

Albania today

\$.75

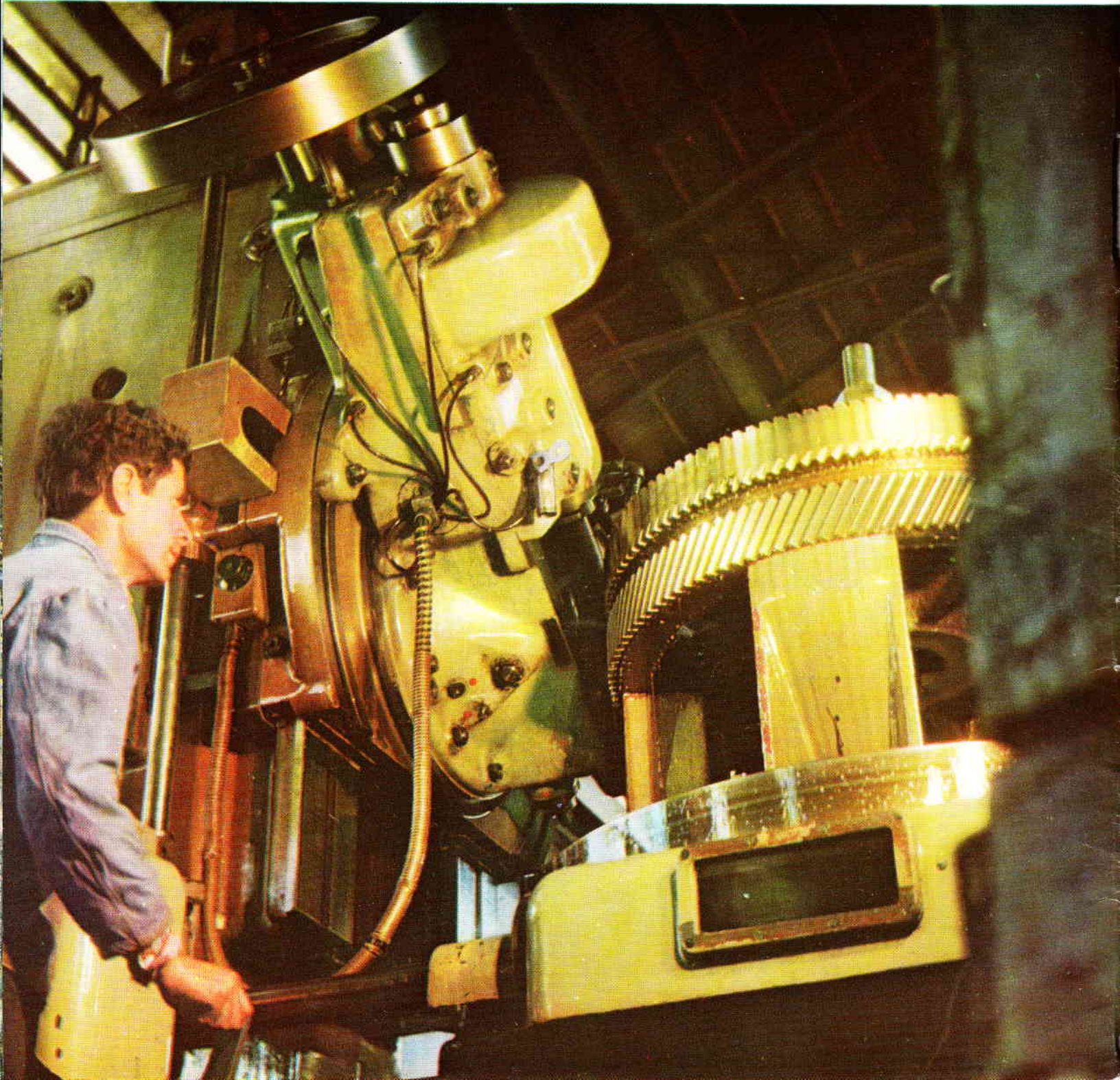
POLITICAL AND INFORMATIVE REVIEW / TIRANA

No. 5 (30) / SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER



As a result of protracted and persistent work by comrade Enver Hoxha, in the atmosphere of the savage fascist terror, the Communist Party of Albania (today the Party of Labour of Albania) was founded in a small house in Tirana on November 8, 1941. It led the Albanian people successfully in the struggle for the liberation of the country, and now it is leading them boldly on the difficult but glorious road of the construction of the complete socialist society. This memorable event has been presented in the picture «The Party has been founded» by the painter Shaban Hysa. Comrade Enver Hoxha in the centre of the picture.

In the struggle for the construction of socialism in Albania together with the new projects the working class, too, has grown and become stronger. Now not only is it leading the whole life of the country, but it is also mastering the highest levels of technology.





CONTENTS

A great event for the further development of the revolution in Albania	2	
Important steps forward in the complete construction of the socialist society	8	ARISTOTEL PANO
The relations between the cadres and the masses and the struggle against bureaucracy	13	AGIM POPA
Albanian ethnography and some of its problems	18	ALEKS BUDA
From the life of the country	24	
The economic crisis and the sharpening of contradictions in the capitalist-revisionist world	30	HEKURAN MARA
(Documents) The resolution of the meeting of the main communist group of Albania on the creation of the Party	38	
Press review	46	

A GREAT EVENT FOR THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVOLUTION IN ALBANIA

ALL THE CONGRESSES OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA HAVE BEEN VERY GREAT AND IMPORTANT EVENTS IN THE LIFE AND ACTIVITY OF THE PARTY AND THE ENTIRE COUNTRY. WITH THE PROFOUND ANALYSES MADE, WITH THE CORRECT MARXIST-LENINIST LINE WORKED OUT, WITH THE DECISIONS TAKEN AND WITH THE TASKS SET, EACH OF THEM HAS GUIDED AND INSPIRED THE COMMUNISTS AND ALL THE WORKING PEOPLE FOR NEW BATTLES AND VICTORIES IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE UNCEASING ADVANCE OF THE REVOLUTION, FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM, FOR THE STRENGTHENING AND DEFENCE OF OUR SOCIALIST HOMELAND. EVERY ONE OF THEM HAS SET ITS SEAL ON THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST-LENINIST ROAD OF THE PARTY AND OUR PEOPLE WHICH IT LEADS. AND THE 7TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY WHICH WILL BE HELD ON THE EVE OF THE 35TH ANNIVERSARY OF ITS FOUNDING WILL DO THE SAME.

IN MAKING UP THE BALANCE OF THE VICTORIES ACHIEVED IN THE FIVE YEARS THAT HAVE ELAPSED SINCE THE 6TH CONGRESS, IT WILL SUM UP THE RICH EXPERIENCE ACCUMULATED DURING THIS PERIOD BY THE PARTY IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ITS MARXIST-LENINIST GENERAL LINE AND ITS DEFENCE FROM ATTACKS AND DISTORTIONS OF THE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL ENEMIES, FOR THE STRENGTHENING AND DEFENCE OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE ENTIRE SOCIALIST SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORDER FROM THE DANGER OF BUREAUCRATIC AND LIBERAL DEGENERATION, FOR THE REVOLUTIONISATION OF THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE PEOPLE AND THE ENTIRE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY IN THE FLAMES OF THE FIERCE CLASS STRUGGLE AGAINST ALL HANGOVERS AND INFLUENCES OF ALIEN BOURGEOIS-REVISIONIST IDEOLOGIES, FOR THE SUCCESSFUL CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM, TO CARRY FORWARD PRODUCTION, ORGANISATION, EDUCATION, FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF THE DEFENCE CAPACITY OF THE COUNTRY. AT THE SAME TIME, IT WILL SET THE OBJECTIVES TO BE ATTAINED AND THE MAJESTIC TASKS TO BE FULFILLED DURING THE COMING FIVE YEARS. THUS, THE 7TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY WILL ARM THE COMMUNISTS AND ALL THE WORKING MASSES WITH NEW LESSONS AND CONCLUSIONS AND WILL SET BEFORE THEM OTHER GREATER TASKS ON THE ROAD OF THE CONSISTENT AND RESOLUTE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, TO MAKE SOCIALIST ALBANIA MORE PROSPEROUS, MORE POWERFUL, MORE INVINCIBLE.

In preparing themselves for the 7th Congress of the Party, the Albanian communists look back over the course of the 35 years it has traversed at the head of the people, in struggle for the realisation of profound political, economic, social, ideological transformations, for national and social liberation, for the establishment and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the construction of socialism and the defence of the homeland. This has been a militant and glorious road. The achievements, too, have been majestic, but not easy to attain. Great difficulties of the backwardness inherited from the past, many difficulties of growth and our advance at rapid rates, as well as countless difficulties and obstacles which the external and

internal enemies have created and are still creating have had to be faced and overcome. The basic factors that have ensured these profound transformations and majestic achievements, the uninterrupted development of the socialist revolution in Albania, have been and are undivided, courageous and farsighted leadership of the Party, the implementation and defence of its correct revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line, the raising to an ever higher level of the great patriotism of the people, the strengthening of their steel-like unity around the Party.

The period since the 6th Congress of the Party, during which the Party has carried out and guided major, all-sided work, a fierce class struggle in all fields of life, constitutes

**On November 1, 1976 the 7th Congress
of the Party of Labour of Albania will convene in Tirana.
It will analyse
the activity of Central Committee
of the Party from the 6th Congress up to date,
approve the draft - directives
of the 6th five - year plan, and elect the new leading
organs of the Party**

an important stage in this 35 year course of the Party. Through this struggle the ranks of the Party have been further strengthened and tempered, the socialist socio-economic order and the dictatorship of the proletariat have been further strengthened and perfected, the moral-political unity of the people round the Party with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head has been further strengthened, the economy has been developed and the defence of the country has become impregnable, the authority of socialist Albania has increased and its position in the international arena has been strengthened. With such a sound general situation the Party of Labour of Albania goes to its 7th Congress, prepared to undertake and fulfill greater tasks in the future.

*

In the period since the 6th Congress, the Party has encountered a number of problems of a great ideological and political importance. It has been extensively engaged with them, and by analysing and treating them theoretically and practically in the plenums of the Central Committee of the recent years, in broad discussions in all its organisations and organs at all levels, as well as in great popular discussions it has arrived at conclusions and has drawn important lessons. In this direction the ideas expounded in these years by comrade Enver Hoxha in a series of speeches of programmatic importance constitute documents of theoretical and practical value. Delving deep in these problems, to penetrate into their essence, to grasp and master their profound ideopolitical content and to build all practical activity in conformity with these teachings of the Party, constitutes one of the most important directions of the entire preparatory work to the 7th Congress of the PLA.

The Central Committee of the PLA and comrade Enver Hoxha have continually drawn the attention of the Party branches and the leading organs of the Party, the

state and economic organs, the organisations of the masses of every communist and working man, to the need to understand and appreciate the full gravity of the imperialist revisionist encirclement and its pressure on socialist Albania, and to cope with it practically, while living with and always correctly assessing the internal and international situations in which we find ourselves, and implementing the great principle of the Party, the principle of self-reliance, in every action and at every step on the road of socialist construction.

In the new conditions created in these recent years, as well as because of the lack of clarity that existed and the harm it brought, the Party has stressed again with special emphasis the need for a correct and thorough understanding of these two problems and for the fulfilment of tasks in conformity with the requirements stemming from them. Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech of March 15, 1973, as well as many of his other speeches and the documents of the plenums of the Central Committee of the recent times, are of a special importance in this direction.

Of course, on the basis of the intense explanatory ideopolitical work which the Party has carried out, there is now a more correct understanding and more realistic assessment of these problems, and this has led to the taking of many concrete measures and the adoption of practical stands in conformity with them. But it is also a fact that what is required has not been fully attained as yet, that there are still some cases of manifestations of unclarity, of not going deeply into things and failure to understand with proper seriousness, both the real and by no means imaginary danger to us represented by the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, the economic blockade and their ideological pressure, up to the danger of their armed aggression against socialist Albania, as well as the necessity of relying strongly on our own forces in every field and at every step we take,

to face these dangers and carry forward the revolution. Therefore, the demand for intense allround work in these directions remains on the agenda for today and for the future.

The Party wants people to live every hour and every moment with the development of situations not only inside the country, but also outside it, to see the political and military events, the economic and financial crises, as well as the ideological and spiritual crises which are developing and have seriously afflicted the capitalist-revisionist world, not as events which have nothing to do with Albania, but as situations which, in one way or another, directly or indirectly, exert their influence on Albania, too, creating difficulties and increasing the dangers. And since it has been and will be the Albanian people themselves that have to face and overcome these difficulties and obstacles, what is required is that more and more each day, the working masses, should make their own the concern of the Party for a more profound understanding and a broader implementation of the great principle of self-reliance in all fields. It is not only the situations we are passing through, that demand this, but also the greater opportunities that have been created with the strengthening of the material-technical base, with the many cadres that have been trained, with the colossal experience that has been accumulated, with the raising of the level of the socialist conscience of the working people, etc.

The Party has constantly pointed out that only on the basis of the creation of correct concepts and profound convictions about these two problems, only on the basis of the formation of a general and sound opinion about them, will the way be barred in practice to any case of under-estimation, sometimes, of the one and sometimes of the other aspect of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement manifested on some occasions by communists and working people, to any case of failure to put savings and sacrifice on the agenda always and everywhere, to any attitude of insufficient struggle to cut imports and increase exports, to any case of under-rating manifestations of the hangovers and influence of alien ideology and struggle against them only in fits and starts, etc.

The five years of work and efforts for the fulfilment of the tasks set by the 6th Congress of the Party have been years of a fierce and allround class struggle in all fields. For the working class and the other working masses the key problem of this struggle has been and remains the preservation and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism, whereas for the class enemies, internal and external, the key problem has been and remains the efforts to liberalise it, weaken it and cause its degeneration with the ultimate objective of overturning it and replacing it with the bourgeois-revisionist dictatorship.

Remaining loyal to the Marxist-Leninist theory about the class struggle and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, defending it in practice from the revisionist distortions and implementing it consistently and wisely in the concrete conditions, the Party of Labour of Albania has developed and led this struggle with success. At the same time, through a profound class analysis of the development of events on a national and international scale, it has arrived at a series of important conclusions of principle which constitute a further development and enrichment of the Marxist-Leninist theory and revolutionary practice about these two issues so vital to the fate of the revolution and socialist construction.

Life has fully confirmed the falsity of the revisionist so-called theories about «the general softening» of the class struggle at the present time and particularly about its trend towards «dying out» in the socialist countries following the construction of the economic basis of socialism. Life has also confirmed the falsity of the revisionist so-called theory about «the state of the entire people». The counterrevolutionary aim of these so-called theories is now clear. They aim to give the old bourgeoisie and the new revisionist bourgeoisie the possibility of success from their point of views, in waging the class struggle to overturn the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. The theoretical and practical conclusions which the Party of Labour of Albania has reached in these directions constitute a sharp weapon in the struggle against these revisionist theories.

In many documents of the Party and in many speeches of comrade Enver Hoxha during these recent years it has been pointed out that even in the conditions of the complete construction of socialist society, the class struggle is an objective phenomenon and a main motive force of society, which also sets the tone and content for its other motive forces, that it always goes on fiercely between dying capitalism and socialism to which the future belongs, between the capitalist road and the socialist road of development, that it includes all fields-political, economic, ideological, military, administrative, etc; that it is waged not only with the declared or disguised class enemies, old or new, internal or external, but also in the ranks of the people even within the ranks of the Party; that in this struggle the internal front is closely interwoven and alternated with the external front, etc. These documents of the Party and speeches of comrade Enver Hoxha also stress a series of issues dealing with the preservation and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the fundamental problem of the class struggle, such as the need for the ceaseless strengthening of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat with a powerful democratic centralism; the need for the uninterrupted waging of the struggle against liberalism and self-administration as well as against bureaucracy and bureaucratic centralism; the ever greater extension of socialist democracy, by drawing the broad working masses actively into

the work of the state, strengthening and perfecting the direct worker and peasant control, and constantly improving the work of the organs and people elected to power; the continuous strengthening of the defence of the country and the enhancing of revolutionary vigilance, etc.

On the basis of these conclusions, a great deal of theoretical and practical work has been carried out about these problems. A heavy blow has been dealt to bureaucracy and liberalism, the manifestations of alien influences, to various enemies and saboteurs. Of great help in grasping these problems have been the study in the Party and among the masses of the theory of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the popular discussion on the Draft-Constitution of the PSRA, as well as all the work and the allround, practical struggle which has been carried out under the leadership of the Party about these problems. However it is necessary for the communists and all the working people of Albania today, and for a long time to come to return again and again to the basic teachings and conclusions of the Party on these fundamental questions, not only because the class struggle is still going on and will do so up to the construction of communism, but also because, from a correct and profound understanding of these teachings, they will ensure that this struggle is always waged correctly, consistently and unerringly, without weakening it or forgetting it for a single moment, without wavering from opportunist to sectarian stands, as not infrequently happens in practice. This is how we should fight any manifestation of bureaucracy and liberalism, too without underestimating these typical expressions of the class struggle, in order to preserve and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Party of Labour of Albania has consistently upheld the Marxist-Leninist principle that its leading role in the revolution and socialist construction constantly increases, that the way to increase this role is through the strengthening and the constant revolutionisation of its ranks and activity, which protect it and keep it always vigorous and dynamic, militant and closely linked with the masses. The 35 years of existence of the Party of Labour of Albania have fully confirmed the correctness of this principle and the need to defend and implement it at every stage of development and in every step.

Life itself has shown that the existence of the Marxist-Leninist party and its leading role under the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the main source of the strength and invincibility of this dictatorship, of ensuring the uninterrupted development of the revolution, of the socialist construction and the defence of the homeland. The communists and all the working people of Albania know this well; we must appreciate this fact and realise it better day by day. Our enemies also know and appreciate this fact, and with their aims of causing the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat, they have always directed their main blow against the Party and its leading role, in order

to weaken and liquidate them. The whole period dividing us from the 6th Congress of the PLA gives extensive evidence of this. Therefore, all the plenums of the Central Committee of the Party of the recent years, in summing up the experience of the struggle to smash and expose any anti-Party and hostile activity, have laid the stress on the fact that the ceaseless strengthening and perfecting of the undivided leading role and control of the Party in every field and in every link of the activity, over every one and for everything, constitutes one of the key problems of the Marxist-Leninist theory and revolutionary practice for the uninterrupted and successful development of the revolution and socialist construction.

The Albanian communists have gained a deep understanding of this principle which will become even more profound in the future, and they will carry further the process of increasing, strengthening and perfecting the leading role of the Party, on the basis of the rich revolutionary experience of major theoretical and practical importance summed up and concretised in these recent years by the Central Committee of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed first of all that the Party does not share its leading role in the whole life of the country with anyone, that the entire activity of every organism, organ, cadre or working man must be developed completely in conformity with the Party's ideology, with its proletarian general political line and its directives, and be subject to its control, that the leadership of the Party, is, in the first place, political and ideological leadership, that to put these ideas into practice it is necessary to combat any bureaucratic, technocratic, intellectualist or liberal concept which threatens or diminishes this role in the least. The struggle to explain, understand, analyse, concretise, and organise the putting into practice of and check up on the precise implementation of the line, directives, principles and norms of the Party by everybody and in all fields, constitutes the essence of this question. Practice has shown that any shortcoming and weakness in this direction, any view and handling of the matter only or simply on the narrow organisational plane, as well as any identification of the line with the organising around it or of the organisation with its secretary or bureau, of the cadre of whatever rank with the Party, creates favourable soil for deviation from the line of the Party, weakens its leadership and leaves the way open for the activity of the class enemy.

In practice the Party realises its undivided and complete leadership over the whole life of the country through its branches in which all the communists militate and where all, without exception, have the same rights and duties, demand the rendering of account from everyone and render account to the letter about their implementation of the line and decisions of the Party. Their main duty is to lead and check up to see that the activity of every cell of the life of the country, every sector of the state power, the economy,

administration army, culture, organisations of the masses, etc., is guided, based on, and inspired by the general line, the policy and directives of the Party. Also linked with the increase of the leading role of the branches and organs of the Party is the increase of the leading role of all the communists, by striving for their Marxist-Leninist education in the class struggle and their revolutionary tempering with the lofty qualities of communists, ready and capable of militating everywhere, and always as revolutionaries, agitators, propagandists, organisers and leaders for the implementation of the line and directives of the Party.

