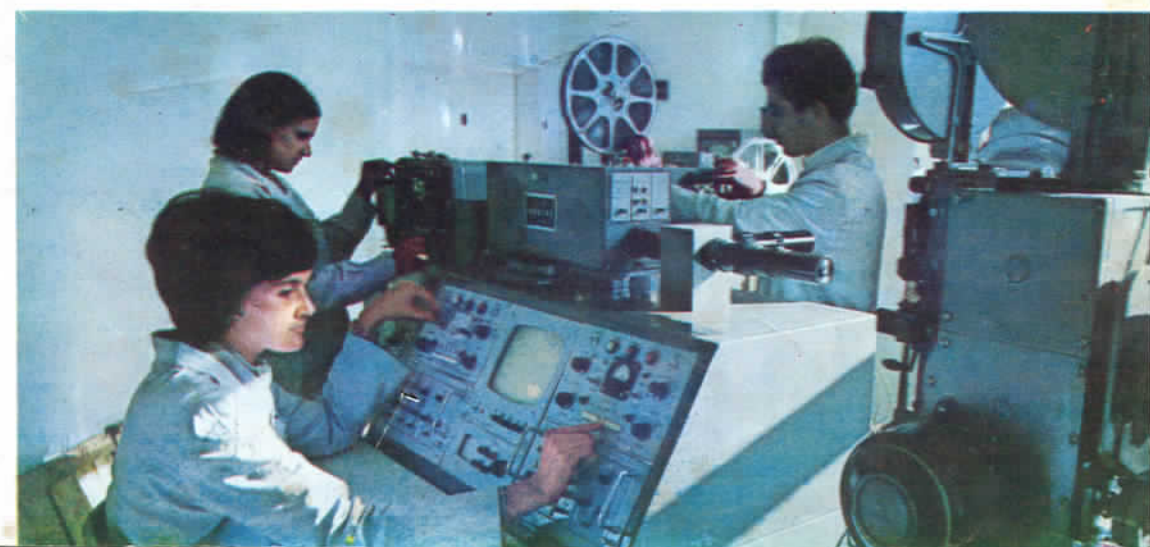
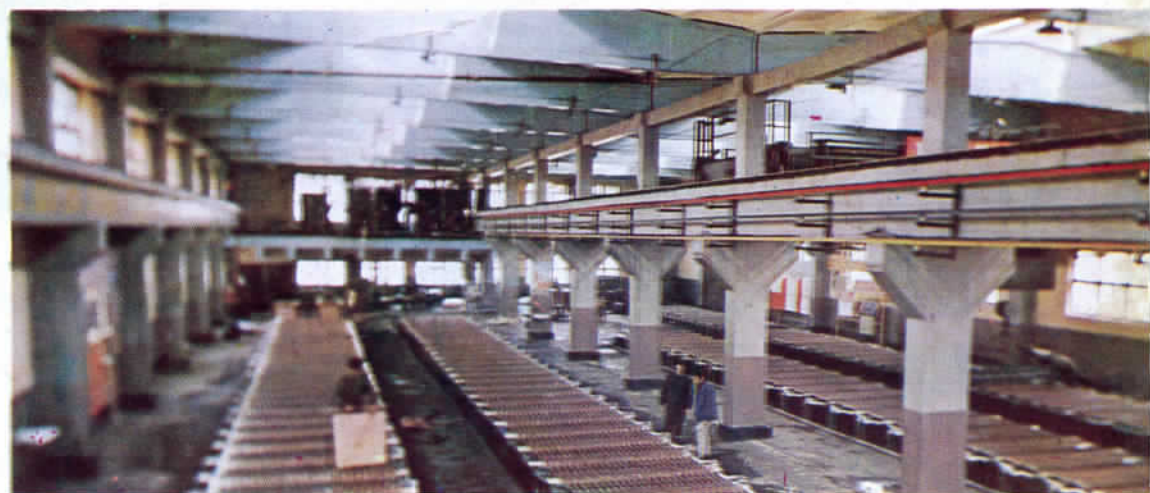
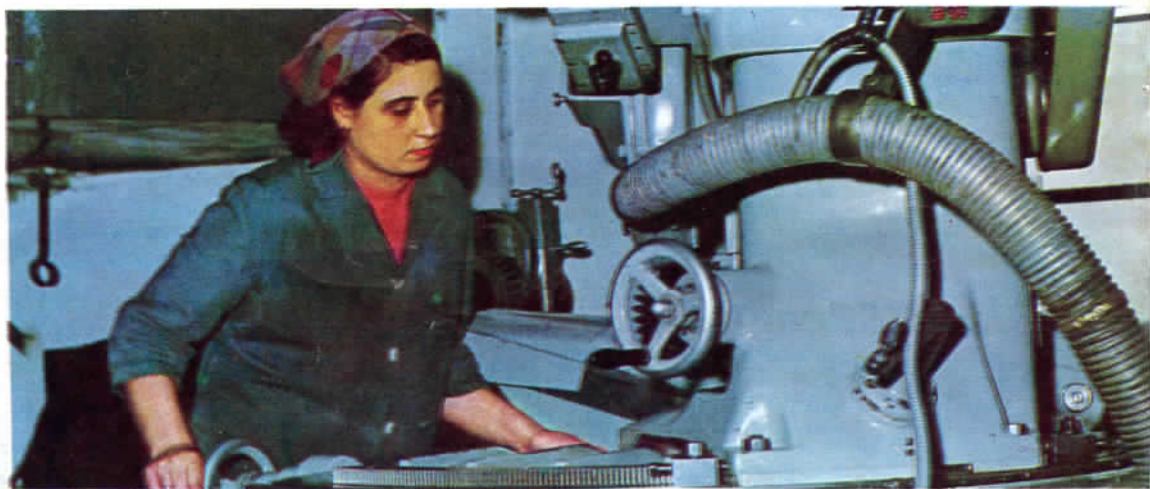


Albania today

IN THE VAN OF THE REVOLUTION AND SOCIALISM ■ DYNAMIC ECONOMY IN FULL BLOOM ■ PROBLEMS OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE ALBANIAN COUNTRYSIDE ■ A COUNTRY FREE OF TAXES AND DUES ■ REVOLUTIONIZATION OF THE ALBANIAN SCHOOL ■ INSTIGATORS AND APOLOGETISTS OF AGGRESSION ■ SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT THE PRESENT ECONOMIC CRISIS OF CAPITALISM AND ABOUT "THE UNITED EUROPE" ■



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A happy generation. Children of the Nr. 33 kindergarten in Tirana.

Photos on the front cover:

A snapshot of work at the Tractor Plant in Tirana.

In the conveyer of the Copper Works at Rubik: production of blister copper.

In one of the new studios of the Albanian Radio Television in Tirana.

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The Vanguard And Soci

SOME LESSONS FROM THE 30-YEARS EXPERIENCE OF THE POLICY AND REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY OF THE P.L.A.

The 30-year course of the Party of Labour of Albania is a real treasury of revolutionary experience. It is the experience of a working class party which has pursued a correct Marxist-Leninist line during its whole history and has secured victories of capital importance for the Albanian people in all the stages of the revolution which it has led. From this experience there are many lessons demonstrating the scientific character of Marxism-Leninism, its incalculable power for movement and transformation when it is faithfully and creatively applied.

The working out of a correct line by the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class is a difficult and complicated task, requiring wisdom and revolutionary determination. No less difficult, and complicated, in fact even more so, is the implementation of the political line of the party, implementation which must overcome countless obstacles, dangers, and complicated situations, which inevitably arise along the road of the revolution.

GREAT IMPORTANCE OF ACCUMULATING AND SUMMING UP ITS OWN REVOLUTIONARY EXPERIENCE IN WORKING OUT ITS POLITICAL LINE

Ndreçi Plasari: Member of the CC of the PLA, professor, historian, author of studies and monographs about the history of the PLA and National liberation War of the Albanian people. -

The Party of Labour of Albania has not worked out its complete political line, and programme, for one or other stage of the revolution, all at once. At the beginning it has laid the foundations of its general line, first of all, clearly defining

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By **NDREÇI PLASARI**

its strategic aim, then it has enriched and completed this line in the course of the revolution.

When the Party was founded, it laid the basis of its political line for the period of the National Liberation War. The First Conference of the Albanian Communist Party, held in March 1943, summed up the revolutionary experience accumulated during the 15 months of its existence, and, on this basis, worked out the general line more deeply and extensively giving the Party a more or less complete program. However, this program was still incomplete. It was completed later on, always through the summing up of the experience which was being accumulated in the revolutionary practice of the struggle to carry out the strategic and tactical tasks defined earlier.

The foundations of the political line for the stage of the construction of the basis of socialism were laid at the 5th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Albanian Communist Party, in February 1946. The First Congress of the A.C.P., held in November 1948, summed up the experience accumulated during the early post-liberation years and provided the Party with a scientific program for the construction of this basis. This program was further enriched and deepened at the 2nd and 3rd Congresses of the Party.

The foundations of the political line for the new stage of the complete construction of socialist society were laid at the 4th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania. The 5th Congress of the Party supplemented this line considerably and made clearer the strategic and tactical tasks of the Party at the

present stage. The 6th Congress further enriched and deepened the program for the complete construction of socialism in Albania.

Thus, when we speak of the political line, of the program of our Party at a given stage of the revolution, we do not find it in one single document, report, decision, or resolution of a Congress, Conference or plenum of the CC of the Party, but in many documents and materials of the leading organs, in various works by comrade Enver Hoxha. These documents and works contain a summing up of the experience accumulated in the tide of the revolution and socialist construction, and, on this basis, the program has been enriched, deepened and extended.

Why has the PLA not worked out a complete and comprehensive program for an historical stage of the revolution right at the beginning of that stage? The sole reason is that at the outset it lacked sufficient of the necessary experience of revolutionary leadership. This experience is gained mainly in practical revolutionary activity. Neither Marxism-Leninism, nor the experience of a fraternal Party can ever give the working class party of this or that country a political line ready-made and complete. Besides the Marxist-Leninist theory which illuminates the road and besides the experience of the fraternal parties which helps, for the revolutionary Party of the working class its own revolutionary experience is absolutely necessary in working out its political line.

The application of such a principle and practice has meant that the political line of the PLA has always been a dynamic for-

ce, that it has never been a program of petrified dogma, but a living creative program always up with the time.

At the same time this has helped the party to test the correctness of its line in the current of revolutionary practice and to free it of its mistakes and shortcomings.

While giving first importance to its own revolutionary experience in working out its political line, the PLA has also profited from the experience of the fraternal parties, of the entire international communist movement. In particular it has gained a great deal from the experience of the Bolshevik Party. Today it benefits especially from the revolutionary experience of the Communist Party of China. In relation to this question, comrade Enver Hoxha says: «Our Party based itself on the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, on the valuable experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, but it could not copy and apply it mechanically.» The PLA has adapted the revolutionary experience of the fraternal parties to the historic, economic, and social conditions of our country. Any mechanical copying of the revolutionary experience of another party or country, yields nothing but a bad parody with irreparable consequences for the working class Party that permits such a mistake. There have been some manifestations of mechanical copying of the experience of other parties in the Party of Labour of Albania. This happened in the years 1945-1947, when the Yugoslav revisionists, aiming to turn our Party into an appendage of their own Party, and our country into a Yugoslav province, tried to impose their anti-Marxist political line, methods, and forms. There have been isolated instances, also, of taking elements and forms from the experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, without carefully studying them and without adapting them to our specific conditions. But these instances have not radically affected the political line of the party, which has been built up, in general, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and of our revolutionary experience. Besides this any forms and methods borrowed from abroad, or alien to Marxism-Leninism, have been discarded by the PLA when life has proved them unsuitable to our national reality and replaced with revolutionary forms and methods that have responded to our conditions.

ON THE FUNDAMENTAL SOCIAL CONTRADICTION AT A GIVEN STAGE OF THE REVOLUTION

Human society in general, consequently the society in a given country, is full of contradictions which necessarily have a class character when it is a question of class society. The existence of oppositions in the bosom of society determines that there must be struggle between them. Without this struggle there can be no solution of them, that is, there can be no onward development. The contradictions in society are not all of equal importance. There are some which, at a given moment, are converted into obstacles that hinder the whole development of society. An obstacle of this nature cannot be destroyed other than by means of the revolution which brings about radical upheavals in the life of the society.

It is not easy to define the fundamental contradiction, in other words, the Nr. 1 obstacle which must be overcome in the respective country or at a given stage of the revolution, in order to ensure the normal development of society, its transition from capitalism to communism. Social contradictions present themselves in extremely complicated forms, bearing in mind that different countries are not of the same degree of development and that the internal contradictions are entangled with the external contradictions.

To know now to determine the fundamental contradiction correctly, (that contradiction which demands solution before the others, or on the solution of which the solution of the other contradictions depends) is the prime indispensable condition for the working class party to build a correct political line.

In our country, as is known, the revolution has passed through three historic stages.

In the first stage, that is during the National-Liberation War our Party seized on the contradiction between the people and the occupationists, as the fundamental contradiction. Under the circumstances of the occupation, the internal contradiction between the popular masses and the local exploiting classes took second place. «However ... for reaction and its traitorous organisations» - says comrade Enver Hoxha - «- the internal contradictions with the Communist Party and with the National Liberation Front was the main contradiction..... Our Party.... strove and did everything in its power to prevent the transformation of the contradictions with the Balli and Legaliteti into principal antagonistic contradictions... But all the many efforts of the Party and the Front were sabotaged by reaction» (Report on the Role and Tasks of the Democratic Front, September 16, 1967). The «Balli» and «Legaliteti» opened up armed struggle against the Party and the Front, making common cause with the German nazis. Even in such a situation the Party did not lose its bearings. It was compelled to respond, also with arms, to the traitorous organisations, representatives of the reactionary bourgeoisie and the big landowners and, in the end, annihilated them. However it considered this struggle against «Balli» and «Legaliteti» as a condition of the fight against the occupationists, because the smashing of reaction was an indispensable condition for successfully fighting the Hitlerite enslavers who always remained the principal enemy. Under the concrete circumstances of that time, the Party also solved the contradiction between the popular masses and the exploiting classes in the domain of political power, by smashing the political domination of these classes, but such a solution could not even be thought of in those conditions, without solving the fundamental contradiction between the people and the occupationists, that is, without driving the latter from the country and without gaining complete independence.

At the stage of the building of the basis of socialism, the PLA brought to the forefront the contradiction between the new socialist relations and the old feudal-capitalist relations of production, destroying the economic base of the big landowners and the bourgeoisie and building the economic base of socialism in town and countryside. It did not neglect the struggle for the solution of a series of other contradictions in the domains of political power, of productive forces, and ideology and culture, but it always made this struggle se-

condary to the solution of the fundamental contradiction which was a precondition which would open the way to the final solution of the other contradictions, and thus ensure the development of society towards complete socialism.

At the present stage of the complete construction of socialist society, the Party regards the fundamental contradictions as that between socialist ideology and bourgeois ideology, because in the solution of this contradiction it sees the complete victory of the socialist revolution in our country. This does not mean that the solution of other contradictions existing in the economic field, both in the relations of production as well as in the development of the productive forces, in the political, cultural and other fields is neglected, but it has closely linked the solution of these contradictions with the solution of the fundamental contradiction.

The determination of the fundamental contradiction in one or other country, at one or other stage of the revolution, is not done by guess-work, but on the basis of actual objective conditions, on the basis of the main class antagonism on the solution of which it is necessary to concentrate the class struggle first of all. The main class antagonism in the first stage of the revolution stood between the people and the occupationists, in the second stage – between the economic base of socialism and the feudal-capitalist economic base, in the present stage – between socialist ideology and bourgeois ideology. In the present stage, the antagonistic contradictions within the country remain mainly in the field of ideology. Therefore, the 5th Congress of the Party drew the conclusion that the class struggle «today is first of all an ideological struggle, a struggle for the minds and hearts of men, a struggle against bourgeois and revisionist influences, against alien hangovers and manifestations... It is the struggle for the triumph of our communist ideology and morality (Enver Hoxha, Report on the Activity of the CC of the PLA, November 1966).

The discovery and grasping of the fundamental social contradiction is of great practical importance to the working class Party in its efforts to honorably perform its mission as the vanguard of the class, of leading the revolution. It gives the Party the possibility of correctly determining its strategic aim, its programmatic tasks, at this or that historic stage, the principal enemy against whom the decisive blow must be directed, the allies of the working class the political social motive forces of the revolution.

STRATEGIC TASKS AND THE ORGANIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THEM

In every stage of the revolution, the PLA has solved several essential tasks of strategic importance for the achievement of its main objective.

Such tasks are:

In the first stage, the political union of the people around the Party, the arming of the masses and the creation of the people's army, the driving out of the occupationists, the destruction of the old state apparatus and the establishment of the new state power of the people's democracy;

In the second stage, the strengthening of the state power of people's democracy as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the consolidation of the political and economic unity of the people, the elimination of the feudal and capitalist economic base, the building of the economic base of socialism in town and countryside, the laying of the material technical base of socialism.

In the present stage, the strengthening and perfecting of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the consolidation of the political, economic, and ideological unity of the working people around the Party, the perfecting of the socialist relations of production, the full construction of the material-technical base of socialism, the eradication of the feudo-bourgeois ideology and the consolidation of socialist ideology, of communist morality.

As there is no single strategic task for each stage but several such tasks, the question might arise as to which is the most important. Sometimes it can happen that this question is answered incorrectly that one or the other strategic task is defined as more important while the others, as of second rate importance.

In reality all the strategic tasks of the Party at a given stage of the revolution are equally important in the sense that if even one of them is not carried out, this is enough to prevent the fulfilment of the strategic aim.

Let us take the present stage of the revolution. In this stage the PLA has set itself the strategic aim of the complete construction of socialist society. This aim could not be achieved if the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country were to degenerate into a bourgeois-revisionist regime, and it had not been strengthened and perfected through the struggle against bureaucracy, through drawing the working masses into running the country. Likewise, the aim could not be achieved if the economic base had not been strengthened through the deepening and perfecting of the socialist relations of production or if the material technical base of socialism were not fully constructed. In the same way the aim could not be attained if bourgeois ideology were to flourish and the communist morality not become implanted in the consciousness of the people, or if the unity of the workers, cooperative peasants and intelligentsia around the Party were to be split and weakened.

But one thing must be explained here. Although each of the strategic tasks is equally important this does not hinder the working class Party, at a given stage from bringing to the fore one of its strategic tasks, taking this as a main link on which the whole chain depends, to ensure the accomplishment of all the tasks, both strategic and tactical. Thus, in the stage of the national liberation war the PLA brought to the forefront the political unity of the people around itself, in the stage of the building of the basis of socialism, the destruction of the old economic base, and the construction of the economic base of socialism; at the stage of the complete building of socialist society, the eradication of the old bourgeois morality and the creation of the new man endowed with communist morality.

The definition of one or the other strategic task as a key task, as the main link, is always related to the main contradiction; consequently, to the ground on which the class struggle mainly develops.

There it is necessary to point out again that the definition of one or the other strategic task as a key-task entitles no one to consider this as the most important task.

In as much as every strategic task is equally important, it is impossible to solve the one or the other separately, detached from the simultaneous solution of all the strategic tasks. As a result, all these tasks, the key-task included, can be correctly and fully solved only in organic connection with one another.

Let us take the task of forming the new man of communist morality. It would be absurd to demand that this task be carried out separately from that of production, from the creation of the material and technical base of socialism, from the increase of the people's material well-being, from the ceaseless improvement of the socialist relations of production. It would be equally in vain to demand the accomplishment of the tasks in the economic field without fighting for profound socialist consciousness among the people. Any effort or viewpoint encountered here and there among us, to carry out the economic tasks separately from the ideological tasks, or vice-versa, is a manifestation of metaphysics, a manifestation of vulgar materialism (when there is a trend towards carrying out the economic tasks separately from the ideological task), of subjectivism (when the ideological work is not connected with production, with the economic tasks).

Can it be said that seizing on the strategic task in the field of ideology as the main link at the present stage of the revolution violates the recognised objective law that the economy is the basis of society? No, there is no violation whatever in this. The social revolution, in the first place, is duty bound to destroy the old relations of production which are an obstacle to the development of society, and to establish new relations which respond to the level and character of the productive forces. In the present epoch the socialist revolution aims at the elimination of the obsolete capitalist social order and the establishment of the new communist social order. This however cannot be achieved at one blow. Communist society is built up through fierce class struggles in the political and ideological fields against the exploiting classes, against the imperialist rulers, against bourgeois ideology. Therefore, the transition from capitalism to communism is carried out in stages, the victory of socialism is achieved bit by bit, first in the political field, then in the economic fields and finally in the ideological field. But the victory of the revolution in one field does not mean that there is no further struggle in that field. Only the development of uninterrupted revolution in all the fields, linked organically with one another, ensures its final victory. The struggle for the victory of the revolution in the ideological field at the present stage not only does not exclude the further development of the revolution in the political and economic fields, but it has this development, as its a prime objective, particularly the non-stop increase of production, the development of the productive forces to a higher level, the gradual transformation of group property into property of the whole people, the all-round perfecting of the socialist relations. «The economic factor», says comrade Enver Hoxha «which is the most important factor, opens the road forward through other factors – political and ideological».

On this occasion it is well to point out that the objective laws of society should not be confounded with the strategic and tactical tasks which belong to the subjective sphere, but which are correct only when they are firmly based on the objective laws and not only this, but also when they are firmly based on the conditions and the terrain where these laws are concretely operating.

THE WORKING CLASS PARTY CAN SUCCESSFULLY CARRY OUT ITS PROGRAMMATIC TASKS ONLY BY BASING ITSELF FIRMLY ON THE ACTUAL OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE CONDITIONS

In each step forward it has taken, the PLA has based itself firmly on the actual objective conditions and on the preparation of the necessary subjective conditions.

Many examples could be quoted to show this.

Why did the party not launch the slogan for a People's Republic right at the beginning (when it was founded)? Such a slogan at the stage of the National-Liberation War would have run counter to the strategic key-task of uniting the entire people in the struggle against the occupationists, would have hindered this union, if one considers that a number of persons were not for a republic since they harboured illusions about the monarchist regime of King Zog. In the course of the struggle for national liberation, the true colours of this regime came out: the Zogists with their «Legaliteti» were exposed as traitors to the people and the nation, because they joined the German occupationists in fighting against the Communist Party and the National-Liberation Front. While telling the people that the form of the regime be settled after the war, the Party worked with might and main to make them conscious of the antipopular, oppressive, and exploiting character of the Zog regime and of any other landlord-bourgeois regime, of the need to build a new and truly democratic state order, without kings and without tyrants of any other description, a workers' and peasants state. When the party launched its slogan for the People's Republic, immediately after the liberation of the Fatherland, this slogan now expressed the will of the people, and that is why it was embraced without hesitation by the broad masses. The Constituent Assembly sanctioned this will in law on January 11, 1946.

