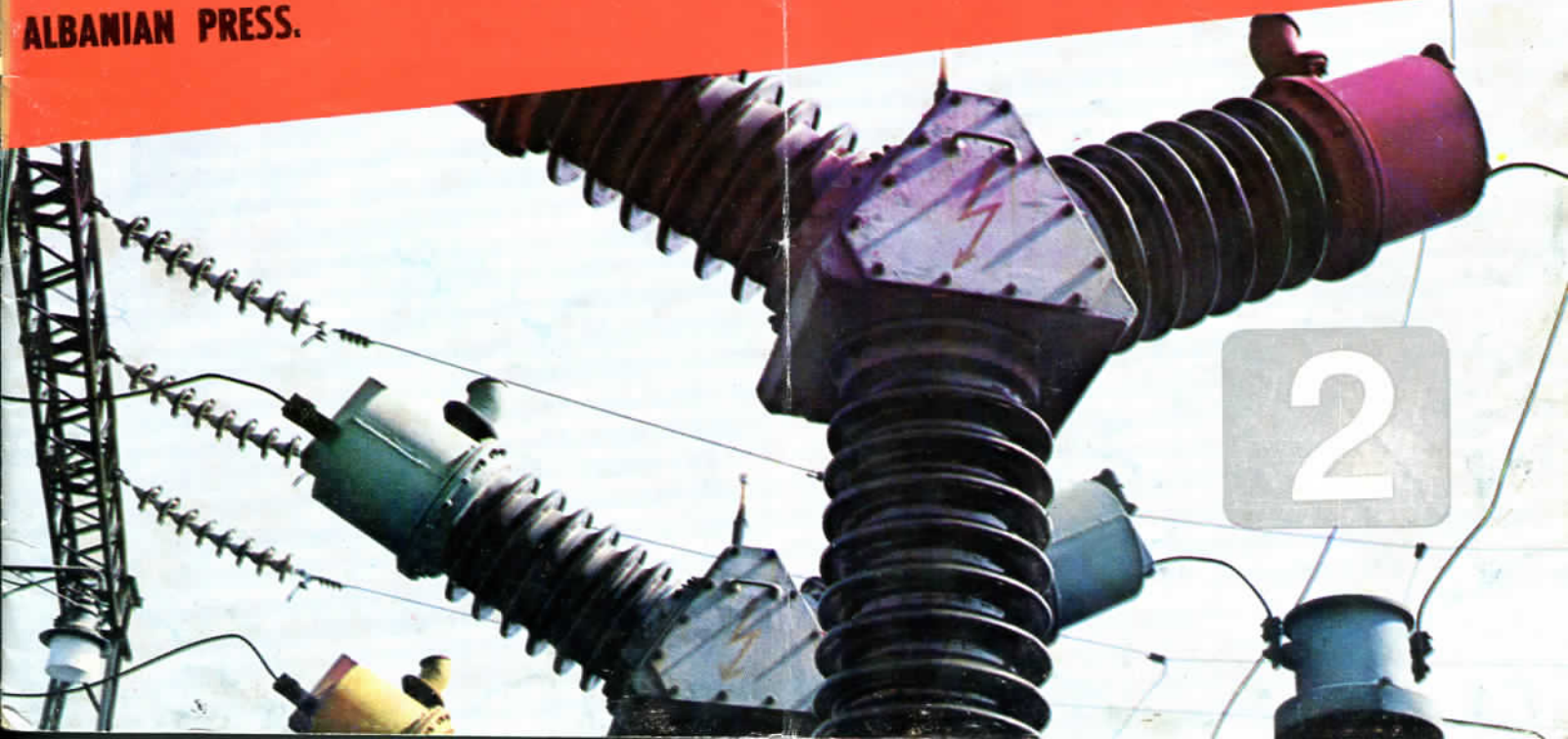


Albania today



THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS WORLD HISTORIC MISSION • ALBANIA'S INDUSTRIAL MARCH • TREASURES OF ANCIENT CULTURE • HANDS OFF THE BALKANS! • «EUROPEAN SECURITY» AND THE IMPERIALIST-REVISIONIST INTERESTS • THROUGH THE PAGES OF THE ALBANIAN PRESS.



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The Working And Its Wo

**THE POSITION OF THE PROLETARIAT IN THE PRESENT-DAY
CAPITALIST SOCIETY. THE KHRUSHCHEVIAN REVISIONISTS
DISTORT THE ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS.
THE MARXIST-LENINIST VIEWPOINT ABOUT**

**THE REVOLUTIONARY
TASKS OF THE WORKING
CLASS AND ITS LEADING
ROLE IN SOCIETY**

«The great historic merit of Marx and Engels, – V. I. Lenin has said, – consists in the fact that they indicated to the proletarians of all the countries their role, their mission: to be the first to rise in the revolutionary struggle against capital, rally around themselves in this struggle all the working people and the oppressed». (V. I. Lenin, complete works, Russian edition, vol. 37, p. 169). The idea of the world historic mission of the proletariat as gravedigger of capitalism and bearer of the new socialist and communist social order has been described by V. I. Lenin as «principal in Marx's doctrine».

Life has fully confirmed this great revolutionary discovery by K. Marx. The working class, the most progressive and the most revolutionary class ever known in history, stands in the center of our epoch, of the epoch of the world proletarian revolution and of the transition from capitalism to socialism. That is the social force leading the whole present-day revolutionary process

g Class rld Historic Mission

by FOTO ÇAMI

for the transformation of the world on new social-political bases. Wherever the proletarian revolution has triumphed and socialism has become a reality, this has been achieved under the hegemony of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party.

In order to reject Marxism, socialism, their enemies have always sought to deny the revolutionary character of the working class, its decisive role in society's life, its hegemony in the revolution. During his life-time V. I. Lenin had to carry out a great fight to defend the world historic mission of the proletariat against the distortions of the Russian and international reformists and opportunists. In this fight he created a complete doctrine on the hegemony of the proletariat, which became a starting point for the working out of a correct strategy and tactics of the communist movement, that led this movement to great historic victories.

At the present time also the stand towards the working class,

towards its role and hegemony has become one of the most cardinal and burning problems of the ideological struggle between Marxism-Leninism and the bourgeois and revisionist ideology. "The ideological opponents of Marxism-Leninism", comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 6th Congress of the Party, "beginning with the bourgeois and revisionist, radical and petty-bourgeois ones, in words and deeds, are striving to negate the world historic mission of the working class, its role and hegemony in the revolution. All together, in this or that way, they seek to prove that the ideas of Marxism-Leninism about this question have become obsolete."

Under these conditions, the exposure of these attempts and the defence of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism about the revolutionary character, role and hegemony of the working class, in close connection with reality and the revolutionary practice, is today as much an important as urgent duty in order to carry onward the cause of the revolution and of socialism.

I

WORKING CLASS AND PRESENT-DAY CAPITALISM

Speculating on the new phenomena of present-day capitalism, especially on the development of the monopoly-state capitalism and of the technical-scientific revolution, the hack-writers of «neo-capitalism» are seeking by all sorts of falsifications to refute the world historic mission of the proletariat and to prettify and perpetuate the capitalist order of oppression and exploitation.

NOT «DEPROLETARIZATION», BUT FURTHER PROLETARIZATION IS THE MAIN CHARACTERISTIC OF THE PRESENT-DAY CAPITALIST SOCIETY

According to many bourgeois and reformist ideologists, the technical-scientific revolution which is unfolding in the world today, is allegedly leading to the «deproletarization» of the capitalist society, to the liquidation of the working class, or, as they say, people with «blue collars», to the advantage of people with «grey collars» (of the sphere of services) and of people with «white collars» (intelligentsia). Thus, K. Marx's conclusion that the proletariat is a class which grows along with the very development of capitalism allegedly stands no more.

No doubt the technical-scientific revolution is bringing about changes in the social structure of the capitalist society. In all the developed capitalist countries one notices a great increase of the employment of people in the sphere of the services and of the intelligentsia. From the economic viewpoint this has come about, on the one hand, as a result of the increase of labour productivity in the sphere of material production and, on the other hand, as a result of the fact that in the non-productive sphere labour productivity is lower; that is why more people are required in this sphere.

These changes however by no means speak of «deproletarization» of the capitalist society. Capital cannot exist without its antipode – the proletariat. «By «proletarian» in the economic sense, – K. Marx has said, – one should understand only the wage-earner who produces and increases «capital» and is fired out in the street as soon as he becomes superfluous to the requirements of the increase of the value of «Mr. Capital» (K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, Russian edition, vol. 23, p. 628).

From this viewpoint the specific weight of the wage-earners in the total number of the working population grows continually in the United States of America, Britain, in the Federal Republic of Germany, France and other developed capitalist countries, they account for the 70-90 per cent of it. In these countries there is no «deproletarization» but a further proletarianization of society. Taking the cue from this phenomenon some revisionists are striving to wipe out the demarcation line between the classes describing as workers all those receiving salaries or wages irrespective of their size. The way of ensuring incomes is a feature, but not the sole nor the main that

conditions the fact of pertaining to a class. Salaries are paid also to high state officials and managers of the big capitalist firms and trusts, but they have nothing in common with the workers.

According to some data in the developed capitalist countries it comes out that of 5 wage-earners only 3 are workers. Despite this, the number of workers, too, has been and continues to be rising. While in the middle of the past century the proletariat was counting 9 million persons, at the beginning of the 20th century it reached 30 million, and in the years 1960-1970 it amounted to 450 million. The working class produces today 3/4 of the total world social production. The growth of the proletariat comes about not only as a result of the depopulation of the countryside from which depart every year in the F. R. Germany 100.000 persons, France 150.000, Italy 120.000, and as a result of the expropriation of the small owners of the city, but also in the form of reduction up to the social-economic condition of the proletarians also of a growing part of various specialists and technicians working directly in production, of the men who work in the sphere of services, and of women. As a result, it is not the proletariat that disappears, but its social makeup becomes more complicated, with more numerous strata.

K. Marx has never identified the proletarian with the man engaged simply in manual work. The more so today this narrow concept cannot be taken as a basis because the borders between manual and mental work in the process of the development of the technical-scientific revolution are ever more narrowing up, the weight of mental work is growing in the work of every person. The bourgeois and revisionist ideologists make all sorts of speculations on this phenomenon. Some of them from the camp of the bourgeoisie are striving to prove that the working class is disappearing and its place is being taken by the intelligentsia, whereas some others from the camp of the revisionists are seeking to include the whole of the intelligentsia in the working class by inventing a new definition, according to which the working class is treated as «the totality of the working people of physical and mental work». The difference in the degree of culture and qualification are not class differences, are not features determining the pertaining to a given class. To determine the class to which this or that person belongs one must not judge of the education, culture and speciality he has, but first and foremost of the place he occupies in the social production system, of his relations with the means of production, of the role he plays in the social organisation of labour and, consequently, of the quantity of the incomes and the way he receives them.

Groundless are also the other claims of the bourgeois and reformist ideologists that allegedly the working class is ceasing to be proletarian, as it is becoming «co-owner and co-manager» of the capitalist enterprises, or, as one of the chieftains of the social-democratic party of West Germany, V. Knjoringen, says, «the workers and employees are turning into small capitalists». To «prove» this they use as an argument the participation of the workers in shares. But what do these shares represent? According to the data of the bourgeois statistics themselves, in the United States only 7 per cent of the population own shares, whereas the shares of all the workers do not account even for the 0,2 per cent of the value of all the country's shares. The

Dupont family alone has 10 times more shares than all the American workers together, 1.6 per cent of the population in the USA owns about 80 per cent of the shares of private corporations.

The bourgeois ideologists say that also the capitalists are no more capitalist, for they have departed and continue to depart from the management of the enterprises. This management has now passed over to the hands of the technocratic administrators and is allegedly carried out in behalf and in the interest of the society. On this basis they speak also of a «revolution of the managers». While in fact there can be no question of any kind of revolution in this direction. Irrespective of who administers them, the means of production are private property of the capitalists, the profits go into their pockets. Managers are nothing else but lieutenants, representatives of the capitalists and carry out their will. They themselves are great shareholders, ensure great privileges and incomes from their posts, they appropriate a part of the increment value created by the workers. The separation of the functioning capital from the owner capital does not in the least change the essence of the capitalist order, as an order based on the exploitation of man by man.

The indisputable facts speak not of filling but of deepening of the gap between classes in capitalism. The poor and the rich are two poles turning ever more away from each other. According to the data of the bourgeois press itself, 0.5 per cent of the population in the United States of America own 25 per cent of all the private riches, 5 per cent of the British have in their hands 3/4 of such riches, while 5 per cent of the French have 67 per cent of the riches under private personal ownership.

THE REVOLUTIONARY POSSIBILITIES OF THE WORKING CLASS ARE INEXHAUSTIBLE

Faced with indisputable facts, some other bourgeois and reformist ideologists do not negate the existence of the working class, but they say that it is no more a revolutionary class, for it has allegedly bourgeoisified and it has been integrated into the capitalist system. H. Marcuse, American theoretician of bourgeois radicalism, in his work «End of Utopia», openly says that the working class of the capitalist countries «has been definitely integrated into a system and adopts a negative stand towards the necessity of radical transformation». The French sociologist R. Aron admits that the working class has given up revolutionary transformation because it can reach its aims also within the framework of the capitalist order. Whereas the other French sociologist and economist J. Chaverny writes that the working class is neither capable nor prepared to becoming a leading class. Another wellknown ideologist of the bourgeoisie, J. K. Golbraith, is seeking, in contrast with the objective reality, to ignore and wipe out class borders between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie under the conditions of the «society of abundance» which remains the society of the exploitation of those expropriated on the part of the owners of the means of production.

It is true that the monopoly bourgeoisie, by giving some crumbs from its super-profits, corrupts a part of the workers and creates of them the so-called worker aristocracy. But, although this section has greatly increased, especially in the developed capitalist countries, yet it makes up a small minority in the total number of the working class. And it is precisely this section and not the whole of the working class that has been bourgeoisified and integrated into the capitalist system. The bourgeois and reformist ideologists purposely identify the worker aristocracy with the whole of the working class.

Life has confirmed and continues to confirm Lenin's idea that the working class under the conditions of capitalism manifests two tendencies in its political and economic activity. On the one hand there is the tendency of arranging one's self comfortably and well in the conditions of capitalism, which is realizable only for a small section of the proletariat, for its high section. On the other hand there is the tendency to come at the head of all the working and exploited masses for the revolutionary overthrow of the domination of capital in general (See V. I. Lenin, Works, Albanian edition, vol. 27, page 238).

With the development of the productive forces, thanks to the struggle of the working class and labouring masses and under the influence of the ideas and victories of socialism, the bourgeoisie of the developed capitalist countries has been compelled to make to the working people some concessions in the field of welfare, with a view to creating the material base and the ideological atmosphere to hold them slaves to the bourgeois way of living and thinking. On this basis Marcuse says that «the working class has ceased being a ferment of the revolution».

But Marxism has never automatically linked the revolutionary character of the working class with its living standards. In reality, the proletariat is the most revolutionary class of society not only because it is the poorest and the most pain-stricken class. The situation of millions of small peasants, of the other poor masses of the city and of thousands upon thousands of lumpenproletarians is by no means better, it is indeed worse than that of the proletariat, and nevertheless this does not cause them to be more revolutionary than the proletariat. The revolutionarism of the proletariat is connected also with a series of other objective and subjective factors. Relating to this question the 6th Congress of the PLA pointed out that «the conditions making the working class the decisive force of the present-day social development, the leading force of the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the capitalist world have not changed at all».

The working class in capitalism is the only class that has nothing to lose from revolution. It is more than any other class interested in upsetting the old exploiting relations of production. As a class owning nothing except its labour power, as a class connected with the big modern production, which has reached today a high degree of concentration, as a class with great possibilities for education and organization, which has its own scientific theory and its own political leading headquarter, the working class not only is the most revolutionary class, but also the sole class that can play the leading role in the struggle for socialism.

On the other side, it must be pointed out that the pushing of the working class and of the other labouring masses to

revolution does not come about only from the economic factor, from the material situation of their livelihood, but also from other causes not less important. The general political crisis which served as an objective basis for the outburst of the people's revolution in Albania, was created in the first place by political factors, such as the question of national liberation. Also today the throwing of the masses into revolution can come about not only from simply economic factors, such as poverty, misery, the deep economic crises, but also from political and social factors, from the anti-popular and aggressive policy of the bourgeois ruling circles, from the danger of fascism, from the elimination or limitation of national sovereignty and independence, from the loss of or threat to the democratic freedoms and rights, etc.

Of course, this does not mean at all, as the bourgeois ideologists advocate, that the economic interests and demands of the working class and of the other labouring people in the capitalist countries have allegedly been fulfilled and that in this direction there is no trouble whatever for them. From the economic viewpoint, too, there are a series of factors pushing the masses to struggle, as the increase of exploitation, the broadening of the gap between the great intensification of the work and the small increase of wages, the social consequences of the technical-scientific revolution, which leads to the elimination of many traditional professions, to the increase of fear for the morrow, to the firing out in the streets of many workers, to the increase of difficulties for the younger generations to find jobs, etc. These difficulties increase further as a result of the deepening of the contradiction between the high level of the productive forces and the limited purchasing power of the masses, as a result of the fear of the working people to lose even those that they have gained by their struggle in the living standard, as a result of the increase of inflation, high cost of living, militarism, taxes, etc. Even such very much developed countries as the United States of America, are unable to cope with the burning and great problems of poverty, unemployment, lodging, medical service, which seriously worry the labouring masses.

The most convincing argument to refute all the inventions of the bourgeois and reformist ideologists is life itself, the development of the working class struggle, the waves of which are rising ever higher in all the capitalist countries. The workers taking part in strikes and demonstrations are counted by millions. In some countries, as in France and Italy, these strikes have assumed colossal proportions shaking the foundations of the bourgeois order. The class struggle is encompassing, besides the working class, also other broad sections of the population: peasants, rank and file office workers, progressive intellectuals, women and especially school youth. The circle of their demands is broadening and the struggle for economic, social and cultural interests is being ever more integrated with the political struggle. This integration has today also a stronger objective basis. The growth of the monopoly-state capitalism and of the role of the capitalist state generally in the whole national life, which is noticed everywhere, creates such a situation that every struggle, from the very logic of things, assumes a political character, for the working people clash with the capitalist state which stands guard over the interests of the bourgeoisie.

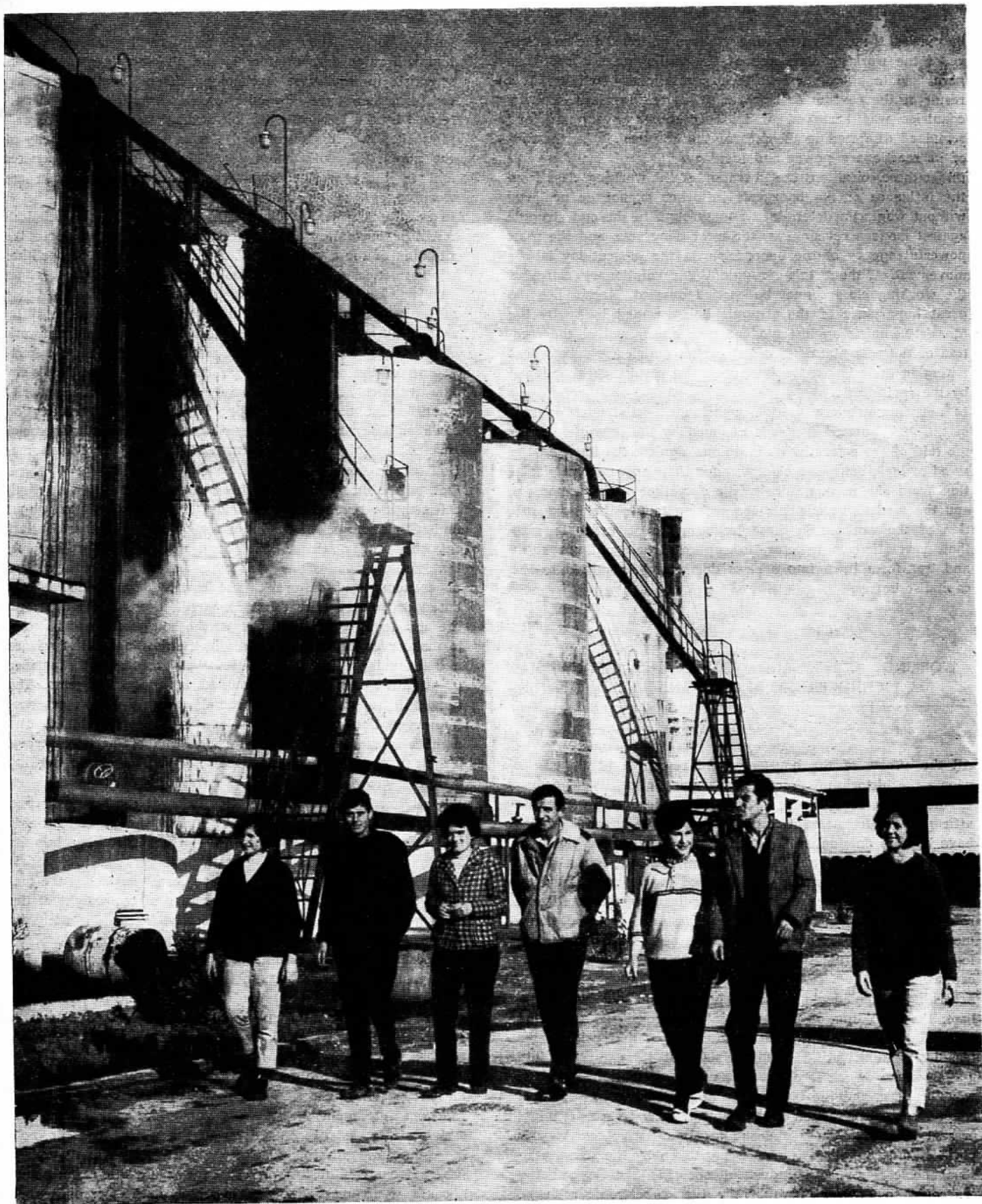
All this shows that the working class is a class with great and inexhaustible revolutionary potential, that the class struggle is not a «nostalgia of the revolutionaries that have become outmoded», as the propagandists of «neocapitalism» say, but a realistic, objective and inevitable fact showing that the working class interests are irreconcilable with those of the bourgeoisie and that the sole road to its liberation from capitalist oppression and exploitation is the carrying through to the end of this historic struggle.

**WITHOUT THE LIBERATION OF THE WORKING CLASS
FROM THE INFLUENCE OF THE BOURGEOIS AND
REVISIONIST IDEOLOGY ITS REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE
CANNOT BE LED ONWARD**

It is a fact that today the working class, especially in the capitalist countries of Western Europe and North America, has not come out yet with great revolutionary deeds. The reason for this situation is that many workers are under the influence of the bourgeois and reformist ideology and are not aware of their mission. The so-called «society of consumption», by its reforms of spiritual enslavement of the working people through the «power of things», introduces elements of bourgeoisification into a considerable part of the workers. The working class in these countries finds itself from morn till night under the strong pressure of an all-round and continuous propaganda in service of the bourgeoisie. The high concentration of the economic, political, ideological and cultural power in the hands of the bourgeoisie results in that the life of the present-day capitalist society is determined to a very large extent by the policy of the ruling class. And when the conscience of the working class is low, the concessions the bourgeoisie is compelled to make to it lead to the rise and spreading of all sorts of reformist illusions in its fold.

The bourgeois and reformist ideologists are seeking to use this temporary situation as an argument to negate the hegemony of the proletariat, its historic mission. But K. Marx has said more than 100 years ago that the communists accept the world historic role of the proletariat not because they consider the proletarians as god. On the contrary, this role stems from the fact that «... man lost himself in the proletariat... It is not a question whether at this moment this or that proletarian or the entire proletariat sees his aim. The question is what the proletariat is in reality and what is it historically bound to do in compliance with this being of it» (K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, Russian edition, vol. 2, page 40).