The Party of Labour of Albania will go to its 7th Congress with a balance of political victories in the international field too. Thanks to the wise policy of the Party, the People's Republic of Albania has emerged in the international arena with dignity and an honoured name, with many friends and supporters, in uncompromising struggle against imperialism and social imperialism. The fierce waves, the imperialist-revisionist blockades and pressures have been broken and become powerless in face of the steel-like unity of our people around the Party and its vigilance. The entire people are working, learning and defending their victories with a dauntless spirit of heroism, like a brigade in encirclement. The voice of Albania echoes, throughout the world today as the voice of the truth. What is happening in the capitalist-revisionist world is completely different. There, the antagonistic contradictions have become extremely acute, and the deep, allround crisis is eroding it and shaking it to its foundations: inflation, mass unemployment, skyrocketing prices and degeneration. Whereas the Albanian reality is full of light. In Albania there is economic stability, increasing well-being. All these things once again verify in practice the correctness of the decisions and the scientific predictions which the Party of Labour of Albania made at its 6th Congress. In its struggle, Albania has a faithful ally, great People's China, the powerful fortress of the revolution and socialism; it has as its friends, many peoples and revolutionaries in all parts of the world.

The other main pivot of the work of the Congress will be the discussion and approval of the draft-directives of the 6th five-year plan (1976-1980) for the development of the economy and culture of the PR of Albania.

At the 9th Plenum of the CC of the Party comrade Enver Hoxha gave the instruction that, through study of the draft-directives with greatest attention, mastering their deep political, ideological, economic and social content, and considering the targets envisaged in them as the minimum limit of the forecast, the creative energies of every working man and every working collective should burst out as never before to advance these targets, to draw up a five year plan as studied, realistic, mobilising and revolutionary as possible, based on their own forces.

The experience gained during the past five-year plan in fulfilling the targets in the heat of a very fierce and allround

class struggle, waged and crowned with success by the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, under the leadership of the Party, constitutes a great source of theoretical and practical lessons with which the Party and the people must be educated and tempered to develop their revolutionary stand. During the 5th five-year plan the Albanian people had to cope with the unrelenting pressure of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, of their general economic blockade and savage ideological aggression, not simply as before, but in the conditions of the deepening of the grave general political, economic, and financial crisis of the capitalist and revisionist world, a crisis which could not fail to exert an influence and create certain new difficulties. Likewise the diversionist, conspiratorial and sabotage activity of the international enemies was coped with successfully.

In spite of these difficulties, in general the 5th five-year plan was well fulfilled.

But it is also a fact that, in comparison with the targets set by the 6th Congress of the Party, deficits were created in some branches. In making a thorough critical and self-critical analysis of these deficits, the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party which convened in July this year, pointed out that the main causes of them are weaknesses and shortcomings of a subjective character. Hence, it is essential that the very important general lessons the Party has drawn should be kept in mind today and in the future, to serve the fulfilment of the targets of the 6th five-year plan. Thus, the Plenum gave the instruction that the internal and external circumstances must be kept well in mind in order to be always vigilant, to prevent anyone from doing the slightest damage, to combat any erroneous concept or practice which inhibits or hinders our advance. The great principle of self-reliance must be implemented in every step, the many internal reserves must be discovered and put to use, the fight against any manifestation of liberalism and bureaucracy must go on ceaselessly, the organisation, management, discipline and control over the complete fulfilment of the targets, on time and with good quality, must be strengthened and perfected everywhere by working with a high level of consciousness and mastering and applying science and the great wealth of advanced experience which is to be found everywhere.

The Albania working people are extensively discussing the draft-directives of the five-year plan.



IMPORTANT STEPS FORWARD IN THE COMPLETE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY

by ARISTOTEL PANO

The planned development of the economy is one of the great superiorities of socialism which ensures the country high rates of development of the productive forces, the ceaseless perfecting of socialist relations in production, the strengthening of the economic independence and the defence of the country, the constant improvement of the material and cultural situation of the working masses

THE 9th PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA WHICH WAS HELD IN JULY THIS YEAR UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE FIRST SECRETARY, COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, ALONG WITH THE DECISION TO SUMMON THE 7th CONGRESS OF THE PARTY, APPROVED FOR PUBLICATION ANOTHER DOCUMENT IMPORTANT TO THE FUTURE OF SOCIALIST ALBANIA: THE DRAFT DIRECTIVES FOR THE 6th FIVE-YEAR PLAN OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY AND CULTURE. LIKE THE SUMMONING OF THE 7th CONGRESS OF THE PARTY, THIS IMPORTANT DOCUMENT INCREASED EVEN FURTHER THE REVOLUTIONARY ENTHUSIASM WHICH HAS SWEEPED THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE ON THE OCCASION OF THE APPROACH OF NOVEMBER 8, THE 35th ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA, THE LEADER AND ORGANISER OF ALL THEIR VICTORIES; IT HAS ADDED TO THE EMULATION AT WORK TO ARRIVE AT THIS GLORIOUS JUBILEE WITH MAXIMUM SUCCESSES, AND HAS GIVEN A NEW IMPULSE TO THE REVOLUTIONARY INITIATIVES TO RELY MORE AND MORE ON THEIR OWN FORCES IN THE EFFORTS TO BUILD THE COMPLETE SOCIALIST SOCIETY IN ALBANIA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

The planned development of the economy is one of the objective economic laws of the socialist economy which finds its expression in the annual and five-year state plans. On the basis of these plans, drawn up scientifically with the participation of the working masses themselves, all the branches of the economic and culture are developed and the desired objectives in all fields of life are set and attained.

This planned development of the economy is one of the great superiorities of socialism which ensures the country high rates in the development of the

productive forces, the ceaseless perfecting of socialist relations in production, the strengthening of the economic independence and the defence of the country, the constant improvement of the material and cultural situation of the working masses. Thanks to the superiority of the socialist relations of production, the planned development of the economy, and the implementation of the far-sighted economic policy of the Party of Labour of Albania, our country knows none of the economic crises, inflation, unemployment and other phenomena

of the principle of self-reliance, in the strengthening of the economic independence of the country and the capacity of self-action of the economy, in the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the defence of the country, in the overall increase of the international authority of our Republic, and finally, in the improvement of the whole material and cultural life of our working masses.

Of course these successes have not been achieved easily, but by means of selfless work, through waging a fierce class struggle against internal and external enemies, against bureaucracy and liberalism, which constitute great dangers to the fate of socialism, against bourgeois-revisionist influences in all fields of life, against the savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement and the influence of the grave economic crisis which has gripped the main capitalist-revisionist countries.

The clearest way to concretise the economic successes of Albania during the fulfilment of the fifth five-year plan is through the figures which characterise the most important economic indices of the country.

Over the 1971-1975 period the development of the economy has been characterised by the following main figures (in percentage):

Economic indices	Increase as a five-year period (1971-1975)	Average annual rate of increase
1. Increase of national income	38	6,7
2. Increase of industrial production	52	8,7
3. Increase of agricultural production	33	5,9
4. Increase of the volume of State investments	53	8,9
5. Increase of the volume of goods transport	45	7,8
6. Increase of the volume of retail trade	35	6,2
7. Increase of real income per capita of the population	14,5	2,8

which are eroding the whole capitalist-revisionist world today.

The development of the socialist economy of Albania on the basis of five-year plans began in 1951 with the approval of the first five-year plan for 1951-1955. During the period since 1951, Albania has achieved magnificent successes in all fields of life. Some of these successes were achieved during the fulfilment of the 5th five-year plan (1971-1975), which represented another important step towards the complete construction of socialist society.

What did socialist Albania achieve during the past five years (1971-1975) and what bright prospects lie in store for her during the coming five years (1976-1980).

I. Great achievements

If the main successes of socialist Albania during the fulfilment of the fifth five-year plan (1971-1975) are to be summed up, then it must be said that they consist in the continuation of the economic development at high and stable rates in all the branches of the economy, in the further strengthening and perfecting of socialist relations in production, in the more consistent implementation

If the above figures which show the development of the economy over the period 1971-1975 are carefully analysed, then it emerges as characteristic that the rate of increase of the main economic indices during this period has been 2-3 times greater than the increase of the population of the country.

In the first place, the economic index, which best synthesises the development of a country is that of the increase of national income. Over the past period, as can be seen from the above table, an average annual rate of increase of the national income of 6,7 per cent was ensured in Albania. It must be said that if this rate of increase is compared with that of the increase of national incomes in the world as a whole, as well as in individual regions, then it is more clearly understood that our rate is much higher.

During the period 1971-75 the main capitalist countries were characterised, in regard to their national incomes, by two stages. In the first stage (1971-1973) they had very small increases (one half to one third of our increase), while in the second stage (1974-1975), as a result of the grave economic crisis, they had stagnation and absolute falls.

Thus, during the year 1975 alone, the absolute fall of the gross national product in the main capitalist countries of the West was as follows (in percentage): ¹⁾

Country	Percentage of decline
1. U.S.A.	4,0
2. German F. R.	3,5
3. France	2
4. Italy	3,0
5. Britain	0,7

As can be seen from the above figures, the national incomes of the main capitalist countries of the West in 1975 suffered absolute falls varying, according to the country, from 0,7 per cent up to 4 per cent.

Our average annual rate of increase in national income over the period 1971-1975 has also been much higher than the rate of the majority of revisionist countries. Thus, as compared with the

Soviet Union, our average annual rate of increase in national income in the period 1971-1975 was 34 per cent higher. ⁽²⁾

In the second place, the period 1971-1975 was a period of further industrial development for Albania. The overall volume of industrial production, as emerges from the above table, increased 52 per cent, or at an average annual rate of 8,7 per cent. According to the subdivisions and main branches of industry, the increase of industrial production was as follows (in percentage):

Indexes	Total increase during the period 1971-1975	Average annual rate of increase
I. Increase of production of means of production	57	9,5
Of these:		
1. Oil	23	4,3
2. Gas	192	-
3. Chromium	68	11
4. Copper	52	8,8
5. Coal	44	7,6
6. Electric energy	73	11,6
7. Chemical industry	46	7,9
II. Increase of production of consumer goods	45	7,8

As can be seen from the figures of the above table, during the past five-year there were increases at very high rates, first of all, in the production of electric energy, (at an average annual rate of 11,6 per cent), of the chromium industry (at an average annual rate of 11 per cent), the copper industry (8,8 per cent), etc.

The successes of socialist Albania in the development of industrial production become even more apparent if we bear in mind that in recent years not only has the whole industry of the capitalist-revisionist world not grown, but it has suffered absolute decline.

Thus the absolute decline of industrial production in the main capitalist countries of the West has been as follows (in percentage) ⁽³⁾:

Countries	Decline in 1974	Decline in 1975
1. U.S.A.	0,9	8,6
2. Great Britain	3,7	4,8
3. France	-	12,3
4. German F. R.	1,8	6,3
5. Italy	-	9,1
6. Japan	2,4	10,7

As can be seen, while a marked increase in industrial production was registered in all the branches in Albania over the period 1971-1975, in the main capitalist countries a pronounced absolute decline of this production has been registered in recent years.

In fact, a decline in civilian industrial production has been registered also in many revisionist countries, and in the first place in the Soviet Union, irrespective of the fact that there they try to compensate for this decline in civilian production with the frantic increase of military production. Nevertheless, the average annual rate of increase of industrial production in Albania during the period 1971-1975 was almost 20 per cent higher than that of the Soviet Union. ⁽⁴⁾

In the third place, the economic development of Albania during the period 1971-1975 was characterised by a satisfactory increase in agricultural production. Over this period, the average annual rate of the increase in agricultural production was 5,9 per cent. In order to understand more clearly how high this level was we need only mention that world agricultural production during this period increased at an average annual rate of 2,5 per cent ⁽⁵⁾ that of the developed capitalist countries of the West by nearly, 2,6 per cent ⁽⁶⁾, whereas that of the Soviet Union increased at an average annual rate of 2,5 per cent ⁽⁷⁾. As can be seen, in regard to agricultural production in Albania an increase 2-3 times greater than the average of the world or its main regions was secured during the period 1971-1975.

During 1971-1975 some of the main

agricultural and livestock products in Albania increased as follows: bread grain 35 per cent, sugar-beet 76 per cent, milk 47 per cent, eggs 68 per cent, etc. What is noteworthy is that during this period, thanks to the important measures for the improvement of irrigation, in the use of fertilisers and in the machinery base, etc., 73 per cent of the total increase of the production of field crops was obtained as a result of the increase of the yield rates of agricultural crops.

During the period 1971-1975, with the fulfilment of the 5th five-year plan, great successes were achieved not only in the increase of industrial and agricultural production, but also in the development of investments and construction work, in transport, trade, education and culture, and public health.

All these great successes in economic development have been reflected, in the final analysis, in the satisfactory improvement of the material and cultural situation of the working masses. While the material situation of the working masses in the capitalist-revisionist countries has steadily deteriorated in recent years as a result of the grave crisis, in Albania the livelihood of the people has steadily improved.

During the years 1971-1975 real income per head of the population increased 14,5 per cent. Under this five-year period pensions and compensation payments for temporary disability for cooperativists in the countryside were established and other important measures were taken to improve life in town and countryside.

In the economy of Albania there has not been any increase in retail prices even during this period, at a time when in 1975, as against 1970, these prices increased in Britain 77 per cent, Japan 77 per cent, Italy 67 per cent, France 48 per cent, German F. R. 33 per cent, the USA 36 per cent, etc. ⁽⁸⁾ The great tide of inflation which has swept over the whole capitalist-revisionist world bears ever more heavily on the working masses, whereas in Albania the masses of working people knew nothing of this phenomenon.

During the period 1971-1975, just as previously, there were jobs for everybody in Albania. We had no unemployment at all, whereas in the capitalist-revisionist countries unemployment reached large proportions and affected 5-9 per cent of the able-bodied labour force. All the great achievements and successes scored under the 5th five-year plan (1971-1975) have made our economy even stronger and the life of the people more beautiful.

2. More brilliant prospects

There is no doubt that the achievements of the fifth five-year plan were great and through them Albania took an important step towards the complete construction of socialist society. But the prospects which are opening to the country with the draft-directives of the 6th five-year plan (1976-1980) are still greater. The figures contained in the draft-directives of the 6th five-year plan show that at a time when the whole capitalist-revisionist world continues to suffer from the grave economic crisis, the economy of the P.R. of Albania, thanks to the superiority of the socialist order and the correct Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party of Labour of Albania with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, will continue to develop at high rates during the period 1976-1980. The draft-directives for the 6th five-year plan approved at the 9th Plenum of the CC of the PLA state the main targets of this plan as:

«The continuation at rapid rates of the socialist construction of the country, for the transformation of socialist Albania into an industrial-agricultural country, with advanced industry and agriculture, according to the principle of self-reliance; the raising to a higher level of the self-acting capacity of the people's economy; the further perfecting of socialist relations in production and in the whole superstructure; the increase of the defence capacity of the homeland and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the further raising of the

material and cultural level of the working masses, carrying further the narrowing of the essential differences between town and countryside. This is to be achieved on the basis of the consistent waging of the class struggle and the mobilisation of all the forces and energies of the people, under the leadership of the Party».

For the fulfilment of this main task, the draft-directives of the 6th five-year plan envisage a more rapid development of industry based on the more extensive exploitation and processing of local raw materials, a rapid development of agriculture by means of its intensification, an increase of the effectiveness of the use of the national income and particularly of investments, a further strengthening of the regime of savings, further strengthening and improvement of the organisation and management of the economy, as well as a further deepening of the entire ideological and cultural revolution on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The main figures for the development of the economy of Albania over the period 1976-1980, on the basis of the draft-directives of the 6th five-year plan, are as follows (in percentages):

Economic index	Increase in 1980 as against 1975	Average annual increase
1. National income	38-40	6,7-7
2. Total industrial production	41-44	7,2-7,6
3. Total agricultural production	37-40	6,5-7
4. Volume of state investments	43	7,5
5. Volume of state construction work	48	8,2
6. Total goods transport	30-32	5,4-5,8
7. Labour productivity in industry	15-17	2,9-3,2
8. Real income per capita of the population	11-14	2,2-2,7

If these figures are compared with the achievements of the fifth five-year plan it emerges clearly that in the coming 5 years, too, it is envisaged that the economy of Albania will develop at more or less the same high rates as in the past.

Concretely, the average annual rate of increase of national income will be 6,7-7 per cent, i.e. with an upper limit higher than that attained under the 5th five-year plan.

Industrial development during the 6th five-year plan will be continued at satisfactory rates. A characteristic of this five-year plan will be the much greater increase of the production of the means of production in comparison with consumer goods. Thus, the subdivisions and the main branches of industrial production during the five-year plan 1976-1980 will increase as follows:

Sub-divisions and branches of industry	Increase in 1980 as against 1975
I. Increase of the production of the means of production.	60 per cent
1. Extraction of crude oil	11 per cent
2. Extraction of chromium ore	46 per cent
3. Extractions of gas	48 per cent
4. Coal	2 times
5. Copper	57 per cent
6. Iron-nickel	3,6 times
7. Production of steels	4,3 times
8. Production of blister copper	37 per cent
9. Production of electric energy	2,2 times
10. Production of engineering industry	40-42 per cent
11. Production of chemical industry	2,3 times
12. Production of building materials industry	58 per cent
II. Increase of the production of consumer goods:	
1. Production of light industry	25 per cent
2. Production of food-processing industry	24 per cent

From the figures of the above table it emerges that the production of means of production will increase during this five-year plan at an average annual rate of 9,9 per cent. In particular, the production of the extracting industry (iron-nickel, coal, etc.), the electric energy industry, and the chemical industry, will increase at very rapid rates under this five-year plan.

One of the most important tasks of engineering industry during this five-year period is to ensure the production within the country of about 95 per cent of spare parts. This will be an important step forward in strengthening the country's economy.

High targets are envisaged in the 6th five-year plan also, for the development of agriculture which is the basic branch of the economy. The volume of total agricultural production is forecast to increase at an average annual rate of 6,5-7 per cent, which is higher than that under the fifth five-year plan. The main battle in the field of agricultural production during this five-year plan will be to increase the volume of bread grain production to attain self-sufficiency in grain. Becoming self-sufficient in bread grain is of very great importance for the strengthening of the economic independence of the country and coping with all the blackmail and pressure of the imperialist-revisionist powers. In 1980 the production of bread grain is forecast to increase by 55 per cent as compared with 1975. To achieve this a radical turn must be made in the production of maize, the yields of which will increase by no less than 80 per cent.

During this five-year plan all the other branches of agriculture, too, will undergo great development. Concretely, the production of sugar-beet will increase 64-66 per cent, potatoes 48-50 per cent, vegetables 50-52 per cent, meat 40-41 per cent, fruit 68-70 per cent, citrus fruit 58-60 per cent, etc.

Parallel with the rapid development of industry and agriculture, all the other branches of the economy and culture, too, will develop at rapid rates during the period 1976-1980.

All this rapid development of the economy in this five year period will bring about a further strengthening of the economy, a new step towards the complete construction of socialism, and an even greater improvement of the material and cultural situation of the working masses. The per capita real income will increase by 11-14 per cent during this five-year plan, i.e. more or less at the same rate as in the past five-year plan. During this five-year plan major importance is given to the further narrowing of the difference in living standards between the countryside and the town, giving priority to the improvement of the living standard in the countryside.

There will be marked improvements during 1976-1980 in housing conditions, communal services, the health, educational and cultural services. At the end of this five year period the life of our people will have become even more prosperous and happy.

3. Work of the masses themselves

Both the drafting and the carrying out of the 5-year plans in Albania are deeds of the working masses themselves. Our state is the state of the workers and peasants led by the Party. The Party of Labour of Albania works out all the issues of its policy, including the issues of its economic policy, through open and continuous consultation with the people, and, in the first place, with the working class, which is the leading class of the country.

Therefore, a lively and fruitful discussion is going on now throughout the country, in every enterprise and agricultural cooperative, around the draft-directives of the 6th five-year plan and the economic policy of the Party embodied in these draft-directives.