Why did the Party not declare armed struggle against the «Balli Kombëtar» as soon as the latter was formed? Because at that time such a thing would not have helped to consolidate the unity of the people in struggle. On the contrary, it would have divided the people. At first a considerable number of persons thought that the «Balli» really was a patriotic organization which had come out to fight the occupationists, therefore they demanded unity between this organization and the National-liberation Front. Under these circumstances armed struggle against the «Balli Kombëtar» would have been suicide. When the masses were convinced by their own experience that the patriotism of «Balli» was a sham patriotism, when they saw that it fought not the occupationists, but the Communist Party and the National-Liberation Front, and that in order to wage this fight it united with the German

nazis, then they themselves demanded that the «Balli» should be destroyed by force of arms as a traitor organization. Under those new circumstances, the Party had no reason to wait any longer. Basing itself on the demands, the desires of the popular masses, it declared war on «Balli Kombëtar» and annihilated it before the Hitlerite occupationists had been completely driven out of Albania.

The lesson which emerges from the revolutionary experience of our Party about marching forward firmly based on the actual objective and subjective conditions, assumes even greater importance today in the circumstances when our country is marching towards communism over untrodden paths, when many complicated problems arise and require solution in order to achieve the strategic aim – the complete building of socialist society.

The strict implementation of this lesson guards the Party against subjectivism, dogmatism, and adventurism, it ensures sound and permanent ties with the masses, and guarantees success in carrying out all the great programmatic tasks.

The objective conditions are created by the development of society itself and do not depend on the desires of the Party. The Party has the duty to study and gain a profound knowledge of these conditions so as to be able to work out and implement a correct revolutionary policy, otherwise it cannot guide the construction of socialist society on a scientific basis.

Unlike the objective conditions, the subjective conditions are necessarily created by the revolutionary party. They do not come about spontaneously. In this sense, the strengthening of the leading role of the Party, its work for the political and ideological training of the working people in order to convince them deeply of the correctness of every decision, of every directive put forward by a congress, a conference, or by some other leading body of the Party assumes ever greater importance. Parallel with this, perfecting organisation, which constitutes the guarantee for the implementation of the decision, directive, or the task which is set, also assumes special importance.

The subjective factor cannot change the objective conditions at will but nevertheless has a great influence on bringing them to maturity on the creation of the necessary material conditions and the world outlook of men, more rapidly through the policy and activity carried out on a scientific basis by the working class Party for the solution of contradictions, for the elimination of obstacles which hinder the development of society.

THE P.L.A. HAS NEVER PERMITTED THE CREATION OF AN OPPOSITION LINE IN ITS RANKS

The P.L.A. has never allowed the viewpoints and activities of anti-Party groups and elements in its ranks to be turned into a line in opposition to the political line of the Party.

As is known, hostile and extremely dangerous activity was carried on by the Trotskyite group of Koçi Xoxe. But even in this case, the viewpoints of this group did not constitute a line in itself in opposition to the line of the Party. These

viewpoints which were nothing but theses of the Trotskyite policy of the Yugoslav revisionists presented themselves as viewpoints introduced into the political line of our Party, integrated with it. The 11-th Plenum of the CC (September 1948) and the First Congress of the A.C.P. (November 1948), arrived at the conclusion that this line was correct in general, but with a number of distortions. Thus, there were not, and there could not have been two lines in the ranks of the Party. Neither Koci Xoxe nor the Yugoslav revisionists dared to come out with another political line counterposed to the political line of the ACP, because immediately they would have thrown off their mask and would have received a crushing blow from the Albanian communists, linked in a steel-like unity round their Central Committee, with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head. Therefore, the anti-Party group of Koci Xoxe with the Yugoslav leadership tried to justify their anti-Marxist viewpoints and activities as a viewpoint or activity of the Party, as a component part of its policy, for this was the only way they could sell their rotten goods. As soon as the 11-th Plenum of the CC exposed and condemned Koçi Xoxe's viewpoints and traitorous activity, as well as the brutal interference of the Yugoslav leadership in the internal affairs of our Party and country, all the communists, united to a man, associated themselves with the resolution of the Plenum and rose in struggle against Yugoslav revisionism and against the hostile activity in the ranks of the Party.

As to the viewpoints of the other enemies of the Party, like Sejfulla Malëshova, Tuk Jakova, Bedri Spahiu, Liri Belishova, etc., even less could it be said that they represented an opposition line in the ranks of the Party. As soon as these viewpoints were proved to be anti-Marxist and were demolished as such, the bearers of them found themselves entirely isolated, without followers. In every case the communists, to a man, have upheld the revolutionary line of the Party, and its Central Committee headed by comrade Enver Hoxha.

This does not mean that in our Party there has never been the danger of the creation of two opposite lines, of anti-Party ideological trends in its ranks. This danger has been continuous, and it is present even today. Such a phenomenon has had and still has its roots in the fierce class struggle which is taking place on a national and international scale between socialism and capitalism, between bourgeois ideology and proletarian ideology. But the experience of our Party permits us to draw the conclusion that it is possible to avert this danger. «Our Party», says comrade Enver Hoxha, – «crushed its internal enemies, beginning with Anastas Lula and ending with Liri Belishova. The Party has never allowed hostile activities to become really developed in its ranks» (Speech at the meeting of some basic-level organisations of the Party, February 1967). From this he draws the following conclusion: «... A Marxist-Leninist Party which respects itself as such cannot permit the existence of two lines in the Party, thus it cannot permit the existence of one or more factions» (ibidem).

How has the Party of Labour of Albania avoided the creation of another opposite revisionist line in its ranks? It has waged an uninterrupted struggle to preserve and strengthen its ideological and organisational unity against all sorts of anti-Marxist viewpoints, against all sort of deviations from its re-

volutionary line, against right opportunism, against sectarianism and adventurism.

The struggle for ideological and organisational unity has been carried out in the field of the revolutionary implementation of the political line of the Party and has not degenerated into a stream of fruitless debates and discussions nor into a struggle of personalities. This struggle has been irreconcilable with any sort of sentimentality, with any sort of unprincipled bargaining or concession.

The resolute stand of the PLA not to allow any outside interference in its internal affairs, is also of great importance in this aspect. It is well known what this interference has been and how brutally and savagely it has been imposed on the Albanian people. The Yugoslav revisionists and, subsequently, the Soviet revisionists, using all their potential, have left no ways and means unused to force the Party of Labour of Albania to deviate from its correct, revolutionary political line, to change this line for their anti-Marxist regressive course. The PLA however has not yielded to their pressure. On the contrary, it has courageously fought against the interference and against modern revisionism. This fight, has not only saved our Party and its Marxist-Leninist line, but has also provided it with a great revolutionary experience, with a keen class sense.

THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA HAS NEVER DIVORCED ITS WORDS FROM ITS DEEDS

The correctness of the political line of a working class Party is not appraised only from the Marxist-Leninist sound at its words, or from the proletarian, popular, socialist, anti-imperialist form of these words. This correctness is proved in revolutionary practice, in the results yielded by the line and activity of the Party. The political line of the working class Party can never be correct, never revolutionary in the real sense of the word, if there is not complete unity between its policy and its revolutionary activity.

The PLA has always considered revolutionary action as the decisive factor in fulfilling its aim and programmatic tasks. As far back as the time when it was taking its first steps in its life, our Party clearly formulated the great principle of the decisive importance of revolutionary action: «Without actions there is no communist Party... It is action and struggle that extends and strengthens the Party; we cannot link ourselves with the people if we do not prove to them that we are able to lead» (Resolution of the first consultative conference of the active of the CPA, April 1942).

It was precisely action, revolutionary action, that played the main role in convincing the broad masses of the people of the correctness of the political line of the Party and led to the Party's being accepted, very soon after its founding, as the sole leader of the national liberation struggle and later to its remaining the only political Party in the country, the only leader of the Front, the only leader of the political power, the only leader of the people's army, the only leader of socialist society in Albania.

Revolutionary action has always been the main ground for the verification of the correctness of the political line of our Party.

It is on the basis of revolutionary action that the Party has preserved and strengthened its ties with the masses who have become convinced from their own experience that the Party of Labour of Albania demonstrates in deeds what it says in words, that when it decides something it is capable of carrying it out through to the end. The great seriousness of the Party with regard to everything it says and decides, its ability to carry out the tasks it sets itself, the brilliant results that have been achieved under the leadership of the Party, have inspired the masses in their struggle and work, have aroused in them a great confidence in the Party and in their own strength, have mobilized all the inexhaustible creative energies of the people in favour of the revolution, socialism, and rapid progress. Having gained such confidence, the masses have followed the Party in every step it has taken, have supported it unreservedly in the struggle for national and social liberation, for the construction of socialist society, in struggle against internal and external enemies, against the imperialists and revisionists. Thus, the line of the Party has never remained just its line, alone, but has been transformed into a line of the broad popular masses. This has been the key to the successful implementation of the political line of the Party, and to its invincible strength. At the same time revolutionary action has served as a very important means for the revolutionary tempering of the communists, it has not allowed them to become inactive, bureaucratized or to develop bourgeois features, as has occurred in the Soviet Union and in a number of other former socialist countries. Action continually sifts out the communists, in general, and the leading cadres, in particular. Those who have become inert, who have given up in the face of difficulties and obstacles, surrendered to the pressure of the class enemy, have been screened out and rejected. Thus the Party's ranks have always been kept pure and healthy.

The Party of Labour of Albania, as a revolutionary working class Party has always been distinguished from the revisionist parties by the complete unity of its political line and its practical activity. One of the features of the revisionist parties is that their words do not tally with their deeds. On the surface their political line seems in general to be a Marxist-Leninist one. However this line, is not at all reconcilable with their practical activity which is, in essence, reactionary, antipopular. To conceal the reactionary, anti-socialist character of this activity they pour out torrents of demagogy and sophistry, perform a thousand and one political stunts in order to hoodwink the masses. A typical example is the cunning and sophisticated tactics pursued today by the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Brezhnev and Kosygin. This leadership which is revisionist from top to bottom, is striving in every way, showing exceptionally great care, to appear before the eyes of the Soviet people and the whole world as if it is following a Marxist-Leninist, anti-imperialist, policy. But when this policy is judged not from the words, not from its outward appearance, but from the practical activity of the leadership of the Soviet Party and state, whether inside the country or on the international level, it turns out that that this activity which constitutes the real essence of Soviet policy, is profoundly revisionist, bourgeois and social-imperialist.

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It is these, and many other lessons which the Party of Labour of Albania draws from its 30-years of experience which make up a great Marxist-Leninist school for the communists and for all the Albanian working people. They are not satisfied with the results they have achieved, however great these may be, but inspires them to persist in their revolutionary drive ahead on the road towards communism, on which the Party of Labour of Albania, with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, is leading our people with determination, wisdom and revolutionary farsightedness. The Albanian communists workers, peasants and intellectuals, are conscious that the 6th Congress of the PLA, held in November 1971, was not only a tribune of the brilliant victories that have been achieved in the recent years, but also a tribune which put before them great and difficult tasks. «The

aim of the tasks» - said comrade Enver Hoxha at the Congress, - «is the further strengthening the cause of socialism in Albania.. We are filled with enthusiasm and optimism that we shall fulfil and overfulfil these tasks. We find this assurance and conviction in our wonderful people, in their profound knowledge and wisdom, in the revolutionary spirit and skilful hands of our working class, in the patriotism of our cooperative peasantry, in the devotion of our people's intelligentsia, in the irresistible creative impetus of our youth, in the inexhaustible energies of the women of our country. We find this assurance and conviction in our heroic Party, in its correct Marxist-Leninist line, in the determination of the Albanian Communists who are ready as always to overcome every difficulty and obstacle, to make any sacrifice for the cause of the people and socialism».

Dynamic And Flourishing Economy

OBJECTIVES OF THE FIFTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN - MAIN PROPORTIONS IN THE USE OF NATIONAL INCOME DURING THIS FIVE-YEAR PERIOD

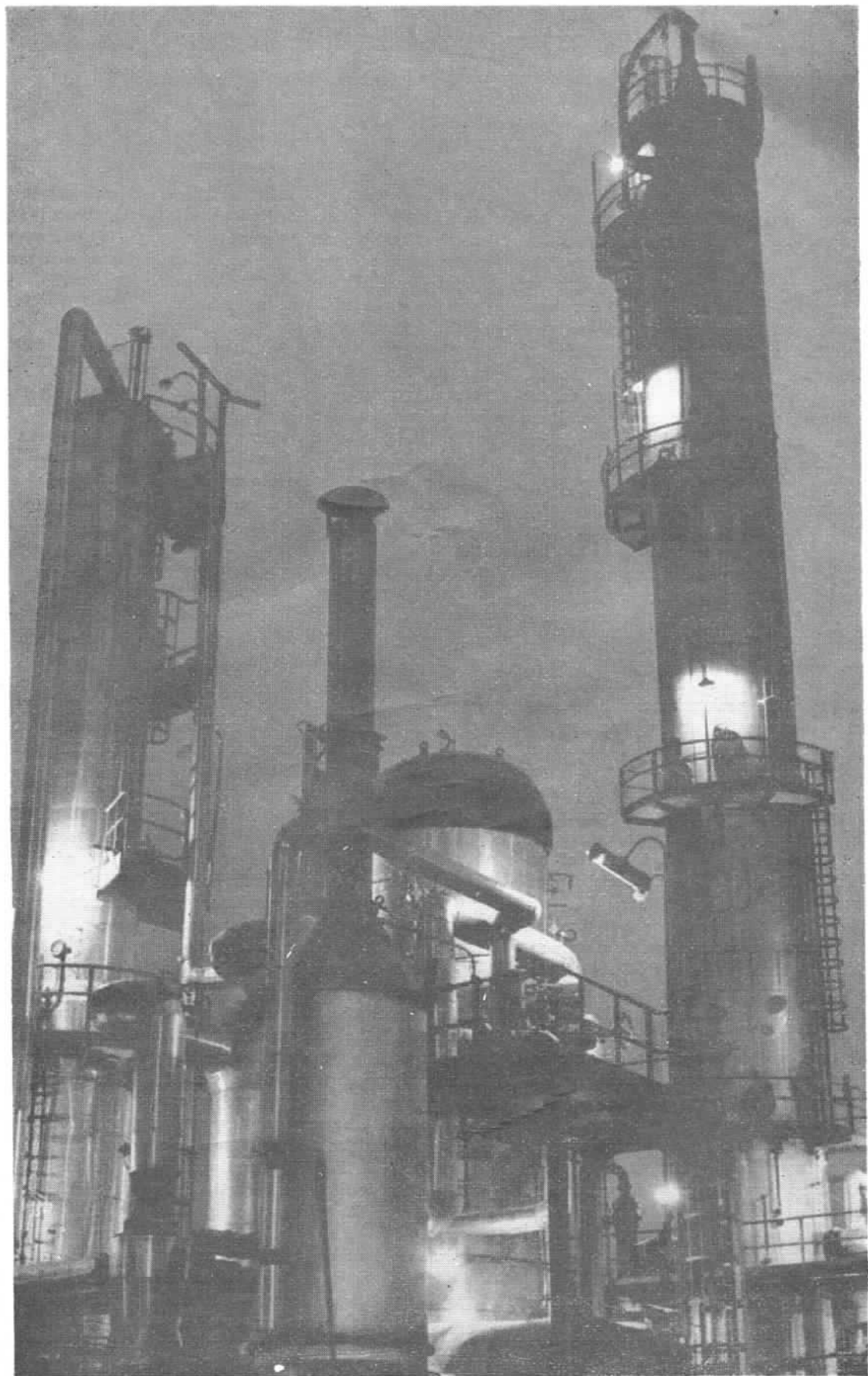
By **ABDYL BACKA**, — *economist*

The directives of the 6th Congress of the PLA on the fifth five-year plan for the development of the economy and culture for the years 1971-1975 are a concrete program of action. They constitute definite objectives in the fields of the development of the productive forces, the improvement of socialist relations of production, and the deepening of the socialist revolution in the field of ideology and culture.

On the basis of these objectives and directives, the third session of the 7th legislature of the People's Assembly approved the State plan for the development of the economy and culture of our country for the fifth five-year plan period. The new five-year plan is aimed at the general strengthening of the people's economy in order to raise its level of self-sufficiency, at the further strengthening and extension of the economic, political and social base of the people's power, and at the creation of the conditions for a further and general raising of the material wellbeing and cultural standard of the people. On this basis, more decisive steps forward will be made towards the transformation of Albania from an agricultural-industrial country into an industrial-agricultural one. The undertaking of these great tasks expresses the level attained in the country's economic and social development, harmonizes the dynamism of the factors of the development of social production with the consistent application of the general line and economic policy of the Party for the socialist construction of the country. As always, they cannot be realized without the planned management of the people's economy, without establishing and maintaining correct, optimal proportions, in conformity with the specific conditions, needs and concrete possibilities, in the whole process of the development of the extended socialist reproduction.

THE USE OF THE NATIONAL INCOME — AN ESSENTIAL PROBLEM

The unified general state plan is a whole system of connections and coordinations between the aspects of the extended so-



A night view of the industrial-chemical complex in Fier.

cialist reproduction, between the factors for the increase of social production, the activities of various enterprises and branches of the people's economy, as well as between the quantitative and qualitative indices of every activity. In the final analysis all these connections are materialized and reflected in the use of the social product and national income, and especially, in the establishment and application of correct proportions between consumption by the population and the further extension of production.

The question of proportions between the fund of accumulation funds and the fund of consumption of the national income has been and remains one of the most fundamental problems of the economic policy of our Party. The rapid rate and large proportions of the development of the economy, the increase of the wellbeing of the people, the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the increase of the country's defence capacity, largely depend on the amount, structure, and norm of accumulation, as well as on its use with the highest possible effectiveness. Therefore, the proportions in the field of the use of the national income are not only of economic, but also of political, ideological, and social importance.

The necessity for the increase of the fund of consumption stems from the aim of socialism – the ever better fulfilment of the material and cultural needs of the people. But the continuous and stable increase of consumption by the people is possible only on the basis of the dynamic development of production and other social and cultural activities, and this requires the constant growth of the proportions of accumulation. Without accumulation, without giving priority to increasing it there can be no development of the productive forces, whereas without increasing the individual and social consumption funds, the material conditions of the working masses cannot be improved.

The Party of Labour of Albania has always shown great care to avoid seriously overburdening either the accumulation funds or the consumption funds. In defining the ratio between them the following factors

have always been kept in mind: the material structure of social production (ratio between the branches producing means of production and the branches producing consumer goods), the structure in value of social production (the ratio between material expenditure and national income, and the distribution of the latter in product for the individual and in product for society), the rate of development of various branches of the people's economy and of the rise of the living standards of the population, as well as of a series of other factors for the country's general development. In this sense the norm of accumulation and, in general, the proportions in the use of national income, are an indicator, and at the same time a resultant, of the entire complex of the targets of the unified general state plan.

The criterion for deciding the correct ratio between accumulation and consumption in our country has been and remains the use of material, financial and labour resources, in that way, and in those directions, which ensure the best solution of the problems of socialist construction, the increase at the highest possible rate of the national income and the productivity of labour, and the constant and general increase of the real incomes of the working people. In this way, accumulation, production, and consumption, in our country, have been developed in a coordinated and proportional way, by thinking and working not only for the present but also for the future. The increase of accumulation and of the volume of production has always been accompanied with the increase of consumption, while the increase of consumption has led to the enlivening of the economy and has created a new stimulus for the development of production. This has been and remains the dialectics of the development of the extended socialist reproduction in our country.

The experience of our socialist construction confirms that in the field of the use of the national income you cannot allow yourself to be guided only by the future interests and neglect the present and partial interests, just as you cannot place the latter above the collective and futu-

re interests. In this, the most correct criterion is the harmonization of the present-day interests with those of the future, giving priority to the latter.

PROPORTIONS OF A DYNAMIC ECONOMY

The directives of the 6th Congress of the PLA devote special importance to the use of national income. Concerning this problem, they point out: «The distribution and use of national income should be in conformity with the need for the further intensification of the people's economy and should be directed towards the rapid development of the productive forces, in particular of the heavy processing industry, agriculture and transport, the increase of self-sufficiency of the people's economy, the strengthening of the country's defence capacity, and the further raising of the wellbeing of the people».

Under the fifth five-year plan, the part of the national income destined for the fund of accumulation will account for 34-37 per cent of the total resources for the development of our country, whereas the part destined for the fund of consumption fund will make up 63-66 per cent of the total resources. This will be achieved by directing about 42 per cent of the increase of the national income to accumulation. In this way, during the 5th five-year plan period, too, the trend to the gradual increase of the norm of accumulation will continue, as an objective necessity for the speedy development of our country.

For the five years taken together, the accumulation fund during the fifth five-year plan period, as against the fourth five-year period will increase by 72-75 per cent, compared with the 63 per cent increase during the fourth five-year period over the third five-year period. The size of the fund of accumulation fund for the fifth five-year period is about 36 per cent greater than the whole of the accumulation fund used for 15 years on

At the first workings of one of the main projects of the 5th five-year plan — the oil deep-processing plant in Ballsh.



end, over the period, 1951-1965. Capital investments comprise the main and most active part of the accumulation fund. Therefore the fifth five-year period is characterized by large-scale investments and construction work, by the construction of big projects with complex equipment and up-to-date technology. The investments under the new five-year plan are larger than the total sum invested over the last two five-year plans (1961-1970) taken together, or the volume of investments made during the 18 years, from 1950 till 1967.

On the basis of the structure of the capital investments, as well as the other measures of an economic and social character which are envisaged for the fifth five-year plan further changes will be made in the structure of the use of accumulation. In the first place the weight of the means and resources going to increase the main productive funds will be increased. This purpose will absorb about 64 per cent of the accumulation, as against 58 per cent under the fourth 5-year plan. This constitutes the material base for the

rapid development of industrial production, for the creation and development of new industrial branches such as ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, the production of various machines and items of equipment, the chemical industry, the deep processing of oil, etc., for the intensification of agricultural production; for the extension of railway transport, for the deepening of the technical and scientific revolution, and increasing the productivity of social labour in the whole of the people's economy.