On the other side, it must be pointed out that the infection of a part of the proletariat by the bourgeois and reformist ideology is not only an objective consequence of the capitalist development. In this direction a great negative influence has been and continues to be exerted by the betrayal of the modern revisionists. By their opportunist viewpoints about the peaceful road, peaceful coexistence, structural reforms, parliamentary illusions, the collaboration with the bourgeoisie and



its parties, the modern revisionists have poisoned the conscience of the working class and of the toiling masses and have paralyzed to a large extent their revolutionary activity. As a result of the revisionist betrayal, the working class in many countries was bereaved of its revolutionary vanguard and remained disarmed in the face of the bourgeoisie, in the face of its reactionary power and ideology.

Under these conditions the liberation of the working class from the influence of the bourgeois influence cannot be achieved without waging a determined and through to the end struggle against modern revisionism, the most dangerous and the most powerful agency of the bourgeoisie in the present-day labour movement. Without this struggle the revolutionary cause of the working class cannot be carried onward. Herein lies the great importance of the struggle being waged today by the Marxist-Leninists against modern revisionism and of the creation of the new Marxist-Leninist parties which are everywhere taking in their hands the banner of the revolution abandoned by the revisionists.

In this framework a special importance, — the 6th Congress of the PLA pointed out, — is assumed by the struggle also in the fold of the reformist trade unions, against the line and the stand of their bourgeois chieftains for their exposure and isolation from the masses, for it is a fact that social-democracy and the modern revisionists are seeking to use the incorporation of the workers in these trade unions in order to curb their revolutionary impetus, to suppress their militant spirit and transform them into a class docile and submitted to the capitalist bosses.

WORKING CLASS AND INTELLIGENTSIA. AGAINST TECHNOCRATISM AND INTELLECTUALISM

All the efforts of the bourgeois and reformist ideologists to negate the historic mission of the working class, its hegemony in the world revolutionary process are needed by them to affirm their technocratic and intellectualist theories which have become dominating theories of the time in the capitalist world. Technocratism and intellectualism, comrade Enver Hoxha has said, are the offspring and food of bureaucracy, they are a perfection of bureaucracy in complicity with the great role that science and technology have assumed in the development of society, they are an expression of the bourgeois ideology and policy at the present stage of the monopoly capital.

According to the ideologists of technocratism and intellectualism, the unfolding of the technical and scientific revolution is leading to such a growth of the weight and role of the technical and scientific intelligentsia that it is turning into a «new class» which is allegedly shifting the role of both the working class and the bourgeoisie and is taking into its own hands the whole direction of the country. Thus, in their opinion, present-day capitalism is undergoing a qualitative change. The place of old capitalism is now being taken by the «new industrial society» or «post-industrial society», the «cybernetic-electronic society» or more briefly the «cybertronic society».

In this society, they say, it is no more financial plutocracy that will reign, but meritocracy, i.e. the intelligent and clever scientists in intellectual technology. There is allegedly being created a new type of production relations which are characterized by the intellectualization of all the social ties. The working class will disappear and the overwhelming majority of the population will be employed in the sectors of services and in those work places where «white collar» men are working.

In reality, despite the perceptible changes that the technical-scientific revolution brings about in social relations, in the situation of the classes and of the social strata, in the political superstructure and in the ideology of society, these changes have not led nor can they lead to an automatic transformation of capitalist society, to something qualitatively entirely different. They are changes which are made within the framework of the bourgeois order, changes which do not affect the foundations of the economic and political rule of the bourgeoisie. The technical-scientific revolution prepares all the material premises for the transformation of the capitalist society on socialist bases, but it can never replace the proletarian social revolution, which is the only means by which this transformation can be done.

One of the most important social consequences of the technical-scientific revolution is no doubt the increase of the weight and of the role of the intelligentsia. This is related to the fact that present-day science has become a direct productive force, that not only industrial production but all the other sectors of economy and culture cannot successfully develop if not based on science. The thirst for greatest possible profits and life and death competition compel the bourgeoisie and its state to make ever larger investments in the development of science and technology. In the most developed countries the number of scientific researches is doubled in every 7-8 years. The timelimits separating a scientific discovery from its practical implementation and industrial use are being curtailed. The number of students in higher schools and of the engineering-technical personnel as against the total number of the working people is growing.

But all this by no means testifies to what the bourgeois and reformist ideologists speak about — that the intelligentsia is allegedly turning into a new class which is taking into its hands not only the whole direction of national life, but is allegedly becoming also the decisive force producing the material blessings. «In spite of the increase of the weight of the intelligentsia in the present-day society, — the 6th Congress of the PLA pointed out, — in spite of the changes suffered by the position, character and role of its work as well as the class makeup of this stratum, it is not a class in itself. The intelligentsia is a stratum standing between the different classes of the society and which comes from various classes... It has never been and it cannot be an independant social-political force».

In our times, with the great increase of the intelligentsia, with the change of its class makeup, especially of the engineering-technical intelligentsia, which is partly formed also of the middle strata and representatives of the working people, and in connection with the fact that a part of the intelligentsia suffers from capitalist oppression and exploitation, the stand towards it assumes a special importance, the possibilities of

the alliance of the working class and the progressive strata of the intelligentsia increase. But in connection with this question three things must be pointed out:

First, taking into consideration the important position which the intelligentsia is holding, the bourgeoisie is seeking by all the ways and means to corrupt it materially and spiritually, to better place it at its service in order to oppress and exploit the working people and to strangle the revolution. «The capitalist bourgeoisie, — comrade Enver Hoxha says, — trains its cadres with definite political-ideological tendencies so as to rule by their means over the working class, to direct and exploit it and deceive it through demagoguery in order to perpetuate thereby its rule».

Second, by its very class and social position, by the character and conditions of work, the intelligentsia is characterized, as V. I. Lenin has said, by individualism, by the incapacity to be disciplined and organized, by instability and political waverings, by the mixture of the opposite principles and viewpoints, by the manifestations of intellectual arrogance to rise above others, by academic discussions and incapacity for concrete actions, etc.

Third, also the progressive part of the intelligentsia, if it is to play its role and make its important contribution to the revolutionary movement, must merge with the broad masses of the working people, be included in the general trend of the revolution, accept and place itself under the leadership of the proletariat and of its Marxist-Leninist party.

«All the revolutionary forces fighting for the overthrow of the bourgeois order, comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 6th Congress of the PLA, can achieve victory only if they merge themselves with the struggle of the working class, if they recognize and accept its leading role and that of the Marxist-Leninist proletarian party. This is an historic necessity. Any other alternative leads to adventurism and defeat.»

II

WORKING CLASS AND MODERN REVISIONISM

As servants and allies of the bourgeoisie also the modern revisionists echo the propaganda of the bourgeois ideologists, they have appropriated the technocratic and intellectualist theories and negate the historic mission of the working class, its leading role in the struggle for socialism and communism.

AGAINST THE PREACHING OF SPONTANEITY

To V. I. Lenin belongs the great merit of having been the first in the history of Marxism that discovered the ideological roots of opportunism which consist precisely in advocating spontaneity in the labour movement.

Following in the wake of the old opportunists of the II internationale, the modern revisionists, too, have completely slipped into the positions of the ill-famed theory of the productive forces and negate the role of the conscious factor, of the

working class leadership and of its revolutionary party, in the struggle for the socialist transformation of society. According to them, the technical-scientific revolution has given such an impulse to the development of the productive forces in the present-day capitalist countries that a spontaneous and objective push towards socialism comes from them. This push, they say, has become still more imperative and realistic because of the change of the balance of power to the advantage of socialism. Proceeding from these positions, many revisionists present present-day capitalism as an almost non-capitalist order into the fold of which socialist «elements», «forces» and «tendencies» are willy-nilly finding their way.

Hence the modern revisionists draw two anti-Marxist and counterrevolutionary conclusions.

The first revisionist conclusion is that, under these conditions, the socialist transformation of society can be done even without the need of the proletarian revolution, through reforms and on a peaceful road, using for this purpose the bourgeois state itself, the nature of which can gradually change to the advantage of the working people. Thus, they wipe out any distinction between revolution and evolution, between revolution and reforms. These notions, according to the Soviet author Drabkin, have in our time drawn so near to each other that they would be an entirely incomprehensible and unrealistic thing not only to the Marxists of the past century but also to those of the first half of the 20th century. In order to make the evolutionist and reformist road more convincing, the hack-writers of the Soviet clique refer to the whole historic development of mankind and strive to prove that the social revolutions have not been and are not a law of transition from one economic-social formation to another higher one, that revolutions have not been and are not the locomotives of history. They arrive, thus, at the absurd conclusion that locomotives disappear, whereas cars spontaneously move in the given direction.*)

The second conclusion of the modern revisionists, which comes as the logic continuation of the former, is that as long as the development towards socialism can be done also on a peaceful evolutionary road, by means of reforms, in other words as long as capitalism can be gradually integrated in socialism the leading role of the working class and of its Marxist-Leninist communist party is unnecessary, that bearers and leaders of the process can be also other classes, parties and social and political forces, beginning with the bourgeoisie, petty-bourgeoisie, students and intelligentsia and ending with the socialist, social-democratic parties and reactionary trade unions. Similar theses are preached by the revisionists Garaudy and Gilas, other known and unknown revisionists in the East and West.

These preachings of the modern revisionists, as pointed out by the 6th Congress of the PLA, have become a basis for the spreading of the most extremist viewpoints which entirely negate the role of the revolutionary theory and of the working class party. There have come out men posing as revolutionaries, but they go to such lengths as to say that «in Marx's theory on revolution there exists neither the place nor the need for the party», that «Lenin's ideas about the party of the

* See the book «Historic science and some questions of our time» russ. edit. «Nauka», Moscow, 1969.

new type are a revision of Marx's theory», that «the vanguard of the revolution cannot be equaled with the Marxist-Leninist party», that «the vanguard role can be carried out also by an «active minority» that comes out as a «ferment» of the revolution, that «revolutionary conscience and organisation can be formed spontaneously in the process of the spontaneous development of the movement», etc., etc.

Even when some of the various revisionists and opportunists recognize the need for the existence of the party they badly distort the leading role and the organisational principles of its construction. They attack in particular the principle of democratic centralism, of the unity of thought and action as well as the fact that the party is the leading force of the whole revolutionary activity in every field it is conducted – political or economic, ideological or military. Some conceive the party as a club of discussions, as an illuminist organisation, others conceive it as a coordinating and information center, some others identify the party with a military detachment, with the «guerrilla», still others put the party on a par with the mass organisations and go on record for the equal «partnership» between them, etc., etc.

Refuting all these anti-Marxist preachings which aim at disarming the proletariat politically and organisationally, comrade Enver Hoxha forcefully pointed out at the 6th Congress of the PLA that «without its own party the working class, under whatever conditions it may live and act, does not spontaneously become conscious» that «if the political party with a clear programme, with a scientific strategy and tactics does not exist, the struggle either remains in the middle of the road or fails», that «the leading role of the working class party in the struggle for socialism, as well in the conditions of the existence of one party as in the conditions of the existence of many parties is an objective law» stemming from the fact that the struggle for socialism has as a theoretical basis the ideology of the working class, Marxism-Leninism, and the communist party of the proletariat is the one bearing, working out and implementing it.

THE LEADERSHIP OF THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM IS THE QUESTION OF THE WORKING CLASS OF EVERY COUNTRY

In order to prove their viewpoints that allegedly the transition to socialism is possible without the leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, the revisionists quote as an example a series of underdeveloped countries that have been liberated from the colonial domination of imperialism and which allegedly have engaged or are engaging in socialism through the so-called «non-capitalist road of development».

The development on this road – the propagandists of the Soviet Khrushchevian revisionists write – can begin under the leadership of any democratic class: the working class, peasantry, the petty-bourgeoisie of the city, in some countries even the intelligentsia, including also the revolutionary officers,

may be a leading force. They say that the hegemony of the Marxist-Leninist party in the struggle for socialism, as a general law, has to do with the development of society as a whole and not with the development of each individual country. Therefore, in a series of countries where there are no Marxist parties, according to them, the vanguard role can be played also by the class unions of the proletariat – the trade unions or other democratic parties and organisations.

Feeling that these arguments are not so much convincing and are not confirmed by life, the Khrushchevian revisionists are seeking to adduce also other arguments. They say that there where the weak development of the proletariat does not

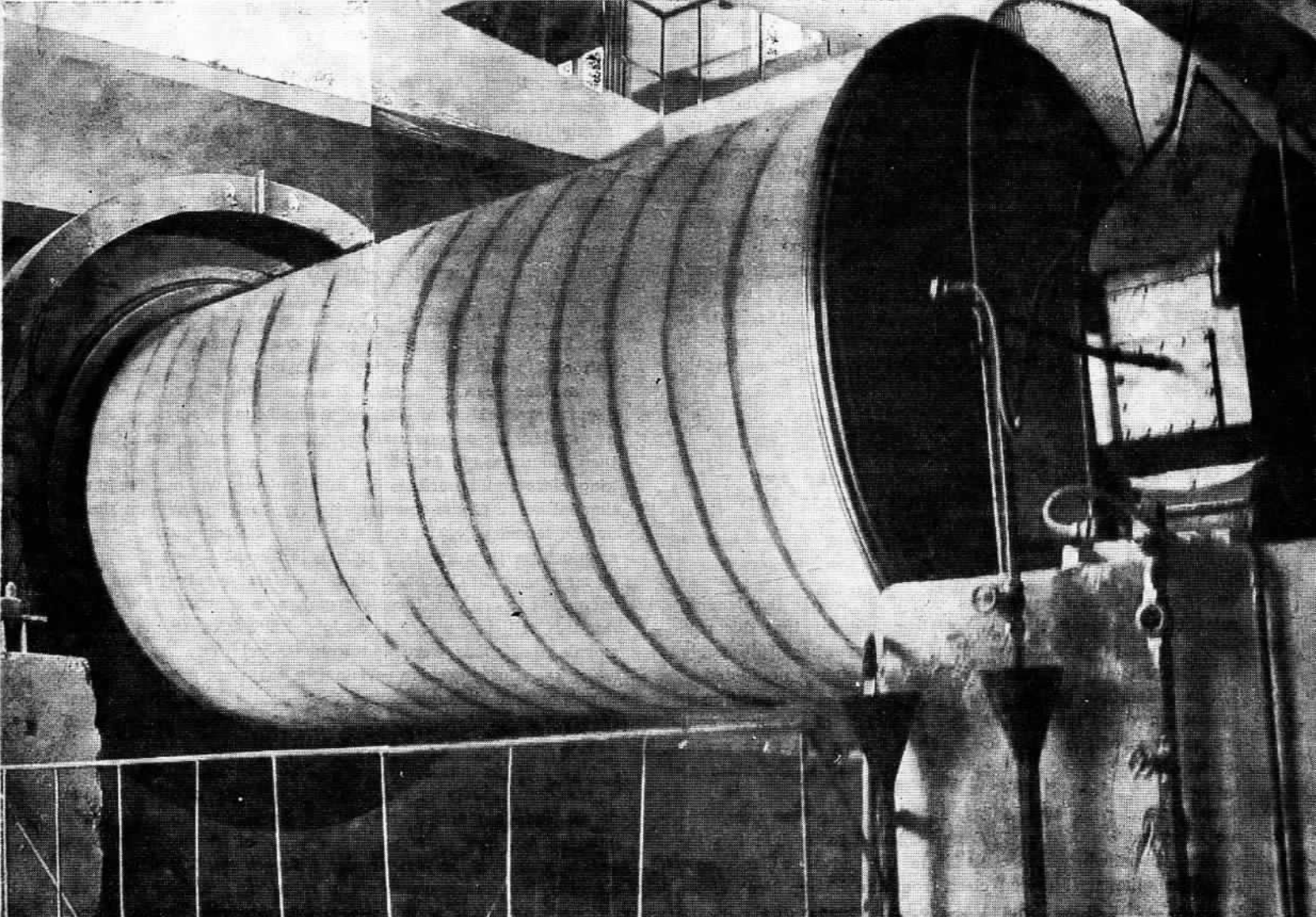


Workers operating complex machines

allow it to play the role of hegemon in the revolutionary movement, this vanguard role in this or that form can be fulfilled by the triumphant proletariat of the socialist countries.

But how do the socialist countries play the role of the hegemony of the proletariat in the underdeveloped countries to draw them towards socialism? It is known that there is no other road than through the internal factor. But in these countries power is held by various exploiting classes, mainly the national bourgeoisie and landlords. According to the revisionists it comes out that triumphant socialism has allegedly such a magic power as to be able to convince even the bourgeois and feudals not only to accept the socialist road but also

to lead the development of the country on this road (!) Triumphant socialism exerts a great and all-round influence on the peoples of other countries by its example, aid and support, but all this can never replace the direct leadership of the revolution which is the duty of the working class and of its Marxist-Leninist party of each country. The Soviet revisionists purposely merge these two things in order to impose their traitorous policy on the oppressed nations and peoples or newly liberated from colonialism, to subjugate and exploit them, to realize their expansionist and imperialist objectives for the sake of which they sacrifice and strangle the revolution in these countries.



The weak development of the proletariat in these countries, as shown also by the experience of our country, cannot serve as an argument to negate its hegemony. The question is that the working class does not play its leading role directly but through its party, and this party can be created even there where the working class is small in number and politically and organisationally not formed. The proletarian class makeup is of very great importance to the revolutionary character of the party. But this is not all. "...whether a party is really a worker political party or not, - V. I. Lenin has said, - this depends not only on whether it is made up of workers but also on who leads it and what is the content of its actions and of its political tactics. Only the latter determines whether we have really to do with a political party of the proletariat" (V. I. Lenin, Works, Albanian edition, vol. 31, page 285).

In many countries liberated from the colonial rule of imperialism they speak a lot about socialism. But the socialist theories in these countries are very far from the real theory of scientific socialism. There are in them many obscure, unclear, confused, eclectic things; a mixture of the principles of socialism with those of capitalism, of socialist ideology with those of the bourgeois and religious ideology. These "socialist" theories are on the one hand a testimony to the popularity of socialism, of the attractive force of its ideas, they are an expression of the efforts to find a new way out from poverty and backwardness; on the other hand they are an attempt of the bourgeoisie and the other reactionary forces to deceive the masses and to turn them away from the real road of the struggle for socialism.

Speaking about this question at the 6th Congress of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that "the Marxist-Leninists hail and support any sincere inclination and aspiration towards socialism, but at the same time they point out that socialism in every country has won and can win only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and under the leadership of the working class and of its party armed with the proletarian world outlook".

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE LEADING ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS PARTY

The Khrushchevian revisionists accept in words the leading role of the working class in socialism and say that this role will end only when communism will have been ultimately built up, when classes will have been completely liquidated. But how does the working class play this role when the communist party and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat are no more of the working class, they have lost their proletarian character and have changed into "party and state of the whole people"?

The Khrushchevian revisionists, on the basis of the programme approved by their XXII Congress, used to explain this by the fact that the working class is the most advanced, the most organized, the most united class from the ideopolitical viewpoint, with strong revolutionary traditions, bearer of the ideals

of communism, it is connected with the big industrial production which constitutes the basis of the development of the whole economy, it has its own class organisation, trade unions, which, in Khrushchev's expression, stand "shoulder to shoulder with the party in the directing cabin of the captain".

But it is known that all these conditions exist not only since the first steps of socialism, but already in capitalism. Then what is the use of the working class party, the communist party; what is the use of the dictatorship of the proletariat, why was it necessary to wait until the XXII Congress to declare them as unnecessary? The conditions mentioned by them provide to the working class only the possibility to be a class leading the struggle for socialism and communism. But these possibilities become a reality only when the working class creates from its fold its own revolutionary party armed with the scientific world outlook of communism and when after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie it creates, consolidates and perfects its state power - the dictatorship of the proletariat. Without having its own party and without the proletarian state the acceptance of the leading of the working class is a big bluff.

So much groundless from the theoretical viewpoint were these so-called arguments that today Khrushchev's successors, the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique, for definite purposes, have begun to question them. At present the Soviet propaganda no more speaks of the "party of the whole people", there are in it even manipulations with the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The present-day Soviet press criticizes those who detach the leading role of the working class from the role of the communist party and defends the viewpoint that in all the stages of the struggle for communism the leading role of the working class is realized through the party.

What dictated this "turning-point" and for what purposes is it made?

It was dictated above all by the events in Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovak revisionists, Dubcek's partisans and on behalf of the so-called "socialism with human face", openly rose against the leading role of the communist party and were demanding the full restoration of the bourgeois system of many parties, the accelerated restoration of capitalism. One of their chieftains, U. Svitak, was noisily declaring that the working class could perform its mission even without the directing influence of the communist party, that this mission should not be mixed with the leading role of the communist party in as much as they are two entirely different things. To justify its aggression in Czechoslovakia the Moscow ruling clique was compelled to criticize these viewpoints as counterrevolutionary. But this criticism was a two-edged knife because the Czechoslovak revisionists were admitting in fact those same things which the Khrushchevian revisionists, too, were propagandizing, with the sole difference that they used to openly say what the Soviet revisionists were stating in a more camouflaged way.

The demagogic manoeuvre of the Soviet revisionists to give up the term "party of the entire people" get deceive but the naive. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is neither a party of the entire people nor a party of the working class, but a party of the new Soviet bourgeoisie. The change of terms by no means changes the reactionary and counterrevolutionary character of this party. They are only masks to con-

ceal the Soviet Union's degeneration into a new bourgeois state and into an imperialist power. People judge of parties not by their names and declarations but by their deeds, by the policy they pursue, by the fact as to whose advantage they are.

The demagogical character of this manoeuvre comes to the fore also by the fact that the Khrushchevian revisionists, while having given up the term «party of the whole people», continue to uphold the viewpoint of the «state of the whole people». They say that the working class hegemony in socialism is embodied in the dictatorship of the proletariat only at a given stage, that the notion of the working class hegemony, in the historic meaning, is broader than the notion of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, they say, while the working class role extends up to the complete building of the classless communist society, the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a form of the realisation of this role, is preserved only during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and that with the victory of socialism, with the strengthening of the social-political and ideological unity of the working people it ceases to exist, it turns into a «state of the entire people».

Our Party of Labour has long since refuted the revisionist concept of the «state of the whole people» as a thorough-going fraud and has defended with arguments the thesis that the dictatorship of the proletariat is indispensable not only during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, but during the entire period of transition from capitalism to communism on a world-scale because during the whole of this great historic period the class struggle, the struggle between the two roads of development – socialist and capitalist – continues. And as long as this struggle continues the leading role of the working class is indispensable to ensure the victory of the socialist road over the capitalist one, a role which cannot be understood without the dictatorship of the proletariat. In final account, the notions of socialist state, socialist democracy, dictatorship of the proletariat express the same thing – that the working class is in power, that it directs and leads the whole national life. «The dictatorship of the proletariat, – V. I. Lenin has written, – if this Latin scientific historic-philosophical expression is translated into a simple language, means the following:

Only a given class, precisely the city workers and in general the factory workers, the industrial workers, are in position to lead the entire mass of the working people and of the exploited in the struggle for the overthrow of the yoke of capital in the process of this overthrow itself, in the struggle to preserve and consolidate victory, in the work to create the new social order, the socialist order, in the whole struggle to completely liquidate the classes» (V.I. Lenin, Selected Works, Albanian edition, vol. II, page 520).

