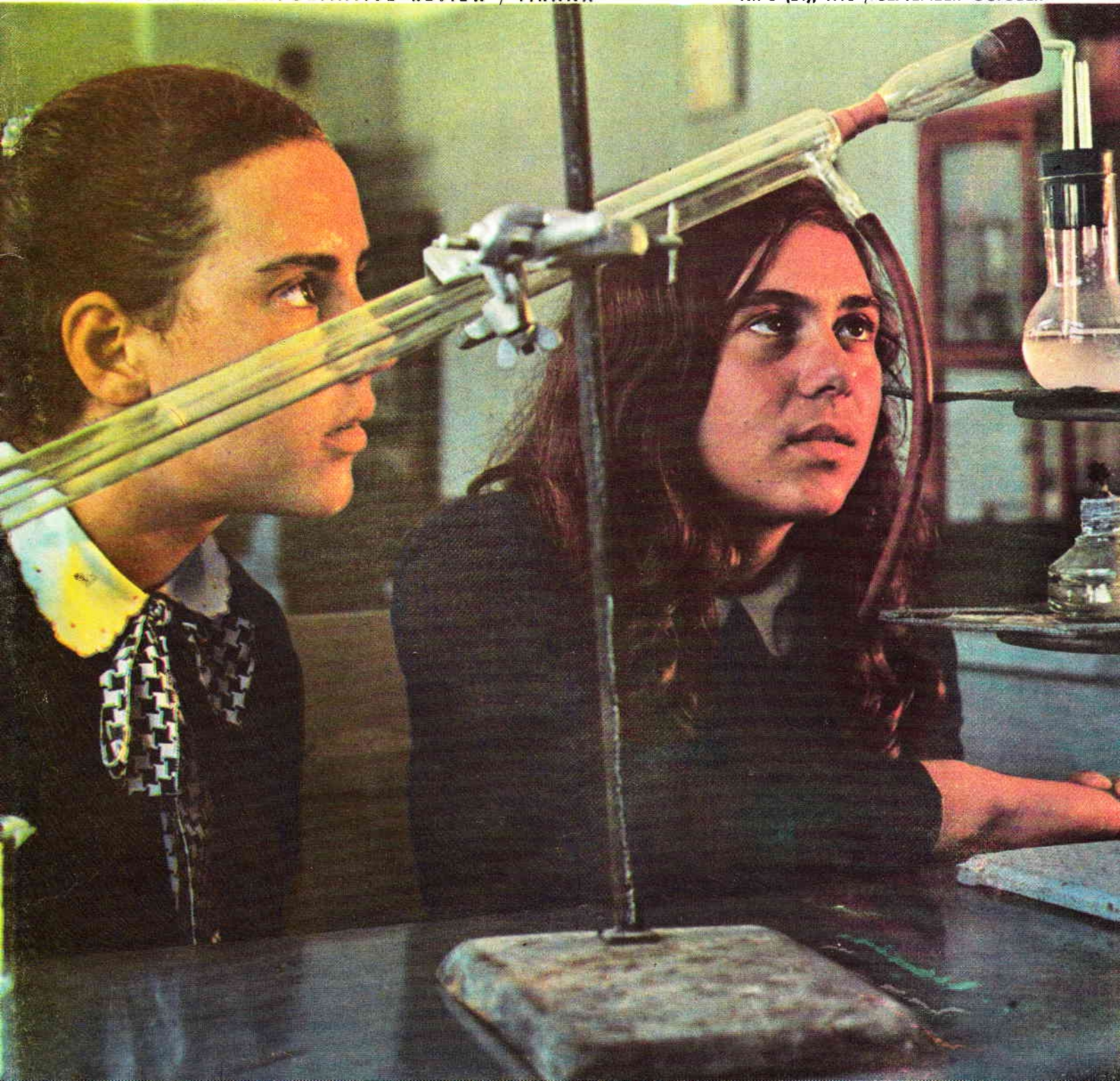


Albania today

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«Comrade ENVER HOXHA»
picture (in oil) by the painter Zef Shoshi.
At the Figurative Arts Exhibition dedicated
to the 30th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and the triumph
of the people's revolution
this work won the first prize in the genre of painting.



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A REFLECTION OF THE MARXIST THINKING AND REVOLUTION OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR

The works of Comrade Enver Hoxha are prized by Albanian communists and as a great treasury of revolutionary education. In them they find answers to the revolutionary development in Albania, they find the guiding thread to orient themselves in every situation and honorably perform the great tasks lying

BY DECISION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA, THE PUBLICATION IN FOREIGN LANGUAGES OF THE SELECTED WORKS OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA, BELOVED LEADER OF THE PARTY AND THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE HAS BEGUN. THE FIRST VOLUME OF THESE WORKS IN ENGLISH, FRENCH, SPANISH, AND RUSSIAN CAME OUT SEVERAL MONTHS AGO, BEFORE LONG THE SECOND VOLUME WILL BE AVAILABLE, WHILE THE THIRD VOLUME IS UNDER PREPARATION. THESE THREE VOLUMES BRING TOGETHER THE MOST IMPORTANT WORKS BY COMRADE ENVER HOXHA DURING THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR AND FOLLOWING THE LIBERATION OF THE COUNTRY DOWN TO THE RECENT YEARS.

The works of comrade Enver Hoxha are a profound reflection of the theoretical thinking and revolutionary activity of the Communist Party of Albania (today the Party of Labour of Albania). Comrade Enver Hoxha himself is the architect of the thinking of the PLA and its revolutionary line. He founded the Party in conditions of profound illegality, at the time when Albania was groaning under the heel and terror of the invader, when the communist movement in Albania was represented by a number of different groups infected with political, ideological and organisational views alien to Marxism-Leninism, views which had taken root especially in the leaders of these groups who were in fierce and unprincipled struggle with one another, at a time when a working class formed as an industrial proletariat still did not exist in Albania, and when the international situation was very grave for the revolution and socialism. The founding of the Party in these conditions, was very difficult, but it was an urgent historical necessity. Comrade Enver Hoxha resolved this historical necessity in a revolutionary way on November 8, 1941.

Not only is Comrade Enver Hoxha the founder of the Party, but he is still leading it after 34 years. For 34 years he has always been at the head of the Party. Therefore, the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha reflect the entire history of the Party of Labour of Albania. In them is expressed the line of the Party and the successful implementation of this line at every stage of its history.

In its rich revolutionary activity, the Party of Labour of Albania has always taken a correct stand. Despite the complicated national and international conditions, it has always remained a Marxist-Leninist party of the new type - the vanguard of the working class. Thus, the works of comrade Enver Hoxha represent in themselves the creative application of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, of the immortal teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, in the specific conditions of Albania. They are the greatest treasure in the fund of the experience of the revolutionary movement in Albania, and at the same time an important contribution to the creative development of Marxism-Leninism and the strengthening of the International communist movement.

The prime concern of comrade Enver Hoxha, since the founding of the Party, has been the elaboration and application of the Leninist norms in its life. In the works of comrade Enver Hoxha it is clear from the very outset that the entire inner life of the Party must be built on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism, the development of principled criticism and self-criticism, rigorous respect for the principle of collective work in the leadership of the Party, the continuous strengthening of the vanguard role of the Party and its members, the linking of the Party members with the masses, the continuous raising of the ideological level of the communists, the strengthening of the unity and inner discipline of the Party, etc.

Although the Party had only a few hundred members in November 1941, the implementation of these teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha right from its founding made it possible for the Party to become very quickly, the true representative

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**the entire Albanian people
the major problems raised by life and
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ahead of them**

of the interests of the working class and the people, the sole and incontestable leader of the working masses of the country.

In this way it was proved in practice that, even in the conditions when the working class is in the process of formation as a class in itself, not only is it necessary and possible for the Party of the working class to be formed with the most revolutionary elements of the country without waiting for the industrial proletariat to be formed, but this party must become the leader of all the working masses in struggle for national and social liberation.

In this direction the Albanian experience can rightly be considered as a contribution to the enriching of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism concerning the creation of the vanguard party of the working class.

From the works of comrade Enver Hoxha it is clear that while placing itself in the leadership of the working class and the working masses of the country, the Communist Party of Albania (today the Party of Labour of Albania), always refused to give up this leadership, despite the efforts of the internal enemies of the Party or of the Yugoslav revisionists. From the time of its founding and to the present day it has preserved and constantly strengthened its leading role, always carrying out its historical task as a revolutionary party of the working class and successfully implementing its correct Marxist-Leninist general line. This is the reason that the people's revolution triumphed in Albania, that the dictatorship of the proletariat was established here, and that socialist Albania has been able to carry the socialist revolution constantly ahead, while avoiding the emergence of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has given great importance to the question of the composition of the Party and the increase of its ranks with new members. From the beginning he has drawn attention to the importance of admitting to the Party the most revolutionary elements of the working class first of all. And this is understandable if we bear in mind the class cha-

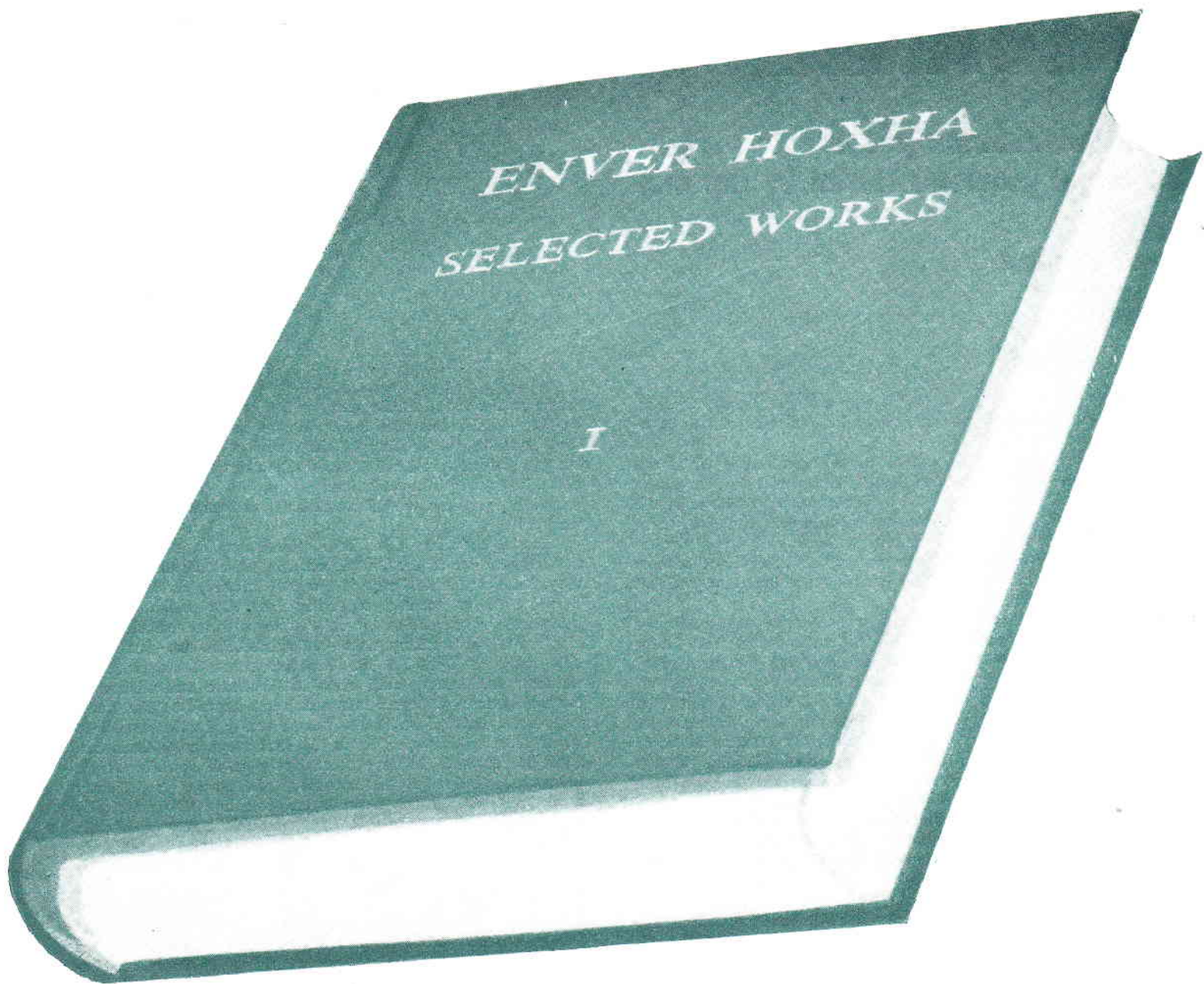
acter of the Party as the party of the working class. «In our Party», - said comrade Enver Hoxha in his report to the first Consultative Meeting of the Activists of the Communist Party of Albania in April 1942, - «the majority must be workers... Nobody else can lead, fight, and work as wholeheartedly for the cause of communism as the proletarians, the workers».

But at the same time, in all the materials he devoted to the composition of the Party, comrade Enver Hoxha demands the admission to the Party of the revolutionary elements from other strata of society, especially from the ranks of poor peasants and other strata of the town, who embrace the ideology of the working class - Marxism-Leninism -, and who are ready to fight for its implementation. Through these elements the Party would exert its influence and ensure its leadership among these strata which are nearest to the working class and its closest allies. Consequently, in the conditions when the working class is in its first steps as a class and when it continues to have a relatively small specific weight in the population of the country, the Party consciously accepts that the worker elements cannot comprise the majority of its members. Despite this, the Communist Party of Albania (today the Party of Labour of Albania) from its founding to the present day has been and remains a party of the working class.

One of the main features of the PLA which finds full expression in the works of comrade Enver Hoxha is the struggle for the strengthening of the unity of the Party, the struggle against Trotskyists, opportunists, deviators and factionists, traitors to Marxism-Leninism, against any view alien to Marxism-Leninism, against bourgeois ideology and its influence in the ranks of the Party. The Party of Labour of Albania has never allowed anti-Marxist views to take root in its ranks and be transformed into an opposite line. It has never allowed coexistence with the ideology of the enemy inside or outside its ranks. According to decided Party norms, it has expelled all the hostile elements from its ranks. As a result of this, and the consistent principled struggle for the preservation

ENVER HOXHA
SELECTED WORKS

I



«We communists, and the entire Albanian people, are proud of comrade Enver Hoxha, of his revolutionary thinking and activity and his works. All of us are his comrades and pupils, we learn from him, and carry out his teachings, for they are Marxist-Leninist».

MEHMET SHEHU

«Comrade Enver Hoxha's ideas, works and teachings are an invaluable treasury of living, creative and acting Marxism-Leninism for our Party and people, from which every communist and every working man must continually learn».

HYSNI KAPO

and constant strengthening of its unity, the Party of Labour of Albania has not been destroyed but has always remained a Marxist-Leninist Party.

In the works of comrade Enver Hoxha particular importance is devoted to the question of the Marxist-Leninist education and revolutionary tempering of the communists and all the working masses. Comrade Enver Hoxha criticises any trend towards under-rating theory and absolutising practice divested of theory, towards empirism an narrow practicism. However he does not treat the process of education as an illuminist process, but as a process which is realised in revolutionary action through the combination of theory with revolutionary practice in the armed struggle and in socialist construction. The works of Comrade Enver Hoxha in themselves constitute a powerful basis for the Marxist-Leninist education of the communists and all the working people. In them they learn how they must put politics in command, give the proletarian ideology priority over everything, assimilate the Marxist-Leninist ideology and turn it into a material force, they must wage and lead the class struggle, and develop the revolution from stage to stage without interruption. In the works of comrade Enver Hoxha the communists, the revolutionaries, the working people, learn how they must be real internationalists, determined fighters for the world revolution, supporters to the end of the international proletariat against capitalist oppression and exploitation, supporters of the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples against imperialism.

The elaboration and implementation of the strategy and tactics of the PLA during the National Liberation War and after the war occupies an important place in the works of comrade Enver Hoxha.

According to the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha, the Party worked out the political line for the National Liberation War against the fascist invaders in conformity with the national and international conditions and led this war to the complete final victory.

To attain this aim, it created the National Liberation Front in the ranks of which all the antifascists could take part without discrimination as to class, religion, region or opinion. But it ensured its undivided political leadership in the Front and in this way realised the leadership of the working class in the National Liberation War, as well as the steel alliance of the working class and the peasantry, which constituted the broadest basis of the Front and the main force of the armed struggle. United with the working class and peasantry, under the leadership of the Party, were the petty and middle bourgeoisie of the town, as well as individual elements of the bourgeoisie with patriotic feelings, while the big land owners, the reactionary bourgeoisie of the town, and the village gentry united with the invaders against the National Liberation Front. They were gathered in the traitorous organisations, «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legaliteti», and tried to deceive the popular masses to divert them from the uncompromising struggle against the Italian and German fascist invaders and from the Communist Party. But the Party, with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, exposed the deceptive manoeuvres of the main exploiting classes and their collaborationist traitor organisations to the eyes of the masses. With the Party at their head, the popular masses destroyed these tools of the invaders and traitors to the nation and the people.

The clear-cut, determined and correct stands of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha which emerge clearly in his works,

the preservation and strengthening of the leading role of the Party in the Front Organisation and the marked class differentiation that took place in the revolutionary process of the National Liberation War, led not only to the liberation of the country, but also to the overthrow of the state power of the exploiting classes and the simultaneous establishment of the people's state power in Albania. After the liberation of the country the Organisation of the Front continued to play, and today under the name of the Democratic Front of Albania, is still playing a very important role in uniting the people for building of socialism and the defence of the homeland.

The policy of the Party of Labour of Albania with regard to the Front, worked out and led by comrade Enver Hoxha, constitutes another creative development of Marxism-Leninism on the question of ensuring and strengthening the political unity of the people around the Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class and under its leadership.

The Party's refusal to share the leadership of the war and the state power with the bourgeoisie was the decisive measure for the triumph of the people's revolution in Albania. On this basis the Party destroyed the entire old state machine of the invaders and exploiting classes of the country and erected on its ruins the people's state power, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The works of comrade Enver Hoxha bring out the characteristics and tasks of the people's state power and the measures taken by the Party for the continuous strengthening of socialist democracy for the working masses parallel with strengthening and exercising the dictatorship over the exploiting classes and enemies of socialism, for the ideological education and sharpening of the revolutionary vigilance of the organs of the dictatorship, for the implementation of socialist law. The teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha about the struggle against bureaucracy, as one of the fundamental directions of the struggle to preserve and continuously strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and avoid its degeneration and liquidation, are of major theoretical and practical importance to the fate of socialism. The implementation of the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha and his instructions about the allround strengthening of the organs of the state to keep them free of any bourgeois and revisionist ill, about always ensuring the leadership of the working class in the state power, that this state power must always be closely linked with the masses and in the service of the people, loyal to the end to the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, is the best guarantee that the state power will always properly perform the tasks with which society is faced on the road of socialist construction.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's works embody the line of the Party for the construction of socialism. Elaborated in them, from the theoretical and practical viewpoint, is the economic policy of the Party for the construction of socialism in Albania. Precisely by implementing this line the economic base of socialism has been built and now we are proceeding on the road of the complete construction of the socialist society. The way in which revolutionary reforms of an antifeudal and democratic character and reforms of socialist character have been carried out, the road for the industrialisation of the country and the collectivisation and intensification of agriculture; the elaboration and application of the principles of planning the economic development of the country; the application of the principle of selfreliance in socialist construction, the roads for the gradual narrowing of the differences

between town and countryside, industry and agriculture, mental work and manual work, etc, are fully reflected in these works.

The liberation of the country and the building of socialism in Albania have been achieved through a fierce struggle against numerous internal and external enemies of all types.

An important part in this is the struggle against the imperialists and revisionists who, from the time of the National Liberation War and up till today, have never ceased their fight against our country and the Party of Labour of Albania. Therefore, the history of the Party of Labour of Albania is inseparable from the struggle it has waged and continues to wage against them under the leadership of comrade Enver Hoxha. This fierce, complicated, difficult, but at the same time glorious struggle, is clearly reflected in the works of comrade Enver Hoxha. In them it comes out clearly that the Party of Labour of Albania has not confined itself to a defensive struggle on a national scale against the imperialists and revisionists, but it has come out on the international arena as a shock brigade of socialism, as a fiery, consistent, and uncompromising fighter against imperialism and modern revisionism, as an ardent defender of the international working class and the liberation struggle of the peoples; a defender of Marxism-Leninism and the world revolution.

The Party of Labour of Albania and comrade Enver Hoxha have never separated the struggle against imperialism from the struggle against opportunism and modern revisionism. During the National Liberation War the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha never allowed the American and British imperialists to interfere in Albania, under the pretext that they were allies in the fight against fascist aggression, for the purpose of smothering the revolution, just as they refused and raised their voice against the attempts of the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party to interfere in the internal affairs of the Party and the PR of Albania.

The Party of Labour of Albania and its leader comrade Enver Hoxha personally have great merit in the uncovering and exposure of the Soviet modern revisionists. It clashed with the Soviet revisionists before the real features of Nikita Khrushchov and his cronies were publicly unmasked. But this struggle assumed a fierce character 15 years ago, when comrade Enver Hoxha, at the meeting of the 81 communist and workers parties in Moscow, openly tore off their mask. The history of these 15 years has fully confirmed the correctness of the attitude of our Party at that meeting. It has proven the unscrupulous betrayal of the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union towards Marxism-Leninism and, consequently, the transformation of the Soviet Union into an imperialist state. The struggle which our Party has waged and continues to wage against the Soviet modern revisionists has been hailed by all the genuine revolutionaries, by all those who cherish the freedom and independence of the country, the great cause of socialism and communism throughout the world. In the works of comrade Enver Hoxha the strategy and tactics of the Party of Labour of Albania in struggle against the modern revisionists of the Soviet Union, strategy and tactics which are characterized by the lofty spirit of Marxist-Leninist principle, by revolutionary determination and courage, unshakeable confidence in our own forces and the revolutionary forces of the world, unshakeable confidence in the final triumph of Marxism-Leninism over modern revisionism, are clearly brought out.

The struggle against modern revisionism according to the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha has raised the name of the Party of Labour of Albania as a determined fighter in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism on the international arena.

From the summing up of the experience of the Party of Labour of Albania and the international communist movement in the struggle against modern revisionism in the works of comrade Enver Hoxha, the concrete principled conclusions and practical tasks to carry forward the cause of the revolution, to bar the way to the birth of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in Albania, to drive forward in the struggle against modern revisionism until it is completely destroyed, stand out clearly. These tasks are a result of the profound study of the Marxist-Leninist theory and the history of the international communist movement, of the creative application of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism in conformity with the concrete conditions of our country at the particular time.

These tasks, which form a great programme of work for the Party, the working class, and our entire people, include, in the first place, the further deepening of the political and economic revolution and the carrying out of the ideological and cultural revolution on the broadest front, the further revolutionisation of the inner life of the Party, the persistent struggle for the creation of the new man with a Marxist-Leninist world outlook and revolutionary ideals and spirit; the education of the working people to put the general interest above individual interest and subject their immediate interests to those of the perspective; the continuous struggle against bureaucratism, technocratism and intellectualism, the deepening of the implementation of the line of the masses and the constant perfecting of the relations between cadres and masses; putting proletarian politics more thoroughly in command, the continuous strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the strengthening of the role of the working class and the worker's control over the entire life of the country, the continuous strengthening of the leading role of the Party, etc.

The accomplishment of these tasks, which emerge from comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, finds its expression in the day to day life of the Party and the Albanian people, in the great revolutionary initiatives and movements which have burst out in a chain reaction in our country.

This is why the works of comrade Enver Hoxha, the complete publication of which is now well advanced in Albania, are considered by the Albanian communists and the entire Albanian people as a great and invaluable treasury of revolutionary education. In them they find answers to the great problems raised by life and the development of the revolution in Albania; they find the guiding thread to orientate themselves in any situation and honourably fulfil the great tasks facing them.

The publication of the selected works of comrade Enver Hoxha in foreign languages will provide the possibility for Marxist-Leninist and genuine revolutionaries to become better acquainted with the revolutionary experience of the Party of Labour of Albania about the way to achieve independence and the triumph of the revolution, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and defend it against any enemy, to build socialism and march triumphantly on the difficult but glorious road of communism. It will also provide a possibility for all the friends and well-wishers of socialist Albania, for all those who cherish the cause of freedom, national independence, and social progress, to become better acquainted with the People's Republic of Albania, with its achievements and perspectives, to understand correctly its home and foreign policies and its resolute and principled stand on all the most important international questions.

SOCIALIST STATE ORGANISED PRO AS A RULING CL

by **LUAN OMARI**

The working class in power is organised in whole system of organisations, from the trade unions to the State itself, organisations which have different duties and functions, but which together constitute the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under this system, which is led by the party of the working class, the State occupies the main place

AMONG THE VERY IMPORTANT PROBLEMS THE PARTY HAS DEALT WITH, A SPECIAL PLACE IS OCCUPIED BY THE PROBLEM OF INTENSIFICATION OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST BUREAUCRACY, AND THE FURTHER AND ALLROUND STRENGTHENING OF THE SOCIALIST STATE, SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY.

THE PARTY AND COMRADE ENVER HOXHA HAVE ALWAYS POINTED OUT THAT AN INDISPENSABLE CONDITION FOR THE REALISATION OF THE TASKS FACING OUR COUNTRY IN ITS FURTHER DEVELOPMENT ON THE ROAD OF SOCIALISM, IS THE CONTINUOUS STRENGTHENING OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT. «THE KEY PROBLEM OF THE REVOLUTION», SAID COMRADE ENVER HOXHA IN HIS REPORT DELIVERED AT THE 6TH CONGRESS OF THE PLA, «HAS BEEN AND WILL REMAIN, UNTIL THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE VICTORY OF COMMUNISM, THE PROBLEM OF STATE POWER, OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT. IN WHATEVER FIELD THE CLASS STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE TWO ROADS, SOCIALIST OR CAPITALIST MAY BE WAGED, WHETHER IN THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, IDEOLOGICAL, CULTURAL OR MILITARY FIELDS, IT IS, IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, A STRUGGLE OVER THE QUESTION OF WHETHER THE DICTATORSHIP OF PROLETARIAT WILL BE PRESERVED AND STRENGTHENED OR WILL DEGENERATE AND BE OVERTHROWN, AS OCCURRED IN THE SOVIET UNION AND IN SOME OTHER COUNTRIES».

This has been fully confirmed by the negative experience of the former socialist countries where the revisionist cliques are ruling today. It has been confirmed, also, by the experience of the irreconcilable struggle which our Party has successfully carried out against all the enemy elements who, in various periods and various ways, have tried to undermine the foundations of the people's state power, to strike at the dictatorship of the proletariat. The incessant efforts made by enemy elements in the fields of ideology and culture, defence and the economy, have been a whole chain of actions which

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have aimed at the degeneration of our socialist state power, at its transformation into a counterrevolutionary state power, in the service of bureaucratic and technocratic elements, the new bourgeois, who have always wanted to repeat, at the expense of the Albanian people, the tragedy which overtook the Soviet peoples and the peoples of the other countries of Eastern Europe. Not only has our Party smashed these hostile efforts whenever they have been made, but it has drawn, and continues to draw, conclusions about the factors which allowed these antisocialist symptoms to appear and, at the same time, has worked out a series of measures to bar the way to them.

One of the factors which allows the development of antisocialist actions in various fields of life, is bureaucracy. Our Party has continually fought bureaucracy, and has always warned against its danger. Even in the early post-liberation years, when its experience in state management was still in its elementary stage and when the negative phenomena which occurred later in the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries, could not be imagined, the PLA had already drawn the attention of the communists and all the working people to the need for an effective struggle against bureaucratic distortions. Suffice it to mention, among the documents of that period, comrade Enver Hoxha's report to the 4th Plenum of the CC in 1945 and his report at the 2nd Congress of the Party. Although young and lacking the necessary experience, our Party, as a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, with its revolutionary instinct, even at that time did not allow certain phenomena to take root in our country, phenomena, which, in other countries, led to the creation of privileged castes, vested with practically unlimited power and separated from the mass of the working people through an entire system of salaries many times higher than those of the rank-and-file workers. These privileged castes became the social basis of modern revisionism, headed by Khrushchov revisionism.