All the great resources which are directed to increasing the main productive funds, together with those which go to increase the circulation funds serve the rapid increase of social production by giving priority to the increase of production of the means of production. In the year 1975, as against 1970, social production will have increased by nearly 57 per cent, at an average annual rate of over 9 per cent. In the practice of the development of our country, the Leninist thesis that accumulation is not an end in itself, that the main purpose of production of the means of production is fulfilment of the growing needs of man, that it is necessarily linked with the production of consumer goods, has been fully verified.

An important part of the accumulation

fund is directed to the development and strengthening of the material-technical base of the social and cultural sectors, such as education, culture, science, health, the housing of the population, communal and vital services, etc. Under the fifth five-year plan the funds for such purposes will constitute over 18 per cent of the total accumulation fund. They will be nearly 68 per cent greater than the funds used for this purpose during the fourth five-year period. For the improvement of the housing conditions of the population alone about 80.000 appartments and houses will be built. Thus in 1975 over 60 per cent of the country's population will be living in new houses built since the year 1950.

The main and decisive source of our accumulation is the internal resources, the

national income. Therefore there has always been a constant struggle to increase them at high and stable rates. In the year 1975, as against 1970, the national income will have increased by 55-60, at an average annual rate of 9,5 per cent, as against 9,1 per cent under the fourth five-year plan; while the forecast of average annual growth of the population is 2,7 per cent. Herein lies the basis of the increase of the country's material and financial resources and the rapid development of the extended socialist reproduction.

Increasing social production and the national income is the decisive way to put into practice the revolutionary principle of self-reliance. Certainly, there are difficulties in this process and non-antagonistic contradictions arise. This is under-



standable, for we have to do with the harmonisation of the individual and partial interests with collective interests, local interests with the national interests, the interests of the present with the interests of the future. The correct Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Party, the consistent fulfilment of the requirements of the objective economic laws of socialism, the revolutionary class education of the working people, and the application of the mass line, constitute the main factors which make the harmonisation of interests in socialism indispensable and possible overcoming the difficulties and obstacles, solving the various contradictions correctly and in time and establishing and maintaining optimal proportions in the development of the economy.

During the 5th five-year plan a high rate of increase of social production will be maintained. The internal sources of development, the proportions and structure of the national income produced in the country cannot cope with all the needs of the development of our extended socialist reproduction. Therefore, the aid we received in the form of long term credits from the PR of China, remains an important factor for the speeding up of the rates of development of the extended socialist reproduction. Appreciating this fraternal aid properly our people are striving to use it in the most useful way and are mobilizing all their forces and internal energies which are continuously growing and make these the main factor in the socialist construction of the country.

On the basis of the development of social production, during the fifth five-year plan the consumption by the population will be further increased. Under the new five-year plan, the fund of consumption in the national income distributed will grow by 50-55 per cent, exceeding the rate of increase of the population more than three fold. Within the fund of consumption, 85% will be for individual consumption and 15% will be for social consumption, the later increasing more rapidly. This is related to the whole revolutionary development of our country and to the greater material and financial possibilities that have been created.

During the fifth five-year plan real income per head of population will rise by 14-17 per cent and retail trade turnover 36-39 per cent. Important measures will



Modern technology in service of advanced socialist agriculture.

be implemented for the extension of social insurance to the agricultural cooperatives, for the improvement of the structure of consumption by the population, especially in the countryside, for the lightening the work of the woman and in-

education, health, extending the telephone network, road building etc.

Analysis of the targets of the fifth five-year plan indicates very forcibly that, the main objective of our socialist production is the continuous and general in-

working class and the peasantry, mental work and physical work.

CONTINUITY IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF OUR COURSE

The directing of 34-37 per cent of the total resources for the country's development towards accumulation under the fifth five-year plan, is a result of the whole material and spiritual development of our society on the road of socialism. The general characteristic of the development of the people's economy is the gradual increase of the norm of accumulation, the priority increase of the fund of accumulation, coupled with a constant and appreciable increase of the size of the fund of consumption.

Over the entire 20-year period from 1951 to 1970 some 30 per cent of the distributed national income has been used for accumulation. In the five-year plans, the norms of accumulation have been: in the first (1951-1955) - 25,6 per cent, in the second (1956-1960) - 27 per cent, in the third (1961-1965) - 28,8 per cent, and in the fourth (1966-1970) - 33,9 per cent. This trend is connected with the priority development of production of the means of production, with the increasingly intensive character of the development of the economy with the steady increase of the productivity of social labour. Parallel with the increase of the fund of accumulation the growth of the people's consumption has also been ensured. The fund of consumption increased about 4 fold in 1970, compared with 1960, at a time when the country's population grew 1,8 times. Over the whole period of socialist construction the increase of the fund of consumption has been more than double the rate of increase of the population.

The structure of the use of national income has always responded dynamically to the conditions and needs of the people's economy. The norm of accumulation cannot be something fixed and immutable; it is the result of the whole economic and social development of our country.

From the viewpoint of the material composition of the social product, the increase of the norm of accumulation has been based on the priority increase of pro-



A snapshot of the metallurgical Works of Elbasan

creasing her participation in social production. The State will further increase its aid for the countryside, particularly for the highland areas, in the fields of

crease and improvement of the wellbeing of the people. The whole development up of the essential differences between town and country, industry and agriculture, the

duction of the means of production. In general, during the 1951-1970 period, the ratio of the rate of increase of means of production to that of consumer goods, was 1.16 : 1 (in favour of means of production). During the first decade (1951-1960) this ratio was lower (for the second five-year period 1.09 : 1) whereas in the second decade (1961-1970) it rose to 1.30 : 1 (in favour of means of production). In conformity with this trend the accumulation norm has grown too. Thus, in the first decade the fund of accumulation accounted for about 26 per cent of the national income distributed, whereas in the second ten-year period it reached about 32 per cent.

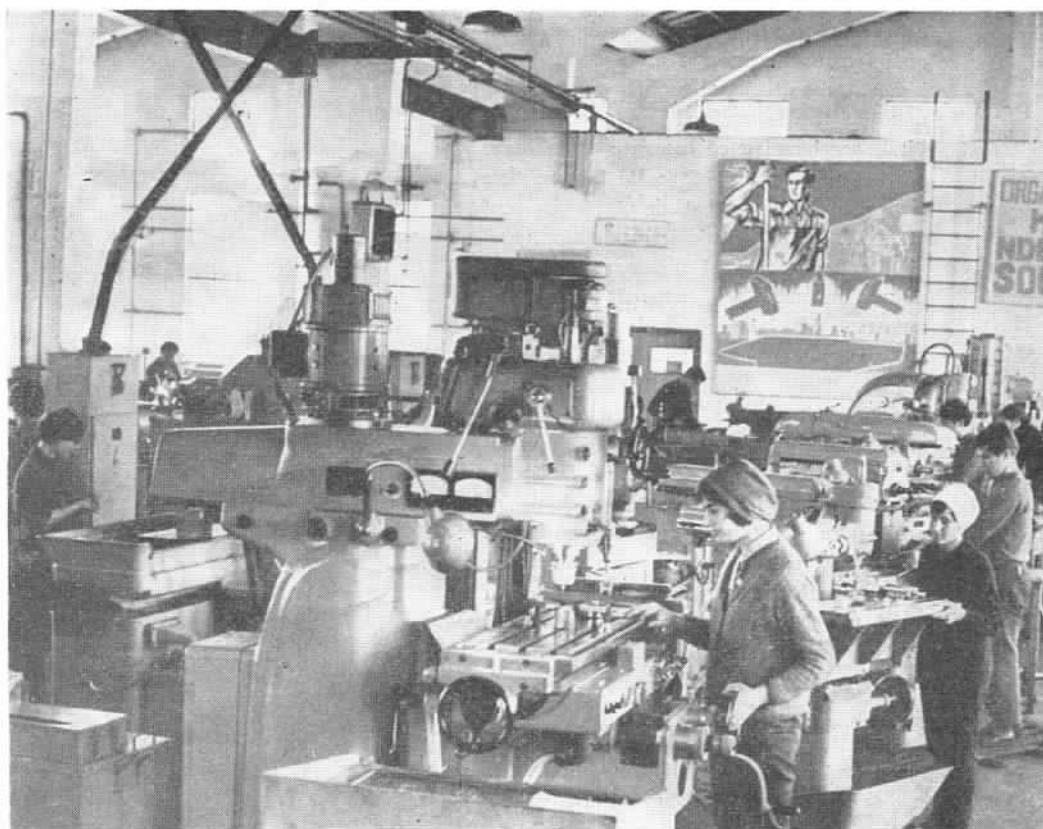
In the first period of the socialist construction, parallel with the measures for development of the means of production, great efforts were necessary to overcome, as soon as possible, the great backwardness inherited by our people from the past, in the field of wellbeing, as well as to create conditions for the transition from rationing to the system of free supply, both in town and countryside. Our country inherited great technical and economic backwardness, not only in the production of means of production, but also in the production of mass consumers goods. This is confirmed by the fact that in 1960, as against 1950, while agricultural production was 1,4 times greater, the production of the light and foodstuffs industries was about 6 times greater.

In the past decade the situation changed visibly. The courageous strides ahead taken in the construction of the material and technical base of socialism, the continuous pursuit of the line of transforming the country from an agricultural-industrial country into an industrial-agricultural one, the maintenance of high rates of development and the deepening of self-reliance, are the main factors that have required and continue to require that the means of production increase more rapidly than consumer goods. In conformity with this, the norm of accumulation has been increased, too.

From the viewpoint of the proportions in value of the extended reproduction, the rate of increase of the norm of accumulation has been preceded by and based on the continuous increase of the productivity of social labour. In order to increa-

se the national income the aim has been and it has been made possible to harmonize correctly, in conformity with our conditions, the raising of the productivity of social labour with the increase of the number of workers in the sphere of ma-

doubled, the decisive role in the increase of national income has been played by the saving of living labour materialized in the increase of labour productivity. During this period more than 65 per cent of the increase of national income has



In one of the halls of the high precision instruments plant in Korça

terial production. Analysis of the influence of various factors brings out that in 1970, as against 1950, though the number of workers in material production has

been secured by increasing the productivity of labour. This assists the priority increase of the source of socialist accumulation, the rapid development of the

people's economy, the rational use of the labour force, both in town and country, and the increase of the wellbeing of the people as a whole.

Third, increased effectiveness in the use of the fund of accumulation and especially of capital investments. The experience of our socialist construction confirms that

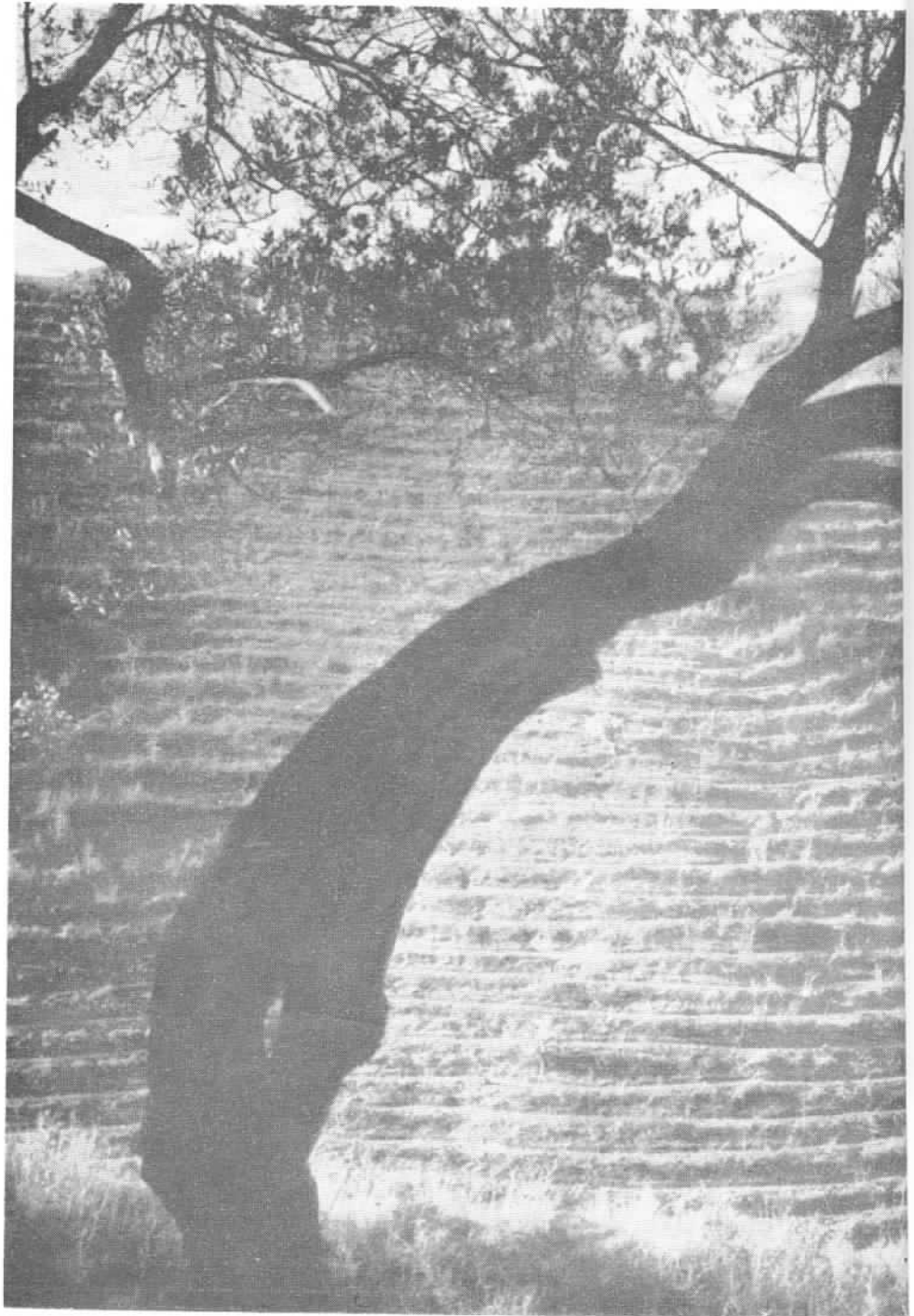
failing to increase the effectiveness of the use of accumulation funds means, in the final analysis, basing the increase of social production solely or mainly on the

MAIN PROBLEMS IN ACHIEVING THE OBJECTIVES

In fulfilling our tasks in the field of distribution and use of national income, and those stemming from the fifth 5-year plan as a whole, we are faced with a series of important economic and social problems. Among these problems we could mention the following:

First, acceleration of the rate of increase of the productivity of social labour. The target set requires that about 70 per cent of the increase of social production, and about 80 per cent of the increase of national income be ensured from the increase of labour productivity. These are indices of an intensive economy. Their attainment is an objective necessity, which is linked with the maintenance of high rates of development of social production, and in the first place, of the production of the means of production, with ensuring the conditions so that agriculture's needs for manpower are met with the carrying out of the great tasks for the development of the social and cultural sectors, and with the raising of the real incomes of the working people.

Second, the greater and more rapid development of agricultural production. This is due to the fact that agriculture is one of the most difficult and most important fronts of social production. It is the basic sector of the people's economy, which constitutes the main source of the incomes of the peasantry, ensures the major part of the commodities of mass consumption for the entire country, fulfills the needs of the light and foodstuffs industries for raw materials, and, finally, is an important source of exports. Under the fifth five-year plan special importance will be attached to the further intensification and modernization of agricultural production, strengthening its material and technical base and deepening the scientific character of the organisation and management of agricultural enterprises and cooperatives.



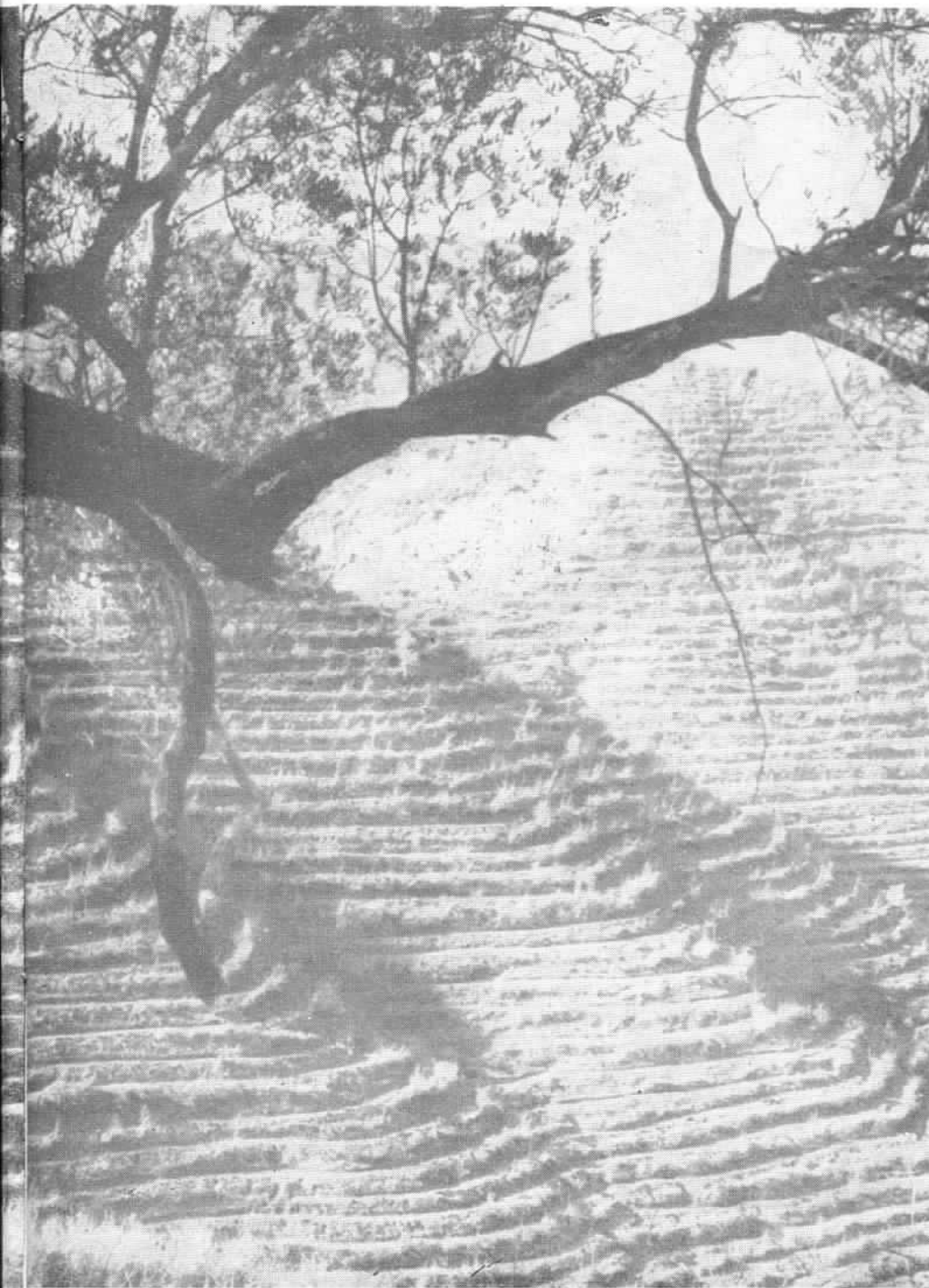
increase of the accumulation funds. This is an impasse which damages the balance of the economy, which restricts the increase of consumption by the population,

and the future increase of production itself. Therefore, at the 6th Congress of the Party the task of achieving the highest possible effectiveness of social pro-

duction with the least possible expenditure of the living and materialized labour was put forward.

* * *

The main proportions in the field of the use of national income are not general and unconcretised. They are analysed and materialized in all the indexes of the plan for the branches of the sphere of material production and of the non-productive sphere. But they have their basis in the targets of the plan for each enterprise, agricultural cooperative, and institution. Such is the revolutionary understanding of the targets of the plan, such is the road to harmonize the partial with the general, all the interests in our socialist society, in a single dialectical unity. -



Hills are also turned into farmland.

Pr Of Socialist Co In The Albanian Co

In Albania, the agrarian question has been and remains a very important component part of the general line of the Party in every stage of our revolution and socialist construction. This is due not only to the demands of the practical application of Marxism-Leninism but also to special national reasons.

FIRST REVOLUTION IN AGRARIAN RELATIONS

On the eve of the second world war Albania was a backward agricultural country. The overwhelming majority of the population, or 87 per cent of it, was made up of peasants. Farming was the main branch of the national economy. It was characterized by one-sided extensive development, on a monocultural basis. The level of the productive forces and produc-

tivity of labour was exceptionally low. Small scale production based on manual, rudimentary means and equipment prevailed, along with feudal relations of production. Large landed estates were quite widespread, particularly in the country's most fertile lowland areas, whereas in the social life of the highlands specially in the North, patriarchal hangovers were still present. Capitalist relations of production were, in general, in their initial stage. The national income which was created in the countryside could barely meet the needs of simple reproduction of a poor economy.

The Italo-German foreign occupation brought the country further great devastation. Per head of population, the damage inflicted on the economy of our country in the years of the second world war was the greatest in Europe.

Thus, before the establishment of the people's power, ours was a backward country, with a very backward level of politi-

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OUR COUNTRYSIDE TODAY AND TOMORROW

By **HASAN BANJA**

cal, social and economic development, a country where national-colonial oppression existed, a country which had not gone through the complete cycle of the capitalist mode of production.

The establishment of the state power of the workers and peasants on the 29th of November 1944, as a result of the triumph of the people's revolution, marked the country's liberation from the national-colonial yoke and social oppression. Albania's liberation marked the great day of the true rebirth of our people, the demarcation line where the old world ended and the new world, the brilliant era of socialism began. Since this time our revolution has passed through three main stages: the anti-imperialist, democratic stage, for the winning of national independence and the establishment of the people's state power, the stage of the establishment of new socialist relations, which was crowned with the victory of the economic base of socialism in both

town and country; the stage of the complete building of socialist society, which our country has entered and is developing.