Every state, as long as it is such, cannot fail to have a class character, cannot fail to express the leading role of a given class. Otherwise it cannot be a state. The class in power uses the state precisely as a means to realize its hegemony in the whole national life. If the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the revisionists say, is only a form of the realization of the leading role of the working class in socialism, then the hegemony of what class does the present-day Soviet state express? They say that also the «state of the whole people» is led by the

working class which under these conditions realized this role through the communist party. The revisionist logic here greatly stumbles because it is an anti-Marxist logic. It turns out that the state is above class, while its leadership is by the working class. It turns out likewise that the party leading the state and the policy it pursues are of the working class, whereas the state led by them is allegedly of the whole people. Seeking to avoid one contradiction, the revisionists create thereby other contradictions. You can't help it, such is the revisionist logic.

With such «theoretical» acrobatic feats the Khrushchevian revisionists are seeking to conceal what cannot be concealed, the complete negation on their part of the leading role of the working class in the struggle for socialism and communism. They need them in order to cloak the restoration of capitalism and the transition to social-imperialism with a more revolutionary phraseology, to throw dust in the eyes of the Soviet people and the world public opinion that the present-day Kremlin clique is allegedly making «corrections», that it is allegedly returning to healthy or at least healthier Marxist-Leninist positions. This whole demagogy must be exposed and destroyed through to the end.

III

THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA AND THE WORKING CLASS

In contrast with and in struggle against all the preachings of the bourgeois ideologists and the modern revisionists, the Party of Labour of Albania has defended and continues to defend with determination the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint about the leading role of the working class, it has consistently carried it out in practice in all the stages of the revolution and socialist construction and is developing it further in compliance with the present-day conditions of the full construction of socialist society.

As far back as during the National Liberation Struggle the PLA refuted the views of those who, under the pretext of the absence of a developed working class, were negating the possibility of the creation of the party and of its leading role in revolution. The Party did not wait for the creation of a developed working class, but it strongly relied on the existing one, it created and strengthened its alliance with the peasantry which was constituting the overwhelming majority of the population, and by its work, struggle and correct line came out at the head of the people as the sole leading force of their liberation struggle.

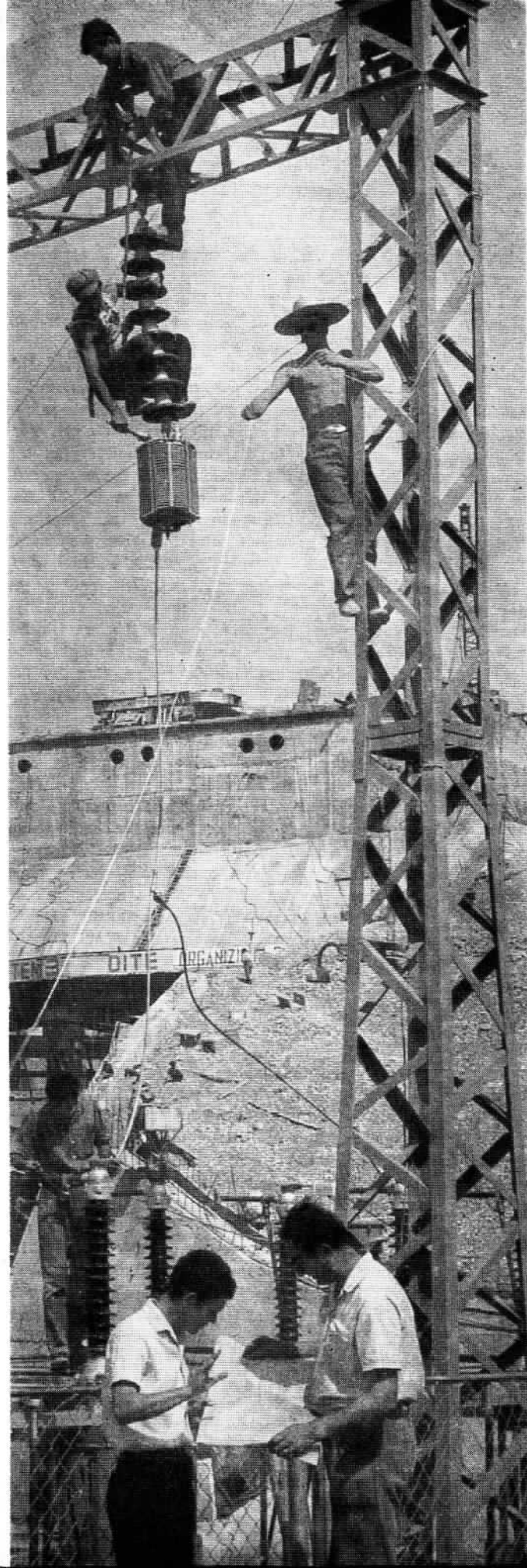
In spite of the general anti-imperialist and democratic character of the revolution in the first stage, the Party insisted from the very beginning on its leadership by the working class, it did not allow the sharing of the leadership with other political organisations, such as «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legaliteti», it preserved its full independence on the National Liberation Front and this became the decisive factor that led the liberation struggle of the people to victory and opened the road of socialist development of our country.

Also after the country's liberation from the foreign fascist occupationists and traitors to the people, the Party carried out a determined struggle as well against the viewpoints of the Yugoslav revisionists, who were negating the leading role of the communist party and were preaching its merger in the democratic front, as against any attempt to share political power with other classes and parties at home. Although acting under the conditions of a backward agricultural country with a mainly peasant population, the Party has known how to defend and strictly carry out the leading role of a working class party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, without which, as V. I. Lenin has said, there is no dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the struggle for the further revolutionisation of the country's life which burst forth especially after the 5th Congress of the PLA in November 1966, the Party has forcefully stressed the need for the strengthening of the role of the working class as the class in power and the leading one. This is one of the most fundamental ideas without which this great revolutionary process, aimed at continually leading the revolution onward, at ensuring the victory of the socialist road over the capitalist road, cannot be understood and realized.

On this question our Party proceeds from the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the historic mission of the working class does not end with the building of the first stage of the communist society -- socialism, but this mission will continue up to communism and it will end only when its complete and final victory will have been ensured. As a result, for as long a time will preserved also the party of the working class and the latter's state power -- the dictatorship of the proletariat. Without the rule of the working class, without its leadership, which is realized through the proletarian party and state, and without its control from above and below, not only no forward stride can be made on the road of communism, but any violation of them inevitably leads to the bourgeois degeneration of socialism.

Our party attaches a special importance, above all, to the establishment of correct relations between the cadres and the intelligentsia in general and the working class. The cadres, the intelligentsia have their own deserved place and play a great role in the socialist society. But the Party stresses that, without underevaluating their necessity and contribution, we should strongly rely on the working class as the class in power and the leading one, as the decisive force for the production of the material blessings and for the whole development of the society on the road of socialism and communism. «Let us never forget this, -- comrade Enver Hoxha teaches, -- otherwise . . . we unwillingly create the erroneous opinion that these are created only by the intelligentsia, a «new class», as is occurring in the Soviet Union and in all the other countries where the revisionists are making law.» In these countries, comrade Enver Hoxha continues, «. . . there was created a broad stratum of cadres, an intelligentsia with dangerous tendencies and inclinations, a stratum with bourgeois features, issued from the working class and the cooperated peasantry, which has received education under the socialist regime, it has been trained in socialist schools and universities, but which



Builders of hydropower stations and producers of light

has bureaucratized, it has degenerated, for the reason that it has been given an extraordinary importance, to such an extent that it managed to become the master, it took power in its hand and now it ignores the working class, collective farm peasantry, Marxism-Leninism which it falsifies in theory and practice».

Drawing lessons from this sad experience, our Party has taken of late a series of measures of great principled importance for the strengthening of the ties of the cadres and intelligentsia with the working class and the working people in general, such as the curtailment of the personnel of administrative organs, the lowering of high pays, the rotation and participation of the cadres in directly productive work together with the workers and peasants, their placing under the direct control of the working class and the working masses, the determination of their position not only from above but also from below, the reorganisation of the school, etc.

The importance of the measures consists in that not only to educate the cadres and the intelligentsia, but also place them under such conditions as to never consider themselves as leaders and commanders of the working class, never place themselves above the class and above the working people but consider themselves everywhere and always as servants of the working class, servants of the people and together they should manage, work and produce. This is one of the most effective roads to prepare right now the premises of the communist society, without class distinctions, where all the working people should directly work in production and at the same time they all be able to study, think, create, manage.

Of special importance to the increase of the working class role is the increase, in all the links of our life, of the leading, managing and organizing role of the working class party, and the improvement of the class makeup of its ranks, especially of its leading organs.

In the process of socialist construction the role of the party does not weaken, as the revisionists preach, but it keeps growing; the more complicated the tasks and the broader and more active the participation of the masses in this direction is the more this role grows. Our Party has criticized all those viewpoints which lead to the weakening of its role and which are propagandized by the revisionists under the labels of «party of the whole people» or «party of the masses», «illuminist party», «economic party» «unique party» or a «partner party, equal to the other parties and mass organisations».

One of the most important causes of the revisionist degeneration of many communist parties was the deproletarianization and intellectualization of their leading organs which fell into the hands of the bureaucrats, technocrats and bourgeoisified intellectuals. V. I. Lenin had long since warned against such a danger. He used to say that he would prefer the party committees had 8 workers for every 2 intellectuals. Bearing in mind these teachings as well as the conditions created our Party has taken in these recent years effective measures for the further improvement of the class makeup of its leading bodies, bringing into them more workers and working people who even after this continue to directly work in production. This orientation is valuable also to all the other organs of the state, economy and mass organisations.

Finally, of special importance are comrade Enver Hoxha's ideas about the direct control of the working class over every-



A young spinning worker

body and everything. They are another new contribution to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine about the working class role in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The new consists in the fact that the working class fulfills and must fulfill its controlling role not only from above, through the party and the proletarian state, but also from below, directly as a class. This is of vital importance.

The sad experience of the revisionist tragedy in the Soviet Union and elsewhere showed that the working class and the labouring masses not only at the beginning found themselves unprepared and were caught off base, but even later on they fell into passiveness and could not react by force against the revisionist betrayal. Our Party is striving never to allow such a situation. It is working to make the working class fully aware of its mission not only as the main productive force, but also as the main political force which must hold tightly and with a high conscience in its hands the banner

of the revolution and socialism and smash out by its powerful fist any counterrevolutionary plot by whoever it may be framed up and from whatever side it may come.

From this viewpoint the direct control of the working people is one of the most effective roads for the defence and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the consolidation and the successful development of the whole of our socialist order. As pointed out by the 6th Congress of the PLA, the direct control of the working class «is one of the most concrete expressions of the leading role of the working class and of proletarian democracy in action. It constitutes a sharp weapon in the struggle against bureaucratism and alien influences in social life and in the conscience of the working people, a very much effective form of proletarian education of the working class itself; it is a powerful encouragement to lead socialist construction onward. We see in the worker control one of the fundamental guarantees to avert the danger of revisionism and of turning back to capitalism».

The measures adopted by the PLA for the strengthening of the leading and controlling role of the working class are measures directed against bureaucratism, technocratism and intellectualism and are aimed at defending and carrying forward the revolution and the cause of socialism in Albania. They are by no means directed against the intelligentsia, as the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists slanderously state. The Party has always correctly appraised the place and role of the intelligentsia and has done a great work for its growth and education, creating a large army of intellectuals loyal to the working class and its revolutionary ideals. The whole thing is to most correctly understand the place and the role of the working class and the intelligentsia, not to put things upside down as the revisionists have put them.

The intelligentsia must deeply understand and accept with full conviction that in Albania it is the working class, the labouring people that are in power; that the intelligentsia issued from their fold must merge with them and serve them with loyalty and devotion. Not in intellectual haughtiness, in claims to leadership, in the idealization of its talents and abilities, but in the service to the working class and the people, in placing all its mental and physical abilities at the service of socialism, herein does the intelligentsia see and must see its mission in our socialist society. «The aim of the Party, comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 6th Congress, is to preserve the intelligentsia pure and revolutionary, to closely link it with the workers and peasants, to make it capable of facing by itself the alien bourgeois and revisionist influences, fighting, as until now, with determination for the great cause of the working class and the people!»



The Dictatorship Of The Proletariat And The Fight Against Bureaucracy

The practice of socialist construction in Albania has proved the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the constant strengthening of the socialist state is the premise for the extension of socialist democracy, for the broadening of the social base of the dictatorship of the proletariat. All the political, economic and cultural successes of our people in the building of socialism, under the leadership of the Party, would have been unthinkable without the major role of our socialist State. 27-years experience has also confirmed, under the specific conditions of our country, the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine about the decisive role of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a powerful means in the hands of the working class for the construction of the new order, for the development and deepening of our socialist revolution.

The 6th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania placed important historic tasks before the Party and the whole people for the deepening of the process of revolutionization in the political, economic, ideological, and cultural fields, for the further development of the country on the road of socialism. A fundamental condition for the realization of these tasks

is the unceasing strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat. «The key problem of the revolution, – said comrade Enver Hoxha in his report, – has been and will continue to be till the attainment of the victory of communism, the problem of the state power, of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In whatever field the class struggle between the two roads – socialist and capitalist, may develop – in the political or economic, ideological, cultural or military field, it is, in the final account, a struggle over the question of whether the dictatorship of the proletariat will be preserved and strengthened, or will degenerate and be overthrown, as occurred in the Soviet Union and in some other countries».

Experience of the construction of socialism has proved that the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the all-round development of socialist democracy cannot be ensured without a resolute struggle against bureaucracy. The Party of Labour of Albania and comrade Enver Hoxha have always warned against the danger of bureaucracy, and especially in the recent years, keeping in mind the negative experience of the Soviet Union and of some other countries, they have pro-

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THE PRESERVATION AND STRENGTHENING OF THE SOCIALIST STATE CANNOT BE CARRIED OUT WITHOUT A PERMANENT AND CONSISTENT STRUGGLE AGAINST ALL MANIFESTATIONS OF BUREAUCRACY

by **LUAN OMARI**

ceeded with an all-round analysis of its sources and roots, at the same time also defining measures for an effective struggle against it.

This struggle of our Party against bureaucracy has always been waged in the spirit of the teachings of Marx and Lenin. In the Marxist-Leninist theory on the state and society the problem and analysis of bureaucracy occupy a special place. Although other thinkers before Marx have also written in the political theory about bureaucracy, the founder of scientific socialism is the first one that has defined bureaucracy as a social-political category, as a component part of society and state. In Marx's work the theory about bureaucracy constitutes an element of his general world outlook about society and its development, especially about the state. In his «Critique of the Hegelian philosophy of right» Marx criticized Hegel's theory about the administration, i.e. about the bureaucracy in the bourgeois state. Marx's answer to Hegel's thesis that «the administration is the soul of the state» contains in itself the whole Marxist concept on bureaucracy. «Bureaucracy, – Marx write, – is not the soul of the state, it is its lack of soul». Developing and completing his theory about the bureaucracy, especially in his works «The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte» and the «Civil War in France», Marx explained bureaucracy in the field of economic-social relations, disclosing the essence of this phenomenon.

Lenin's concepts about bureaucracy were developed especially

under the conditions of the building of socialism, after the October Revolution. He discovered that Soviet bureaucracy had its origin in definite economic relations. Although the old bureaucratic apparatus had been smashed, following the October Revolution at the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of Russia Lenin spoke of a partial revival of bureaucracy, while two years later he said that «we see this evil before us even more clearly, more accentuated and more threatening». (V. I. Lenin, selected works, vol. 2, p. 770).

Lenin pointed out the classical characteristics of bureaucracy: lack of ability, lack of responsibility, administrative procrastination, etc. He showed how these phenomena, arisen on the basis of a backward peasantry, of an undeveloped capitalism, the feudal traditions and police despotism of the past, remained under the new conditions, too, and can develop and reproduce themselves. Aware of the danger of the development of bureaucracy, Lenin pointed out that the Soviet apparatus was still «true to the type of our old state apparatus», therefore he demanded a rapid change in it, seeking new forces in the deepest roots of our dictatorship», that is in the development of institutions based on the broadest possible participation of the workers and peasants.

Despite of Lenin's warnings and despite the struggle carried out by Stalin, who continued his work, against bureaucracy, this did not disappear in the Soviet Union, but under given conditions it became further developed and this, in turn, led

to the creation of a parasitic stratum detached from the people, a stratum that became the social basis of the birth of Khrushchevite revisionism.

The teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the critical analysis of the negative experience of the Soviet Union and of some countries of people's democracy provided our Party with the possibility of drawing accurate conclusions about the nature and causes of bureaucracy and at the same time of taking more effective measures to attack the roots of it. Such historic documents of our Party as the Open Letter, comrade Enver Hoxha's report at the 5th Congress, his February 6, 1967 speech «On the further revolutionarization of the Party and state power», «Working class control» and now the report at the 6th Congress of the Party, are important stages in the struggle against bureaucracy. They are materials of great theoretical and practical value the importance of which transcends the borders of our country, for they are based also on the summing up of international practice.

In his report to the 6th Congress of the Party comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that «the general road for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the entire socialist order, is the development of mass democracy». Our state power radically differs from the state power of the bourgeoisie. It emerged as the power of the working people, which is reflected in its content, as well as in its construction. **The very establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania as a direct result of the broad National Liberation Struggle, is an original characteristic of our state.** The breadth of the social base of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania which stems from these historical conditions, is a fundamental characteristic of socialist construction in our country. Our state power, under the leadership of the Party, has constantly strengthened these powerful ties with the masses. The consolidation of our social and economic order is an important factor for the extension of the social base of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the present period of the building of the material and technical base of socialism the socialist character of our State is reflected not only in the objective it aims at – the complete construction of socialist society –, but also in the fact that it is based on the socialist relations of production, which are predominant in our country today.

This fact creates particularly favourable conditions for the all-round development of socialist democracy, for the eradication of bureaucracy, which is the antithesis of this democracy, for the establishment of the closest possible ties between the state power and the masses. **The people's state power can have no interests apart from those of the masses. It relies on the powerful support of the masses, its aim is the broadest possible activation of all the masses in governing the country, in the control of the state apparatus on the basis of the principle that the people in power manage, lead, administer the country.**

Since the 5th Congress of the Party appreciable results have been achieved in the fight against bureaucratism, for the development of socialist democracy. The measures adopted

against the manifestations of bureaucracy, for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, have promoted the improvement of our socialist superstructure, its strengthening, and cleansing of everything alien, so that it will always preserve its pure proletarian class character. Resulting from these measures the political organisation of our society is responding ever better to the economic base of socialism that has been built. But the swift progress of the productive forces in our country and the improvement of the relations of production cannot be reflected immediately on the whole superstructure of our society. During this process of development separate elements of the superstructure lag behind in comparison with the development of the economic base. This relative lagging behind of the superstructure as compared with the relations of production manifests itself in the existence of some negative phenomena which, in essence, reflect the resistance of the old forces, traditions, ideology and morality of the feudo-bourgeois society. **Among these negative phenomena the most important is bureaucracy which is, as comrade Enver Hoxha says, «a great and deeprooted evil» that can lead to the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat. After the victory of the socialist relations of production and the liquidation of the exploiting classes, bureaucracy is the most dangerous internal enemy of the dictatorship of the proletariat.**

Our Party has mobilized the inexhaustible revolutionary energies of the working class and of all the working masses to fight these negative phenomena to the finish, to eliminate the «blemishes» which pave the way to bourgeois and revisionist degeneration. In this respect, there is no doubt that our Party has drawn the proper conclusions from the negative experience of the Soviet Union and the other countries where the revisionist cliques seized power. The measures for the further revolutionarisation of our entire national life are not simply preventive measures, dictated by this negative experience of other countries, but are, in the first place, measures for the further development of the socialist revolution, in conformity with the objective demands of the development of our society on the road of the full construction of socialism and communism. These measures, adopted by the Party of Labour of Albania, especially since the 5th Congress, such as the further enlivening of all the organizations and forms of socialist democracy, the strengthening of the people's control over the representative organs, and of the representative organs over the executive ones and the administration, the direct working class control over anyone and everything, the simplification of the state apparatus and the rejection of over-concentration of competences at the center, the purge of bureaucratic distortions in the legislation, the abolition of rank in the army and the improvement of the system of command in the armed forces, the closest possible integration of the cadres with the masses through their rotation and direct work in production – all these are measures which, on

the one hand, raised an insurmountable barricade to the danger of bourgeois and revisionist degeneration, and, on the other hand, opened the way for the deepening of the socialist revolution and for the complete construction of the socialist society in our country.

These measures taken by the Party are not merely of an organisational character, but in the first place, of a profoundly ideological and political character.

The ideological aspect of these measures is closely related to the significance of the fight against bureaucracy, as a struggle against the concrete manifestations of bourgeois ideology, for the victory of socialist ideology. Since bureaucracy is a form of thinking and acting in open opposition to the people, to their vital interests, the complete victory over bureaucratism cannot be ensured without eradicating hostile ideology, without eliminating the hang-overs and «stains» from the old society in the consciousness of men. During the struggle for the further revolutionisation of the entire life of the country many bureaucratic concepts which had taken root in the men of the state apparatus were smashed. They had been leading, among other things, to the replacement of the educative work with mere administrative stands, to the development of officialdom and formalism.

The political aspect of the struggle against bureaucracy is expressed in the deepening of the mass line which has always been the general line of our Party, making the participation of the working people in governing the country broader and more effective, increasing their revolutionary initiatives and at the same time further improving the relations between the cadres and the masses. In this aspect an important role has been played by the consolidation of the representative organs of the state power and the improvement of their composition. Over 30,000 councilors are militating today in the people's councils of districts, localities, city quarters and villages. During the latest elections to the people's councils, the number of workers from production elected increased from 77 per cent to 80,9 per cent, the members of the Albanian Labour Youth Union – from 9,70 per cent to 15,63 per cent, while the number of women reached for 36,12 per cent of the total number of councilors. This strengthening of the social basis of the state organs and their reliance on the masses of the people are an indispensable condition for preventing any undue growth of the administrative apparatus, indeed for proceeding, as far as is possible, on the road of its further curtailment. Lenin used to say, – «We have a «wonderful means» to increasing our state apparatus ten-fold immediately, at a move of the hand, a means which no capitalist state has ever had or can ever have. This wonderful means is the drawing in of the working people, of the poor, to the daily work of governing the state». (Lenin, Works, vol. 26, p. 109).

Of course, the improvement of the composition of the state organs and state administration is a continuous process, but it is not in itself a guarantee of the elimination of the danger of bureaucracy. Despite of the successes achieved in the deepening of the mass line, comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that «it would be a mistake to fall into self-complacency and remain at the level that has been achieved». As pointed out by Engels in connection with the Paris Commune, in order to defend and achieve its victory, the working class must not only smash the old bourgeois state ap-

paratus to its foundations, but must at the same time guard itself against its own deputies and employees, taking the necessary measures to prevent that the state, its organs, and men from turning into masters and rulers of the people. For this, our Party teaches us, the control of the masses and in particular the control by the working class, is indispensable. «The control by the workers from below, – comrade Enver Hoxha says in his report, – is a necessity and a basic principle of social life during the whole historic period of socialism... In the workers' control we see one of the fundamental guarantees of averting the danger of revisionism and of a return to capitalism».

The workers' control, according to the teachings of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, must extend over the state organs, party organisations, communists and individual cadres, to discover and eliminate all the alien manifestations that endanger the dictatorship of the proletariat. But to do this, comrade Enver Hoxha instructs, «it is of special importance for the working class to understand in the first place not only its role as a decisive productive force, but also its political role as a vanguard class in our society». The working class itself, like all our working people, needs to be educated with the class ideology. Seeing the working class as it is, the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha have laid down that its persistent political and ideological education is a main task. This is a decisive link for successfully carrying out the struggle against bureaucracy, and the further strengthening of socialist democracy.