In approving and implementing the great Marxist-Leninist principle of building socialism by relying on their own forces, the broad working masses take an active part in discovering new

reserves to advance the figures of the draft-directives and shorten the time-limit for the attainment of the targets. During the discussion tens of working collectives in our country are making concrete pledges to increase production, improve quality, reduce expenditure, increase the yields of agricultural crops, and achieve the targets envisaged for the years 1979 and 1980 in 1977 and 1978.

The targets envisaged in the draft-directives of the 6th five year plan are certainly high, and the tasks emerging for their attainment are not easy; but as comrade Enver Hoxha has said:

«Nothing can be too difficult and unrealisable for our free, courageous and politically elevated people who live and fight in our socialist society and who are led with such care by our revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party» (Enver Hoxha, Reports and speeches, 1969-1970 p. 75). —

1) From «*Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta*» Nr. 50-1975 page 22.

2) Calculated on our part on the basis of the data of «*Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta*» Nr. 51-1975 pages 3-10.

3) Calculated on our part on the basis of the «*Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*», United Nations Nr. 5, May 1976 p. 22-33. The calculations have been made on the basis of the average annual index. Concerning France and Japan for 1975, the calculations have been made on the basis of the index for July, 1974 and 1975.

4) Calculated on our part on the basis of the figures of «*Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta*» Nr. 51-1975 p. 3-10.

5) Calculated on the basis of the «*Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*», United Nations, May 1975, p. 10.

6) Calculated on the basis of *Statistical Yearbook 1974*, United Nations p. 23-24.

7) Calculated on the basis of «*Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta*» Nr. 51-1975, p. 3-10.

8) From the review «*The Economist*», July 5, 1975, p. 71. —

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CADRES AND THE MASSES AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST BUREAUCRACY

by AGIM POPA

The implementation of correct relations between the cadres and the masses is a necessary condition for the allround development of socialist democracy, for the broad, effective and direct participation of the masses in running the country, for the preservation and continual strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist order as a whole to bar the way to its bourgeois-revisionist degeneration

THE HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, BOTH POSITIVE AS WELL AS NEGATIVE, HAS SHOWN THAT ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT QUESTIONS IN SOCIALISM IS THAT OF THE CADRES, THE TRAINING OF THE CADRES, THEIR REVOLUTIONISATION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CORRECT RELATIONS BETWEEN THEM AND THE WORKING MASSES.

THE UNCEASING ADVANCE OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY NECESSARILY REQUIRES THE TRAINING OF A LARGE NUMBER OF LEADING CADRES, ABLE, REVOLUTIONARY AND LOYAL TO MARXISM-LENINISM, TO THE IDEALS OF SOCIALISM AND THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE PEOPLE. THE CREATION OF A WHOLE ARMY OF SUCH CADRES IN ALL THE FIELDS OF OUR SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT CONSTITUTES AN IMPORTANT VICTORY OF OUR PARTY. COMRADE ENVER HOXHA SAYS: «THE CADRES CONSTITUTE A GREAT TREASURE OF THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE. THEY CARRY HEAVY BURDENS ON THEIR SHOULDERS AND HAVE SUCCESSFULLY SOLVED AND CONTINUE TO SOLVE MAJOR PROBLEMS OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION AND THE DEFENCE OF THE HOMELAND» (ENVER HOXHA. SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE 4TH PLENUM OF THE CC OF THE PLA, ON JUNE 26, 1973.)

But whereas the existence of revolutionary cadres, ideologically and politically pure and linked with the masses, constitutes a sound guarantee for the cause of socialism, on the contrary, the weakening of the revolutionary spirit of

the cadres, their degeneration and the distortion of the relations between them and the masses constitutes, a serious danger to the socialist order.

It has been proved in theory and practice that without implementing correct relations between the cadres and the masses there can be no talk of truly socialist relations of production, and the

danger exists that those relations will be gradually transformed into relations of exploitation and subjugation of the working people by the leading cadres. The implementation of correct relations between the cadres and the masses is, likewise, an essential condition for the allround development of socialist democracy, for the broad, effective and direct participation of the masses in running the country, of the preservation and continual strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the socialist order as a whole, to bar the way to its bourgeois-revisionist degeneration.

Summing up the lessons of the Paris Commune, K. Marx and F. Engels pointed out that «... In order to avoid losing its newly won domination, the working class must, on the one hand entirely destroy the old oppressive machine which has been used against it, and, on the other hand, must protect itself from its own deputies and officials, must take measures «against the transformation of the state and state organs

from servants of the society into masters of the society.» (K. Marx-F. Engels, Selected Works, Vol. I, pp. 453 and 454, Albanian edition).

The danger against which Marx and Engels warned became a reality in the Soviet Union, where, after Stalin's death, the dictatorship of the proletariat degenerated into a counterrevolutionary dictatorship, among other reasons also due to the fact that, as comrade Enver Hoxha points out, in that country «... a worker aristocracy of bureaucratized, privileged cadres, divorced from the people and their lives, who did not have the feeling of the class and class and who were inspired by the bourgeois ideology and the bourgeois way of life was gradually created? This stratum, comprised mainly of cadres of the Party, the State, the economy and the intelligentsia, became the social basis of revisionism. Relying precisely on this stratum, the Khrushchovite revisionists usurped the state power in the Soviet Union, liquidated the dictatorship of the proletariat, established the dictatorship of revisionism and paved the way to the restoration of capitalism.» (Enver Hoxha, report to the 5th Congress of the PLA, p. 84).

The Party of Labour of Albania has kept these vital teachings in mind and, on the basis of the summing up of more than 30 years' revolutionary experience of the socialist construction in Albania, has worked out a series of effective measures to prevent any kind of distortion in the relations between cadres and the masses or the bourgeois-revisionist degeneration of the cadres, so that the cadres will always be true revolutionaries and servants of the people to the end of their lives.

The struggle for the implementation of these measures is being carried out in two fundamental directions: on the one hand, through broad and continuous educative work for the ideological moulding of the cadres as revolutionaries; on the other hand, by placing the cadres in such material and social conditions, and these are sanctioned by law, so that they will not degenerate,

but will think, work and fight as true proletarian revolutionaries.

The ideological work of the Party for the revolutionary education of the cadres aims at moulding them with Marxism-Leninism, with the revolutionary world outlook of the working class, which is the dominant ideology in Albania, with loyalty to the Party of Labour of Albania, the vanguard of the working class and the leading force of the state and our socialist society, with the features and moral qualities of the working class, the most revolutionary and the leading class of socialist society.

This requires a persistent and incessant struggle against any kind of manifestation and trend of economism, technocracy, bourgeois objectivism and political indifference, of deviation, from the proletarian ideology and policy, liberalism and opportunism towards the alien influences of bourgeois and revisionist ideology, for the inculcation in the cadres of the spirit of principle, class tendentiousness and proletarian partisanship, of being guided in everything by the Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party and revolutionary militancy. Socialist society needs cadres who are not only capable specialists in this or that branch, but at the same time, well formed politically and ideologically, genuine proletarian revolutionaries.

A consistent struggle is necessary also against any kind of bureaucratic and intellectualist concept and tendency, any kind of manifestation of conceit and subjectivism, of overestimation of mental and managerial work and contempt for «ordinary» work and the people of production, overestimation of decrees and divorce from the masses and practical work, work with living people, against any spirit of personal ease, careerism and claims to privilege. This is a struggle for the tempering of the cadres «in the school of the working class», so that they will be characterised by modesty, the spirit of sacrifice persistence, and fighting to carry out one's duty and overcome difficulties, etc. Comrade Enver Hoxha points out: «Socialism has no need for bureaucrats and technocrats who have faith only in their

own «genius», in technology, the power of decree; but it needs cadres who will merge and live with the masses think and feel in the same way as the working class and the cooperativist peasantry.» (Enver Hoxha, report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, p. 127).

Further, it is necessary to combat any separation of the education of cadres in the ideology of Marxism-Leninism from their active participation in the practical class struggle and in revolutionary action together with the workers and peasants, a separation which does not allow the creation of profound and stable ideopolitical and moral convictions.

Finally, it is important that the training and ideopolitical education of the cadres should not be divorced from the training and ideopolitical education of the working class and working masses, because Marxism-Leninism, the ideology of the working class, cannot be a privilege of a minority, but must be a powerful weapon in the hands of the broad working masses, who, enlightened by the teachings of the Party and under its leadership, are consciously building socialism and communism with their own hands.

In our socialist society the cadres can be nothing else but servants of the working class and the working people. This position of the cadres in the service of the working class and the people requires that they must always maintain close ties with the masses, must know the thoughts and concerns of the masses, listen attentively to the voice of the masses, learn from their great experience and carry out the will of the masses. Contemptuous attitudes towards the working masses, whoever they may come from, are alien to the principles of socialism. Especially to be condemned are attitudes of domineering, arbitrariness, injustice and retaliation by the managerial cadres and officials against the working people, through misuse of their positions.

One of the most effective measures to prevent the bureaucratic degeneration and transformation of the managerial cadres from servants of the people into rulers over the workers and the

people is to put the cadres under subordination and control from the two directions: from above, by implementing proletarian centralism, and from below directly from the masses or the working collectives in conformity with the norms of socialist democracy. This is of vital importance. The unilateral subordination of the cadres from above only, which constituted one of the fundamental defects in the Soviet Union, brings extremely negative consequences: it arouses in the cadres the spirit of independence, arrogance, domineering, contempt and commandism towards it leads to the working masses, in other words bureaucratic degeneration of the cadres.

Experience in Albania up to now shows that the practical implementation of the principle of subordination of the cadres to the working masses and to check up directly from below, includes several main aspects.

This requires first of all the consistent carrying out in practice of the lesson of the Paris Commune that the working class protects itself even from its deputies and officials «by proclaiming them all, without any exception, replaceable at any time». (K. Marx-F. Engels, Selected Works, Vol. I, p. 453).

Both the elected representatives of the people and all the cadres, in particular those who perform leading functions in the administration and apparatus, are and should be, dependent directly on the working masses from below, for the danger of bureaucratic degeneration is greatest among them. The Party and comrade Enver Hoxha have continually stressed the necessity that, for the evaluation, appointment and movement of cadres the opinion of the masses, of the working collective, absolutely must be sought first (and not formally, after everything has been decided) and only after this should the competent organs responsible for them decide. Comrade Enver Hoxha says: «Irrespective of the nature of our posts, the people elect and approve us, therefore they must also dismiss us when we do not work well... The director's office and the cadres section which will propose the cadre, and also compile his biographies

must exist then when it comes to the question of accepting him, or not, this should be thoroughly threshed out by the masses and not decided because this is how the director, the committee or the Minister wants it».

The subordination of the cadres to the base, directly to the masses, demands that the cadres, be they elected or appointed, must without fail render account before the masses and be subjected to the check up of the masses. In spite of the positive experience accumulated thus far, this is a field in which there is much room for research, to find various and the most effective forms for the cadres to render account before the masses, waging a persistent struggle against formalism on this question. In connection with this, of major importance is comrade Enver Hoxha's instruction that we should not allow the criticism of the masses aimed at the cadres to be hindered under the pretext or the wrong reasoning of allegedly preserving the authority of cadres of the Party and state. The people know very well how to distinguish between the correct line of the Party and various people, whatever their positions, who make mistakes or distort the correct directives of the Party and the people's power. And if the cadres render account before the masses for their work and attitudes, are subjected to the criticism of the masses and make self-criticism before the working people, not only does this not impair the authority of our Party and state power but it further increases it.

Of particular importance for subordinating the cadres to the base is the exercise of the continuous, effective and diverse control by the working masses, in the first place the worker control, over cadres, concerning their activity and attitudes. Nobody can or should remain outside such a control. Comrade Enver Hoxha says: «It is a duty of all the working people, particularly of the working class, to stand up courageously and sternly condemn any manifestation of bureaucracy, to put all the activity of the organs of state power, the economy and the Party, the communists, the

cadres and officials, wherever they work, be they elected or appointed, under their control». This control constitutes one of the fundamental and decisive means of protecting the cadres and, together with them, the socialist order and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, from the danger of bourgeois-revisionist degeneration.

Life and experience have confirmed the correctness of the directives of the PLA that the participation of the cadres in work directly in production, in the ranks of the working class and cooperator peasant, constitutes an essential condition for the continuous revolutionisation of the cadres, for linking them closely with the masses, for moulding them with the revolutionary moral features and qualities of the workers and peasants, for the preservation of the cadres from the danger of degeneration into bureaucracy, intellectualism, careerism, etc.

One of the important defects, which, in the Soviet Union, led to the infection of many cadres with bureaucracy, intellectualism, careerism and the bourgeois way of life, to their gradual degeneration, was, among others, precisely their divorce from productive work, the preservation of a marked separation of mental and managerial work from physical work, which is a deeply-rooted heritage from the society based on exploitation.

The direct participation of the cadres in work in production, along with the direct participation of the broad working masses in running the country, in developing culture and the technical-scientific revolution, etc., constitutes one of the effective ways of the gradual narrowing of the essential differences between mental work and physical work. On this question, in conformity with Lenin's teachings that all the working people must learn to govern as one of the fundamental conditions of the advance towards communist society, the aim is to proceed further and further on the road of the combination and alternation of managerial work with work in production, so that the cadres will be both managers and workers, so that they always manage, work and li-

ve together with the masses of workers and peasants.

In socialist society the state power does not belong to an exploiting minority, but to the working people, with the working class at the head and under the undivided leadership of the proletarian Party. The direct and effective participation of the broad working masses in running the country constitutes, as the 6th Congress of the PLA pointed out, the fundamental direction of the development of the socialist democracy in operation in our country at the present stage.

The carrying out in practice of these basic principles requires that the maximum number of working people must be drawn, in turn, into managerial work and learn to run the country. And one of the practical ways to do this is the circulation of cadres from managerial posts and the administration to production. This is one aspect. The other aspect is that circulation is one of the very effective means of linking the cadres closely with the masses and revolutionising them. Both the positive experience of the socialist development in Albania, and the negative experience of the Soviet Union and some other countries, where precisely non-circulation was one of the causes of the bureaucratisation and degeneration of many cadres, making them a social basis for revisionism clearly confirms this. Comrade Enver Hoxha points out that we must send to the base «our people with great managerial experience...», endow them with the spirit of the base so they become fighters determined to eliminate from themselves all traces intellectualist, bureaucratic and technocratic hangovers. In their place we should bring outstanding working people from the base into the central apparatus». (Enver Hoxha, Reports and speeches, 1970-1971, p. 89).

One of the main objectives of the circulation of cadres in our socialist society is to bring the maximum number of workers or people of worker origin to leading posts, proceeding from the principle that the working class is the leading class, which exercises the state

power of the dictatorship of the proletariat directly too, in the most varied forms. One of these forms is precisely the placing of workers right in the leading organs and apparatus of the state, the economy, culture, etc., in all links and at all levels. In this direction our Party has carried out a determined and consistent struggle to overcome bureaucratic, intellectualist and technocratic hesitations which hinder the bringing of workers from production into the apparatus of management, and the placing of specialists under the direction of workers.

The consistent implementation of the teachings of the Party of Labour of Albania and comrade Enver Hoxha about the circulation of cadres requires that the alien bureaucratic concept, according to which the cadres in socialism are destined to remain their whole lifetime in leading posts, the concept about the «irreplaceability» of cadres, which takes root in the heads of some people and which is completely contrary to the thoroughly democratic spirit of the socialist order, must be combatted, smashed and rooted out. Precisely this concept, as well as the putting of the narrow personal interests above the collective interest, is the basis of the unsound inclinations of some cadres to circulate «provisionally» with the aim that they will certainly be returned to the leading posts.

It is necessary, likewise, to eradicate the bureaucratic and petty-bourgeois concept which equates circulation with dismissal for errors or other reasons, implanting instead, the concept that the circulation of the cadres from the leading posts to the base, among the ranks of the working masses, is not a punishment or demotion but a rule in socialist society and one of the most effective ways to keep the cadres genuine revolutionaries to the end of their lives.

An important principle in socialism is that the pay of officials, and here we mean first of all the leading cadres, is in fair ratio with that of the workers and cooperativists, with a view to avoiding the creation of any privileged stratum. This is one of the vital problems of socialist society, and has to do, in the

final analysis, with the very fate of the revolution and the construction of socialism. In socialist society, through the liquidation of private property, the inequality of people in regard to the means of production is eliminated and together with this also the exploitation of man by man. But, being a transitional society and the lower stage of communist society, socialism preserves traces of capitalism, among which is inequality in distribution, in other words, in the incomes and the living standards of the working people. This constitutes a material basis for the possibility, for the danger of the bourgeois degeneration of certain categories of people, and this refers first and foremost to leading cadres. The essence of the matter is: Shall we advance on the road of the widening or the steady narrowing of this inequality in socialism?

The negative experience of the Soviet Union shows that the deviation from the principle of the Paris Commune about paying officials and functionaries the average pay of workers (K. Marx-F. Engels, Selected Works, Vol. I, p. 454), the absolutisation and generalisation of the system of high salaries, which, for a certain time was imposed and justified by the historical circumstances of a limited category of specialists, as well as laying excessive stress on material incentives, while neglecting moral incentives, led to the bourgeois degeneration of a broad stratum of cadres and exerted a powerful influence to make them a social basis for the revisionist course. After the revisionists usurped the state power, they further extended this inequality or «bourgeois right», as Marx and Lenin described it, using it as one of the principal ways for the liquidation of the socialist relations of production and the exploitation of the working people by the new bourgeois class.

The Party of Labour of Albania has always implemented a correct policy on this question. Without falling into the positions of the petty-bourgeois egalitarianism, it has taken the necessary measures at the proper time to avoid marked disproportions between the remunera-

tion of the cadres and that of the working masses and has consistently advanced on the road of further reducing the differentials in this field. «...Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses: «In building up the standard of living, great differences must not be allowed, the officials must not live a great deal better than the workers, and the peasants worse than their allies of the town. This stems particularly from the high salaries of officials. Such a situation creates those elements of the new bourgeoisie which arises from the ranks of the class, the ranks of the Party, which, if these elements are not corrected and purged, becomes dangerous... the trimming must continue, high salaries should be reduced further, so that the raised standard of living of one category of people will not incite the desire for a bourgeois life... thus we must take measures so that this inequality in the system of payment for work will be reduced... otherwise we permit the development of the capitalist element...».

Historical experience has confirmed that the degeneration and bourgeoisification of the cadres in the socialist society also comes from hankering after privileges, exploiting official positions for this purpose.

In socialist Albania, where the working class in alliance with all the working people is in power, where socialist relations of production have triumphed completely and every form of exploitation of man by man has been liquidated, where the leading cadres have emerged from the ranks of the masses, and represent and defend the vital interests of the people, the relations between the cadres and the masses are characterised by unity, which is a component part of the great unity of the entire people around the Party in the struggle for the complete final victory of socialism and communism. However even in socialist society, various contradictions may arise, and in fact do arise, between the cadres and the masses. As a rule these are not antagonistic contradictions, but contradictions among the people. But, as the PLA has pointed out, if these non-antagonistic

contradictions are not resolved in time and on the correct Marxist-Leninist course, they may be gradually transformed into antagonistic contradictions if the cadres are allowed to counterpose themselves to the working masses, to their interests, if the cadres are transformed into rulers over the masses and into new exploiters, and thus the socialist relations of production are turned into relations between the exploiters and the exploited, i.e. into capitalist relations, as occurred in fact in the Soviet Union and in some other countries where the revisionists have come to power.

On the basis of the summing up of the revolutionary experience of the country, the PLA has correctly defined the fundamental ways of handling and resolving the contradictions between the cadres and the masses, ways which have to do with such norms of relations between them as placing cadres under subordination and control from two directions, not only from above but also from below, directly from the masses, the cadres rendering accounts before the masses, the right of the masses to recall representatives who do not justify their trust as well as to demand the discharge of the unworthy officials and functionaries, the right of citizens to make complaints about unjust actions of officials and functionaries, non-recognition of any inequality and privilege before the law and in rights and duties, due to social position, etc. But in the case that various cadres show themselves incorrigible, take the road to revisionism and capitalism, degenerate into counterrevolutionary enemy elements and raise their hand against the Party, the working class, the people, the homeland and socialism, then the dictatorship of the proletariat strikes them down mercilessly.