In the field of economic-social changes the transformations of socialist character in the town and especially in the countryside were the most important tasks. While state socialist ownership was established in industry, building-trade, communication, foreign trade, internal wholesale trade, in the banking and credit system, etc., two roads were pursued in the countryside: the nationalisation of the principal means of production, of the lands of the big landowners, state and monastery property, and the creation on this basis of state farms, as well as the socialist transformation of small producers, the socialist cooperation of the peasantry. Before the cooperation of agriculture was carried out the land reform was implemented in the countryside on the principle «the land belongs to him that

cultivates it», and, at a second stage, the collectivisation of agriculture was started and concluded successfully, on the basis of the Leninist principles of conviction and free will.

The land reform marked the first revolution in the social-economic relations of the countryside. A main feature of this revolution was the democratic transformation of the relations of ownership over the land, the liquidation of the class of big landowners, of feudalism and the beginning of capitalism. The thing that was to provide the complete solution to the antagonistic contradiction between the advanced political power and its backward economic base in the countryside, as well as the contrast between town and country, was the socialist transformation of agriculture. The collectivisation of agriculture constitutes the second revolution; it marked the most radical turning-point in the social-economic relations of the countryside. With the complete establish-

ment of socialist relations in the countryside, its rapid development on the road of socialism became possible.

The many-years experience of the revolutionary road pursued by our Party in building socialism in the countryside has proved that this is a long and difficult process which includes a series of revolutionary transformations of a deep ideological, social, economic and technical character, etc. The great correctness of the Leninist ideas has been fully verified in our reality. With us the collectivization of agriculture was carried out without having previously carried out the nationalization of the land, under the conditions of private property, without waiting for the industrialization of the country, under the circumstances of uninterrupted class struggle.

Speaking about this fundamental question at the 5th Congress of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out: «The development of agriculture and the experience of socialist construction in our countryside confirm the importance and universal validity of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, that the only road for the building of socialism in the countryside, in countries with a fragmented peasant economy, is the collectivization of agriculture. Any road other than collectivization leads only to the development or restoration of capitalism in the countryside».

Thus, in the solution of the agrarian question, our Party has been guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and has implemented them in conformity with our specific historical conditions. This is a policy diametrically opposed to all the anti-Marxist, bourgeois and revisionist «theories» and practices. The chieftains of the 2nd International — Kautsky, Bauer and company, made the agrarian question conditional on, and tied it to, the development of the productive forces, and the carrying out of the industrialization of the country. In capitalist countries, due to the fact that the political power is in the hands of the bourgeoisie and capitalist private ownership over the means of production is in force, there is a profound contrast between town and countryside. This constitutes the deep antagonistic political and socio-economic contradiction in the relations in the countryside, which curbs the development of the countryside, causes class differentiation and economic polarization, the abandonment of the

countryside and its subjugation by the capitalist town. On this basis various «theories» of the subjugation of the countryside by the town and its blind tailing after the latter have come into existence. The modern revisionists who have discarded Marxism-Leninism, have given up the positions of socialism in the countryside, advocating spontaneity. This has led to the slackening of the rates of development of the productive forces and, in general, to the backwardness of agriculture, to the birth and enlivenment of capitalism with all its social-economic consequences.

SUPERIORITY OF THE COOPERATIVE ORDER

During the years of the people's power, under the correct Marxist-Leninist leadership of the PLA, socialist agriculture has achieved a series of successes. This is clearly shown by figures. In 1970, the country's total agricultural production, as compared with 1965, was 33 per cent greater, with an average annual rate of increase of 5,8 per cent. During the last decade (1961-1970) total agricultural production was 61 per cent higher than during the previous decade (1951-1960). During the fifth five-year plan (1971-1975) in accordance with the directives of the 6th Congress of the PLA, total agricultural production will increase by 65-69 per cent, at an average annual rate of 10,8 per cent. Production of field crops, livestock forming and fruit-growing will all increase.

The 6th Congress of the PLA pointed out that, despite the progress made on the road of socialism, our country is still an agrarian-industrial one. Agriculture has been and remains the basic sector of our people's economy. It constitutes the principal source of income for the major part of the country's population, provides the overwhelming part of the basis food products for consumption by the population, fulfills the needs of the light manufacturing industry for raw materials and is an important source of our exports.

The directives of the 6th Congress of the PLA envisage a great increase in agricultural production. The realisation of all the tasks of the fifth five-year plan (1971-1975), the successful functioning of the extended socialist reproduction, as well as

the maintenance of the high rates and the proportions decided in the plan for the increase of social production and national income depend directly on the realisation of the targets on the front of agricultural production.

Agriculture, like the whole of economy, is characterized by its increasing level of intensification. It is envisaged that 4/5 of the increase in agricultural production under the fifth five-year plan, will result from the rise of per hectare yields of agricultural crops and of the productivity of livestock farming. This means that during the fifth five-year plan, for the five years taken together, about 50 per cent more food grain and 2,2 times more cotton and potatoes, will be raised from the same area of land whereas with an increase of only 22 per cent in the area sown to fodder crops 64 per cent more livestock products will be produced.

As pointed out by the Party, this rapid development of the productive forces in the countryside and the intensification of agricultural production are not a simple quantitative growth and do not constitute merely a technical production process. On the contrary, this development is a many-sided process, of an ideological, political and socio-economic character, which includes both the material aspects of the productive forces and their social aspects.

At the present stage of the socialist revolution, the improvement of the social aspects of the relations of production in the countryside, affects a broad circle of problems. As has been said, the socialist revolution has correctly and successfully solved many fundamental problems in this field. Through a motive force in the people's revolution, the peasant gained his freedom and became master of the land. The exploitation of man by man, as well as the contrast between town and countryside have been eliminated. All the ties and relations between town and countryside, between industry and agriculture, between the working class and cooperativist peasantry have been established on a just socialist economic-social basis.

From the political viewpoint the cooperativist order strengthened the socialist state, the militant alliance between the workers and peasants, as the social basis of the people's power, enhanced the role and responsibility of the peasantry and

its active participation in the management of social affairs.

From the economic viewpoint, the coöperativist order placed agriculture on the rails of a modern economy of large-scale socialist production, and greatly developed the productive forces.

From the social viewpoint, the coöperativist order not only liberated the peasantry from social oppression, but also excluded any possibility of a return to the old feudal-bourgeois relations in the fields of ownership, exchange, distribution and consumption.

IMPROVEMENT OF SOCIALIST RELATIONS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

Now we are faced with the task of the continued, revolutionary improvement of the new socialist relations in the countryside. The liquidation of the antagonistic contradictions between the countryside and the town gives way to the strategic task of reducing and later, in the future, eliminating the essential differences between town and countryside.

Speaking at the 6th Congress of the PLA about this strategic and tactical task of the Party in the countryside in the present stage of the complete construction of socialist society, comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out among other things: **"In the present stage of the complete construction of socialism we must step up our work still more to reduce the essential differences between town and countryside. The results achieved in this respect are great, but they must be carried forward relying firmly on the actual situation of our countryside, on the special national characteristics and the possibilities of our economy."**¹⁾

Here it is a question of social-economic differences which stem from the character of the socialist relations of production. As is known, between industry and agriculture there are also differences of a material and technical nature, such as natural conditions, biological features, and the seasonal character of production. While the essential differences are being reduced, the material and technical ones remain.

In our country the process of reducing the essential differences between town and country started long ago. Among the

most important measures adopted and implemented by the Party and the socialist State in this direction are those for the rapid development of the productive forces, for the strengthening of the material-technical base, for the intensification of agriculture. Parallel with this, compulsory free education, and free of charge health services have been implemented throughout the countryside, the provision of electric power in all the villages has been concluded, and Albania is one of the few countries in the world with all its cities, inhabited centers and villages supplied with electric power. Taxes on the incomes of working people, including those employed in agriculture, have been completely abolished. A big job has been done likewise in extending the motor road and telephone networks, and a large number of social and cultural establishments have been set up. At the end of 1970 there were more than 3000 production units and workshops, over 2.600 service units, over 1.900 creches, 1.400 kindergartens functioning in the villages of our country. Under the fourth five-year plan alone some 10.000 social and cultural establishments and more than 40.000 dwelling houses were built in the villages.

On this basis, the standard of living in the countryside has steadily risen. Incomes have increased, prices of a series of consumer goods have been reduced, and a series of measures favourable to the agricultural cooperatives have been carried out.

The revolutionary improvement of the new socialist relations in the countryside is of great importance to the full construction of socialist society, for they open a broad road to the development of the productive forces, improve the property relations as well as those of distribution, exchange, and consumption.

A characteristic feature of the socialist relations in the countryside, too, is their conformity with the character of the productive forces which, as a general rule, are always advancing. Therefore, the building of socialism in the countryside has been and is being carried out in our country on the basis of the conscious, coordinated and uninterrupted development of the productive forces as well as of the relations of production. This is a revolutionary process which is carried out in conformity with the Marxist-Leninist general line of the Party and with the

requirements of the objective laws of the revolution and socialist construction.

The strengthening of property relations constitutes the basis of the perfection of socialist relations in the countryside, too. As a result of the rapid development of the productive forces, socialist property in the countryside, in its two forms — state and cooperative, has greatly extended. During the years of the people's power the area of arable land has been increased. In 1970 the irrigation capacity was 38 per cent greater than in 1960, covering 54 per cent of the area of arable land. Likewise in 1970, the volume of mechanized work increased 80 per cent as compared with that of 1960, whereas the chemical fertilizer supplied to agriculture increased 5 times. 25 kg. of active substance were used per hectare of cultivated land, in 1970, thus taking a big stride ahead and surpassing the neighbouring countries.

This rapid development of the productive forces has been associated with a further extension of the scale of socialization of property and labour. A characteristic of these recent years is the extension of the group property through the enlargement of cooperatives. At the end of 1970 the number of agricultural cooperatives was 643, compared with the 1.484 that existed in 1960. Each cooperative owned on the average, 736 hectares of land. They accounted for the 77 per cent of the total agricultural production realised.

WAYS TO PERFECTION. CREATION OF COOPERATIVES OF A HIGHER TYPE

In accordance with the directives of the 6th Congress of the PLA the property relations in the countryside are to be perfected in three principal ways: **First**, by further strengthening the existing group property, on the basis of the increase and intensification of production; **second**, by extending the scale of socialization of the group property through further mergers between cooperatives, and, **third**, through the creation of a number of agricultural cooperatives of a higher type with the participation of the State in them.

The agricultural cooperatives with state

participation are a higher form of organization of property in the countryside. In our country they are being organized for the first time, according to the directions of the 6th Congress of the Party. As big socialist economies, these cooperatives coordinate better the interests of the group with the interests of society; they represent an important step forward towards the raising of the group property to the level of the property of the whole people; they make possible the further narrowing of differences between town and countryside. These cooperatives represent a new and more advanced stage of the development of the cooperative order in the countryside, in which the socialist state contributes to the development of the economy by financing investments, so as to ensure higher rates and a more rapid development of agriculture through the intensification and modernization of production, placing it on a scientific basis and raising organization and management to a higher level. According to the criteria laid down by the Party, the participation of the socialist state in the cooperatives of a higher type takes place under the conditions of the preservation of the principle of the property of the group and of the relations of distribution and exchange stemming from it. In proportion with the nonrepayable financial means, the state contributes to these agricultural cooperatives, mainly with supplementary investments for clearing levelling and protecting land, construction of drainage and irrigation works, for establishing of fruit tree plantations, for construction of a productive character, for increasing the number of pedigree animals, etc. In these cooperatives the peasant's individual plot of land is preserved. Work will be carried out on the basis of norms and valued in money and not in work days. That will be guaranteed pay. In these cooperatives, the cooperativist democracy will be preserved and integrated with the principle of unified management. In the field of planning, finance, record keeping and the organisation of work and production, in general the same or similar forms to those of the state agricultural enterprises will be implemented. The transition to this new form of organisation and management of the agricultural cooperative economy is a result of their increasing strength and of the growth of the financial and material-technical possibilities which the state has to

assist the cooperatives. These cooperatives of a higher type are more advanced than the other agricultural cooperatives, but they are not yet state agricultural enterprises. Differences still exist between them in the fields of ownership, exchange, and distribution. The cooperatives of a higher type are an intermediaire and transitions form. In many directions of their organisation, economy and equipment they are very close to state enterprises. As the conditions mature, in the future, they will pass gradually to the property of the whole people.

The organisation of the agricultural cooperatives of a higher type is a new theoretical and practical experience in the socialist construction of the countryside and in the narrowing of the differences between it and the town, a new road for the present and the future. Proceeding on this road, the most powerful agricultural cooperatives which have been established on the most fertile plains of our country will increase production at more rapid rates and will guarantee stable supplies of those products which our people's economy needs most. Parallel with the experience gained and with the conditions and possibilities created, this form of organisation will be gradually extended to the other agricultural cooperatives, too, and measures will be worked out to liquidate, little by little, those differences existing today between the forms of socialist property in the countryside.

While perfecting the socialist relations in the countryside, special attention is devoted also to the other aspects such as the further deepening of the social division of labour between the branches and sub-branches of production, exchange relations, those of distribution and consumption. Marx described the relations of exchange and distribution as the other important aspect of the relations of production.

In this direction importance is attached to deciding a correct ratio in the division of the incomes of the cooperatives into the fund of accumulation and the funds of social and individual consumption, bearing in mind that the individual distribution must always be done in accordance with the demands of the socialist law of distribution according to work.

Of very great importance to the development and perfection of socialist relations in the countryside is the directive of the 6th Congress of the PLA for the further

strengthening of the economic links and improvement of the exchange of productive activity between the countryside and the town. Among the most important measures being implemented in this field are the following: the abolition of the obligatory grain delivery system and the passage to voluntary selling at prices differentiated for the highland and lowland areas; the unification of selling prices so that the agricultural cooperatives can buy industrial commodities used for reproduction on the same terms as the state agricultural enterprises, improvements in supplying the peasantry with industrial goods and food stuffs so that the living conditions on the countryside become closer to those of the town.

The implementation of these measures from the beginning of the fifth five-year plan period is a consequence of the increase of production and of the incomes of the peasantry. Now the agricultural units in the countryside are big socialist economics which are increasing the quantity of production for the market for year to year. Previously many agricultural units in various areas of our country were not self-sufficient in grain, for they were still undeveloped and poor from the economic-productive viewpoint, but now the situation is very different. Not only have they become self-sufficient in grain, but they also deliver large quantities of surplus grain to the state. -

PENSIONS FOR THE WORKING PEASANTRY

Another measure of very great importance to the strengthening of the cooperativist order and the raising of the material well being and cultural standard of the peasantry, is the establishment of the pension system covering all the cooperativist peasants. Recently there has been a considerable increase in the number of agricultural cooperatives which have begun to give their members old age pensions, as well as social insurance aid, etc., from their own funds. The 6th Congress of the PLA laid down the task of establishing a full system of old age, disablement and family pensions during the year 1971. This system is established according to unified criteria, the funds will be centralized and administered by the state.

Benefits for temporary incapacity emergency benefit and benefits for expectant mothers will continue to be provided by each agricultural cooperative according to its economic possibilities, but always on the basis of unified criteria. Unified criteria will be applied also to the pensions of the three kinds as to age, length of service and the rate of pension paid. The application of these measures in the field of social insurance in the countryside will increase the weight and influence of the social consumption funds. Together with the incomes received by the cooperated peasants from the distribution of funds for individual consumption through their participation in the common work, on the basis of the work days carried out and the production achieved from the distribution of the funds for

individual consumption, the social consumption funds will increase the real per capita income of the population and will improve the material and cultural standards of peasantry.

Important financial means from the centralized funds of the society and of the agricultural cooperatives themselves, will be invested in the countryside during the fifth five-year period for social-cultural establishments. The extension of the telephone network to all the villages will be completed, the automobile road network will be extended, supplies of drinking water will be improved, etc. The application of these measures in the countryside on a national scale is of great social, political and economic importance. They have to do with the speedy development of the productive forces, with

achieving a greater and more rapid increase of agricultural production, with the guaranteeing of its stability and with the harmonization of the development of agricultural production with the other branches of the people's economy. These measures will have a great influence on raising the scientific management of the agricultural economy to a higher level and on narrowing the differences between the town and the country.

The working class plays the leading role in this whole revolutionary process of transformation of the mode of production and way of life in the countryside. As the leading class, it stands in the forefront of the all-round revolutionisation of the whole of our national life, illuminated in its work by the light-giving teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

1) E. Hoxha, Report to 6th Congress of the PLA, page 80.

Our School On The Road To Its Further Revolutio- nisation

By **MUMTAZ SHEHU**

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In the People's Republic of Albania a real revolution has been carried out in the field of education and the school during the years of the people's power. The education policy of the Party has aimed at making education the property of the broad masses of the people in order to equip them with sound knowledge and culture and build a socialist school as a center of the communist and revolutionary education of the rising generation and of all the working people. These aims, once considered as distant objectives, have become concrete reality in our country today.

THE PRESENT AND THE HERITAGE OF THE PAST

Our country inherited great backwardness in the field of education and culture from the antipopular regimes of the past. This situation faced us with a twofold task — the revolution in the field of education and culture had to be carried out simultaneously in breadth and depth, solving one after the other, the complicated tasks of the creation of the complete educational system ranging from the elementary school to the higher school, and giving it a mass character as well as of transforming the school from a feudo-bourgeois school into a truly socialist school. The solution of the quantitative and qualitative problems of the revolution in the field of the school and education, in close connection with one another, constitutes its specific character which has left its mark on all the stages of the development of this revolution. The revolution in the field of education and the school has been a living dialectical process characterized by continuous advance by overcoming the various difficulties and contradictions that have arisen, as well as by the elimination of the

In Albania a great importance is attached also to pre-school education

problems of growth. The great transformations achieved in the field of education and the school in our country are a great historic victory of the party and the people's state power. The liquidation of illiteracy, the compulsory primary education since the early years of the liberation of the Fatherland, the complete realization of the compulsory 8-year schooling and its extension to the most remote areas of our country, the rapid extension of secondary schooling, the organization of the system of part time schooling for people who continue in their jobs, the organization for the first time in our country of higher education and, in particular, the creation of the State University of Tirana, etc., constitute the highlights of the vigorous development in breadth of our people's education. On this basis, within the 20-year period (1946-1965), that is, the period beginning with the education reform which laid the foundations of the development of the people's education, and ending with the historic 5th Congress of the PLA, our country has been transformed from a country with 80-85 per cent of its population illiterate and with the network of elementary schools, very limited, both in town and countryside, into a country where illiteracy has been completely wiped out and where education and culture are thriving. At present one out of every three persons in Albania studies, attends one of the many forms of the school system extended to all over the country.

In all its stages, the development of our school and education system has kept abreast of the general economic-social development of the country on the road of socialist construction. And this is only natural, because the development of the institutions of the superstructure of society is dependent on and a result of the changes and development of the base, i.e. of production. Therefore, the building of the socialist system of education and of the socialist school is a result of the profound changes in the structure of our society and of the struggle for the building of socialism. In this way all the efforts made and the results achieved in our country in the field of education and the school have always been aimed at having them serve the policy of the party and its struggle for the building of socialist society, for the education of the new man, in the best possible way. It is for this reason that at every important

stage of the struggle for the building of socialist society, our school and people's education system have been faced with new ideological, scientific, pedagogical, organisational, methodic and didactic tasks and obligations, so that it could play its role better as a center of communist education of the younger generation and of equipping it with sound cultural and scientific knowledge.

DEEPENING OF THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

With the 5th Congress of the Party, held in 1966, our country entered a new stage of the struggle for the building of socialist society. The results achieved until then in this direction and the new tasks of its perspective development faced the party and the entire people with solving great problems. These required a higher level of training – ideological and political, educational and cultural, technical and scientific, organisational and administrative, financial and economic. Our whole society, and in the first place, our working class, was faced with the task of raising the struggle for socialism to a higher level through the development of the class struggle, especially on the ideological front, against bourgeois and revisionist ideology and the hang-overs of religious and patriarchal ideology, through the further development of production on the basis of modern equipment and technology and through the revolutionisation of the method and style of work against the manifestations of bureaucracy in the whole activity of the state and economic organs.

This was a turning-point in the whole life of our country, which was characterized by the deepening of the ideological struggle, in the first place, for the formation of the new man with a Marxist-Leninist scientific world outlook and revolutionary features, and for the complete triumph of socialist ideology in the entire life of the country, in frontal struggle against the ideological baggage of the old feudo-bourgeois society and the pressure of bourgeois and revisionist ideology. On this sound basis the struggle would be carried out also on the other fronts of the socialist construction, for victory in all fields depended on the revolutioni-

sation of the concepts of man and on strengthening their socialist consciousness. It can be readily understood that under these new conditions, new and very important tasks, were arising for our education and school system, so that it could make another forward stride in conformity with all these requirements which the development itself was putting forward at the present stage.

Taking into consideration the great results which had been achieved in the field of the school and education, and the new tasks for the country's future economic-social development, the 5th Congress of the Party drew up the general balance-sheet of the struggle for the building of socialism in Albania, and on the basis of the new conditions for further development, scientifically defined the great tasks which our school had to face up to in order to place itself completely at the service of the construction of socialist society. On the basis of the historic decisions of the 5th Congress and comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings on socialist education and the school, which found their most complete and profound expression in the speech he delivered on March 7, 1968, concerning the further revolutionisation of the school, the ideopolitical and pedagogical-scientific platform for the further development of our education and school system on socialist lines was drafted. After a broad popular debate this platform was finally approved by the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA, in June, 1969.

The fundamental idea of the further revolutionisation of our school rests on the fact that, under the present conditions of the development of our revolution it should make a decisive contribution to the training and education of the new man with an all-round communist formation, that is, moulded with the Marxist-Leninist scientific world outlook, with deeply implanted communist convictions and morality, willing to devote all his strengths and abilities to the great cause of the revolution and socialism, armed with the necessary scientific and cultural knowledge to become a capable builder of socialism well trained, physically and militarily for the defence of the Fatherland and socialism, with sound Marxist-Leninist education and esthetic taste, and bound, like flesh to bone, with the working class and the broad masses of the people.

By working in this revolutionary spirit, our school will play a role of first rate importance in the training of the new people's intelligentsia, loyal to the end to the great cause of the people and socialism. Our school, therefore, will be one of the main and powerful weapons in the hands of the Party and the working class on the front of the ideological struggle, for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism in the whole life and activity of our society, and to fight till the complete eradication of any hang-overs and influences of alien, anti-socialist and anti-proletarian ideology. At the same time it will be a major contribution to the struggle for the economic and cultural construction of our country, by raising the educational and cultural standards of the masses and their technical and professional training to a higher level so as to advance production in all the branches of our economy.