The critical analysis of the negative experience of the Soviet Union and of some countries of people's democracy, the generalisation of the experience of socialist construction in Albania itself, gave our Party the possibility of drawing accurate conclusions about the nature and causes of bureaucratism in 1966-67 and the subsequent years, and at the same time, of taking concrete measures to fight it. Such documents and measures are of great theoretical and practical value, the importance of which goes beyond the borders of our country, for they are based on the generalisation of international practice.

The Party and comrade Enver Hoxha have continually pointed out that the struggle against bureaucratism is not a matter of a single campaign, that it is a fierce and difficult class struggle which will continue as long as there are still vestiges of the exploiting classes, and «stains» of the old order, in our country, as long as there is the objective possibility of the degeneration of individuals, even from the ranks of the people, of their transformation into «new bourgeois», as long as the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and its allround pressure on our country continues to exist.

Therefore, any euphoria over the successes achieved, especially in the struggle against bureaucratism, is harmful, lowers the vigilance of the Party and the working masses, weakens their struggle for the development of socialist democracy and the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, allows bureaucratic distortions and deviations to be repeated.

The successful fight against bureaucratism implies the active participation of the working class and of all the working masses in this struggle under the leadership of the Party, proper understanding of their role in the socialist state, understanding of the nature of this state itself, its relationship to the administration, etc.

Lenin pointed out that the question of the state is a complex and intricate one, that a whole series of ideologists

of the exploiting classes, and especially of the bourgeoisie, have contributed to its complication. In our day too, the bourgeois ideologists, and particularly the revisionist ones, are striving to sow confusion and unclarity about the class nature of the state, about its role, both in the capitalist order and in the socialist order. In some instance our people, too, have unclear views concerning the meaning of the proletarian state, proletarian democracy, etc., and it is precisely these views which lead to underestimation of the role of the working class and other working people in exercising the state power. For this reason, comrade Enver Hoxha stresses the necessity of a correct understanding, not merely formal but the essence, of what the state of the proletarians is, what proletarian democracy is and what, on the other hand, the state administration is, so as to protect ourselves from petty-bourgeois, anarchist, and liberal deformations in these matters.

The ideologists of the bourgeoisie have fetishised the state presenting it as an administrative apparatus of a character, that stands above classes which is in the hands of a stratum of functionaries who allegedly strive for the general good. The mouthpieces of modern revisionism also strive to «prove» that the class nature of the capitalist state has changed and that phenomena which contribute to the class evolution of the state are occurring in socialism, too. The Kruschov revisionists want to conceal the dictatorship they exercise in the interests of the new bourgeois class of bureaucrats and technocrats, with the discredited theory of «the state of the entire people», while in other countries, a whole string of «theoreticians» propagate the view that in the stage of the state monopoly capitalism and in the «lower stage» of socialism, the state has the same class character. According to them, it is a state in the hands of a stratum of specialists, technocrats, and bureaucrats, who are transformed little by little into a stratum in itself, independent, both from the bourgeoisie in capitalism and from the working class in socialism. Therefore, there is no clearcut demarcation line between these two stages, and the «peaceful transition», from the one to the other is natural because, according to them, the state is the same, an administrative apparatus in the hands of a stratum which has, in fact, a supraclass character.

These theories are an open denial of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism about the class nature of any state. At the same time they are a counterrevolutionary attempt to discredit the socialist state, to «theoretically» justify the regressive evolution that has occurred in the revisionist countries where the state has been effectively transformed into a tool of the bureaucratic-technocratic stratum. But this stratum by no means has a supraclass character. It is a constituent part of the new bourgeoisie which has usurped the state power from the hands of the workers and which exercises the most savage dictatorship at the expense of the working people, on behalf and in the interests of this new bourgeoisie.

For the bourgeois state, particularly in the epoch of imperialism, two institutions are characteristics: the bureaucratic apparatus and the permanent army. There the bureaucratic

apparatus has become identified with the state itself. The representative institutions whether the central parliament or the elected periferal organs are entirely formal. Real state power has been concentrated in the administrative organs, which, consistently and faithfully, carry out the orders of the big monopoly bourgeoisie. Our people's revolution, like every socialist revolution, smashed this old bureaucratic apparatus and, in its place, created a new apparatus, a new administration, in the service of the working class and the entire working people. But in practice there are people who erroneously identify the administration with our socialist state. These erroneous ideas make it possible for the administration to occupy a predominant position.

The administrative apparatus in socialism can never have that predominant role it has in the bourgeois state where, according to Hegel's well known expression, it is the «soul of the state». The socialist state is a state of a new higher type. It is, as Marx and Engels have said, «the proletariat itself organised as a ruling class». Comrade Enver Hoxha says: «We have put this great thought of Marx's into practice and we must have a profound understanding of it. We must understand clearly that the working class, also, organises the means to exercise its violence against its enemies and in the interests of the working people, which means in the interests of the entire people».

When we say that the socialist state is the proletariat organised as a ruling class, we mean, first of all, its organisation from the political viewpoint. The working class in power is organised in a whole system of organisations, from the trade unions to the state itself, organisations which have different tasks and functions, but which together, constitute the system of the dictatorship, of the proletariat. Under this system, which is led by the party of the working class, the state occupies the main place. It is the political organization which has the monopoly of physical coercion against all those who violate the laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In essence, the state is precisely the embodiment of this dictatorship. Secondly, the working class in power is organised from the ideological viewpoint. Its ideology, the ideology of the Party, Marxism-Leninism, is the dominant ideology, which is assimilated more and more each day, not only by the workers, but by all the working people. The norms of proletarian communist morality are transformed into a unified system of moral norms, which little by little, is narrowing the field of action and eliminating the vestiges of the old morality. Thirdly, the working class is organised from the economic viewpoint. The whole socialist economic system, based on socialist ownership, which has the state ownership as its main form, ensures the economic interests of the working class and of all the working people. Finally, the working class, as a ruling class, is organised also from the military viewpoint. Not only is the army of the socialist state a revolutionary army, an army of the class and in its service, but the interests of socialism and the revolution are defended by the entire armed people, and primarily by the armed working class.

Thus, the socialist state is the armed workers themselves who, in order to exercise their power, create the representative institutions and the respective executive organs. These representative and executive organs are elected organs. They represent the will of the working class, in alliance with the working masses, are dependent on them and completely under their control. Besides these elected representative and executive organs, which have a political character, the state also needs an administrative apparatus comprised of appointed specialists, an apparatus which has a more markedly technical character (but always in service of political functions). This apparatus, which carries out the «routine» «day to day» affairs of the state, is dependent on the elected representative and executive organs, which, for their part, embody the will and interests of the working class. From a certain aspect, the relationship between the elected organs, in the first place the representative ones, and the administrative apparatus, reflects the relationship between the working class in alliance with the cooperativist peasantry, and the intelligentsia. The intelligentsia in the socialist state has an important place and role. It is the offspring of the working class and the working peasantry, loyal to the dictatorship of the proletariat. It has been charged with important duties of practical management of the economy, culture and administration. But the intelligentsia always carries out these duties in the course of implementing the class policy determined by the working class and its Party, under their leadership, and under the direct control of the working class. Therefore, in socialism the state administration cannot «alienate itself, transform itself into its opposite, from an apparatus of the working class organised as a state and in its service, into an apparatus to command the working class. Such a transformation leads to the degeneration of the socialist order, to the displacement of the working class from the leading role, to the usurpation of the state power by the stratum of the bureaucrats and technocrats, just as has occurred in the countries where the revisionists are in power.

Of course, the socialist state needs an administration, but as Lenin instructs, a very simple administration, because the people themselves can carry out the functions of the complicated bourgeois administration by activating themselves in various forms, in running the country. «It is not a matter of eliminating the bureaucratic apparatus immediately, everywhere and through to the end,» said Lenin. — That is utopia. But to smash the old bureaucratic machine and to begin immediately to build a new machine which gradually permits the elimination of any bureaucratic apparatus, that is not utopia... that is the direct task, the most urgent task of the revolutionary proletariat».

Neglect of this task, inflation of the bureaucratic apparatus, little by little weakens the role of the working class, atrophies the work of the representative organs, leads to the violation of the norms of proletarian democracy. This danger, which our Party of Labour is systematically fighting, was pointed out by the great teachers of the proletariat. Engels stressed that

in all exploiting societies the state and state organs have had the tendency to transform themselves from servants of society into masters of society. «In order to avoid the loss of its newly won ruling position» said Engels, «the working class must ensure itself against its own deputies and officials».

Which is the road to ensure this? «As soon as they seize political power», says Lenin, «the workers will destroy the old bureaucratic apparatus, they will smash it to its foundations, leaving no stone on stone. They will replace it with a new apparatus also comprised of workers and officials and, in order to prevent them from becoming bureaucrats, these measures that Marx and Engels have studied in detail will be taken immediately: 1) Not only the principle of election, but also the principle that they may be removed at any moment; 2) pay not greater than that of a worker; 3) work must begin immediately, so that everybody will carry out the functions of control and supervision. Everybody will become a «bureaucrat» for a time so that nobody will become a «bureaucrat».

The realisation of these demands is an indispensable condition for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the development of socialist democracy, the deepening of the mass line which has been, and always remains, the general line of the Party. In this aspect an important role is played by the strengthening of the representative organs of the state power, which are the political foundations of our State, the struggle against any formal attitude towards or under-rating of them, the placing of the executive organs, and particularly of the other administrative links, under complete and effective dependence on them, the improvement of the composition of various state organs with people from the working class and the other working masses, which serves the strengthening of the leading role of the class itself, the allround drawing of the working masses into the running of the country, a thing which multiplied the strength of the state apparatus and places the «majority of the population in conditions permitting everybody, without exception, to carry out «the state functions»». (Lenin).

This is the only way to raise really insurmountable obstacles to the development of bureaucracy and to avoid as comrade Enver Hoxha says, trying to hold it in check with reins of straw.

VIGOROUS DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST ECONOMY IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

by HASAN BANJA

OUR REVOLUTION, DEVELOPED AS A CONTINUOUS REVOLUTION AND IN CONFORMITY WITH SPECIFIC HISTORICAL CONDITIONS, PASSED THROUGH THREE MAIN STAGES: THE ANTI-IMPERIALISTS, DEMOCRATIC STAGE OF THE TRIUMPH OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER, THE STAGE OF THE ELIMINATION OF THE OLD FEUDAL-BOURGEOIS RELATIONS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW SOCIALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION, AND THE STAGE OF THE COMPLETE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY, WHICH IS IN PROGRESS. THESE THREE STAGES HAVE BEEN DEVELOPED CLOSELY INTERWOVEN WITH ONE ANOTHER, BUT A FUNDAMENTAL TASK HAS BEEN PREDOMINANT IN EACH ONE. IN THE FIRST STAGE THE FULFILMENT OF THE POLITICAL TASK WAS PREDOMINANT, THAT IS THE LIBERATION OF THE COUNTRY, IN THE SECOND - THE FULFILMENT OF THE ECONOMIC TASK, THAT OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE ECONOMIC BASE; WHEREAS ON THE ORDER OF THE DAY OF THE THIRD STAGE REMAIN THE TASKS OF PERFECTING THE SOCIALIST RELATIONS, THE VIGOROUS DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES, AND THE DEEPENING OF THE IDEOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL REVOLUTION, IN STRUGGLE AGAINST THE VESTIGES OF THE OLD ORDER AND AGAINST THE IMPERIALIST-REVISIONIST ENCIRCLEMENT AND BLOCKADE.

1.

In order to have a clear idea of the road traversed by our socialist revolution, as well as of the tasks that have been discharged and those which remain, especially in the field of the rapid development of the productive forces for the complete construction of the socialist society, it is necessary to run through in general outline, the revolutionary transformations which have been realised in

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the non-stop process of our socialist construction.

In the not distant past, our country was very backward, almost a totally agrarian, semi-feudal country, with a very weak industry although it possessed abundant natural riches. It was a country with marked vestiges of feudal and semi-feudal relations. These relations were strong, and hindered the general socio-economic development of the country. The capitalist relations which had begun to appear in the Albanian economy towards

the middle of last century, had not been able to develop in the proportions and forms of the other countries of the Balkan peninsula. The despotism of the decaying Ottoman state power, feudalism, and the savage national oppression, had suppressed the productive forces and plunged the country into the profound mediaeval darkness. Although it had begun the capitalist road of production, Albania did not manage to develop it and even less, to carry it to completion.

This situation was inherited by the state power which was established in Albania in November 1944. The seizure of political power by the working class marked only the beginning of the socialist revolution. Immediately after the triumph of the revolution the work began under the leadership of the PLA for the solution of the two fundamental tasks very closely and organically connected with one another: On the one hand, the construction of the economic base of socialism through the expropriation of the expropriators, the liquidation of the old feudo-bourgeois economic base and, on the other hand, the creation of a single socialist economy, the construction of the material and technical base, with a view to resolving the con-

During more than three decades of its free and sovereign existence, the People's Republic of Albania has achieved a series of victories and socialist revolutionary transformations which have completely changed its political, economic and social features. Within this short historical period the war-ravaged economy was restored, the economic base of socialism has been built and the country has entered a new historical stage - the complete construction of socialist society

tradition between the advanced socio-economic order and the insufficient level of development of the productive forces.

The first task was fulfilled, in general, as far back as 1960, and completely in 1967. As to their importance, the profound revolutionary transformations in the field of the ownership over the means of production, which led to the creation of the economic base of socialism, marked, as the Party of Labour of Albania has clearly defined, the second greatest victory in the history of the Albanian people, following the establishment of the people's power.

In this essential question the socialist revolution in Albania has its own experience of major theoretical and practical value. The PLA did not wait until the productive forces and the technical and scientific revolution had been developed to a high level and the working class constituted the majority of the population, as the reformists advocated and as the modern revisionists advocate today, and then carry out the revolution and the construction of socialism. This is an important fact, because the new social and economic relations, conforming with the character of the productive forces,

opened to the latter boundless horizons for development, ensured their rapid and all-round progress, released the creative energies of the working masses which had been suppressed for centuries on end.

2.

With the construction of the economic base a new stage of the period of transition opened - the stage of the complete construction of the socialist society. While the tasks of the socialist revolution in the field of ownership over the means of production were fulfilled successfully and within a short historical period, to build a complete socialist society it was and is necessary to ensure at the same time also the further development of the productive forces at high rates.

The main link in the construction of the material and technical base of socialism has been, and remains, the continuation of the socialist industrialisation, the incessant development of technical and scientific progress in all the branches of the economy, the creation of a most effective structure of social production, the raising of social labour productivity,

etc., with the aim of strengthening independence and increasing the self-sufficiency of the economy, of strengthening the country's defence capacity, and on this basis, unceasingly raising the material and cultural level of the people.

Industry plays a leading role in the general, coordinated, and rapid development of the economy. The essence of the policy of the PLA for the socialist industrialisation has been and remains the transformation of the country by stages, initially into agrarian, industrial and then into industrial-agrarian country and gradually, into an industrial country with an advanced agriculture. The first stage of this strategic task has been successfully completed. Albania has long been transformed from a backward agricultural country into an agrarian-industrial country, and is firmly proceeding on the road of its transformation into an industrial-agrarian country.

In its policy of transforming Albania into an industrial-agrarian country, the PLA has aimed at creating a complex extracting and processing heavy and light industry, capable of fulfilling the most urgent needs of the economy, the people, and the defence of the country, on the basis of a most efficient utilisation of the

country's resources of labour and natural riches. In this direction we bear in mind the requirements of the economic laws of extended socialist reproduction, according to which the production of the basic means of production is developed at faster rates, and then the production of the means of production for consumer goods, and then the production of the means of consumption.

With this course, the mineral extracting industry has occupied the main place in the production of the means of production. In the fifth five-year plan (1971-1975) heavy industry has assumed even more rapid development, which is characterized not only by the rapid rate of growth of the extracting industry, by the increase of the production of fuels, and the rapid development of the electric power industry, but also by the creation of new branches of the processing industries. In this way, conditions are being created, step by step, so that in the production of the means of production, parallel with the extracting industry, the main place will be occupied also by the heavy processing industry and the ore enriching and smelting industry. Our country is sticking resolutely to this road. But the undertaking of new and very great tasks in the fifth five-year plan for the setting up of the complete cycle of the iron and steel industry, the further development of non-ferrous metallurgy, the transition to the deep processing of oil, the construction of very powerful hydropower stations on Drini river, the development of chemical industry, etc., constitutes a qualitative step of historic importance in the rapid development of productive forces, for the construction of the material and technical base of socialism. These projects, which as to their proportions and technical and technological level are of world importance, are under construction now and the day is not far off when the blast-furnaces of the metallurgical combine at Elbasan will be smelting iron ore, and Albanian brands of pigiron and steel, nickel and cobalt, tubing and plate of various kinds, will be produced.

The political and economic importance of such a step in the industrialisation of the country is very great. With the construction of these works the economic independence of the country will become stronger, and better conditions will be created for greater self-sufficiency and to cope successfully as always with the imperialist-revisionist blockade. In this way, the economic value of minerals is increased, the export-import balance is improved, and above all, the material base is created to set up in the future, new branches of the heavy and light processing industry. With the home production of steel of various kinds including instrument and special steels, which the metallurgical combine will ensure, the engineering industry will develop further on its own basis of raw materials, while the deep chemical processing of oil opens the prospect of the petrochemical industry for the production of synthetic fibres and plastic materials.

The concentration of attention on the erection of powerful industrial projects, the concentration of production in units of a high technical level, is taking place in this country without neglecting the construction of factories, departments and technological lines for the utilization of local raw materials, integrating large-scale production, especially for the production of mass consumer goods.

Proceeding on this road has ensured the rapid development of industry and the increase of industrial production at high rates. The volume of industrial production realized during the entire year 1938, was realized in 1973 in 4 days, electric energy in 2 days, oil, coal and chromium ore in 4 days, copper in 6 days, and so on. Likewise in 1973, industrial production accounted for 56,1 per cent of social production, as against 23,3 per cent in 1950. Industry contributed 45,2 per cent to the creation of the national income, as against 11 per cent in 1950. Industrial production accounted for 65,7 per cent of total industrial and agricultural production, as against 8 per cent in 1938 (at 1971 prices). Meanwhile in the structure of industrial production, the specific weight of the means of produc-

tion (Group A) represented 58,6 per cent. Today our country produces oil and fuels for all its needs, occupies an important place in the world in the extraction of chromium ore, it fulfills its own needs for regular supplies of electric power and a quantity of it at a time when such problems as the energy, raw materials, foreign exchange and financial crises, inflation, the unbridled rise of prices, etc., have burst upon the world with uncontrollable force.

3.

In the development of productive forces, the economic policy of the PLA has aimed and continues to aim at the simultaneous development of all the branches of the sphere of material production, on the basis of the principle of self-reliance for the construction of an economy firmly standing on both feet, especially on industry and agriculture. The Party of Labour of Albania has always closely linked the development of agriculture with the construction of socialism in the countryside, and this has been and remains a continuous revolution which includes a series of transformations of an economic, social, ideological, cultural and technical character. On the other hand, the situation and development, of industry itself depends, to a large degree, on the situation and development of agriculture. Therefore, the planned and proportional development of these two basic branches of social production constitutes a task of great importance to the progress of the entire economy of the country.

In this question, we take into consideration the fact that despite the progress made, the peasant population in our country represents a relatively high specific weight, that agriculture ensures a good part of the socialist accumulation as well as the foodstuffs for the people, the raw materials for industry, etc. From this viewpoint, the development of productive forces in industry has not been and is not being done divorced from agriculture, or at the expense of agriculture. At the same time, agriculture is not being

developed by slackening the rates of the industrialisation of the country. Both these views or attitudes are alien to socialism. The first attitude, of developing industry at the expense of agriculture, would lead to the slowing down of socialism in the countryside, to the lagging of the countryside behind the town, to circumscribing the productive forces in the countryside as is the case in capitalism and in the revisionist countries, a thing which would weaken the militant alliance between the working class and the peasantry, which is the social back-bone of the people's power. Such a stand would also compromise the policy of industrialisation, because industry; particularly that of foodstuffs, cannot develop without agriculture which provides the necessary raw materials. The second attitude, that of the development of agriculture at the expense of industry, is unacceptable too, for it would hinder the development of agriculture itself. Slackening the rates of industrialisation would have a negative influence on the development of agriculture, because industry, being the leading branch of the economy, which develops the material and technical base, supplies agriculture with the necessary means of production, with machines and technical equipment, chemical fertilizers, insecticides, etc.

The simultaneous development of industry, agriculture, and other branches of material production, has ensured the proportional development of the economy as a whole, and of the social and cultural sectors, in conformity with the possibilities created by the economy.

The rapid development of productive forces in the countryside is shown by the extension of the land area, this principal and irreplaceable means of agricultural production; it is shown by the increase in the level of mechanisation, the carrying out of land improvement work, irrigation, etc. In 1973, as compared with the pre-war level, (with the year 1938), the area of arable land had increased 3 fold, total agricultural production 3,5 fold, while the population had increased 2,2 fold. Today the irrigated area includes about 56 per cent of the farm land, as against 10,5

per cent in 1938. With the setting up of the superphosphate and ammonium nitrate plants the use of chemical fertilizers greatly increased.

The Albanian agriculture is advancing on the road of intensification and the transformation of the agricultural economies into big, modern economies of extended socialist production. An ever greater increase of production is being ensured from increased yields of agricultural crops. In the increase of production in 1973 as compared with 1970, 69 per cent of the increase in wheat and 64 per cent of the increase in vegetables, came from the increase in yield per hectare, while 45 per cent of the production of cows milk was ensured from the increase of the productivity of cows.

4.

The vigorous development of productive forces and the carrying out of the technical and scientific revolution are closely connected with the economic conditions and possibilities of the country, with socialist accumulation, with the application of big investments, with the tasks of socialist construction.

The financing of the development of the people's economy has always been in the centre of the attention of the Party of Labour of Albania. Particularly in the fifth five-year plan, investments and capital construction have assumed very great proportions. Never before has such a programme of investments been undertaken in Albania, as the one which is being implemented in these years of the fifth five-year plan. Under this five year plan, capital investments reach the figure of 16,5 billion leks, or 70-75 per cent more than the investments of the fourth five-year plan, and 31 per cent more than those of the first, second and third five-year plans taken together. A whole year's investments at the preliberation period level was invested in 1973, every 2-3 days. The investments of the three years 1971-1973 were by 8 per cent larger than the investments made during the 15 years, 1946-1960.

The carrying out of these investments is a great success for our economy testifying to its vitality and the great possibilities our socialist order creates. We apply a relatively high norm of accumulation in the distribution of the national income. Maintaining a high norm of accumulation responds to the principle of building socialism relying on our own internal human, material, technical, and financial forces. It gives priority to general and perspective interests, and not to immediate and partial interests. This is the only correct way to maintain high rates in the socio-economic development of the country.

Parallel with this, the Party sees to it that the accumulated funds are used with an ever greater effectiveness. It fights unnecessary, excessive investments, and the tendency to spread them over many projects, etc.

The application of such a policy in socialist accumulation and in the use of the funds accumulated is an imperative duty, dictated by the rapid development of productive forces to overcome the great technical and economic backwardness of the past.

In socialist construction our people have had, and continue to have, the unsparing internationalist aid of the People's Republic of China. This aid directly serves the rapid progress of our country on the road of socialism, the development of productive forces, the strengthening of the independence of the economy, the increase of the wellbeing of the people, the strengthening of the defence capacity of the homeland.

* * *

The vigorous development of the productive forces has constituted the skeleton of our five-year plans. They are linked with the entire material and spiritual development of our society on the road of socialism, and therefore they constitute the most active factor for the realisation of qualitative changes in the structure of social production, for the development at high rates of extended socialist reproduction, now and in the future.

INTELLECTUALISM - A TOTALITY OF CONCEPTS AND PRACTICES CONCEPTS AND PRACTICES

Intellectualism
was born and developed
together with the

birth and development of society with antagonistic classes, but
concepts and practices live on for a long time in socialist society,
has nothing in common with the nature of the socialist

by **MUZAFER AHMATI**

INTELLECTUALISM CONSTITUTES A TOTALITY OF CONCEPTS AND PRACTICES OF THE OPPRESSOR AND EXPLOITING CLASSES ABOUT WORK, WHICH OVERRATE MENTAL WORK AND THE INTELLIGENTSIA AND UNDER-RATE WORK DIRECTLY IN PRODUCTION AND THE PEOPLE ENGAGED IN SUCH A WORK, SO THAT THE MINORITY WILL PRESERVE ITS RULE AND PRIVILEGES OVER THE MAJORITY. INTELLECTUALISM WAS BORN AND DEVELOPED TOGETHER WITH THE BIRTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY WITH ANTAGONISTIC CLASSES. BUT INTELLECTUALIST CONCEPTS AND PRACTICES LIVE ON FOR A LONG TIME IN THE SOCIALIST SOCIETY, TOO, TOGETHER WITH THE CONCEPTS, PRACTICES, AND OTHER MANIFESTATIONS OF THE OLD IDEOLOGY INHERITED FROM THE PAST.

What are the foundations on which intellectualism was born, and developed and which nurture it

First, it was born in the conditions of the social division of mental work from physical work, having as a basis the establishment of private ownership over the means of production, on the soil of which antagonistic classes were born and, together with them, the intelligentsia as a stratum. Following the development of class society, it comes out that the minority, which took in its hands the means of production, freed, as Friedrich Engels says, from the direct productive labour and which manages such common affairs of the society as the administration of the work, running the State, justice, science, art etc., began not to engage in direct productive work, to despise it, and together with it, also those engaged in such work,

who were barbarously oppressed and exploited. This minority, while establishing its monopoly over mental work, considering it as a matter belonging to it alone, and despising and exploiting the direct productive work of the majority, initially and for a long time covered up the dividing line between itself as a class and the intelligentsia as a stratum because the majority of the latter came from the ranks of the class of exploiters. The further development of society, and particularly of capitalism, made clear the distinction between the bourgeoisie as a class and the stratum of the intelligentsia. But it only made this distinction clear by engaging the largest contingents of the intellectuals, in capitalist exploitation, while the essential differences and the antagonistic contradiction between mental work and direct productive work remained one of those features that have characterised all the social orders with antagonistic classes. It

ERREVOLUTIONARY ICES

intellectualist too, although intellectualism order

is precisely on this basis that during the ages, the slaveowners, feudals, bourgeois and the intellectuals who emerged from these classes or at their service, have worked out and spread intellectualist concepts and practices striving to convince the working masses that these classes and that intelligentsia which serves them, have the right and the duty to manage, make laws, plans and projects, to command, whereas the working masses have only to execute, to produce, to fight, submitting to oppression and exploitation in the interests of these classes.

Second, intellectualist concepts and practices arose and have been nurtured also by the nature, kind, and conditions of the work of the intelligentsia. The intellectual has been and is mainly engaged in mental, managerial, organising work.

Proceeding from the nature, kind, and conditions of the work of the intellectual, comrade Enver Hoxha has provided in thesis form a series of conclusions. He points out that abstraction, the separation of mental work from manual work, means that the intellectual is not in contact with things, but with their symbols. This brings idealist illusions. His being between classes makes him think that he is not impelled by any class interest and that everything is determined by his judgements and knowledge alone. He thinks that he stands above classes and

represents a morality independent of the economic forces and class antagonisms. This thought, divorced from manual work, from life, makes him think of himself as the supreme force of order in the world. This takes the intellectual out of the sphere of reality and makes him think that all contradictions should be solved not through violence, but through intellectual conciliation, through peaceful evolution. These views predispose him to opportunism. The intellectual does not fight with his physical strength, but with arguments. His means of production are his personal knowledge, his personal convictions, and he cannot create a position except with his personal qualities. Therefore, he thinks that he can attain his aim only by expressing his individuality. He will not recognise discipline for himself, but for the masses. He places himself in the «élite», above the common man. Lenin says that the stratum of intellectuals is characterised by individualism, by the inability to be organised and by instability (Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 15, p. 282-284).