The struggle against bureaucratism, for the further strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the development of socialist democracy, is an arduous and protracted class struggle. The experience accumulated so far especially in the recent years in the carrying out of this struggle on the basis of important Party documents and comrade Enver Hoxha's programmatic speeches on these questions, created the possibility for a deep and complete scientific analysis of the situation, defining clear and correct roads for the future. The synthesis of this struggle and work of the Party, in both the theoretical and practical fields, is reflected in comrade Enver Hoxha's report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, which is a consistent and creative application of Marxism-Leninism, a great programme that arms the Party, the working class and the labouring masses in their struggle to preserve and constantly strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, to achieve final victory in this struggle.



The sun rays on the rails

YESTERDAY AND TODAY

Vangjush Gambeta — *publicist, economist engineer, deputy chief editor of the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit».*

Industry! This was a little known word before liberation, it was a dream of a handful of people who had seen and read that somewhere in developed countries there is a great industry and that this industry was enriching the owners, the wealthy. For the Albanian «immature» capitalism industry was not in the order of the day: a shop with imported com-

modities — such was the objective of the rich. For the bulk of the working people of the city it was handicraft that provided hope for a piece of bread. But here, too, there is much to be said: for every shoemaker there were 4-5 cobblers. And the people were still barefooted. The policy of the ignorant rulers was fully complied with this situation. We may say that this was not a result only of the «immaturity» of the local capital but also of the pressure and interference of

Our Industrial March

**THE SOCIALIST RATES OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT
MADE ALBANIA – ONCE ONE OF THE MOST BACKWARD
COUNTRIES OF EUROPE – TO CREATE A MODERN,
ADVANCED INDUSTRY**

By VANGJUSH GAMBETA

foreign capital, mainly of the Italian capital, in order to reduce Albania to a source of raw materials, to more easily exploit her in order to prepare the political and military aggression of April 7, 1939. These enemies of the people were afraid of the growth and development of the working class whose representatives were very few at that time. And this appeared also in the reactionary economic thought which was reflected in the press of that time, which served the anti-popular

regime. Here is what was recommended in the Albanian newspaper «Drita» on January 28, 1938 by a certain «specialist» of those who were preparing the ground for the occupation of Albania on the part of fascist Italy, Francesco Frigione: «... To come to the assistance of the improvement and strengthening of agriculture -- first source of the wellbeing of a nation (?!), -- means not only to increase the sources but also to consolidate the economic and social structure because the improvement

of the conditions of the agricultural classes attached to their land and, consequently, entirely conservative, is for every nation a guaranty of tranquillity and maintenance (?!) of social order». This backward thought aimed not only at keeping in lethargy the development of the country's productive forces, but in connection with this at the same time to pave the way for the foreign capital to exploit even those few underground riches that were known at that time, even that little indus-

try which, from the viewpoint of the organisation of production, was still at the level of simple capitalist cooperation.

But our people's revolution led by the party reversed, in this field too, everything reactionary, backward, antipopular. After liberation, proceeding from the great Leninist teaching that «the only material base of socialism can be the big industry with machines, capable of reorganizing also agriculture», the Party mobilized the people and directed them on the road of the country's socialist industrialization.

Much toil and efforts were needed to transform Albania, in less than three decades, from a backward agricultural country into a developed agricultural-industrial country, capable of becoming, in a near future, a developed industrial-agricultural country.

In the year 1970 the total industrial production, as compared with the year 1938, increased 63,7 times. As against a few primitive workshops producing soap, macaroni, alcohol, oil, flour and cigarettes, and which were concentrated only in a few cities of Albania and which accounted for only 4 per cent of the national

income, the country has now numerous big works of modern industry which fulfill with their products both the country's needs and those of export that grow from year to year.

A characteristic of our industrialization is the fact that despite the backward of the past, important strides have been made in the structural improvement of the branches of industry. Thus, in the year 1970 the production of the means of production represented 56,6 per cent of the whole of our industrial production, whereas that of consumption goods - 43,4 per cent. These structural changes are more clearly seen if we consider the development of some main branches of our industry.

BREAD: MINERALS

Without strengthening the base of the raw material no country can pretend to build an industry capable of fulfilling its strategic tasks in the field of the strengthening of economic and political independence. And it is self-understood that for this purpose the agricultural raw materials,

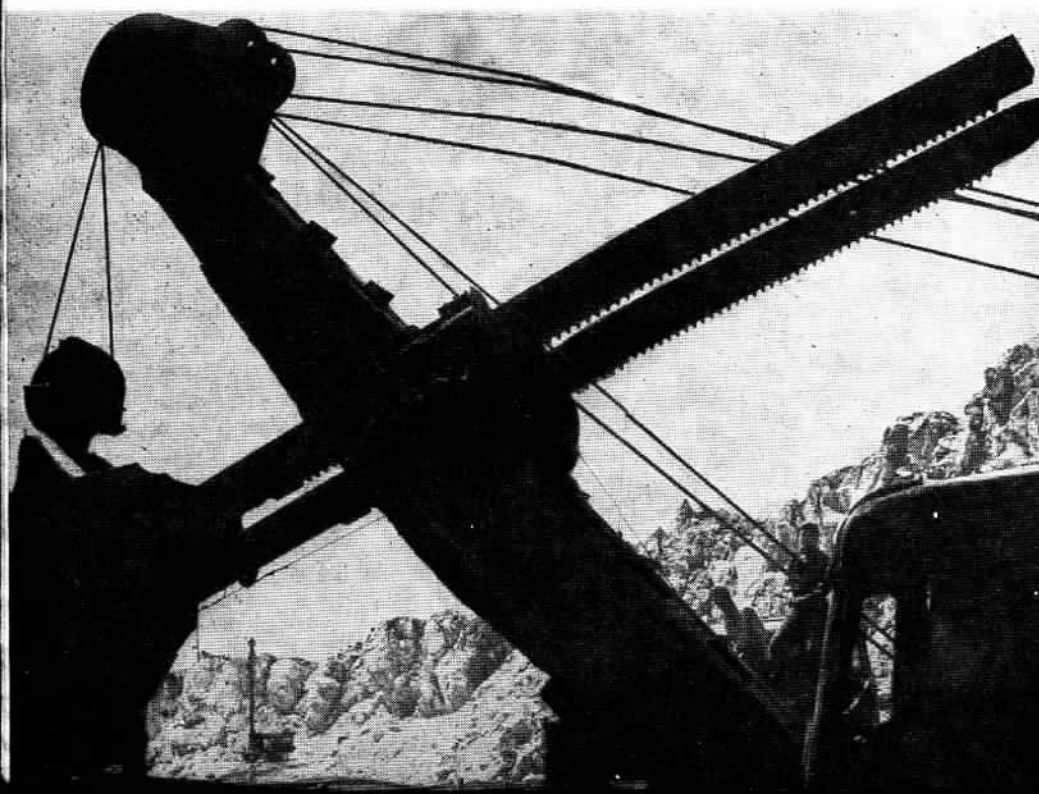
although very important to the wellbeing of a people, cannot be decisive, they cannot solve the problem of political independence without strengthening also the mineral raw materials.

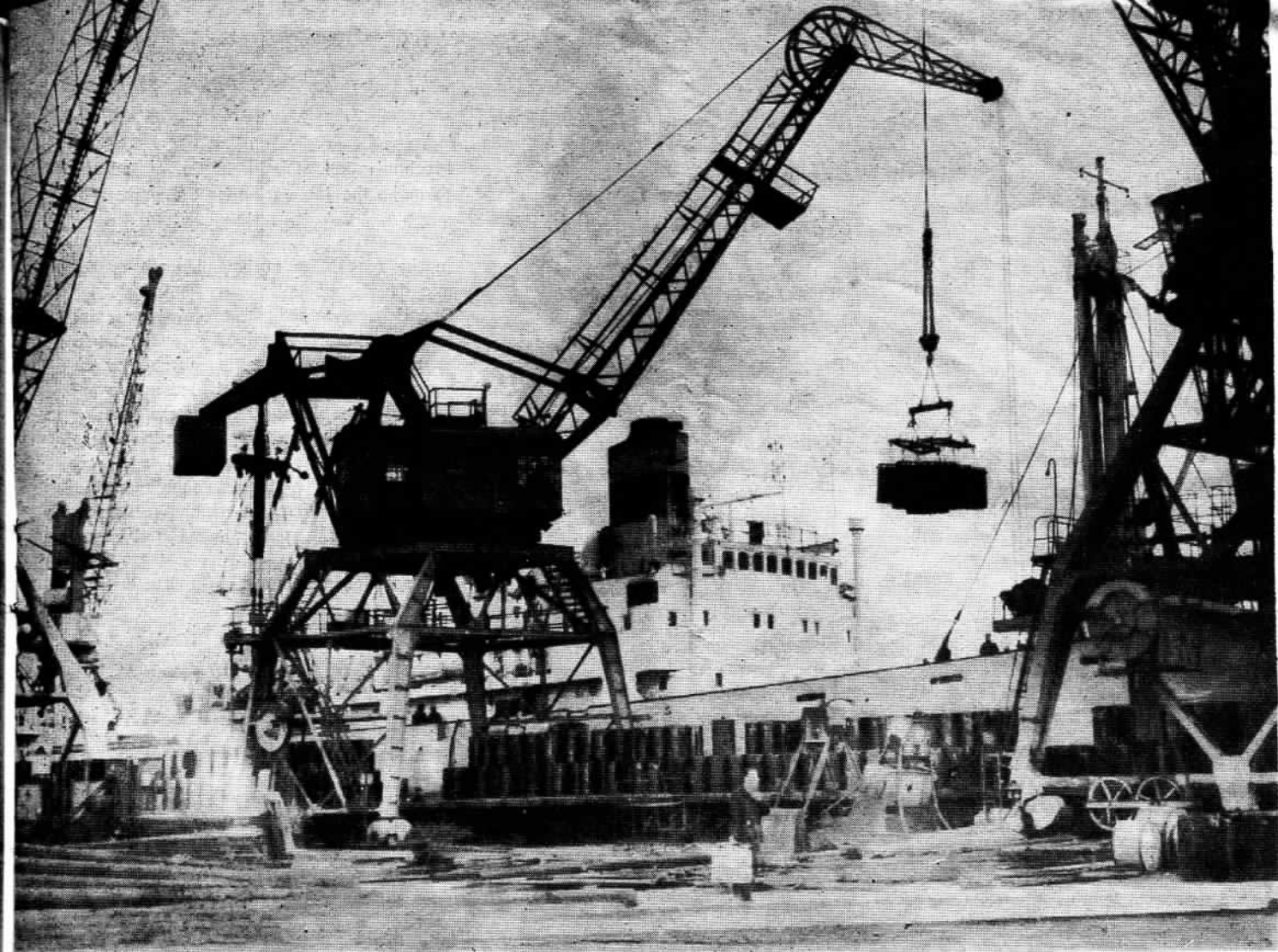
Our country is relatively rich also in mineral resources. Our underground contains oil, coal, chromium, copper, iron-nickel, bitumen, etc. Our geologists are discovering from year to year new kinds of minerals and mineral resources. And in all these industrial branches we have begun to intensify the processing, to increase the economic efficiency in the exploitation of these resources. The oil industry gives now not only fuel and motor-spirits for the country's needs but also for export. The copper industry has been particularly developed with the construction of a series of factories for the smelting, refining and production of wires. In the year 1970, as against the year 1946, the total industrial production of this branch grew 192,6 times. In the iron-nickel industry no comparisons can be drawn with the past, the pre-war period, for its beginnings held a place in the statistical annuaries in the year 1958. As against that year the total industrial production of this branch grew 15,1 times. After having developed our iron-nickel mines we have set to ourselves the task of developing ferrous metallurgy. One more comparison: The pre-liberation Albania had only one oil-field which was exploited by the Italian capitalists in the most barbarous way. The oil extracted was being exported to Italy at low prices and poor Albania used to import from Italy those few oil products it needed at very high prices: A known practice with regard to semi-colonial countries!

BLOOD: POWER INDUSTRY

Albania has today a relatively powerful base of raw materials for the further development of modern industry. But power is needed for this. So we must intensify both the processing of oil and extraction of coal as well as the construction of hydropower stations. Precisely for this reason these branches have been developed with priority in our country.

Machinery in service of extractive industry





At the Durrës sea port

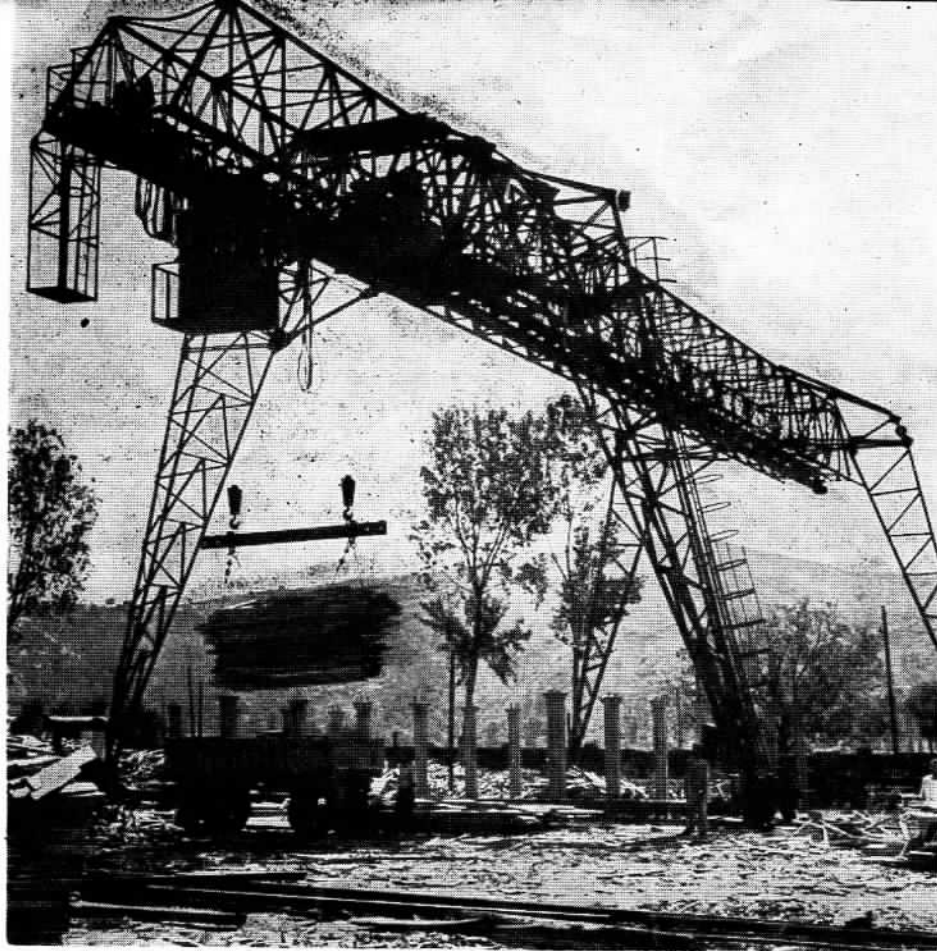
In little Albania, our specialists, with their own forces built up an oil processing plant in Fier with a capacity of 500.000 tons of oil annually. There were built up and are under construction some large coal mines. There have been built up and are under construction powerful heat and hydro power stations. The total output of power industry in the year 1970 as against the year 1938 has increased 109,4 per cent. While the current five-year plan (1971-1975) envisages in this field still more majestic construction work, such as the building of an oil processing plant, with a processing capacity of 1.000.000 tons of crude oil annually; of the Fierza hydro-

power station on Drini River and the iron-nickel metallurgical combine in Elbasan. Such works, both in terms of their size and technical level, are comparable to those being built in the most developed industrial countries. In 1975, as against 1970, the production of electric power will increase twofold.

HEART: MACHINES

But even having the «bread» and the «blood» the industrial organism cannot be healthy without having a healthy «heart». And the machine building indus-

try has been rightfully called by J. Stalin as the «heart» of heavy industry. In the past our country had only some very small and primitive workshops which used to repair those few transport and industrial vehicles the country had. Today we have over 20 powerful machinery plants which fully ensure not only the maintenance of the existing machines but turn out also a large part of spare parts. The plants are specialized of these purposes. Comparisons with the year 1938 have lost their value. Whereas as against the year 1960, in 1970 the total industrial production in this branch increased by 66,1 per cent.



Mechanization of work in timber industry to make the job easier for the workers

in the realisation of her plans of economic development.

One decade passed. Of these «prognoses» in history there remained but the shame of their authors. Albania marched more rapidly than ever, she fulfilled and over-fulfilled her plans. The Moscow revisionists are still shedding crocodile tears alleging that Albania has not developed so rapidly in this decade. They resemble now the owl which, not seeing the sunshine, closes its atrophied eyes and says: «There is no sun!»

And now let us say how did our industrial

We started to produce our first machines in these recent years. And the rates in this field are very fast. We have today the «Traktori» plant in Tirana which, with the exception of a few parts that are imported from abroad, produces «almost» the Albanian tractor. The oil processing plant in Fier, with a processing capacity of crude oil of 500.000 tons annually, has been built with home-made equipments and machines, with some small exception. We do not mention here many kinds of agricultural machines, machines for light and food industries nor those of our copper metallurgy - all produced by our machinery industry.

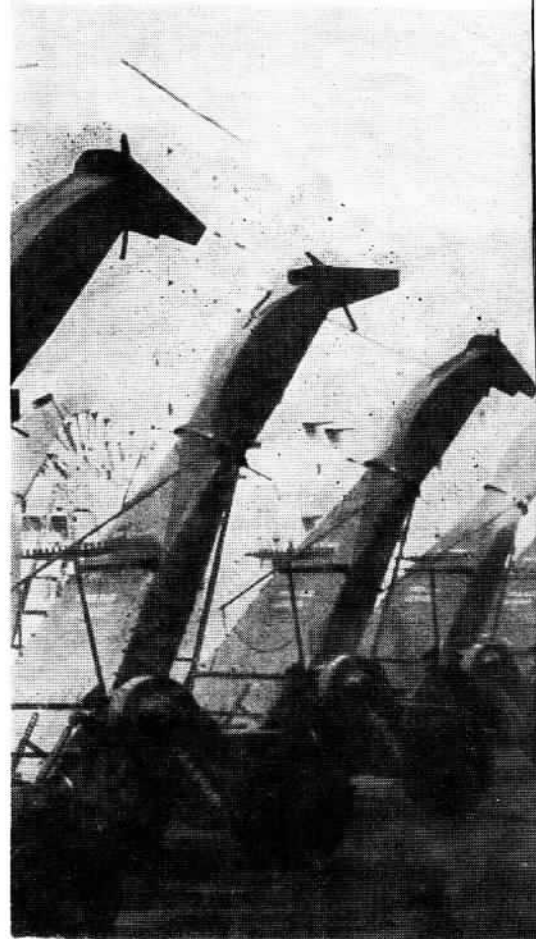
EVERY SUCCESS THROUGH STRUGGLE

Our revolution in the field of industrialization had to fight with determination against all the hostile actions of the imperialists and modern revisionists, as well as against the internal enemies who

sought to hinder our independent development. It is well known how these activities failed with shame as a result of the undaunted struggle and the sweat of our people. This is how we set up the beginnings of our industry during the first two five year plan periods.

But when we started to shed our sweat in the third five-year period, again a powerful hostile wave threatened our party, our people and our fatherland. The Khrushchevian revisionists did their utmost to hinder us.

To hinder our socialist industrialization they not only cast aside every economic agreement they had with socialist Albania, but they sought through falsification and lies to show that Albania had no oil and minerals, that Albania could not build up hydropower stations, that Albania could not set up and strengthen her own machinery and chemical industries which are so much indispensable also for the development of the other branches of industry and agriculture. Thus, they tried to create the impression that Albania would fail



sun shine during this decade. How many wonderful works we may count, works that have been and are being built up during this period and how many marked qualitative changes they have brought about in the strengthening of the leading role of industry in the people's economy, in the strengthening of the country's economic independence and the defence capacity of our Fatherland! In 1970, as against the year 1960, the total industrial production increased 255 per cent. Still more rapidly has grown the production of some of the most important branches. Thus, for this period the total industrial production of power industry has increased 443 per cent, oil industry 255 per cent, coal industry 238 per cent, copper industry

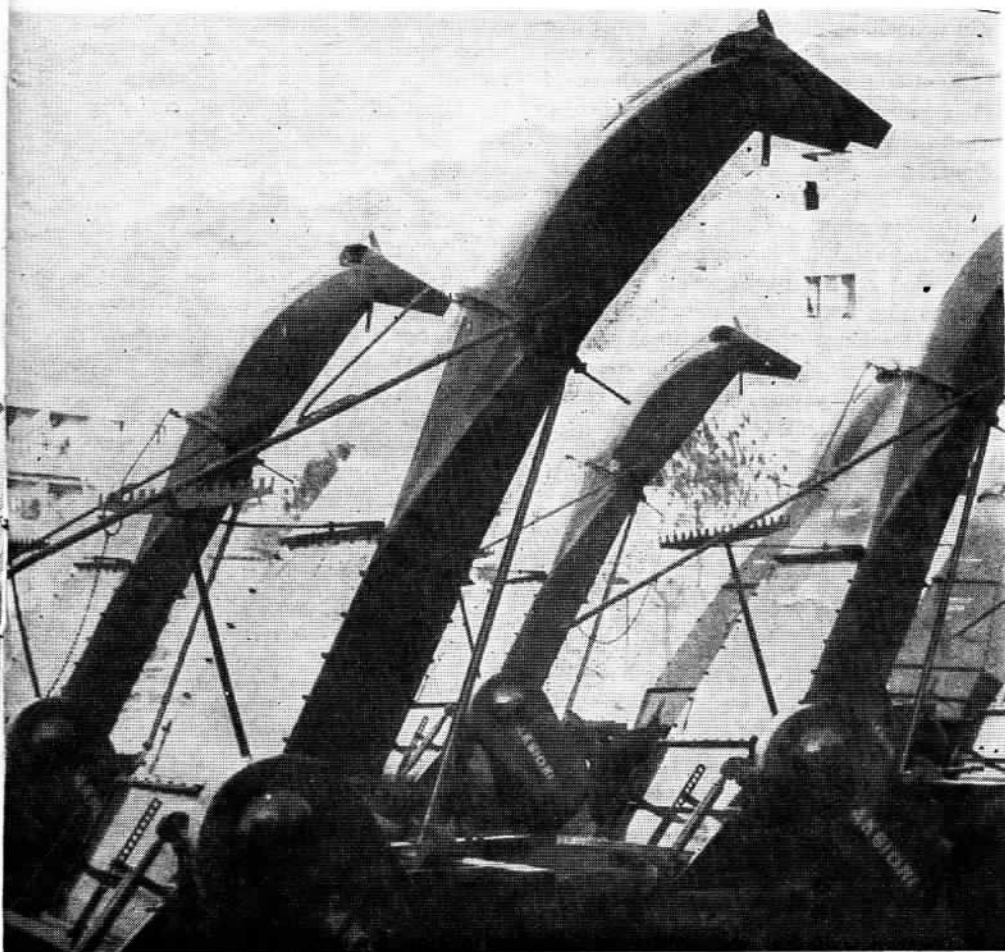
15,7 times, machinery industry 661 per cent and chemical industry 16,9 times. Here are also some data about the rates of the fourth five-year plan. The average annual rate of the increase of the total industrial production has been 12,5 per cent, power industry 21,3 per cent, oil industry 15,2 per cent, mechanical industry 25,7 per cent and chemical industry 47,6 per cent. No capitalist or revisionist country can brag of such rates of increase. Facts speak clearly about this.