On the vital question of the relations between the cadres and the masses, too, the revolutionary experience of the PLA and the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha constitute a blow against the counterrevolutionary preachings of the modern revisionists and serve the cause of the continuous development and strengthening of the socialist order.

ALBANIAN ETHNOGRAPHY AND SOME OF ITS PROBLEMS

by ALEKS BUDA

In its features, character and language our folk culture has a monumental quality which is the clearest affirmation of the optimism of the working people in their struggle against physical and moral degradation, against loss of their ethnic identity; it is something which always maintains its freshness and validity

AT THE FOCUS OF THE ATTENTION AND WORK OF OUR NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDIES, SAID PROFESSOR ALEKS BUDA IS A SCIENTIFIC PROBLEM WHICH, AS TO ITS CHARACTER AND SIGNIFICANCE, RANKS AMONG THE GREAT IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS: THE FOLK CULTURE AND ITS PLACE AND ROLE IN THE NATIONAL CULTURE OF SOCIALIST ALBANIA.

SUCH AN ORIENTATION IS NEITHER NEW NOR ACCIDENTAL FOR OUR SOCIAL SCIENCES. SINCE THE TIME THAT, HAVING BEEN PUT ON THE BASIS OF DIALECTICAL AND HISTORICAL MATERIALISM, THEY WERE FIRST FORMED AND CRYSTALISED AS SCIENCES IN THE FULL MEANING OF THE TERM, ETHNOGRAPHY, FOLKLORE, ARCHAEOLOGY, HISTORY OF ART AND LITERATURE HAVE DEEMED IT THEIR HONOURABLE DUTY TO IMPLEMENT

the great teachings, of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha that instruct them always to uncover and study our traditional folk and national culture, the treasure of the «wealth of the people and the homeland, of that great spiri-

tual wealth which has kept our nation alive through storms and tempests», to study that ancient and always fresh, rich variegated culture, the lofty ideological and artistic content and meaning of these creations to which the inexhaustible genius of our working people gave birth. Our science is devoting special care to comrade Enver Hoxha's instruction that by its work it should help «to clear the brambles, which smo-

thered this garden», to bring to light that source on which our socialist national culture has been nurtured, that soil on which it was raised, crowning a course that extends over thousands of years.

For us, contrary to the present-day bourgeois ethnography, our folk culture is not a document of a low social and technical development, nor has it anything to do with the «human condition» in general, to use a term fashionable in present-day bourgeois philosophy, but in the first place with the class condition, with the resistance of the «populace», the working masses, against internal and external oppression and exploitation. As a result, the folk culture, in its material aspect, may not have-but in its features, character, language, has a monumental quality which is the clearest affirmation of the optimism of the working people in their struggle against physi-

ALEKS BUDA — Professor, President of the Academy of Sciences of the P.R.A. From the paper he delivered at the National Conference of Ethnographic Studies which was held in Tirana at the end of June this year.

our cultural sciences have resolutely attacked the attitude so widespread in bourgeois and revisionist science, according to which traditional folk culture, and consequently, also sophisticated culture with a folk spirit, allegedly constitute an historical category which now belongs simply and completely to the past, because allegedly it is linked with social circumstances and forces now left behind or in the process of being left behind, by a development to which they strive to give the character of a law. Such for instance, is the idea formulated by the culturological sciences in the service of the two superpowers, in a unanimous way, irrespective of their different external wrappings, according to which the concepts of the nation and national culture are allegedly notions which are being replaced by processes of cultural rapprochement and integration up to the merging of ethnoses, now historically consolidated, with distinct cultures in historical forms. These formations allegedly no longer respond to the present stage of economic and socio-cultural development, which allegedly requires a division of labour on an international scale and forms of organisation of a higher supra-national and supra-state level. It is not difficult to understand that hidden behind such an attitude lurk aims of «scientifically» justifying the divesting of the peoples not only of their political and economic independence, but also of just as great an asset—their national folk traditions which consolidate this independence.

The integration of these values, linked with historical social and ethnocultural strata, into the modern culture of the industrialised society is described by the culturology of the imperialist bourgeoisie as an anti-historical change, and their elimination as a progressive phenomenon. Consequently, in their opinion, this tradition of folk culture cannot be the basis that can serve for the construction of a culture suitable to our modern society. And from this it is only one step to those modern «primitivist» trends, so comfortable for the imperialist bourgeoisie, which in such a primitive antihistorical culture sees the salvation of mankind from the burden of its histo-

rical responsibility and the class struggle—a «return to nature»!—but this time with reactionary functions in comparison with that of the 18th century.

In forming their scientific concepts our specialists in social sciences have proceeded from a soil which allows scientific generalisations on the practice of the socio-cultural construction of our socialist homeland. From this material we can now draw some general conclusions in regard to the course of our traditional culture and of our national folk culture, and their place and role, as integral parts within our socialist culture.

* * *

Hard, full of difficulties and obstacles, all struggle and sacrifice, — such was the course the historical circumstances imposed on the Albanian people, — but these circumstances were unable to block the way to their culture and art, knowledge and science. «What does this art and this ancient culture that our people have had show—the determined struggle for their defence and, together with this, in defence of the homeland, of its territory, life and customs» says comrade Enver Hoxha. And from these same sources progressive Albanian science was nurtured from its very beginnings.

There is no doubt that in the conditions of foreign domination when the local ruling classes, by their anti-national and obscurantist stand, had betrayed the cause of freedom and the struggle for a national peoples culture, the course on which Albanian culture and science developed could not be a simple course of development. And because of its pronounced ideological character no field more than that of the sciences of culture, could have had more markedly the character of an arena of struggle, in which the class interests of various social forces on a national and international plane, contradictory concepts progressive and conservative-reactionary, and the methodological-methodic contradictions which characterised international science, clashed.

These are some constant lines of contradictions which characterise the first Albanian efforts in the field of science until, with the triumph of the People's

cal and moral degradation, against dehumanisation, against loss of their ethnic identity—something which has and always maintains its freshness and validity.

It is precisely these ideological and artistic values that cause this creativity to impose itself, by its creative weight and energy, by the force of its optimistic militant, democratic content and be embraced by the most progressive representatives of the national bourgeoisie, risen against the decayed feudal culture and foreign rulers. With the democratic and folk spirit of its creations, it is this folk culture in a broad sense, this folk-national culture that now represents the Albanian people; this is the soil on which the foundations were laid and our present socialist national culture is rising majestically.

Basing themselves on materials of scientific value not only to our country,

Revolution, Albanian science came into being and consolidated itself, now as Marxist-Leninist science.

To accept this does not mean to deny and to scorn a protracted, fruitful work which whole generations, carried out with great self-sacrifice in very difficult conditions, to discover, preserve and make known the treasures of our folk culture.

This activity, distinguished by the lofty patriotic spirit of its bearers, was one factor, and the main one, on which our sciences devoted to the study of our folk culture were based, later. A second factor comprised the studies carried out in the countries of Western Europe, which, beginning from the middle of the 19th century, ever more frequently included the countries of the Balkan Peninsula within the sphere of their economic-political interests, which gave a vigorous impulse to the purely scientific research devoted to our problems, beginning particularly from the last quarter of the 19th century.

Our science had to adopt a stand towards this heritage right from the beginning of its course; as a Marxist science it had to make a critical assessment proceeding from the spirit of proletarian partisanship, from the class criterion in the interpretation of cultural phenomena. The correct historical attitude had to distinguish, first, the great positive contribution made by a number of Albanian scholars with the progressive democratic spirit of the new bourgeoisie, as well as by some foreign scholars, in the first place with their important materials, gathered on the spot, materials of a great value, which could serve as a basis to clarify a series of issues of the genesis, the fundamental features, and the further development of forms of the culture and way of life of the Albanian people.

The categories of culture and the science about culture constitute no exception: they are subject in a particular way, to the principles of the class struggle and require a principled stand, the more so since open or hidden anti-Albanian political aims lay or lie behind the antiscientific methodology of a series of

such works by foreign authors, which one critic succinctly described as works not of **ethnographic** but of **ethnocratic** science.

The historical circumstances created by the centuries of Ottoman occupation faced the Albanian people from the 15th century, with a critical situation which put in jeopardy everything that had been achieved up to that time as a result of an independent historical development—the existence of the Albanians as a distinct nationality and raised the great problems of the future of the people and their traditional culture.

To the problems raised by the bitter reality of Albania of the 16th-18th centuries, to the danger of the country and its culture being turned from the course of their historical development the masses responded with their all-round resistance. But to the theoretical problems raised by this situation, the small, weak intelligentsia of the country, restricted by its religious and feudal ideology, particularly in the Albania now divided on the basis of religion, was unable to give the adequate response.

The solution of the major problems of the culture of the Albanian people was raised at a new higher stage in the 19th century, with their formation as a bourgeois nation, in that period of allround development which rightfully bears the name of the National Renaissance. This response proceeded from a new ideology, of the democratic and national revolution, which had already blazed the trail in the socio-political thinking of Western Europe and was mounting against the absolutist feudal empires in South-East Europe and, despite the backwardness, was taking root also among the Albanian bourgeoisie.

Under the banner of these theories stood a fundamentally democratic orientation which attacked, in the first place, the foreign invaders and their social support, the Albanian feudal aristocracy, it was counterposed to their contempt for the masses of the people, and attacked the religious and regional divisions.

As a result of a collective work of several generations, the ideological line of

the Albanian National Renaissance was mapped out in the field of culture. The problems of the origin of the Albanian people understood as a correlation of its antiquity, autochthony and continuity, of the unity between the national and the regional, of the relationship between tradition and the new, between the national and the international new, of the main social forces which were bearers of the further development of this national folk culture, became the great problems, the solution of which engaged the thinking of the ideologists of the Albanian democratic bourgeoisie, although from the scientific methodic aspect, conditions to resolve them had not been created. In these efforts the first serious steps were taken for studies in the field of the study of the Albanian culture, even though they did not manage, up to the end of the 19th century, to be divided and formed as separate disciplines.

Their research to define the special cultural features of the Albanian people led the Renaissance scholars into the bosom of the people, to living archive of history, like bees, to gather that honey of the Albanian spirit, there where it was best preserved, among the women, among the common people of the countryside, among the artisans. In this way they raised an everlasting monument to the culture of our people.

With their realistic understanding of their own class interests, the democratic representatives of the new Albanian bourgeoisie considered the folk factor as an important factor for the formation of the Albanian national culture, and they sought and found it there where, in the conditions of undeveloped Albania, this culture had grown and been preserved most pure—in the Albanian countryside. In this social force, scorned until that time, they saw «the reserve» of their class to overthrow the old, decayed, feudal order.

The democrats of the period of National Renaissance considered the efforts to link Albanian culture with the most advanced trends of the time as a first-rate duty for the progress of Albanian culture. They saw this progress as conditional

on socio-economic transformations which would open the way to new, more advanced relations-which they proclaimed as the return of the Albanian people to the bosom of civilised Europe. While preserving the spirit and achievements of the traditional folk culture, they were thinking about a correct relationship in regard to the progressive elements of international culture. Such a progressive attitude radically distinguishes their concept of «modernisation» from that formal way in which this concept is implemented in a series of present day colonial or neocolonial societies.

Despite its limitations, the activity of our scholars of the epoch of the National Renaissance, had a democratic character. The various studies in the field of culture which they undertook did not attain a systematic summing up of the results. Nevertheless, this period constitutes a big step forward in scientific thinking about the problems of our folk culture. But even in the most advanced instances, the ideology of the Renaissance in the field of culture could not surpass the abstract character of a supra-class humanism or go beyond the bounds of the class interests of the bourgeoisie.

In the years of independence too, the problem of the role of our folk culture continued to be raised forcefully in social and political thinking. The progressive and democratic circles, among which the communists began to stand out, raised their voice against the danger of fascist ideology and, in connection with it, against the cosmopolitan attitudes which characterised the ruling classes of the country.

The extension of democratic ideas the ever greater influence of communist ideas, impelled the Roman catholic clergy, in particular, to counter action with the slogan «Save the people from the dangerous new ideas». The clergy presented themselves as the «defenders» of the folk culture and began to increase their activity in publishing materials of an ethnographic character. The dominant note was the idealising of patriarchalism, the presentation of the catholic highlands as the true bearer of the folk

culture. In the conditions of an Albania divided into many religions, this meant that the Roman catholic clergy sought the development of a separate, regional culture, on religious foundations, to the detriment of the unity of the national folk culture.

Not only in the conditions of the Ottoman occupation, but also in these of the anti-popular and obscurantist regimes of the time of independence, the official organs did nothing whatsoever to organise or help the studies in the field of our folk culture. This task was left to European ethnographic-ethnologic science. Along with material of a rich documentary value, many foreign scholars present wrong methodological concepts. Such are the anti-historical views that the culture of our people allegedly constitutes a petrification, an unchanged fossil from the most ancient times, that it has remained untouched by the flow of historical life, etc.

Another concept is that which considers the geographic and demographic factors as determining the way of life. Consequently, the territory as a factor decreed by fate allegedly allows salvation neither from poverty nor from the «geopolitical laws» which allegedly hamper an independent and continuous political and social development of our people and their folk culture.

From the beginning of the 20th century a step forward in the studies of our folk culture was brought about by the «evolutionist historical» school which, within the limits of an idealistic world outlook, saw the cultures in the course of historical transformations. The main representative of this school was the Austro-Hungarian ethnographer F. Nopça who dedicated his many years' activity to the study of the material, social, and spiritual culture of the highlanders of Northern Albania. His stratigraphic analysis of major objects of this culture brought to the fore its great antiquity. This ancient culture played the role of a substratum of the entire culture of the Balkan Peninsula. On the other hand, he pointed out a number of historical arguments which our Marxist science has complemented and deve-

loped further, in order to explain the circumstances in which a series of archaic patriarchal phenomena in social organisation and customary law were preserved in these highlands.

Irrespective of the value of some results of the ethnographic studies by F. Nopça, it must be said that he studied the Northern Highlands as something separate, divorced from the development of the whole Albanian society. Likewise the restricted character of the idealistic methodology did not allow Nopça to see the way of life of the Highlands and the phenomena of the customary law as expressions of definite class interests and in opposition to the socio-cultural development of the highlanders, nor did it allow him to see the new phenomena which were developing even in this patriarchal society. Only our Marxist science was able to evaluate the customary law in this aspect and, proceeding from its historical class roots, to draw the conclusions that it was by now incompatible with the interests of the working masses of the Highlands themselves and of the entire country. On the basis of Nopça's work no real prognosis could be made about the integration of the democratic folk culture into the framework of the national culture.

The period of late capitalism, imperialism, is characterised by the complete degeneration which is observed in the sciences of culture. The historical principle is completely abandoned and open metaphysical and reactionary positions are adopted in which society was considered as a static system, where there was no room for the principle of development, and even less for revolution.

The American anthropologist K.S. Coon considers Albania precisely in this sense, as the ideal type of a society which has found an adequate form of organisation that allowed it to separate itself from Europe and its troubled development, whereas the latter was not in a position to avoid development, movement, revolution!

According to this concept, a constant fundamental tendency had been embo-

died in the Albanian patriarchal society. The ideal norm of any society for the American ethnologist is that which creates the fewest difficulties in a system of relations. Even in the system of patriarchal society the law of overpopulation is valid and this ruins the static nature of the system and therefore it allegedly requires as a regulating principle in Albania, as everywhere, an automatic regulation — as a safety valve — the vendetta. This eliminates the superfluous men. Hence, allegedly the institution of vendetta is not linked with a given social organisation, but with the phenomenon of biological, disproportion. Just as absurd and anti-scientific is that concept which explains the phenomenon of the blood, which, unfortunately, is still preserved in some Albanian regions outside our Republic, not with their socio-economic situation, but as a phenomenon of «social pathology», as occurred in a symposium held in Yugoslavia some time ago, where the vendetta was treated «scientifically» together with such phenomena as prostitution, alcoholism, drug addiction, etc! The ethnologist of world «renown», R. Lowie, explains the failure of efforts to modernise Albania with the difficulties of imposing new ideas on a formed system. And if there is an element that operates in Albania as bearer of changes, this allegedly comes from outside, — it is allegedly the tradition of the migration of artisans and merchants who bring the new, — not directly in economic life, which is more compact and resistant, but in that which is allegedly more variable, in family life, by breaking tradition, by isolating the young people from the surveillance of the elders, something which allegedly allows the expression of individual desires, and with this the way is opened to the new ideas! Life showed just how unreal these theoretical constructions were.

* * *

That brief glance over the studies carried out in the past by Albanian and foreign scholars pointed out a series of

great problems which characterised the historical course of the Albanian folk culture. These were major problems; which arose from social and class contradictions. They constituted problems of reality, of the economic and political-cultural reality of Albanian society rather than theoretical problems of concrete sciences. The ethnographic studies of the past hampered to a greater or lesser degree by the ideological and methodological-scientific restrictions that characterised them, reflect these great problems. The solution of these contradictions of our historical-cultural heritage could not be the work simply of theoreticians or specialists in one branch; — this was the great task undertaken by the new forces of the Albanian working class, emerged from the traditional society, raised among the ranks of the masses of the Albanian people, — but now endowed with a new scientific ideology under the leadership of its revolutionary Party. They were put in a position to undo the Gordian knot which the centuries had left tangled and unresolved, with the sword of history.

In the waves of this class struggle for the setting up of a new society and a new culture, our social sciences and, in their bosom, our sciences of culture, came into being and were formed as Marxist-Leninist sciences.

In the practice of the socialist construction of our new culture our ethnography and folklore grew and developed as sciences in the full sense, mastering the methodological basis and special method acquiring their physiognomy as sciences of the phenomena of culture. In this sense we must say that the course of the formation of our sciences of culture cannot be understood if they are considered apart from the mother land, from the tasks which our socialist reality put forward and for which it required a scientific answer.

This does not mean that in these conditions they were faced with a sea on which contrary winds were acting, that they found themselves faced with the waves of life like a ship without compass and direction.

What distinguishes the cultural reality of socialist Albania in this 35 year epoch, which bears the name of the Party, is that for the first time the events and processes taking place on Albanian soil are no longer, as in the past, results of spontaneous processes, contradictory disparate forces with foreign, politically divergent cultural-ideological, orientations. The great cultural processes which characterise this epoch, are based on and the fruit of a strategic and tactical plan drawn up on scientific foundations, in which the class forces that operate and define the course of the socio-economic, political and cultural development, the life of the masses of the people in its various aspects, have been calculated.

For the Party of the Albanian working class, which is responsible for the fate of the culture of this people, the stand that was to be maintained towards the rich cultural tradition of the people presented a great ideological-scientific problem. The fact that from the stormy days of the National Liberation Antifascist War right up till today the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha have devoted special attention to this major problem, comprises an honorable page in the history of the Albanian political and social thinking. It was obvious, naturally, that the course of the integration of this culture could not be an idyllic course of direct continuity, but, on the other hand, there were thousands of threads that connected its progressive features, its popular and democratic spirit with socialist culture and with the ideology of the working class. Here it would not do to proceed from nihilist negation or from unprincipled acceptance. Here, too, was the law of the class struggle that constitutes the motive force to carry our traditional folk culture to integration into our socialist culture.

In this higher synthesis of our socialist national culture the tradition created by the heroic Albanian working class had its own place of honour. In the context of our socialist national culture, within which the folk spirit occupies a place of honour, the Party of the

Albanian working class and comrade Enver Hoxha embodied the genius of Marx who, in the three-fold meaning of the same German word «aufheben», stressed the lofty mission of the proletariat towards the world cultural heritage — to preserve and raise to a higher level the best of what it had inherited and eliminate what was outdated.

The experience of the construction of the Albanian socialist national culture constitutes an important contribution which the PLA is making in this field also on the international plane. This is particularly valuable in the epoch when the ever more widespread breaking away of the peoples from the system of colonialism and the influence of neocolonialism is taking place on a world scale; when they are lining up ever more resolutely in the struggle against hegemonism, for the creation of their new progressive, folk and national culture.