Third, the intellectualist concepts and practices have their basis also in the size of incomes and in the way of life of the intelligentsia. Dealing with complicated and qualified mental work, carrying out managerial, organisational, and creative work in every field of life, and having a higher educational, cultural, and

technico-professional level than the broad working masses, it has ensured and ensures larger incomes, and relatively higher living standards than they do. Speaking of the intellectual in the conditions of capitalist society, comrade Enver Hoxha has said that «the intellectual is not in opposition to the proletariat. He is not a capitalist. He has no means of work like the middle bourgeois or the artisan. He is compelled to sell the product of his work; thus, capitalist exploitation dominates him, too. But as far as his living conditions are concerned, he is closer to the bourgeoisie than to the proletariat» (Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 15, p. 283).

In the capitalist and revisionist countries the bourgeoisie has created whole systems of salaries and rewards and such living conditions that various categories of the intelligentsia lead a life different from that of the broad working masses, increasingly separate themselves from the workers and place themselves at the service of the bourgeoisie in order to oppress and exploit the working masses economically, politically, and ideologically. «In order to make the intelligentsia a support for their traitorous policy», pointed out the 6th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA in 1968, «the revisionists created all sorts of privileges for it and cultivated in it the desire for wealth and titles, glory and personal comfort, an

easy and dissolute life, and comfortable riches and positions. All these things made the bureaucratized and degenerated intelligentsia the élite of the «proletarian regime», destined to lead and direct the working class and working masses, which must only work and produce, whereas the élite makes the law, the policy, decides everything» (Report of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA «On deepening the socialist revolution through deepening the class struggle and carrying out the mass line», p. 29).

Depending on its level of incomes, conditions and way of life, there arise and take shape in the intelligentsia some specific features of its consciousness, world outlook and psychology, different from those of the working class and the peasantry, the broad working masses.

Intellectualist concepts and practices appear in socialist society, too

In the conditions of socialist construction too, there are internal and external, objective and subjective factors operating for the preservation and manifestation of such concepts, which must be recognised, for only on this basis can a correct assessment of the manifestations and danger of intellectualism be made and the struggle organised with the most appropriate means and methods in the concrete terrain, as is being done in our country, to destroy intellectualism in the flames of the class struggle, particularly of the struggle against bureaucratism and technocratism, which is being waged now in the light of the decisions of the plenums of the CC of the PLA of the years 1973-1975.

Of course, here it must be made clear that intellectualism has nothing in common with the nature of the socialist order, with the class nature of the people's intelligentsia, with the role it has been charged to play, or with the Marxist-Leninist ideology with which it is nurtured, etc.

Our Party and our people's state power, proceeding from the fact that socialism cannot be built and carried onward without its own intelligentsia, have worked and continue to work for the creation of

new cadres and for the education and tempering of them and the old cadres with lofty socialist ideals and consciousness. And it is a fact that our intelligentsia, created during the years of the people's state power, is mainly comprised of sons and daughters of workers and peasants, thus of a class composition which constitutes the primary condition for it to remain loyal to and faithfully serve the cause of the working class and the broad working masses, the cause of socialism and communism. This factor, as well as its education with the teachings of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, its education on the anvil of revolutionary practice and the class struggle, are basic factors which mean that everything links our intelligentsia with the revolution, socialism and communism, while everything divides it from bourgeois and revisionist ideology.

But, studying the negative experience of what happened in the countries where the revisionists came to power, the Party has clearly explained that, even when it is of workers and peasant origin, the intelligentsia can degenerate, and establish with the working class and the peasantry such relations as between the exploiters and the exploited, if it is placed in privileged positions and if work is not carried out for its continuous education and revolutionisation. Therefore the Party has taken measures for the Marxist-Leninist education of the intelligentsia in close connection with practice, has established work directly in production and circulation for all categories of the intelligentsia, has narrowed and continues to narrow the differences between the incomes of the intelligentsia and those of the workers and peasants, has established the control of the workers and masses over all the managerial and creative activity of the intelligentsia, and a whole system of forms and methods of work for rendering account, so that it is put completely at the service of the working class and working masses.

But in no way should attention be diverted from the dangers of intellectualism, with all its negative consequences, which threaten our people's intelligentsia, too. This for several reasons.

First, because even in our country, despite the triumph of the people's revolution and the construction of the economic basis of socialism, which liquidated the antagonistic classes and private ownership over the means of production that nurtured the antagonistic character of the centuries-old contradiction between work directly in production and mental work, there still exist essential differences between the former and the latter. Not all the working people, workers, peasants, and intellectuals, occupy the same place in social production, in its organisation and management, as well as in the realisation of the incomes.

Because of the level of development of the productive forces and the maturity of the relations of production in our country, work is divided into work directly in production, in which mainly the workers and peasants are engaged, spending their energies mostly on the production of material goods, and mental work, in which mainly the intellectuals are engaged, spending their energies mostly on the organisation and management of production, in education, the health service science, etc.

Thus, as a result of the essential differences existing between the work directly in production, in which the workers and peasants are mainly engaged, and mental work, in which the intellectuals are mainly engaged, as a result of the differences existing between the managerial and non-managerial, qualified and less qualified work, between the heavier and lighter work, with greater or smaller incomes, all these mean that the stratum of the intelligentsia is preserved, and, if they are not combatted, some concepts and attitudes alien to the Marxist-Leninist ideology, including intellectualist, technocratic, and other concepts and attitudes, will be developed.

Second, manifestations of intellectualism are kept alive also by all the vestiges of the old ideology, inherited from the past, among them the concepts formed about the intelligentsia as a special «élite» of officials, qualified professionals and commanders who stand apart from the masses and above them.

Among the peoples of Europe, our people inherited the greatest backwardness from the past. They did not have the possibility to ease their hunger, suffering, and poverty, let alone satisfy their thirst for education, culture and knowledge. People with schooling could be counted on one's fingers. Among the mass of illiterates they were special people. This position of theirs, as well as the intellectualist concepts formed in the old intellectuals, but to a certain extent also in the young ones trained by the people's state power in various schools at home and abroad, in the conditions in which our school could not immediately and completely avoid the shortcomings of the old school, has contributed to preserving such concepts and practices.

Third, manifestations of intellectualism are kept alive and nurtured also as a result of the external pressure of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology. The bourgeois and revisionist ideologists are striving to prove, among other things, that at the present time, in the conditions of the vigorous development of the technical and scientific revolution when the intelligentsia, particularly the technical and scientific intelligentsia, is undergoing quantitative growth and playing an important role in the development of production, the Marxist-Leninist ideas about the decisive role of the working class in social development are allegedly no longer tenable, that allegedly it is the intelligentsia that has now come to the forefront, that it is the principal motive force of development, and that it must manage the State, production, society. At the same time, the old and new bourgeoisie in the capitalist and revisionist countries has created, for special categories of the intelligentsia, conditions of work, study, comfort, recreation, etc., which make these categories of intellectuals far removed from the workers and peasants, whom they regard with the eye of the bourgeois, as a purely productive labour force under their command.

All these things, which are dished up to our intellectual too, through an entire communications network, by means of the radio, television, books, through contacts with the outside world, constitute a power-

ful external pressure which nurtures intellectualism if we do not remain vigilant, especially to cut off this source and the strength of its influence.

We must understand the danger of intellectualist concepts and practices politically and ideologically, and fight concretely against manifestations of them

A general characteristic of our socialist society is the fact that it has fought continuously over years and decades to shake off and liberate itself from the burden of the old ideology, from every alien concept, practice and manifestation, to form and implant the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, as a condition for continuous advance with multiplied forces, for the construction and defence of socialism.

But this does not make us forget that in day to day life, in various people, alien concepts and practices still appear. As Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries, we look reality in the eye with objectivity, we see the positive and negative, the good and the bad. From the former we are inspired to fight with all our might against the latter, which hinder us, infect us, make us unable to be revolutionaries. This is how the Party teaches us to fight against bureaucratism, technocratism, intellectualism, etc. which have almost no demarcation line between them, attacking them frontally and separately, in the first place politically and ideologically, but also organisationally, in their essence, but also in their concrete manifestations.

Intellectualist concepts exist in cadres, in communists, and various working people, and appear in their practical activity in the political, ideological, economic, military, educational, cultural fields with the most varied intensities and forms, therefore they must be burned out with the fire of the class struggle.

First, in the struggle against intellectualism special importance is assumed by that group of questions which have to do with the thorough-going understanding in theory and the correct undeviating

implementation in practice of the Marxist-Leninist principle that the decisive role in the development of society belongs to the working class and the other working masses, while the intelligentsia has the auxiliary role, in the service of the working class, and the masses.

The unerring science of Marxism-Leninism and the practice of our country have incontestably proved that the working class, is the most advanced class of society, which, directly and through its Marxist-Leninist party, realises the vanguard and leading role in society.

Of course, in order to realise its historic mission, the working class has to strengthen its organised vanguard leading detachment, its party, politically and organisationally, defend it from bureaucratism, technocratism, and other alien manifestations which carry the danger of its degeneration from a Marxist-Leninist party into a bourgeois party, as occurred in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries.

Looking at the matter from this angle, the consolidation of the ranks of the Party and its leading organs with workers and in general with people of production, constitutes the primary conditions which, together with the assimilation of the ideology and the application of the Marxist-Leninist principles and norms, makes it impregnable to any danger. Our Party has consistently upheld this principle, therefore the overwhelming majority of those admitted to its ranks are made up of workers and peasants who work directly in production and who fulfil the conditions to become communists. That is why the class composition of the party and its leading forums, into which mainly workers, but also peasants, vanguard communists, are really flooding is improving with every passing year.

But it cannot be said that this process takes place smoothly, without struggle against alien concepts and attitudes, including intellectualist ones, which put up the most diverse barricades against the workers, particularly against electing them to the leading forums of the party, and the mass organisations or against appointing them to managerial work of the state and economic organs. This happens be-

cause, the intellectualist view of things causes the intellectual, mistakenly, to feel himself «superior». In fact, he may know how to talk more, for example, about the Party constitution, but not because he grasps this fundamental document better than the worker and peasant; he may know how to speak more beautifully about discipline, while in fact he needs to learn a great deal and temper himself with proletarian discipline, always remaining a pupil of the workers and peasants on this question; he may deliver whole reports about the spirit of sacrifice, collectivism, the sense of responsibility, organisation, modesty, courage, defence of the line of the party, etc., but in practice we find these characteristics embodied in the workers and peasants.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out that «We must fight any intellectualist or bureaucratic view on this important problem. We must not have our minds filled with the idea that the people who come to leadership must be able to speak like orators, write like authors, and also have all the knowledge of the most learned professors. Life proves that when the worker takes the lathe in hand he becomes a turner. And likewise, by bringing him to leadership, he will learn how to lead well and become a leader. The «worry» of some people that by bringing workers into the leadership it may be weakened and the work harmed, stems from a mentality which is not of the working class, from intellectualist arrogance which under-rates the great managerial, organisational, and leading capacities of the working class.

While underlining the principal and decisive role of the working class in the socialist order, comrade Enver Hoxha has also defined the place belonging to and the role played by the intelligentsia and the cadres in general, stressing that «the Party trains the cadres, whether of high or middle level schooling, ideologically and politically first of all, so that they will understand that they are the direct and indirect assistants of the working class and not its leaders. This question, which is of great principled importance, must be thoroughly understood by every-

body, and first of all by the communists, because... if the communists do not adopt a decisive stand on this question, the situation may become very dangerous, as is happening in the revisionist countries» (Enver Hoxha, Reports and speeches 1969-1970, p. 310, Albanian edition).

The Party has constantly struggled to have these teachings thoroughly grasped from the theoretical viewpoint and carried out in practice, so that the working class more and more completely takes its proper place in all the organs and organisms of the party, the State, the economy, etc., from top to bottom. In this way, under the leadership of the Party, it effectively manages the State, the policy, the economy, culture, the army, the entire life of the country, having the cadres as its auxiliary and under its control. In this way it carried its revolutionary spirit, its practical spirit, its steel-like discipline and strict control everywhere, and bars the way to bureaucratism, intellectualism, technocratism, etc., which, if they are not combatted just as we are combatting them today, threaten to weaken and distort the character of our Party and State.

But parallel with this, a very great deal of explanatory, persuasive, educative, and organisational work remains to be done by the party organisations to combat many many intellectualist concepts which begin to be elaborated, and we find them appearing, first in the family and then also at school, in society, indeed, even within the party. From these concepts stems that lullaby sung to a boy from the time he is born that he will become an engineer, a leader, a commander, and not a rank-and-file worker, a fighter, or a skilled tradesman. These concepts lead many families to wage a great struggle so that the child gains a diploma at all costs and becomes an intellectual, so that he does not go to any school or faculty, but only to those that will lead him to the most preferred jobs, and in the city, too.

The Party has waged a great struggle, which has become more and more intense in these recent years, to break the concepts and practices of the old school, so that our revolutionised school will

train a revolutionary and pure younger generation, willing to serve the working class and the other working masses loyally, as revolutionary intellectuals, workers, and soldiers. However, it would be dangerous to relax, thinking that now all the problems have been overcome. Wherever the struggle ceases, there the worm of intellectualism begins to gnaw away. And it erodes the new, which has been formed with so much struggle in the consciousness of the teacher, the pupil and student, bringing out again the old concepts about the school, about its function, and mainly about what it teaches and should teach. In this sense it is important that any incorrect attitude towards study, productive labour, or physical and military training among certain pupils, students, and their educators, as well as other alien manifestations, should be dealt with and fought as manifestations of intellectualism in one form or another which makes one look down on the workers and peasants from some remote height, far from the position of a revolutionary.

The attitude of respect towards the working class and the broad working masses is not a formal and false attitude which obliges you to take your hands out of your pockets and salute when you stand before them, nor patriarchal, so that you must humble yourself and bow. It is a revolutionary respect and attitude, which is expressed by loving them and their work, by taking part in work together with them, militating with them and for them, thus recognizing in practice as well as in theory, the leading role of the working class, the decisive role of the masses and the auxiliary role of the cadres in socialist construction.

Placing the intelligentsia and the cadres in general in the role of the auxiliary of the working class and the other working masses helps them to liberate themselves from such characteristic symptoms of intellectualism, as conceit, the spirit of commandism, arrogance, domineering, etc., which are preserved and expressed mostly by some of those intellectuals and cadres who are further removed from production and the daily struggle and efforts of the working masses.

Of course, plans, reports, programmes of work, etc., pass through the hands of the cadres. On their judgement, decisions, and instructions, depend certain solutions. But this responsibility, with which the cadres are charged on the basis of democratic centralism, does not give any of them the right to establish bureaucratic centralism, to give and cancel orders and instructions as he pleases, to impose his will on the workers and peasants, his collaborators, and society, indeed even on the communists in the party, outside the line of the masses, outside the principles and norms of the party and the laws of the State. He who conceives his position, rights and competences and the power to give orders as belonging to him, and who becomes conceited, arrogant, and domineering to arouse fear, servility, conformism and other vices in his subordinates and the working masses, shows that he is suffering from dangerous ills. It is the duty of the masses to make the diagnosis to cure him, or even crush him when he turns into a boss.

No cadre or intellectual whatever, irrespective of the State or Party functions he performs, of his position, educational level, or the need society has for his work and profession, has the right to show himself conceited, disdainful, domineering or arrogant, towards the broad working masses. He who puts himself in such a position ceases to be a people's intellectual and servant of the people. The Party and the broad working masses love, value, and surround with respect, the intelligentsia and the cadres they themselves have trained. That is why they work patiently to correct those who are infected by intellectualism or bureaucratism and who display such symptoms, while with someone who has no desire to be corrected, when the cup is full, when he deliberately does serious damage by such attitudes, he is handed over without pettybourgeois sentimentalism, to the dictatorship of the proletariat so that its laws will deal with him.

Second, in the fight against intellectualism that group of questions which has to do with the **correct evaluation of work directly in production**, which con-

stitutes the basis of the material and spiritual life of society, assumes special importance.

There are many economic, material, physical, social, and psychological factors, as well as the vestiges of the concepts which the oppressive and exploiting classes have elaborated over the centuries and which we inherit from the past, that influence many people, even in socialism, to avoid work directly in production. Many of these factors have changed or are changing along with the economic and cultural development and the rise in the level of consciousness of the working masses. On the basis of these changes, there is also a continuous evolution in a positive direction of the attitude towards work in general, and towards work directly in production in particular. Our Party has worked and is working everyday with all its means for this by combatting any alien concept and attitude, as well as by constantly narrowing the sphere of operation of «bourgeois right» which continues to exist for a long time even after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. But this does not mean that the struggle in these directions has come to an end.

There are instructions, decisions, and initiatives, that the cadres must work directly in production. And the majority of them do this very conscientiously, together with the workers and peasants, working and living as they do and learning from them. But there are also cadres who try to avoid work directly in production, indeed with some of them, even when they do this work they do not put themselves completely in the position of the worker, the peasant, or the soldier.

The complete construction of socialist and communist society which our people have undertaken under the leadership of the Party, demands that everyone put all his physical and mental energies at its service. In this process of work, study, and protracted struggle, the narrowing and elimination of the essential differences between manual and mental work will be achieved. The Party has worked and continues to work for this aim. Every worker, peasant, and intellectual must fight for this too, on the Marxist-Leninist

road indicated by the Party; First, by increasing from one year to another and from one five year plan to the other, the level of electrification, mechanisation, automation, use of chemical means etc., in production; second, by the workers and peasants continually raising their technico-professional, educational and cultural level through practice and uninterrupted study, schools, and various study courses; third, by training the children and youth for work, in various occupations and with the habits of productive work from the time they are at school, as well as by the school pupils and students, the intelligentsia, and the cadres and administration workers in general, carrying out work directly in production; fourth, by everybody raising his or her ideological level and communist consciousness through Marxist-Leninist education and revolutionary tempering.

Basing itself firmly on the Marxist-Leninist theory, drawing lessons from the summing up of the experience of our socialist construction and conclusions from the analysis of that retrogressive process which took place in the countries where the revisionists came to power, our Party has fought and continues to fight for the narrowing of differences in the rewards for work between the workers and peasants on the one hand, and the cadres, intellectuals, and the salary earners in general, on the other hand.

Comrade Enver Hoxha says: «The Party fights and will always fight for the continuous improvement of the life of the people, but **for everybody**, while being guided by the correct principle of avoiding both equalisation of wages and privileges for anyone. Every wage must be in conformity with the quantity and quality of the work each person does, and the margins of pay differentials among the working people must be **constantly reduced**». And he continues further: «Lenin says that private property engenders capitalism every day...», and also that «fat salaries» arouse the desire to create greater profits, by hook or by crook, create the desire to live, to eat, to be better dressed and become bourgeois, while camouflaging oneself with

communist slogans, and with the Party membership card in one's pocket».

Third, while appreciation of the work directly in production, and of the men and women of this work, as the main and decisive factor for the transformation of nature, of man himself and society, constitutes the most essential moment, **in the struggle against intellectualism, there are some questions which have to do with nature, character, and specific conditions of intellectual work**, which have existed and will exist objectively for a long time, which merit attention. In this direction a great deal depends on the subjective factor, and in the first place, on from what angle the man of intellectual work sees them and from what aims he sets out in their use: as a revolutionary or as a bourgeois intellectual.

It is known, for example, that the turner works with the lathe and turns out a finished detail or carries out those operations assigned to him. The peasant, on his part, tills the land, sows the wheat, cares for it until he reaps it, threshes it, and puts it in the granary. Thus, both the worker and the peasant, with their physical and mental energies, with those work means and objects allocated to them by society, produce material goods needed by society. And these are the fruit of their toil, sweat, talent and of the previous and contemporary experience. But the intellectual? He, too, works, studies, elaborates and sums up, expends energy, but he has to study, elaborate, and sum up, rather the work and experience of others, which is much broader and richer than that which he gains in practice. In these conditions, that which with the worker and peasant is his own, is not so much his own with the intellectual who operates to a large extent, on the work, experience, and deeds of others. But precisely work of this nature in other people's gardens as we might say, gives rise, with those intellectuals who are infected by intellectualism, to the idea of exploiting the work of others. Is it not these concepts and inclinations that make some cadres take over and present as their own the rationalisation or invention by a worker? Has it not happened that some cadre or specialist has presented

as his own work that which he has taken somewhere from books or from the experience of others? In copying and imitating the bourgeois-revisionist art and literature, the revisionists, deviators and traitors, Fadil Paçrami and Todi Lubonja, as the bourgeois intellectuals that they were, sought to present them to us as «socialist», as «innovatory». Of course, in order to realise their counterrevolutionary aims, they, and some others like them, were acting consciously and with definite, hostile aims so as to give the bourgeois-revisionist poetry, drama, novel, text, project and rules such a note, quotation, colour as would pass for «socialist». But one can fall on such positions even unconsciously if one is moulded with intellectualist concepts which make one thirst after glory, titles, and degrees.

This thirst, created by the society and the school in the bourgeois revisionist countries, has made the trend of the intellectuals and cadres in those countries, to do anything for the attainment of their selfish aims irrepressible. They copy, translate, steal from one another, manipulate all sorts of substitutes, and in this parasitic and dishonest way they seek to raise their personal fame and wellbeing. But this is a kind of lure and urge even for the intellectual and cadre in our country. If he yields to this pressure and forgets, even for a single moment, the teachings of the Party and the mission entrusted to him by the people, he is in danger of falling into such a morass.

There is no field of life without decisions, writings, studies and generalisations by our Party and State. In them is a synthesis, on a Marxist-Leninist basis, of the experience of the building of socialism and the prospect of the future. By going deeply to them, every intellectual and cadre will find everything he needs, to open to him the horizon for his creative, scientific, teaching, literary, artistic and leading work, and he will proceed with a clear mind and a firm revolutionary step along his road in search of the new.

It has become clear, for example, that the melody of the song copied from some-

where abroad, however carefully and masterfully it may be done, will resemble the melodies of the bourgeois and revisionist composers, for that is where it has its source, but this is never the case with melodies from our great people's source. The book, the text, the project copied from the bourgeois and revisionist schools and scientists may seem just as scientific, profound, methodic, pedagogical, but even though it is dressed up with quotations from the classics of Marxism-Leninism, it will remain bourgeois and revisionist in its content. The methods of organisation, management and work, if copied from bourgeois and revisionist countries, however they may be presented, remain levers of the bourgeoisie to overturn the victories attained in our country, one by one.

This is why if any cadre and intellectual has to copy in any deed and work of his, let him «copy» assimilate, and guide himself in his practical activity from the teachings of the people and of our Marxist-Leninist Party, for in this way he will learn himself, and will help others to learn, too. On this ground, and profiting from the progressive world experience, he will raise the level of science, art, literature, etc., and he will elevate and affirm himself, too.

The methods of work of the intellectual, which is often individual, must not cultivate in him concern for his own work alone, and indifference towards the work of others. Such indifference, mixed with individualism, makes the intellectual infected by this malady as savage in defending his own interests as he is cold and indifferent towards the interests of society in general. This is the reason why the Party continually combats these manifestations of intellectualism, so that no intellectual whatever will remain indifferent in any direction. This is why, when he is thinking out his design or scheme, every intellectual must consult the masses, over every part of his work, must work and live with the masses, so that his work will become as social as possible and be the sum of the thoughts, observations, and experience of the masses. Not only do «secret» and closed work not always lead to the desired results,

but they nurture the creation of alien concepts and attitudes, in opposition to the norms of the communist morality. There, in the bosom of the workers and peasants, the intellectual transforms his concepts, tempers his consciousness and will, so that he will not consider it something extraordinary, for example to stand eight hours on his feet like the steel smelter or the lathe operator, when these workers do it everyday; not consider it a sacrifice to follow the cooperativist with his pick and hoe in the mid summer heat, when the latter does this all his life; not consider it heroic to go up on the crane or to the upper floors of a building under construction, when the building worker, in the course of his job, has grown up there; not consider it something extraordinary when he climbs high up the mountain where the border guard or the shepherd stands, while the latter climb and stay there continually and consider this quite normal.

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The struggle for the eradication of intellectualist concepts and attitudes, like the struggle against other alien manifestations, is a protracted class struggle and by no means easy. Generally, it is a class struggle in the ranks of the people and of vital importance for the cause of socialism. And it cannot be separated from the struggle against bureaucratism and technocratism. Therefore, as the Party instructs, this struggle must be waged continuously and on a broad front, engaging in it the intellectuals themselves, the cadres, the broad working masses, and putting in the leadership of it, as in everything else, the Party organisations.

But the struggle against intellectualism must not be conceived and treated as a struggle against intellectual work and the intellectuals themselves. Without culture, without science, without technology, there can be no development or progress. The Party draws attention to the fact that whoever, in the name of the struggle against intellectualism, looks askance at or attacks our revolutionary intellectual, the comrade-in-arms of the worker and peasants, is opposed to and seriously harms the line of the Party.



*Innovator's day was celebrated throughout Albania on September 11. On this occasion, broad meetings were held in work and production centres, at which the workers drew the balance-sheet of their creative work. The innovator's movement in Albania has assumed a great impetus. Now in every enterprise pledges have been taken to produce the maximum possible number of new articles. In the photo:
Production of rain irrigation pumps by the workers of the engineering plant in Korça.*

**Folklore has been an expression
of the independent being of the Albanian people
and at the same time
a powerful instrument for the
affirmation and consolidation of this
being, of the originality
and individuality of its national life**

THE PLACE OF FOLKLORE AND ITS ROLE IN SOCIALIST ARTISTIC CULTURE

by ALFRED UÇI

THE PROBLEM OF THE PLACE OF FOLKLORE, OF THE IMPORTANCE OF ITS AESTHETIC EXPERIENCE AND ITS FUTURE IS ONE OF THE IMPORTANT THEORETICAL PROBLEMS TO WHICH GREAT ATTENTION IS PAID IN THE AESTHETIC STUDIES OF OUR COUNTRY. THE CORRECT SCIENTIFIC UNDERSTANDING OF THIS PROBLEM IS ENLIGHTENED BY THE AESTHETIC IDEAS OF MARXISM-LENINISM, BY THE LIFE-GIVING TEACHINGS OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA, BY THE IDEAS OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA.

The problem of the place of folklore in the artistic culture of our people assumes special importance today because of the rapid progress of our society on the road of socialist construction and the allround flowering of our literature and arts of socialist realism. On the other hand, in the present conditions it is a very urgent problem to further strengthen the socialist, popular and national character of the new socialist, artistic culture of our people, to oppose and liquidate any influence of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, of the ideological pres-

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sure of imperialism and social imperialism, to combat the decadent cosmopolitan bourgeois and revisionist art. «The imperialist bourgeoisie», comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «has always striven to denigrate or to eliminate the cultural traditions of small peoples, the national spirit of their art and culture. This is one of the ways it realises its cultural aggression and the subjugation of the peoples. The reactionary bourgeois concept of the «internationalisation» of culture and art, and the idea that «the stage of national schools has now passed» are aimed at eliminating the cultures of other peoples. In these conditions, the struggle

to preserve the national features of art, the cultural wealth of the people, becomes still more imperative for us».

* * *

Interest in folklore is an ancient tradition in the history of the development of our national culture. It is several centuries since the collection and publication of the first materials of oral literature began. The aims and motives that have impelled our specialists and artists to engage in popular artistic creativity have not been always the same. Nevertheless, the interest in folklore, as a permanent tendency in our culture of recent centuries, has been part of the concern for the creation and development of a cultivated national literature and art. For thousands of years folklore was the only national tradition in the field of art. Therefore in the conditions when our

country lacked a developed internal tradition of cultivated art, folklore constituted a starting point and a base for the birth and development of a cultivated national art, putting its ready-made forms at the disposal of this art and presenting it with its rich experience in assimilating the reality in aesthetic form. However, the possibilities for folklore to influence our professional art have not been exhausted and for this reason it will continue to attract the attention of artists and specialists not only now, but in the distant future, too. **«In the people»**, comrade Enver Hoxha has said, addressing himself to the artists and writers of our country, **«they must find the inspiration for their creative work, the melody of the song, the rhythms of the dance, the purity of language, the vigour of work, the example of heroism and sacrifice, the lofty virtues of the people's modesty and justice»**.