This task facing our school at the present stage of the development of our country on the road of the complete construction of socialist society, is as important as it is difficult and complex to carry out in practice. It embodied, in a concentrated form, the profound revolutionary Marxist-Leninist content of the teaching educative process of our school and its method. Therefore, its implementation in the whole life of the school, required, first of all, along with a profound understanding of its ideopolitical and pedagogical-scientific objectives, the determination of the concrete roads to be followed in order to attain the purpose. The 8th Plenum of the CC of the PLA in its platform for the further revolutionisation of our school defined these roads in a scientific way, summing up the revolutionary experience of our school and bearing in mind the classical teachings of Marxism-Leninism about the socialist school.

SCHOOL AND LIFE

The practice of life teaches us that in order to succeed in inculcating the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and revolutionary communist in the younger generation, our school must give absolute priority, in its whole teaching and educative activity, to the Marxist-Leninist ideological axis, to the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, to the

all-round Marxist-Leninist ideological and political formation and education of the youth and all the working people attending school, arming them with Marxist-Leninist theory, with the philosophy of dialectical and historical materialism, with the ideology and policy of our Party. The Marxist-Leninist ideological axis must run like a red thread right through the entire life of the school, through all its links and means of work, through all its teaching materials, programs, text-books, methods of teaching and education, through all its internal life and management. On the other hand, in order to fully attain the main objective of its teaching-educative work, our school must base the whole of its teaching and educative work on the triangle: lessons-productive work-physical and military training, in the center of which must be the Marxist-Leninist ideological axis of our Party. The integration of lessons with productive work and physical and military training, is a great principle on which the whole teaching and educative work of our socialist school is based, for only on this basis can we ensure sound ideological training, revolutionary tempering, the necessary cultural and scientific equipment and the sound physical and military training of the rising generation as active builders of socialism and resolute defenders of the gains of the revolution. Likewise the socialist school should be an important center for training people in a sound general education and cultural, scientific and poly-technical way, in as much as the formation of the man of socialist society must be based on a broad cultural development, on the sound mastering of scientific and technical knowledge, in close connection with work for their application in practice. Finally, the entire teaching and educative life of the school must be guided by the socialist principles of education and the scientific teaching method which permits the development of initiative in all directions, of the creative work, independent action and close cooperation of the teachers with the pupils and with society as a whole.

All these directions or concrete ways of carrying out in practice the important directives of the 8th Plenum of the CC of the PLA and the measures adopted to give a greater mass character to our educational system, to give to the broad working masses the possibility to attend, all the categories of schools, without any res-

trictions, going through full time courses or attending them while continuing with their jobs, constitute a concrete programme for our school, the realisation of which will raise its whole work to a higher level and will place it completely in the service of socialist society. For more than two years, our school has been engaged in an all-round ideopolitical, pedagogical-scientific and organisational-methodic struggle, for the through-going implementation of these orientations and great revolutionary tasks. Facts show that these principles on which our school has been built are the sound foundation of the revolutionary socialist school which struggles for the formation of the new man with a Marxist-Leninist world outlook and with communist features. The historic experience of our school proves that only such a school, which constructs its teaching and educative work on the basis of the revolutionary triangle lessons-productive work-physical and military training, and which makes the Marxist-Leninist science the foundation of this work, is in position to cope successfully with the requirements of socialist society whether they be political, ideological, scientific, pedagogical, etc., and becomes an insurmountable barricade against bourgeois and revisionist ideology and degeneration. It is precisely such a school that socialist society needs and we are creating it.

A CENTER OF REVOLUTIONARY EDUCATION

Our new school has always taken a revolutionary stand and has educated the younger generation with a healthy spirit. But, due to many objective and subjective reasons, it was unable to solve all the problems of its quantitative development and its ideological and scientific content at the same time and to the same extent. In the beginning it solved the most basic problems, i.e. it opened its doors to the broad masses of the youth of town and countryside and, in general, based its whole teaching and educative work on Marxist-Leninist science, there by ensuring a sound theoretical and ideological education of the rising generation.

But with this, our school had not solved all the problems of the extension of the

educational network in order to give the school a mass character, and it had still not solved all the urgent problems of the content of the teaching and education. Despite the improvements made in comparison with the pre-liberation school in the content of teaching and education our school, and especially the general secondary school and the higher school, were still detached from work and production, still bore the onesidedness inherited from the bourgeois school, that is, the preparation of the pupils was based on their theoretical training alone, thereby developing intellectualism and careerism. On the other hand, there were many manifestations of bourgeois ideology and old method in the teaching and educative work, as a result of the tradition of the old school and the insufficient struggle against idealist and religious ideology. In the work of the school there were numerous manifestations of pedagogical pedantism and bureaucracy, there was underestimation of the value of revolutionary action in the teaching work, there was a weak connection of school with the practice of the country's socialist construction, and in teaching and education. Marxist-Leninist class tendentiousness was not properly stressed. On the other hand, some links of the education system, especially the professional secondary school and the higher school, had not assumed the proper development and extension, and some artificial obstacles were making it difficult for the worker and peasant youth to attend these schools.

Thus, the new demands of the times, at the present stage of the economic and social development of our country, and the need to overcome the shortcomings in our education system and in the work of the school, were the two factors which determined the objective necessity of the new leap forward in the whole of our educational system, which was defined in the decisions of the 8th Plenum of the Party.

The decisions of this Plenum opened new vistas to our school, in the extension of the school network as well as in the deepening and further revolutionisation of its socialist content. In connection with the extension of the school network, alongside the complete realisation of the compulsory 8-year schooling (which was fully implemented in the 1969-1970 school-year), the task of rapidly developing the professional secondary school with pupils



attending full time courses and also attending them while working, in the town and especially in the countryside, was laid down, so as to create conditions to draw in the broadest possible numbers of youth to attend these schools. On the other hand, the raising of the general cultural subjects in these schools to the level of the general secondary schools, opens new perspectives to them, in as much as practical conditions, are created for the pupils graduating from these schools to carry on to higher schools, without any restriction. Appreciable results were achieved in this direction during the fourth 5-year plan for the development of our socialist economy and culture, in the years 1966-1970. In 1970 which was the last year of the five-year period, the number of secondary schools with pupils attending full time courses reached 131 as against 108 in 1965, of which 22 are

in the countryside. There were 40,000 pupils, including 16,830 peasants attending these schools. In the same year there were 261 part time secondary schools attended by 40,026 pupils, including 122 in the countryside. This is an exceptionally great success for our country of 2 million inhabitants. This has made it possible for nearly 66 per cent of the pupils finishing the 8 year school in the countryside to attend these secondary schools with full time and part time courses, and the lower professional schools, at a time when the 8 year school has assumed a really mass character. During the fourth-five year plan the professional secondary schools graduated about 22,000 middle cadres and the higher schools about 6,700 highly trained cadres. In 1970, the total number of middle cadres in our country reached 38,000 persons and that of high cadres - 15,000 persons.

Still greater prospect are opened to our people's education under the fifth five-year plan for the development of our people's economy and culture, which includes the years 1971-1975. During the new five-year plan period 70 more new secondary schools with full time courses, 60 of them in the countryside, will be opened. In the main these will be professional secondary schools. The total number of pupils attending the professional secondary schools with full time courses will reach 42,000, whereas the number of those attending all types of secondary schools with full time courses will reach 71,000. In this total the number of peasant pupils will reach 35,300. From the above the trend of this development towards the superiority of the professional schools with full time and part time courses emerges clearly. In particular, the secondary school will be



University students during a voluntary youth action in distant highland areas

extended more rapidly in the countryside. Taking into consideration these contingents, and some 60,000 persons who will attend the secondary schools with part time courses, it is expected that by the end of the 5th five-year plan about 42,000 cadres will graduate from professional secondary schools. Similar prospects open also, before higher education with full time and part time courses. By the end of the new five-year plan the number of full time students will reach 15,750 whereas under the part-time system the number of students will reach 19,660. At these rates of development of higher education, in 1975 we shall have 14.4 students per 1,000 inhabitants, instead of 11.8 as in 1970. According to the forecasts, 20,000 highly trained cadres will graduate from higher schools at the end of 1975, while the number of pupils and students will reach 780,000.

FOR THE FURTHER DEEPENING OF THE SOCIALIST CONTENT OF THE NEW SCHOOL

The struggle for the realisation of the tasks of the development in breadth of the revolution in the field of the school and education has been organically integrated with the struggle for the implementation of the great tasks of deepening the socialist content of the school and its method.

A colossal job has been done in these recent years to base the teaching-educative work of the school completely on Marxist-Leninist science, so that everything in its activity is permeated by the materialist philosophy and policy of the party. All the fundamental teaching materials and documents of the school for this purpose, such as plans, curricula and

text-books have been completely worked out. A big job has been done to raise the teaching and educative work to a higher level from the ideopolitical and pedagogical-scientific viewpoint, serious efforts have been made for the organic integration of lessons with productive work and physical and military training; the struggle is being waged everywhere for a sound combination of the three components: lessons-productive work-physical and military training, and for their implementation in ideopolitical, pedagogical-scientific and methodic unity; work is continuing over a broad front to revolutionize the methods of teaching and management, broadly applying socialist democracy and the mass line in the whole life of the school. All this has increased the healthy revolutionary political spirit at school; teaching and education have become more militant and contribute ef-

fectively to the revolutionary education of the youth; theory is being integrated ever better with practice, the school with life, the pupils and teachers with production and with the men and women of the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, and they live closer to their troubles, problems, and revolutionary impetus. The whole life of our school today is permeated by the revolutionnary tempo and by the spirit of irreconciliability with everything alien to socialist ideology and morality. The life of our school, which is developing as an inseparable part of our socialist life, is being renewed and revolutionised on this basis. In this way, the role of our youth and of its organisation in the life of the school and in the whole life of the country is being increased.

But we are aware that the strides that have been made so far in the struggle for the implementation of the historic decisions of the 8th Plenum of the Party are only the beginning of a big and all-round job which has to be done on the entire front of education and the school in order to deepen the processes of the revolutionisation of the teaching and educative work as a whole. In the first place the ideological work in the school

must be strengthened and everything should be explained better and more profoundly and interpreted on the basis of the philosophy of dialectical and historic materialism, fighting to uproot any manifestation of bourgeois and religious ideology. It was precisely this fundamental problem of our school which the 6th Congress of the Party emphasised. In his report to the Congress comrade Enver Hoxha said: "...Questions of the content always remain the most fundamental ones. Therefore the complete and rapid carrying out of the tasks we have laid down, the further theoretical working out on the basis of practical experience, of the ideological, scientific and pedagogical questions of the content of the teaching and educative work, especially of the school programmes and text-books, constitutes our main preoccupation".

Armed with these teachings our school must go, still more deeply into all the components of the teaching and educative process, strive to raise the quality of its work and the educative and formative effectiveness of its teaching, try to give the pupils the most solid and lasting knowledge, on the basis of the latest data of science, to arouse in the pupils and

students the greatest possible interest in and love for science and technology and encourage their initiative and creative spirit, work more systematically and with greater concern for the modernization of the lessons and teaching methods as an indispensable condition for a healthy and active training of the rising generation, fight in a more organized manner, and in cooperation with the men of production and military training, and draw from this the greatest possible benefits for the revolutionary training of the younger generation. This is a great range of complex problems of an ideo-theoretical and pedagogical-scientific character, which, in addition to a persistent work on the part of the schools, required the mobilisation of the whole army of teachers and the organisation of profound revolutionary research-experimental work, with the participation of the teachers and pupils.

Although the tasks are great and complex, we are convinced that we shall realize them with success and shall raise our school to a higher level. Therefore, we are working with enthusiasm and optimism and are marching ahead blazing new trails for the cdeation of a truly socialist school.

ALBANIA - A State Free Of Taxes And Dues

In November 1969 the taxation system was totally abolished in Albania. This is an act of great importance not only nationally, but also internationally. In fact, her transformation into a country free of taxes and deductions from the incomes of the working people Albania has become the first and only state in the world that does not levy any kind of on the incomes earned by the working people of town and countryside from their personal work. This measure means that the earnings of the working people in our country are no larger subject to any deductions.

At the same time it demonstrates to the working masses in the capitalist countries and in those where the revisionists are in power that only under the conditions of the overthrow of the capitalist mode of production, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leadership by a truly Marxist-Leninist party, can they rid themselves of the heavy burden of taxes which deepens their poverty and raises their living cost day by day. The exemption of the working people from the payment of taxes and levies cannot be achieved in the framework of the capitalist system of production, because in a society with antagonistic classes based on private property, taxes are «the mother's breast that nurtures the government» and because the «very economic existence of the state depends on taxes», as Marx said in defining the economic and political content of taxation. The present-day capitalist states are basing their budgets, which are of a militarist and bureaucratic character more and more, on taxes and levies on the population. In such imperialist states as the United States of America, Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Japan, etc., taxes account for 70-80 per cent of all their budget income. The tax burden on the shoulders of the workers and poor peasants, who, on top of this are

exploited to the bone by the capitalists, increased with every passing year. Suffice it to mention that in 1956 an average American family was paying 1.897 dollars annually in the form of taxes and levies, while by 1970 this sum had reached 3.500 dollars annually and accounted for over 30-35 per cent of the annual family income. As a result of the application of a 10 per cent increase on income tax approved in 1967 to meet the costs of the aggressive war in Vietnam, the total paid in 1968 by the United States population increased by 10.5 billion dollars, whereas the income tax paid by the monopoly companies, which from year to year are reaping ever more colossal profits, instead of increasing, has decreased considerably. To reduce taxation on the monopolies the capitalist states resort to numerous methods, as for instance by granting tax concessions on payments to the directors, benevolent funds, advertising expenses, reserve funds, undistributed profits, etc. Recently wide-spread use is being made in the United States of America of the method of accelerated depreciation of basic capital to reduce the nominal profit on which tax is levied, as well as of lowering the rate of taxation and deductions for expenditure on capital investments. For example, due to accelerated depreciation alone, the U.S.

corporations gain considerable sums representing about 5 per cent of their profits, and from deductions for capital investments over 9 per cent of their profits, thus gaining over 12-13 billion dollars a year.

In November 1971 the Nixon Administration decided to reduce corporation taxes by 10.5 billion dollars using the pretext of the rising costs of fundamental capital.

A similarly reactionary policy, based on the Ottoman fiscal policy, was carried out in our country by the former antipopular regimes. In the period of satrap Zog's rule, taxes and levies accounted for more than 83 per cent of financial resources of the state and in comparison with earlier years they were very much higher. Indirect taxes alone (on consumption and monopolies) which represented more than 60 per cent of the budget income 33 per cent higher in the financial year 1929-1930, than in 1926-1927. The masses of the poor in town and countryside were subject to the most brutal reprisals so that Zog and his suite of bairaktars could oppress the working people more and lead a life of luxury. To defray the expenditure for the upkeep of the royal court, the gendarmerie, etc., the poor Albanian peasant and worker was often compelled to pay not just the current years taxes, but whatever he had been unable to pay for many years back. It is significant for instance, that in 1938-1939 the Zog clique was still demanding the taxes unpaid by the population as far back as April 1, 1924.

The existence of the taxation system is connected with the existence of private property in the means of production. Therefore in socialism, in which the principal means of production are the collective property of the people, and the state implements the policy of centralized and planned management of the people's economy, especially with regard to prices and payments, there is no objective economic basis for maintaining the taxation system. In socialist society realistic possibilities are created for the state, through its price policy to made direct use of the net income, or the accumulation, which is created by work for the society of the working people of the socialist sector of the economy. However, this period of transition from capitalism to the building of the economic base of socialism, is characterized by the existen-

ce of a multi-form economy – the capitalist sector, small scale commodity production, and the socialist sector, as well as by the remnants of the former exploiting classes, the individual peasantry, the working class, etc. Under these conditions our party, proceeding from the Marxist thesis that after the seizure of political power the working class too, is obliged to use the measure of «**progressive high taxation**» so as to «**gradually deprive the bourgeoisie of its capital**», immediately after the country's liberation and the establishment of the people's power, levied such taxes aimed at striking and expropriating, as well as at restraining and eliminating the remnants of the former exploiting classes and capitalist elements. Besides such revolutionary measures as nationalisation, confiscation of wealth the monopoly of foreign trade etc., an important role was played by the «**extraordinary taxation on war profits**», «**taxation on local merchants and industrialists**», «**taxation on production from the land**» and later «**taxation on merchants, craftsmen and professional people**», «**taxation on the agricultural economy and kulaks**», etc., In this way taxes were turned from a supplementary means of exploitation of the working people into a weapon of the class struggle for the building of socialism.

The political and economic role and importance of taxes have changed in compliance with the extension of the sphere of action of socialist relations of production, the restriction of the private sector

in town and country and the strengthening of the people's economy. Therefore, the development of taxes in our country is characterized by two fundamental features: reduction of them in absolute amount, and in their specific weight in the total state budget income, and the liquidation of various kinds of taxes up to the complete abolition of the taxation system. In this respect, two characteristic periods are evidents: till 1958-1960 we proceeded on the road of the reduction of the specific weight of taxes and levies on the population. This was a consequence of the limitation of the capitalist and private sector, of the increase of resources of the socialist sector of economy, which was crowned with the construction of the economic base of socialism in town and country. During the 1966-1969 period however the characteristic is the abolition of the various kinds of taxes and levies and their final elimination, which ended in November 1969 with the abolition of the local taxes that had remained. This is why the specific weight of taxes in relation to the income of the 1960 state budget fell rapidly in comparison with the year 1950 and the total sum of taxes in 1969 as compared with 1965 diminished appreciably. The following figures show that the characteristic until 1960 is the reduction of the specific weight, without any considerable diminution of the absolute sum, whereas after the period from 1965 up to 1969 is characterised by the immediate diminution of the absolute sum:

	Y E A R S			
	1950	1960	1965	1969
- Sum of taxes and levies (in million leks)	97	75	75	4.5
- Specific weight as against the budget total (in percentage)	11.4	2.7	2.0	0.1

In the implementation of the policy of the party for the diminution of the role of taxes and, finally, for their complete abolition, we note two main methods: The taxes that had a pronounced class character have been gradually reduced and finally they have been eliminated, as a

result of the restriction and elimination of their economic base itself, capitalist and private property. Thus, taxes on merchants, industrialists, craftsmen, professional people, individual peasant households, and kulaks have been abolished whereas levies with an economic and social

character such as: the tax on the incomes of factory and office workers, the tax on the individual plots of land of the cooperator peasants, the tax on bachelors and childless couples, etc., have been eliminated by our party and state by means of the gradual abolition of the taxation system. In this way it is understandable that the complete abolition of taxes and levies in our country has not been done all at once nor in an administrative way. It has travelled a long road in the implementation of the economic policy of the party during the entire period of the building of socialism, and is in conformity with the objective laws of the development of our society.

Objectively such an act cannot, be carried out either by the capitalist states or by

those countries where the modern revisionists are in power because they would need for this purpose colossal sums with which their economies are unable to provide the state and they would have to overthrow the existing relations of production. The fact is that, in the Soviet Union, for instance they do not carry out the policy of reduction of the specific weight of the taxes and levies on the population nor their reduction as an absolute sum. On the contrary, in 1969, as compared with 1960, their total had increased two-fold and their specific weight, from 6.3 per cent reached 9.3 per cent. By means of their economic reforms, the Soviet revisionists are effectively turning even the relations of the state with the state enterprises into tax relations, the

same as with private property. They made the basis of these relations the so-called "payment for funds", which is nothing but a tax levied by the state as one of the "partners" of the economic enterprises on the account of the means or, more plainly, of the capital, it has made available to these enterprises. Essentially there are no radical differences between these enterprises and the monopoly companies in capitalist countries.

The abolition of the taxation system in the People's Republic of Albania is another revolutionary act to the advantage of the working masses of town and country. Such an act is the result of the correct and consistent application of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism under the concrete historical conditions of our country.

FEJO BABARAMO

*Director of the income department of
the Ministry of Finance*

Impressions From Of The Economic Development Of

Albania in 1972. Yes, today she is free, beautiful and strong. She is not the Albania of yesterday, that Albania which once ranked among the most backward countries of Europe.

We pass slowly through the great hall of the exhibition «Albania 1971», which was opened in Tirana on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Albanian Communist Party, that Party which was founded on 8th November 1941, by the leader of our people, Enver Hoxha and to which all the great development of Albania, this new rapidly developing European State, is due.

What was Albania in 1941? A country in darkness, a country where the people suffered under the heel of foreigners and local traitors. Albania in 1941. A land with a few flour mills, a land of swamps and marshes. Such was Albania at that time. To us young people, it seems almost incredible, but our fathers remember it. This is why in this exhibition of Albania Today, right at its entrance, we see a picture of the

house where the Party was founded, and the portrait of its founder — Enver Hoxha. For us this is deeply symbolic.

As soon as you start at the first displays, the past is left behind and there before you high rate of construction, the rate at which our Fatherland is growing in strength is presented in all its majesty.

This is the largest exhibition we have held so far. Naturally. During these 30 years our development has reached its highest peak. From this peak we see new horizons, the new rates of development.

Visit the «Albania Today» exhibition. It is majestic. A parade of successes testifying, in the first place, to the mighty work of a nation and, in the second place, to the very great perspective that this people have opened to themselves with their work.

And you, the visitor, may rightfully, be proud of the successes achieved and the battles won in all fields. Albania is no larger than backward coun-

try of the wooden plough and thatched huts, of the pine torch and the oil lamp, of illiteracy and malaria. There, in the great exhibition hall you may acquaint yourself with new Albania, with her industry equipped with the most up-to-date machinery, with her developed socialist farming, with her developed culture and art.

HIGH RATES OF GROWTH, AMAZING FIGURES

Before liberation very little oil was extracted. There was oil, but the pre-liberation governments were incapable of exploiting all the underground riches. They granted this right to foreign monopolies which exploited them in the most barbarous way. There was only one oil field before liberation, while today we have 6 oil fields and 2 gas fields. If we take 1938 as 1, in 1950 the oil industry output had increased

3.7 times, in 1960 about 22 times and in 1970 about 56 times. There are great future prospects for oil especially when the deep oil processing refinery with 1 million tons per year capacity is brought into use. Thus in 1975, as against 1970, the extraction of crude oil will increase by 68 per cent, that of natural gas about 2.8 times, and oil processing by almost 84 per cent.