Ethnology and the sciences of the bourgeois-imperialist culture in general have devoted a great part of their scientific activity to this important process. «Authorities», for instance the specialist in these problems, F. Behrendt, in his work «Social strategy for the developing countries», to find the laws of these processes which are running through a large part of the world today. Although he uses different terms, in fact he is in accord with his Soviet colleagues on many points and concepts such as the division of the world into «central zones» and «lateral zones of dynamic», where the law of «cultural inclination» operates, according to which the less developed zones must be incorporated, as to the fundamental processes, in the big zones of the dynamic, which may be, according to the interest of the superpowers, the capitalist West or the revisionist East.

This «lateral» world is subjected to the impulses which came from the central zones as «exogenous» impulses and, consequently, cause as a lawful phenomenon a «cultural trauma», the clash of the traditional folk culture with the «superior» cultures, a trauma which

may become destructive. The duty of the scholar is allegedly to make these traumas the least painful and dangerous, i.e. revolutionary, by exploiting», the principle of social sluggishness», which operates in some conservative strata and classes, but while making use also of the principle of «directed cultural transformations», proclaimed as a «scientific» principle. On this course it would be possible to avoid the dangerous phenomena of cultural «discontinuity» (imply: the revolutions).

With the further revolutionisation, the studies in the field of our folk culture took an important step forward. In their themes the studies dedicated to the historical aspect of the folk culture and the way of life were linked better with the present tasks of the struggle against the negative phenomena of our life, the studies dedicated to the current processes in regard to the evolution of the phenomena of our folk culture to the relationship between tradition and the new, were strengthened, so that they captured those fundamental aspects which have to do with the role of our folk culture in the creations of the new socialist culture.

In the works undertaken in this new stage, the theoretical thinking in the field of cultural sciences has been enlivened and raised in its level by revolutionary practice. The strengthening of the character of partisanship and revolutionary tendentiousness allowed our sciences of culture to combat alien handovers and influences.

The culture of a socialist nation with such ancient traditions as those of the Albanian nation, is unthinkable without the revolutionary ideology and without its own popular features and spirit, without its own national soil.

The Albanian sciences of culture respond to these responsible tasks entrusted to them by the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, who instructs that «with united forces of our men of sciences, arts and culture, strive to study the national character in various directions of culture».

This directive of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha gives the studies the

great prospect of political and scientific importance, lines up the scientific work in the great struggle being waged everywhere by the peoples, the forces of progress and the revolution against conservatism, and retrogression, represented by imperialist hegemonism.

The revival of the ancient Albanian people and the flourishing of their socialist national culture is a glorious deed of the era of the Party. Another result of this revival is our Marxist-Leninist science of culture.

In concluding this paper, in which the course of our ethnographic sciences is described, we cannot fail to mention the words expressed 100 years ago by P. Vasa, whom we may rank among the first scholars in the Albanian ethnography: «Our hearts burn with the desire to see our homeland happy, not to blush, before the civilised and industrious nations... On this course we do not want the Albanian people to lose their characteristic features, their customs, legends, language, which are the only riches our forefathers bequeathed to us». Today the Albanian socialist nation has full reason to be proud of a very much greater heritage and has created new cultural riches and is fighting to protect them and develop them further.

In a fierce revolutionary struggle and with titanic courage, the P.L.A. with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head have made the ardent desires of our patriots, which in their time were utopia, into reality. —

FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY



The second volume of selected works of comrade ENVER HOXHA in english has come off the press

The second volume of the «Selected Works» of comrade Enver Hoxha in English comprises documents of the period from November 1948 to November 1960.

The documents of this volume reflect the correct Marxist-Leninist line the PLA has pursued in the internal and external fields.

They bring out the revolutionary struggle of the PLA to translate into life the radical turn marked by the 1st Congress of the Party and in overcoming the extraordinary economic difficulties, the struggle to carry out the decisions of the 2nd and 3rd Congresses of the Party for the solution of the problems of the construction of the economic base of socialism and of the development of the productive forces. They emphasize the efforts of the PLA for the strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry, for the safeguarding and strengthening of the ideological and organizational unity and the further democratization of the internal life of the Party, the strengthening of the defence potential of the homeland, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the enhancement of the revolutionary vigilance to cope with the severe pressure of internal and international reaction.

The documents of this period reflect the gigantic struggle of the Albanian people for the mass-scale collectivization of the countryside on a socialist basis, for raising the wellbeing of the working masses on the basis of the further industrialization of the country and the all-round progress of agriculture.

In the external field, they bring out the consistently internationalist stand of the PLA and its principled political and ideological struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism.

A good many of these documents were written in one of the most complicated situations for the international communist and workers' movement, which was a consequence of the revisionist decisions and theses of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. Many communist and workers' parties, and the CPSU in the first

place, were in utter ideological confusion. Consequently, in the Soviet Union and in a number of socialist countries, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist economic and social order had begun to slip into bourgeois-revisionist degeneration. Taking advantage of the great international authority of the CPSU and of the Soviet state, the Soviet leadership brought strong and unrelenting pressure to bear on the leaderships of the other communist and workers' parties to replace the Marxist-Leninist course with the revisionist course of the 20th Congress. The Khrushchev clique, which had usurped power in the Party and the Soviet state, did its utmost to remove from leadership all those who refused to adopt the revisionist course.

The same pressure was brought to bear on the PLA and its leadership. But far from submitting, the Party waged a stern struggle against it. The works of comrade Enver Hoxha of this period reflect the revolutionary stand and the determination of the PLA to continue along its Marxist-Leninist road. They reflect the Party's courage and wisdom in overcoming the obstacles and difficulties, finding its bearings correctly in these extremely complicated situations with Marxism-Leninism as its compass.

In these conditions, the PLA centered its attention on two main issues: first, on preserving the proletarian revolutionary character of the Party and its line, and second, on preserving the unity of the international communist movement, first and foremost, of the socialist camp, on defending Marxism-Leninism on an international plane.

The PLA did not publicly oppose the revisionist theses of the 20th Congress of the CPSU right from the start for two reasons. First, because at that time, a public debate would have been to the great advantage of the enemies of communism; who had launched a frenzied assault against Marxism-Leninism, the socialist camp, and especially against the Soviet Union, as the first and most powerful socialist state. Second, because

the PLA was not yet finally convinced that N. Khrushchev and his group had betrayed Marxism-Leninism, and hoped that the Soviet leadership would realize and correct their mistakes. Therefore, at that time, the PLA defended the Soviet Union and the CPSU considering this a struggle for the defence of socialism, of Marxism-Leninism, of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement.

Nevertheless, the PLA maintained attitudes differing in essence from the Soviet views in regard to the acute international problems:

— to the revisionist thesis on the change of the nature of imperialism in the present epoch it opposed the Marxist-Leninist view on the inalterably aggressive character of imperialism;

— to the thesis on securing world peace mainly through talks between the heads of the great powers it opposed the view of securing peace through strengthening the unity of the socialist countries and uniting all peaceloving peoples in a single front against imperialism, especially US imperialism, through national liberation and socialist revolutions;

— to the thesis on the peaceful road as the chief road for the transition to socialism it opposed the view of preparing for the armed struggle as the chief road for the transition to socialism;

— to the thesis on the dying out of the class struggle in socialism it opposed the view of the class struggle continuing as an objective and unavoidable phenome-

non for the entire period of the transition from capitalism to communism, etc.

At a time when, under the influence of the CPSU, the majority of the communist and workers' parties had ceased their struggle against Yugoslav revisionism, the PLA continued this struggle without let up and with the greatest severity, not only because Yugoslav revisionism was the enemy of Marxism-Leninism and constituted a danger to the whole international communist and workers' movement but also because the struggle against it greatly assisted the struggle against every kind of revisionism, especially against the anti-Marxist theses of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. Although the sharp edge of the struggle of the PLA was directed against Yugoslav revisionism, it was readily understood that the blow was directed against revisionism in any country and in any party, that the theses used against Yugoslav revisionism were opposed to the theses of the 20th Congress.

The PLA did not lack courage to point out all its hesitations, doubts, and opposing views, to the CC of the CPSU through party channels, without making these differences public, because that would have meant putting weapons in the hands of the enemies of communism. It tried to resolve these differences through talks and consultations in a comradely spirit, as things should always be done between fraternal working class parties. However, the further Khrushchev and the other revisionist leaders went down the road of the re-establish-

ment of capitalism in their countries, down the road of collaboration with American imperialism and world reaction against communism and the world revolutionary movement, the more thoroughly the real features of the Soviet revisionists become recognized. And the more clearly the betrayal of the Soviet leadership came into the open, the more fierce became the struggle of the PLA for the exposure and ideological and political destruction of Khrushchev revisionism.

This volume also contains the Speech delivered by comrade Enver Hoxha at the Meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow in 1960. In line with the directive of the CC of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha made a direct criticism there of the revisionist theses of the 20th Congress, as well as of the Soviet leadership for defending and spreading a series of anti-Marxist views and for engaging in activity which was anti-socialist and anti-communist activity through and through.

The documents of this period reflect the split between the correct revolutionary line of the PLA and the regressive line of the revisionist leadership of the CPSU and of a number of other communist and workers' parties. At that period, however, the clash had scarcely begun and could not have the depth and severity it was to assume later. Therefore, the documents of this volume should always be judged bearing in mind the time and circumstances in which they were written.

Atmosphere of joy and revolutionary enthusiasm

On November 8 this year 35 years will be completed from the day of the founding of the Communist Party of Albania (today the Party of Labour of Albania). In accordance with the decision of the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, the 7th Congress of the Party will convene on the 1st of November. Both these important events have aroused an exceptional atmosphere of joy and revolutionary enthusiasm among the broad working masses of Albania.

The Albanian people, old and young,

wholeheartedly love the Party of Labour of Albania. They link all the victories they have achieved - the freedom and independence of the homeland and the majestic successes on the road to the construction of the complete socialist society-with it, with its correct, wise and farsighted leadership.

Consequently, they desire to welcome these memorable events with maximum successes at work. An exceptional emulation is observed longsince in work and production centres, agricultural cooperatives and enterprises, cultural, artistic

and scientific institutions, at schools and in military units. Each in his own work is trying to give something more in honour of the jubilee of the Party and its 7th Congress.

The daily and periodical press of the country carries frequently letters addressed to the Central Committee of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha from districts, working collectives or agricultural cooperatives announcing the fulfilment of the plan targets ahead of schedule, and new bolder pledges for the future. Correspondences and reportages are also published telling about the experience of the advanced and about its extension to the entire country.

Many letters are addressed to the Central Committee of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, informing of the ad-

FROM THE COUNTRY

vance and overfulfilment of the targets of the 6th five-year plan, the draft-directives of which are now being broadly discussed by the working people. Many working collectives, agricultural cooperatives and enterprises, discovering reserves unexploited thus far, pledge themselves to reach the indices of the five-year plan 1-2 and even 3 years ahead of schedule, particularly in regard to the yields of agricultural crops.

Also the workers in art, culture and science have mobilised themselves to welcome the jubilee of the Party and its 7th Congress with maximum successes. Hundreds of writers, painters sculptors and composers are preparing new works to present them at the competition in honour of the founding of the Party, which has been announced since the beginning of the year.

At the same time, a broad and all-round cultural and artistic activity has begun throughout the country. Thous-

ands of amateur groups of the centres of work and production, agricultural cooperatives, various institutions, schools and military units are preparing to compete in various festivals and activities which have been arranged on a district and national scale in honour of the memorable events. The professional groups, too, are preparing programs of the most beautiful ones, with a profound ideological content and high-level artistic interpretation, in honour of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Party and its 7th Congress.

Likewise, scientific sessions dedicated to the history of the Party of Labour of Albania and its leading role in the whole life of the country are being organised on an enterprise and institution scale as well as on a district scale. Such a scientific session was organised recently also by the section of the History of the PLA of the Tirana University, at which many interesting papers and communications were presented.

The traditional festival of the education-loving people

Another new school-year began in Albania on the 1st of September. As usual in the post-liberation years, this year too, this day was turned into a real festival for hundreds of thousands of school pupils and students as well as for their parents and relatives. All this is linked with the great enthusiasm for education and culture which the Albanian people have. In the past they fought, arms in hand for education and culture just as they fought for the freedom and independence of their homeland. But only after the liberation of the country from the fascist occupiers and traitors, were the doors of the school flung wide open to the Albanian people. Within a few years illiteracy was eliminated, and the whole country was filled with a dense network of schools of all levels and profiles. For years now 8-grade education in Albania has been compulsory for all the children of school age. On the other hand, the people's state power has created favourable conditions for all the working people to attend part time schools of the highest levels while con-

tinuing in their jobs. Thus, one out of every three persons is attending school in Albania today.

The new school-year began this year in an atmosphere of exceptional enthusiasm created throughout the country on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Albania (today the Party of Labour of Albania), which is the inspirer and organiser of all the victories which our people have achieved, including those in the field of education and culture. The teachings of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha personally have placed the educational system in Albania on a sound basis. This system, which is based on the three revolutionary components-lessons, productive, labour and physical-military education-has given the school in Albania a new physiognomy. In the struggle for the implementation of these components many intellectualist and technocratic concepts which fetishized classroom lessons and underrated the educative and lesson-giving values of productive labour, have

been broken, and on the other hand new revolutionary concepts about school have asserted themselves.

The 1976-1977 school year is beginning with another leap towards the ever more marked mass character of the school in Albania. In comparison with the past year, the number of pupils in

the middle schools with special profiles will increase by 67 per cent. Thus, more qualified workers for production and cadres to assist production will graduate from our schools in the coming years.

As usual, the new school year began with official ceremonies at all schools. Pupils and students gathered in their

court-yards where they listened attentively to the greetings of the Minister of Education and Culture, of school principals and senior teachers. Representatives of state organs and organisations of masses, as well as many parents attended these ceremonies. Afterwards, normal lessons began.

New archaeological discoveries in Durrës

Durrës, a beautiful Albanian city on the Adriatic coast, is one of the most renowned cities of the ancient world. Its history goes back to the 6th century before our era. But many times during the centuries it has suffered considerable damage as a result of foreign invasions and the destructive forces of nature.

The ruins of the ancient city had remained in oblivion for a long time, but after liberation, particularly in recent years, when large-scale construction work has been done, many monuments, testifying to its majesty in ancient times, began to come to light.

The work to uncover these monuments is being carried out with a great care, because some of them lie where the city of today has been built. Nevertheless, already a large number of monuments such as the amphitheatre, the cemetery, many ruined buildings, floors decorated with mosaics, household utensils, burial monuments, etc., have been discovered.

Last year's excavation work carried out by the Archaeological Museum of Durrës led to the identification and partial uncovering of the ruins of a monumental building. From the work carried out so far, it is seen that it is a one-storied building made of very solid bricks, with entrance hall. The floor of the entrance hall worked in the mosaic technique, the basements of the columns, as well as the ruined Ionic columns themselves, tell of the technical perfection of the local craftsmen. To lay the floor medium-sized round or oval river stones have been chosen, cut in half and smoothed, and fixed in a stratum of special mortar. The surface is quite level, while the colours of the stones are variegated and strong. Placed one by the other in a dense and colourful mosaic,

they create an agreeable effect for the entrance of the light-filled building, without forming any defined artistic pattern. Apart from the thick lateral walls, the central columns of white limestone stones, worked with great care, supported the roof of the entrance hall. Between the entrance hall and the small central room there is a narrow corridor paved with polished slabs of white stone. From the corridor, through a massive doorway to one side, one passes to the central environment of the building, around which other rooms, which have had special functions have been placed. They are all distinguished by their dimensions, the placing of architectonic elements as well as by the archaeological material deposited in their floors after ruination.

The archaeological material collected, is composed of fragments of kitchen utensils, coins, as well as of a great multitude of roof tiles bearing special epigraphic brands with names of rulers who governed the city at that time or names of owners who had their centres for the production of bricks, tiles and earthenware, such as Polimide, Klean-dre, Nortaj, Nestor, Skirthana, etc., who are known also from the coins minted in Durrës in the 3rd-1st centuries before our era.

The coins, the building materials with the names of prominent people stamped on them, the architecture of the building itself date it of the 2nd-1st century before our era, whereas the deep cracks at the corners of the walls, their horizontal displacement and slipping, the cracks in the floor, the falling of the columns in the direction of the shock, lead to the conclusion that the ruin of this luxurious building is linked with the heavy earthquake which affected the

city in the 1st century before our era, which is cited by the authors of antiquity for its catastrophic consequences. After this time the building was never restored.

The building with all its architectonic elements is another proof of the high level of craftsmanship of the local builders as well as of the majesty of the city itself at that time.

Recently the archaeological discoveries in Durrës have been extended to the sea. The young Albanian hydroarchaeology has two objectives: First, to discover objects which have to do with sea-going traffic, the ancient vessels sunk on the shores as well as what was in them; and second, to find immovable objects, ancient wall structures, roads, etc., and parts of the city inundated over the centuries. Many objects of the first kind, mainly large amphora which have been in the holds of vessels sunk in ancient times have been brought up by fishermen. This fund of amphora of various forms and dimensions tells of the intensive character of sea-borne trade and the extensive contacts of this city with all the centres of the Mediterranean basin. As is known from information given by ancient learned men, many naval battles have been waged off the shores of Durrës, and many vessels have been sunk.

In the summer of last year, a few hundred metres north of the present-day city and several tens of metres deep in the sea, the first important discovery was made of traces of walls built with large blocks of volcanic rock similar to those of the Illyrian castles. The stones are placed one on top of the other without mortar. A groove has been engraved on them to engage and hold them. This wall structure is the most ancient discovered in Durrës thus far. Perhaps we have here fragments of the initial wall of the ancient city. This follows also from the data of the ancient Greek historian of the second century of our era, Pausania, who writes that at that time (i.e.

FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY



in the second century of our era) the inhabitants of Durrës lived in a city which was a little beyond the abandoned old city. This means that the city has shifted its centre towards the south. Up to the 12th century, the ruins of the abandoned old city (with which the discovery of these structures of volcanic rock under the sea is also connected) still existed. It is known that the Norman armies which besieged Durrës set up their camp in these ruins. About the

dating of this object we are helped by many fragments of ceramics with which the floor of the sea has been covered, such as two types of tiles which are of the 4th century before our era and of the 1st century of our era. The exploration of this area using aqualangs will undoubtedly bring to light interesting additional new facts which will make the topography, the population and construction of ancient Durrës better known.

The state folk song and dance ensemble of the PR of Albania made a tour of Sweden and Norway

At the end of August and the beginning of September this year the State Folk Song and Dance Ensemble of the People's Republic of Albania made a tour in Sweden and Norway. During this tour the Ensemble gave 13 concerts before audiences totalling about 35,000 people. This was a success for the Ensemble. The man in charge, Jakup Mato, writes about this success and the visit of the Ensemble to Sweden and Norway in the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit».

The very cordial welcome extended to the State Folk Song and Dance Ensemble by the friends of Albania in Sweden and Norway, the warm applause with which the well-wishers and ordinary people accompanied the program, are evidence of the prestige of People's Republic of Albania enjoys in those countries, of the respect and love our Party of Labour enjoys among the ordinary people and particularly among the revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists of these countries, writes the author.

The successes of our folk songs and dances testify once again to the force of the talent of our people and the vital importance of the directives of the Party and the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha about basing our artistic creativity on the national soil and about preserving and developing our folklore. The successes show us clearly, also how harmful have been the theories and

practices of the enemies who scorned our folklore and were trying to open the way for alien decadent art.

In all the concerts which were given, the halls were filled to overflowing and in many cases audiences much beyond their normal capacity were packed in. At the concert given in the capital city of Sweden, Stockholm, in Vitaberg Park, an audience of nearly 12,000 people attended as against 8,000 which was the capacity of the hall. All the seats were filled well before the start of the concert, and the Swedish speaker who announced the program was obliged to mount the stage and ask the public to pack in closer because «streams of people are coming». The public of thousands of people did move closer, but notwithstanding, when the concert began, there was a very broad cordon of people who were standing, surrounding the whole park in the form of an amphitheatre. In most cities this cordon of people standing, beyond the capacity of the theatre halls, accompanied the concerts.