The concern for folklore has also been part of the concern for the national cause, for the independence of the country. Folklore has been an expression of the independent being of the Albanian nation, and at the same time, a powerful instrument for the affirmation and consolidation of this being, of the originality and individuality of our national life. Folklore has served in our country for centuries on end as the sole information system which preserved, accumulated, elaborated and transmitted the experience of the life of our national community, which cemented this experience and made communication within this community possible.

Folklore, with all its communicative means, has played a great role in consolidating our national community, not only as a principal means of communication (the Albanian written language and its printing was used to a very limited extent till the beginning of the XX century), but also as the creativity mainly of the broad working masses, i.e. of the fundamental social force of the nation. This factor continued to act in the XX century too, as long as the question of national liberation had not been solved (Albania was proclaimed an independent state in 1912, but it lost its independence as a result of the aggression by fascist

Italy and Germany during the second world war) and as long as other modern systems of social communication did not have any great development because of the marked backwardness of the country within the framework of the exploiting order. However, even after the second world war, when Albania was liberated from foreign invaders and set out on the road of the construction of a socialist society, folklore was important in the context of the struggle of our people, led by the Party of Labour of Albania, for the strengthening and preservation of our national independence, for the development of our nation, now as a socialist nation. **«Through many storms of the times, fierce and endless battles»**, comrade Enver Hoxha has said, **«our people created a culture and art with clear national features, which constitute a priceless treasure. These values of the progressive art of our nation are a source of legitimate pride for us, our contribution to the treasury of progressive world culture. Since our people have preserved and further developed this culture, through the centuries, it is incumbent on us, the generations of socialist society, to fight with the passion of a communist militant to keep it pure and develop it further»**.

The construction of socialism in our country marked a profound revolutionary overturn in all the fields of social life, marked rapid and allround progress of the material and spiritual culture of our people, and created new conditions for the existence of folklore and its role in our artistic culture. These new conditions have to do, first, with the fact that socialism eliminated ignorance and misery which the exploiting order imposed on the working masses. It spread education and culture among them, developed a cultivated and rich art and literature with a high ideological and artistic level, within the reach of the people and understandable to them, and transformed the artistic values of professional art into the property of the people.

Second, socialism spread among the broad working masses new aesthetic ideas, the noblest and most progressive ideals of communism, and made possible the cultivation of sound and progressive aesthe-

tic tastes in town and countryside. The aesthetic and spiritual requirements of our people have increased and become richer: they are fulfilled not only by means of folklore, but also by means of cultivated socialist art and amateur artistic creativity.

Third, along with the deepening of the cultural and technico-scientific revolution in our country extensive use is being made of the modern systems of means of information which have a communicative potential much more powerful than that of folklore. This is clearly shown by the extension of the network of educational and cultural-artistic institutions, the increase of printed publications, the use of radio, television, tape recordings, and many other modern means of information.

All these new circumstances make the problem of the future of folklore, the place it will occupy in the artistic culture of socialist society and the role it will play in the spiritual life of the people, more urgent.

In past centuries folklore existed in those closed social environments which created it, and its aesthetic values were perpetuated only at the moment of their creation or performance. Now the modern means of information have made possible the separation in space and time of the act of the perpetuation of the folklore values from the act of their creation and performance. A direct consequence of this separation is the **«second life»**, which folklore begins to enjoy, a life which is manifested in the extension of the **«territories»**, in which folklore is performed and perpetuated, in its extension to non-traditional social environments, in which the aesthetic values of folklore begin to catch on and circulate. Here we are speaking of the social environments of our cities, of the workers, employees, students, and intellectuals who, in the conditions of present day life, have demands for folkloristic art and who fulfill a part of their artistic demands with folklore values. The radio, films, television, the tape record, are taking the regional song, dance, and music to the environments of the entire nation, to every corner of the homeland. Printed

publications make available to the present day citizens and future generations the oral folklore, that legend which is narrated round the hearth in some village home, or that song which is sung today at some banquet. Moreover the use of modern means of information today does not just take the values of professional art to the environments (mainly of the countryside) which have traditionally consumed folklore values, because at the same time, it also stimulates the process of the «exchange» and «mixing» of the regional, local, zonal elements of folklore, between which there has been no communication in the past.

Another characteristic and very interesting manifestation of this «second life» of folklore in the context of the use of the new mass media, is the **modification of the functions** of folklore. By being separated from its traditional social environment and penetrating into other social environments, the practical-utilitarian function of folklore gradually begins to become atrophied, while its aesthetico-artistic function becomes increasingly activated. In their «second life» the folklore values circulate mainly as **monofunctional artistic values**. There were many wedding songs which were connected with religious rites and ceremonies. They are still sung, even today, but they have now lost their religious function and are pleasing simply for the beauty of the poetic word, and their melodies and rhythm. In city environments the creations of folklore are perpetuated as artistic values. This process is, in fact, a **critical appropriation of the cultural heritage** by our people equipped with socialist consciousness and ideals.

This new phenomenon is of great importance in understanding the erroneous attitude of some aesthetes or folklorists who highly esteem only the creations and performance of the most archaic, most ancient folklore values, and who underestimate some new features in the people's artistic creativity of the present day, such as the performance by folklore groups of stylized people's songs, the appearance on the stage, radio, and television of rhapsodists or people's instrumentalists, the folklore festivals, etc.

It is true that the simple, natural, archaic song or dance, spontaneously performed and in organic connection with the various kinds of activity and ordinary life of the people, the unstylized and unelaborated people's dance and song, has an inimitable beauty and gives special pleasure. But the stylized dance or songs, when executed with mastery and virtuosity by the folklore groups can give us just as much satisfaction. We say this not only because even in folklore variety of aesthetic values is better than monotony, not only because folklore cannot exist as a tradition except through countless variants that bring about all sorts of changes which time alone can evaluate and select, but also because through the stylisation of folklore creations the people's singer or dancer affirms his new personality, as a member of the socialist community, affirms the new aesthetic ideals, his new world outlook and psychology, reflects the transformations of his way of life. Therefore, both from the purely aesthetics as well as from the social viewpoint, this gives the rhapsodist and the people's dancer the right to appear on the podium and the theatre stages, to compete with his comrades in the local and national folklore festivals. The new process itself of the ever greater activation of folklore in the life of our socialist countryside and town with its purely artistic, aesthetic function gives him this right. In the new conditions of socialism this road of development is quite normal and natural and in conformity with the current of life. The development and evolution assumed by folklore in the present conditions of our country clearly show that the use of the modern mass media gives a marked originality to the life of folklore as well as to the artistic life of the country in general, creating broad possibilities of drawing the people closer to all the values of artistic culture.

It is sometimes argued that the attitude of underrating folklore is justified by the fact that during the building of socialism and communism cultivated art will occupy an ever more extensive place in the artistic culture of society and that the fundamental artistic demands of the people will be fulfilled with this. No doubt

this is a legitimate tendency in the development of our socialist artistic culture. But this does not mean to say that the source of popular art will dry up. The experience of socialist construction in our country shows that along with the development of many branches of professional art, the people's art has not only not been exhausted but is still very much alive and this will continue. We stress this because folklore is not just an expression of the ignorance of the masses under the exploiting orders. The need for it has not arisen simply from the fact that in these orders the working people are pushed aside from cultivated art. It has arisen also from the **need for collective artistic creativity**. In no social order whatever (even less so in the socialist order) have the people adopted simply a passive, consumer's stand towards art. They have been capable of more than just perpetuating it, have not manifested their creative force merely through individual talents that emerge from their ranks and become active in professional art. The people, have felt the need for collective creative activity. Therefore, there is no reason why they should not express their **collective** creative force and talent in the conditions of socialism, too. As long as the form of human life and activity in large popular communities exists, the need for collective creativity in the field of art, in which the psychology and the collective aspirations of the masses are reflected, cannot be eliminated. It should suffice to mention that it is quite unbelievable that in the future the flow of popular sayings, proverbs, and rhymes will cease simply because the philosophical, aesthetic, and educational culture of the people will be broader. It is more correct to believe that in the future collective artistic creativity will occupy an **extensive place**, especially within **amateur art**, to the flowering of which socialism and communism open boundless vistas. Of course the future people's artistic creativity will have many distinctions from the folklore of the exploiting countries; however it will be a creativity through which the people as a **single collective will assimilate the reality in artistic form**.

Various reactionary aesthetic doctrines have done their utmost to discredit the aesthetic values of the people's art, describing the latter as a «degraded imitation of cultivated art by the ignorant mob». It is understandable that disdain for folklore is simply a manifestation of the hatred of the exploiting classes and their ideologists towards the masses of the people and the allround creative potential of the masses. The «theoretical» arguments used by the bearers of the «elitist» concept of art are groundless. They have sought to show that the people's artistic creativity is something quite «anachronistic» for the modern times and an expression of the cultural backwardness of the people. It is true that the artistic values of folklore have been created in very paradoxical conditions. The miserable situation and ignorance, the low cultural and educational standards of the masses in the exploiting orders made it impossible to activate them in cultivated art, and made the use in folklore of those wellknown aesthetic advantages of cultivated art impossible. However, the development of folklore, as a collective creativity of the masses, has nurtured artistic creative strengths in folklore which we do not find in cultivated individual art. The blending and uniting of artistic talents in collective creativity has resulted in a new quality, the collective creative genius of the people, which in many directions has compensated for the impossibility of the elevation of these individual talents to the level of cultivated art. This genius, although suppressed in the exploiting orders, has created immortal artistic values which have competed with the masterpieces of professional art. «In the past», says comrade Enver Hoxha, «our people dipped their crust in brine, but the wooden plate they had, could not have been carved more beautifully. Their fine feeling for the beautiful and high level of aesthetic taste have stood out everywhere in their wonderful rhapsodies, in their fantastic costumes, and their amazing dances».

There are aesthetes who continue to defend the opinion that folklore, in its traditional forms, can only hinder the

innovatory spirit of professional art. Our Party has always opposed those reactionary aesthetic concepts which see nothing positive in the people's art. «In the speculations about «archaism», «folklorism», etc. comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «we have to do with a general attitude of open disdain towards folklore, toward its great artistic and social values, toward its relationship to cultivated art. It is just such attitudes and theorisations that have been one of the causes of deviations from the healthy national foundation and have served as arguments to justify these deviations». The experience of the development of the socialist art of our country shows that the artistic heritage of folklore is a powerful support in coping with and opposing the cosmopolitan spirit of the ideological-cultural aggression of imperialism and revisionism against the national art and literature of small nations. Therefore, in the present conditions in our country, according to comrade Enver Hoxha's instruction a great deal of work is being done for recognition of the aesthetic values of folklore, to sum up its valuable aesthetic experience, and to integrate it into scientific Marxist-Leninist aesthetics.

The aesthetic experience materialised in the most perfect creations of folklore has had and will have positive importance of cultivated art because, by its very nature, folklore has a series of advantages of aesthetic character over professional art. From the viewpoint of the method of artistic generalisation, there prevails in folklore the typological principle which thoroughly permeates the whole history of the development of folklore in all its genres. The trend of the people's poet is towards the general, the essential, the typical; the figures he creates are distinguished by their generalising character. The hero of the people's art is a global hero and the circumstances of the conflict are divested of detail. Folklore narrates a global history of large masses of people. Through the principle of typological generalisation the creations of folklore carry rich aesthetic information which, as to its importance, could be compared with the genetic code. The typological method of artistic generalisa-

tion makes it possible, in every genre of folklore, to pass easily from the personal, the individual, to the social. Even when they are inspired by some concrete event or historical personality, the artistic figures in folklore have so great a depth that within each there is room for an endless series of individual fates, phenomena, events. The ocean of sorrow carried by the dirges has been formed by everyone's tears, the ocean of joy in the wedding songs has been created by everyone's joy.

From the functional viewpoint, as a system of communication, again folklore contains a series of advantages which cultivated art does not have. The circulation of the values of folklore in traditional social environments has been based on its specific mechanism of communication, mainly on the oral transmission of information, which differs greatly from the mechanism of technical system of communication (the fixed written or printed text in cultivated literature or the tape recorded song). In the folklore type of communication the information is not rigorously fixed and this makes it possible for the performer to play an active creative role, in conformity with his talent, world outlook and taste, to change and modify the text, to create his own variant (within cultivated art, which works with a fixed text, such a role could not be played even by the best actor in relation, let us say, to the works of Shakespeare).

In the folklore type of communication the spoken word is used as a system of symbols, which makes possible the circulation of the aesthetic social information even in the conditions in which people do not know how to read and write. This type of communication implies the direct and living contact of the performer with the listener, the audience. In this living contact the performer is in the position to make extensive use of extratextual means such as intonation, melody, gesture, mimicry, etc., which greatly increase the emotional, suggestive force of the spoken word (many of these extratextual means die out and are lost in cultivated literature which works with texts fixed once and for all). During the

living contact the performer is constantly aware of the reaction of the spectator; in order not to break the contact with him he even takes the course of the modification of «his» own variant, adapting it better to the concrete peculiarities of the audience who are active and continually express their attitude towards the information transmitted to them, we might say, patting forward, their «demands». It is precisely these advantages of the folklore type of communication, which explain the why such kinds of art as theatre, circus, artistic recitation, which imply a living contact of the author with the spectator, continue to be preserved in the present day conditions of the extension of modern technical system of communication. This is shown also by the live broadcasts of television performance direct from the concert hall, which partly reduce the negative consequences of the separation in space of the act of performance from the act of perpetuation in the system of television communication.

Syncretism, which is an essential feature of collective artistic creativity, gives folklore other advantages over cultivated art. The artistic values of folklore function generally as a union of elements of various kinds of art which do not have that independence they have in professional art. Within the folklore wedding the poetico-literary element, the choreographic, musical decorative, theatrical-dramatic, and other elements, are merged into a single entity and together develop a colossal emotional force which grips large masses of people, and makes the event unforgettable for a long time. The folklore wedding is a concentration and mobilisation simultaneously of the entire esthetic-emotional potential contained in the independent kinds of art. Syncretism is apparent also in the close connection of the people's artistic creativity with the other kinds of social, political and material activity of the people. Folklore is linked with all aspects of the people's way of life, with all the tributaries which form the main stream of their life. There has never been an art closer to the reality of the life of the working people than folklore. Therefore, the people's artistic creativeness has never suffered

from the trend to aestheticism, has not been aimless aesthetic entertainment. Being closely linked with life, with the people, folklore becomes a direct manifestation of the aesthetic social ideals of the people.

All these and other advantages of folklore testify to the positive role its aesthetic experience can play in cultivated art. Of course, the importance of these advantages must not be absolutised. While adopting a critical attitude towards nihilist concepts, Marxist aesthetics is incompatible also with concepts idealising folklore. **«Sanctification of tradition», comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «is also harmful. It leads to conservatism and divorce from reality.»**

For the influence of the esthetic experience of people's art on cultivated art to be positive, it is essential, first, to take into account all those characteristic features which distinguish folklore, as a special part of artistic culture as against professional art, which constitute its specific features and convince one that, with all its advantages and limitations, folklore cannot replace or compensate for cultivated art, just as it cannot be replaced by cultivated art.

Second, the influence of folklore on cultivated art is positive when it helps to create new aesthetic values in cultivated art, i.e. when it does not cripple the specific features of professional art and the use of its wellknown advantages, when it is adapted to the characteristic features of cultivated art, when it contributes to the allround affirmation of the creative individuality of professional artists who base themselves also on the esthetic experience of folklore. In the opposite case, we find a purely mechanical imitation of folklore models, which is a manifestation of formalism in the field of art. The stylised aesthetic forms and means, symbols, metaphores or comparison of folklore have been used in cultivated art on a number of occasions, but not in every case have they helped to create new artistic values. Within folklore, these stylistic forms and means have been elaborated in conformity with the vital concrete material assimilated in accord with the content. Therefore, the

absolutisation of their aesthetic value, the use of them in place and out of place, the borrowing of their forms in professional art, cannot bring the latter the beauty of folklore, the sharp tone and the rich aesthetic feeling of the people. The folklore forms can play a positive role when they are subjugated to the specific content of the new vital material which professional art absorbs.

The development of our socialist art testifies to the great possibilities which exist to activate the positive esthetic experience of folklore and draw it into cultivated art. This experience has been drawn into our cultivated art, first, by using the stylised forms and means of expression, elaborated in folklore, adapting them to the new vital content of cultivated art. Second, the aesthetic experience of people's art has penetrated into professional art also through the creative elaboration of the artistic folklore themes and materia', through a kind of recreation of them. Third, the aesthetic experience of folklore has been integrated into professional art also without relying directly on concrete folklore means or materials, but by using the general «spirit» of the people's art, relying on its most general artistic principles.

These three ways are not the only ones through which the influence of folklore penetrates into professional art. With these three ways a powerful tradition has long since been created in our cultivated art which we would like to describe as its «folklore arm». The presence of this «arm», makes it possible for folklore to influence the creativity of our writers and artists not only directly, but also indirectly, through the folklore «arm». Of course, our cultivated art does not work only with its folklore «arm». It also has its other «non folklore arm», on which folklore has no influence. Working with these two arms our professional art becomes richer, more variegated and, at the same time, with its two arms it has the possibility to put ever greater masses of people under its «radiation» and more and more fulfills the most diverse and growing artistic requirements of our working people.

Communique on the meeting of the 8th plenum of the CC of the PLA

On October 10, 1975 the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA convened under the chairmanship of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha, and in fulfilment of the task set forth by the 6th Congress of the PLA, discussed the question of drafting the new Constitution of the PRA and adopted the relative decisions.

The Plenum honoured the memory of the member of the CC of the PLA comrade Kahreman Ylli, of the First Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Colombia (M.-L.) comrade Pedro Leon Arboledas who was killed by the forces of the Colombian dictatorial bourgeois regime, as well as of the heroic comrades of the Communist Party of Spain (M.-L.) who were executed by the fascist sanguinary Franco regime.

At the end of the proceedings of the plenum comrade Enver Hoxha delivered an important speech.

THE 8th PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

**FROM
THE LIFE
OF THE
COUNTRY**

Close Ties Between Party and people

Towards the end of August this year the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, comrade Enver Hoxha, visited the Korça and Pogradec districts. During his stay in these districts he visited work and production centres, agricultural cooperatives and various institutions. Comrade Enver Hoxha was welcomed everywhere with great enthusiasm and love. Thousands of people clapped and cheered the beloved leader of the Party and the people. Hundreds of them had the opportunity to meet and talk cordially with him. These warm contacts and talks which comrade Enver Hoxha holds frequently with workers, peasants, cooperativists, young people and Party and State cadres at the basic level, are a part of those powerful and allround links the Party and its leadership maintain with the masses. In these contacts and talks comrade Enver Hoxha gets to know the real life of the people at first hand, listens to the voice of the workers and peasants, exchanges opinions with them on the most important problems which are concerning the Party and the State and gives very valuable instructions which are a source of lasting inspiration not only for those he meets, directly, but for the entire Albanian people.

During his recent visits to Korça and Pogradec as well as at meetings he had

with some cadres from Elbasan, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania congratulated the working people on the successes achieved and laid down concrete tasks to carry these successes further and at the same time to ensure and develop the defence of the homeland through strengthening and steeling the dictatorship of the proletariat. Comrade Enver Hoxha once again stressed the leading role of the working class at all stages of the revolution and the construction of socialism. At the same time he pointed out the great force represented by youth which with its initiatives and mass actions has made a major contribution to the struggle for the building of socialism.

Comrade Enver Hoxha also dealt with the progress that has been made in our socialist countryside, but he particularly stressed the tasks facing the peasantry and the whole people to carry agriculture, even further ahead, to raise the living standard in the countryside to a higher level and bring it ever closer to that of the town.

As reported by the press, comrade Enver Hoxha's instructions gave a new impulse to the revolutionary drive for the successful accomplishment of the fifth five-year plan, in which the entire working people are taking part.

The 26th anniversary of the P.R. of China marked in Albania

The 26th anniversary of the P.R. of China has been celebrated with joy in Albania. On this occasion numerous activities were organized all over the country. On September 29 a solemn meeting was arranged in Tirana, which was addressed by the alternate member of the Central Committee of the PLA and Minister of Communications Luan Babameto, and the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the P.R. of China to the P.R. of Albania Liu Chen Hua.

The meeting organised in the Opera and Ballet Theatre was attended by hundreds of working people from work and

production centres and various institutions of the capital, cooperativists, young men and young women, servicemen, representatives of mass organisations, etc. Present were also the member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC of the PLA Ramiz Alia, the member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA, vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers and president of the Albania-China Friendship Association, Spiro Koleka, the member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and Minister of Industry and Mining Pali Miska, and other personalities. Those present at the meeting frequently interrupted with applause and

acclamation the speeches of the comrades Luan Babameto and Liu Chen Hua.

On September 30 ambassador Liu Chen Hua gave a reception in «Dajti» hotel in which part was taken by the first secretary of the CC of the PLA Enver Hoxha, the president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Haxhi Lleshi, the chairman of the Council of Ministers Mehmet Shehu and other leading personalities. During the reception, which passed in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere, ambassador Liu Chen Hua and the member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and Minister of Industry and Mining, Pali Miska, delivered speeches.

On October 1 the Albanian press published the message of greetings sent by the comrades Enver Hoxha, Haxhi Lleshi and Mehmet Shehu to the comrades Mao Tse-tung, Chu Teh and Chou En-lai on the occasion of the feast, as well as editorial articles devoted to this memorable event.

The 30th anniversary of the D.R. of Vietnam marked in Albania

The Albanian people joyfully celebrated the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. This anniversary found our people this year in the atmosphere of the enthusiasm created by the historic victory of April 30 this year, which opened a new glorious epoch in the history of the Vietnamese people.

In the message sent on this occasion to comrade Ton Duc Thang, President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Le Duan, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Worker's Party of Vietnam, Truong Shin, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly of the D. R. of Vietnam, and Pham Van Dong, Premier of the Government of the D. R. of Vietnam, comrades Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA; Haxhi Lleshi, President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PRA, and Mehmet Shehu, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRA, conveyed to them and the fraternal Vietnamese people their warmest greetings

and those of the Albanian people, as well as their best wishes for further successes in the building and defence of socialism in the D. R. of Vietnam.

A delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the P. R. of Albania, headed by the member of the Central Committee of the Party and Minister of Finance, Lefter Goga, went to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to celebrate the jubilee of the 30th anniversary of the Republic together with the Vietnamese people.

At the same time, broad meetings were arranged with the working people, at which speakers dealt with the importance of this outstanding event for the Vietnamese people and their historic victory of April 30.

A commemorative meeting was organised on this occasion in the capital by the Presidium of the Council of the Democratic Front of the Tirana district and the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations with the Outside World. Taking part in this meeting were the

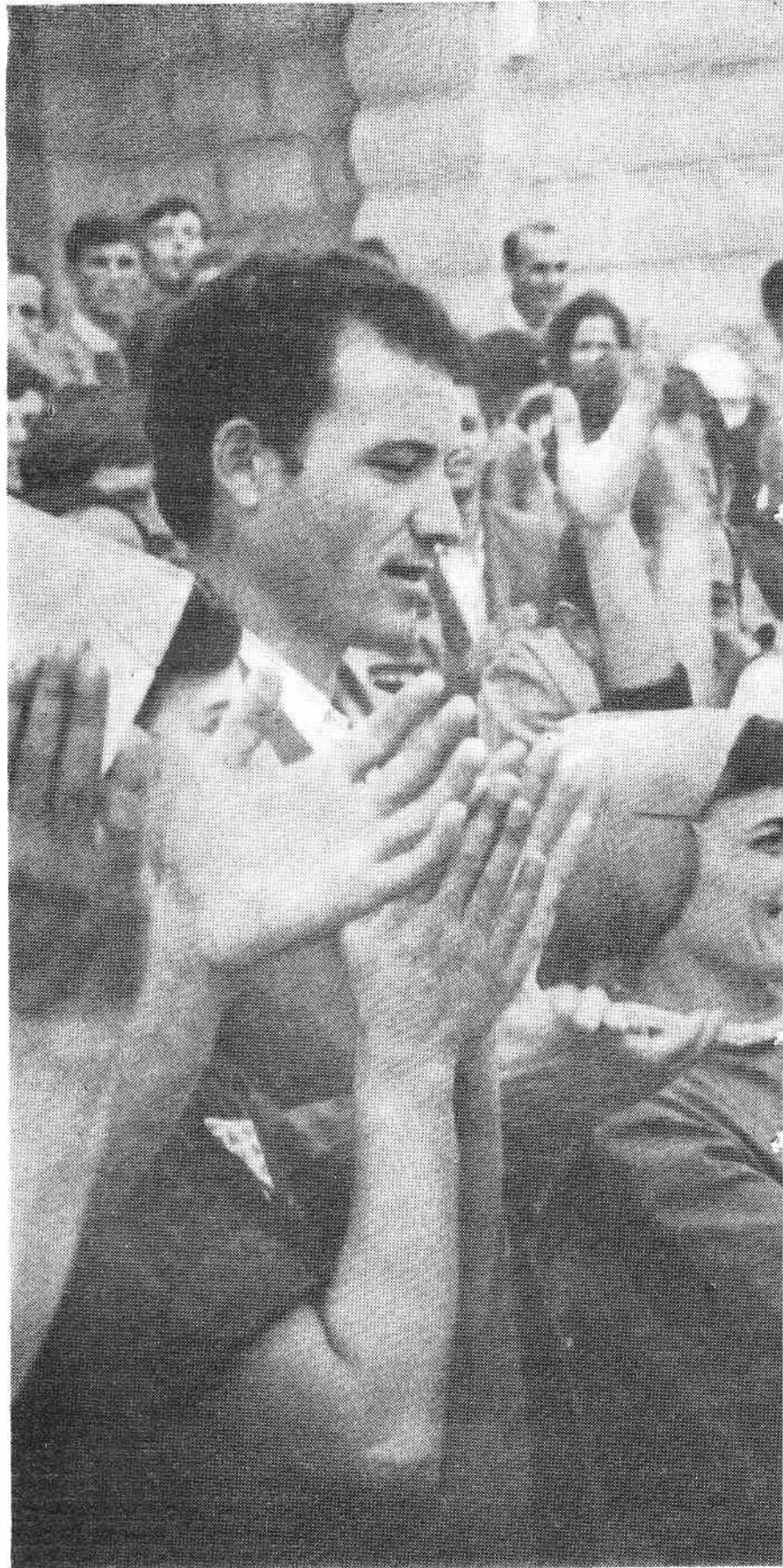
member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania, Rita Marko, other leading personalities, as well as the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the D. R. of Vietnam to the PRA, Nguyen Van Thu, and the Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of the embassy of the Republic of South Vietnam to the PRA, Dang Hai An.

The meeting was addressed by the alternate member of the Central Committee of the PLA and vice President of the General Council of the Albanian Women's Union, Naunka Bozo, as well as by Ambassador Nguwen Van Thu.

A photo exhibition «30 years of glorious victories» opened in Tirana a few days ago. It was organised by the Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations with the Outside World, and was visited with interest by thousands of people.

On September 2, Ambassador Nguwen Van Thu gave a reception in «Dajti», hotel on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Republic. Attending were the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mehmet Shehu, other Party and State leaders and representatives of mass organisations. Speeches were delivered by Ambassador Nguwen Van Thu and the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA and vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Spiro Koleka.

**During the visits
paid to the Korça and
Pogradec districts,
the First
Secretary of the CC
of the PLA
was welcomed with
love and enthusiasm
by the working people.
In the photo:
Comrade ENVER HOXHA
among the
working people of Korça**





FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY

New successes in the education sector

After happy summer holidays in the most beautiful and picturesque health-building centres of the country, on September 1 more than 700.000 pupils and students sat down at the school desks and in the auditoriums of the University and Institutes of higher learning.

As every year, the first day of the school turned into a day of celebration and joy in all parts of the country. Not only the pupils and students, but also the entire people eagerly welcome September 1 every year. And this has its own reasons. For the Albanian today, schooling has become almost as essential as food. In the past, under the anti-people's regimes, 90 per cent of the population was illiterate. The Albanian longed for schooling, but he had no where to learn. The reactionary rulers sought to keep the people in darkness so as to exploit them more easily.

Now compulsory 8-year education has been fully achieved in Albania. One out of every three inhabitant attends school.