The capitalist countries of Latin America, the economies of which are attached to the chariot of the U.S. economy and which are barbarously exploited by it, although having great riches, are vegetating. An indicator of the industrial development

of a country is the growth of the specific weight of the processing industry as against the total industrial production. In our country in 1970 the production of the processing industry accounted for the 89,3 per cent of the whole total industrial production, whereas in 19 Latin American countries the specific weight of the production of the processing industry is much lower, although in some of them the process of industrialization has begun earlier than in our country. This indicator is higher in Argentina (34,1 per cent), in four more countries it ranges from 21 to 25,8 per cent and in 14 countries - 20 per cent. Thus, facts show clearly that the «U.S. aid» to these countries is but a means to keep them as raw material sources and for withdrawal of their industrial commodities. These countries are great producers and exporters of raw materials and food products, but the same voices constitute at the same time the two-fifths of their import. 1) This once more shows the enslaving character of the «U.S. aid» and the incapacity of the ruling governments of these countries to resist the capitalist jungle law, according to which «the big fish eats up the little one».

Under these conditions in such countries industry does not develop as a «dynamic sector», but as a «vegetative sector». Significant about this is the verbal statement of the former Chilean foreign Minister himself, made on June 12, 1969 in the White House to Richard Nixon, president of the United States of America:

«It is a common opinion that our continent is receiving an actual financial aid. The figures show the contrary. We may say that Latin America is contributing to finance the development of the United States of America and of other industrial nations. Private investments have signified and signify for Latin America that the sums which are drawn from our continent are much larger than those that are invested. Our potential capital is impoverishing. The profits of the invested capital grow and multiply enormously, not in our countries however, but abroad. The so-called, aids, with all the conditions we know, mean a broader market and greater development for the developed countries, but certainly have not succeeded in compensating the sums that go from Latin America to pay the foreign debt and as



New home-made agricultural machines

a result of the profits created by the direct private investment. In a few words, we are conscious of the fact that what Latin America gives is greater than what it receives».

This passage has been quoted in the work of Andre Gunder Franc who points out that this affirmation acquires its authority not only due to the fact that present at this talk were all the Latin American ambassadors in Washington, but also because the former Chilean Foreign Minister Gabriel Valdes spoke as an official spokesman of all the Latin American Foreign Ministers (with the exception of Cuba). 2)

It cannot be clearer than that, because here it is only for diplomatic courtesy that the words «exploitation» and «robbery» are omitted. An this could not even be pretended by the ex Foreign Minister of Chile!

Another indicator of the qualitative improvement of the structure of our industry is also the production of the manufacturing industry according to the kind of raw materials and materials used in 1970 as against the year 1960. Thus the specific weight of the production of manufacturing industry which processes raw materials and industrial materials has grown from 26,5 to 42,8 per cent, whereas that of production which processes agricultural raw materials has fallen from 73,5 to 57,2 per cent, although in absolute value the latter has more than doubled. These are wonderful changes telling about high rates of development not only in the increase of production as a whole but also in the radical improvement of its branch structure. Again we can say that these are

rates about which no capitalist or revisionist country can brag. Let us take this time, for example, occupied Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia has had long since a poor balance of raw materials and power industry. Despite the «close» economic collaboration with the Soviet Union, the specific weight of the production of this branch of industry as against the total industrial output in 1960 was 11,2 per cent, in 1965 it fell to 11,1 per cent and in 1968 it fell to 10,8 per cent. True the falls are small, but quite certain and regular. In such a situation the question arises: Where are the capital investments directed if not to such a backward branch? But even these cannot help, for even these are proceeding at lower rates from year to year. While the rates of increase of capital investments in 1968 were 10,4 per cent, for the year 1971 they have been planned only 5 per cent; and this is done, as they themselves admit, «in compliance with the actual production and material conditions». These are the results of the collaboration of the revisionist countries in the framework of the Mutual Economic Aid Council. Similar phenomena occur also in the industries of other revisionist countries. And these show the dependence of their economies on the Soviet metropolis. The weaker branches weaken, economic dependence grows. It cannot happen otherwise when the keys to the raw materials and power industry are in the safes of the commanders of the Soviet army.

The road of the development of power industry is clear if we proceed from Lenin's teachings: It is the road of priority development of this branch, it is the road followed also by our Party. In the recent

five-year period alone the average rate of increase in the production of electric power has been 21,3 per cent, oil industry 15,2 per cent and coal industry 11,9 per cent.

These rates and this industrial development in the past decade in addition to the results they yielded in this period, have created also the conditions for a still more vigorous development under the current five-year plan (1971-1975), the directives of which were approved by the 6th Congress of our Party of Labour.

The first year of the current five-year plan and the beginning of its second year are showing that the tasks laid down in the field of industrialisation not only are being fulfilled but also overfulfilled due to the revolutionary determination of our people to march on the road set by this Congress. In this field, too, we enjoy the fraternal and internationalist aid of the PR of China, based on our great friendship and on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

Our people see the successes of the road of industrialization in their daily life, in their ever better supply with industrial commodities, in the electrification within a record time of all the villages of our country which in the past had known only the pine-torch. The following comparison suits our qualitative leap: from the pine-torch to the powerful electric light. This is our industrial march.

- 1) Industrial Development in Latin America. «Econ. Bull. Lat. Amer.» 1969, 14, Nr. 2
- 2) Lumpenbuergeria: lumpendesarrollo. Dependencia, clase y politica en Latinoamerica (Ital. Ed. year 1971, p. 113).

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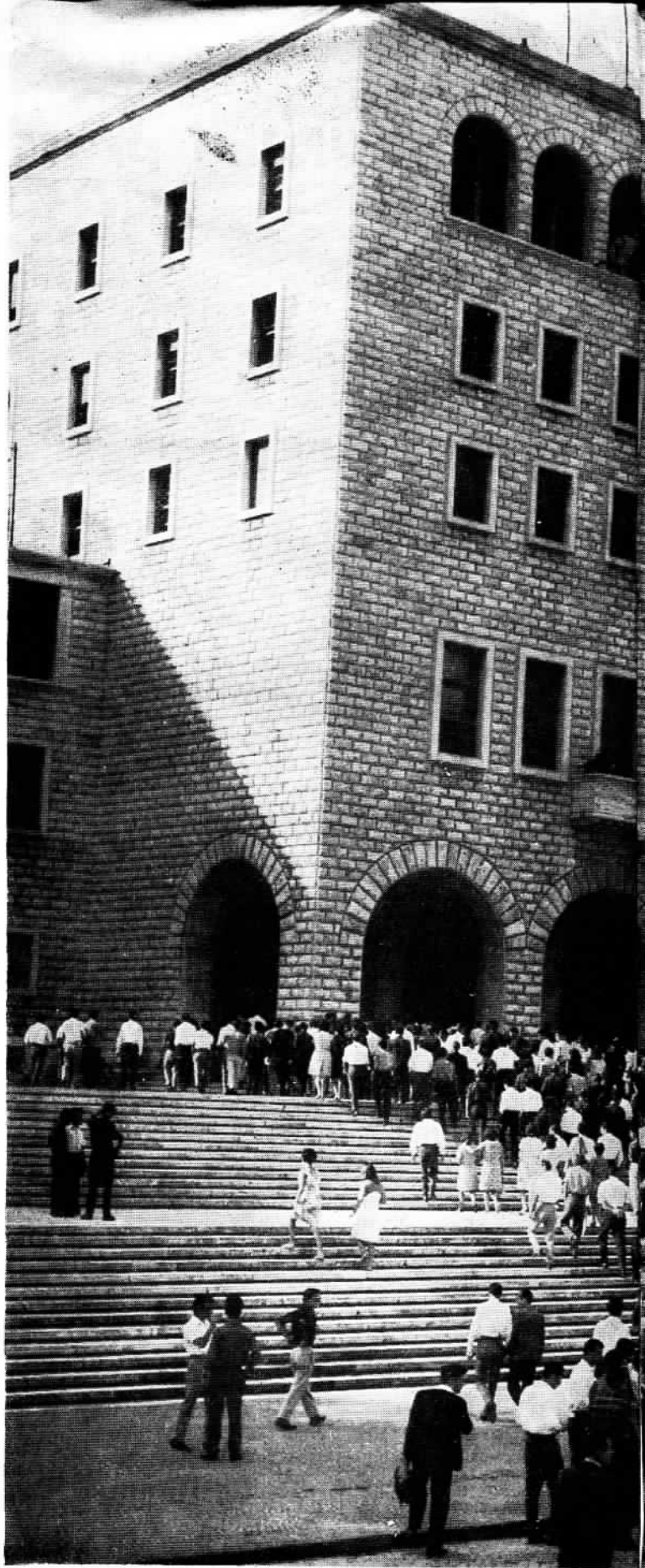
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Our Higher School And Its Role In The Scientific Research Work

By Prof. JORGJI SOTA

State University of Tirana (S.U.T.)

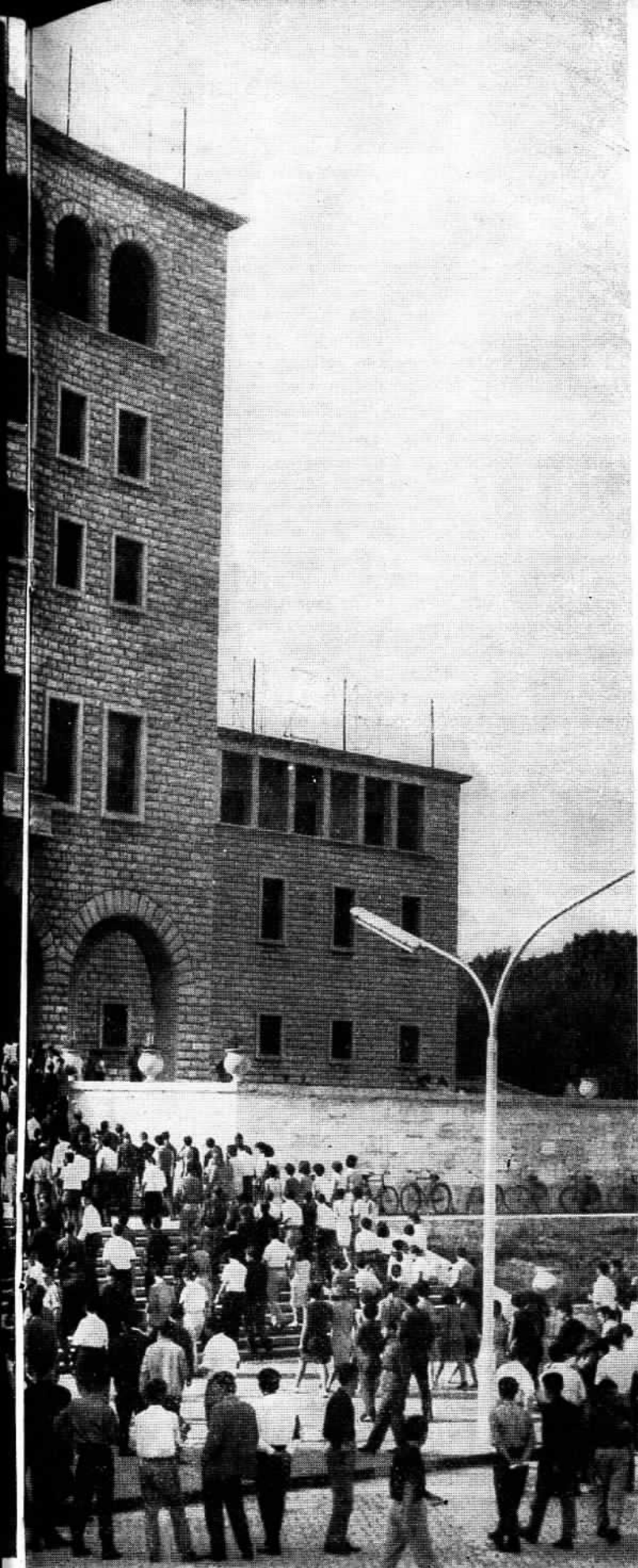


**THIS ARTICLE DEALS
WITH THE
REVOLUTIONISATION
OF OUR HIGHER
SCHOOL AND ITS PRESENT
AND FUTURE TASKS
IN RESEARCH WORK
AND TEACHING**

Our higher school, like every other sector of our social life, is characterized by a great dynamism. It has entered a stage of deep revolutionary transformations in all directions, in form and content, in breadth and depth.

The structural changes made in these recent years by introducing the revolutionary triangle «study – productive work with physical education and military training», through every aspect runs the Marxist-Leninist ideological axis, as well as the other measures that have been adopted for the improvement of the teaching plans and programmes, the drafting of new text-books for the various disciplines, the application of new and more effective methods of teaching, etc., are yielding better results with every passing day. They are confirming in practice the correctness of the orientations and decisions of the Party in this field.

This further revolutionisation of our school, as a component part of the ideological and cultural revolution, is an uninter-



ted process. Consequently, the problems of the constant improvement of the content, will be a permanent object of work and study by the masses of teachers and students.

But our higher school is not only an educational institution: it is at the same time, a scientific organism. This fundamental characteristic is dictated in the first place, by the fact that to improve the teaching process it is necessary to unceasingly develop the scientific thought of the specialist teachers by continually enriching it with the latest knowledge of advanced science and technology, assimilating and applying new methods in carrying out studies of a theoretical and experimental character, through knowledge and scientific generalisation of our socialist reality, and, what is more important, through the application of this knowledge in the day to day practice at production and Social life.

In relation to the teaching process, this is not merely an organisational question, but above all, a question of method and world outlook, which concerns in the first place, the recognition and revolutionary transformation of objective reality. The most important aspect, the most essential thing, the inner connection of the method of teaching, just as of the method of work in general, consists in the integration or, more precisely, the blending of theory with practice, of study with life, of science with production, and vice-versa.

In conformity with this characteristic the State University of Tirana, as the biggest center for training highly qualified specialists has become at the same time, the country's biggest scientific center where a considerable number of highly qualified cadres with wealth of experience is concentrated. The University also has at its disposal a material-laboratory base which is continually increasing in strength.

It is understandable for a university, 15 years is a comparatively short period of existence. However, during these years, under the leadership of the Party, in struggle to overcome objective and subjective difficulties, all the chairs and institutions attached to the University, such as those of history, language and literature, folklore, etc., have achieved a series of important successes in the field of science. Suffice it to mention that within the period of the fourth five-year plan over 280 scientific themes have been worked upon and the results have not only been reflected in projects and publications such as monographs, reports, scientific communications and articles, but have also solved a series of problems of scientific and technical character, of great value to the various sectors of the country's economic and social life.

For instance, in the field of albanological sciences, through many years of research work a considerable number of problems of the history of Albania, of the grammar of the Albanian language, lexicology, and history of literature have been elucidated. A wealth of material on Albanian folklore has been accumulated, studied, and published. Our country has now become the most authoritative center of albanological studies. In the field of politico-juridical sciences studies have been conducted about the history of the state, law diplomacy, and social thought in our country. In the field of economic sciences, work has been carried out for the solution of some current problems and to go more deeply into the criticism of bourgeois and revisionist viewpoints in economics. As to the

natural sciences, along with a series of studies carried out in the fields of physics, mathematics, chemistry, and biology, another great success is the creation of two new scientific institutions – the institute of nuclear radiation and the mathematical computer centre set up with the generous and internationalist aid of the People's Republic of China. The former is an important research and methodological center for further studies concerning the use of radioactive isotopes and radiations for the needs of production and scientific research, and the latter to facilitate and extend the application of mathematical methods and calculation in economics and in various branches of science. In the field of engineering sciences, it is worth mentioning the research work for the designing of such large hydropower stations such as the «Mao Tse Tung», Fierza, and other power plants, in addition to many new designs in the field of mechanics, architecture, thermotechnics, electro-technics, etc. which have solved urgent demands of production and construction. In the field of geological-mining sciences, among other things, studies on some problems of the geological structure and genetic relations in some areas of the country, studies on the discovery and enrichment of low grade ores and other useful minerals, as well as about the solution of some problems of research and exploitation of oil deposits, etc. have been carried out. In the field of medical sciences studies have been carried out on the situation and distribution of some diseases in the country as well as about the most effective methods of treating them. Without doubt the results so far are great and important, but not everything required has been achieved.

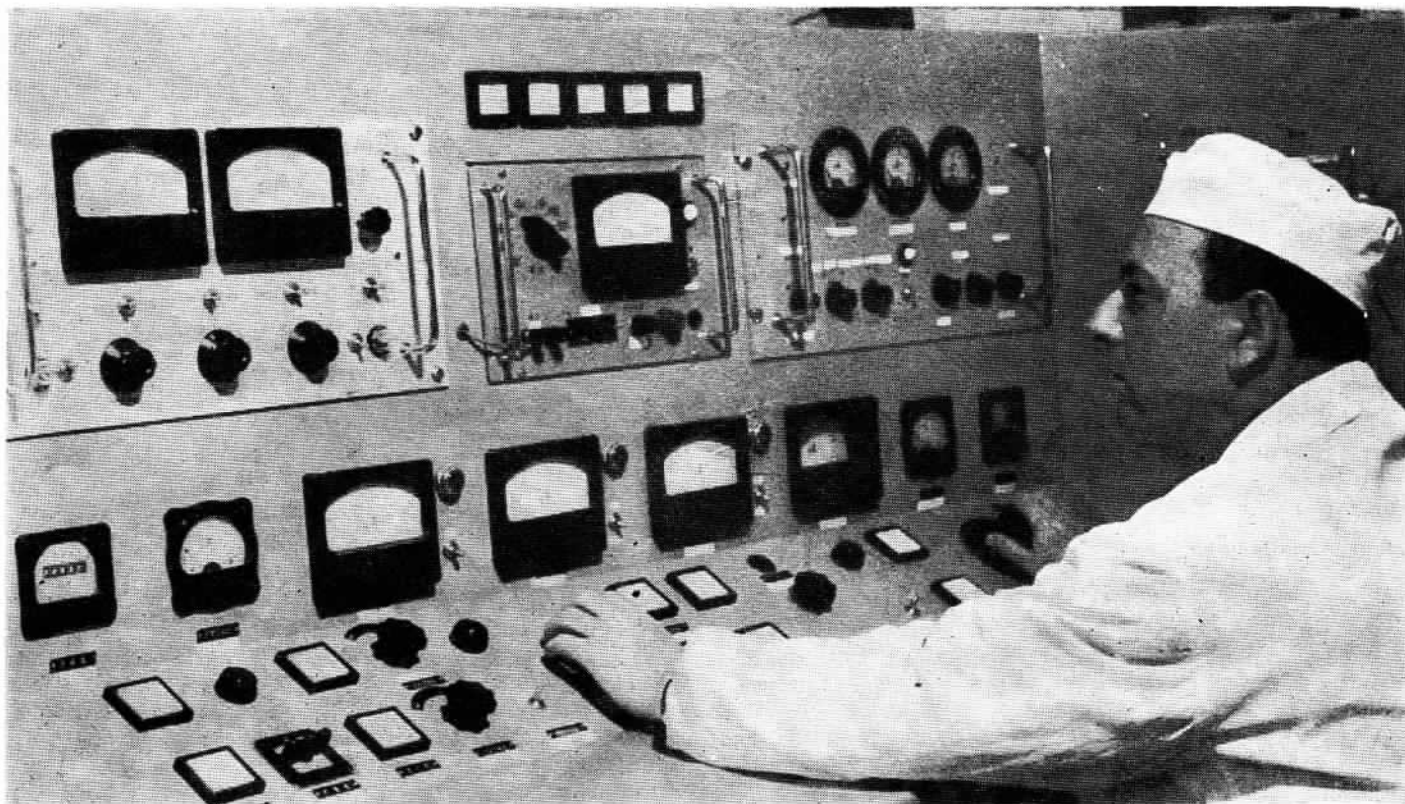
It must be admitted that in the field of scientific studies and research still have a relative backwardness in comparison with the aims and objectives set for the speedy and intensive development of the socialist economy and culture.

As was made clear by the 6th Congress of the Party to overcome this backwardness, a new qualitative upsurge is required in all directions, including more organized and effective work which must be done for the training and qualification of high cadres to be able to meet the needs better both of the present stage of development of our country and of the bold objectives we intend to attain in the future. Life itself is confirming that the ever more intensive development of the economy and culture, which the training of high cadres must serve, can be deepened further only by relying on modern science and technology and by promoting the technical and scientific revolution; that at the present stage reached by our country, no rapid advance can be made in any field without profound bath now and in the future, to elucidate the objectives we want to reach and the ways to realise them. This demand for the raising of the management of all the affairs to an ever higher scientific level can be successfully realized if we base ourselves firmly on science and make intensive use of its results. On the basis of these orientations, and of the fight against these intellectualist conservative concepts which shut up science within the four walls of the libraries and laboratories new revolutionary concepts about scientific work, about its method and content have been created and are taking shape with every passing day among the teachers and scientific workers. The necessity for the closest possible integration of theory with practice, science with production, the finding of the most effective forms to ensure this inte-

gration, has already become a fundamental problem for the whole scientific activity of our higher school.

The results achieved and the latest Party documents, in particular the decision of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA «On the farther development of scientific research work»,

Following numerous discussions and consultations, it has been possible to reach a generally correct definition of the problems requiring scientific work, which, with regard to the number of themes and to their importance and actuality, marks an import stride forward in comparison with the past. The five-



In the conductor's stand of the thermo-nuclear laboratory of the S.U.T.

have opened new prospects before the State University of Tirana and the other higher schools and put forward greater and more complicated tasks for the future which have taken shape in the plans for scientific work for the years 1971-1975, mapped out conform it, with the targets of the fifth five-year plan.

year plan for the scientific work of the State University of Tirana alone, includes about 300 themes, the most of which deal with various problems which the socialist construction of the country puts forward.

Thus, such broad and complex problems have been envisaged as the construction of hydraulic models of the big hydrotechnical



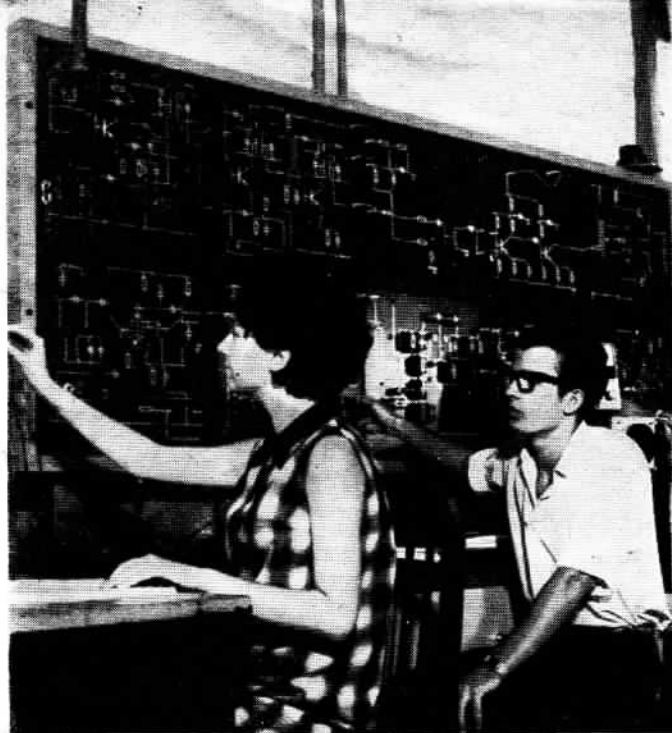
projects to be built in our country, studies on purification of industrial waters, studies and experiments on the production of light building materials, surveying of the water resources of Albania, study of the possibility of locally producing some semiconductors and drawing up specifications for the technology of their production, the standardisation of some kinds of machinery and industrial equipments as reduction gears, fans, pumps, lifting and transporting machines, etc., the compilation of the map of useful minerals and the study of the metallogenesis of Albania, the defining of the seismological regions of Albania, studies and experiments concerning the use of radioactive isotopes for the needs of industry, agriculture, public health, and for study purposes, the use of the methods of computer mathematics in the study and solution of various problems of the economy, etc. A considerable part of these themes are being studied jointly by groups of cadres of scientific chairs, sectors, and institutions, and production enterprises.