In Oslo, where we were guests of the Norway-Albania Friendship Association, every number was accompanied with rhythmic and prolonged applause. At the end of the third concert, the chairman of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Norway, Paul Steigan, mounted the stage, and after having expressed his thanks, he called: «Long live the CC of

the PLA with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head!» At this, the entire audience rose to their feet and giving the clenched fist salute, began to sing the «International», which our artists joined in, too.

After the concerts, friends «assailed» us with post-cards, in which they expressed their thoughts and warm feelings for our people and our country, for the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha and thanked us for the very beautiful concert, etc.

Various newspapers, the progressive press in particular, publicised our programs extensively. During the tour we learned that about 80 articles, news items and other information had been published in various newspapers, in which the visit of our ensemble was described in glowing terms.

The great success of the artists of our Folk Song and Dance Ensemble stems from the fact that in them the public saw the great talent of our people, the efforts being made to preserve and develop our fine popular traditions, and the interpretive abilities of our talented artists. The success is also evidence of the great authority our country has gained among the working masses of those countries and of the great work done by our friends to popularise the PR of Albania in their country.

In these countries themselves, a struggle is taking place between the progressive forces which are fighting to preserve and develop the good national tradition, and the reactionary forces which encourage cosmopolitanism in culture and art. In this sense, the progressive forces, seeing how our folk art is preserved and developed, found in the programs of our concerts a strong argument for the preservation and development of their own folk culture. We noticed this concern for the folk culture in many contacts and talks the friends who enquired us with great interest have we work for the preservation of folklore, how it is developed in the present conditions, etc.

A warm welcome was extended to our company also by many authorities of the cities where the concerts were given and warm words were said in their congratulations to our artists.

A cordial welcome was extended to our company by the Friendship Associations in Sweden and Norway. In Stockholm the Association organised an evening party in our honour, at which

a beautiful concert of folk songs and dances was given. A member of the presidency of the Friendship Association of Finland had come here; he greeted us in Albanian and sang an Albanian song (He had learned the Albanian language in a study-course our friends in Finland had arranged). In every city we went to we saw friends selling Albanian books and magazines in the language of the country, such as «History of the PLA», speeches by comrade Enver Hoxha, like the speech at the Conference of the 81 Parties in Moscow, the review «Albania Today», translated works of our authors of socialist realism, etc. In many cities we saw the special issue of the magazine «Erkler», which was dedicated entirely to Albania, being sold and read. In a number of cities of Sweden and in Oslo in the corridors of theatre halls the friendship associations had opened exhibitions about Albania with articles and scenes from the development of the economy and culture in our country, with photos showing comrade Enver Hoxha among the workers, views of our paintings, such as «The proclamation of the Republic», «The denunciation of the Warsaw treaty», etc. They told us about talks and meetings they hold with workers of their country about Albania. Both in Sweden and Norway, young men and young women friends of Albania, who showed themselves tireless in helping us and creating a warm atmosphere, left an indelible impression on us. The Friendship Association in Norway likewise extended us a very warm welcome. All our artists were very moved when a friend told us that a big distribution enterprise employing 2.000 workers, which had previously refused to allow a Soviet revisionist troupe to give concerts, had asked our ensemble to give a concert. Their proposal was welcomed by our artists with stormy applause.

Living with strong emotions on those days of the tour, the artists and all of us felt a great pride in our Party and its leader, comrade Enver Hoxha, who by leading our people towards great successes, have so greatly increased the authority of our country in the world and have been constantly concerned with the development of a sound and powerful art in the Party spirit, firmly based on the creativity of our people.



THE ECONOMIC CRISIS AND THE SHARPENING OF CONTRADICTIONS IN THE CAPITALIST-REVISIONIST WORLD

PERIODICALLY, IN THE PERIOD AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR THE ECONOMY OF THE DEVELOPED CAPITALIST COUNTRIES HAS SEVERAL TIMES PASSED INTO A SITUATION OF CRISIS. HOWEVER UNTIL THE BEGINNING OF THE 70's, IN THE INTERVALS BETWEEN THE CYCLES, IT CONTINUED TO MARK A CERTAIN INCREASE OF PRODUCTION AND A RELATIVE DECREASE OF THE NUMBER OF THE CHRONIC ARMY OF UNEMPLOYED. ALTHOUGH THESE PHENOMENA WERE MET ONLY IN SOME OF THE BIGGER PRIVILEGED, CAPITALIST COUNTRIES AND DID NOT CONSTITUTE A FEATURE OF THE WHOLE SYSTEM OF THE WORLD CAPITALIST ECONOMY, THE BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGISTS RUSHED IN TO CIRCULATION WITH ALL SORTS OF THEORIES ABOUT THE SO CALLED NEW CAPITALISM WHICH FLOURISHES AND DEVELOPS WITHOUT CRISES. POLITICIANS AND STATESMEN FROM AMONG THE RANKS OF THE BOURGEOISIE TOOK UP THESE THEORIES WHENEVER THE SITUATION REQUIRED IT AND THE OCCASION PRESENTED ITSELF, TO DECEIVE THE WORKING MASSES THROUGH DEMAGOGY, TO DISGUISE THE POLICY OF OPPRESSION, EXPLOITATION, AGGRESSION AND WAR, PURSUED BY THE IMPERIALIST POWERS. PROCEEDING FROM THESE THEORIES, THE LEADERS OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES DRAFTED PROGRAM AFTER PROGRAM ABOUT THE SO CALLED «INTEGRATION OF CAPITALISM IN SOCIALISM», TO PROVE THAT ALLEGEDLY NOW «THERE ARE NO ANTAGONISTIC CLASSES AND CLASS STRUGGLE IN BOURGEOIS SOCIETY, THAT CAPITALISM HAS BECOME MORE PROGRESSIVE, MORE LIBERAL, MORE HUMANE».

The modern revisionists in capitalist countries did not lag behind the new theories, either; by trying to prove the «changed nature» of present-day capitalism, they aim to divert the working class from the course of struggle, revolt and violent revolution. In the countries

HEKURAN MARA — Professor, specialist in economic issues.

where the modern revisionists are in power too, much speculation began around this question, with a great deal being said, about a «new historical stage» in the development of capitalism; seeking through such theorisations to justify the anti-Marxist thesis of peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism.

Although from the tactical aspect all this confusion of «theoretical» apologia about the development of capitalism without crises and the change in its nature has its own nuances and refinements in the arguments which the bourgeoisie and revisionists use in their «theoretical» thinking, from the strategic aspect it all has the one aim: to extend the life of capitalism, to ensure the state power of the imperialists and revisionist bourgeoisie, to confuse and disarm the working class ideologically, to avert the outbreak of conflicts and the social revolution as long as possible and whenever this can be achieved for the time being.

However, at the very time when the bourgeois-revisionist apologists were in ecstasy, because they thought that with their magic words and miracle working «theories» they had saved capitalism from the evil of economic crises, the capitalist world was seized in the grip of a new economic crisis. After all it became obvious that the capitalist order had remained what in reality is an order of oppression and exploitation of the peoples, of the toil and sweat of mankind, a warmongering order and murderer of nations, that it had chan-

**The economic-financial crisis which has broken out in the
capitalist-revisionist world is neither accidental, unexpected nor unforeseen.
It is an inevitable result of the sharpening of contradictions which
are ceaselessly gnawing
at the capitalist order in the epoch of its general crisis;
it is a natural result of the imperialist policy of aggression, world hegemony,
oppression and exploitation of the peoples
pursued by US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism**

by HEKURAN MARA

ged only in the imagination of the bourgeois-revisionist ideologists.

Now the world capitalist economy is experiencing the most difficult times it has known in the post-war period. Not a day passes in the capitalist world and the countries where the revisionists are in power, without talk and the publication of news about the economic-financial crisis. The level of industrial production has fallen and is still falling in all the main capitalist countries, Industrial and commercial bankruptcies follow one after another. Inflation, the increase of the prices of mass consumption goods and living costs are racing ahead neck and neck. Stocks of unsold goods increase from one month to the next. The number of unemployed people in the capitalist-revisionist world has reached about 100 million. The bourgeois and revisionist states are up to their necks in internal and foreign debts. The deficits of the budgets and balances of payments have risen to unheard-of sums. Currencies are devalued in chain reactions, causing alarm and panic on the money market. The imperialist and revisionist bourgeoisie has set its state machinery in motion to shift the entire burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of the working masses. The two impe-

rialist superpowers are leaving no stone unturned to get out of the crisis at the expense of their partners, at the expense of the countries and peoples who are oppressed and exploited by them. In broad outline such is the situation which the economic-financial crisis has created in the capitalist-revisionist world today.

To deceive the peoples, imperialism, social imperialism, and their ideologists sometimes try to present the economic-financial crisis as a crisis which allegedly came about simply as a result of the shortage or higher cost of oil. On other occasions they try to present the economic financial crisis simply as a crisis which came about as a result of the growth of inflation on a world scale. This crisis, they allege, can be overcome by reducing the prices of oil and raw materials, as well as by freezing the wages of the workers. But all reasoning of this nature is aimed at camouflaging the situation and its real causes, at hindering the disclosure of the essence of the phenomena.

In fact the present-day economic-financial crisis is of another nature, it has other causes and dimensions. It is an expression and direct consequence of the sharpening and deepening of the contradiction between the social cha-

racter of production and its capitalist private appropriation; it is an expression of the sharpening and deepening of the general crisis of the capitalist system. *

**The temporary revival
of the capitalist economy
and the intensification
of the antagonism
between production and
consumption**

Beginning from the 50's the economy of the principal capitalist countries marked a certain revival. This revival was influenced by such factors as the technical-scientific revolution and, on this basis, the renewal of the fundamental capital, the militarisation of the economy, the external economic expansion, the increase of the level of exploitation of the working people, etc. These factors not only did not lead to the solution and overcoming of the contradictions of the capitalist system, but they sharpened the old contradictions even more and gave rise to new contradictions which brought about the outburst of the present economic-financial crisis.

As a result of the development of the technical-scientific revolution in the post-war period, new branches of indus-

trial production came into being in the main capitalist countries, such as electronics, petrochemistry, etc. The creation of these branches and particularly the development of the mechanical engineering and automobile industry in this period, played the same role in the increase of the total industrial production as the building of railways played before the First World War (1900-1915). Whereas during 20 years (1951-1970) the total industrial production of the capitalist countries increased 92 per cent, over the same period the production of the electronic industry, of the chemical and automobile industries of these same countries increased 200 per cent.

The development of the technical-scientific revolution was accompanied by a mass and simultaneous renewal of the fundamental capital also in the old traditional branches of the economy. This phenomenon occurred because in most capitalist countries the renewal of the fundamental capital in these branches could not take place in large proportions either after the world crisis of the years 1929-1933 or during the Second World War. Moreover, the mass and simultaneous renewal of the fundamental capital was conditioned also by the need to restore the war-damaged industry in Western Europe and Japan, by the high rates of militarisation of the economy in USA and other imperialist states, as well as by the intensification of the struggle of competition among the monopolies in the capitalist market.

The accelerated renewal of the fundamental capital led temporarily to a rise in the demand for machines, industrial equipments raw materials, fuels and other commodities of the first subdivision. In this way it stimulated the extension of the production of means of production. As a result of the rise in demand for means of production, the home market began to extend too, for the account of the first subdivision. This whole movement brought about the relative increase of the number of people employed and, together with this, also a certain increase of the volume of the market for mass consumption goods, particularly those of long-term use

which were produced for the first time, such as television sets, washing machines, refrigerators, etc. However, the increase of the total demand with purchasing power (effective demand) remained limited and did not follow step by step the rates of increase of production in the first subdivision. This happened because even that rise which was attained in the wages of the workers, thanks to their persistent class struggle, was many times smaller than the increase of their labour productivity. In general the rise in the wages never managed to cover the increase in the cost of living, to cope with the essential minimum means of livelihood for the working people. Likewise, it must be pointed out that the increase of labour productivity was not accompanied with the reduction of prices, but, on the contrary, led to their increase.

In the final analysis, the development of the technical-scientific revolution and the renewal of the fundamental capital on the basis of it, led to the growth of the organic structure of capital and the relative reduction of the total effective demand for mass consumption goods. This is confirmed also by the fact that in the post-war period the production of mass consumption goods increased both relatively and absolutely much less than the production of means of production. Thus, for instance, in the USA in 1967, as compared with 1954, the production of the textiles and leather industries increased 9 per cent, the food processing industry 13 per cent, the food wear and ready-made garments industry 11 per cent, while in the same period the production of electronic industry increased 168 per cent and chemical industry 177 per cent.

Overall, the average volume of consumption per capita in capitalist countries increased very little, so that even today the consumption of foodstuffs and footwear has not surpassed the pre-war level. The phenomenon of selling mass consumption goods on credit, which is widespread in capitalist countries, has its source in the fact that it is impossible for the working masses to cope with the daily needs of their livelihood with their

wages. The increase of the volume of these sales is a supplementary means to increase the exploitation of the masses, because the prices of goods which are sold on credit are usually 30-40 per cent higher than the prices of the same goods paid for in cash. It follows from the official figures of the Department of State for Commerce that today the American workers use 40-50 per cent of their annual incomes to pay off debts created by the purchase of goods on credit. Another fact which it is no less important to stress is that the sale of goods on credit is direct evidence that the production of these goods has surpassed the limits of the effective demand of the working masses, it deepens the capitalist overproduction because, from the external aspects, it creates the false appearance that everything is going smoothly with the realisation of the goods produced, whereas this is a forced realisation.

As a result, the factors which conditioned the temporary upsurge of the capitalist economy in the post-war period at the same time also prepared the premises of the present-day economic crisis. They especially sharpened the antagonistic contradiction between production and consumption, which constitutes the ultimate cause in the series of causes that lead to the outbreak of economic crises in capitalism.

Militarisation and permanent inflation-insurmountable problems of the capitalist-revisionist economy

The policy of world domination, aggression and oppression of the peoples, pursued by imperialism and social imperialism, the operation of the law of maximum profit, as well as the narrowing of the world capitalist market have brought as a result that the capitalist economy is bound like Prometheus to the rock, to the production of the means of death, has taken the road of militarisation.

The militarisation of the economy is not a new phenomenon. From the moment of its birth, imperialism has been distinguished by its tendency towards

* THIS IS NOT TRUE, AT LEAST FOR THE U.S., DURING MOST OF THE WWII PERIOD.

the militarisation of the economy. But whereas between the two world wars the proportions of the militarisation of the economy were limited and were increased only for the time in which the war was being waged, now the proportions and rates of militarisation have increased beyond all comparison even in times of peace. Today, in the USA alone, the annual military expenditure amounts to 100 billion dollars. The military expenditure for aggression and war in the USSR, too, is at a similar level. The other imperialist states also spend huge sums in this field.

The militarisation of the economy and the armaments race in the post-war period became the sphere most attractive to the monopolies for investments of capital. They became the main source to ensure a sales market guaranteed by the state. The production and sale of arms has become the most profitable field for the monopolies. Today a total of 20 billion dollars worth of arms are sold in the world each year. Of these, 16 billion dollars worth are sold by the two superpowers, the USA and the USSR, alone (about 8 billion dollars worth each). In the present capitalist-revisionist economy it is more profitable to produce death dealing weapons than material blessings for the working masses. The fact that US imperialism, Soviet social imperialism, and the other main capitalist countries spend many times more material means and manpower for purposes of destruction than for purposes of creation shows that the capitalist system is definitely on a hopeless course, it demonstrates capitalism's colossal waste of human possibilities, the consequences of which are truly catastrophic. This is the most convincing proof of that great degradation which has encompassed the entire bourgeois-revisionist social order, just as occurred thousands of years ago in the slaveowner society of ancient Greece and later, that of Rome.

The truth is that militarisation influences the capitalist economy in a many-sided, but always contradictory way. The increase of the production of military means on the basis of state orders increases the demand for means of pro-

duction, stimulates and accelerates the renewal of the fundamental capital which is used for the production of military means. Because of the high rates at which the military technique in general develops, the machines used in the war industry become obsolete, are subject particularly to moral consumption, and drop out of use very much more quickly and on a larger scale than the machines used in other branches of industry. This process brings about the extension of production in all the fields and branches of the first subdivision which are linked with the war industry, and leads to a certain increase of the number of people employed. Thus, in the final analysis, it leads to a certain increase also of the effective demand for goods of broad use, thus extending the limits of their realisation (sale) in the home market. In this sense, the militarisation of the economy is used by the monopolies and the bourgeois state as a temporary means against the outbreak of the economic crisis, mitigating the lag of the purchasing power of the working masses behind production. On the other hand, the militarisation of the economy brings about the non-productive use and the inevitable elimination of a good part of the national income and social production. Today, in the main capitalist and revisionist countries this elimination amounts to 20-24 per cent of the gross national product. Apart from this, the bourgeois-revisionist state draws the monetary means to pay for these war products from increased taxes on the working people and the increase of inflation. However, the increase of taxes and inflation inevitably leads to the decrease of the incomes of the working people, the further limitation of their purchasing power; hence, it leads to the sharpening of the contradiction between production and consumption. In this way militarisation creates a vicious circle for the capitalist economy. It brings about a temporary extension of the home market, which later must again reduce the effective demand in this market.

The creation of a special and ever growing sector of the production of mi-

litary means in the contemporary capitalist economy gave rise to a phenomenon typical of the second stage of the general crisis of capitalism. This refers to the permanent chronic monetary inflation as a means to redistribute the national income in favour of increased profits for the monopolies, as a means of additional exploitation of the working people by the monopoly bourgeoisie.

The extension of the production of war means, together with the increase of their prices by the monopolies to secure the greatest possible profits, inevitably leads to the increase of the deficit of the state budget. Today the annual deficit of the state budget in the USA amounts to 76 billion dollars. The increase of the budget deficit is coped with by the state's putting new paper-money into circulation. This leads to a new increase of prices on the part of the monopolies. And thus, the spiral of inflation goes up and up inevitably, bringing about reduction of the real incomes of the working people, a further increase of the level of their exploitation, as well as increased profits for the monopolies. In recent years the average annual rate of inflation in the capitalist countries has been about 7 per cent.

The permanent inflation has brought into sharp relief a problem of the capitalist economy, it has increased the level of chronic non-utilisation of the productive capacities, not only in times of economic crisis, but also in times of the highest level of growth. In the Common Market countries, even before the outbreak of the present economic-financial crisis many branches of industry suffered from incomplete utilisation of productive capacities. Such were the steel, automobile, refrigerator, shipyard, sewing machine, synthetic fibre, and other industries.

Neocolonialism in action and the struggle of the peoples for national independence and sovereignty

Immediately after the Second World War the old colonial system of imperia-

INFLATION

UNDER UTILIZATION

YES, BUT WHY?

lism began to collapse. One after another many of the former colonial countries won and proclaimed their political independence. In these conditions the monopoly bourgeoisie of the metropolises, was compelled to go over from open and direct colonial domination to a secret and indirect neocolonial domination. Consequently, the monopolies managed to preserve their old economic positions almost intact, whereas the countries which proclaimed their independence remained, as before, economically dependent, agrarian appendages and sources of raw materials for the industrial metropolises. Therefore the economic enslavement and exploitation of these countries became even more intensive with the new forms of neocolonialism, which represents a whole system of measures of military, political and economic character. All these measures are aimed at the subjugation of the economically weak countries to the developed capitalist-revisionist countries, the restriction and elimination of their national independence.

Neocolonialism constitutes the main obstacle to the economic and social progress of the underdeveloped countries. The developing capitalist countries, which represent 70 per cent of the population of the earth and where more than 60 per cent of the world's reserves of oil and minerals are concentrated, today have only 30 per cent of the world's income at their disposal. Of the population of these countries, 800 million are illiterate, about 1 billion are suffering from hunger or malnutrition, and 900 million have daily incomes of less than 1/3 of a dollar. The average per capita income in the developing countries is 22 times less than in the developed countries.