Every year brings new things in the field of education in Albania. The number of qualified teachers increases, new school buildings go up, and the supply of teaching means is enriched.

This year the army of teachers has been increased by 2000 young teachers, of whom 700 have higher education. The overwhelming majority of them volunteered to go and work in the countryside, in the most remote areas of the country. Many qualified teachers from the cities volunteered to teach in village schools.

In order to improve the teaching, the number of school text books has been greatly increased. Pupils and students have 800 school books available, 60 of which were prepared this year.

Dozens of new buildings for middle and 8-year schools and many student hostels, have been built as well as new buildings for the Faculty of Medicine, the Faculty of Agrarian Economy, the Higher Teaching Institute in Elbasan and Gjirokastra, etc.

The Albania-China Friendship Association

The active of the Albania-China Friendship Association met in Tirana on September 11 to analyse the work carried out to date, to assign the tasks for the future and elect its Council and Presidency.

Participating were workers from work and production centres, representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Trade, mass organisations, workers in art and culture, servicemen, representative of the scientific institutions of the capital, and others.

Also present were the chargé d'affaires ad interim of the embassy of the P.R. of China to the P. R. of Albania, Han Po, and other officials of this embassy.

The vice-president of the Albania-China Friendship Association, Sterjo Spase, delivered, the report on the Association's activity, and the report was discussed.

Then the elections to the Council and the presidency of the Albania-China Friendship Association were held.

The active unanimously approved the election of the Council of the Albania-China Friendship Association comprised of 21 members. The member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and vice

Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Spiro Koleka, was elected president of the Albania-China Friendship Association.

«Today's meeting of the active of the Albania-China Friendship Association», - said comrade Spiro Koleka in his speech delivered on this occasion, - «is of particular importance, for a good analysis was made in it of the Association's recent activity, new tasks were set and its leading organs were elected.

It is a great honour for the comrades that have been elected to the leading organs, including me, to be entrusted with so lofty and noble a task as leading the Albania-China Friendship Association, which has as its fundamental aim the ever greater consolidation and steeling of the great revolutionary friendship, the fraternal solidarity, and the unbreakable unity, between our two peoples and two countries.

The Albania-China friendship is a brilliant deed of our two Marxist-Leninist parties. Those who forged and founded it are our great leaders, comrade Enver Hoxha and comrade Mao Tse-tung. Our two parties have bound our two countries and two peoples together as inseparable comrades, as determined fellow

fighters for the triumph of the great cause of socialism, the revolution, and Marxism-Leninism, in our two countries and throughout the world.

Spiro Koleka continued: «The good work of our friendship association has had appreciable results, in strengthening our great friendship. Through its activity, it has aimed to make known in Albania the great reality of People's China, the

victories achieved by the great Chinese people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China with comrade Mao Tse-tung at the head, in the socialist construction of the country, the great proletarian cultural revolution, in exposing and destroying the counterrevolutionary cliques of Liu Shao Chi and Lin Piao, and in the just and principled struggle the Chinese Party and Govern-

ment have carried out in the international arena against imperialism, social imperialism and reaction.

The Albanian people wholeheartedly welcome these brilliant victories and consider them as their own victories and as a source of inspiration in the struggle for the socialist construction in Albania in the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement».

The Albanian people remember with respect our comrade P.L. Arboleda

The Albanian communists and the whole Albanian people were deeply grieved to learn of the killing by the reactionary forces of the Colombian regime, of the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Colombia (M-L), comrade Pedro Leon Arboleda.

The circumstances in which this consistent revolutionary, who remained faithful to the end to his ideals, was killed, raise his figure still higher in the eyes of all the revolutionaries of the world. Comrade Arboleda fought to the death, single-handed against 300 soldiers who had surrounded him. He refused to surrender himself alive into enemy hands. His murder, like that of the founder of the Party, Pedro Vasquez, in 1968, is another heavy loss to the Communist Party of Colombia (M-L), to all the Colombian revolutionaries and patriots. On the other hand it shows the increase of the violence and terror

which are an expression of the deep economic and political crisis that has gripped Colombia, and at the same time of the ever greater anxiety which has swept the ruling circles of the country and their American bosses as a result of the increase of the people's anger and the upsurge of the partisan war led by the Communist Party of Colombia (M-L).

The Albanian communists and the entire Albanian people honoured the memory of comrade Arboleda and other Colombian comrades fallen in the fight for national and social liberation and expressed their full solidarity with the Communist Party of Colombia (M-L), with all the Colombian revolutionaries and patriots.

The message sent on this occasion by the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia (M-L) reads:

The Albanian people solidarize with the just struggle of the Spanish revolutionary patriots

The Albanian people condemn with force and hatred the fascist crimes of the Franco savage fascist dictatorial regime and fully solidarize with the just, courageous and determined struggle of the Spanish revolutionary patriots, the Marxist-Leninist communist militants against this regime. Workers, cooperativists, young men and young women express their deep hatred against the fascist wild beasts who are staining their hands with the blood of the best sons of the Spanish people.

At a meeting held on September 20, the working people of Elbasan expressed their solidarity with the just struggle for freedom of the Spanish people, as well as their conviction that, united round

the Antifascist and Patriot Revolutionary Front of Spain, they will continue with determination up to victory their struggle against the sanguinary Franco regime. The participants in the meeting highly praised the manly stand of the Spanish antifascist and patriotic militants and the other arrested in front of the inhuman tortures by the fascist hangmen, and expressed their antifascist and internationalist solidarity with them. Present at the meeting was also the delegation of the Communist Party (M.-L.) of Spain, headed by the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party Raul Marco, who was paying a friendly visit to Albania.

The Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (M-L) of Spain

«Our Party and people learned with deep sorrow about the heroic fall, in battle with the reactionary Colombian forces, of the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Colombia (M-L), comrade Pedro Leon Arboleda, who sacrificed his life for the cause of the national and social liberation of the Colombian people and the triumph of the revolution and socialism in Colombia.

The Albanian communists and people firmly denounce the reactionary violence and terror against the Colombian revolutionary communists and patriots who are fighting courageously against US imperialism and internal reaction, as well as against modern revisionism, for the independence of the country and the social liberation of their people. The reactionary violence will be unable to stop the ever rising tide of the revolutionary people's war under the leadership of the Communist Party of Colombia (M-L). Thousands of young fighters will raise high the banner of the comrades fallen in battle and will carry forward the great cause for which they did not spare even their lives».

Raul Marco spoke to the participants about the struggle being waged by the communists, revolutionaries, patriots and working masses of Spain against the Franco sanguinary regime for freedom, democracy and progress, and against imperialism and revisionism.

A message was sent from the meeting to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain (M-L), expressing the resolute support for the Spanish revolutionary patriots who do not spare even their lives in the glorious struggle for the liberation of the Spanish people from the fascist domination.

Likewise, the Central Committee of the Albanian Labour Youth Union sent a message to the Executive Committee of the Communist Youth of Spain (M-L) expressing, on behalf of the younger generation of Socialist Albania, the support and militant solidarity of the entire Albanian youth to the Spanish revolutionary youth and its revolutionary organisation, the Communist Youth of Spain (M-L).

THE CONFERENCE OF INSECURITY OF EUROPE

The agreements,
treaties,
concessions and
compromises which are
manipulated and
concluded under the
direction
of the Soviet Union
and the United States
of America

can never contribute to the strengthening of peace
and security, neither on a regional nor on an international scale

AFTER TWO YEARS OF WEARISOME TALKS, BACKSTAGE BARGAININGS AND COMBINATIONS, IT WAS DECIDED TO CONVENE IN HELSINKI AT THE END OF THIS MONTH, WHAT IS CALLED THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE. ON JULY 30 NOT A SMALL NUMBER OF DOCUMENTS, FULL OF BEAUTIFUL WORDS AND SWEET PROMISES WILL BE PLACED BEFORE THE HEADS OF EUROPEAN STATES, FOR THEIR SIGNATURES.

THE PERFORMANCE IS BEING LOUDLY ADVERTISED BUT ALL THE CLAMOUR CANNOT CONCEAL THE DANGERS THIS PERILOUS SOVIET-US UNDERTAKING POSES FOR THE EUROPEAN PEOPLES AND THE ENTIRE WORLD. IT CANNOT REMOVE THE DOUBTS AND HESITATIONS THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE HAS AROUSED AMONG THE ORDINARY PEOPLE OF OUR CONTINENT, AMONG ALL THOSE WHO REALLY CHERISH PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE.

The one question that was put forward before the talks on the European Security Conference began, which is being asked today and which always will be asked, is: «Who is threatening Europe? From whom must the European peoples be secured? Can it be said that peace and security in Europe are endangered by Belgium or Switzerland, Finland or Austria, and that therefore the necessity arises that they or other such European countries should officially pledge themselves to give up «threat and the use of force»?

The answer is not difficult, it is known and does not require the discovery of some unknown factor. The peace and se-

«ZËRI I POPULLIT» - organ of the CC of the PLA. The article was published on July 29, 1975 on the eve of the European Security Conference which was held in Helsinki.

curity of Europe are directly and permanently threatened by US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, by their aggressive and expansionist policy, by their military blocs, by the armies and bases they maintain in other countries. The freedom and independence of the European peoples are threatened and endangered by the spheres of influence policy pursued by the superpowers, their imperialist practices of political clients and interference in the internal affairs of others, their neo-colonialist course and insatiable appetite to subjugate and dominate countries and nations. The Soviet-US atomic blackmail, their military adventures, their feverish preparation for a third world war, are endangering and threatening Europe.

From those parts of the documents which have been made known to the public so far, it seems that the papers to

be signed in Helsinki do contain no obligatory political conditions, military commitments, etc. From the external aspect, from the formal viewpoint, it seems as if nobody is taking on any concrete obligation and that nobody's hands are tied. But everybody can see that through the Helsinki Conference, the Soviet Union and the United States have imposed on others an international document in which the present status quo of Europe is recognized and accepted in fact, i.e. the spheres of influence are recognised and accepted, the political, military and economic domination of many countries of our continent by the US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists are recognised and accepted.

From the way the talks have developed so far it follows quite clearly that the Soviet Union and the United States have not been concerned about the real security of Europe, but about the security of their spheres of influence, their political and military bases, the removal of those barriers which hinder the extension of their political and economic hegemony, the pacification of their rear areas in order to direct themselves more forcefully, and with a greater weight, to zones where «vacuums» are created or where the revolution and the liberation struggle of the peoples are being carried out.

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

ceful» talks and «individual contacts», because the present Soviet and American leaders are men of peace and work for peace.

The table at Helsinki is a US-Soviet one, the others pay the bill. The documents to be signed there do not, even remotely, reflect the interests, desires, or worries of the European peoples. The hope of those people who thought that the European Security Conference would strengthen the independence of some countries which are under the domination and influence of the Soviet Union or the United States, that it would encourage some others towards autonomy, turned out to be only an illusion, vain hope. The facts showed that in setting the objectives of the conference, in working out the projects, in formulating the theses and concepts, the weight of the other participating states has been very slight and their role insignificant. The superpowers discussed and decided about the conference outside it, at bilateral meetings, not only beyond the eyes and ears of others, but also against their interests. Indeed even the final date of the meeting was decided only after the Gromyko-Kissinger talks at Geneva.

What have the European peoples gained, what is the advantage to general peace?

Can it be said that the domination of the Soviet revisionists in Eastern Europe now becomes less onerous through this «European security», have the Soviet troops withdrawn from those countries or their political, economic and military integration into the Soviet Union been interrupted, has Moscow's pressure on the national culture of these countries and its attack on their national traditions diminished?

Will the suffocating pressures of the United States on the West European countries perhaps be relaxed with the European Conference, or the interference of the monopolies from across the Atlantic in their home affairs cease, will they escape from the inflation and crisis imported from the United States?

The Helsinki Conference brings nothing apart from high-sounding words and illusions. What we issued a warning about long ago and which was spelled out clearly in the statement of the Government of the PRA, has occurred, i.e. that the superpowers would strive to turn the European Security Conference into a means to spread their liberal-pacifist spirit, on the grounds that allegedly, today all the world problems, the international class conflicts, can be solved through «pea-

domination over them, to bind them still more tightly to the chariot of the Soviet foreign policy.

And the United States, too, has no less need for a diplomatic «success». Following its ignominious defeats in Vietnam and Cambodia, following Kissinger's failure in the Middle East, following the great decline of its Allies' faith in it, US imperialism needs to raise its fallen political prestige, and, through the fear of Soviet-US collaboration, to put its shaky alliances in order.

Ford gave the green light to the European Security Conference, because he wants to help the pro-American Brezhnev group in Moscow, just as the clique now ruling in the Kremlin wants the Nixon line of rapprochement with the Soviet Union which Ford follows, to be carried on by the new administration which will be elected next year.

It is well known that any security is closely connected with the military aspects, with the question as to what real conditions it offers to avoid or repel the eventual aggression. But why did the superpowers refuse to discuss the military aspects of security, despite the insistence of some of the participants? They did this because they want the European peoples to be insecure and weak, so as to impose their will and dictate on them more easily, because they want to deprive the European peoples of the possibility and power of self-defence, the ability to oppose the law the superpowers want to make in Europe. The US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists seek to compel other countries to remain unarmed or with only limited armament, ineffective in face of the ever increasing military strength of the two superpowers, to remain passive and powerless before the ever greater improvement of their armaments, before the increase of their military bases and war budgets.

The military aspects of security were left out in Helsinki because the superpowers want to preserve the psychosis of fear and war at all costs. The superpowers want to put the military security of the European countries under their two umbrellas, the aim of which, as comrade Enver Hoxha has said, is that the peoples and countries will have no alternative other than to see their salvation

ceful» talks and «individual contacts», because the present Soviet and American leaders are men of peace and work for peace.

The table at Helsinki is a US-Soviet one, the others pay the bill. The documents to be signed there do not, even remotely, reflect the interests, desires, or worries of the European peoples. The hope of those people who thought that the European Security Conference would strengthen the independence of some countries which are under the domination and influence of the Soviet Union or the United States, that it would encourage some others towards autonomy, turned out to be only an illusion, vain hope. The facts showed that in setting the objectives of the conference, in working out the projects, in formulating the theses and concepts, the weight of the other participating states has been very slight and their role insignificant. The superpowers discussed and decided about the conference outside it, at bilateral meetings, not only beyond the eyes and ears of others, but also against their interests. Indeed even the final date of the meeting was decided only after the Gromyko-Kissinger talks at Geneva.

Now, when the two superpowers have been engulfed by grave crises and have sustained all-round defeats, when the anti-US and anti-social imperialist tide in the world has begun to rise, they feel great need for each other's support. This is particularly so of the clique of Brezhnev, the initiator of this conference, who has linked the «European security», the «relaxation of tension» with his personal political fate. The Brezhnev clique has to appear before the 25th Congress of the Soviet revisionist party, scheduled for the beginning of the coming year, with a «success», to show that its foreign policy is «listened to» and «respected». By means of diplomatic manoeuvres it aims to consolidate its positions at home and in the satellite countries, and to pursue its hegemonistic policy in other regions with a fresh impulse.

The conclusion of the Helsinki Conference is seen by Brezhnev, likewise, as a favourable condition for summoning the conference of the revisionist parties of Europe in the immediate future and to transform it into a means to strengthen

linked with either the one or the other superpower, will not think independently, so that their will and freedom will be linked with these two monsters.

The European security agreements are a new web of the two superpowers to entangle their allies and others even more thoroughly. This is the greatest speculation that has ever been made on the European people's desire for peace and security, collaboration and good neighbourliness. How can one speak of a secure Europe while it is bulging with the foreign military bases and atom bombs of the superpowers, with hundreds of thousands of Soviet and American soldiers, and innumerable tanks and aircraft? The superpowers did not want the military problems to be discussed, because they want to keep their gendarmerie intact in Europe, to preserve their permanent military pressure and blackmail, to keep Europe besieged and isolated from the other world.

How can one speak of the security of Europe without the Mediterranean, without the Middle East, without North Africa? History has proved more than once that even when the conflicts that have broken out in Europe, have not been over the Mediterranean, North Africa, or the Middle East, they have always been caught up in their flames. The fates of these areas are very closely connected with those of Europe and the separation made of them by the European Security Conference seems artificial and ill-intentioned.

The United States and the Soviet Union rabidly opposed the linking of European security with that of the Mediterranean, North Africa, and the Middle East, because the problem of the withdrawal of their fleets in the Mediterranean would have arisen, the barbarous gunboat policy they carry out around the shores of this basin would have been exposed, their brutal interference in the Arab-Israeli conflict would have been unmasked, and their savage rivalry in this area, which endangers the peace and security of all the peoples, would have been dragged out into the light of day. The attitude of the superpowers on this question is a proof

that they want to extend their domination in these areas, to make it complete and permanent.

Therefore, the participants in the Helsinki meeting should not be too hasty in singing about the «triumph» of peace and security and the relaxation of tension in Europe.

The agreements, treaties, concessions and compromises which are manipulated and concluded under the direction of the Soviet Union and the United States can never contribute to the strengthening of peace, either on a regional scale or on international scale.

This «European security», not only does not eliminate the inter-imperialist rivalry which constitutes one of the main sources of the outbreak of aggressive wars, but being a product of the expansionist and hegemonist policy of the superpowers, it will contribute to the increase of the existing contradictions and tensions in every zone and on all the continents.

It creates the possibility for the superpowers to act more freely on the other continents, to increase their pressures and intrigues in order to divide the peoples and set them against one another with a view to capturing markets, taking over new zones of influence and extending their hegemony. They have already begun to enter the Indian Ocean and extend in Africa, to cast greedy eyes on the riches of the Arabian Gulf and dig in their claws in Asia and Latin America.

Thus, the existing arrangements become more insecure and everywhere the possibility of the accumulation of new explosive elements is increasing, and the threats and dangers to the interests of the peoples and nations are growing.

At the moment the zealous propagandists of this European security are having a great deal to say about how, by means of this agreement the violation of frontiers will stop and the use of force will be avoided. As a guarantee for this, they offer Ford's «solemn» declarations and Brezhnev's «word of honour». But can the peoples of Europe base their security on such palaver? They have suffered too

much from imperialist aggressions and the perfidies of the superpowers, to allow themselves to be deceived by some bit of paper, by demagogic agreements and treaties.

Tens of times Hitler signed solemn promises that he would never violate the borders of France, Belgium, Holland, and with tears in his eyes he swore that after receiving the Sudeten Land he would not touch Czechoslovakia even remotely. Everybody knows what happened later. And Brezhnev, too, not even one month before he sent his tanks to Prague, in Bratislava had signed a lengthy document in which the non-use of force was lauded to the skies. Not only through the UNO charter, but also in an endless number of treaties, the United States has pledged itself not to violate borders and not to resort to force. But it has not failed to intervene in Greece and attack Korea, to occupy Vietnam and land in the Lebanon, to interfere in San Domingo and fight against the Cambodian people. Only the naive and the short-sighted can believe the imperialists' sweet words and promises about peace, only they can build their hopes on the power of declarations and general agreements or on the false morality of the aggressors. But the peoples put no trust in words and are not deceived by the imperialist and revisionist demagogy.

The so-called policy of relaxation of tension, about which the US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists are now making so much fuss, is a continuation of the «cold war», but in another form. It is the old policy of strength, but camouflaged with smiles and lullabies.

Peaceful coexistence, as conceived and interpreted by the imperialists and the revisionists, is a counterrevolutionary and antinational ideology and practice; it is anti-popular and anti-democratic from start to finish. As an expression of the expansionist and hegemonistic policy of the superpowers, it represents a dangerous instrument to put the peoples in bondage, to subjugate and colonise them. The so-called «spirit of détente» which is propagated especially by the revisionists, is the spirit of submission and passivity,

which aims to slacken the revolutionary vigilance of the peoples, to compel them to give up the defence of their vital national interests and leave them politically and spiritually disarmed in face of the attacks of the two superpowers.

There has been a long-standing illusion in Europe which has cost it dear. Many politicians have thought that concessions could be made to aggressors on this continent, to direct war towards far off fields. History, however, has proved that peace is indivisible. In the conditions of the present day world, this is truer than ever. The aggressors have not been stopped, and never will be stopped with concessions, and even less with illusions. Retreat has only whetted the appetite of those who have sought to attack and occupy.

True relaxation of tension, the removal of the danger of war, is not achieved through illusions and hopes based on the reasonableness and «realistic attitude» of the US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists. They constitute an objective which must be attained by the peoples themselves, by fighting the hegemonistic and expansionist policy of the superpowers, by exposing and hindering their deceitful diplomatic manoeuvres, by combatting the sham pacifist psychoses they spread, by strengthening the sentiment for defence of the freedom and national dignity of the peoples and independent states, and above all, by strengthening the revolutionary spirit and international unity of the proletariat and the working people throughout the world.

In his October 3, 1974 speech to the electorate, comrade Enver Hoxha said: «On what does the security of the peoples of Europe or of the peoples of the world depend? On the public or mysterious travels of a certain Kissinger, of a certain Gromyko, or on the trickery of a certain Brezhnev who has made the Soviet and other peoples bleed, on the travels of a certain Nixon who has drowned the world in blood and led the American mafia in the shameful Watergate scandal which has shaken the whole of America? Should it be left to such individuals to ensure the future of the world? A fine

future, indeed! Of course, those who put their trust in tragic illusionists are free to attend the meetings in Vienna, Helsinki, and anywhere they like. Let them indulge in their palavers. But for our part, we are free not to go to those meetings, and we will not go there. And it is not only we who are missing from those meetings and conferences, but the peoples, too. This is significant for us.»

This clear stand of our Party, Government and people, concerning European security, responds not only to the supreme interests of Albania, but also to the cause of strengthening the peace and security on the European continent. We have pointed out, openly and sincerely, that the sovereign states must in no way be taken in by the plans of the revisionists and imperialists because they are to the detriment of their national sovereignty and the security of the peoples.

Now many of the participating countries, which went to the talks in the hope that a dialogue among equal states about settling European and world problems, would take place there are left disillusioned. But they were dragged into the dance by the Soviet Union and the Americans and were quite unable to get out of it. Indeed, even many of their efforts over procedural matters and requests for some dilution of the formulations were arrogantly rejected and brutally squashed by the super mighty.

Real peace and security of Europe is not something which can be donated by the superpowers, or be ensured by some worthless bits of paper, by demagogic statements and false promises of the US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists. First of all the military bases and foreign troops which are still in many countries of Europe, must be removed, the superpowers' policy of armaments, threats, and military blackmail must be opposed and combatted, the aggressive blocs and other agreements which are utilised by the United States and the Soviet Union to pursue their policy of domination and subjection of the European peoples must be smashed.

Of course, the threats and dangers are great, but they must not be viewed in

a fatalist spirit as inevitable. The battles will be severe, but they can be won if the pacifist illusions, the imperialist-revisionist lies and deceptions are emphatically rejected, if the chains with which the superpowers seek to bind the peoples of Europe are cut through with the sword. There can never be relaxation of tension between the peoples on the one hand and the US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists on the other hand, just as there can be no real peace and security as long as the present hegemonistic policy of the superpowers continues to exist.

Peace and security, the relaxation of tension and collaboration, are problems which must be solved, and can be solved, only by the peoples by means of a permanent, consistent and determined struggle against those imperialist and expansionist forces which seek to rob the countries and nations of the thing they hold most dear, their freedom and independence, the prospect of their future.

The arms trade brings the two superpowers quick and colossal profits. The industrialised great powers have earned 10 billion dollars a year from arms sales, i.e. more than double their total expenditure on so-called economic aid to other countries

THE TWO SUPERPOWERS - THE GREATEST ARMS DEALERS IN THE WORLD

by **VENIAMIN TOÇI**

THE TWO SUPERPOWERS, US IMPERIALISM AND SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISM, IN COMPETITION AND RIVALRY WITH EACH OTHER, ARE ENGAGED IN A FRENZIED COURSE OF ARMING WITH ALL TYPES OF MODERN WEAPONS.

WHILE ARMING THEMSELVES RELENTLESSLY, THEY INDULGE IN GREAT DEMAGOGY AND POSE AS STANDING FOR DISARMAMENT, FOR THE BALANCED REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES, FOR THE RELAXATION OF TENSION, FOR PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE WORLD, FOR A WORLD WITHOUT ARMS AND WITHOUT ARMIES (!), AND OTHER SUCH NONSENSE. THE REALITY REFUTES THIS IMPERIALIST-REVISIONIST DEMAGOGY AND TESTIFIES TO THE OPPOSITE. «THE TWO SUPERPOWERS HAVE ARMED THEMSELVES TO THE TEETH», COMRADE ENVER HOXHA HAS SAID, «WHILE THEY PROPAGATE THAT OTHERS SHOULD DISARM, ON THE OTHER HAND, THEY HAVE BECOME THE GREATEST ARMS DEALERS TO OTHERS, this may seem contradictory, but it is not so. True they sell arms to others, but they keep the modern weapons for themselves, always preserving due proportions to maintain their superiority. Indeed, they supply arms only to those on whom they think their grip is sure. They exploit arms sales, on the one hand, in order to suck the blood and plunder the riches, of other nations, while posing as friends so as to worm their way into their homes where they take over, and on the other hand, to incite them to fight with their neighbours».

While increasing their armaments and war economies to fantastic proportions, and, moreover, being in permanent competition to perfect their weapons the two superpowers have continually created large stocks of arms. For their aims of world hegemony they sell these stocks of written-off weapons to other countries at high prices and on political, military, and economic conditions which they dictate. Being the biggest arms dealers in the world, the two superpowers have ensured

VENIAMIN TOÇI - Veteran scientific collaborator, specialist on economic problems.

during the recent years have gone to Israel, Iran, West Germany, Spain, Canada, South Korea, Chile, etc. A large quantity of US weapons, indeed even of the latest types, has been supplied to the Israeli Zionists, to keep them always incited in their aggression against the Arab countries. According to the US press, since the 1973 October war, Israel has received from the USA weapons worth more than 2 billion dollars.

The Soviet social imperialists are the partners, and at the same time, strong rivals of the USA in the world arms market. In competition with Washington, from year to year, they have greatly increased the quantity of arms they sell to other countries. At the end of the 50's they had 6 countries as customers for their weapons, with sales totalling 95 million dollars per year, which represented 11,3 per cent of total world trade in arms. In 1963 the Soviet social imperialists sold arms totalling 1,2 billion dollars, in 1968 this rose to 1,37 billion dollars, while in 1973, to 2,5 billion. During the 70's more than 20 countries are customers for the weapons of the social imperialists. Today, sales by the Soviet social imperialists represent 37,5 per cent of the world arms trade, rivaling the US imperialists.

The two superpowers, comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, have turned into such terrible arms dealers, that compared with these of the present-day the Armstrongs, Mausers, and Basil Zakharovs of the past seem like traders in children's toys.

The two superpowers exploit the trade in arms on a large scale and more than any other means, above all, for political and military aims. The two superpowers make the supply of arms to other countries conditional on the sending of their military experts to these countries and with the creation there of their military bases with extraterritorial rights. Thus, the US imperialists have sent troops, officers of all ranks and services, specialists, and have created military bases in all the countries which are customers for their weapons. Likewise, before the October War against Israel the Soviet social imperialists had 22.000 military specialists and instructors, in the Arab Re-

public of Egypt, where they had the main armaments supplied to Egypt, practically under their control. The Soviet social imperialists have imposed this condition on India too, where there are 10 thousand Soviet specialists today and the demand has been made that they should be increased to 70.000, that is, almost 8 Soviet specialists for every 100 Indian troops at the present strength of India's armed forces. According to press reports similar conditions, are included, also, in the recent agreement on the sale of Soviet arms to Libya. This is a new effort of the czars of the Kremlin to ensure "new friends among the Arab countries", and to disrupt their unity.

Through arms sales, the US imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists try to draw other countries into their political orbits and military alliances. Moreover, they cripple these countries in exercising their national sovereignty, their inalienable right to defend their territories, state frontiers, and their dignity against aggressors, their right to have an entirely independent army and defence, in conformity with their vital interests.