The plans for scientific work likewise include a series of important studies in the humanitarian sciences, such as problems of the history of economic thought in Albania before liberation and in the period of socialist construction, problems of contemporary capitalist and revisionist economy, studies in the field of Albanian history, language, and literature, etc.

The problems raised today by the modernisation and intensification of agriculture are very complicated and require that farming should be placed on a broad and more profoundly scientific basis, demanding an important contribution in the field of science and technology.

To respond to this task, work has begun in the chairs and laboratories of the higher State Institute of Agriculture and in other institutions of this profile, in the fields and stables, to carry out hundreds of studies and experiments for the solution of current and future problems of agricultural and livestock production. Thus, in the plans for the scientific work of these institutions a large place is occupied by such important problems as the discovery and selection of new plant varieties of high yields and good quality, the study of a series of questions relating to the fundamental problems in agriculture such as the knowledge, use, and in particular, protection of the land available, the study of various and mansided agrotechnical measures, studies on the definition of the structure of livestock, the classification of our forests, the fullest possible knowledge and utilization of the plant wealth of our country for the needs of livestock farming industry, medicine, etc. The realization of these scientific research studies will help both in the elevation of the theoretical, experimental, and methodic level of the scientific chairs and sectors, and in the further development of our economy and culture.

Greater attention will be devoted in the future to the strengthening of the links and cooperation of the scientific chairs and sectors with the production enterprises and the other economic institutions which have assumed a new development during the current year. Although such a spirit pervades the whole of the scientific work, the State University of Tirana and



From the scientific-research work of the students at the radio-technique and low currents laboratory of the S.U.T.

the other institutes of higher learning have a special plan of cooperation with production, some 500 specialists of the university and cadres directly working in production are engaged in the solution of more than 150 special problems. There are great and difficult tasks facing the State University of Tirana and the other institutes of higher learning in the years of the 5th five-year plan. Besides the solution of some important problems with which the raising of the level of the scientific research work is closely related, such as the qualification and specialization of the cadres, the further strengthening of the material laboratory base, etc., — the fulfilment of these tasks requires perfect organization and persistent work. The teaching and scientific workers are aware of these difficulties and have full confidence that they will successfully carry out the tasks entrusted to them. As always the guaranty of this, is the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, its great care and continuous aid for the development of science and culture in our country.

Treasures Of Ancient Culture

**HISTORY OF TWO BYZANTINE CODICES OF AN AGE OF 1400 AND
1200 YEARS. THEY WERE
DISCOVERED IN THE CITY OF BERAT,
VERY MUCH DAMAGED AND
WERE REBUILT WITH GREATEST
CARE BECOMING A VALUABLE
WEALTH OF OUR PEOPLE
AND OF WORLD CULTURE**

By Prof. ALEKS BUDA

Books, too, have their own fate... You recall at once this old proverb when you hear about the surprising history of two ancient codices with origin from our city of Berat, one of which having the respectable age of about 1400 years, while the second is «only» one thousand and one-hundred... years old. These lost treasures have been discovered gravely damaged and, after having been restored, were finally turned back to our people and culture to whom they belonged.

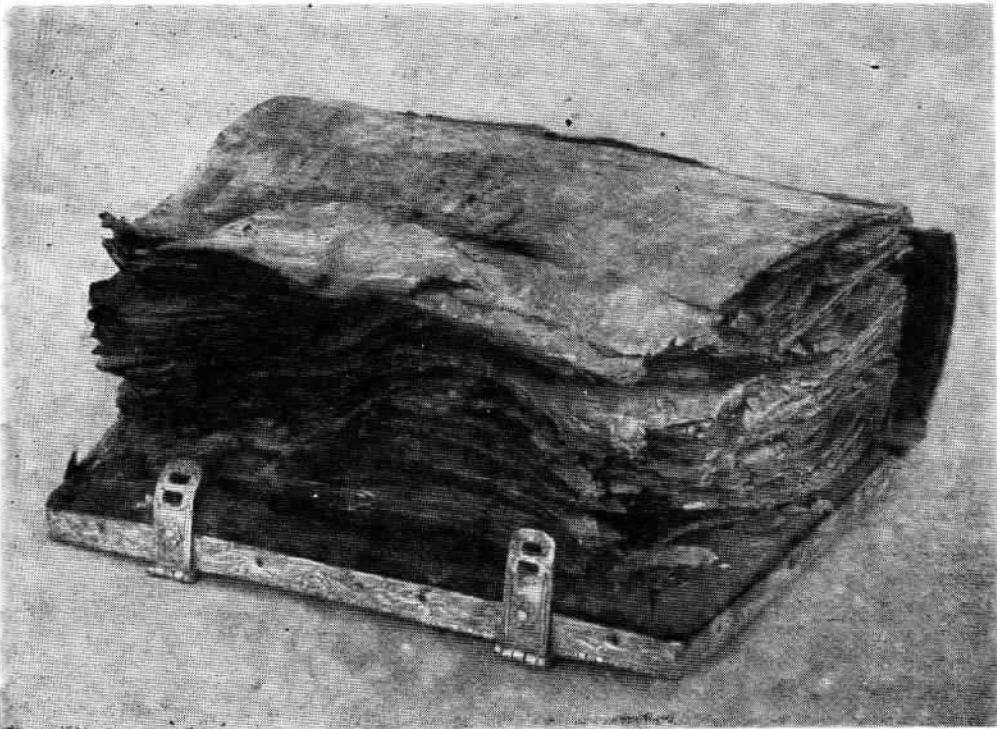
To a person not knowing the history of Albania might seem inexplicable how these palaeographic treasures were discovered in the XIX century in Albania, in that so much unknown and poor province of the Ottoman empire. Indeed these must have been the thoughts of the French scholar Pierre Battifol when he, after a long and toilsome trip, acquainted himself in Berat in the year 1884 with these manuscripts which allowed him to enrich with 3 new numbers the list of the known chryso-graphic codices of the Byzantine style, i.e. written in gold and silver, a list which at that time scarcely amounted to a dozen of copies scattered among the biggest libraries and museums of the world. (Let us add, on this occasion, that even today this number has not been able to grow much...). And among these 3 new numbers which were discovered at that time, two were the codices of which it is being spoken today.

Such a fact may be surprising only to a person who tries to see at any cost in the history of our people and country a

Aleks Buda, professor historian, author of known studies on the feudal and capitalist period of Albanian. Winner of the Republic's prize for his work «History of Albania».



Condition of the Berat codices before restoration



history of backward populations which allegedly have not known a higher level of civilization and, consequently, neither the necessity of writing. It is wellknown to what purposes were serving such viewpoints, characteristic of imperialism and great-state chauvinism. Historic science has already shown how much groundless such statements are. The archaeological research work that has been carried out in the years of the people's power have fully proved that the Albanian land is an ancient land of culture and that it has been made such by the many-century long work of the country's working masses.

Berat itself provides a good example of this, with its monumental civil and cult architecture, with its works of mural painting adorning these buildings from within. Here a rich tradition had developed since the early times in the field of the small applied arts, of handicraft, silversmith work, engraving, embroidery with silver yarns etc. It is not accidental that the first Albanian craftsman we know by name comes from this region: the silversmith Gjergj Arianiti who has put his name on an artistic goblin embroidered by him noting jointly with the year 1376 also the historic event of capital importance, when the Albanian territories were united for the first time – though temporarily – under the rule of a single ruler, of the Balsha princes who were coming from North Albania. From Berat the artistic traditions with more or less crystallized features radiated also to other regions of this country and influenced until the following centuries the various fields of artistic creativeness. This city with its numerous artistic values – among which not less important is also its natural picturesque position with the architecture of its so much characteristic houses – has been rightfully protected by special laws as a large living museum, as a city-museum.

The applied arts which were developed in Berat since the early Middle Ages included also writing which was an art until it was replaced by the technical revolution of the printing machine. Dozens of codices in manuscript from Berat, which have been able to withstand the test of time and range between the 6th and the 15th centuries, give us the right to draw the conclusion that here, too, we have to do with an uninterrupted writing continuity and tradition which was meeting a realistic although limited necessity of an elevated and developed society in which

writing, as a means of cultural communication, was undoubtedly playing a role. It is a question of a parchment codex, in some case also on papyrus and, finally, in the 14th and 15th centuries, also on paper. A series of these codices are masterpieces of calligraphic art; they are equip-

to the 6th and 9th centuries, the major part of the manuscripts from Berat preserved in our State Archives, belong to the 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th centuries when we may suppose that this city of ours had known the stage of its greatest flourishing. But the art of writing has continued

codex had been concluded. Thus, we might say, the torch-light of writing was passing from hand to hand. The features of the writing testify to the undoubted continuity of this art on the bases of a local school.

We shall not be surprised by the fact



ped with rich ornaments on the front pages or along the edges of the leaves, with vignettes and decorative initials; some of them contain also pictures in miniature, with very very thin and delicate colours and features enriching our country's stock of pictorial works we know. The major part of these codices bear no data about the time at which they were drafted, nor about their writer. The palaeographic analysis of the writing type allows us to say that with the exception of the two codices mentioned at the beginning as belonging

in Berat even later in spite of the difficult conditions created by the destructive tempest of the Osman invasions. It is interesting to point out that while, on the one side, according to chronical note written in 1400 in one of these Berati codices, the ruler of the country, Teodor Muzaka, was taking measures to ensure and «save from the fear of the Turks» the valuable and ancient manuscripts of this city, 13 years later, in 1413, as the writer himself says, on order and with expenses of the «qefalia» (ruler) of the city, the writing of a new

that from the viewpoint of their contents these Berat codices have an ecclesiastic character, they serve the needs of the Christian church, they are written in Byzantine Greek, in the language of the state and the church, in the same way as they follow the Byzantine palaeographic decor and style. This is a natural historic phenomenon, we would say, at a time when the monopoly of culture throughout Europe was in the hands of the church. Precisely for this reason its languages, Latin and Greek, had become also the languages of

the universal culture and the differentiation in the national cultural languages had to blaze its trail with struggle against their prevalence. It is known that in Albania this phenomenon began to manifest itself in its first strides beginning with the 14th century.

But slowly new elements of lay character

over the country and damaged as much the people as their libraries and books. It is not fortuitous that precisely on the occasion of war events we are given for the first time the lists of the collections of books that were in the two monasteries of Berat. Thus, on the margins of this ecclesiastic and hagiographic literature, there

documents of the palaeochristian literature, in particular.

More important, in this direction, because more ancient, is, no doubt, that codex which in the language of science is known by the name of «Codex purpureus beratimus §». The added letter determines the place it occupies in the series of the most

▶
A fac-simile of the Berat purple codex (VI cent.) after restoration



◀
A fac-simile of the Berat golden codex (IX cent.) after restoration

begin also to appear more closely connected with actual life. We find there some texts with a content of the ecclesiastic law; the notes of the writers at the end of the codices acquaint us with the names of the men of higher strata of the society who erect churches and provide them with pictures and books, as well as with the rank-and-file people who experienced more heavily than others the natural calamities, famine and epidemics and in particular the wounds caused by wars that swept

began to rise, first as its by-product, a literature of chronical notes, in which we can see the first steps of a local historiography.

Irrespective of the limitations in their contents, the ancient Berat codices are of an important value from the historic viewpoint in general, as a testimony to the country's cultural-social development but also from the paleographic viewpoint, as ancient monuments of the history of writing, from the textological viewpoint, as

ancient preserved manuscripts of the Christian «New Testament». The said codex, in the form it reached our days, had 190 parchment leaves coloured in purple; it was written in letters of smelted silver with the exception of the cases in which some words have been written in gold. The letters are of the capital, uncial square type. The writing is continuous, without divisions between words. The size of the leaves is 314 x 268 millimetres. The analysis of the letters and the comparison

with the few preserved texts of this type have pushed the scientists to assign to the Berat purple codex the 6th century as birth time.

The second codex from Berat we are interested in, is known in science by the name of «Codex aureus Anthimi» (the golden codex) so called after the name of the Berat bishop of the 19th century. As indicated also by the name, this codex had been written on parchment with letters of smelted gold and constitutes, for this reason, also a rarity, although as the time of its dating, the palaeographic analysis sets to it a later epoch – the 19th century. As a volume, the golden codex is much larger; it has 413 leaves of the size of 24 : 19 cm. and is written in letters of a more recent type, round and with tails, called small cursive letters. The codex is quite rich in ornaments and is distinguished for four miniatures. From the textological viewpoint, the text of the golden codex presents the already fixed text of the new testament.

It was said above also that copies of the writing in silver and gold are very rare. In the Middle Ages the art of writing had a general decline which is explained by the important economic-social changes which are noticed in connection with the fall of the ancient slaveowner society, whereas the new social-economic formation which was taking shape was characterized in this period by a very marked primitiveness. In connection with this, the use of writing so much spread in ancient times, was narrowed a great deal. The features of the letters and the art and technique of writing in general are characterized by some kind of «barbarism». Under these conditions, the preservation and use of the art of writing in such a technical light, as shown by our Berati codices of the 6th and 9th centuries, testifies to the continuity of the ancient tradition and to a high cultural level which was preserved by some countries of South Eastern Europe, our country included, in the circumstances of a general downfall swept over Western Europe.

But beside this importance as monuments of the history of writing and culture, we cannot afford to neglect also the importance of another character of the Berati purple codex. Science has long since shown interest in studying the history of the forming of the so-called «sacred writings» of christianity; a whole scientific branch is engaged in this – «the

textological criticism of the Bible», which aims at investigating the history of its gradual forming. It is clear that in order to determine as closely and as accurately as possible the original text of the bible, one must become acquainted, first, with its oldest variants so as to distinguish, by their comparison, the main groups and families of these variants and to shed light on the road of the historic forming of this fundamental text of christianity. A preliminary analysis permits to say that the Berati purple codex has some text readings which are special to it; various traditions, which are connected also with the East, Syria and the West, have contributed to the forming of its text.

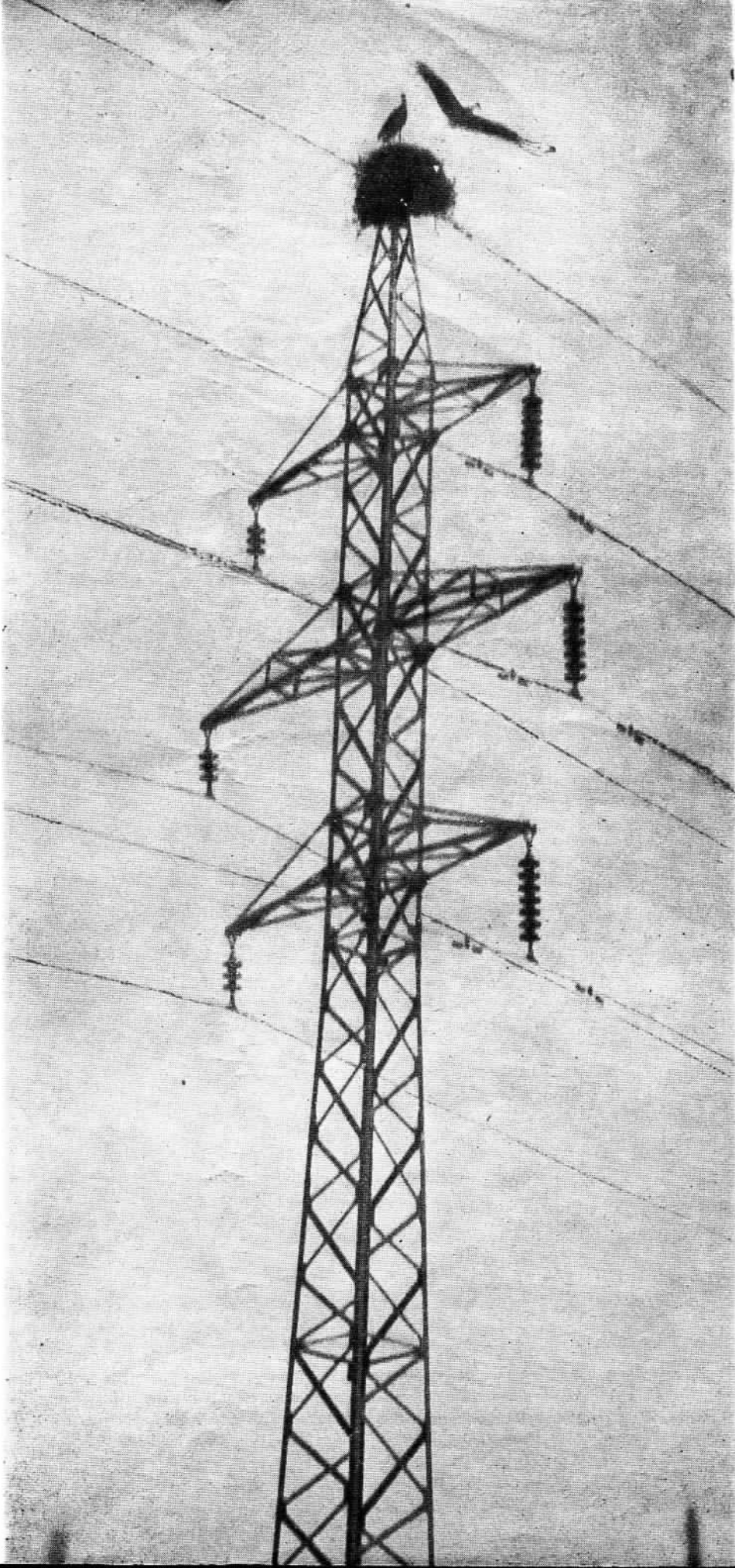
It is understandable, therefore, that science continues to take interest in the Berati «purple codex» as one of the most ancient variants of the text of the new testament. In a scientific publication, the text provided by the Berati codex must necessarily be taken into consideration.

This is the reason why the Albanian scientific world, and international science in general, is grateful to the institutions of the Academy of Sciences of the P.R. of China, which by their selfless work and with a great scientific ability, were able to save the two Berati valuable codices from sure death. Hidden during the second world war, the two codices remained for more than a quarter of century in the damp cemetery of a Berati church where they were found at last following persistent research, in order to finally secure them now to our science and culture.

We would like to say, on this occasion, that sometimes history repeats itself. The peripeties and sufferings during and after the second world war were not experienced for the first time by our Berati codices. The chronical notes of which we spoke above show that in the year 1356, too, and also in the year 1400 the codices preserved in Berat were compelled to take the roads in search for a lodging and to hide from the danger of foreign armies which were threatening the city. On this occasion the writers of these notes have lined up the names of the valuable codices which they took care to «evacuate», and we are not surprised that among them, beside some codices that in the meantime are lost, there figures also our Berati purple codex with silver letters. Also something else. In these ancient times, too, there were patriotic men who loved and knew how to appraise books. The note says that in

1356, two persons loaded on their shoulders 27 codices and saved them by taking them to a safe place. In gratitude, we are also given the name of a Berati patriot of the 14th century, who was called Skuripeqi. The Skuripeqi's tradition did not vanish in Berat. During the first world war as well as during the national liberation struggle, Berati citizens, endangering their lives, resisted to the occupationist troops who were seeking to take away the manuscripts preserved for centuries.

Thus, also on this question of many century-long antique manuscripts, lost and refound, there have been integrated in a significant way the characteristic elements of our socialist reality. In the efforts to trace and save cultural treasures of the past there were united the patriotism of our popular masses, the unsparing care of our Party for every positive value the country has created and, on the other side, the internationalist solidarity of a friendly country – socialist China.



They have made a new lodging,
adapting themselves to new conditions



Tirana working people joyfully celebrate the international day of labour

**- Editorial of the
newspaper
«Zëri i Popullit» -**

The visits of the war Ministers of the great imperialist powers to foreign countries have never enjoyed the sympathy of the public opinion. Their missions abroad have never inspired security and tranquillity among the peoples and, in general, they have never been auspicious to international peace and security. Practice has shown that these representatives of the high military staffs are the most fanatic and the most unrestrained bearers of the expansionist and adventurous policy, the most zealous instigators and executors of imperialist aggressions and occupations.

Such an ill fame has also the marshal of the Soviet Union Grechko who is now visiting Yugoslavia. His name is closely connected with the counterrevolutionary reversal that has occurred in the Soviet Union, with the revival and application of the chauvinistic policy of imperial Russia, with the instigation of the militarist czarist spirit at home, of neocolonialism and military blackmail abroad. His present visit to Yugoslavia may have numerous reasons and may have been prompted by various motives. But the fact that it is taking place immediately after the Soviet Defence Minister having attended the exercises of his fleet in the Mediterranean and visited many Middle East countries without mentioning the frequent comings and goings to the Warsaw Treaty member countries, testifies to the great interest the Soviet military staffs take in the Balkans and the Mediterranean. These visits have now taken the aspect of a control or inspection of the areas which Grechko and his generals consider as included in framework of their defence plans, or of their annexationist future attacks.

Hands Off The Balkans

Of late the Soviet armies on the southern borders of Hungary and in Bulgaria have been increased. Besides the naval fleet which is cruising the Mediterranean and alongside the U.S. 6th fleet, in its sky there have begun to appear also aircraft bearing the Soviet signs. Everybody understands the aim of the pressure of the fleets of these two superpowers.

It is no secret that ever since the Kremlin revisionists settled themselves in the Middle East, Moscow has begun to look at the Balkans with envy as a road of passage or as a bridge of territorial connection with its forces in the Mediterranean, as a desirable base for its expansionist plans in Europe and on other continents. This policy took a concrete and quite severe form with the continuous threats in the recent years towards some Balkan countries. However, the threats of Grechko's tanks do not intimidate the peoples of these countries.

It is known to everybody that the urgent defence measures which were taken these last two or three years in Belgrade, just as the changes which were made in the concepts, tactics and the ways of popular defence and the determined stand of the peoples of Yugoslavia to defend their freedom and independence, were taken into consideration in Moscow.

It is a fact that the Soviet revisionists have shown a special interests in exploiting every case of difficulty that could be created by the development of inner life in Yugoslavia to become arbitrators, to interfere and, if they would succeed, also to subjugate the whole country.

The Soviet warships, just as the American ones, go often to the ports of the Yugoslav coast. The visits of these fleets are called friendly but they contain in them-

selves the seed of danger not only to the peoples of Yugoslavia but to all the countries of the Adriatic area. It is understandable that if with regard to the Yugoslavs these are called friendly, with regard to the other countries of the Adriatic they cannot be considered as such. Together with the visits, these ships learn also the way which on other occasions they will not be friendly at all.

In order to carry out in practice their expansionist and annexationist plane, the Soviet revisionists have always resorted to intimidations and caresses, to tanks and rubles. Time has shown that when they speak of peace they prepare war; when they swear for friendship they prepare the dagger to stab you on your back, when they offer you aid they think of how to strangle you.

The Kremlin chiefs have now begun to shout here and there and with all their strength that everyone who seeks defence by imperialism or by any other enemy, let him make haste to urgently enter their group. But this group suffocates you just as it has suffocated the Czechs and Hungarians, the Polish and Mongolians, etc.

The Soviet leaders make a great speculation also on the arms. The Soviet Union has become a great merchant of arms, indeed in some cases it unsparingly sells them at a cheap price. But it does not do this out of generosity but of the certainty that the country which receives the Soviet arms remains a prisoner of the Soviet Union for spare parts, shells, supplementary equipments, etc. It has now been proved that the dependence for arms on the big imperialist powers means also political and economic dependence. It is precisely for this reason that the peoples hate and fight the imperialist-revisionist mo-

nopoly of arms and are striving to arm themselves relying on their own forces and in other ways.