Imperialism and social imperialism are not only opposed to the socio-economic progress of the developing countries, but they also pursue a policy of aggression, blackmail and pressure towards those who are striving to take their fate into their own hands. They leave no stone unturned against these countries in order to impose on them political regimes and social and economic structu-

res which will facilitate foreign domination, economic dependence and the neocolonial exploitation. The foreign capitalist-revisionist exploiters are always interested in the raw materials and energy resources of the developing countries, but they do not concern themselves at all about the peoples of these countries, about their fate as a nation, about the development of their economy and culture. Nothing can wipe this historical truth from the minds, hearts, and consciousness of all those peoples who have won their independence and today are fighting to strengthen this independence against the attacks of imperialism and social imperialism, who are fighting to fill the gap in their socio-economic development created by the old and new colonial domination.

Through many sophisticated forms, such as their so-called «aid», «economic and technical collaboration», «joint enterprises», «share in companies», «division of labour, cooperation and specialisation», etc. imperialism and social imperialism plunder the developing countries of large quantities of ores, fuel, other industrial materials and agricultural products at minimum prices, while selling these countries finished industrial product at maximum prices.

But the exploitation of the developing countries by the capitalist-revisionist monopolies by means of unfair prices (through non-equivalent exchanges) is not the only form of exploitation imposed on these countries by neocolonialism. There is also the direct plunder of the developing countries by the monopolies, creating such a situation in which the foreign monopolies decide everything concerning the exploitation and use of the riches of the developing countries regardless of the wishes of their true owners.

In the policy of hegemony, rivalry and division of spheres of influence in the world pursued by the two superpowers lies the main cause also of the shortage of fuel, the energy crisis that has harmed some of the countries of the capitalist-revisionist world. The US and Soviet monopolies, which control the extraction of oil and the market on which

it is sold, sounded the alarm and began to challenge the oil producing countries, the Arab countries in particular. Things reached the point that it was publicly claimed that the imperialist metropolises have the right to exercise control in fixing the sale prices of crude oil. Such imperialist countries as West Germany, France, etc., which are in the greatest need of oil, hastened to intensify their penetration into the Arab oil resources. The two superpowers, which want no partners in their hegemony and in the division of spheres of influence in the Middle East, reacted with pressures and promises of «friendship and assistance» for the countries of this area.

The capital of the monopolies is not sent abroad and invested in the economies of the developing countries to assist their progress, but is taken to them only to draw the maximum profits from the exploitation of the work and sweat of the people, from the plunder of their riches. As long as imperialism, social imperialism and their neocolonial system of exploitation remain in existence they will do their utmost to take back with the one hand many times what they have allegedly given with the other hand. Any illusions about the purposes of the so-called imperialist and social imperialist aid are dangerous for him who nurtures them. The most significant example in this field is the contrast between the USA and Latin America or between the Soviet Union and India. In Latin America, where the so-called American aid exerts its influence in the most extensive proportions, where the peoples live nominally independent, where the earth contains fabulous riches, 140 million are illiterate. The same situation exists in India, too, a country which continues to enjoy «the special privileges of the aid» of Soviet social imperialism.

History has presented the peoples of the developing countries with a favorable opportunity. Taking into consideration the increase of the extraction of raw materials and fuel, as well as the great rôle they play in the world capitalist economy, the time has come for

the peoples of the developing countries to use these assets as a powerful short and long range political and economic weapon; they must use them not only to protect themselves against the hegemony and neocolonialism of the imperialist powers, but also to accelerate their economic and social development. To this end the evil must be rooted right out, and it is the radical who takes things through to the end, who fight to strengthen national sovereignty and independence, which cannot be achieved by begging and are never donated by the imperialists and social imperialists but are won, attained through struggle, relying on one's own efforts.

And the peoples of the developing countries really are fighting against the imperialist powers and monopolies to strengthen their national independence and sovereignty, striving to secure real economic independence. The first step they are taking in this direction is the nationalisation of the riches of the country, which are in the hand of foreigners. Along with this, the peoples of these countries are undertaking courageous initiatives and actions to create and develop a multi-branched and independent economy, on the basis of the principle of self-reliance. These measures are creating the possibility that the exploitation and use of local riches will be done in a sovereign and independent way, beginning from production and the fixing of the selling price, the quantity to be produced, the market on which it should be sold, down to the question of deciding how the income secured should be spent for the industrialisation of the country, the development of its agriculture, culture, etc.

The measures which the peoples of the developing countries are taking to ensure the independent exploitation of their natural assets have been received, with the point of bayonet by the imperialist monopolies and powers. And what pressures, blackmail, conspiracies and sabotage, open and underground, have not been concocted to compel these peoples to retreat from the course on which they have set out, from their struggle and efforts for a rapid deve-

lopment. The monopolies and the governments which back them up go as far as to proclaim the struggle waged by the peoples of the developing countries to ensure true political and economic independence as the «principal cause» of the difficulties the world capitalist system is experiencing, as a gamble which is allegedly jeopardising the future of mankind! However, the time has gone when the monopolies and imperialist powers can dictate their will to the peoples of the developing countries as they did in the past.

The change of the ratio of forces in the world capitalist market and the intensification of competition

After the end of the Second World War the ratio of forces in the world capitalist market changed. The old British empire and the French colonial system went into decline and collapsed. This greatly weakened the economic potential and the competitive strength of these two powers. Germany, Japan, and Italy, defeated and ruined by the war, temporarily lost any possibility of competing in the world capitalist market. The vacant place left in this market by the other imperialist powers was occupied by US imperialism. The US monopolies penetrated rapidly and in large proportions into the economies of the semi-colonial countries which had recently, proclaimed their political independence. They began to exploit the peoples and plunder the riches of these countries as never before. Just from the differences of the prices of raw materials they bought and the industrial articles they sold in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the US monopolies began to secure supplementary profits which amounted to more than 10 million dollars in 1951. In later years this sum increased five fold (50 billion in 1960). Now more than half of the exports on the world capitalist market belonged to the US monopolies, as against 13 per cent before the war (in 1938).

This change of the ratio of forces in the world capitalist market allowed the US monopolies to double their economic power. Today the USA, which accounts for only 6 per cent of the population of the world, exploits and uses 60 per cent of the mineral resources of the world (without counting its own resources). If this factor is not kept in mind many of the phenomena of the present-day economic-financial crisis, cannot be thoroughly understood, it cannot be grasped that the so-called prosperity of the US economy and the economies of the other capitalist countries is founded on the blood, sweat and toil of the peoples of the developing countries and the riches plundered from these countries.

Immediately after the war, and because of the devastation it caused, in the main capitalist countries of Europe a great need arose for foodstuffs, goods of mass consumption, as well as for new up-to-date means of production. This situation gave the US monopolies the possibility to invade and take over the economies even of capitalist metropolises. This time the normal export of goods and capital was accompanied with the extension of neocolonialism to the old industrial metropolises, with the extension of technological colonialism. The inventions and technological advances achieved in the USA, the sale of patents, investments to produce new technical equipment in the countries which needed to effect the renewal of their fundamental capital which was outdated or out of use as a result of the ravages of the war, were the main forms which were used to spread technological colonialism. The old imperialist powers were temporarily under the control of US imperialism. J. V. Stalin pointed out at that time that «Germany (West), Britain, France, Italy, Japan, which have fallen into the clutches of the USA, carry out the orders of the USA with servility». (J.V. Stalin, «Economic problems of socialism in the USSR», Tirana, 1968, p. 39).

On the other hand, in the struggle against the revolution and socialism, as well as to cope with the rising tide of

the liberation movement of the peoples, US imperialism was compelled to help in the economic rebuilding of its two defeated old opponents: German imperialism and Japanese imperialism. On this basis the multinational monopolies, which spread to Europe and other dependent and semi-colonial countries, came into existence. If we add to this circumstance also the policy of US imperialism for world hegemony and its consequent preparations for war, the causes of that extension which inflation assumed in the USA in the post-war period can be more clearly understood. However, through the connections created by the US monopolies with the entire system of the world capitalist economy, as well as by exploiting to its own advantage the privileged position given to the dollar as international currency, the inflation which arose in the USA would certainly be exported to the other countries of the capitalist world too, it would become, as it became in reality, an international phenomenon of this world.

The post-war US empire stood on two legs; on the underdeveloped semi-colonial countries and the old capitalist metropolises. It seemed as if these two legs were unbreakable. But history showed that they were only two crutches which sooner or later would collapse, and US imperialism, and together with it the whole world capitalist economy, would be faced with a new reality. The ratio of forces in the capitalist world change, and in fact it did change.

After having recovered themselves, Europe and Japan began to raise their heads against the US monopolies. The European and Japanese monopolies began to penetrate into the world capitalist market and even the US home market by increasing competitive power. Little by little the US dollar began to decline, until at last it was shaken to its foundations and was openly opposed as an international means of payment. The dominant position of the US monopolies and US imperialism in the capitalist world began to waver.

Meanwhile a new factor had appeared in the world scene. The Soviet Union

had turned into a social imperialist power, also with open aims and strategy for world hegemony. Its economy was transformed into a capitalist economy and the entire social order was turned into a bourgeois-revisionist order.

In these conditions the most characteristic feature of the capitalist-revisionist world became the collaboration and rivalry between the USA and the USSR to establish their hegemony in the world, to divide the world between them into spheres of influence, economic expansion, exploitation and plunder. The present-day economic-financial crisis found the capitalist-revisionist world in this situation.

The capitalist-revisionist world in the grip of inevitable class conflicts

The present economic-financial crisis brought to surface the antagonistic political and economic contradictions which had long been gathering in the bosom of the capitalist world.

As long as capitalist private property over the means of production, private appropriation, exploitation, anarchy and competition exist, it will never be possible to use the entirety of the productive forces created by capitalism «normally». Capitalism will continue to be shaken periodically by even more profound political, economic and social crises. it will continue to bring the working masses increased exploitation, poverty and unemployment, it will continue to sharpen the contradictions, antagonism, and the class struggle.

In order to extend the existence of the capitalist order the bourgeois monopolies and state are seeking to mitigate and get out of the present economic-financial crisis by saddling the working class with the burden of it. To this end, they use all sorts of methods, they freeze the wages of the workers, increase the exploitation of them and the other working masses, intensify inflation, the militarisation of the economy, the policy of

aggression and war, raise the prices of goods and services, etc.

The effort of the bourgeoisie to shift the consequences of the grave economic crisis on to the working masses has further increased the antagonistic contradictions between labour and capital, between the working people and the capitalist-revisionist bourgeoisie. This has meant that these recent years have been years of great class clashes. Those taking part in strikes, manifestations and demonstrations of protest are counted in millions. In the first six months of the past year alone, over 2.600 strikes took place in the USA. In Italy the past year began with the strike of 14 million workers and continued with the same intensity over the whole year. In Japan, there have been about 100 strikes every month, etc. It is important to note that the proletariat has had beside it and has led, the other working masses of the town and countryside, oppressed and exploited by the monopoly bourgeoisie in increasing numbers.

All these things show that the «class peace», so loudly and bombastically preached by the bourgeois and modern revisionist ideologists is just a myth which has nothing in common with the reality. At present the class struggle is seething in the capitalist countries which are heading towards new conflicts and struggles, towards the sharpening of antagonisms between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. This increases even more the possibility and necessity for all the working people, under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party, to unite into a single front to seize the political and economic state power from the bourgeoisie.

In these situations the revisionist parties in the capitalist countries and all the modern revisionists are flocking to the assistance of the bourgeoisie, and they will do this more and more. They try to «persuade» the bourgeoisie to make some economic-political «concession», to accept some «structural reform», etc. Thus, the Italian revisionists put forward their «historic compromise» for the purpose of taking part in the go-

vernment and «running the country together with the bourgeoisie», the French revisionists put forward «their democratic program of united action» to come to power, while publicly proclaiming that they have given up the doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its establishment. The ideas, policy, and actions of the modern revisionists are open betrayal of the proletarian revolution and socialism, open support for the purpose of extending the life span of capitalism and the domination of the bourgeoisie, by seeking to quell the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

But the working class and the other working masses, who suffer the savage exploitation, poverty, misery, unemployment, the higher cost of living and other evils which the capitalist order and its present economic-financial crisis brings on their own backs, will never reconcile themselves either to the measures the bourgeoisie and its state are taking and will take, to get out of this crisis, or to the social demagogy of the modern revisionists, these traitors to the proletariat, the revolution and socialism. In fact we see that in the capitalist-revisionist world the working class and the working masses have risen in struggle against the bourgeoisie to defend their rights. They are coming out in the streets in demonstrations and declaring strikes against the closing down of factories and the laying off of workers; they are demanding increased wages, reduction of prices and taxes, they are demanding an end to inflation, the militarisation of the economy, the preparations for war and aggression against the peoples. All this shows that, contrary to the will, and plans of the modern revisionists, the working class is not surrendering to the domination of the bourgeoisie and its open and secret lackeys; that it is gathering strength, increasing, its consciousness and preparing for new class battles. Today, time is working for the peoples, for the revolution, the victory of which is inevitable. «The road of the development of present day human society», comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, «is opened and determined by the revo-

lution» (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of PLA, p. 14).

Since imperialism first emerged its history has been characterised by the unequal development of the capitalist countries. The present economic-financial crisis and the efforts of each capitalist country to come out of it at the expense of the others will further deepen the unequal development. It is known, however, that the unequal development of the capitalist countries has always led inevitably to the confrontation of the monopolies and imperialist forces to redivide the spheres of influence, the markets and sources of raw materials. The unequal development leads the political-economic antagonisms between the imperialist powers to such a point that eventually war breaks out to resolve them by means of force. The two world wars which have broken out between the imperialist powers have fully confirmed this Marxist-Leninist thesis.

Analysis of the economic and political situation in the capitalist-revisionist world shows, without any doubt, that US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism are more and more intensifying their efforts and plans for hegemony and world domination. It shows likewise that the more the unequal development between the capitalist countries deepens, the more pressure, interference and threats of the USA and the USSR against their partners increase. On this basis confrontations have arisen between US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, on the one hand, and all the other countries of the world on the other hand; confrontations have arisen between the imperialist forces themselves, as well as between the latter and the peoples. These pressures constitute the principal cause of the tensions which exist in the world and the hotbeds of wars which flare up periodically; they contain the danger, and are leading towards the outbreak of a new world war. «US imperialism and Russian imperialism», says comrade Enver Hoxha, «are leading the world to another world war, more terrible than all the others» (Enver Hoxha, «Our policy is open, a policy of proletarian principles», Pamphlet, p. 32).

US imperialism, Soviet social imperialism and the other imperialist powers are making special efforts to come out of the economic-financial crisis, at the expense of the peoples of the semi-colonial developing countries in particular. As a result, the ruling classes in these countries in particular. As a result, the ruling classes in these countries will be faced even more than up till now, with two pressures: the external pressure of the imperialist powers which want to plunder their riches at low prices, and the internal pressure of the working masses, who demand the strengthening of national independence and sovereignty and that the riches be used to the benefit of the country, of its economic and social progress, by relying on their own forces. The outcome of this clash will be decided by the ratio of forces of the classes inside the country. The unceasing flow of history shows that all these countries and all those peoples who are suffering from monopoly and imperialist oppression and exploitation will, without fail, rise in struggle to defend their national independence and sovereignty. All the colonialists, old and new, fear this struggle and the unity of these peoples more than anything else.

The sharpening of the political, economic and social contradictions in the capitalist-revisionist world is inevitable. US-led imperialism and Soviet social imperialism are advancing towards new upheavals. Their hegemonistic, enslaving, predatory and warmongering policy is being exposed. All this is intensifying the revolutionary struggle of the peoples for national liberation and is weakening the enemies of the proletarian revolution and socialism.

The predictions of the Party of Labour of Albania, the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha, based on objective Marxist-Leninist dialectical analyses of the situation in the capitalist-revisionist world, will certainly be vindicated in the future just as in the past. They testify to the correctness and farsightedness of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line the Party of Labour of Albania is pursuing.

THE RESOLUTION OF THE OF THE MAIN COMMUNIST GROUPS ON THE CREATION OF THE

RESOLUTION

THE FIRST MEETING OF THE MAIN COMMUNIST GROUPS OF ALBANIA CONCLUDED WITH THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTION:

I. Political situation

WE HAVE ENTERED THE THIRD YEAR OF THE IMPERIALIST WAR, WHICH HAS BEEN TRANSFORMED INTO A WORLD WAR AND HAS SWEEPED OVER ALL THE CONTINENTS AND MAIN COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD. FOR A LONG TIME THE COMMUNISTS HAD WARNED OF AND POINTED OUT THE DANGER THREATENING MANKIND AS A RESULT OF THIS TERRIBLE, BLOODY WAR WHICH IN FACT IS THE CONTINUATION OF THE FIRST WORLD SLAUGHTER:

WITH THE ENTRY OF GERMANY INTO WAR AGAINST THE USSR THE WORLD POLITICAL SITUATION HAS BEEN TRANSFORMED TO ITS FOUNDATIONS. THE POSITION OF THE WORKING MASSES AS WELL AS THE CONDITIONS OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLES ENSLAVED AND OPPRESSED BY FASCISM HAVE RADICALLY CHANGED. THE VERY CHARACTER OF THE WAR HAS CHANGED.

Likewild beasts, Hitler's infuriated hordes have assaulted the Soviet land, thinking that there, too, they would find a state weakened by the fifth column¹). Those destructive hordes, have plundered and killed people who for twenty years had been building socialism, workers and collective farmers who were living in prosperity and happiness, without exploitation of man by man. Those hordes have disturbed the tower of the fortress of peace, the whirlwind of the war has torn madly through the fertile Soviet plains. All the peoples of the Soviet Union, led by the Bolshevik Communist Party, have risen to their feet, to a man, to defend their socialist land. The glorious Red Army has struck and is still striking lethal blows at the hor-

des of German fascism. More than four million of the elite of the blood-thirsty Hitlerites have been put out of action. That army equipped with all the means, which it captured in the countries of Europe it has enslaved, is being crushed in its encounters with the powerful defences of the world of socialism. With meetings, with manifestations on the 22nd of June, the day when Hitler's hordes launched their surprise attack on the Soviet land, the USSR told us of the certainty of its victory. With the heroic struggle for the destruction of fascism which has now been going on for six months without respite, the USSR has demonstrated to us the certainty of its victory. Comrade Stalin made these events known to the whole world by

THE MEETING OF THE COMMUNIST GROUPS OF ALBANIA WITH THE PARTY (NOVEMBER 1941)

saying: «The enemy is strong and we have to mobilise all our forces to crush him. The war will be protracted and bloody. Hence we should understand the situation. If we came out on top in the counterrevolutionary intervention of 1918, how much more shall we come out on top today when fascism has begun to collapse under our blows and we shall go on dealing it lethal blows until it is completely destroyed». These words of the great comrade Stalin are being vindicated by the latest events on the war front, events which presage the great offensive which will not cease until fascism has been wiped from the face of the earth.

The influence of the Soviet Union has grown stronger than ever in the eyes of the enslaved peoples, as well as in the eyes of the people's of Britain and America, who want to put an end to this war imposed on them as well as to fascism. This strong influence is due to the fact that the USSR is fighting in defence of the socialist Fatherland and for the liberation of the enslaved peoples, for the establishment of a just peace without annexations and tribute and without enslavement of foreign peoples. This influence of the USSR is due to the fact that the Fatherland of socialism is fighting for the right of the peoples to determine their own fate.

The captive peoples of Europe, determined to put an end to the intolerable slavery under which fascism keeps them pinned down, are dealing heavy blows at the enemy with sabotage, strikes and armed actions. Europe has turned into

an active volcano of the national liberation struggle headed by the communist parties. Likewise, a powerful struggle is being waged by the peoples of Italy and Germany for their liberation from slavery to Hitler and Mussolini.

Now, in all countries, a front has been created of all progress-loving democrats in struggle against darkness, violence and slavery, against the sworn enemy of mankind-fascism.

This situation has caused the formation of two opposing fronts which are mortal enemies: on the one hand the front of the unjust war, the plundering war, of darkness, slavery, the front of fascism; on the other hand the front of the just war, the liberation war for progress, culture and civilisation, a front constructed around the great Soviet Union by the democratic countries,²⁾ Britain, America and China, and all the enslaved peoples and the freedom-loving peoples of the whole world.