In this way, the two superpowers have used and continue to use the export of weapons to other countries as a very effective instrument in their hands in order to establish and exercise control over these countries, to push their way into their political and economic life as neocolonialists.

To appreciate the lengths to which the two superpowers go in imposing political conditions on sales of weapons to other countries, suffice it to mention that as soon as one of these countries dares to act in defence of its own sovereign rights, it is threatened, precisely at its most critical moments, with the suspension of the supply of arms or spare parts. Let us recall here the Arab peoples in the days of the October Zionist aggression, when they were militarily and politically betrayed and sabotaged by the Soviet social imperialists and the US imperialists. This is a recognised fact which has been publically denounced by the leaders of the Arab countries themselves, the public of these countries and progressive opinion worldwide.

themselves of a monopoly position in the world armaments market. This is shown by the official figures, which reveal the increase of the volume of the arms trade year by year both by the US imperialists and by the Soviet social imperialists. In 1963 the USA sold weapons to other countries totalling 1,19 billion dollars. In 1968 this figure reached 2,68 billion dollars, while in 1973 it reached 5 billion dollars, which is nearly five times the 1943 figure. During these last 11 months alone, from the sale of arms the USA has pocketed more than 6,3 billion dollars. This sum will reach 9,1, billion dollars by the end of this fiscal year. According to press information, in 1973 the USA possessed 54 per cent of the world's arms trade. The US imperialists favourite customers for the sale of their stocks of arms are the oppressive and reactionary regimes which serve their expansionist plans, as well as the countries of strategic importance and with rich natural resources. The bulk of the American arms exports

The US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists carry on a filthy trade with their stocks of weapons. They are exploiting their arms trade on a large scale to draw maximum capitalist profits. In developing their war industry in large proportions and with great intensity, the two superpowers are trying to use this as a means to get out of the difficulties arising from the deep economic crisis which has gripped them, a direct expression of which is the extension of the scale of the chronic non-utilization of productive capacities, the decline of production in the branches of civilian industry, uncontrollable inflation, the marked rise of prices, large scale chronic unemployment, etc.

The arms trade brings the two superpowers quick and colossal profits. The press and the progressive opinion of the world have reported that the industrialised great powers have earned about 10 billion dollars per year from selling weapons, which is more than double the total cost of the so-called economic aid they give other countries. With the specific weight it has, today the export of arms takes first place in total exports of capital from the two superpowers to other countries.

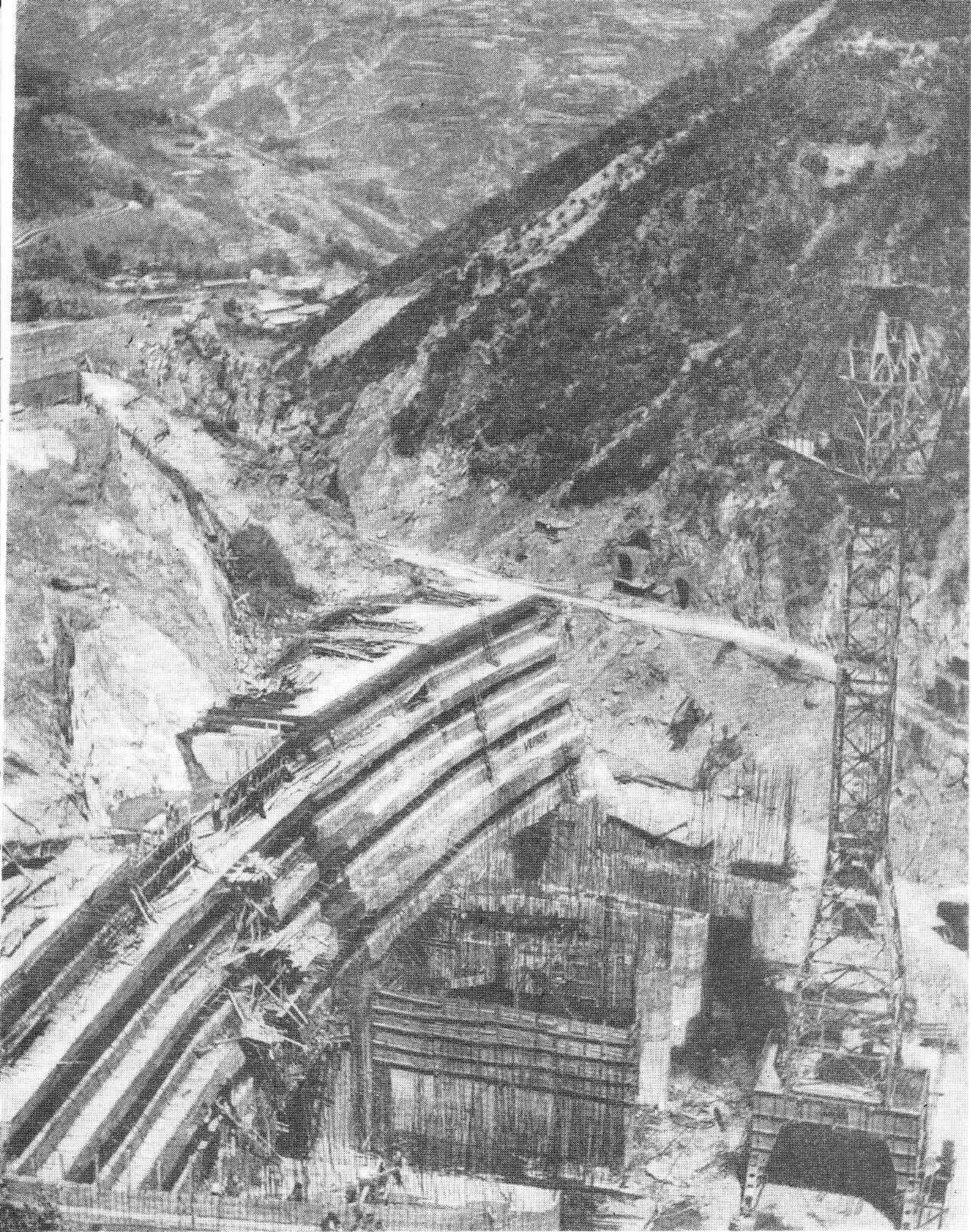
The two superpowers are concerned to maintain and develop the world market for arms at all costs. They create artificial tensions and hotbeds of war in various regions of the world. They need these tensions and local wars to subjugate and plunder other peoples, to carry out the notorious policy of "divide and rule". They need these tensions and wars, which have their origin in the aggressive nature of imperialism and social imperialism, to ensure their military presence and to interfere in other countries, as well as for purely economic aims, and precisely, to compel various peoples and countries to buy their stocks of weapons for hard cash, or by pawning their natural resources. For these fiendish aims, the two superpowers go so far as to incite one country against another, to start wars between them, or to keep them in the tense situation of "no war no peace", as they are doing in the Middle

East, or in the "brink of war" situation, as they are doing in various regions of the world. The two superpowers also use regional or local armed conflicts as "specific displays" of the consumption of the previously sold arms, so that the countries in conflict will then turn to them for new purchases of arms to make good the losses suffered during the armed conflict. The two superpowers exploit this situation to the maximum in order to dictate political conditions and ensure the maximum economic profits. Let us recall here the repeated conflicts in the Middle East, when, after each flare up, new armaments have been supplied by the two superpowers to the two opposing parties.

Finally, it must be pointed out that, through the export of arms, the US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists also pursue direct military logistic aims. The wars and conflicts in various regions of the world have been utilized on a large scale by the two superpowers as live "testing grounds" to try out their military equipment and technique on the battle-field, proving them in action, even going so far as to experiment with and test their chemical and bacteriological weapons.

The peoples of the world are becoming ever more conscious of the danger to them which the two superpowers represent. In face of this situation they are becoming more and more aware of the need for constant vigilance, to avoid falling into the traps of imperialism and social-imperialism, to increase their international solidarity and strengthen their unity, to rely on their own strength to defend their freedom and national independence, to ensure their independent economic development and the industrialisation of the country. The freedom, national independence and sovereignty, and the political and economic development of any country, cannot be donated by others, cannot be ensured through enslaving "economic aid", "credits" and "military aid" from the imperialists and social imperialists, but are and must be the result of the incessant efforts and struggle of each people and each country.

The Fierza hydropower station is one of the most important projects being built in Albania. Work on the construction of the hydropower station is well advanced. In the photo: View of the dam under construction.



SHYQYRI BALLVORA, SOTIR MANUSHI

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE AND THE ANTI-FASCIST

DURING THE MANY CENTURIES OF THEIR HISTORY THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE, WHO MORE THAN ONCE HAVE BEEN THE VICTIM OF LENGTHY AGGRESSIONS AND OCCUPATIONS, HAVE STRUGGLED SELFLESSLY FOR THEIR FREEDOM AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE. BUT DURING THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR THEIR HEROISM BLAZED OUT WITH UNPRECEDENTED BRILLIANCE AND POWER. LED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY, IN A LIFE-AND-DEATH STRUGGLE, OUR PEOPLE SMASHED THE FASCIST OCCUPIERS AND THE TRAITORS TO THE COUNTRY AND ALBANIA BECAME A FREE AND SOVEREIGN COUNTRY. IN THE COURSE OF THEIR HISTORY TOO, THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE HAVE FREQUENTLY FOUGHT SHOULDER TO SHOULDER WITH OTHER PEOPLES AGAINST THE COMMON ENEMY OR ENEMIES.

BUT THEIR COLLABORATION AND SOLIDARITY WITH THE OTHER PEOPLES IN THE FIGHT AGAINST THE COMMON ENEMY WERE MANIFESTED WITH A FORCE NEVER SEEN BEFORE IN HISTORY, DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

The peoples of Europe, under the influence of the patriotic, anti-fascist forces, and particularly of the communist parties and disillusioned by the policy of the western great powers and the local ruling classes, had understood that the only way to curb the aggressors was their collaboration and mutual assistance, the common struggle against the fascist powers. The history of our country had taught the Albanian people to distinguish real friends from sham friends, to distinguish the predatory policy of the imperialist

powers and the chauvinistic policy of the ruling classes of the neighbouring states from the stand of the democratic forces and of the popular masses of various countries, and particularly of the neighbouring countries. The progressive democratic forces and the popular masses counterposed to the imperialist policy of the great powers and to the chauvinistic policy of the governments of the Balkan states, their policy of fraternal collaboration, mutual support and solidarity, in the fight against the common enemies.

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In very difficult and complicated conditions, betrayed by the ruling classes and King Zog, left without backing and

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support from abroad the Albanian people were among the first to offer armed resistance to the fascist aggressors.

The Albanian people began their resistance to the fascist invaders before the beginning of the Second World War and long before the anti-fascist coalition of the big states was formed. In the bloody clash that began, in which the fate of all the peoples, of the whole of mankind threatened by German, Italian and Japanese fascism, was in the balance, the Albanian people had only one road to preserve themselves as a nation and to win their national independence; and this was the road of the life-and-death struggle against the fascist imperialist hordes, the road of collaboration, solidarity, and mutual assistance, with all the peoples who were invaded by the fascists or threatened by fascist slavery. The Albanian people took a stand which was resolutely anti-fascist and in full solidarity with the peoples who were fighting against fascism, right from the start and particularly in the days of the Italian and German fascist aggression against Greece (October 1940-April 1941) and Yugoslavia (April 1941). The assistance and support which was given to the Greek people at the time of the Italo-Greek War, as the fascists themselves admitted, took various forms

up to «appeals for uprising, to form guerrilla bands»¹.

The communist groups of Albania launched the internationalist slogan: «Long live the fraternity of the Balkan peoples in struggle against fascism». This slogan expressed the new situation and the new relations that had been created among the Balkan peoples in the struggle against the fascist occupiers. In this slogan stress was laid on two major ideas: first, the Balkan peoples themselves should take the question of the liberation of their countries into their own hands and second, they should be in solidarity and assist one another in struggle for the liberation of the country. The Balkan peoples had to reject the intrigues of the invaders, who, through their policy of «divide and rule», hindered their rapprochement and collaboration.

Another historic moment at which the Albanian people's determination to link their anti-fascist struggle with the war of the peoples of the countries fighting against the fascist states was shown, was when Nazi Germany launched its offensive against the Soviet Union. This event had great repercussions in Albania and had a very great influence on the extension of the anti-fascist liberation war

of the Albanian people. Numerous leaflets were distributed throughout Albania by the Albanian communist groups and patriots, which condemned the fascist attack on the Soviet Union and expressed confidence and certainty that victory would be on the side of the Soviet Union and the peoples fighting fascism. «Victory is certain» - (said a leaflet issued at the end of June, on the occasion of the German aggression against the Soviet Union, - «but in order to achieve it as soon as possible, we too should do our share». In the summer of 1941 the resistance of the masses of the people to fascism began to enter a new stage; not only political actions, but also armed actions were becoming more organised and frequent.

The creation of the Communist Party of Albania, as a party of the working class, which was placed by history in the vanguard of the National Liberation Movement, marked a decisive turning-point in the history of the Albanian people. The CPA set itself the task of uniting, organising, and leading the broad masses of the people in the struggle of decisive importance to the fate of the Albanian people and Albania, for the liberation from the fascist occupationists and the establishment of the people's power.

Within a short period of time the Communist Party of Albania won recognition and acceptance by the broad masses of the people as the guiding and leading force of the National Liberation War. It proved itself worthy and fully capable as a militant detachment of the international communist movement. Due to the complicated circumstances caused by the war, the CPA could not immediately make contact and establish ties with the Communist International. When the directives of the Executive Committee of the Communist International arrived, the CPA had affirmed itself as the only guiding and leading force of the National Liberation War, and with their heroic struggle, the Albanian people had won the admiration of world public opinion. «The directives of the Communist International», — comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the meeting of the CC of the CPA, in February 1943, — ... «find us united, with sound leading cadres, with a decided and correct political line; in a word, they find us prepared and strong»². The arrival of the directives of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in December 1942, strengthened the confidence of the Albanian communists that the road they had chosen was the only correct road.

The Communist Party of Albania, as the vanguard of the working class, raised the question of national liberation in a way which was radically different from that «traditional bourgeois nationalism» of the ruling classes, which made the country's independence subject to «the ties of friendship» with this or that big state or group of states. Historically, this «traditional bourgeois nationalism» went bankrupt on April 7, 1939 when Albania found itself completely isolated in face of the fascist aggression. But the CPA had to fight for the eradication of this concept again when «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legaleteti», concealing their treachery with bourgeois nationalist slogans, sought to divert the people from the National Liberation War.

Rising in the National Liberation War under the leadership of the CPA, the Albanian people took the question of the liberation of the country completely into

their own hands. There was only one road for the Albanian people to become the all-powerful masters of their country, to ensure full unlimited sovereignty and set out on the road of social emancipation, and this was the road on which they were led by the CPA, the road of uncompromising struggle against the occupiers and the internal reactionary forces. Such a way of raising the problem not only did not negate, but on the contrary presupposed, the close collaboration and the unreserved mutual aid among the peoples and states belonging to the antifascist coalition.

The Albanian people could not stand aside and wait for the creation of favourable international circumstances to ensure their national freedom. The question was to put an end once and for all to that known practice in the system of bourgeois states that national freedom is conditioned by compromises and alliances with other states, and particularly with big states. This road had to be completely ignored because it does not cut the links keeping a small state in the sphere of the influence of a big state and inevitably contains within itself the limitation of state sovereignty.

The strategy worked out by the CPA in conformity with the political and social situation of Albania took account, also, of the international situation, particularly of the struggle of the peoples of the world against fascism as well as of the ratio of forces created in the international arena as a consequence of the outbreak of the Second World War. The National Liberation Movement in Albania was born and developed as a movement without incitement and without any interference from abroad. It had its own strategy worked out by the CPA, in compliance with the supreme national interests and the aspirations of the broad masses of the people.

The CPA also realized that a quick and complete victory over the occupiers in Albania could not be achieved without destroying fascism on an international scale, too. Therefore, international solidarity and mutual assistance among the peoples who were fighting fascism and

among the states belonging to the world anti-fascist coalition constituted an indispensable condition to achieve a quick victory over the fascist aggressor states. «The Resolution of the Meeting of the representatives of the main communist groups for the creation of the Party says, «It is the duty of the communists to be in the forefront of the struggle for a free, democratic, and people's Albania, fighting side by side with the national-revolutionary movement of other peoples and the Soviet Union»³.

Right from the start, the CPA, as the leading force of the National Liberation Front and organiser of the National Liberation War, linked the anti-fascist struggle of our people with the anti-fascist liberation struggle of the peoples and states belonging to the anti-fascist coalition, and publicly pledged itself to fight through to the end without any reservation against the fascist aggressors, in order to make its contribution to the common struggle for the destruction of fascism. Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote in July 1942, — «The Albanian people are making a common front to win freedom, they are uniting their forces with those of the peoples of the Soviet Union, the homeland of workers and peasants, with those of the democratic British and American peoples, they are fighting shoulder to shoulder with the other peoples enslaved by fascism. The Albanian people are taking part in the struggle for the salvation of mankind from the fascist barbarians»⁴.

The National Liberation Front created ties and established relations with the states of the anti-fascist coalition and with the national liberation movements, in particular with those of the neighbouring Yugoslav and Greek peoples.

The CPA appraised the alliance of the great powers — the Soviet Union, Britain, and the USA, as an alliance born of necessity in the circumstances of the Second World War, to destroy the fascist aggressive powers.

The Communist Party of Albania, while ranking the Albanian people on the side of the world anti-fascist coalition, firmly upheld the principle that the decisive

factor for the liberation of the country and the triumph of the people's revolution was the armed struggle of the Albanian people themselves. It was not a question of whether the Albanian people with their own forces only, would be able to destroy the military machine of the fascist states. The Second World War was not a war only between great powers. It was a people's war against the fascist aggressors and occupiers, and therefore all the peoples, big or small, without exception, who were groaning under the yoke of the fascist invaders or who were threatened by the aggressors, had to make their contribution to the destruction of the aggressive forces and fascist occupiers. «One for all and all for one», – comrade Enver Hoxha wrote in March 1943 – «Russia, England, America are waging the war with large armies, with tanks and aircraft, but this does not exclude the fact that we should wage the war with that single rifle or axe we have... War is not waged with rose petals and cotton wool, and neither is freedom won with words and compromises, but with suffering and bloodshed».

This clear-cut and resolute stand of the CPA was of exceptionally great importance and stemmed from the great historic tasks the Albanian people had to solve under the leadership of the CPA. No people can ever achieve genuine national and social liberation without hurling themselves into bloody, life-and-death struggle against the external enemies and the local reactionary forces. This historic postulate was very well known to the Communist Party of Albania and it served as a decisive orientating point which ensured the complete victory of national freedom for the Albanian people and set them in the road of genuine and complete social emancipation. «History has proved», – said comrade Enver Hoxha in his speech before the electors on October 3 this year, – «that a country or a people, however small in numbers and inferior in armement, which is fighting for a just cause and is determined to defend it to the end, is invincible. There is no army stronger than a people armed and militarily trained and there is no weapon more po-

werful than the people's war, the flames of which will sear and destroy any aggressor.»

Self-reliance and the mutual aid and support of the peoples enslaved by the fascist states became conditions decisive to throwing off the fascist yoke, to achieving the national ideals.

The CPA did a great deal of political work to educate the broad masses of the Albanian people in the spirit of fraternity and solidarity, while propagating the struggle of the peoples against fascism.

«...we should popularise the national liberation war of the whole of Europe, and particularly of the Yugoslavs and Greeks – instructed the Central Committee of the CPA on November 3, 1943. Openly, without hesitation, we should raise the problem of our fraternising with the Yugoslav and Greek peoples.»⁶

The CPA showed great political maturity by exposing all the slogans and actions of the occupiers aimed at sowing disruption between the Albanian people and the other peoples of the Balkans. It exposed before the masses of the people the real content of the slogans of the Italian occupiers about «great Albania», «ethnic Albania», as slogans of which the aim was to sow enmity between the Albanian people and the peoples of the Balkans. The uniting of Kosova with Albania, proclaimed by the fascist occupiers, was not considered by the CPA as the liberation of Kosova but as a trap set by the Italian Government and supported by the internal reactionary forces. The CPA described the «great Albania» slogan as a fascist propaganda manoeuvre, and resolutely upheld the line that only the joint struggle of the peoples against the fascist occupiers would bring about their liberation and that each people would decide its own destiny itself, on the basis of selfdetermination, after fascist occupiers were driven out.

The CPA exposed the chauvinistic reactionary policy of the occupiers and quislings, of the traitorous organizations, «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legaliteti», which sought to sow disintegration and splits to build up enmity between the Albanian

people and the other peoples, particularly with the other peoples of the Balkans.

During the whole period of the Second World War, in its relations with other peoples and particularly with the neighbours the CPA put collaboration and mutual aid among peoples first, while seeking to solve the disagreements on individual questions, always proceeding from the main purpose of not impairing the friendship, collaboration, and fraternity of the peoples, and especially of the Balkan peoples.

On its part, the CPA fought in every way for the fraternisation of the Albanian people with the neighbouring peoples, and in particular, it helped the development of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War in the regions inhabited by Albanian population.

The CPA proceeded from the principle that by throwing itself unreservedly into struggle against the invaders, each member people of the great antifascist alliance was carrying out its own internationalist duty towards the peoples fighting fascism. Proud of their struggle against the fascist occupiers, the Albanian people, as one of the most active members of the antifascist coalition, entered the annals of the history of the war against fascism with a valuable contribution to the historic victory. Little Albania carried an exceptionally heavy burden on its shoulders. More than 700.000 fascist soldiers marched over Albanian territory. Our people nailed down in battles more than 15 Italian and German divisions and put out of action more than 70.000 enemy troops. Over 1000 tanks and armoured cars, 1331 heavy guns and mortars, 1934 lorries, and a very large quantity of ammunition and military material were destroyed or captured.

The damage suffered by our people during the National Liberation War was also very great. Twenty-eight thousand people were killed, constituting a very large number in comparison with the population, 12,600 persons were wounded, 12 000 people were deported to Italy and Germany, 35,000 were used in forced labour, 1850 towns and villages of the 2 500 which Albania had in all, were destroyed. In regard to the material da-

mage suffered during the Second World War, Albania occupies one of the first places in the world in relation to the size of the population.

This legendary struggle made the Albanian people, under the leadership of the CPA, a worthy and active member of the great anti-fascist coalition of the peoples. «In this antifascist total war,» – comrade Enver Hoxha points out, «the small peoples proved that they were able to face the attacks of the modern Huns and emerge victorious, for they were inspired by the ideal of freedom, of justice...». And he continues: «Never had the history of our people seen such a war in which everyone participated without exception, from the children to our old mothers never had it been experienced that all the energies of this small people... were channelled, into one fierce struggle for freedom and independence.»⁷

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In its relations with the great allies and the peoples fighting against fascism the CPA based its policy on the principles of collaboration and mutual aid in struggle against the common enemy, and it upheld these principles with the greatest consistency.

While appraising the Anglo-Soviet-American alliance over all as an indispensable condition for the achievement of a relatively rapid and complete victory over the aggressive fascist states, towards the members of the antifascist coalition the CPA adopted a differentiated stand. The member states of this coalition had different social and political systems. On one side stood the Soviet Union, while Britain and the USA stood on the other side. The Soviet Union was a socialist state which pursued a peaceful foreign policy, and unreservedly supported the revolutionary and liberation movements of the peoples of the world. It found itself in opposition to fascism, not to accomplish narrow, chauvinistic and selfish aims, but to defend the great gains of the October Revolution and the socialist construction, to destroy fascism and to liberate the peoples enslaved by it.

The war waged by the Soviet Union against the fascist aggressors was assessed by the CPA as the decisive military and political external factor for the liberation of the country and the triumph of the people's revolution. «Love for the Soviet Union, should be developed» says the Resolution of the Meeting of the principal communist groups for the creation of the Party, – «by popularising the achievements of the Soviet people and the vanguard role of the USSR in the liberation war against fascism.»⁸

This is a principled Marxist-Leninist stand, the only correct stand. Even at present, when the Soviet revisionist leadership has adopted a hostile attitude toward our Party and country, we have not denied, nor shall we deny, the role of the Soviet Union, its decisive contribution to the destruction of fascism, its support and aid to achieve victory in the National Liberation War of the Albanian people. But we consider as anti-Marxist the thesis of the Soviet revisionists that the external factor was the decisive factor for the liberation of Albania and the establishment of the people's power, because this denies the struggle of our people and preaches the anti-scientific, anti-Marxist thesis of the export of the revolution.

The destruction of fascism on a world scale and the withdrawal of the fascist occupation troops from Albania could not have led to real national liberation and the establishment of the people's power without the revolutionary liberation war of the Albanian people. Without this revolutionary liberation war led by the CPA, at best Albania would have returned to the situation of 1939.

The CPA and the National Liberation Front adopted a wide-awake, flexible, and, at the same time, very determined stand, towards the other allies of the anti-fascist coalition. While recognising Britain and the US as allies in the common struggle against fascism and appreciating the contribution of these two powers to the achievement of victory, the CPA and the National Liberation Front did not forget the aims of these powers to ensure their hegemony in the world when the war was over. In every country where a po-

werful national liberation movement existed, Britain and the USA strove to have political groups and social forces of a pro-western orientation take the leadership, so that, following the war, these forces would take political power and preserve their social, economic privileges, by kitching their countries to the chariot of the great imperialist powers. It was not accidental that Churchill had instructed the commander of the allied forces in the Mediterranean, General Alexander, that Albania, too, ought to be fruitful soil for the British, of course not only in the conditions of the war, but also in the future. Churchill, as the leader of an imperialist state, was striving to maintain and extend Britain's spheres of influence in Europe. But great changes had taken place in the political and social life of the countries occupied by the fascists. The peoples who had risen in struggle against fascism did not permit the concerting of all sorts of plots and intrigues at their expense and to the detriment of national independence.

The total and unreserved involvement of the Albanian people in the struggle against fascism aroused the admiration of world public opinion. This compelled even the British and American governments to recognise the liberation struggle of our people, thus Albania was considered as an active member of the antifascist coalition.

In December 1942, the Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union, Britain, and the United States of America officially declared that they recognised no claim whatsoever of Italian imperialism over Albanian territory, and that they wanted to see Albania's independence restored.

The official declarations of the three main powers of the anti-fascist coalition in which they made a high appraisal of the liberation struggle of the Albanian people and expressed their support for the restoration of the independence of Albania, assumed a definite historic value, because these powers had publicly undertaken that the independence of our country would be respected and because the insurgent Albanian nation was recognised as an ally of the member nations

and states of the great anti-fascist coalition. The Albanian people and the CPA welcomed the statements of the great powers of the anti-fascist coalition and considered them as recognition of the actual situation that had been created in Albania as a result of the unyielding struggle waged by the Albanian people, united around the National Liberation Front under the leadership of the CPA, against the fascist occupiers.

Although the British and American governments could not reconcile themselves in many ways with the programme of the National Liberation Front which was leading the struggle of the Albanian people against fascism, they were obliged to make these statements about their recognition of the struggle of the Albanian people because they had no other alternative. The British and American governments could not leave events to develop in Albania outside their attention. They wanted to make political gains from the development of events in Albania, therefore, along with the recognition of the antifascist struggle of our people, their declarations also contained essential reservations. While the declaration of the Soviet Union recognised the independence and territorial integrity of Albania without any reservation and limitation whatever, the declarations of Great Britain and the USA made Albania's position after the war conditional on agreements that might be reached in the future among the Balkan states. Moreover, the western governments regarded the question of the borders of Albania as a question to be decided at the Peace Conference following the war.