Facts show that wherever the Soviet revisionists have been able to set their foot, either by intrigue or by exploiting whatever troubled situation, they do not easily depart from there. It would have been a very grave mistake and with unimaginable consequences if it were thought that the Soviet interest to be in good terms with this or that country could be exploited without any damage to the national independence and sovereignty. This interest quickly disappears, just as the transitory conjunctures creating it disappear. That which remains is the permanent and unchangeable aim of those who are at present ruling in the Kremlin to subjugate every country and the whole world. To enter the game of the Soviets is quite easy, but to come out of it is very difficult. In the same way, to see in the relations with the Soviet revisionists the economic interests of the moment, or of the policy of the day, means to place the future of the country at a grave mortgage.

But the chauvinistic and expansionist plans of the Soviet social-imperialists towards the Balkans do not hold water and they will, for certain, fail. As far as the Albanian people are concerned, they have always been and are vigilant towards the aims and actions of the enemies of their freedom and independence. Neither the U.S. imperialists nor the Soviet social-imperialists will ever catch them unaware and unarmed. We have the conviction that the peoples of Yugoslavia, too, will know how to oppose the hostile aims of the two imperialist superpowers and will not allow themselves to be deceived by their diabolic manoeuvres.

Today the theme of «European security» is one of the most debated in the world political literature and especially in that of the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. What is in reality this «European security»: a slogan, plan or alliance?

The proposal on the «European security» was set forth at the beginning by the Soviet Union and its East European satellites. But this by no means excludes the American co-production, irrespective of the fact that due to tactical reasons Washington has preferred to stay aside.

The Soviet-U.S. alliance came into being and develops on the basis of the common objectives of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism in order to jointly dominate the world. These objectives do not exclude also Europe where the zones of influence of the two imperialist powers are more determined. They seek to give a legal form to this status quo, permanently imposed on all the European countries. Such is the aim of the so-called European security. «European security» sought by the Soviet revisionists and backed by the U.S. imperialists, — comrade Enver Hoxha has said, — means security of their zones of influence in Europe, security of their military bases and of the right of their fleets to control the European coasts, it means that the peoples of Europe should legally and officially recognize to Moscow and Washington the right to preserve their special privileges of imperialist and colonialist character they have in various countries of Europe».

Europe, as a continent, and every sovereign state belonging to it, needs real peace and security which are inseparable attributes of the existence and normal development of nations. And one cannot even imagine that there may be forces opposed to a European security. But do there exist the necessary conditions to realize a European security which would really express the feelings and interests of the European peoples?

The United States of America and the Soviet Union have set up on our continent a suffocating military structure, made up of a wide network of military bases, big and small, and of tens of American and Soviet military divisions stationed in a considerable number of European countries and which amount to nearly 1 million troops. The United States and the Soviet Union are continually raising and strengthening the aggressive military potential of the blocs in which they dominate and incessantly carry out war manoeuvres. In the south, the European coasts are under the constant threats of the American and Soviet war fleets. The U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists have made colossal investments in countries they consider as their own spheres of influence; in the west and east, occupying key and dictat positions in the European economy. They pursue a policy of total interference in the home affairs of the countries of Europe, the Americans under the mask of the Atlantic alliance, and the Soviets under the mask of the Warsaw Treaty. Under these conditions there can be no question of a real European security. The irony consists in that precisely the two superpowers that have violated and are threatening peace and security in Europe and in the world and which harbour insatiable expansionist ambitions with regard to Europe and the world, pose as guarantors of the European security. Europe can never have a real security while it has on its back the unbearable military, economic, political and financial presence of the United States

«European Security» And Revisionist- Imperialist Interests

by **SHABAN MURATI**, publicist

**«WE THINK THAT
THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE
CAN ACHIEVE
AND WILL ACHIEVE
THEIR SECURITY
ONLY BY STRENGTHENING
THEIR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE
AND SOVEREIGNTY,
IN RESOLUTE STRUGGLE
AGAINST THE HEGEMONISTIC
POLICY OF THE USA
AND THE SOVIET UNION,
AGAINST THEIR EFFORTS
FOR THE PRESERVATION
OF THEIR MILITARY BASES
AND SPHERES OF INFLUENCE
IN EUROPE.»**

ENVER HOXHA

Report at the 6th Congress of the PLA

and the Soviet Union. The throwing off of this burden would be the beginning of the road to find real European security. This is one aspect of the question.

The other aspect is the fact that the United States and the Soviet Union, the two largest sources of danger to the European peoples, are seeking to turn away the attention and vigilance of the peoples from themselves. The «European security» presupposes a form of collaboration between the different states against a danger which they consider as common. Against whom must they be secured and from where does the danger come to the European peoples? Neither the Moscow nor the Washington propagandists answer this point. They only speak about the necessity and indispensability of «European security», but without substantiating by arguments the cause or the factors imposing it. The Soviet revisionists, repeating a threadbare parallelism, say that just as on the eve of the second world war at present, too, the peoples must strive for «European security». It is true that on the eve of the second world war the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Stalin and of the Bolshevik Party, proposed the collaboration with the European states for the adoption of collective measures against the aggressive plans of nazi Germany. The danger was a real and concrete one, the direction clearly determined. Whereas now where is the aggressor? The Soviets and the Americans keep silent because if they were to speak they would have to demonstrate themselves. The parallelism is reduced by half. This silence is incomprehensible, for if there is a great and real danger this comes from the imperialist Soviet-U.S. alliance and the so-called European security is in conformity with its line and objectives of global domination.

Closely related to the Soviet and American projects of European security one must see also the role and place of the Federal Republic of Germany in this framework. The lessons of the recent past of Europe are such that stress the importance of this problem and its close connection with the security and peace on the continent. They lay the stress on a permanent vigilance in order to avoid the revival of the factors and conditions that led to the outbreak of two great world wars precisely on the European territory. Unfortunately, an attentive examination of the state of affairs in this point creates the conviction that many things are repeating themselves. The defeated ghosts are reviving. German revanchism is now feeling itself free from the chains in which it should have been as a result of its crimes against mankind. The Federal Republic of Germany, thanks to the aid of U.S. imperialism, became the main economic and military power in Western Europe. Now due to the aid of the Kremlin it is coming out also as a big political power of this area. With the ill-famed Moscow-Bonn treaty of August 12, 1970 defeated Germany is aiming at going down in history without having signed a peace treaty and this is a great crime of the Soviet revisionists against the peoples of Europe and of the world, who suffered so much from nazism. The Albanian Government and people rightfully denounced it from the beginning as an anti-European plot full of dangers, and the subsequent events confirmed the correctness of this warning. But Bonn's ambitions do not end here, they include the whole of Western Europe, and Soviet social-imperialism is willing to back these ambitions for many reasons. The revisionist-imperialist European

security takes into consideration the appetite of the West German imperialist bourgeoisie, and that is why Bonn has adhered to it. «The Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany – says the communique issued after Brandt's talks with Brezhnev in Crimea – will consult each other in order to speed up the convening of a European security conference». The secret Oreanda talks in September last year rightfully aroused legitimate uneasiness in Europe where the thought was strengthened that the Soviet-West German rapprochement is not a mere amendment of imagination about revanchist Germany, but a bargaining between aggressive imperialist powers which need each other and envisage to come to terms in order to «settle» the affairs in Europe at the expense of other countries. Moscow and Washington consider the Federal Republic of Germany as an important fulcrum of the revisionist-imperialist counterrevolutionary status quo on our continent. For this, Bonn has been already given much, and it has been promised to give more to it in the future. Otherwise one cannot explain the great optimism of Willi Brandt who declares that «a peaceful order in Europe will some day create the conditions under which both parts of Germany will march together». The integration of the FRG element in the Soviet-U.S. plot of European security does nothing else but doubles the danger to the European peoples and still better reveals to them one of the many evils which the so-called European security contains.

The revisionist and imperialist authors, besides the political propagandizing of their schemes, have given from time to time approximate blueprints of the concrete realization of the «collective security system» according to their models. A first step, in their opinion, would be a general all-European conference on security, which would be attended by all the European states, jointly with the United States and the Soviet Union, and which would formulate and adopt the main principles of regulating the relations between the nations, etc. They present this conference as the arrival at the «promised land», and in the words of the Soviet Foreign Ministers Gromyko in the United Nations, at the 26th session, «it do much in the interest of the consolidation of European peace». Certainly, principles are something good, but they remain empty words when they are not turned into reality. And the principles set forth by the Soviet Union and the United States for the European security conference are not something new. They are all contained also in the U.N. constitution which prevented neither the U.S. imperialists from carrying out their aggression against Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, nor the Soviet social-imperialists from undertaking their aggression against Czechoslovakia. The participating countries would convene to adopt the decisions which would be imposed by Moscow and Washington that would officially acquire the right to make the law on our continent on behalf of the «European security». It is understandable that the position of strength would reign at a meeting of such a nature. The two superpowers would be self-appointed guarantors of European security the limits of existence of which would, of course, be set only by them. Dominated by Soviet social-imperialism and U.S. imperialism, such a conference would not function even as a forum where the real desires of the European peoples and states would be expressed freely and on entirely equal bases. The schema of the conference would be a bloc to block negotiation where

«unanimity» would be reached through the will of the two bosses and where the voice of some dissident, especially in the western camp, for in the eastern one screws are tighter, would remain in minority. The first thing that would result from it would be the sanctioning not of the national border of every sovereign state and of its independence, but of the dividing border between the two spheres of the American influence and of the Soviet one, which passes through the countries that belong to the two respective blocs – NATO and Warsaw Treaty.

Moscow and Washington at the same time aim at going still further with this European security conference. They want to provide to it the form and possibilities of such an all-powerful organ the dictate of which should extend to all the European states. In a word the creation of a police mechanism that would preserve the Soviet-American domination on the continent. In June 1970 in Budapest, the Soviet Union and its lackeys added to the proposal on the European security the point «for the creation at the all-European meeting of the organ for the questions of security and collaboration in Europe». This organ would assume, according to the Soviets, the function of the continent's security from the «hotbeds» of the outbreak of wars. It is understandable that such hotbeds would be, in the revisionist and imperialist meaning, the revolutionary struggles of the European peoples for the confirmation of their national independence and sovereignty and for getting rid of the imperialist hegemony – American and Soviet. The order of things in the revisionist and imperialist projects is clearly seen. The European security conference would proclaim, on behalf of the aspirations of the Soviet-U.S. alliance, such norms of international law which would be, according to the admissions of the Soviet authors themselves, compulsory for the community of the European peoples and the executive organ that would be created would be charged with the task of carrying out in practice the revisionist-imperialist norms by force. And the Washington propagandists support the Soviet schemes. In «New Republic», one of the known ideologists of U.S. imperialism, Zbignev Brzezinski, while expressing his approval of the European security conference, backs likewise the thought of the Soviet revisionists about the creation of organs that would «ensure the security and peaceful collaboration in Europe». The community of thoughts is imposed by the community of aims. The European security conference is presented here, even before being set up, as a police instrument in the hands of the hegemonistic policy of the Soviet-U.S. alliance.

The European security is a form of alliance which embodies the collaboration and connection between the two most aggressive imperialist powers in the world. As such it bears also the class nature of its authors. It is an alliance of the revisionist-imperialist reaction against the European peoples. The «European security» of this nature is the security of the capitalist-revisionist order in Europe, the union of the imperialist and revisionist counterrevolutionary forces under the leadership of Washington and Moscow to suppress the revolutionary movements of the European proletariat against the foreign imperialist domination and against the internal capitalist and revisionist exploitation. The revisionist and imperialist propaganda is striving very much to create in Europe the false impression that in «the sphere of security nobody

loses and nobody gains». Whereas the truth is entirely different. In the revisionist-imperialist «European security» those that lose are the peoples, who would be compelled to leave their destinies in the hands of the imperialist wolves and undergo a more savage exploitation. It must be pointed out here that losing in this would be also the bourgeoisie of the various capitalist and revisionist countries of Europe, which would be compelled to accept the hegemony of U.S. or Soviet imperialism. There are European countries which hope that through a European security conference they would be able to ensure greater freedom of action and manoeuvring, a diminution of their dependence on the United States or the Soviet Union. This is an illusion, for Soviet social-imperialism and U.S. imperialism have framed up this plot not to weaken but to still more strengthen their all round domination in Europe.

Of course, the «European security» operation is not carried out without friction and contradictions between the imperialist superpowers in the first place, and between each superpower and the members of the bloc dominated by it on the other hand. This is a natural result of the development and movement of the balance of power in the capitalist-revisionist world, of the clash of opposite interest and growing ambitions of

each side to profit as much as possible at the expense of the other. Eversince the Soviet Union came out first in public calling for a European security conference, the United States and the NATO set forth a series of conditions with regard to which Moscow made a lot of concessions. Now concerning the date of the conference interest is shown also by Washington which has received the main political dividends. The Soviet revisionists and the U.S. imperialists agree now on convening before long a European security conference. Implementing its law and putting order in the European rear areas, the Soviet-U.S. alliance is making haste to throw itself with increased forces towards other fronts, in Asia and elsewhere, in order to take further its global policy of dominating the world and opposing the revolution.

From whatever aspect one may consider it, the revisionist-imperialist «European security» constitutes a dangerous plot, a trap for the European peoples, set up by the USA and the USSR. It is a sham security or better to say a real enslavement. Therefore, not only the non-acceptance, but also the fight against it is laid down as an important duty for all the peoples of Europe, dictated by the necessity of the defence of their freedom and national independence.

Revolted Generation

THE PRESENT ARTICLE, WRITTEN BY A SPECIALIST
ON THESE PROBLEMS, DEALS WITH THE ACTUAL SITUATION
IN THE YOUTH AND STUDENT MOVEMENT OF THE CAPITALIST
COUNTRIES, ITS TENDENCIES OF DEVELOPMENT AND OBJECTIVES

by **ARQILE SEMINI**

Today you can easily feel the pulse of the capitalist system by means of two significant indicators: the class struggle of the working people against capital and its power and the economic crises. Certainly, these two aspects are closely connected with one another and are supplemented by other aspects such as the national liberation struggles of the peoples and those for the defence of national independence against imperialist aggression, colonialism and neocolonialism, and the political struggle of various social strata for democratic freedoms and rights, in which an ever more important place is being occupied by youth and students.

However, the present-day laws of the development of society have brought to the fore a new significant aspect. Unlike the

pre-imperialist period, when the labour movement was not yet well organized on a world scale, today the class struggle of the working people has a stable priority with regard to the economic crises of the capitalist system. While the economic crises have known between them also periods of temporary stability, the class struggle has constantly been in the rise, irrespective of the oscillations it has had from time to time due to the betrayal of social-democracy, of opportunism and modern revisionism. In the pre-imperialist period the economic crises, as expressions of more savage forms of capitalist exploitation and oppression, constituted the decisive stimulating factor in organizing the class struggle of the proletariat. In the imperialist period the class struggle of

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sing day an aspiration of the peoples of the world.

Speaking about these problems at the 6th Congress of the PLA, Enver Hoxha said: "The class struggle of the proletariat and of the other exploited social strata has assumed such proportions, both as regards the number of the participants and its sharpness, that the present-day period could be compared with the most critical periods which the bourgeoisie of the capitalist countries has gone through". And further on, dealing with the younger generation of these countries, he pointed out: **"Another particularity of the class struggle against the capitalist exploiting system and the imperialist policy is the outbreak everywhere of the youth and student movement which is changing into a powerful revolutionary force of our times... It is now in search of the truth and the truth is leading and will lead it for certain towards the union with the working class, towards the revolution."**

This objective appraisal of the youth and student movement appears before us clear and complete as soon as we cast a glance on our globe.

One of the most important gains registered in these recent years by the youth and student movement in the capitalist world is, no doubt, the growth of political consciousness in the ranks of the rising generation. This was achieved thanks to a protracted, toilsome, sanguinary struggle. It is interesting to consider one of the most fiery stages of the student struggle, that of the year 1968. This struggle (from the outside aspect, for within it seethed with general indignation) began with simple demands relating to the decadent educational system and trade union rights, but soon it passed over to political demands. Then the revolted students began to take the real road and this began to lead them to the Working class. Although the struggle of the students in the capitalist countries during the year 1968 was suppressed by the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie through fire and betrayal, the feeling of the demand for a clear ideological and political platform began to take root in the student movement.

In these last four years the political struggle of the students in the imperialist metropolises themselves has shaken the power of capital. It has stretched even to the countries included in the framework of the influence of the imperialists and modern revisionists, encompassing the five

continents of the terrestrial globe. At the same time the worker youth which makes up the most vivid and exploited stratum of the working class goes on strike from time to time, has the initiative in its hands and takes part in political manifestations playing an important role in trade union and political re-organisation, especially in the period following the revisionist betrayal. Likewise, the peasant youth, particularly that of the countries of typical feudo-bourgeois exploitation, as in Latin America, Africa and Asia, clashes with the imperialist forces and with the local reactionaries.

In many countries of the world, where the peoples are fighting arms in hand for national liberation or for the defence of their national independence, as in Indochina, Thailand, Burma, Malaya, the Philippines, in the Portuguese colonies of Africa, in the Arab countries, in Ireland or Columbia and elsewhere, the younger generation makes up the main force of the national liberation armies or of the guerrilla units. Not only that. In the areas occupied by the aggressors or in those which are under the control of the mercenary forces, the youth and students are in the front-ranks of the political demonstrations and manifestations of various social strata. The alliance of youth and of the other broad popular masses and its role in the strengthening of the anti-imperialist unity is clearly expressed in them.

An important aspect of the struggle of the rising generation is the political struggle against the imperialist and revisionist aggression which is expressed in the internationalist solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Indochina, with that of the Palestinian people, with the struggle of the Czechoslovak people, with the struggle for civil rights against racial discrimination in the United States of America, South Africa, etc., and finally with the struggle of the students in various countries of the world for freedom, progress and democratic rights.

These facts speak of the existence of the feeling of protest, of general opposition to the existing capitalist order, that has gripped the younger generation to such a degree that it has compelled the very ideologists of the bourgeoisie to call it the "insurgent generation".

Actually, facing the youth and student movement is a very important problem. It is the question of the ideological and orga-

the proletariat has won and is winning over various social strata, sometimes all the social strata which has led to the constant elevation of the political consciousness of the working people. Consequently, their political struggle, too, has always been in the rise, relegating to the background the role of the economic crises. It follows as a conclusion that the class struggle of the working people becomes the decisive factor in the outbreak of the general crisis of the capitalist system. Thus, here is a question of the subjective factor which is synthetically expressed in the necessity for and the role of the Marxist-Leninist parties. This fact speaks of the vitality of the Marxist-Leninist ideas and of the triumphant march of the revolution, which is becoming with every pas-

nisational platform of this movement. This movement itself, being a mass movement, has advanced more in the political aspect than in the ideological and organisational aspects. For this reason, too the Marxist-Leninist principle of connecting and placing the youth and student movement under the leadership of the working class and of its vanguard party (it is a question of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party) is in our days forcefully rising and gaining momentum with every passing day in this movement. This demand is becoming a necessity, a law for the successful development of this movement. The youth and students find in the working class, in its ideological platform and organisational experience a guaranty for the success of their programme, for the attainment of the targets of their struggle. The youth and students are seeing for themselves that when they are separated from the working class, on many occasions they have not realized even the minimum demands of their struggle which has been easily suppressed by the power of capital. Similar examples in Europe, on the American continent and in other countries are already known. On the other side in these very regions and other countries, when the youth and student movement has ensured unity with the revolutionary struggle of the working class, creating a common anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly front, successes and victories have been scored in the economic and political fields, such as the struggle against the imperialist aggression, the fascist danger (as in Italy), etc. At the same time, the experience of the youth and student movement in the countries where the power of capital was overthrown and which engaged in the road of socialism, united their struggle with that of the other labouring masses under the leadership of the working class and its party, for the destruction of fascism and for the victory of the democratic and socialist revolution, is an example of inspiration and mobilization for the youth and student movements in various countries, which are fighting against aggression, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

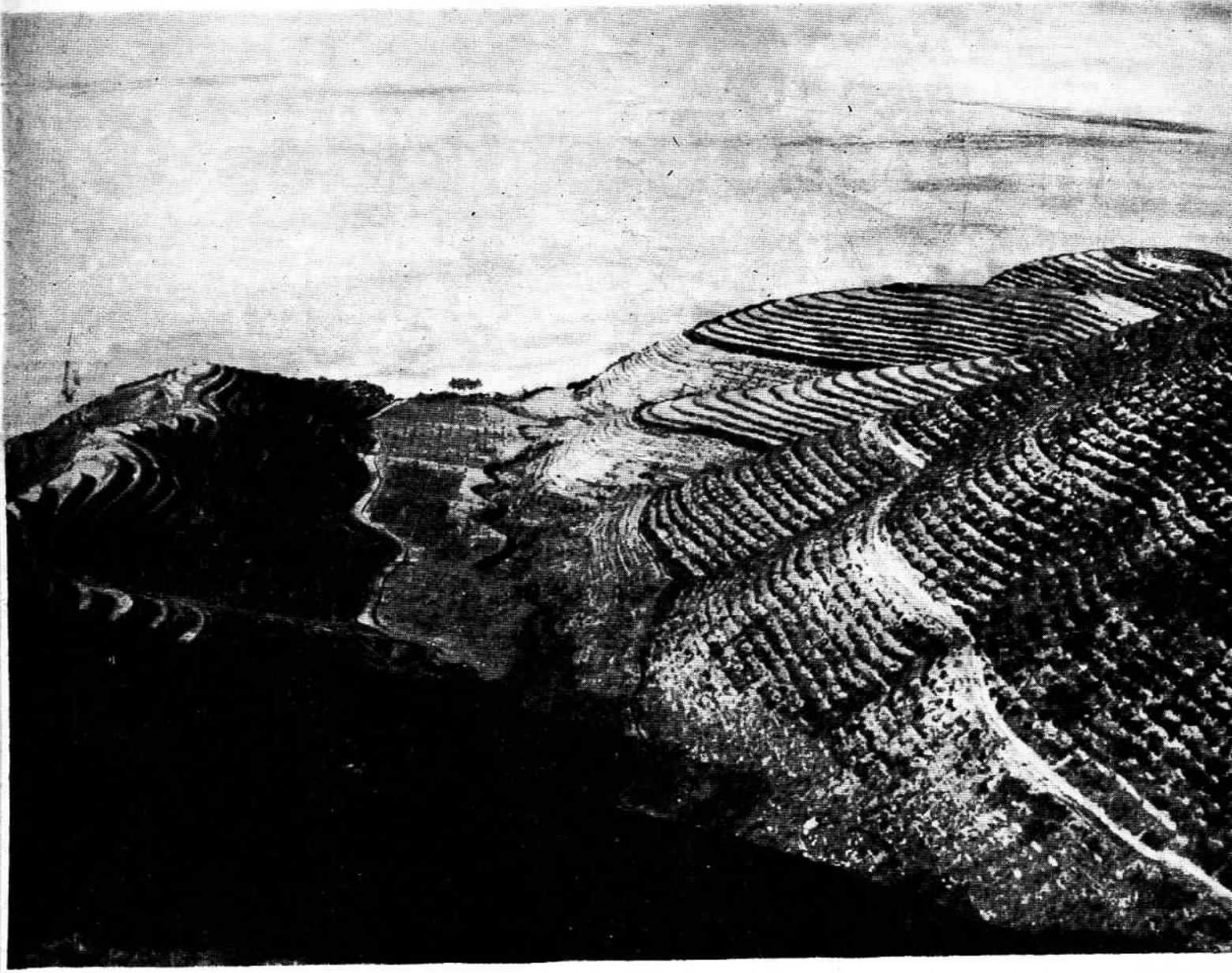
Under these conditions the reason for which the bourgeoisie and its lackeys resort to all forms and means to distract the younger generation from politics, from class struggle, is clear. These forms and means begin with instigating and throwing individual strata of youth into a dissipate

and aimless life, into the creation of environments with a spiritual vacuum, the decadent fashion, the use of narcotics and ending with the empty public theories and discussions on the «freedom of sex», «erotics and pornography», followed with «new» variants of the bourgeois philosophy about the «withering away of the class struggle», the gradual disappearance of the bourgeoisie as a class and its substitution with technocracy». There are also such theories as «the struggle between generations» and the losing of the vanguard role of the working class» and the substitution of this role by the students and intelligentsia. All these theories in one way or another aim at spreading ideological confusion among the ranks of the rising generation, especially now that the propaganda about the «communist danger» finds no ground as one time. At the same time the bourgeoisie, more frequently using its servants, such as the modern revisionists and social-democracy, exerts constant pressure, blackmail and countless diversions in order to split the youth and student movement from the organisational point of view, and at the most critical moments it also resorts to police violence and terror against this movement.