A little ahead there is a beautiful map illustrating the whole of our underground wealth. Over the years of construction of the new socialist state, the mining industry has become a rich source of wealth for our economy. Study the map carefully. Every inch of our territory hides underground riches. In the past those were few mines in our country. From the past we inherited four, and even these were ill-equipped, and with limited production which was exported unprocessed.

But today? Today our country boasts a developed mining industry. Coal, bitumen, chrome,

The Exhibition And Cultural The P.R.A.

By **LIKURG ROSHI**

copper, iron-nickel, pyrite, volcanic glass, marble and other kinds of useful minerals are drawn from its underground depths. Not only that: today all the copper ore goes through the full processing cycle: of a full cycle: extraction, enrichment, smelting-refining, ending with the production of electric wires.

Here is a model of the giant of the five-year plan 1971-1975 -- our iron and steel combine. We stand and ponder over it. This giant will give a dynamic impetus to our industry and to the whole of our economy. Still a few more years and our country will have its own steel. Albanian steel. Steel in the hands of the people means freedom, independence, everything for the progress of a country. With the construction of the ferrous metallurgy plant with a capacity of 800.000 tons of iron-nickel ore a year, our country will produce mild and special steels, steels of various profiles, pig-iron, tubes of many kinds, galvanised sheet etc. We more on. In the

year 1975, as against 1970, extraction of coal will increase by 105 per cent, chromium ore 93 per cent, copper ore 77 per cent, iron-nickel 62 per cent, etc., etc.

Over there is the chemical industry display. This is quite a new development not more than 10 years old. With the construction during this period of the nitrate and superphosphate fertilizer plants, the caustic soda works, and some other projects, the chemical industry fully asserted itself as an important branch of our people's economy. In the future the chemical industry will become even further developed. In 1975, as against 1970, the production of the chemical industry will increase by 120-126 per cent.

Before liberation chemical fertilizers were totally unknown in our country, but today in this field Albania is among the developed countries. Two large centers for the production of chemical fertilizers have been built. Here are some figures: In 1970 our country

used an average of 75 kg. of chemical fertilizers per hectare of cultivated land whereas in 1967 Greece used 68 kg., Spain 36.8, Yugoslavia 60.4, Hungary 66.8 and Italy 72.6 kilogrammes. For the first time our country will produce such important articles as urea, PVC, hydrochloric acid, high quality motor-fuel, and conditions will be created for the future development of the petrochemical industry.

The stands representing the development of the engineering industry which is entirely a creation of the years of the people's power, occupy a prominent place in the exhibition. Here are some figures: The first engineering works in our country was built in 1946. This was the nucleus around which other plants and workshops were set up later. Today Albania counts over 25 major engineering plants and 200 workshops. Taking 1960 as 1, in 1965 and 1970 the engineering industry output rose 21 and 66 times respectively, and by 1975

this output will again be doubled as compared with the year 1970.

PINE-TORCH AND OIL-LAMP REPLACED WITH ELECTRIC LIGHT

We have a new festival now in Albania -- the festival of light. This, too, has its place in the exhibition. A big picture opens the display on the electrification: A peasant family with a pine-torch for light. A big "X" condescends it out. The darkness is ended. Albania is full of light. Now there are Radio and Television sets in all parts of our country. This, too, is a part of the poem of light. But what did Albania inherit from the past? Here are some figures: In 1938 she was producing only 9.300.000 kWh., from 12 power stations with a total capacity of 3391 kW. Only 10 cities were supplied with electric power and even these not fully. A part from

that-nothing, darkness. That's how it was everywhere.

What can we say today? From 11 villages with electric power in 1950, the figure rose to 224 in 1960, and to 2,546 in 1970. Thus, there electric power in 100 per cent of the villages. The high speed at which the electrification was carried out is characteristic. Within three years electric power was taken to two and half times more villages than in all the other 23 years since liberation. Electric power production, taking 1938 as 1, increased 21 times in 1960, 37 times in 1965, and 101 times in 1970. It will reach 218 times in 1975. How? We find a ready answer. Recall the «Mao Tse-tung» hydro-power station of 250,000 kW. capacity and with an annual output of 1 billion kWh., which was brought into operation a little while ago and the Fierza hydro-power station on which work has just begun. It is another power giant, much bigger than the one built at Vau Dejës.

Socialist Albania today is one of the first countries in the world with all its cities and villages supplied with electricity. And to complete this display there are all kinds of wires and cables produced in Shkodra, radio and television sets produced in Durrës, electric lamps from Vlora, electro-technical equipment from Tirana, etc., etc. This is a brief picture of the poem of light in Albania.

ATTENTION — INTERESTING FIGURES

We close the chapter on the industrial development which is represented at the exhibition with a series of other stands too. But first some more figures. A major characteristic at the socialist indus-

trialization of our country is the high rate of its development. Look! Today our industry turns out in 6 days as much as was produced during the whole of 1938. In 25 days the volume of industrial production of the year 1950, in 4 months and 21 days that of the whole year 1960. With regard to the rate of increase of industrial production our country is away in advance of other countries. Rates which really fill you with enthusiasm. Here is something else which we find out at the exhibition. The quantity or value representing 1 per cent of the increase of total industrial output during one five-year plan is always greater than the quantity or value of 1 per cent increase during the previous five-year plan. Thus, while 1 per cent increase of industrial production under the first five-year plan represented 5 million leks the second five-year plan it represented 13 million, under the third — 28 million, under the fourth — 39 million and under the fifth five-year plan which we are working on now — 71 million leks.

FROM WOODEN PLOUGH TO TRACTOR AND COMBINE

As we walk around the exhibition it is difficult to decide what to note first. Here are the agricultural stands. In the past Albania was a country with an that was backward in every respect agriculture, of a pronounced single-crop character and with very poor production for the market. In 1938 about 97 per cent of the total cultivated area was under bread grain with maize absolutely dominant. The motor-power in agriculture for every 100 hectares of cultivated land was 0.3 HP. Of the total power

used in agriculture, 99.2 per cent came from draught animals and only 0.8 per cent from motors.

After liberation the first measure of an essentially democratic character adopted by the people's regime was the land reform carried out according to the principle «the land belongs to him that cultivates it». About 90 per cent of the total area of the land expropriated, half the number of olive trees, and all the draught animals were distributed free of charge to 70,000 peasant families who had been landless or owned little land. It was on this basis that our agriculture began its transformation from an extensive and backward agriculture into one proceeding with rapid strides towards modernisation and intensification. Passing from one stand to another one can clearly see this rapid progress. With the last 10 years total agricultural production was 61 per cent higher than that of the previous 10 years (1951-1960). In regard to the rate of increase of total agricultural production, our country has surpassed many neighbouring countries such as Greece, Italy, Spain, etc.

The giant strides over these past 27 years of people's power has liquidated the age-long backwardness of agriculture. This is immediately evident to the visitor who may recall the words written at the time of the anti-popular Zog regime: «Albania is a country beautiful in nature, but ugly in work, especially in agriculture». Nature in Albania has always been beautiful, but it is only today under the hand of man who has become master of his own land, that it has acquired its true beauty. What colossal work! Formerly without textile combines and factories and with a mono-culture agriculture, Albania today produces more industrial crops in five

years than were produced in tens of years in the past.

ONCE A HOT-BED OF MALARIA, TODAY NOT A SINGLE SUFFERER FROM THIS DISEASE

The exhibition includes many pavillions, each of them reflecting the tableau and rate of development of a given sector. You proceed through the exhibition hall. High up on a clear background are the words: «In our socialist country there is great care for the children, for they are the future of our Fatherland». Further on: «Medical treatment free of charge». Few words but with much meaning. The backwardness of the past had grave consequences for the lives of mother and child. Suffice it to mention that in 1938 there were only 38 midwives and these only in the main cities, one mother and child consultation center, one maternity ward with only 15 beds, and one pediatric section with 25 beds. Come and see what the exhibition shows about this. The number of beds in the maternity homes and wards, has increased more than 170 times as against the year 1938. Today, there are 1,371 consultation centers as against only one in the past, and today each mother and baby makes an average of 6 visits per year. For the proper upbringing of children and to facilitate the participation of women in social production, the number and capacity of the creches has been increased several times over. More than two-thirds of the cost for every child in these crèches is defrayed by the state and only the one-third by the parents themselves.

In the past more than half of the population of our country suffered from malaria. Syphilis was wide-spread. Today not

a single trace of these diseases remains. It is no tall story but a real fact, that now teachers at the faculty of medicine in Tirana are obliged to explain what malaria is in words alone, in theory, because there is not a single case, no person suffering from malaria who can be shown to the students. Today Albania, once the most malaria-stricken country in Europe, has an advanced preventive and curative health service. In 1947, 40 per cent of the population were suffering from malaria, in 1949 only 20 per cent. And today? Zero per cent. The continuous decline in the percentage of the people suffering from infective diseases, the steady improvement in the people's health, brings us to 1971 when the average lifespan is 68 years, as against 38 years in 1938. Thus, the life expectancy of the visitors passing through the exhibition hall today is about twice as long as that of our people in 1938. Today there is one doctor for each 1.100 inhabitants, whereas in 1975 there will be one doctor for each 850 inhabitants. In our institutions equipped with up-to-date diagnostic means, sophisticated medical treatments and delicate surgical operations are carried out. All these services are provided free of charge. Nowadays Albania looks back with sorrow and indignation on that bitter past life of the people which today remains only in the pages of the history books...

CORRECT YOUR INFORMATION ABOUT ALBANIA, GENTLEMEN

«Albania has great export possibilities. Many of this country's export commodities are unknown to us but despite this, I am of the opinion that because of their good quality and originality these commodities have every possibility of being introduced to and competing on the European markets». There were the words of a French businessman who visited this beautiful exhibition and carefully looked over many commodities which seemed of interest to foreign markets. There was a time, not very long ago, when Albania would be represented at some international fair with a bag of tobacco, stack of unprocessed hides and a round of cheese. While we don't want to become boring with lists of figures and statistics from the year books, let us make some comparison for the sake of figures and data have clarity. At that time, exports represented only 10 per cent of the total volume of foreign trade and these were mainly agricultural and livestock products, quite primitive and in limited quantities. Behind these figures lay the undeveloped body of the Albania of that time when its industrial arteries had still not opened up and agriculture still preserved its backward features. In 1938 the range of ex-

port goods covered only 20 articles. By 1970 this figure had risen to over 200. Last year the specific weight of industrial products in the total export volume reached 60 per cent. Twenty-seven years ago Albania used to buy or import almost everything. Today our country is known in the outside world first for its industrial features, for its exports and for its plans and prospects of a still brighter future. Once an importer, Albania has now turned into an exporter of textiles, calcinated soda and even panes of glass. Today she imports in the main only items of equipment and raw materials needed to further develop the various branches of industry and agriculture. In the face of this reality, the foreign authors of old publications about Albania containing antiquated figures and facts, have had to close their dusty for every while various businessmen, statisticians and scholars have had to correct their notes and data about Albania by referring to the most recent data and facts about the reality in new socialist Albania. «In the western countries», says the British journalist P.A. Timberlake, «there are persons who speak about Albania, relying on the data and facts of several decades ago. I am convinced that these people are not abreast of the times and are not acquainted with the objective reality of

new Albania on its road of progress». This reality, this pulse and vitality of the new socialist Albania, is felt in every corner of our Fatherland, in every aspect of our life, even within the few thousand square metres of the «Albania 1971» exhibition. Speaking symbolically, we could consider this pavillon as an itinerary of only a few through Albania in which the visitor has the possibility of acquainting himself at first-hand with present-day Albania. «We knew very little about Albania» wrote a foreign visitor when he came to this country, — «because mostly people speak about of the area, the population or some other simple fact, without going deeply in the radical changes which have taken place and continue to take place in your country. But now we have found out for ourselves about Albania, about her people and the socialist reality. And we rightfully call her a beaconlight of socialism in Europe». Albania, small in area, small in population, but very great in strength and heroism, is stronger than ever today in 1971. We are proud of this. This is legitimate pride. It will be even greater in 1975. Albania will find herself more beautiful and stronger than today, bursting through all the usual restrictions on development and speeding ahead in the race of the socialist revolution.

II. Problems Of In

The Demarcation The Marxist-Leninist Modern Revisionism Be Liquidated

Not many days ago the Italian revisionist Party addressed to the Party of Labour of Albania an invitation to take part in its 13th Congress due to be held soon. Our Party rejected the invitation and refused even to take cognizance of it.

The Albanian communists have not had, do not have nor do they want to have any kind of ties and contacts with the Italian revisionists under any form and at any level whatever. The Party of Labour of Albania has carried out a fierce struggle and an open and principled polemic with the revisionist party of Italy, it has unwaveringly exposed its anti-Marxist-line and has strongly criticized its practical activity. The refusal to accept the Italian invitation is in full compliance with the revolutionary line of our party which has set a clear and unchangeable demarcation line between itself and all the modern revisionists.

The articles of «Zëri i Popullit», «On the theses for the 10th Congress of the Italian CP», «P. Togliatti's Will», «The crisis of revisionism and the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists», «With what do the Italian revisionists go to their 11th Congress», «Integration with the bourgeoisie – a new course of the 12th Congress of the Italian revisionists» and many others have shown what the real political and ideological physiognomy of the Italian revisionists is, have presented with accuracy the essence of the Italian revisionist opportunism indicating at the same time the heavy dama-

ges which the betrayal of the chieftains of the Italian Communist Party has caused to the working class and the revolutionary movement in Italy.

The Party of Labour of Albania, the CP of China and the other Marxist-Leninist parties have criticised and exposed the party of the Italian revisionists because it has ceased to be a revolutionary party, loyal to Marxism-Leninism and to the working class interests in as much as it has long since turned into a bourgeois parliamentary party the mission of which is to hoodwink the working people, to lead them to a blind alley and facilitate the rule of the bourgeoisie. Having deeply submerged in the swamp of opportunism, the Italian revisionist party has now fully integrated itself into the bourgeois system becoming a component part and an instrument of it. In parliament, in regional councils, in the municipal councils of cities and townships and in other forms of power, it takes an active part in governing the country, in maintaining order and in ensuring the bourgeois order. In Italy, in a more visible manner than in any other capitalist country, the revisionist party has fully taken the place of social-democracy. Shifting on the right, it has passed over to the open bourgeois camp.

The Marxist-Leninist parties have exposed the Italian revisionists because they not only became supporters of Khrushchev and Khrushchevism in the Soviet Union, but jointly with

ternational life

ation Line Between Leninists And The Revisionists Cannot ed

- Editorial of the «ZERI I POPULLIT»

him they threw themselves into the fight against Marxism-Leninism and became zealous ideologists of contemporary political opportunism, unrestrained preachers of the withering away of the class struggle and of the collaboration with the bourgeoisie on a national and world scale, ardent propagators of pacifist dreams and illusions about imperialism. The theses and ideas of the so-called «Italian road to socialism», persistently defended in these last twenty years by the Italian revisionists, constitute the most reformist code of the whole of modern revisionism and represent a general offensive against the fundamental bases of Marxism-Leninism and the long revolutionary practice of the international communist and workers movement.

The Italian Togliattists and their followers in other countries were among the first ones that raised the banner of the war against Stalin and Marxism-Leninism, that negated socialism and the struggle of whole generations of communists for the triumph of the ideology of the working class and communism. They were among the first ones that joined the Khrushchevian offensive of calumnies and insults against the Communist Party of China and Chairman Mao, against the Party of Labour of Albania and the other parties which were defending Marxism-Leninism. The role they have played in dividing the international communist movement and in the revisionist degeneration of many communist parties

can be fully compared with that of the Soviet Khrushchevites.

Have now the Italian revisionists changed, have they become better than they were ten or fifteen years ago, at the time of the 20th Congress of the CPSU or of the Moscow meeting of the communist parties in 1960? Not in the least. On the contrary, they have today carried through to the end the process of revisionist degeneration of the party creating a qualitatively new organisation which is the opposite of the communist one.

The only preoccupation of the Italian revisionist party today is to embark the working class on the road of reformism, to arouse in it the spirit of christian passiveness, disillusion and submission. As to its daily struggle, it has turned into an ordinary struggle for participation and sharing of the existing capitalist power with the other parties of the bourgeois wing.

The Italian revisionists have been and continue to be close allies of the Soviet social-imperialists. On the main questions, such as the fight against Marxism-Leninism and suppression of the revolution, the line of Soviet-U.S. rapprochement and collaboration, the Soviet plans in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, the stand towards the war in Vietnam, etc., the Moscow chieftains have had and always have the full support of their Italian friends.

True between the Italian revisionists and the Soviet ones there are also contradictions and disagreements about this or that special question rising in the field of international relations. But these divergencies have not been and are not of an ideological and principled character. They have developed and continue to develop within the framework of anti-communism, the basis of betrayal towards Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and the freedom of the peoples, against the revolutionary forces. It is not only the Italian revisionists, not only leading groups of some parties not in power that have divergences with the Soviet revisionist leaders, but even some revisionist party in power has disagreements and contradictions with the Soviets. This is natural. Contradictions and division in the fold of the revisionists are inevitable, for they stem from its class and ideological nature itself. There is no doubt that in the future the quarrels and clashes in the revisionist camp will become fiercer and deeper. Between the Soviet revisionists and the Italian ones, just as between the others, there exist opposite interests which cannot be reconciled.

The revisionist cliques in the western countries, being already connected with the interests of their own national bourgeoisies and European-US imperialist groupings, cannot fail to come across clashes and conflicts with the Moscovite rulers whom they rival and vie with for economic, political and military expansion. The adoption of an independent position and critical stand towards some actions of the Soviet Union is for the revisionist parties of Western Europe an obliged act. Should they act otherwise they would fully tie up their own hands and would allow their opponents to exploit to their detriment all the blunders and internal and external defeats of the Soviet leaders. Czechoslovakia was a heavy blow to the whole so-called liberal wing of modern revisionism and the western revisionists were compelled by the situation to openly manifest their despair towards the military adventures of the Kremlin.

Bourgeois nationalism is more and more powerfully manifesting itself also in the leadership of the ruling revisionist parties of Eastern Europe where ever new conflicts are being added to the old ones with the Soviets.

The existence of two main belligerent lines in the revisionist camp, both of them anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary, is now seen by everybody. They were born and are developing on the basis of the contradictions between the chauvinistic and expansionist great-Russian policy of social-imperialism and the narrow bourgeois nationalism of various revisionist forces, of the contradictions and rivalries between the new Soviet imperialism and the old and new bourgeoisie of the countries where the revisionists hold power.

This situation arisen in the revisionist camp is seen also by the rulers of the Soviet Union who feel that they are losing the hegemony they had till some time ago over the various revisionist detachments. Now the Soviet leaders, with all the means at their disposal, are striving to use for their own interests all the revisionist forces, and the dissidents, in the fight against the cause of the revolution and socialism, against the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties. The aim of the Moscow revisionists is to assign a role to everybody: those loyal and the fearful lackeys are asked to play the role of a loudspeaker for the propaganda of the Soviet line, those who have some

objections and contradictions should use this position to carry out some counterrevolutionary missions which the Soviets, being exposed and discredited, are unable to carry through to the end.

And to unite them in this direction, the Soviet revisionists use both the fist and flatteries, thearms and rubles. In the countries where the revisionists are in power, there the Soviet leaders couple their dictate also with the fear of the tanks or with the tightening of the screws through such organisations as the Warsaw Treaty, the Mutual Aid Economic Council, etc. To «convince» the revisionist parties which are not in power, the job presents some difficulties. With their regard they have recourse to all sorts of pressure, intrigues and machinations, beginning with the cutting off of subsidies and ending with the creation of internal factions, beginning with ideological pressure and ending with public political compromise, etc.

In as much as all the revisionists, ranging from the Khrushchevian and up to the Togliattist ones, despite the quarrels and contradictions they have between them, are united into a single counter-revolutionary front by their common hostility and struggle against Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary forces defending it, actually the dissident revisionists present themselves as equilibrists, playing in two directions. On the one side, they seek to utilize the dissidence with Moscow in order to get from the latter as much as possible and, on the other side, feigning to oppose the Moscow revisionists, they play the role of a diversionist and strive to cause to degenerate, however little, the parties standing on correct Marxist-Leninist positions under the notorious revisionist pretension of «talking and collaborating on what unites us and leaving aside and forgetting what divides us».

On this road the Togliattists and the other revisionists of this ilk want, by introducing the worm into the healthy Marxist-Leninist forces, to render their good services as well to the Soviet revisionists, their national bourgeoisie, as to imperialism. But with the Party of Labour of Albania these manoeuvres and acrobatic feats do not work. We reject with contempt and mercilessly expose the attempts of the dissident revisionists to speculate through their not in the least principled divergences with the Soviets and to profit to the detriment of Marxism-Leninism. Enlightened by Marxism-Leninism and by the experience of its protracted struggle against the revisionists of all hues, the Party of Labour of Albania will never blunder and will never fall on opportunist positions where the revisionist enemies would like to see her.

The Albanian communists do not allow themselves to be deceived by the false anti-social imperialism of the togliattists and their friends, in the same way as they have not been deceived by the demagogical anti-imperialism of the other revisionists. The «Unity of action» against imperialism or even against social-imperialism of which some kinds of revisionists speak from time to time, in reality does not aim either U.S. imperialism or the Soviet one. Joining them means joining revisionism against Marxism-Leninism, the counter-revolutionaries against the revolutionary forces. The efforts being made by the togliattists and other revisionists allegedly to re-establish a «new unity» in the world revolutionary and labour movement, under the notorious slogan of «unity in diversity», are aimed at suppressing the principled revolutionary struggle which the Marxist-Leninists are waging for the exposu-

re of the revisionists, at establishing a general class peace and eliminating the deep demarcation line which separates at present the Marxist-Leninist camp from the revisionist one. They aim at having the Marxist-Leninists associate themselves with their capitulation before imperialism, social-imperialism and reaction.

Today the situation in the world is developing favorably for the revolution and socialism and to the detriment of imperialism and social-imperialism which are in an all-round crisis. Particularly, the revisionist front is rotting and degenerating more and more, the quarrels between its detachments are increasing and sharpening. This situation is certainly a result of the betrayal of the modern revisionists, of their bourgeois and anti-Marxist-line, of their counter-revolutionary actions.