Their stand towards Albania was based, as always, on the traditional imperialist principle of treating small countries as market commodities. They set themselves the task of putting the National Liberation Movement of the Albanian people under their control so that after the war Albania would remain in the Anglo-American sphere of influence. By recognising the anti-fascist liberation struggle of the Albanian people, on the one hand, and by fighting in every way to subject the National Liberation Movement to their

policy and strategy, on the other hand, the British and American governments sought to displace the Communist Party from the leadership of the National Liberation War, and to bring pro-western political groups to the leadership of the National Liberation Front with the aim of preventing the triumph of the people's revolution. The British diplomacy looked at the Albanian problem from the viewpoint of the interests of its strategy, and in the context of the British policy in the Balkans. Albania was to serve as a token to be traded to satisfy the chauvinistic claims of Britain's allies in the Balkans. According to an agreement reached by the Greek and Yugoslav governments in exile, in 1942, behind which stood the British diplomacy, Albania was to be integrated into the «Balkan Confederation» under Anglo-American tutelage. It is readily understood that in the «Balkan Confederation» Albania would be in the position of a state subjected to the bigger and more powerful members of the Confederation. Other evidence that the British diplomacy considered Albania as a chattel for barter is also the fact that the British government was not very insistent on creating an Albanian government in emigration, even under its full control, not because it did not want to interfere in the internal affairs of Albania, but because, as the British Foreign Ministry itself admitted, it did not want to «deeply irritate the Greek and Yugoslav governments» and this might seriously injure «the relations with the Greek government».

On the other hand, although it did not have any great confidence in the Albanian political emigres in the west and considered them, especially Zog, as bankrupt politicians, the British Government did not abandon them completely. It helped Zog and his supporters outside and within Albania financially. It was not accidental that the British government sent to Albania one of Zog's most loyal followers, Abaz Kupi, by means of whom it sought to take in hand the leadership of the National Liberation War. These facts show that Zog and the Albanian political emigres in the west were maintained by the British government as a reserve to

use as the occasion arose to carry out the British strategy and policy in Albania.

In the beginning the British formed a group of agents with the Zogists which they called «The United Front of the Resistance» and sent them to Albania with the task of organising the resistance against the Italians. The British instructed Abaz Kupi, their chief collaborator in this group, to take part in the National Liberation Front with a view to increasing the credit of the Zogists and hindering the growth of the authority and popularity of the Communist Party. But these hopes were not justified. Abaz Kupi failed to play that role in the National Liberation Front. He did not become an important political figure in the ranks of the Front. Thus, when he saw that he had not achieved his aim, on the eve of the capitulation of fascist Italy, he began to withdraw from the National Liberation Front and entered into close contact with «Balli Kombëtar» in the hope that after the capitulation of Italy the two sides would seize power. Meanwhile, the British advised Abaz Kupi to come out openly with his organisation and publicly announce its aims.

On the other hand, in order to keep a close eye on the National Liberation War of the Albanian people and to incite and support the pro-Anglo-American political groups through which it would fulfil its aims, beginning from April 1943, the British government sent its military missions. These missions established their official connections with the General Council only in June 1943, and, with the creation of the General Staff of the National Liberation Army, they were accredited to it. The allied missions, on behalf of the Allied Mediterranean Command, declared to the leaders of the National Liberation War of the Albanian people that their task was to gain first hand knowledge of the situation in Albania and to provide help with arms and other materials for the political forces fighting against the Italian army which was an enemy of both parties.

But their attitude and activity in Albania during the years of the war tell a different story. Their principal aim was

to subject the National Liberation Movement to the Anglo-American policy and strategy, to aid and support the bourgeois and feudal reactionary forces in order to counterpose them to the Communist Party, which was leading and directing the National Liberation Front, the liberation struggle of the Albanian people.

After having studied the situation on the spot, «The British liaison officers» arrived at the conclusion that the only way to attach Albania to the British policy and to establish the British control over post-war Albania was with the support of the «Balli Kombëtar», which, as they themselves admitted, «has emerged as a reaction against the communist influence in the movement for national liberation». The instruction of the British government was that they must make the «Balli Kombëtar» the most active movement in Albania.

«It will seem surprising to you that we collaborate with Balli, — the chief of the allied missions in Albania, General Davis, declared to the members of the General Staff of the NLA, — but these are the orders I have received from the British government»⁹. Indeed, even when «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legaliteti» had been exposed in the eyes of the people as traitorous organisations and close collaborators of the Germans, despite the proposals made by Davis, who, in the end, had been convinced by his experience in Albania that the Balli and the Zogists should be condemned and exposed, and that only the National Liberation Movement led by the National Liberation Front should be supported, the British government considered as correct the recommendation of the Committee of Special Operations Department (SOE) with its centre in Cairo, that «the National Liberation Movement must not be recognised, nor the ties with «Balli Kombëtar» and the Zogists severed, and the latter should not be condemned and exposed»¹⁰. The British Government approved this as the main directive concerning Albania. At the same time it supported the Zogists, urging them to come out with an organisation of their own, and also supported the tribal chiefs of various regions of Albania, who

were known as resolute opponents of the National Liberation Movement. For this purpose, the Mediterranean Allied Command sent military missions to many traitorous chiefs of Dibra, Luma, Malësia e Gjakovës, and Rrafshi i Dukagjinit, in order to unite them under the British control and counterpose them to the National Liberation Front which was led by the Communist Party. Harold Macmillan, the British Government's representative attached to the Allied Mediterranean Headquarters at ministerial level, and later Prime Minister of Britain, admits in his memories that the British officers had organised a «pro-allied and anti-communist movement in Albania»¹¹.

When the Central Committee of the CPA saw that the allied military mission were increasingly interfering in our internal affairs and openly supporting the enemies of the National Liberation War, in its November 3, 1943 directives sent to the regional committees of the CPA, it instructed as follows: «In many regions, there are British missions trying to poke their noses into political questions and particularly into our internal organisational and military questions. They are endeavouring to unite with the reactionaries to organise them in order to have them as their tools at the time of their landing. Sometimes the British officers do this work indirectly, sometimes openly. They need a strong movement and with standing amongst the people, therefore they are striving to raise the prestige of the «Balli Kombëtar», to get it to fight against the Germans in order to have it as a support later on. But we must not forget that first of all they are interested in the war against the Germans, which, here in Albania, only the National Liberation Movement is waging. Therefore, undoubtedly, they will help our movement. Towards them we must have correct behaviour but also a clear-cut stand. They must not interfere in our internal affairs, they must in no way be accepted as arbiters between us and reaction»¹².

The General Staff of the ANLA adopted a very clear-cut stand towards the British liaison officers. A British officer, Kemp, who was attached to the General Staff

of the ANLA during the war, at a conference on «Britain and the European resistance in the years 1939-1945» held in London in December 1962, admits the following: «Whenever the British mission supplied arms and money to the «Balli Kombëtar» I would be summoned by Enver Hoxha and given a very severe lecture, frequently offensive, about the base stand and treachery of the British who were supporting the fascist reactionaries and the collaborators of the Axis powers. And in the final account it emerged that it was absolutely impossible to implement the instructions received from our centre» (Translated material, manuscript, p. 23).¹³

The Central Committee of the CPA, the National Liberation Front and the General Staff of the ANLA, rejected the demand of the Mediterranean Allied Command that the National Liberation War of the Albanian people should be subjected to the «strategy of the western powers».

The Anglo-Americans demanded from the leadership of the National Liberation War that it should carry out only military tasks, because, according to them, the political regime of Albania would be decided by the Peace Conference, following the war. They demanded that the partisan war should be carried on in accordance with the allied military plans in general and, in particular, in accordance with the British plan to land allied troops in the Balkans. On no occasion either, did the leadership of the National Liberation War of the Albanian people accept their other demand that every fighting operation of the ANLA units should be approved by the British liaison officers. Likewise, it rejected the British demands that the partisan forces should not act against the organisations and forces of «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legaliteti» because, the British alleged, this could lead to a «civil war», while they ignored the fact that the «Balli» and «Legaliteti» had become close collaborators of the German occupation forces.

The insistence of the British and Americans that the National Liberation War should be subjected to the «allied strategy» was direct interference in the inter-

nal affairs of the National Liberation movement and had the aim of establishing allied control over this movement and of hindering the National Liberation Front led by the CPA, from realising its political programme, the complete victory of independence outside any control and tutelage of any great power, and the building of a free, democratic, people's Albania. The stand of the CPA towards the British military missions became exceptionally important, because it had to do not only with the fate of true national independence and the people's revolution, but also with its uninterrupted further deepening and development, in order to go on, as soon as the conditions were created, to socialist revolution. By completely paralyzing the disruptive activity and interference of the allied military missions in the internal affairs of our country, the CPA averted a negative factor in the path of the country's historical development which might have become a decisive obstacle to the triumph of the people's revolution and its transformation into a socialist revolution.

Collaboration on the basis of strict correctness and the organising of mutual aid with the neighbouring peoples assumed a special importance.

Two political trends have appeared and operated in the history of the Balkan countries and peoples: Balkan chauvinism which is an expression of the reactionary policy of the ruling classes, a chauvinism which has been incited by «the reactionary influences and pressures of the powerful bourgeoisie of Europe»¹⁴, and Balkan solidarity and collaboration which has been upheld by the democratic forces linked with the broad masses of the people.

The tendency of collaboration and solidarity in struggle against the common enemy among the Balkan peoples manifested itself with a force unprecedented in history during the Second World War.

Not only did the CPA carry out a colossal amount of propaganda work to educate the broad masses of the people with the spirit of solidarity with the Balkan peoples, but in its entire practical activity, it was guided by the principles

of collaboration and mutual aid. The National Liberation Front and the Albanian National Liberation Army unreservedly supported and helped the national liberation movements in the Balkans, particularly those of the Yugoslav and Greek peoples. On their part, also the Yugoslav and Greek national liberation movements were of great help to the National Liberation War of the Albanian people.

Proceeding from the principles of proletarian internationalism, during the war against fascism, the Albanian people created fraternal relations with the peoples of Yugoslavia, and close ties were established between the CPA and the CP of Yugoslavia. The collaboration between the CPA and the CPY and the peoples of the two countries during the National Liberation War was very fruitful. The two parties profited by each other's experience, and, as comrade Enver Hoxha said, faced with the common danger, they found a common language. The CPA and the Albanian people made a high appraisal of the heroic struggle of the people's of Yugoslavia against fascism and Yugoslavia's contribution to the war for the defeat of fascism. But our Party could by no means reconcile itself with the interference by various representatives of the Yugoslav Communist Party in the internal affairs of our Party and our National Liberation War. Our Party rejected their accusations and calumnies as absolutely groundless and smashed all their efforts to compel the CPA to revise its political line. The leadership of our Party rejected the Yugoslav plan for the creation of a «Balkan headquarters» the aim of which was to place the partisan forces of Albania, Greece, and Bulgaria, under the command of the Yugoslav leadership. With courage and wisdom, the CPA resisted the pressure and interference of the representatives of the Yugoslav Communist Party, always preserving its independence in its line and actions, as well as the independence of all the leading organism of the National Liberation Movement.

The Yugoslav interference in the internal affairs of the Party and of the National Liberation Movement reached its

climax at the II Plenum of the CC of the CPA, which was held in Berat in November 1944. At the II Plenum this interference manifested itself with an unprecedented brutality and with predetermined chauvinistic aims.

But, in spite of all this, the CPA remained loyal to the end to the principle of mutual aid and collaboration with the National Liberation War of the peoples of Yugoslavia. Our people's firm support for this principle is shown by their contribution to the great anti-fascist war, and, when it was necessary, both before and after the liberation of Albania from the fascist hordes, on orders of the General Commander, comrade Enver Hoxha, and with the approval of the command of the Yugoslav National Liberation Army, the brigades and divisions of the ANLA participated in the battles for the liberation of Kosova, Montenegro, Sandjak and the regions of Southern Bosnia, thus fulfilling their internationalist duty, both towards the fraternal neighbouring peoples, and towards the great anti-fascist coalition.

Fraternal relations were created with the Greek people too. Essential differences of views and attitudes existed between the CPA and the Communist Party of Greece. The latter concealed its leading role in the EAM (the Greek Anti-fascist National Liberation Movement), gave a predominantly defensive character to the armed struggle in Greece and maintained profoundly opportunist attitudes towards the question of state power, and towards the Greek reaction, behind which were the governments of Britain and USA. Despite this, the spirit of solidarity, fraternity, and collaboration, prevailed in the relations between the National Liberation Movement in Albania and the National Liberation Movement in Greece.

* * *

With the decisions of the Përmet Congress the foreign policy of the CPA assumed completely the character of state policy. With the historic decisions it adopted the Përmet Congress, as the first big National Assembly, truly emerged from

the bosom of the people, laid the foundations of the new Albanian people's democratic state.

The decisions of the Përmet Congress affirmed and sanctioned the state sovereignty, the content and essence of which consisted in the transition of the state power from the hands of the exploiting classes to the hands of the labouring masses with the working class at the head. Now we have to do with a new Albanian State, the sovereignty and independence of which stemmed from the new political and social order which was being established in Albania. These great changes of historic importance, which came about as a result of deep-going revolutionary transformations, conditioned the entire internal and foreign policy of the new sovereign and independent Albania. The actions of the Albanian Government, which was born at the Përmet Congress, in its relations with other states, were the principal indicator showing that Albania was, for the first time, coming out in the international arena as a truly independent and sovereign state, the foreign policy of which was based in the principles of complete equality, non-interference in internal affairs, internationalist solidarity and mutual assistance with the peoples who were fighting for freedom and independence.

The sovereignty and independence of the new Albanian people's democratic State were an actual historical fact which all the member states of the great anti-fascist coalition, willynilly, would have to take into consideration. Its international recognition was quite a natural thing and should have resulted from the very policy of the member states of the antifascist coalition. In view of the fact that in their declarations of 1942 the Foreign Ministers of the three great powers of the coalition had recognised the struggle of the Albanian people and had publicly pledged themselves to respect Albania's independence, there was no reason why these powers should not accept the decisions of the Përmet Congress or fail to recognise the government which emerged from this Congress. In response to the demand of the Përmet Congress, in August 1944, the Soviet government

sent a military mission to Albania. The arrival of this mission testified to the revolutionary friendship and alliance between the two peoples, forged in the common struggle against fascism. The British and American Governments had their own way of looking at things. Anything opposed to their plans for the domination of the world was not accepted. But not only that: all sorts of plots were hatched up in order to bring the countries and states which did not submit to their policy into line. Although the Përmet Congress expressed its full confidence in the common anti-fascist alliance, and its readiness to carry the fight against fascism through to final victory, at the same time it adopted decisions which were not to the liking of the British and American governments, and which clearly showed that imperialism had lost Albania once and for all. The Përmet Congress decided to bar ex-King Zog from returning to Albania. Though they had no special consideration for Zog, the British kept him in the reserve because, a situation might arise in which he could be useful in some way. More serious for them was the decision of the Përmet Congress not to recognize any government that «may be formed in Albania or abroad against the will of the Albanian people». The Governments of Britain and America realised that these two decisions had a much deeper significance than might be understood at first sight. By these decisions the Albanian people put an end once and for all to that political regime in Albania, which could easily be put under the control of those governments. The Governments of Britain and USA understood that the creation of a government which would act and «... come out as the sole juridically legitimate representative of the Albanian people»¹⁵ was the heaviest blow dealt to world reaction and barred the way, once and for all, to the efforts of the opponents and enemies of Albania's independence to create «governments» at home or abroad connected with the Anglo-Americans.

The foreign policy worked out by the CPA during the National Liberation War and which was affirmed as the official policy of the new Albanian State in the

historic decisions of the Përmet Congress, expressed in the most complete way the Albanian people's will not to allow any interference in the internal affairs of Albania.

The decision of the Congress of Përmet that «All the agreements with foreign states must be re-examined, all the economic and political ties established by the Zog government to the detriment of the Albanian people must be broken off and new agreements made, and the non-recognition of any «international agreement or connection which the reactionary cliques might maintain, either as a political group or as a government abroad or in Albanian»¹⁶ clearly showed that the Albanian people would not allow any kind of bargaining to the detriment of their national interests.

The importance of the decisions of the Përmet Congress concerning the international status of Albania is exceptionally great. These decisions laid the foundations for Albania to occupy the place she deserved as a sovereign and fully independent country in the system of international relations. The public proclamation of the liquidation of the old political order, the denunciation of the political and economic agreements and treaties concluded with foreign states, the exclusive right of the government created at the Përmet Congress to represent the Albanian people in the relations with the allies – all these things, in their entirety, meant burning all bridges that could endanger the independence, freedom, and sovereignty of the Albanian people in the future.

After the Përmet Congress, and particularly after the failure of the June Operation of the enemy, the National Liberation Army, powerfully backed by the people, began its triumphant march for the complete liberation of Albania. In face of this new situation arisen in Albania, the Anglo-Americans not only did not recognise the decisions of the Përmet Congress and the government which emerged from it, but concocted intrigues and plots for the partitioning of Albania and its division into three parts, even trying to ensure the support of the Soviet Union for the realisation of these plans. While prior

to the Përmet Congress the western allies had pinned all their hopes on the «Balli Kombëtar», «Legaliteti» and the tribal chiefs of the North, to put Albania under their control, after the Përmet Congress, when these traitorous organisations had been definitely exposed and were on the verge of complete destruction, they sought an opportunity to get their troops into Albania. But the CC of the CPA, the National Liberation Front, and the Antifascist National Liberation Committee, which was performing the functions of a provisional government, adopted a clearcut and firm stand, not allowing any interference by the Command of the Anglo-American forces in the Mediterranean and the allied military missions in the internal affairs of the National Liberation War, and rejecting all their pressures. This is shown especially by the rejection of the insistent demand of the Allied Mediterranean Command that the 1st Division should not cross into North Albania and should not attack the reactionary forces which were operating in that area. The Antifascist Committee did not accept the landing of paratroopers in Albania, either. When the allied troops landed on the south-western coast of Albania, on the eve of liberation, the General Command of the ANLA compelled them to withdraw from Albanian soil.

With the liberation of the major part of Albania by the National Liberation Army, the question arose of further strengthening the State of people's democracy, and, in particular, of transforming the Antifascist Committee into a Democratic Government of Albania. This was achieved at the Second Meeting of the Antifascist National Liberation Council which was held in Berat in October 1944. The decisions of the Second Meeting of the Antifascist National Liberation Council, as a continuation and complement of the decisions of the Përmet Congress, were another blow to the Anglo-American imperialists. They themselves were by now convinced that their plans for the occupation of Albania had failed. Therefore, they changed tactics. It appeared as if they recognized the National Liberation Front, but by acting behind the scenes, they

aimed to destroy the order of people's democracy in Albania and bring the reactionary forces to power. The entire activity of the Anglo-Americans on the eve of liberation and after liberation proves this. But, as is known these tactics of theirs failed completely too.

The determined stand of the CPA and the Democratic Government of Albania deprived Anglo-American imperialism of any possibility of interfering in the internal affairs of Albania and did not allow it to attain its aims in our country, i.e., after the expulsion of the German armies, to have the state power seized by the exploiting classes and through them, establish its control over Albania.

* * *

In working out its strategy in the National Liberation War, the CPA defined the principal enemies for this period – the Italian and German fascists; it defined the external allies of our people – the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the United States of America, and all the peoples fighting fascism, and pursued a principled and consistent policy towards them.

The Party was guided, first of all, by the principles of selfreliance, which not only did not negate, but on the contrary presupposed the alliance, collaboration and mutual assistance of the Albanian people with the other peoples who were fighting fascism.

Second, the Party was guided by the principle that the national independence of Albania could not be achieved outside the great alliance of the peoples against the fascist aggressor states, without the internationalist solidarity, assistance and support, of these peoples.

Third, the Party proceeded from the principle that the true national independence of Albania and the establishment of the people's power could not be realised without barring the way, once and for all, to any kind of imperialist interference, in whatever form it might appear. During the whole period of the National Liberation War the Party combined these three principles in the best possible way

and carried them out consistently. Thanks to this policy Albania became a free, sovereign and independent state, which had never been achieved before by our people during their entire history.

The road pursued by the CPA in its relations with the peoples fighting fascism, armed it with a great experience to work out a consistent, revolutionary and internationalist foreign policy after the liberation, too, and, as a consequence, the People's Republic of Albania today enjoys great authority, prestige and respect among all the revolutionary and progressive people of the world.

1. Report to the general administration of police by the general command of the carabinieri, Nr. 84/3, December 13, 1940. State Central Archives.

2. Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. I, p. 21, (Alb. ed.).

3. PLA, Principal Documents, 1971, vol. I, p. 14-15.

4. Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. I, pp. 40-41, Alb. ed.

5. Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. I, p. 247., Alb. ed.

6. Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. II, p. 11, Alb. ed.

7. PLA, Principal Documents, 1971, vol. I, p. 26.

8. General Davis' speech in his first meeting with the General Staff in Labi-not, October 31, 1943, Party Central Archives.

9. Telegram of the Minister of State in Cairo to the Foreign Office, 31 December, 1943. No. 2958 FO 37L/43555.

10. H. Macmillan, La grande tourmente, Mémoires de guerre 1939-45. Librairie Plon 1960; France, pp. 575-576.

11. PLA, Principal Documents, vol. I, Tirana 1971, p. 232.

12. Proceedings of a Conference on Britain and the European Resistance 1939-45, organised by St. Anthony's College, Oxford, December 10-16, 1962, P. 10.

13. V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. XIX, p. 32.

14. Enver Hoxha, «Report to the Përmet Congress». Works, vol. II, p. 224. (Alb. ed.).

15. Documents of the supreme organs of the national Liberation revolutionary state power (1942-1944), Tirana, 1962, p. 145.

*) Bajraktar: Leader of the bajrak, which was a military, and later an administrative, unit in the northern highlands of Albania, in those places where tribal organisation existed in the past.

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THE SUMMONING OF THE 7TH SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO EXAMINE PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE TO DO WITH INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND COOPERATION MARKS A NEW STEP IN THE EFFORTS AND STRUGGLE OF THE SOVEREIGN PEOPLES AND COUNTRIES FOR FREEDOM AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND PROGRESS. THE SESSION IS MEETING AT A TIME WHEN THE PEOPLES OF THE FREEDOMLOVING COUNTRIES ARE MORE AND MORE RESOLUTELY OPPOSING THE POLICY OF AGRESSION, PLUNDER AND EXPLOITATION WHICH THE IMPERIALIST POWERS EXERT, ARE COORDINATING THEIR FORCES, STRENGTHENING THEIR UNITY, AND FIGHTING MORE COURAGEOUSLY FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF JUST INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS.

The problems facing this session are closely linked with those dealt with at the 6th special session of the General Assembly at which the peoples and developing countries expressed their determination to strengthen their national economies and defend their sovereign rights, against the imperialist, colonialist, and neocolonialist oppression and exploitation, and first and foremost against the aggressive and expansionist policies of the two imperialist superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union. During this period, the freedomloving peoples and the sovereign states have raised their just struggle to a

higher level and have marked new successes in all fields. The historic victories of the Vietnamese people and the Cambodian people over the US imperialists and their tools and collaborators, achieved arms in hand with unyielding heroism and determination, is a great inspiration and encouragement for the worlds peoples in their struggle for the realisation of their lofty national aspirations.

After welcoming the presence of the representative of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia at this UN session, the Albanian representative continued:

Today, the peoples of the developing countries, becoming ever more conscious of the road to the real development and progress, have undertaken a determined struggle to overcome the difficulties, back-

REIZ MALILE - Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs and head of the Albanian delegation at the special session of the U. N. General Assembly.

Speech delivered on September 6, 1975 at the Assembly's plenary session.

THE PR OF ALBANIA DEMANDS COUNTRIES

wardness, and poverty inherited from the past, to oppose the plunder of their national riches by the imperialist powers, to utilise them in the interest of their own countries, to establish their political and economic independence, and their entire development and progress on more reliable foundations. Along with the measures of a national character, they have strengthened their unity and joint efforts.

The results achieved so far have raised higher the confidence of the peoples and the developing countries in their own strength and abilities to achieve still greater victories in the future in the struggle for the destruction of out-dated economic relations and the establishment of new relations, based on the principles of respect for national independence and sovereignty, non interference, equality, and mutual benefit.

But the imperialist powers, are trying to curb this process of development in every way, and, with different means and forms, are continuing their policy of colonialist and neocolonialist exploitation. The rivalry and collusion between US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, their fierce struggle for hegemony and

world domination, for the preservation of the exploitation and plunder of the peoples, which continue to be sources of tension, conflicts and hot beds of war, have come out more openly, especially in the regions and areas of the world rich in raw materials and occupying important strategic positions. This is clearly seen in the Middle East, and Mediterranean, Europe, South-East Asia, the Indian Ocean, and other regions of the world.

The representatives of the US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists, have a lot to say with great demagogy, about "detente", "security" and "disarmament", about "interdependence", and so on.

They are striving in every way to spread illusions, to weaken the vigilance of the peoples, to quell their struggle for freedom and independence, to leave them disarmed so that they can be dominated more easily. The USA, and especially the Soviet Union, are boasting to the skies the benefits which the so-called European Security Conference, cooperation in outer space, etc., will allegedly bring Europe and mankind. The Albanian delegation holds that the so-called European Secu-

rity Conference, in reality, is the conference of the insecurity of Europe because behind this force lurk the aims of the two superpowers to preserve their hegemonistic positions on this continent. The two superpowers are making proposals on disarmament at a time when they themselves are arming to the teeth and their war budgets are reaching record figures. Only the naive could put any trust in their statements and preachings that only in the conditions of "detente" can the progress of the developing countries be achieved, but not the peoples; who, day by day, are feeling the consequences of their imperialist, hegemonistic policy and the danger it constitutes to peace and international security ever more directly. The leader of the Albanian people, comrade Enver Hoxha has said: "the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are aggressive imperialist powers; They are dividing the world into spheres of influence and proceeding to the division and capture of world markets. The ultimate aim of each is to dominate the nations and states of the whole world. From this arise irreconcilable contradictions which may lead to another world war. Their hege-

monism, their reckless arms race, are not by any means, developing smoothly, but through great upheavals with which our world is seething».

Today, continued the Albanian representative, a grave economic political and social crisis has gripped the capitalist and revisionist world and has affected both their economic structure and their superstructure. In order to cope with the great difficulties stemming from the present crisis, the imperialist powers and especially the two superpowers, are continuing their efforts to saddle their own peoples, other countries, and especially the developing countries, with the burden of this crisis. The USA is making use of the dominating positions it has secured in an arbitrary manner in a series of international economic-financial organisms, exerts pressure even on its allies, and arrogantly claims the role of arbiter in the regulation of world economic relations. On the other hand, the Soviet Union, by means of neocolonialist theories on «economic integration», «the international division of labour», «cooperation», «aid», etc., exploits and plunders the riches of the peoples of the developing countries and keeps the entire economic life of the East European countries under its control.

As is known, the 6th special session of the UN General Assembly, adopted «the Declaration on the establishment of a new international economic order» and «the Program of action», which notwithstanding their shortcomings, contained a series of principles and measures in favour of placing international economic relations on a fairer basis.

However the Albanian delegation wishes to stress that, despite the good will and efforts of many member countries, the danger exists that the decisions taken will remain a dead letter, because of machinations and sabotage by the imperialist powers. Various leading circles of the industrialized countries consider the just demands of the developing countries for the establishment of new international economic relations as the ruin of the world economic system» The chieftains of US imperialism even go so far as to make open threats and declare that «the in-

dustrialised countries must settle accounts with the claims of the developing countries.».

Faced with the legitimate determination of the developing countries in defence of their sovereign rights, the imperialist and colonialist powers are demanding «mutual concessions» and «retreat» in the spirit of compromise. However it is not the developing countries that should withdraw, but the imperialist powers, that are striving with all ways and means to continue their colonial domination, to preserve their privileged positions in the world economy. It is understandable that this is not going to come about voluntarily. It has to be imposed on the imperialists through resolute struggle and concrete measures by the developing countries, which in solidarity with one another, have all the possibilities to realise this.

Despite the efforts of the peace loving member countries to place world trade on more just foundations, the situation in this field has not been improved in favour of the developing countries. On the contrary, it has become weighted more heavily against them. The industrialised countries continue to draw great profits at the expense of the raw material producing countries. Through unequal and discriminatory trade exchanges, numerous tariffs and customs barriers, and the continual devaluations of currency, the policy of closed markets and other restrictive measures, such as the US law on trade, that is directed against the national interests of the Latin American countries, the imperialist powers continue to impose huge trade deficits on the developing countries, to create new economic difficulties for them and colossal losses amounting to tens of billions of dollars. The Albanian delegation supports the demands of the developing countries that the policy of discrimination and pressure in trade must cease, that the prices of raw materials should be brought into fairer ratio with those of industrial goods, that artificial barriers should be removed and economic and trading relations should be established on the basis of the principle of equality and mutual benefit. These things should be done, not in words, but in deeds, not

with formulations of clauses and statements, but with the creation of real conditions to establish just international economic relations and rigorously respecting the sovereignty of states.

