divided in an arbitrary way by the managers themselves, who always take the larger share. This is one of the favourite ways by which the new Soviet bourgeois increase their incomes, and it is so widespread that the Soviet revisionist press itself is obliged to admit it. Thus, according to the revisionist review "Economic Affairs", studies carried out in more than 700 industrial enterprises show that the workers, who comprise 80-90 per cent of the working people of the enterprise, receive only 18 per cent of the total sum of bonuses, while the manager, the chiefs, and specialists, take 82 per cent of the bonuses. In many enterprises and factories the appetite of the new revisionist bourgeois for increased gains is ever greater, and in them the workers receive only 0,3-0,8 per cent of the total sum of bonuses. Thus, in reality, the incomes of the managers and other cadres of the Soviet revisionist administration are over 100 times larger than those of the qualified workers. The thirst of the Soviet bourgeoisie for profits is constantly increasing and this has greatly increased the oppression and exploitation of the working class which is being squeezed harder and harder, to

extract the maximum surplus value.

In an even more difficult situation are the peasants, whose incomes are only half those of the workers in the towns. In the countryside, too, the difference of the pay between the ordinary peasants and the managers of collective farms is 20-30 times. Apart from this, the managers of collective farms like the managers of the revisionist enterprises, increase their incomes by grabbing the larger part of the bonus fund. The policy of the Soviet revisionist leadership is that of deepening the difference between the countryside and the town. This is clearly apparent also in the ever increasing prices of industrial and chemical products intended for agricultural production. According to the admissions of the revisionist press itself, in the period 1965-1973 the rise of costs in the collective and state farms of the USSR was 44 per cent higher than the increase of agricultural production. Naturally, all these things have grave consequences for the living conditions of the ordinary peasants, who have nothing apart from their two hands. Thus, about 30 per cent of the total peasant population cannot attain even the minimum acceptable standard of living.

Not satisfied with this, however, the Soviet revisionist bourgeoisie also rob the working class and the cooperativist peasantry through a whole system of taxes which increase from year to year.

## press review

## EMIGRANT WORKERS — VICTIMS TO THE ORDER

## «BASHKIMI»

The emigrant workers have spread throughout the capitalist world, particularly on the European continent. The number of them today exceed 15 million. These millions, who leave Italy, Spain, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Greece, Puerto Rico, etc., go with the hope that they will put an end to their troubles and find wellbeing, but they suffer great disillusionment. In the countries to which they emigrate the difficulties are even greater. They are compelled to work under very heavy conditions and for very little pay, even to endanger their lives just to get a job.

You find a good part of the emigrant workers cleaning the streets in Paris, working in the mines of Belgium, driving the tunnels for the underground railways in Munich and Rotterdam. In almost all the cities of West Germany the collection of garbage is considered an occupation mainly for foreign workers.

The emigrants also have exceptionally bad living conditions. They are compelled to live in shacks outside the city. And despite the lack of water, light and any household equipment in their hovels, they are compelled to pay the capitalists very high monthly house rents, which take a large part of their income. The situation of these «20th century slaves» has become still worse as a result of the general crisis that has gripped the capitalist world and which the bourgeoisie is seeking to

shift onto the backs of the broad working masses. Price rises, numerous lay-offs are felt everywhere. And first of all this wave hits, the migrant workers, who are the most defenceless masses from the legal viewpoint and with fewer rights. After having exploited them for years on end and squeezed them, the bourgeoisie of the countries where they are is throwing the migrant workers out in the road to face unemployment.

The «slave» traders of the 20th century are making large profits from this trade, and the profits are economic and political. By sending their citizens abroad to work, the exporting governments lighten the heavy burden of mass unemployment locally.

For the importing country, this trade with these «20th century slaves» is one of the most profitable, because the price of their labour power is very cheap. Being in a very bad economic situation, they agree to work anywhere, on the heaviest work and with very low pay simply to ensure a job. Apart from the barbarous exploitation of the migrants, the capitalists also use economic emigration as a means of pressure on the local working class. To divert the attention of the unemployed workers from the real cause of their unemployment, the capitalist owners try to convince the workers of their countries that foreign workers have taken their jobs, thus, arousing hatred

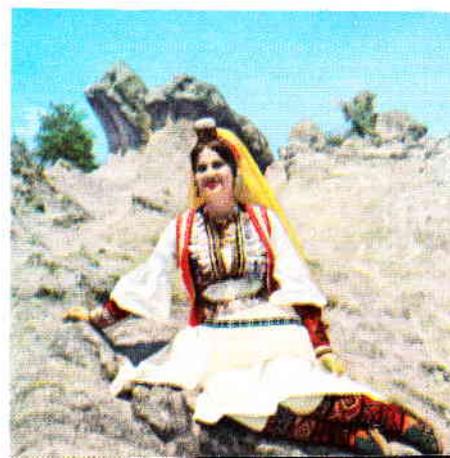
between them and the local workers. These then are the economic and political profits that make the bourgeoisie encourage emigration.

The phenomenon of emigration is observed in the revisionist countries, too. Tens of thousands of Bulgarian, East German and other workers and specialists, the majority of them young, are obliged to emigrate to the Soviet Union, encouraged by the bourgeoisie of their own countries, in the hope that they can earn something after working to exhaustion in the interests of the Soviet bourgeoisie. More than 40,000 Bulgarian workers are cutting timber in the forests of Siberia, or working in various Soviet factories. Thousands of German, Czechoslovak, and other workers, are working on the construction of the gas pipeline for the export of Soviet gas to the countries of Western Europe. The emigrants from Bulgaria, East Germany, and other countries also do the heaviest and most difficult jobs which Soviet workers refuse to do, and they are exploited to the maximum by the Soviet bourgeois owners.

In the face of such a difficult situation, the migrant workers have raised their voice and have hurled themselves into struggle against the savage capitalist exploitation and the exceptionally difficult situation in which they find themselves. Their struggle has found the allround support of the local workers.



*The Party of Labour of Albania and comrade Enver Hoxha personally take great care for the preservation and strengthening of the good traditions of the people. They take great care particularly of folklore and national costumes. In the photo: Some of the most characteristic national costumes of the country.*



# Albania today



*The children are the best flowers in socialist Albania. Special care is taken of them by all; therefore they grow up healthy and gay, full of goes and sure of the happy future. In the picture: Fresh bouquet for June 1-st, Children's International Day.*