But this crisis has been caused also as a result of the correct Marxist-Leninist positions and of the determined struggle of the Communist Party of China, the Party of Labour of Albania and the other Marxist-Leninist forces. It is the same struggle that must be carried out persistently also in the future to do away with any illusion that, in special situations and conjunctures, may be created about any individual revisionist detachment, to open the eyes to the healthy forces inside and outside the revisionist parties so as to finally settle accounts with them not only from the ideological and political aspect, but also from the organisational aspect.

The road to the complete destruction of modern revisionism can never pass through contacts and talks with the revisionist dissidents for an alleged joint struggle against imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. The revisionists have always wanted the ceasing of polemics and the establishment of contacts, be it formally with the Marxist-Leninists. This would prettify them before the eyes of the masses, would increase their authority and would present them as if standing on the side of the revolution.

But the Marxist-Leninists and all the revolutionaries do not allow themselves to fall into these traps. The position of the Party of Labour of Albania on this question has been and remain clear: a principled struggle without compromise and through to the end against imperialism, revisionism of all hues, against the bourgeoisie and reaction. It has strictly upheld the Marxist-Leninist principle confirmed by life that one cannot maintain contacts and talk with a part of the revisionists because these have disagreements and contradictions with some other revisionists. In the same way as you cannot rely on one imperialism in order to oppose the other, so you cannot rely on one part of revisionists to oppose another part. The revisionists have now definitely placed themselves outside the anti-imperialist front and the world proletarian revolutionary movement. As well in politics as in ideology and on all other fronts the revisionists and the Marxist-Leninists stand on the opposite sides of the barricade.

The Marxist-Leninists are aware that final victory over the new revisionist opportunism will require still more efforts, ever greater courage and determination, it will require ever more powerful and courageous actions. But they are also fully aware that the clever tactics of the struggle against revisionism must be chosen in such a way as to certainly help in attaining the targets of our revolutionary strategy, the destruction of imperialism and revisionism, the triumph of communism.



Electro-mechanical factory at Durrës. The TV-sets assembly section

Silversmiths at the «Migjeni» artistic cooperative of Tirana



Instigators For Aggression

The Indo-Pakistani conflict which shook all international life at the end of the year that has just concluded, remains at the center of attention of world public opinion. Everybody understands that the occupation of East Pakistan by the Indian troops is neither the doing of Indian reaction alone nor the finish of a plan. It is the continuation and implementation of the counterrevolutionary global strategy of the two imperialist superpowers for the extension of their zones of influence and the establishment of their world domination, for the encirclement of the PR of China and the preparation of aggression against her.

In this dangerous military adventure, this time the main role was played by the Soviet revisionist clique. With the hand of Indian reaction it carried out an ugly aggression against a sovereign country. The peoples of the world, all honest people saw very clearly that all the threads of the Indian aggression against Pakistan traced back to Moscow, to the military headquarters of the Kremlin. The imperialist nature of the present-day rulers of the Soviet Union, manifested itself with all its aggressiveness in the events on the Indian sub-continent, just as it had done three years ago in Czechoslovakia.

To escape complete exposure, the Soviet rulers are endeavouring to hide the crime they perpetrated. They have set all their means and all their satellites in motion to prove that allegedly the People's Republic of China is responsible for the aggression in Hindustan.

According to them, China's «guilt» consists in that she has maintained friendly relations with Pakistan, and those have almost become the fundamental source of the war. Absolutely unrestrained in their calumnies, they go to such lengths as to say that China «has set Asians against Asians». These «arguments» amount to nothing but broken lies, but this is the way of the revisionists. The truth is entirely different and known to the whole world. It is not China that helped the aggressors, nor is it her soldiers that have invaded Pakistan. Nobody can now deny the fact that behind the Indian troops who marched on East Pakistan, Kashmir and the Punjab, was the Soviet Union which not only placed the weapons but also its whole material and political weight at the disposal of the Indian reactionaries. The diplomatic war against Pakistan was waged not by Indira Gandhi, but by the Soviet representative in the United Nations Organization, who blocked the Security Council with his veto and paralyzed the United Nations Organization. Likewise, it was the big propaganda machine of the Soviet revisionists which was mobilized to formulate and spread the theses of the justification of the aggression, to provide a «theoretical» and «ideological» basis for it.

This open aggressive action of the Indian government and its Soviet supporters has been exposed and condemned by all the peoples of the world. One hundred and four states voted in the General Assembly against the Indian aggression, demanding that the invading armies should be withdrawn from

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the occupied territories as quickly as possible and return within their own boundaries. By coming out against this just and reasonable demand, India, the Soviet Union, and its satellites isolated themselves and showed that they stood on the side of aggression and robbing the peoples of their freedom and independence.

The rulers of the Soviet Union are trying to present their instigation and support for the Indian aggression as support for the national aspirations of the people of East Pakistan. All this is an ill disguised bluff. What resulted from the Soviet action in Hindustan a brutal violation of the borders of a sovereign state, a violation and occupation of the national territory of a free country, the enslavement of an independent people. To claim that the events on the Indian sub-continent represent a national liberation war as the Soviet revisionists are doing, is an unparalleled absurdity. How is this a national liberation war? When was this war fought out? If Indira Gandhi's aggression is called a liberation war, then that is another thing, but the world, all the peoples, call what India and the Soviet Union have just done in Hindustan aggression and the Moscow chieftains cannot escape exposure and condemnation by the whole world, simply by playing with words.

It is true that Pakistan has had its internal problems both in the political field and in the field of relations between her eastern and western regions. The Pakistanis have hidden neither the difficulties nor the mistakes that have been made.

All these are problems which the Pakistan people alone are called onto solve. And in which country are there no internal national problems? Can it be said the Soviet Union or India have no such problems? Nothing can justify foreign intervention in the internal affairs of a country, and even less the use of armed forces to restore «justice» and establish «order». Questions of democratic freedoms, national problems and the regime in general, are questions exclusive to each people, as they were for the Soviet Union at the time of the October Revolution, or in other countries later, while fighting for these things Lenin, the communists, and all the genuine revolutionaries, have fought at the same time to defend the principle of non-ingerence in the internal affairs of others, they have defended the right of each people to solve its own problems in an independent and sovereign manner. When they attacked Czechoslovakia, the Soviet chieftains evoked the principle of aid to a socialist country allegedly endangered by internal counter-revolution and outside aggression. Now, in the case of the aggression against Pakistan, they are invoking the principle of the support which the socialist countries give the revolutionary and national liberation movements. But, as facts show and as life confirms, the actions of the Soviet revisionists have nothing to do, either with the defence of socialism, or with the support of the national liberation struggle. A basic firm principle of Marxism-Leninism is that the revolution is not exported, the question of the regime and social system of every country is within the exclusive compe-

tence of its own people. And the Soviet revisionists know this very well.

But history has never known greater demagogues than the Soviet revisionists. When they speak of the defence of socialism, then they are preparing to attack the socialist countries; when they raise a hue and cry about support for the liberation struggles, then they are preparing to intervene, to hasten expansionism and establish neo-colonialism; when they «attack» imperialism, then they are increasing their collaboration with it to undermine the revolution and to establish their domination in the world.

The new aggressive act of the Soviet revisionists clearly reveals that they are concerned not about the fate of the peoples or of the revolutionary movements, but about the implementation of their expansionist, imperialist policy. In the case of the events in Hindustan, the Soviet social-imperialists aim not only to extend their influence in East Pakistan, but to further consolidate their domination in India. Since India is economically poor and further weakened by the war and burdened by keeping East Pakistan under her occupation Moscow wants to profit from the occasion to sink its claws deeper into her flesh, to strengthen its own political, economic and military presence, to turn that country into a prop for the aims of Soviet expansion in southern Asia and then Indian Ocean. The fact is that the Indian-Pakistani conflict clearly showed that the alliance of the Soviet-revisionists with the Indian reactionaries has been turned into a new aggressive block, the first victim of which was the Pakistani people.

But, the Soviet aggressive activity in Hindustan also clearly shows the anti-China direction of the policy of the Kremlin chieftains, their hostility and aggressive aim of encircling China from the south too, of inciting provocations and war against her.

These aims have been apparent since 1959. At that time China defeated the provocations of the Indian reactionaries and smashed their very far-ranging aggressive plans. Despite this, China made not the slightest step towards occupying India, or to interfere in its domestic life. At that time Nikita Khrushchev stood on the side of Indian reaction, supported their chauvinistic theses and justified their aggressive acts. This was also the start of the open attacks, of the Moscow and other revisionists against China, the foundations for the Soviet-Indian counter-revolutionary collaboration were laid and strengthened.

China's stand towards the Indian-Pakistani conflict has been an absolutely correct, principled, consistent one, and in the interests of the peoples of India and Pakistan. Loyal to its principled policy of the observation of the sovereignty and independence of every people the PR of China recognized that the domestic affairs of Pakistan can and must be solved by the people of Pakistan alone without any interference from outside, that any effort to impose a solution on the Pakistani people, whatever it may be, through the military interference of another country, constitutes an aggressive act.

From the very beginning, the government of the PR of China declared that the large scale aggressive war against Pakistan was launched in an arrogant manner by the Indian government with the active encouragement and energetic support of the Soviet Union. Associating itself with the common desire of the peoples of the whole world and of all the countries who

cherish peace and support justice, who are interested in the security of the nations and defence of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country, it called on India and Pakistan for a cease fire and the withdrawal of their armed forces to their own side of the Indo-Pakistani borders. At the same time, the government of the PR of China declared that it and the Chinese people oppose imperialism, expansionism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism, that they resolutely support the peoples of all countries in their just struggle in defence of their state sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Basing themselves on these firm principles, the Chinese government and people resolutely support the government and people of Pakistan in their just struggle against aggression, disruption and subversion. In relation to Pakistan, People's China has rigorously upheld the principles of good neighbourliness accepted by the whole world, and nobody has the right to deny this. This correct and principled stand of the PR of China has won the support and sympathy of the peoples and of all the honest men and women of the world. On this occasion, too, the world has witnessed two diametrically opposed stands: China's Marxist-Leninist stand of opposing aggression and injustice, of defending the rights of the peoples and their freedom, and the revisionist stand of the Soviet chieftains, who, for their own expansionist and imperialist aims, set one country against another, support the aggressors, and do not hesitate to rob the peoples of their freedom and independence.

The present anti-China campaign of the Soviet revisionists, aims among other things, at distorting the real facts and at lowering the great prestige the People's China has won throughout the world. It is obvious that the rising of the Moscow satellites to their feet to howl against China has been orchestrated and is conducted by the Kremlin. According to the order they have received, they are all trying to defend the Soviet Union from the powerful denunciation which People's China made of its aggressive acts on the Indian subcontinent, and, on the other hand, to misrepresent and portray the Chinese stand in the blackest colours. As soon as the Soviet news agency TASS hurled itself against China alleging that in the UNO and in her stand towards the Indian-Pakistani conflict China act in the same way as the USA, the newspaper of the French revisionists «l'Humanité» and «Daily World», the organ of the so-called Communist Party of the USA, which is dependent on Moscow, hurled themselves frenzy against China in the very same phrase. The newspaper of the German revisionists «Neues Deutschland», Husak's «Rude Pravo», «Rabotnicesko Dello» of the Bulgarians, «Unen» of the Mongolians, etc., as if at the pressing of the button, joined this chorus of howls. In order not to lag behind their friends the Polish revisionists when even further on December 24, «Zycie Warszawi» wrote that «... their rapprochement with the US imperialists (it is about the Chinese - our note) has now reached the stage of collaboration spearheaded against the Soviet Union. This can be seen for instance, in the meetings of the UNO Security Council, where the successive draft-resolutions about the events on the Indian subcontinent were discussed. The same tune was played also by Zoltan Komochini, one of the revisionist chieftains of the Hungarian leadership, who on December 25, wrote in «Nepsabadshag» that «in the

UNO the Chinese-U.S. collaboration is going on, on a broad scale.

In reality it is the Soviet Union and the USA which have a united front and on many many questions they have come out and acted in a coordinated way. The Soviet revisionists are very closely linked with the US imperialists and they will never be able to deceive the world and make it believe their allegation that China is with the Americans.

Now the Soviet - US collaboration has appeared again, in the case of the Indian-Pakistani conflict. It is seen in that that while the Kremlin chieftains equipped and incited India to launch the aggression against Pakistan, the US imperialists pretended not to help the Indian ocean and on the Indian subcontinent, was in fact calculated assistance for India, because it created a certain impression among the naive that the action against Pakistan had a kind of anti-imperialist character, because, allegedly, it was perpetrated not only without the blessing of the US, but even against its desires. This US stand also helped the Soviet propaganda to trumpet that allegedly the attitude of the US and China to the problem of the Indo-Pakistani conflict was the same.

The new and frenzied anti-China campaign, which aims at denigrating the Chinese socialist state and smearing its correct policy, cannot fail to cause indignation and revolt amongst the true revolutionaries and all the progressive peoples of the world. By attacking People's China, the Soviet revisionists

want to attack those who stand for peace and to defend those who stand for war, to attack those who oppose imperialism, and to back those who incite aggression. But the Soviet revisionists are gravely mistaken if they hope that their monstrous slanders can be swallowed by the others. The mud they are trying to sling at China, falls back on themselves. Whatever attacks they may undertake and whatever tales they may invent they cannot wipe off the fact that they have been and still are dangerous imperialists and aggressors. The People's Republic of China is a determined enemy of US imperialism and fights courageously with all its might against the attempts to extend the US imperialist domination in Asia and throughout the world. China has always adopted a correct and consistent Marxist-Leninist attitude, has always considered US imperialism the number one enemy of the peoples, the main danger to their freedom and independence. It has always been against US imperialism, and it will remain so to the end.

The recent events on the South Asian subcontinent are an alarm signal calling for increased vigilance from all the peoples of all the areas of the world, towards old and new imperialism and its expansionist activities, a call to the peoples to rise up to destroy imperialism aggressive plans, to strengthen their defence abilities, and to be always ready to cope with the frenzied attacks of the US imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and all the other reactionaries.

The Monetary Crisis Of Capitalism

For a long time now, the economy and finances of the capitalist countries have been writhing in the grip of the most serious crisis of the period since the Second World War. The epicenter of this crisis is the U. S. dollar. The imperialist circles, of Washington, especially since the Presidential measures proclaimed on August 15 last year, have done their utmost to extricate themselves from the difficulties created by the crisis by shifting its consequences on to the backs of labouring masses within the country and their imperialist «partners» outside. To this end, they have set in motion all their political, economic, propagandist and military mechanism, using threats, pressures and blackmail, accompanied with demagoguery, in their confrontation with other countries, especially with the countries of the «Common Mar-

ket», Japan and Canada. They have tried in every way to justify and, even, to «enthrone» the so-called new economic policy of the USA which the extraordinary measures of August 1971 inaugurated.

But have the extraordinary measures of the Nixon Administration yielded the results envisaged? In other words, have they been able to cure the dollar and the US economy in general, of the sickness of the chronic crisis? The answer is clear-cut: they have not done and never can do such a thing. This is understandable.

The present monetary crisis is no chance occurrence or temporary manifestation. Its roots lie in the capitalist system itself, in the capitalist economy and superstructure. The crisis is the effect, while the cause lies in the capitalist mode of production itself with the many-

side antagonistic contradictions that run through all the relations and all the cells of capitalist society on a national and an international level. The present monetary crisis is a direct expression of the general crisis of the capitalist system. Not only is it an offspring of the general crisis but it deepens this crisis and makes the contradictions of capitalism more acute. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «The dollar crisis is not just the crisis of the US currency nor of the currencies of other imperialist states. This is an obvious expression of the general economic, political, military and ideological crisis of the whole capitalist system, of its structure and superstructure, of the capitalist and imperialist regimes and alliances» (E. Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania pp. 14-15).

At the Washington meeting of the Finance Ministers of the 10 principal capitalist countries held in mid-December, after much bargaining and bitter contradictions, a compromise agreement was concluded for «regulating» the monetary relations among these countries. As is known, the main points of this agreement are: the establishment of a new exchange ratios between the capitalist currencies, the establishment of a 2.25% margin for fluctuations in the ratios of exchange above or below the new levels, a 7.9 per cent devaluation of the US dollar and a rise in the price of gold from 35 to 38 dollars per ounce, the revaluation of the currencies of certain other capitalist countries, the abolition of the 10% surtax imposed by the USA on goods imported from other countries. Imperialist circles are striving

ITS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES. THE WASHINGTON COMPROMISE DOES NOT SOLVE THE ACUTE PROBLEMS OF THE CRISIS

to inflate the value of this compromise, alleging that it is the means which will establish «monetary peace» among them. Nevertheless, official statements and comments have not concealed their pessimism concerning the present and future of capitalist currencies and the relations stemming from them. All the signs are that not only will the compromise agreement concluded not steer the ship of the world capitalism into a safe harbour but that it conceals the possibility of new tidal waves and tempests, hence of deeper contradictions.

The Washington compromise legalizes a new establishment of forces in the whole system of economic, monetary-financial, and trade relations among capitalist countries, in practice annulling the system established at Bretton Woods in 1944. Willy-nilly, the United

States of America found itself faced with the necessity of devaluing the dollar, although the devaluation agreed to is lower than its actual devaluation against gold.

Thus, the former hegemony of the almighty dollar in the capitalist monetary system has been seriously shaken. In practice, the US dollar can no longer enjoy its former position of trust as «the monetary guarantor» in capitalist exchanges nor the role of general equivalent, for it has lost its gold basis. It is a «detroned king». The prospects are that the inequality gap between the dollar and gold will become even deeper.

As is well known, through the extraordinary measures proclaimed by President Nixon on August 1, 1971, the USA imposed a 10% surtax on the goods of other countries imported to the USA. For a long

time, it maintained an uncompromising attitude in carrying out this arbitrary and unilateral step on the principle of «might is right». But the US intransigence gave way before the resistance and opposition «en bloc» of the other capitalist competitions. At no other time since the Second World War has the United States of America been in such a position of isolation and retaliation on the part of its allies. At no other time during this period have the inter-imperialist contradictions reached such a situation of acute tension that carries very very near to boiling over.

The sharpening of these contradictions in the context of the financial and economic crisis, reached such a point as to cause serious concern among the top political and business circles of Washington, London, Paris, Bonn, Tokyo, Ottawa

and the other capitalist countries. This crisis and the contradictions to which it gave birth have been, as we know, the subject of recent bilateral talks between Nixon and Trudeau, Pompidou, Heath, Brandt, and Sato.

Thus, the Washington circles agreed to lift the 10% surtax which was a sort of noose around the necks of the other competitors on the capitalist market. By agreeing to remove this surtax, they hope and pretend that they have done away with the «apple of discord», that they have established or will establish «trade peace» with their other partners. But the lifting of the surtax, like its imposition on 15th August, will not be able to «ease», even less avert, the competitive struggle in the world capitalist market. The roots of this rivalry lie in the bourgeois economic and social order, with its con-

tinuous changes in the ratio of forces within the country and on an international scale, as a consequence of the wide-scale operation of the law of unequal economic and political development. These changes in the ratio of forces are accompanied by corresponding shifts and upsets in economic, commercial, and financial relations consequently, in corresponding variations in the balance of payments and in the balance of foreign trade of each capitalist country. This is why the newspaper «Washington Post» did not conceal its pessimism when it wrote «It would be a mistake to think that the lifting of the surtax is the magic wand which will liquidate the international monetary problems».

THE U.S. SURTAX IN DISGUISE

In his statements the day after the conclusion of the Washington agreement, US President Nixon tried to silence public opinion with his warning «we should not discuss who won and who lost». He wanted to create the impression that with the agreement reached, «the whole free world has won» (!). But the accounts speak for themselves.

Although it agreed to devalue its dollar and lift the surtax in essence the USA imposed greater sacrifices on the other countries represented at the Smithsonian Institute. It dictated to these countries the revaluation of their currencies at various levels and percentages. This revaluation of the other imperialist currencies against the dollar is, in fact, a surtax in disguise on their export commodities to the US market. Up to now, Japan alone has incurred a loss of 550 billion yen or 912 million pounds

sterling, as a result of the revaluation of its currency and the fluctuation of its exchange rate.

The revaluation of the currencies of the capitalist countries of Western Europe, Japan, and Canada, is a means of weakening the trade competition of these countries against US business. At the same time it is a means of strengthening the competitive ability of the US monopolies on the world capitalist market. In many aspects this measure is a continuation of the policy of protectionism in a disguised form, not in the form of a surtax but in the form of the revaluation of currencies. According to the comment of the London newspaper «Financial Times», the United States agreed to cancel the 10% surtax in exchange for the promises made by the countries of the Common Market, Canada and Japan to revalue their currencies. This automatically makes the exports of these countries dearer and the exports of the USA cheaper. Moreover, under pressure from the USA, the countries of Western Europe agreed to increase their military expenditure including their expenditure for the maintenance of the US forces in these countries. It is a case of giving an inch and grabbing a foot.

Persisting on its policy of dictate, the USA is now exerting pressure on its partners for a revision of trade tariffs. Through the mouth of President Nixon or the Secretary of State for Finance, Conally, it is now making direct threats that if they do not reach an agreement on this subject, the US Government will not submit the decision on the devaluation of the dollar to Congress for approval. The USA is now exerting pressure on the countries of the Common Market with the aim of opening their doors to US commodities, especially,

to food and agricultural products.

PROSPECTS FOR THE CAPITALIST ECONOMY AND FINANCE REMAIN GLOOMY: THE INEVITABILITY OF CRISES

Neither the recent Washington agreements among the 10 principal capitalist countries, nor the other agreements these countries may reach, can solve the acute capitalist economic and financial problems.

One very acute key problem of the capitalist countries is that of the convertibility of the dollar. The failure to solve this problem will remain one of the decisive causes (together with others) for new outbreaks of economic and financial crises in the entire capitalist system in the future. Major discords and contradictions have now sprung up especially in the problems of trade, tariffs, prices, exports, quotas, between the countries of the Common Market, on one side, and the USA, on the other. The increase of US competition constitutes a serious danger for «green Europe». Therefore, the countries of the Common Market are striving to avert this danger by blocking the road to the penetration of US agricultural products into these countries. These matters sparked off strong debates at the Brussels meeting. Already there are signs of even more acute conflicts in the coming meetings over the «regulation» of trade problems.