The frenzied arms trade which the US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists are intensifying even more, is another blatant means of bleeding the peoples white and plundering their riches, of deepening the political, and economic penetration of the superpowers into the developing countries, of extending the spheres of influence, and dividing and colonizing the peoples. The leader of the Albanian people comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «The two superpowers have become such terrible arms dealers, that, by comparison, the Armstrongs, Mauzers and Bazil Zaharovs of the past, seem like traders in children's toys. But naturally they sell these arms on their own account, each aiming to defend its own strategic interests and to set the buyers of these arms fighting one another».

We hold that the scandalous speculations of the present arms dealers should be resolutely exposed.

The measures taken in the recent years by some developing countries, such as the nationalisation of enterprises with foreign capital, the limitation of the activity of the foreign capitalist monopolies in the field of production, research, banks and credits, etc., are a heavy blow to the imperialist powers. The successes achieved so far by the developing countries in their economic and social progress refute the notorious neocolonialist views that it is impossible for the developing countries to utilize their national resources themselves, about their lack of experience and specialists, science and modern technology, about the lack of markets etc. Such views have the aim of arousing pessimism, lack of confidence in their own forces, of raising various obstacles to the developing countries and keeping them at a low level of industrial development, as sources of raw materials and in a situation of permanent dependence. But the peoples of the developing countries are determined to carry their just struggle against the expansionist po-

licy of imperialist powers constantly ahead.

The representatives of the imperialist powers do not fail to preach portentous sermons that the efforts of their countries are dedicated to the progress and raising the wellbeing of the peoples, that they are allegedly worried about and seriously trying to wipe out the hunger, poverty, and backwardness, disease and other evils from which many peoples of the world are suffering today. They try to explain the difficult food situation in various regions and countries with their reactionary theories of «over-population» or «the inability» of the developing countries to organise farm production. But the truth is completely the opposite. It is precisely the imperialist powers which mercilessly exploit and oppress the people. It is they that have left the agriculture of the developing countries in a primitive state, without the real possibility of accumulation for its development, and that continue to plunder their riches on land and sea. On the one hand the imperialist powers, especially the two superpowers bring out proposals for the creation of various international organisms, which they want to have always under their control, and on the other hand they use their cereal crops and other food stuffs as a means of pressure, blackmail and competition, as a strategic means for the realisation of their hegemonistic policy.

The two superpowers boast a great deal about the role of «aid» and «credits» they give the developing countries allegedly to facilitate their economic and social progress. But their real aim is to keep those countries bound with threads of economic and financial dependence. Before granting «aid» and «credits», the imperialists make their calculations well. They never give them for the benefit of the peoples, but only in the interests of their own policy. They accompany this aid and those credits with political, economic and military conditions and use them in a diabolical manner to impose unequal agreements on other countries.

It is by no means rare for the «aid» and «credits» of the two imperialist superpowers to be used openly as means of

blackmail, control and subjugation. The PR of Albania has its own experience in this direction. Resolutely and at the proper time, it tore the mask from the Soviet revisionists, who played the card of «aid» and «credits» to impose their policy of dictate and subjugation on socialist Albania. To this day the imperialists, the social imperialists and their allies are continuing their flattery, their political and economic blackmail and pressure against the PR of Albania. They want to make our government and people give up their independent policy, their courageous and resolute defence of their national sovereignty and independence. But their pressure, blackmail and blandishments have not worked and never will work in socialist Albania.

The experience of our country shows that the most correct road to independent and allround economic development, and consequently, to the strengthening of political independence, and the steady raising of the wellbeing of the working masses, is the mobilisation of all the energies and resources of the country, self-reliance. The principle of self-reliance does not mean at all being closed within one's own shell. In the construction of socialism the Albanian people have had the invaluable and disinterested fraternal aid of the PR of China. As always, the Government of the P. R. of Albania will support the just demands of the developing countries in defence of their national independence and sovereignty. It expresses its categorical opposition to the efforts to deal with the economic problems, which are worrying the world today, within a narrow framework, and upholds the view that a correct solution for them cannot be found without the equal participation of all states, regardless of their size and economic potential.

The delegation of the PR of Albania, in this session of the UN General Assembly too, will coordinate its efforts with those of the delegations of other countries fighting for free and independent development. It will support all measures in favour of the struggle of the peoples, in defence of their sovereign rights, against imperialist exploitation and oppression.

press review

«ECONOMIC EMIGRATION — INCURABLE ULCER OF THE CAPITALIST WORLD»

«ZËRI I POPULLIT», organ of the Central Committee of the PLA.

Among the ills gnawing at the very roots present day capitalism is economic emigration. The main factors which compel the workers under capitalism to leave their country, their family and go to other countries and continents to sell their labour power in the hope of ensuring a better future, are poverty, unemployment, uncertainty for the future. These emigrant workers become slaves of capitalist owners, competitors with the local workers on the labour market, and all in all sell their labour power very cheaply ensuring the capitalists the maximum surplus value.

According to minimized official statistics the total number of economic emigrants in Europe stands at more than 15 million persons. They come mainly from the Portugal, Spain, Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece, and Turkey.

Before the Second World War, and in the early years after it, the greatest percentage of economic emigrants were workers without any technical qualification who came mostly straight from the countryside. But now, besides workers, without technical qualifications who are used for heavy jobs, specialised workers, qualified technicians, cadres, specialists, etc, have also taken the road of emigration.

Economic emigration in the capitalist world today is no longer spontaneous, but an organised, controlled, and directed process. Individual emigration has now been replaced by collective emigration and this has been taken in hand by the governments of the countries from which the workers emigrate. They have set up a series of various state and private institutions to channel the movement of the emigrating workers so that both the country they leave and the country that receives them draw maximum profits at the workers expense.

The countries importing manpower, after securing this commodity at cheap price, in addition to other things pay the exporting state a set quota on the basis of the number of workers and specialists, and their dispatch according to schedule. In addition to the quota they get from the importing states and not worrying at all about the living conditions of these workers, the exporting countries encourage them to save as much foreign currency as possible and use all forms to draw it to the country. All the activity of the organisms set up for emigration is for this aim and not «to ensure the living conditions» of the emigrants.

Apart from the wanton ex-

ploitation of the economic immigrants, the capitalists also use economic immigration as pressure on the local working class. The existence of the reserve army of unemployed in capitalist countries cannot be understood in any other way. Statistical data show that precisely those countries which have the greatest economic immigration also have the highest percentage of the reserve army of unemployed. In the USA, since the beginning of this year, the figure of unemployed has been over 8 per cent of the work force, and the number of unemployed more than 8,5 million workers. In other countries, where economic immigration has been continually high as in the German FR, France, Switzerland, etc., unemployment has continually fluctuated between 3 and 5 per cent.

The capitalist owners also use the economic immigrants as scabs, employing them during a strike and thus arousing and inciting hatred between them and the local workers. The economic immigrants are considered as an «inferior» race. They are forbidden to protest about their working conditions. And if they do not submit to these enslaving conditions, legalised in the contract every worker has to sign before starting work,

the capitalist owners fire them immediately. Millions of immigrant workers in the capitalist countries are compelled to live in cardboard shacks, in shanty

towns outside the city clustering together and scorned by the local inhabitants, badly fed and even more badly dressed. Their hatred for the capitalist bosses

burns undiminished, the sickness and injuries they incur in foreign countries remain unhealed and accompany them to the grave.

THE SPANISH PEOPLE ARE FIGHTING THE FASCIST DICTATORSHIP

«BASHKIMI», Central organ of the Democratic Front of Albania.

The further fascistisation of the life of the country, the lack of the most elementary democratic freedoms and rights, together with the grave economic situation, constitute the picture of present day Franco Spain. Every day the Franco police arrest dozens of opponents to the regime. At cross-roads and various points all citizens are checked. Recently the dictatorial regime approved a number of new oppressive measures equivalent to the establishment of a state of siege all over the country. With these measures even the few constitutional guarantees are suspended for a period of two years, the period for which the Franco police can hold arrested persons is extended indefinitely, and the police force is given a free hand to enter and search any home without a warrant. These new, oppressive, and antipopular measures undertaken by the Franco oligarchy are a continuation of many others undertaken previously. They show still more clearly that all the clamour by the official propaganda about

the so-called «liberalisation» is a bluff, and that the present regime is the same dictatorial fascist regime which has been ruling for 35 years.

This reactionary policy, by means of which the Franco regime is trying to keep itself on its feet, is meeting the growing resistance of the Spanish working people, a resistance which is putting ever more emphasis on political demands, for democratic freedoms and rights, against the anti-people's policy of the Franco regime. At the same time, the Spanish working people are fighting against the American presence in their country. They are fighting against the bargaining of the Franco regime to perpetuate the presence of the US military bases on the territory of Spain, against US imperialism, which wants to prolong the days of the fascist dictatorship. The Spanish working masses, as the recent events indicate, have gone over to open attacks on the forces of the fascist order, clashing with them and inflicting losses on them. This shows that the Spanish

people are responding to the means of violence, the white terror, and punishments by intensifying their struggle, by going over to its highest forms, to armed clashes with the forces of the regime. The Franco regime is feeling the powerful hand of the people's vengeance falling ever more powerfully upon it.

Of course the victories scored by the patriotic forces and the broad masses of Spanish working people in recent times, are not everything. They are still faced with the hated Franco regime which is continuing its efforts to prolong its existence, resorting to the most diverse methods and not hesitating to use the most savage means, such as the recent proclamation of the new measures of oppression. But the present actions of the Spanish working class and the other working masses, reinforce their confidence in their own strength and constitute a sound basis, a starting point, for still more powerful battles in the future, against the dictatorial Franco regime.

press review**THE DIPLOMACY OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS —
A DIPLOMACY OF AGGRESSION AND WAR***«ZËRI I POPULLIT»*

To defend their spheres of influence and domination or to extend their predatory grip on other countries, both the USA and the Soviet Union, in conformity with their political, economic and military interests resort to all means, from conferences or meetings of various levels, down to pressure, blackmail, blockades and aggressions.

In this context a major role is played by their diplomacy, which has been and remains a weapon in the service of the interests of the US monopoly capital and the revisionist bourgeoisie which is ruling in the Soviet Union today.

According to the circumstances and above all, in connection with the aim of sabotaging the struggle of the revolutionary forces and peoples for real national liberation and social progress, both the imperialist and the social imperialist diplomacy use differing forms and methods. At times deception comes to the fore and the olive branch is waved as was the case in Helsinki, in order to deceive the naive that there is no danger whatever of a new war, and at other times blatant blackmail, threats, and aggressions are used in order to stop the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the world against the hegemonistic policy of the two

superpowers — US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism.

Defining the features of such a policy pursued by the two superpowers and the fraudulent nature of the meetings and conferences organised by them, comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «Everything is discussed but nothing is settled and when something is decided, there is nothing certain about it. Today even that little «bourgeois morality» of the diplomatic acts of the past has turned into revolting filth and decay. Degeneration, falsity and deception reign in the policy of the superpowers and their allies».

These features have long been recognised in US imperialist diplomacy. The heads of the White House and the State Department have been changed, but the aggressive foreign policy has remained what it was. At the same time, the Soviet social imperialists also have such features.

Exploiting the authority and strength of the «all powerful», the two superpowers have imposed meetings and a series of international conferences in Helsinki, Geneva or Vienna on the different countries with the deceptive claim that the most acute problems of the times must be solved. Likewise the USA and the Soviet Union have concluded

a series of treaties and joint agreements which are presented by the imperialist and revisionist propaganda as «major constructive steps» to ensure peace and disarmament. But in reality, while the diplomats continue their meetings and contacts sometimes open but in most cases secret, the armaments race is going on at unprecedented proportions, their military potential is growing and each of the two superpowers is spending colossal sums every year for aggression and war.

The conspiratorial character, the falsity and danger of the diplomacy of the two superpowers have been apparent many times in the Middle East. This region, with its great riches of oil and the important strategic position it occupies, is an object of the allout expansion of the two superpowers. The frequent comings and goings of the diplomatic emissaries and top state personalities, both from the Kremlin and from the White House, are not just to see the exotic East, but to seize the «black gold» below the surface of the Arab land. The rivalry and collusion between the two superpowers have been and remain the main source of tension in this region. For many years the Arab people have witnessed the effects of the imperialist policy pursued by

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Washington and Moscow. All Kissinger's smiles and flattery have been accompanied, when required, with threats from Ford and Schlesinger of aggression in case the Arabs raise the price of oil. The embraces of Gromyko and the allround promises of the new czars of the Kremlin to help the Arab people are identical with the behaviour of the medieval Byzantines, who would murder in daylight and mourn at night.

Threats, intrigues, allround diversionist and espionage activity to the detriment of the independence and sovereignty of other countries are always in the air. Thus, H. Kissinger, the chief of the US imperialist diplomacy, has earned the reputation of the man of the most

despicable political and diplomatic backstage deals. In his department, the majority of the diplomatic functionaries are agents of the CIA (Central Information Agency of the USA), who, camouflaged as consuls, attachés, diplomats and experts, carry out allround diversion in other countries to protect the interests of the USA.

The new czars of the Kremlin are not lagging behind in this field either. Reliable data show that, 10.000 KGB (State Security Committee) agents have been specially trained for activity in other countries, and 2.511 others are in active operation. Various experts estimate that 40-75 per cent of the Soviet diplomats in other countries act for the Soviet KGB. In more than 30

countries of Europe, Australia, Asia, and Latin America, Soviet diplomats have been caught red-handed and have been expelled as agents.

The development of events has shown the peoples of the world that the diplomacy of the two superpowers is nothing but a diplomacy of aggression and war, counterposed to the interests of the peoples, which has as its fundamental aim to curb the struggle for political and economic independence against the hegemonistic and aggressive policy pursued by the Soviet Union and the United States of America, as well as to hinder the growth of the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the rotten capitalist order.

■

«... THE CAUSE OF THE REVOLUTION LIVES ON AND IS BEAUTIFYING THE WORLD»

«DRITA», organ of the Writers' and Artists' League of Albania.

With his work the known revolutionary French writer, Henri Barbusse, spread in the world the fire of the great truth of the proletariat. He fought for the triumph of socialism as a writer and publicist, as organiser and inspirer of the most progressive literary and artistic forces of his time. Barbusse, writer of socialist realism, was a fiery opponent of the most barbarous offspring of world imperialism, fascism. That is why the importance of his activity continues

to increase just as the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat everywhere in the world is growing in scope and strength.

For two long years (1914-1916) H. Barbusse experienced life in the front line trenches in World War as a rank-and-file soldier, experienced imperialist war and he hated those who caused this unjust war.

His many impressions, his disillusionment with the bourgeois propaganda in favour of

the imperialist war, and especially the process of the awakening of proletarian class consciousness among the soldiers and in himself, H. Barbusse set out with realism in the novels «The fire», and «Clarity» which have been published in Albanian (the second Albanian edition of «The Fire» came off the press recently).

The «Poetry of the truth» makes these two well-known works of H. Barbusse innovative and original, because while

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revealing the truth to the last detail, the author does not remain in the position of a naturalist objectivist who observes facts and events from life in trenches as an impartial spectator. The value of these novels consists, above all, in the revolutionary idea by which their author is guided, to show, in a realistic way, the need for socialist social changes as the only salvation of mankind.

H. Barbusse's works do not negate every kind of war, irrespective of its character, as the bourgeois and revisionist writers of every kind have done and continue to do in their anti-socialist works. In a letter to his wife H. Barbusse wrote: «The importance of the book (the novel «The Fire») consists not so much in the material, as in the ideological and class direction it has».

V. I. Lenin ranked these works of the French proletarian writer amongst his favourite books and has evaluated them with the following words:

«Among the most vivid proofs which confirm the growth of the revolutionary class consciousness of the masses everywhere are the novels of Henri Barbusse, «The Fire» and «Clarity». The transformation of the petty-bourgeois and man of the masses entirely oppressed by the old ideas and prejudices — into a revolutionary, precisely under the influence of the war, is set out in the novel «The Fire» with extraordinary power, with great talent and correctly».

Henri Barbusse is known also as a tireless social and political activist, as a fiery and passionate propagandist of socialist ideas, as a dauntless fighter against fascism.

In 1934 H. Barbusse wrote the book, «Stalin», with a subtitle «The man in whose work the new life appears», conceived as a biography of J. V. Stalin, but which in reality goes beyond the usual bounds of a biography.

In the figure of Stalin we find typified the most essential

features of a revolutionary and leader.

The modern revisionists have negated the great educational value both historically and for the present day, which this work by Henri Barbusse, dedicated to Stalin, has for the Marxist-Leninists and the proletarian revolution.

Henry Barbusse died 40 years ago, but he is immortal as a writer and outstanding militant for socialism.

«If the cause of the revolution lives on and today is beautifying the world with its splendid example, this is because the revolution has always, mercilessly destroyed all the revolting schemes of betrayal, all the backstage deals and conspiracies of those who have prepared to stab it in the back», — wrote Henri Barbusse.

His warning to be vigilant rings out loud and mobilising even today, when the revolutionaries everywhere in the world, are fighting against imperialism and the revisionist traitors. —

REVISIONIST CINEMATOGRAPHY — A POISONOUS WEAPON IN THE SERVICE OF THE NEW SOVIET BOURGEOISIE

«ZËRI I RINISË», organ of the Central Committee of the ALYU.

Since the time of the usurpation of the state power by the Khrushchev clique, the Soviet revisionist cinematography has turned into an industry which,

with its products, has become one more mouthpiece in the field of art for the ideology, politics, morality, tastes and way of life of the new bourgeoisie.

Starting with such works as «The Forty-First», which advocated conciliation with the class enemy, continuing with other productions in an openly reac-

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tionary spirit against the heroic period of Stalin, such as «Clear Sky» and later «Ballad of the Soldier» «The Fate of Man», which excused cowardice and expressed remorse for the war-time sacrifices and which introduced the spirit of deheroism, this cinematography has degenerated further step by step. It has spread «the philosophy of submission» to the interests of the new bourgeoisie, presenting as the «hero of the time» the new bourgeois element which savagely oppresses and exploits, the workers, portraying the workers as «hooligans», slow witted and lazy, slaves to booze, backward customs, money and other vices, while praising to the skies lack of interest in politics, unconcern about anything or the principle of «be satisfied with your position and behave well», under the domination of the monopoly-bureaucratic bourgeoisie, as positive things and «the heroic quality».

Even those works of Soviet proletarian literature and art, created during the time of Lenin and Stalin and which raised high the revolutionary spirit and the heroic figures of the working class, are now being transformed in order to adapt them to the «esthetic» tastes and morality of the new bourgeoisie. An example to be mentioned is the TV film «How the Steel Was Tempered», based on Ostrovsky's novel, which was screened several months ago. In the bourgeois revisionist treat-

ment of this work, the Leninist Young Communists, with that lofty spirit of sacrifice of the 20's, are presented as extravagant, careless, young people, drunkards, and with many other vices. Although all that is left of Nikolai Ostrovsky's work with its real and healthy content is the title, because all the rest has been hideously deformed, this is described by the Soviet revisionist newspaper, «Sovetskaya Kultura», as a «moral thing», because the events in a new form and content «must be made more understandable» to the present day viewer.

The world of crime, violence and pornography has captured the screens of the Soviet cinemas and television. Films admitted by the Soviet press itself to be «Gangster» or «detective films» are shown. This is the press which some time ago lauded the director, scenario writer, and, at the same time, main actor, of the film «Kalina Krasnaya», V. Shishkin, who put in the centre of his work the professional murderer, Egor Produkin. The film is permeated from end to end by mysticism, by Egor's calls for «spiritual peace». Added to the list of such films, which have had an echo recently in the western world, are some others, such as «contraband», «All the evidence against him» and «It's no good to be wrong». All three have almost the same theme: Crime, theft, murder, presented with differing personages and environments.

That the monopoly bureaucratic bourgeoisie of the Soviet Union has placed literature and art in the service of its policy, is even more blatantly apparent both in the literary works and in the films produced recently which praise great Russian chauvinism to the skies and proclaim the glory of militarism, expansion, aggression and hegemonism.

In order to justify the occupation of Czechoslovakia and their theory of «limited sovereignty», which implies fascist type aggression against other peoples, the Soviet revisionists fabricated the full length colour film «Czechoslovakia, a Year of Trial». With this film they seek to present themselves as «liberators and defenders» of others, to back up the social imperialist claim that «aggression is legitimate».

Just as US imperialism, Soviet social imperialism threatens the peoples with its weapons and especially with its nuclear weapons. Therefore, trumpeting its nuclear superiority and boasting about the power of its missiles has become another theme of the Soviet militarist literature and art. The film «Master the flames» is dedicated to the efforts of the Soviet social imperialists in rivalry with the US imperialists to attain nuclear superiority by advocating the militarisation of the economy, with the aim of impelling the scientists to new inventions, to increase the «power» of nuclear missiles even al-

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though, for demagogic purposes, the Brezhnev clique comes out from time to time with «proposals» for «disarmament» and «limitation» of weapons of mass extermination. The other film «A garland in the sea» aims at

arousing the psychosis of fear and panic.

The above examples in the field of cinematography are some of the evidence showing the completely degenerate character of the Soviet cinemato-

graphic art, its reactionary bias as an art in the service of the bourgeois-revisionist and social imperialist political line of the monopoly bureaucratic class, both at home and abroad.

«A FILTHY TRADE IN HUMAN BEINGS»

«BASHKIMI»

The chieftain of the Polish revisionists, Gierek, and the chancellor of the GFR, Schmidt, took the opportunity during the proceedings of the ill-famed European Security Conference in Helsinki to hold talks. These talks lasted eight hours and finally a shameful bargain was struck, to which the bourgeois-revisionist propaganda is giving great publicity. In the terms of this deal, the Polish revisionists will allow 125,000 Polish citizens «Of German origin» to emigrate to the GFR during the four coming years. In return for this Bonn will give the new Polish bourgeoisie a credit of 1 billion marks at 2,5 per cent interest, as well as 1,3 billion marks allegedly in payment of pensions for poles who served in Hitler's plants, factories or administration, during the Nazi occupation.

In Bonn and Warsaw the new agreement is described simply as an important act «unfreezing» the situation in their relations. But the fact is that another door

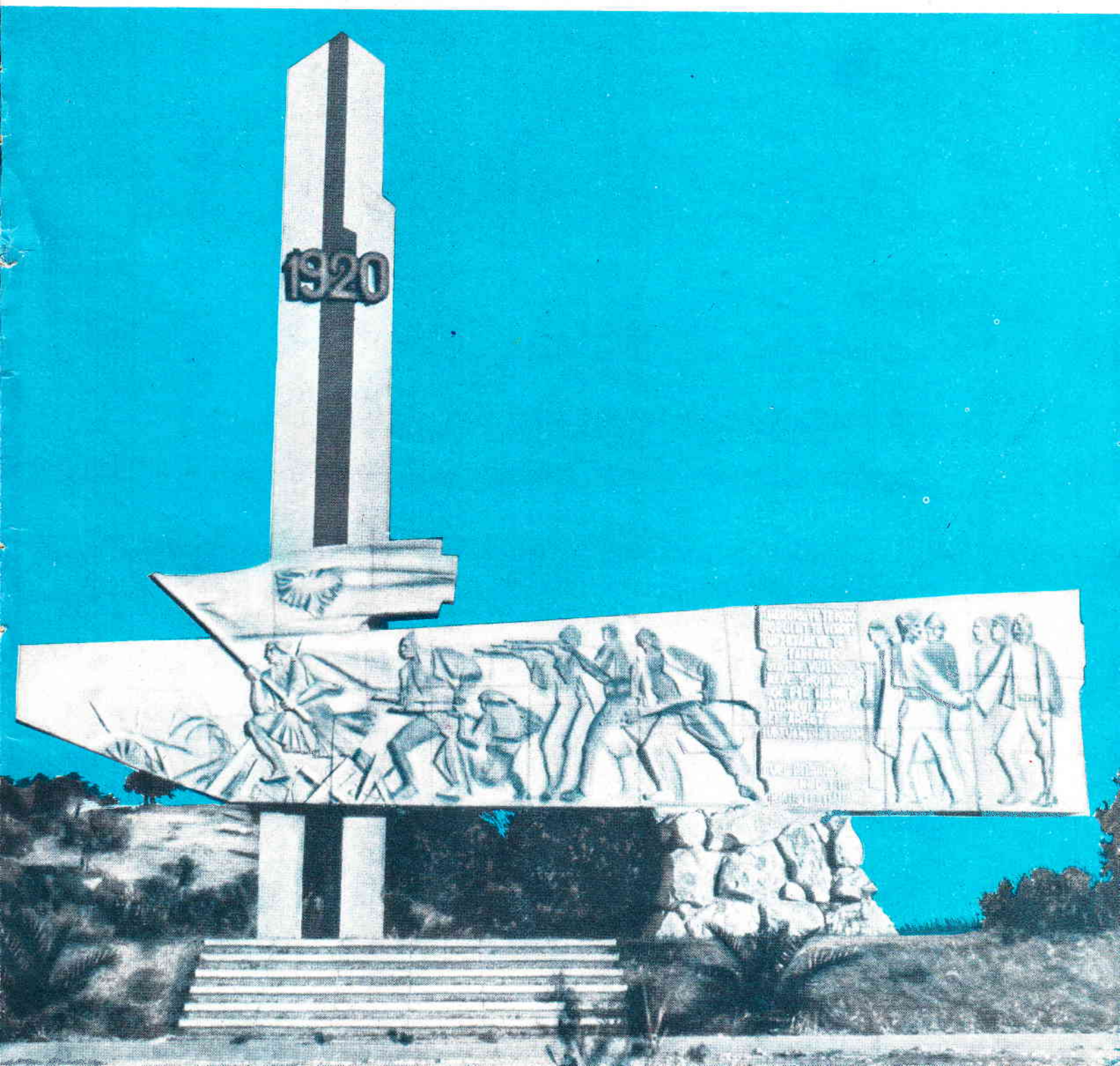
which links the Gierek clique with the militarist successors of the 3rd Reich has been opened. The Bonn-Warsaw treaty of December 1970, which followed the ill-famed Moscow-Bonn treaty, has now been concretized with a series of concessions which the Polish bourgeoisie has made towards Bonn. These concessions range from recognition of the revanchist ambitions of the Bonn rulers and the rapid penetration of the Ruhr capital into Poland, down to the selling of Polish men and women, as was the case with the recent agreement reached in Helsinki. Thus, once again, the Gierek clique spurned the sacrifice of 6 million Polish martyrs to the Hitlerite cannibals.

The new agreement is the concretisation of the official line of strengthening ties with Bonn, as well as with the USA and other capitalist countries, followed by the Polish bourgeoisie in power (and all the other revisionists). For dollars and marks they are willing, to sell anything.

With unprecedented industry the bourgeois-revisionist propaganda is advertising the scraps of paper from Helsinki as «Documents of historic importance». In this clamour a special place has been given to the trade in human beings, which has been described by Gierek and Schmidt as a step in the Helsinki spirit. But it is precisely the new Bonn-Warsaw agreement that exposes the authors of Helsinki and their followers. It shows the peoples that behind the slogans of «humanism», «relaxation of tension», «peace» and so on, lie hidden the criminal objectives of the enemies of mankind for the subjugation of the peoples. Under the cloak of these slogans they buy and sell people, under the cloak of these slogans conditions are created for the bourgeoisie, and in the first place the two superpowers, to hold the European countries under their domination and plunder them at will in all fields.

On September 1 as every year schools opened in Albania. After their happy summer holidays in the most beautiful sites of the country, the pupils and students begin the new school year with new forces.

On September 3, 1920 the Albanian fighters, as a result of fierce battles, entered triumphantly Vlorë, liberated from the Italian occupiers. To this remarkable event is dedicated this memorial erected in Vlorë, work of the sculptors Kristaq Rama, Mumtaz Dhrami and Shaban Hadëri.



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