In the extent of the successes achieved by the youth and student movement a negative role has been played by the betrayal of the modern revisionists who resort to all forms of propaganda and interference, to all the means of corruption and subversion to divide this movement, to isolate and detach it from the working class. The students and youth have experienced and continue to experience this betrayal on themselves, which shows that the modern revisionists, be they their Soviet chiefs or the French, Italian, Spanish, British, American and other revisionists, have objectively ranked themselves on a par with the power of capital. More than anything else, they fear the unity of youth and students with the working class, therefore they obstruct, sabotage and rise against their joint actions. It occurred so with the youth and student movements during the year 1968 in France and in other capitalist countries, it is occurring so also in our days. The modern revisionists went as far as to call the revolted students «hooligans», «adventurers». These renegades, by means of their tools at the leading forums of the international youth and student organisations and of some national organisations, while making fuss

with their demagogical slogan «We accuse imperialism», take no concrete action for real unity of the youth and student movement with the working class. And while they put out some general words about this problem, sham unity is hidden behind them in as much as the very cause of the working class has been betrayed by the modern revisionists.

However, the anti-imperialist and progressive youth and student movement is advancing. The idea of the revolution in the ranks of youth and students is no more a vague idea or an instigation and mobilization of the fresh forces of the rising generation for incomplete social reforms in the frame of capital or for partial political gains. It is becoming a clear, inspiring, mobilizing idea with definite objectives. Also in the least meaning of this idea, which is expressed through the liberation struggle of the peoples or through the struggle for the defence of democratic rights, the range of the revolted thought goes beyond these limits. This is seen in the very programmes of the struggles of this nature which raise the problem of continuing the revolution.



The beautiful Albanian riviera. Also hills and mountains are blossoming in Albania like the low land areas

Through The Pages Of

The actual international problems occupy an important place in the pages of the Albanian daily and periodical press. The attention of our observers and commentators has been drawn also at present by the aspects and forms of the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism and Soviet socialimperialism and the exposure of their counterrevolutionary collaboration, by the struggle of the peoples of the world against the hegemony and aggressiveness of the two imperialist superpowers, the class battles of international proletariat, etc.

In this issue we give an abridged summary of the problems of international actuality recently dealt with by our press.

Dealing with the proceedings of the 6th Congress of the Polish revisionist party, the newspaper *Zëri i Popullit*, organ of the C.C. of the P.L.A., published on January 16 an article entitled «The revisionist Gierek clique cannot heal the wounds of Poland».

After writing extensively about the wounds of the sick Polish economy, the newspaper exposes the foreign policy pursued by the Gierek clique. Such a foreign policy – the newspaper writes – cannot fail to further attach Poland to the Soviet revisionist chariot, it cannot fail to turn her away more and more from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, it cannot fail to isolate her from the international communist and workers movement, it cannot fail to prolong the Soviet occupation of Poland.

After condemning the terror being exerted in Poland against the democratic and progressive elements and in the first place against the worker revolutionary militants, members of the Communist Party of Poland, *Zëri i Popullit* concludes:

«There is no doubt that the Polish working class will not allow itself to be hoodwinked, it has not reconciled and will not reconcile itself with such a situation. It does not fear Gierek's threats. It will not allow the blood it has shed during decades and again in December 1970 to have been shed in vain. With the Communist Party of Poland at the head, it will strengthen class solidarity, it will rise again one day in revolution which will wipe all the Giereks out of the earth's face and will result in that the whole power will pass into the hands of the working class. Thus, not revisionism but the revolution will heal Poland's wounds.»

Commenting on the proceedings of the summit meeting of the aggressive Warsaw Treaty member countries held in Prague, «*Zëri i Popullit*», in its article «New plots of the Soviet social-imperialists under the mask of «European peace and security» published on January 29, points out that the main document of the revisionist Prague meeting «On European peace, security and collaboration» is unable to camouflage the known immediate and ultimate, fiendish and aggressive objectives of the Kremlin chieftains. These objectives of the Moscow social-imperialists – the newspaper writes – are a part of the counterrevolutionary global strategy of the Soviet – U.S. «holy» alliance to secure the statu quo on the European continent, to create most favourable conditions for the domination of the two imperialist superpowers in the respective NATO and

The Albanian Press

Warsaw Treaty areas, to suffocate the revolution on this continent. The peoples of Europe – «Zëri i Popullit» continues – know the real countenance of the Kremlin rulers who are embracing precisely those West German revanchists who not once have kindled the flames of aggressive wars in Europe and who do not cease speaking every day about the «reunification of Germany», about the remaining in force of Munich plot, etc., not concealing their annexationist aims with regard to the German Democratic Republic and the other countries of Europe.

Life itself has shown the peoples of Europe – the newspaper writes in conclusion – that they must not trust the sham imperialist-revisionist security. Moreover, they will never accept to become co-culprits with the two great imperialist powers. The two «superpowers», the USA and the USSR, in reality do not think of anything else but of securing their spheres of influence, of subjugating and dominating the European countries as well as of establishing their hegemony in the world. Exposing the double-face stand of the Soviet revisionists towards the Arab people, the newspaper «Bashkimi» in a January 30 article entitled **«Double-face stand of the Soviet revisionists towards the Arab people»** writes among other things that the Soviet-Israeli visits and contacts as well as the supply of Israel with men, clearly show whom do the Soviet revisionists support in the Middle East.

The «aids» or the statements of the revisionist chieftains about friendship with the Arab people cannot conceal the reality. They show that the Khrushchevian clique of the Soviet Union, in the framework of the collaboration with U.S. imperialism and of the joint efforts with it, in order to impose the «peace solutions» on the Arab people, is going farther and farther. Just as the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet revisionists, too, need the strengthening of Israel as a means to intimidate the Arab people and compel them to bow before the dictate of the two «superpowers».

But the double-face stand of the Soviet social-imperialists towards the just cause of the Arab people – the newspaper writes in conclusion – is becoming threadbare. It makes the Arab people to ever better understand the aims of the policy of the Soviet revisionists; it makes them become more convinced that they cannot win over the imperialist plots and aggression relying on the promises and aids of another imperialist power.

While the newspaper «Drita», organ of the Albanian Writers' and Artists' Union, in an article published in January 30 deals with the problem of «revisionist deheroization» as the most characteristic feature of the present-day Soviet revisionist literature. Deheroization of figures – the newspaper writes – means replacing the figure of the fighter for the ideals of socialism with the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois individualist in literature, depart from the positions of proletarian partyism. The tendency of deheroization of figures permeates the whole present-day Soviet literature. For the first time this tendency was clearly manifested in the revisionist programmatic story «The fate of men» by M. Sholokhov. M. Sholokhov with a revisionist tendentiousness divests the figure of every ideal, deheroes it stressing A. Sokolov's sole aim of saving himself at all costs. It is clear that Sholokhov and immediately after him also the other revisionist writers (I. Ehrenburg, K. Simonov, A. Tvardovski, etc.) with the deheroed figures they created, openly counterpoised themselves to the valuable tradition of the writers of socialist realism in the creation of heroic figures, challenging it.

It has become a fashion in the present-day Soviet literature to reflect reality from objectivist positions. The writers of this kind place themselves in the role of an arbitrator and with the sangfroid of an anatomist they describe all the spiritual oscillations of the figures not adopting towards them any stand even when they cause these figures to degenerate. From objectivist positions have been written the works of the revisionist writers. V. Voinovich, A. Aksionov, A. Tendriakov, V. Rozov, V. Lipatov, etc.

The newspaper «Drita» made a detailed analysis of their works bringing to the fore the ideas and viewpoints expressed by the revisionist writers in these works. It is not difficult to notice – the newspaper concludes – the reactionary and decadent essence of these revisionist viewpoints.

«Where are the Kremlin czars leading the Soviet youth». Under this title the newspaper «Zëri i Rinisë», organ of the C.C. of the Albanian Working Youth Union, shows in an article published on February 7 how the Brezhnev-Kosygin group is leading the Soviet youth more and more deeply into the swamp of moral dissipation, they are liquidating its revolutionary virtues with every passing day. The newspaper points out that the objective of the new Moscow czars is to turn youth away from the great and sharp problems of the present

day Soviet society, problems which are corroding the Soviet Union as a result of the anti-Marxist and capitulationist policy pursued by the Kremlin leaders. Today the western way of living is entering more and more in the Soviet Union, it is becoming a grave illness which is morally spoiling the rising generation. The life of pleasures and orgies has gripped the bulk of the Soviet youth. The article quotes various facts showing that criminality, vagabondage, hooliganism, robbery have become a part of the life in the Soviet Union. The new czars – the newspaper underlines – by causing the youth to degenerate aim at securing continuity on their treacherous road, on the road of the flourishing of the capitalist system in the Soviet Union. But sooner or later the youth will not endure the degeneration imposed on it by the revisionists and their betrayal towards socialism.

Dealing with the ever greater intensification of the working class struggle against capital, «Zëri i Popullit» writes on February 10 about the broad strike movement in capitalist countries.

The working class – the newspaper writes – is more and more realizing that its demands cannot be solved either by the «generosity» of the owners or by «state capitalism» and through other sham slogans dished up by social democracy and revisionism. In the strikes held of late one notices an ever greater detachment from only economic demands; in many of these strikes political demands are coming on the forefront. Last year the occupation of factories and big capitalist enterprises and the establishment of the workers' control on them was intensified.

The working class – the newspaper concludes – clearly sees that its real aspirations can be realized through a persistent struggle under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties and in alliance with all the revolutionary forces, against capitalist oppression and exploitation, as well as against the divisive role of social democracy and of the revisionist trade unions.

The propaganda of the modern revisionists has made it a fashion to express itself from time to time against imperialism. In particular the Khrushchevian clique of the Soviet Union continually cries to the top of its voice about its anti-imperialism. The newspaper «Bashkimi» writes in an article published on February 10 that the «anti-imperialism of the Khrushchevian revisionists of the Soviet Union has nothing in common with reality. The newspaper adduces many facts showing that the Soviet Union has become an imperialist power and that the anti-imperialist positions of the Moscow rulers are nothing else but a mask to hoodwink the peoples, the Soviet people included, and to conceal in the slightest the nature and aims of the new joint plots with U.S. imperialism against the freedom and independence of the peoples. Their sham anti-imperialism – the newspaper points out – makes the Khrushchevian revisionists ridiculous before the peoples and convinces the latter that they cannot successfully fight against U.S. imperialism without fighting and exposing through to the end and more forcefully its collaborator – Soviet social imperialism.

The newspaper «Luftëtari», central organ of the Ministry of People's Defence of the P.R. of Albania, points out in one of its articles published on February 17 the imperialist-revisionist rivalry and collaboration in order to establish their domination on seas and oceans.

The competition to dominate on seas and oceans, the rival struggle between the two aggressive «superpowers» – the newspaper writes – is seen everywhere, not only in the Middle East and Indian Ocean. It is seen in every area along sea coasts.

After speaking about rivalry between them the newspaper quotes other examples which show that when it is a question of fundamental issues, of framing up and implementing conspiratory plans against the peoples, they come to terms with one another, coordinate their actions and agree on the division between them of the zones of influence, upholding the known formula of «equilibrium» or «balance of power» in all direction, consequently also on seas.

The two imperialist powers – the newspaper further continues – keep their fleets in the Mediterranean, on the Indian Ocean and in other areas entrusting to them a double role: First, to bring pressure to bear on the peoples and dictate to them the will of the «two superpevers» and, second, to exert control each on its own part which will result from the division in conclusion of the imperialist-revisionist bargainings.

In these circumstances – «Luftëtari» concludes – the peoples are called to be vigilant and fight for the exposure and destruction of the imperialist-revisionist fiendish schemes. The peoples do not need tutors. They resolutely demand the withdrawal of the U.S. and Soviet warships from their waters.

The newspaper «Puna», organ of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania, writes on March 3 about the successful conclusion of the big strike of the British miners. The newspaper writes that this victory must not be viewed within the narrow limits of an economic victory. This strike – «Puna» points out – was in the first place a challenge to the Heath Government's anti-labour policy. It was a failure of the efforts of the British capitalists to shift the burden of the deep economic and social crisis that has swept over Britain onto the shoulders of the workers. The British working class emerged from this battle more united, with a solidarity which scared to death the Heath Government. It emerged from this battle more conscious of its strength and with the great lesson that the determined struggle is the only road leading to victory. Now – the newspaper further writes – life itself refutes the slogans of the bourgeoisie about the good that may come about from the nationalisation of individual branches of industry and from the «society of consumption».

In conclusion «Puna» writes: The British workers who incessantly temper their spirit throw more and more into relief the political demands in their struggle against the bourgeoisie. The existence of the Communist Party (ML) is an important factor for the successful struggle of the British proletariat against the monopoly bourgeoisie and all their revisionist servants, in achieving final victory – socialism.

The newspaper «Bashkimi» carries an article on March 8 under the title: **U.S. imperialism – resolute supporter of all the reactionary regimes** showing by concrete facts that U.S. imperialism is a resolute supporter of all the reactionary regimes.

While zealously playing the deceitful game of the «withdrawal of troops from Vietnam» – the newspaper writes – the Nixon Administration preserves intact its fighting capacity in this area and openly announces that it will defend the Sai-

gon, Pnom Penh and Vientiane puppet regimes. U.S. imperialism backs its «friends» not only in Indochina and South East Asia. Only a few days ago the U.S. Congress approved the so-called American «aid» to foreign countries which is given in the form of military aid, credits for purchase of American arms. Nixon himself admitted in connection with this aid that it is given with a view to «defending out interests wherever they are endangered». In Africa, the repressive war of the Portuguese colonialists continues precisely due to the great military support and credits of the USA to the Lisbon regime. In the Middle East, Washington supplies with generosity the Israeli zionists.

It is likewise U.S. imperialism that backs up and supplies with armaments the Madrid and Djakarta fascists, that aids the racist regimes of Pretoria and other reactionary regimes.

Facts are facts and cannot be easily concealed. Nixon's deceitful declarations – the newspaper concludes – cannot hide the real nature of U.S. imperialism as an international gendarme, suppressing the freedom of the peoples.

Of late, U.S. president Nixon made one declaration after another to create the false impression on the American and world public opinion that his government is willing to put an end to the conflict in Vietnam and throughout Indochina through talks and on the basis of the right of the peoples of that area to self-determination, without interference from outside. And as a proof of the «sincerity» of his declarations he advertises his known ill-famed plan of «8 points» which, as is known, he announced on January 25 this year.

The newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» publishes on March 12 an article exposing the aims of these declarations of Nixon's and pointing out the savage and barbarous aggression of the U.S. imperialists against the Vietnamese people and the other peoples of Indochina.

After mentioning many criminal actions of the U.S. aggressors against the peoples of Indochina, the newspaper points out: «Are perhaps all these criminal actions carried out due to «Nixon's care» for the just solution of the Indochina problem without outside interference?»

On the contrary, they are carried out to force the people of Indochina to their knee, to compel them to accept the yoke of U.S. neocolonialism.

All this – the newspaper writes in conclusion – fully prove that Nixon's slogans about peace in Vietnam are a bluff, that U.S. imperialism has been and remains a savage murderer and enemy of the freedom and independence of the people of Indochina.

The activity in the post-war years and especially in the recent years of U.S. imperialism in Asia is characterized by a continuous strengthening of the ties and allround political and military collaboration with Japanese militarism.

The newspaper «Bashkimi» writes in March 12 in connection with this collaboration that the «Nixon doctrine» creates possibilities for the Japanese militarists to come to the forefront in Asia in the political, military and economic fields, that Japan should undertake the role of international gendarme in Asia.

Everything shows – the paper further writes – that in collaboration with one another, U.S. imperialism and Japanese militarism are proceeding on the road of dangerous adventures which is expressed in the fascist declarations and militarist

shoutings in Tokyo, etc., but in the first place in the concrete and warmongering preparations directed against the freedom and independence of the peoples of Asia and, in the first place, against the PR of China.

The newspaper underlines that the activity of the U.S.-Japanese alliance is a component part of the strategy of U.S. imperialism. But on the other side, it conforms with the aims of the counterrevolutionary U.S.-Soviet alliance and is an organic part of it. The Moscow clique is interested in maintaining close ties with the Tokyo rulers in order to realize its social-imperialist objectives in Asia and especially to oppose the PR of China.

In conclusion the newspaper points out that the peoples of Asia, and in particular the peoples of Far East, are becoming convinced that the U.S.-Japanese alliance poses a serious danger to the freedom and independence of the peoples of Asia and they are more and more resolutely fighting against it.

The newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» in March 14 published an article entitled «**Revolutionary greetings to the Communist Party of Brazil**», in which it greets the Communist Party of Brazil on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of its founding and of the 10th anniversary of its reorganisation.

The Communist Party of Brazil, as heir of the best traditions of the Brazilian communist and revolutionaries – the newspaper writes among other things – relying on these traditions and raising them to a higher degree, in conformity with the historic needs and the objective demands of the revolutionary movement, has reaped important successes during these last 10 years.

After dealing with these successes, the newspaper stresses: By its revolutionary stand, by its principled persistent and uncompromised struggle against U.S. imperialism, the home reaction and modern revisionism with the Soviet renegade clique at the head, the Communist Party of Brazil has strengthened its militant unity, its ties with the other Brazilian revolutionary forces, the faith of the masses in the victory of the struggle against the dictatorial regime and U.S. imperialism, it has increased its authority among the rank of the labouring and revolutionary masses at home and abroad.

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Brazil and the 10th anniversary of its reorganisation – the newspaper writes in conclusion – the Albanian communists and the whole of the Albanian people extended to it their warmest revolutionary greetings and wholeheartedly wish to it fresh successes in its difficult but glorious struggle for real national liberation and social progress, in the struggle for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism.

In Moscow, as well as in Washington, – the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» writes in an article entitled «**The noise about disarmament cannot suffocate the noise of arming**», published on March 15 – they preach a great deal about disarmament while they pursue the endless armament race.

After mentioning the various commissions that have been set up and the numerous treaties that have allegedly been concluded on disarmament, the newspaper continues: However, the endless nuclear tests, ouverground and underground, in water and in the air, as well as the colossal expenditures for the frenzied armaments race, the aggressions and Soviet-

U.S. secret plots have revealed the real features and aims of the United States and the Soviet Union.

The newspaper quotes figures showing about the large number of tests that have been carried out in the United States and the Soviet Union. It further writes:

The imperialist-revisionist noise about disarmament has nothing in common with the real and final disarmament to which the peoples of the world aspire. The United States and the Soviet Union need it in order to camouflage the frenzied armament race, their feverish preparations for war and new aggressions. As long as imperialism and social-imperialism will exist, disarmament will not be realized. This means that the peoples must ever more enhance their vigilance against the imperialist-revisionist plots, fight until their final destruction, for this is the only way to eliminate the source of armament, of war and aggression, imperialism and social-imperialism.

The newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» of March 16 devotes a special article to the problem of the U.S. military bases as a serious danger to the security of the peoples.

After pointing out that the United States of America has today in various countries of the world about 400 large bases, without counting the quite dense network of middle sized and small bases which reach the figure of 7,000, the newspaper continues: The U.S. imperialists have set up their military bases and are striving to increase them precisely to further intensify the oppression and exploitation of the peoples and countries they have under their domination and to realize their rule there where they have not established it. In this framework the network of the U.S. military bases, of these «states within states», poses, in the first place, a serious danger to the freedom and sovereignty of the countries where they exist.

It is known – the newspaper continues – that the Asian bases have been extensively placed at the service of the U.S. aggression against the peoples of Indochina. The U.S. strategy in Asia, activating also the Asian allies, is directed against the P.R. of China, the national liberation movements of the peoples of Indochina and the other Asian peoples.

Europe – the newspaper continues – has been and remains also in the center of Washington's attention. But characteristic of the U.S. troops and bases in Europe is that the major part of them are there in the framework of the aggressive NATO bloc which is controlled by the United States of America.

Today against the peoples – the newspaper further writes – there is alongside the network of the U.S. military bases in the world also the network of the military bases which the Soviet social-imperialists have created for the same hegemonistic aims.

In such a situation, – the newspaper concludes – all the peoples are duty-bound to persistently fight not only against the military presence of the two superpowers, but also against the whole of their aggressive course. This is the most correct road to defend freedom and sovereignty in face of the imperialist pressure and blackmail.

Exposing king Hussein's proposal on the creation of a «United Arab kingdom» the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» points out in an article that king Hussein's plans are in reality a betrayal towards the aspirations of the Palestinian people and to the sovereign interests of the Arab people. The roots of these plans

go far deep, they must be sought in the intimate and open collaboration of king Hussein, of this longstanding and known agent of U.S. imperialism. King Hussein has become a despicable servant in carrying out in practice the «Nixon doctrine» according to which the Arabs must kill the Arabs.

The enemies of the Arabs in Tel Aviv and Washington and the sham and perfidious friends of the Arab people in Moscow have intensified, in various forms and means, their efforts to sow in the ranks of the Arab people distrust in their own forces, to compel them to accept the imperialist-revisionist «peaceful solution». In the framework of all these efforts is included also the plan of the reactionary king Hussein of Jordan, whose principal aim is the creation of a fictitious Palestinian state, which in reality means to liquidate the Palestinian resistance and bury the Palestinian people's legitimate aspirations to national liberation and to recover the lost territories.

The newspaper speaks about the just struggle of the Palestinian people and of the other Arab people and stresses that in this just struggle they have had and will always have the backing of the freedom-loving peoples, of all the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces.

The newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» writes on March 22 that the «Mediterranean has become a focal point of the annexationist aims of Washington and Moscow».

The events that took place recently in the Mediterranean basin testify to a further aggravation of the situation in this area. Commenting on this situation the newspaper writes in part: The riots in Cyprus, the bargainings about Malta, Israel's aggressive acts against the Arab countries, king Hussein's efforts to create a «united Arab kingdom» are links of one and the same chain. Their source must be sought in the hegemonistic policy of Washington and Moscow in this area.

The rise of tension in the Mediterranean area – the newspaper points out – is occurring as a result of the imperialist policy of aggression and war of the two «superpowers» and of the gunboat diplomacy they carry out not only in the Mediterranean but in all the areas of the world.

The newspaper writes in conclusion: The peoples of the Mediterranean, all the peoples of the world must rise against the policy of aggression and war of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. Because the departure of their fleets from these areas, the Mediterranean included, will be achieved not with the desire and the will of the two international gendarmes, but through the determined and uninterrupted struggle of the sovereign and freedom-loving peoples.

ALBANIAN HANDICRAFTS ARE VERY RICH AND MULTIFARIOUS.



A view from a section of decorative carpets factory in Kavaja.

Decorative copper products of Albanian handicrafts.



Photos on the front cover:

Snapshot of the yarn workshop at the copper wire Plant-Shkodra.
High tension installations.

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