The capitalist economy and finances can not escape the grip of the crisis. They are permanent carriers of crises, inflation, unemployment, anarchy, social conflicts between labour and capital, between the working class and the bourgeoisie,

between monopoly groups within the country and on an international level, between the imperialist powers, one against the other, and between these powers and the developing countries. Since August 15, 1971, Presidential, the USA has been making intensive efforts for months on end to «cure» the dollar and the US economy in general of the chronic disease of crisis by means of its Presidential measures. But they are out of the frying pan into the fire. During the third three-month period of 1971, the deficit of the US balance of payments was twice as high as during the preceding three-month period. It is officially admitted that the deficit of foreign trade of the USA by the end of 1971 is no longer predicted as one billion, but as 1.5 billion dollars. The dollar has continued to fall in value. The price of gold has increased, fluctuating around 40 dollars per ounce, as against 35 dollars which has been the official rate up to now. The budgetary and foreign trade deficits are the direct results of the great escalation of inflation and of the militarist and expansionist policy of US imperialism. During the 1961-1969 period, the average annual increase of money in circulation in the USA has been over 52% higher than the average annual increase of social production. The USA is maintaining a whole arsenal of the armaments industry, millions of soldiers, and over 400 aggressive military bases, in various parts of the globe. In 1970 the military expenditure of the USA amounted to 80 billion dollars, or twice as much as in 1965. During the 1971-72 financial year, this expenditure is envisaged to be more than 110 billion dollars. A very large part of this goes to financing the aggressive war in the Indochina peninsula representing actually one

third of the total US military expenditure, or 30 billion dollars.

FURTHER DISINTEGRATION AND DEFORMATION OF THE CYCLE OF CAPITALIST ECONOMY

Under the present conditions the crises continue to take wide proportions in the sphere of circulation within every capitalist state, and outside it, in its relations with other capitalist states. But from the sphere of circulation they have spilled over to the sphere of production, which is also their source, becoming firmly entangled with each other in the process of capitalist reproduction, and causing it further distortions and disproportions.

The outbreak or manifestation of crises in the sphere of capitalist circulation has its own objective and subjective causes. This phenomenon is closely linked with the dominant position of finance capital, with the enhancement of the role of banks and banking capital in capitalism, with the great increase of the export of capital in the form of capital investments or loans, with the wide expansion of relations of

capitalist credits and relations of exchange within the framework of the world capitalist market, with the extension of «aid» to other countries, with the financing of wars, aggressions and coups d'état in various regions of the world, and so on.

The typical feature of the present crisis of capitalism is the further disintegration and deformation of the cycle of economic development. Before one cycle of capitalist reproduction has properly ended, the other begins. It is not rare for phases of the cycle to be skipped over failing to respect its four consecutive phases. As a consequence, it has passed and must pass, from the phase of enlivening the economy to that of crisis, without passing through the phase of economic build up as has occurred in the classical crises of capitalism. This phenomenon is very obvious in the present crisis in the USA and other capitalist countries, which has impaired the economy and finances of these countries at a time when many of them had not yet recovered from the crisis of the 1969-1970 period.

Bourgeois ideologists and their apologists attempt to present today's US dollar crisis as it is called as an accidental oc-

currence which has allegedly come about as a result of subjective causes, connected with the policy of the outlay of capital investments, with «the aid» accorded to other capitalist countries, with tariffs and so on. From this angle it is considered as an evil which comes or is imposed from outside and not as an offspring of the capitalist order itself and the objective processes that take place in capitalism. According to the bourgeois ideologists, the situation can be normalized by the intervention of the capitalist state through such measures as those of August 15, 1971, or through such agreements among capitalist states as the Washington compromise in this case. Time has proved and will continue to prove that no administrative measure can rescue capitalism from its general crisis in all its aspects: economic, financial, political, ideological, military, diplomatic, cultural, moral and, in the final analysis social.

Under the present economic and financial crisis of capitalism, its internal and external contradictions have become more severe and its struggle for markets, for zones of influence and hegemony, is becoming more intense. Imperialism is striving with all its

means to adapt itself to the new conditions of the class struggle, both within the country and outside it. But, as comrade Enver Hoxha has said, neither the development of state monopoly capitalism, the concentration of production and capital on a national and international scale, the militarisation of the economy, nor the technical-scientific revolution can ever save the capitalist system from its inevitable defeat and collapse. The partial and temporary solutions and compromises that may be achieved are themselves pregnant with new and more bitter contradictions and conflicts, they hide the possibility of new, deeper and more alarming crises for the whole world capitalist system. The Washington compromise agreement among the 10 principal capitalist countries is pregnant with similar contradictions and conflicts.

The present economic and financial crisis of the USA and the other capitalist countries is increasing the depth of the general crisis of capitalism. Crises toll the knell of the inevitable death of imperialism which as V. I. Lenin has said, is the and most complete material preparation for socialism, the eve of the proletarian revolution.

VENIAMIN TOÇI

"UNITED EUROPE," - a Counter- revolutionary Offspring Of Capital

In political circles on our continent, more and more is being heard of the slogan of a «United Europe». The discussion has passed beyond the stage of theoretical debates to that of taking some concrete steps towards a supra-national European unification. «United Europe» is one of the most complex problems of the present day international politics.

«The United Europe which West European capital, «is knocking together», said Enver Hoxha at the 6th Congress of the PLA, «aims at becoming a new imperialist superpower with pretensions to hegemony and domination just like those of the United States of America and the Soviet Union. The struggle against US imperialism would be ineffectual if struggle were not waged at the same time against the friends and allies of US imperialism, the imperialists Powers as a whole».

EVOLUTION OF THE EUROPEAN IDEA

Historically, following various divergent and convergent movements in the state structures of the continent, Europe, the cradle of capitalism, the master of the European and world destinies, has witnessed the birth of various concepts of the European idea, embraced by the top circles of the bourgeoisie of various countries who aspired to complete hegemony over the continent. Things changed in the 20th century when the United States of America became the vanguard of capitalist development, and especially in the second half of the century, when, with the appearance on the international arena of a series of new independent states of the so-called third world, and with the process of capitalist restoration in the revisionist countries and the turning of the Soviet Union into an imperialist superpower, the weight and role of Europe in the course of international events seemed to be dwindling. Such a thing could not be to the liking of the European bourgeoisie to whom, despite the whirlpool of impetuous events with economic and political consequences that took place during the first seven decades of this century, the idea of a powerful united Europe has always remained attractive. In conformity with the ratio of forces in Europe and in the world, which, as Marxism teaches, can never be fixed and permanent, as

well as depending on the internal positions of the national bourgeoisies, the «United Europe» project have gone through a process of evolution. Pan-Europeanism, flourished as a political trend, especially in the twenties and thirties in the shade of the Locarno Treaty. Among the main figures was the Austro-Hungarian count, R. Kudenhove-Kalergi who, in 1922 appealed to Mussolini to «Save Europe», and in the subsequent course of events, to Hitler and John Foster Dulles respectively. The Pan-Europeanists proclaimed the unification of Europe and its salvation in the name of the struggle against bolshevism and communism, embodied at that time in the Soviet Union. It is characteristic that the pan-European movement included such important representatives of European capital as the Rothschilds in France, the heavy industry magnates Vogler and Pepsen in Germany, etc. Everybody knows how these early efforts for a «United Europe» ended. Hitler tried to carry out this «European unification» under the slogan of the new order and under the hegemony of the Aryan race. After the second world war, pan-Europeanism was revived under US influence. This was the time when US imperialism was launching its big offensive on the world and when Europe was among its first objectives. Washington promoted the pan-European movement in the hope that by this means a suitable atmosphere would be created for the great Atlantic community. The American projects of a united Europe (the Morgenthau, Acheson, and other plans) began to crop up one after the other, while the pan-Europeanists, inscribed on their banner: «Sine America nulla salus» (no salvation without America). The American efforts found concrete expression in the Marshall plan and in NATO as a future military nucleus of the Atlantic community. In the economic sphere the United States of America encouraged the creation of the «European Common Market» and the European Free Trade Association.

But even for this «United Europe» American style, it was not plain sailing. The law of the unequal economic and political development of the capitalist countries did its own work, and the ratio of forces in intercapitalist relations began to favour the side of the European countries. In France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain and elsewhere, they began to look askance at the plans of the great Atlantic

community under American leadership, so there was a cooling towards the pro-Atlantic pan-European movement. In the mean time, among the European states, the slogan emerged of a European «United Europe», without the participation of the United States of America. This is precisely the Europe they are speaking of today. We find its outlines in the so-called little Europe, comprised of the six member countries of the European Common Market. With the present nucleus of the European Common Market and by expanding it they aim to achieve an integration of all the capitalist countries of Western Europe, in a single union with a common policy, economy, and defence. «Our aim», says Willy Brandt, «is a European government organized in a reasonable way, that can take the necessary decisions in the fields of common policy, and whose activities will be subject to a parliamentary control. Nobody in the community doubts that such a government will one day come into being, and the majority know that a failure would have disastrous consequences».

In striving for such a thing the European big bourgeoisie does not proceed at all from sentimental feelings for continental independence. It is not in the least concerned either about the independence or about the sovereignty of the European countries, but only about its own objectives and ambitions. The west-European monopoly bourgeoisie wants to dominate in Europe and by uniting all its forces and resources, to counterpose the US imperialist bourgeoisie and the social-imperialist bourgeoisie as the as it cary in order to realize its hegemonistic aims in the world in the same way as they do. Tracing the metamorphosis of the European idea, we could classify it into three periods as we saw above, in which the content has been anti-bolshevism, Atlanticism and Europeanism, respectively. It is the third stage that we are in at present.

THE CAPITALIST PARALLEL: INTEGRATION AND DISINTEGRATION

Will this united Europe come fully into being one day? The very development of capitalism stimulates the process of the internationalization and concentration of capital and production and this cannot fail to have consequences in the political

relations and structures. Integration is characteristic of state monopoly capitalism. In Western Europe, the integration processes have developed more than elsewhere and several economic-political interstate blocs have come to light. The explanation is not to be sought in the «understanding or predisposition» to integration» of the bourgeoisies of the various European countries, but in numerous causes of an objective character. These include the need for the development of the productive forces spurred by the technical-scientific revolution, the concrete historical circumstances, and the special features of West European capitalism, which lost its dominating positions in the colonial countries, the narrowing of national markets and the fierce competition from the US monopolies, the consolidation of a powerful alliance between the United States of America, and the Soviet Union, in whose plans Europe is viewed as subject to their hegemony, etc. Thus, the degree of progress of the integrationist structures depends on a complex of factors.

At first sight a number of them drive towards integration, towards a united capitalist Europe. But another law inseparable from capitalist development is the manifestation of opposite phenomena. The permanent capitalist parallel is integration and disintegration, irrespective of the fact that at any particular period one trend may become more prominent than the other. Integration itself is a form of capitalist competition. It does not change the essence of the capitalist mode of production and its laws; indeed it gives rise to contradictions in new forms and new fields. The internal contradictions of capitalism are inevitable even in sup-national forms of the organisation of capitalist production. Thus, in the European Common Market an increase in the proportions of two typical problems of capitalism - failure to utilise the capacity of the productive apparatus, and the growth of unemployment can be seen. Utilisation of the productive capacity of the processing industries of the European Common Market countries fell from 91 per cent in 1960, to 79 per cent in 1965, and to 78 per cent in 1970.

According to the data of the U.N. economic commission for Europe, the rates of increase of industrial output in West European countries fell by 1,5 per cent in 1970 compared with 1969. The army of

unemployed the EEC countries amounts to some 2 million persons. One of the consequences of integration is the contradiction between the national systems of state-monopoly capitalism and its supranational form. The experience of the EEC with the continuous contradictions over agricultural and monetary problems, the preservation in the hands of national governments of such powerful levers of state monopoly capitalism such as the taxation policy, national legislation, control over the market for capital, state subsidies, etc., shows that even under the conditions of the EEC which is the most developed form of capitalist integration, it is very difficult to achieve unification. Even among the most optimistic Pan-Europeanists they do not speak of a monolithic West European solidarity. This is understandable because the interests of the monopolies of the various countries united in little Europe, are in constant collision because of their antagonistic character. Even if the big united Europe is created, the division of profits will be done on the basis of strength. And strength changes during the economic and political development which brings to the forefront first one power and then another; thus clashes of opposing interests are an integral phenomenon of every capitalist union. The French-West German rivalry in the EEC and outside it is a very eloquent indicator. Both France and the Federal German Republic aspire to leadership in Europe, both at the moment and in the so-called united Europe, which has created a new tangle of France-West German contradictions. Paris supports the project of a confederative type of united Europe, whereas Bonn wants one federation. So complicated is the road of the creation of a capitalist «Unified Europe» that disillusionment is being more and more openly expressed in various circles of the European bourgeoisie. The West German DPA wrote, «Europe has striven for political unity for the last twenty years, but so far the old continent has been unable to agree about one type of tank, submarine or airplane. Each country produces armaments because each country has its own ambitions».

The projects of a «united Europe» are viewed with some doubt by both the United States of America and the Soviet Union which have agreed between themselves, within the framework of the Soviet-U.S. alliance, on the division of the European

continent; the West under the Americans and the East under the Soviets. In one form or another the two super-powers incite the contradictions between the European countries, set one country against another, and, also strive to orientate Pan-Europeanism towards themselves. Meanwhile the United States of America and the Soviet Union have increasingly excluded Western Europe from their bargaining over world issues, which west-European capital, with its tradition and interests, cannot accept. «The most distressing thing in Europe is that Europe does not exist, and that she is not present in world affairs. Everything would be different if at last a (united - author's note) political Europe were to come into being, which must not be a satellite either of the Americans or of the Soviets, but on the contrary, a collaborator of the former and the latter». These words of Pietro Nenni, a former Italian Foreign Minister, clearly express that objective of the European bourgeoisie for the united Europe which, divided by the internal struggles and fierce contradiction right from the start, is seeking to rise to the rank of a world superpower so that, she too, may sit in on the division of the zones of influences. But even before this «United Europe» has taken its first tottering steps the other two superpowers, are striving if they cannot liquidate it, at least to make it a partner in the sense of a dominion. The United States of America poses, as and even proclaims itself, the lawful heir to the «European property». While Nixon, has accepted this «United Europe» as «one of the centers of world power in the future», as he did on July 7, 1971, on the other hand, he continually reminds his allies that «our policy presupposes a new form of leadership and not a refusal of the leading role». The talks which the White House chief has held with a number of heads of state of Western Europe - France, Britain, Federal German Republic and Italy should seen in the light of this policy. U.S. imperialism is seeking to reassert its position as the undisputed leader of the capitalist camp in face of Soviet social-imperialism which comes to the US-Soviet negotiations as the unchallengable boss of the revisionist camp. Washington is holding some strong cards, such as NATO, the US military presence, and colossal investments in the European countries. The Soviet Union, on its part, is not sitting indifferent towards this «United

Europe» which is striving to come into being, but is making great efforts to shift it within its own zone of influence. The rhetorical appeals for a «democratic united Europe» and the underlinings by the Soviet press of the colossal economic potential which the Soviet Union and Europe could create together, are long range shots. In this context the political strategists of the Kremlin think they have found their Archimedes lever in the so-called European security conference. But while the Soviet Union and the United States of America conceive a European security conference as sanctioning their hegemonistic role on the continent, «United Europe» (its future members) views it as a confirmation of its rise to the rank of an equal partner without either of the superpowers hanging over it a conference in which the superpowers will reconcile themselves to gradual disengagement in Europe, leaving the European bourgeoisie to rule. Different viewpoints and clear contradictions. -

«UNITED EUROPE» AND THE PROLETARIAT

Speculating on the growing feelings of the peoples against the imperialist Soviet-U.S. alliance and its plots, the European monopolist bourgeoisie is striving to convince them that a «United Europe» responds to the interests of the labouring masses. This is not true at all. Capitalist integration, under whatever pretext it may be undertaken, cannot have an effect beneficial to the working class. The European capitalist bourgeoisie is seeking to unite its forces in order to suppress the revolutionary movement on the European continent, to intensify the exploitation of the toiling masses, to increase its superprofits and strengthen its competitive position against the US capitalist bourgeoisie and the Soviet revisionist bourgeoisie. The «United Europe» project bears the seal and the class nature of its creators. V. I. Lenin in his life-time gave a crushing reply to the theories and practical efforts of capital for a «United Europe». «The United States of Europe under the conditions of capitalism is either impossible or reactionary. Certainly, it is possible for temporary agreements to be concluded capitalists and between states.

From this point of view it is also possible to create the United States of Europe, as an arrangement of the European capitalists..., but what for? Solely for the joint suppression of socialism in Europe. To create the United States of Europe under the conditions of capitalism means to organise reaction», wrote the genius of the revolution in 1915 in an accurate assessment which is still valid today.

The 13-years experience of the existence of the European Common Market, which is considered and accepted by the capitalist planners as the nucleus of the future united Europe, is the best indication of what the consequences of capitalist integration are for the working masses. The average rise of prices in the EEC countries is 6 per cent per year, while the cost of living rises 5 per cent per year. Unemployment has become a chronic ulcer which the numerous programs for the so-called planning and coordinated movement of the work force within the «six» are unable to heal. The situation of the peasants in regard to which the EEC agricultural policy has been loudly publicised as the way to improvement, is particularly difficult. In the last decade the incomes of the peasantry have diminished

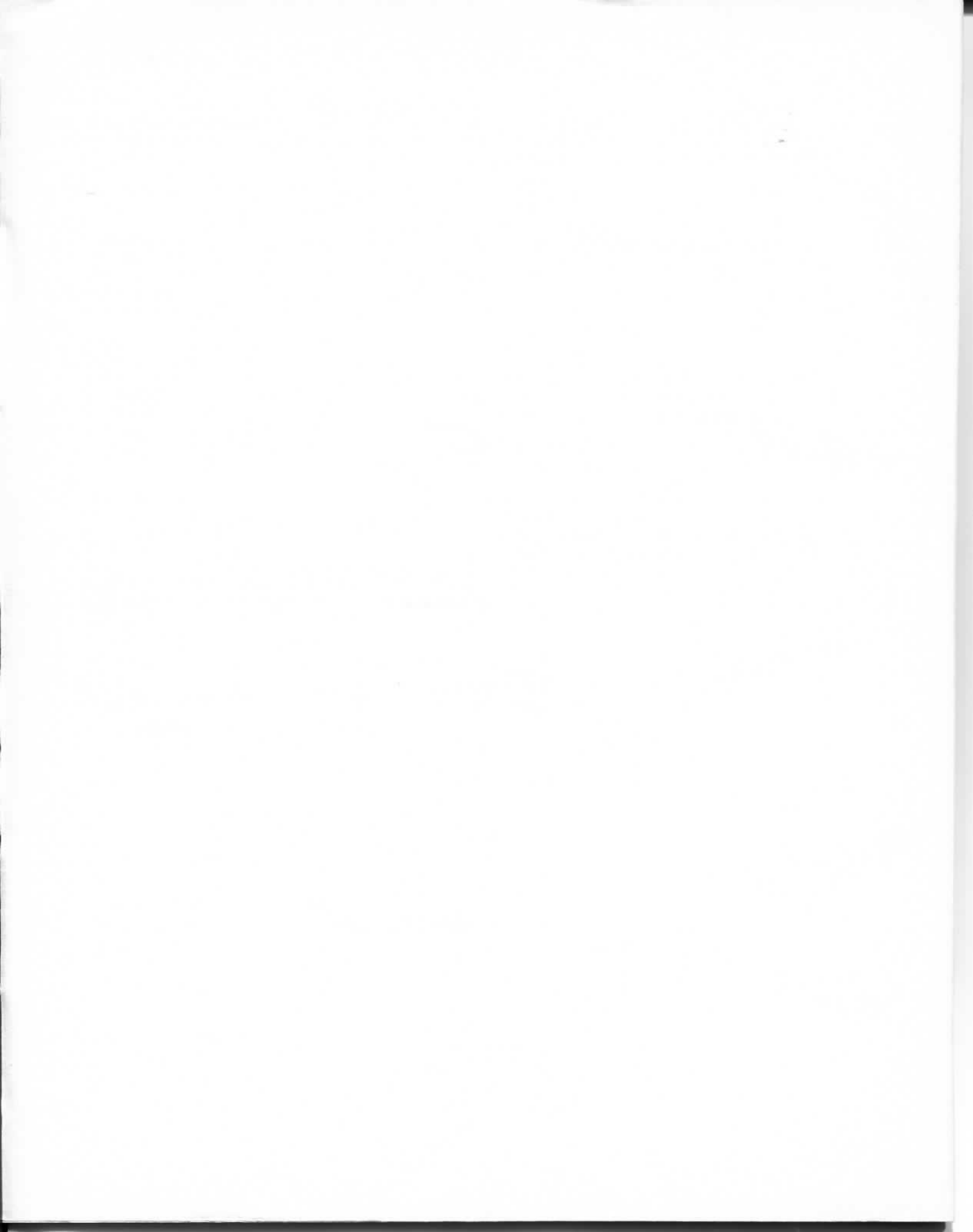
by 10 per cent. The prices of commodities purchased from the peasants remain the same, while the prices at which they are sold in the cities have doubled. Thus, in Belgium the town-dweller pays 10 times more for potatoes than the peasant receives for them from the merchant entrepreneur. Credits and subsidies from the EEC institutions are paid only to the big capitalist enterprises which make up less than 5 per cent of the total number of farms in the EEC countries. These are some of the consequences of the so-called little United Europe for the working masses. It goes without saying that for the big United Europe they will have to pay a higher price both in economic sacrifices and in social and political sacrifices. On a world scale, the role of this «United Europe» cannot be other than an imperialist and counter-revolutionary one, the consequences of which will be borne by the European peoples, just as the consequences of the frenzied aggressive policy of the White House are being borne by the American people. In the book «The future of Europe, the Choice of Europe», published in London by the Institute of strategic research, which deals with the models and objectives of the

United Europe, it is stressed that the federation of the type of the United States of Europe «will assume responsibility for questions of security in some regions and together with the United States of America will maintain law and order in the world».

The slogans and projects of the United Europe are reactionary and they represent nothing of benefit to the working class and all the working masses of Europe. The proletariat can never see its future in a community of interests with the capitalist bourgeoisie. And the «United Europe» will be the Europe of bankers and industrialists, the Europe of capital against the revolution and the proletariat. It is not a positive alternative as the bourgeoisie and the revisionist cliques in Western Europe are striving to present it. Implementing the line of integration with the national bourgeoisie, they have embraced this slogan, prattling about a «United Europe of peace, collaboration, and friendship». The European working class rejects these efforts with contempt. It sees the positive alternative for its future in the revolution and socialism, in the destruction of the system of capitalist and imperialist oppression.

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