With the entry of Japan and America this war has assumed the character of a world war. These two powers have clashed over their interests in the Pacific Ocean and the Far East, opposing interests which have become so acute that they have ended in war.

For more than two years Italian fascism has occupied our country and has committed every sort of evil at our expense. With the assistance of a few Albanians, its tools, like dogs on the chain and traitors to Albania, it has robbed us of our national freedom, it has tried to denationalise us, to corrupt the youth, to italianise the schools. For more than

two years the enemy has used our country as a base for its expansion in the Balkans and has turned this country into a battle-field against the national freedom of the fraternal Greek and Yugoslav peoples; has bombarded our villages and cities destroying the homes and property of the peasant and the town-dweller. . .

Not satisfied with this, Italian fascism has seized our lands, has turned us back to feudalism, is seeking to divide us by means of religion, and, as it has done wherever it has set foot, has deprived the people of their food. All the signs warn of the terrible scythe of hunger poised over the heads of the masses of the poor of the cities and villages. The enemy is compelling the peasant to hand over his livestock and grain, edible oil, kerosine and other prime necessities have disappeared from the market giving a small handful of capitalists the opportunity to speculate at the expense of the poor. The people cannot afford even the barest necessities because all trade has been monopolised in the hands of a few people linked with the *Luogotenenza*³⁾.

But all this violence and speculation at the expense of the Albanian people has thoroughly exposed fascism. The indignation of the people, which is constantly mounting, erupted in the streets of the cities of Albania. The first government lost all credit and was no longer useful in making the Albanian people a docile cow for fascism to milk at its ease, or to use them to suppress the national liberation movements of the

neighbouring peoples and our country as a base in the Balkans for the war against the Soviet Union, the glorious vanguard in the liberation war against fascism.

By giving the Albanian people the illusion of «self-government» fascism is seeking to divert the Albanian people from the true road to liberation, which is the uprising against fascism.

...The national-revolutionary movement of the Albanian people is gaining new strength from the barbarous oppression which has been imposed on them for more than two years now, and the days is not far off when these united forces will be transformed into a powerful torrent, which will overwhelm all the enemies of the national freedom of the Albanian people.

Therefore we must work unceasingly to mobilise the masses of the Albanian people in the national liberation movement, we must unite with all the nationalists⁴⁾ who really love free Albania, with all honest Albanians who want to fight fascism.

We must mobilise the masses of the Albanian people of the cities and villages in the struggle against the agents of the fifth column, against the spies, against the speculators. It is the duty of the communists to stand at the head of the struggle for a free, democratic, people's Albania, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the national liberation movement of the other peoples and the Soviet Union.

II. The communist movement in Albania

The proletarian revolution in Russia made the most profound impression on the Albanian youth and the entire Albanian people enslaved under the feudal system and exploited by the imperialist powers. In 1922-1924 the «Bashkimi» society became the exponent of the movement of the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist Albanian masses, and impelled the Albanian parliament to honour the memory of comrade Lenin, and the government to recognise the Soviet Union *de jure*, events without precedent in the

life of bourgeois states. In 1925-1926 the leftist members of the «Bashkimi» soc[iety] were admitted to the Soviet Union from emigration, and a group of Albanian communists was formed there. «Konare» (the National Revolutionary Committee) was also formed by the national-revolutionary elements of Fan Noli's⁵⁾ party who were in emigration, and in 1928 it was reorganised with the exception of those who were entering into compromises with the imperialist states, took the name of «National Liberation», and continued to publish «National Freedom». The «National Liberation» had contacts with the Balkan Committee⁶⁾ and later (1929) the Albanian communist comrades represented it on the committee and, through the committee, in the Comintern. In 1930 the first Albanian Communist comrades came from the Soviet Union to Albania, linked themselves here with the movement of the masses which had just begun to appear in Korça, and maintained the connection with the Comintern.

In 1932 the communists in Korça established their first links with the workers and masses of the people and comrade Ali Kelmendi deserves to be remembered for the generally correct leadership he gave this movement, together with the other comrades of Korça, from 1933 until 1936, a movement which laid the foundations for the formation of the Communist Party.

In 1934 X[oxi] N[iko] was expelled from the «Puna e Korçës»⁷⁾ for his unprincipled struggle against the line pursued by comrade Ali. X[oxi] N[iko] adopted the ideology of the archeio-Marxist⁸⁾ intellectuals who had come from Greece to Albania, created his faction and fought the participation of the communists in the movement of the masses by inventing the theory of «cadres». Later X[oxi] N[iko] played the role of a scab, then of provocateur and finally (at the trial of the communists in January 1939) became an open traitor.

In 1936 the Shkodra group began to grow. Later it made contact with «Puna e Korçës» and with the faction of X[oxi] N[iko], joined the latter, adopted the theory of «cadres» and thus remained

with very weak ties with the masses. At the same time the group of Trotskyists in Tirana⁹⁾, with which all the above-mentioned groups had had contacts, was formed.

In 1937 the new instructions (the new line) of the Comintern¹⁰⁾ for the temporary dissolution of the cells and their reorganisation on the basis of the party after sound foundations had been laid among the masses, for the exploitation of legal opportunities, for the defence of democratic and national rights, for the defence of peace against preparations for the imperialist war, arrived in Albania.

These directives, which had major historical importance in the communist movement, were accepted and partly carried out only by «Puna of Korça». In the absence of formed parties, the people's front was realised to a certain extent not only from below but also from above, taking advantage of the antagonisms of the bourgeoisie. In this work, even Zogu could have been included in the anti-imperialist front had he taken up arms to fight the entry of fascism into Albania.

The united groups of Shkodra and X[oxi] N[iko] not only did not accept the directives, but they even contested the possibility of an antiimperialist people's front in Albania allegedly until the Albanian Communist Party would be formed (See the «Green Bulletin¹¹⁾» nr. 1 and 2).

After the fascist invasion, the passive resistance of the people against fascism began in Albania. In September-October 1939 the socialdemocratic compromise was reached between «Puna of Korça» and the group of Shkodra, a compromise for the sake of internal peace without the purging of harmful elements and theories alien to the party of the proletariat, theories which had been created especially by the intellectuals. This liberal-opportunist compromise, based on an unsound peace within the organisation, widened the gap between the two groups, confused the members, inhibited the movement of the masses, and left the field free for the formation of new groups, as well as for the strengthening of the activity of

the Trotskyists. This compromise which, as could be expected, led the communists to tail the situation and the masses, came to an end in May-June 1940.

In February 1940 on the issue of the strike of the secondary school of Tirana signs appeared of the existence of a third group later called the «Youth» group, as well as the existence of other groups as for instance the F[ire] group. In May 1940 the leaders of this group were discovered and because of the division between the group of Korça and the group of Shkodra, the leaders of the «Youth» group united with those of the group of Shkodra. The «Fire» group remained on its own and so it is still.

A struggle over principle started between groups supporting the theory of «cadres» and the group of Korça which insisted on work among the masses. It turned into an unprincipled struggle which inhibited the movement of the masses more than ever.

Under the influence of a few intellectuals, who introduced a rotten intellectualism, alien to the workers movement, other groups have also sprung up, which have further fanned the flames of the struggle of the groups. But this does not mean that we must fight against intellectuals loyal to the workers movement, against intellectuals devoted to the Party.

After the fascists attack against the Soviet Union the great harm being done to the communist movement as a result of the fruitless struggle among the groups and the imperative necessity to put an end to this struggle and realise the necessary conditions for the unity of the movement in Albania was more than ever apparent, particularly from below. This unity became a reality with the first meeting of the main communist groups of Albania, during which a general examination was made of the communist work carried out in Albania up to the present day. This meeting yielded as a result the creation of a Provisional Central Committee of the Party which was charged with the heavy burden of carrying out the duties which the historic moment imposed on the Albanian communists: to hold discussions

with all the other communist groups of Albania, to give them the possibility of entering the ranks of the Party if they are firm in their decision to work for communism and submit to the discipline of the Party. The Provisional Central C[ommittee] is charged with the heavy burden of selecting the elements for, and organising and strengthening the Party on the example of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin.

III. Successes

The communist movement in Albania has had some successes.

A political stand has been maintained at every important moment, a stand always inspired by the interests of the Albanian people, the proletariat and the Soviet Union, but which has not been carried deep among the people.

To a certain extent the legal opportunities have been exploited:

a) by means of intervention in the organisations of the regime where large numbers were concentrated («Jashtë-shkollorët» in Korça; «Besa Shqiptare» in Shkodra, «Fryma e Re» in Tirana);

b) by means of some legal and semi-legal publications (Gorky's «Mother», «New World») organisations of craftsmen and workers (the professional associations and the «Puna» association in Korça, the associations of printing workers and joiners in Tirana) have been created, which have carried out economic and political actions through strikes and demonstrations which have had, and to some degree have attained, the aim of mobilising a part of the masses of workers, artisans and school pupils for the improvement of their living conditions and against exploitation;

c) by means of political actions, in defence of democratic rights (partially parliamentary, municipal elections, elections to the chamber of commerce, the councils of the elders);

d) demonstrations have been held to defend national freedom and against the fascist invader, which have had a certain success in developing national and antifascist feeling among the masses (the demonstrations of April 1939, No-

vember 28, 1939, 1940 and now recently the demonstrations of October 28 and November 1941 in Tirana, Durrës, Elbasan, Vlorë, Shkodër. Leading the country, that of Korça¹²) where the bloodshed signalled the start of the war against fascism).

Time after time leaflets with revolutionary content and slogans have been distributed, the aim of which has been to explain the situation to the people and these have had the effect of raising the prestige of communism, of the party of the proletariat and the USSR. A certain amount of Communist literature has been translated and distributed all over Albania (this literature, however, is uncontrolled and it is up to the CC to control it).

IV. Mistakes

Organisational mistakes — The greatest organisational and political mistake has been the failure to accept and apply the directive of the Communist International, which was of historical importance because it opened wide prospects, to the communist movement: that the existing communist cells, which were opportunist, Trotskyist, with a spirit of cronyism and factorism, not linked with the masses, infected with the struggle between the groups, and sectarian, must be dispersed; that they must be thrown among the masses so that the basis of sound organisation would emerge from among the masses. Even the group which accepted the directive only carried it out partially and after having dissolved the cells it created them again in the old way.

The nonacceptance of the directives of the Comintern impelled the groups, which did not accept and did not carry out the directive of the Communist International, to seek links from party to party.

Among the leaders of the «Puna e Korçës», localism, lack of the spirit of sacrifice, monopolisation of responsible work in a few hands have predominated. Apart from these defects, satisfaction with the results of the actions prevailed, and this led to failure to make organi-

sational gains and to leaving the new elements and movements, that were arising outside Korça to their own fate. Liberalism of the organisation towards the comrades has been prevalent, too, and has gone as far as opportunism towards other elements, indeed even towards declared class enemies like Z[ai] F[undo]¹³ and A[ristidh] Q[endro], a mistake into which the comrades of the other groups have fallen, too.

The other groups have been characterised by narrow severity towards the comrades, a thing which led to control over the smallest details of private life, to separation from family, the creation of artificial collectives, living badly, which are like anything other than communist collectives, something that gave the comrades the illusion that they were contributing everything to the organisation. This is nothing but sectarianism which concentrates attention on minor things and diverts it from big actions. Apart from these things, there were a few with ambitions, which accentuated the spirit of cronyism.

No serious attempt has been made to organise the work on basis of the Party by eliminating groupings and purging the movement of harmful elements, but on the contrary a social-democratic compromise has been reached, which has nothing in common with the party of the proletariat, has made the gap between the new groups much deeper, and has made things easier for Trotskyist and other elements.

The organisation of the cells and their work have not been correct. The trios¹⁴ were confined to themselves and without links with the masses. The struggle among the groupings has led to the recruiting of elements without checking their background and to competition for members. This dirty struggle between groups has hindered proper communist organisational work in Albania and driven it on a (wrong) course, violating security so greatly that the internal affairs of the communists had become the subject of gossip in the market place. But in reality very little constructive work has been done.

Grave mistakes have been made in

the work with the Youth. Cells of young people have been created without taking into consideration the special problems of their age and burdening them with responsibility too great for their years.

Political mistakes and theoretical deviations. Starting out from the incorrect view, alien to the party of the proletariat, that there are no classes in Albania, there has followed the negation of the class struggle, of the possibility of a communist movement among the masses, and therefore of the revolution, a theory which diverts the working class from the real struggle and leads to the most dangerous opportunism. From this has come the theory that the cadres must first be trained, then go among the masses. This theory, together with that of preserving the cadres from danger, is defeatist, opportunist, and leads to the liquidation of the Party. It alienates the communists from the masses and turns them into a sect. The cadres are strengthened and increased as a result of the activity among the masses. The denial of the possibility of the formation of an anti-imperialist popular front in Albania, the turning inwards, isolation from the daily life and mistakes in the analysis of situations as well as the rejection by the Communists of their leading role in the drive of the masses have stemmed from these wrong views.

The work among the masses, which has been done in some centres of Albania, has not had a character of revolutionary continuity.

During the days of 1-7 April 1939 the antifascist agitation stuck too much to legal lines. On this occasion «Care» was taken to preserve legality. This led to the failure to take to arms, leaving the whole business of the defence of national freedom in the hands of Zog, which was contrary to the objective situation in which overwhelming majority of the Albanian people wanted to fight, but lacked leadership. Had we taken up arms against the fascist invasion, we, the communists, would have won the trust of the masses, would have created close ties with the peasantry. Such is the stand of the communists during the Greek occupation: instead of taking ad-

vantage of the existing situation to seize power, to show how the communists work by seizing the depots of arms and distributing them to the people, they acted as guards of the depots and fell into the error of thinking that the army of Metaxas was a liberation army¹⁵).

During the first stage of the imperialist war extensive agitation against the war and in defence of peace was not carried out, and indeed theories appeared here and there preaching that the war in question is between two imperialist sides, that it is of no interest to us to intervene, and that in the final analysis the extension of Albania¹⁶) will increase the communist and proletarian element which will help us to form the party. This is a view, of the deepest dyed chauvinism, which in reality serves imperialism.

«The little theory» has been defended that one can tell the police a little in order to defend a large part of the work, or to prove whether such and such a person is a spy or not, has connections with a certain government official or not, as well as allegedly to strengthen the comrades. This kind of stand before the class enemy is betrayal.

In the question of morality a bad posing of the problem has been noted. Grave mistakes, incompatible with proletarian morality have been made in this field.

Some views alien to communism and which gravely compromise the name of the party of the proletariat have been defended.

Through repetition many of the above-mentioned mistakes, deviations which have nothing to do with the party of the proletariat and which in many cases are Trotskyite have been raised to the level of theory. These have their roots in the influence of the anarchist, Trotskyist and other theories, which are alien to the party of the proletariat. —

V. Organisational and Political Tasks

The narrowly sectarian organisations of the past which a group and factional spirit, founded on a very small base and

frequently almost entirely isolated from the masses, such existing communist cells must be liquidated and reorganised as soon as possible, because such work has been entirely incorrect. Likewise incorrect is the way of working with the youth, with which we have worked on a narrow basis, creating cells which in many cases have been shut up within themselves, and have not had broad ties with the masses of the worker, peasant and intellectual youth. These are the two main shortcomings of organisation, which it is necessary to eliminate as soon as possible:

One of the fundamental laws of the development of the party of new type, the Bolshevik Party, is the struggle on two fronts, against its own mistakes, and particularly against the attempt to form factions, and the irreconcilable struggle against the class enemy. Therefore the party will not become a party of the old type, a party like those of the social-democratic Second International in which internal erosion, failure to work, cronism, factionism and the betrayal to the interests of the working class prevailed. We want a disciplined party, in which the comrade will submit to the higher forums (committees), a party which will be capable of leading the working class in struggle through to victory, which will be closely linked with all the working masses of town and countryside. «If they do not separate themselves from the people from the mother who gave them birth, the communists will be invincible¹⁷), this is how our great teacher Stalin has taught us. This is the sort of party we want.

Without fail we must continue the work, more energetically, in order to eliminate all the negative symptoms and unhealthy theories.

To protect the Party against the blows of the class enemy, against various tendencies to groupism, against destructive actions by any one, it is essential that as quickly and energetically as possible we continue the purge of the ranks of the Party, retaining what is good and freeing it from alien influence. It is necessary to liquidate limitations on what work a comrade will do, behaving like

politicians, liberalism and opportunist manifestations. Therefore, it is necessary to always keep our open politically and organisationally, and collaboration between members and leaders is necessary. In this regard, it is necessary that the ability of all the forums and of all the members of the Party, be known and that all are put in the appropriate place.

To preserve the unity of the Party it is necessary to eliminate from the Party all the incorrigible factionists and groupists. In this way, through the purging of its ranks, the Party grows even stronger. We must devote special attention to the comrades who have rejected the group spirit and have become dedicated fighters for the Party.

Groupism, factionalism, lack of discipline are the principal causes of the weakness of the communist organisations of Albania. For this reason the Party organisation is faced with the following duties:

1) To select and organise the members into cells, to create new cells. Without fail the system of cells must become the organisational basis of the Party, within the shortest possible time.

2) The ranks of the Party must be strengthened immediately with new forces, with sound fighters, workers, and peasants recruited from the poor people of town and countryside. We must liquidate, once and for all, fear and sectarianism about bringing sound worker and peasant elements in to the Party. The cells must emerge from the workers' movement, from which the true leaders of the Party emerge.

3) We must energetically persist in the ideological theoretical and political raising of the cadres, by learning the Marxist-Leninist theory, by studying the course of the History of the CPSU (b) which is the main pillar for the formation of a strong illegal communist party, and this course will be valuable in training the comrades to combat all phraseology and unhealthy intellectualism.

4) In cells and committees the work must be divided among all members in conformity with the abilities of each.

5) Only he who accepts the program, who takes an active part in an organisation (cell) of the Party and who pays his dues, can be a member of the Party.

6) Strong links must be created between the cells and the regional committees, as well as between the lower and higher committees.

7) The committees must continually exercise check up over the work of the cells and of each member. We must particularly guard against any smuggling in of work in the old group spirit.

8) To clear up the situation in the Party the greatest possible initiative of the cells is necessary, and the leading comrades must help this initiative in every way. The comrades must pour their whole will and possible fire-power into the day to day work of the Party. They must develop love for the Party, and protect our reputation and that of our Party like the apple of their eye.

9) Lack of discipline, and contempt for the work and decisions of the Party is one of the gravest and most harmful phenomena in the organisation. It is essential to put an end to these phenomena, steel-like discipline and absolute submission to all the decisions of the Party is indispensable. Therefore, the Party will most energetically remove from its ranks any undisciplined element any element with anarchist, opportunist, or liquidationist tendencies, and any one with unhealthy ambition.

10) On the question of security and preservation of the Party's secrets in the face of the class enemy, some liquidationist, opportunist and traitor elements say that torture should not be resisted but one should talk, betray; these are views alien to the party of the proletariat and must be mercilessly eliminated. The security we have had so far has been rotten. We have security to protect the organisation against the class enemy, and not to hide behind the curtain and shut ourselves away.

11) We must extend organisationally to all places where until now this work has not been done or has been done very little.

12) We must carry out agitation and propaganda among the broad masses of

the people, must organise and carry out actions.

13) We must really create and organise the guerrilla movement of the masses as the framework of the future army, as well as the real material and political bases for the guerrilla units, together with the other political parties and with the national liberation movement.

14) A change must be brought about in our work with the women. The present situation especially obliges us to do serious work among women; we must bring working women into the Party, help them in their work for the mobilisation of the female masses for the liberation war.

15) The Party organisations and higher forums are obliged to give their assistance to the Albanian communist youth in their development and in the mobilisation of all honest Albania youth.

16) The Party organisation must collect aid for the Party so that will be able to carry out extensive party work, for the liberation war, for the victims to the white terror. This must be strengthened and extended all over our country.

In any organisation some kind of discipline must exist, but in our C[ommunist] P[arty] a special discipline is necessary which stems from the high consciousness of the Party members, the most conscious sons of the working class and the people. The heavy conditions of illegal work impose on us an even stronger discipline and particularly here in Albania. Every member of the Party must subject himself, unquestioningly, to the discipline of the Party. Without a steel-like discipline and the unity of the Party, our Party, which has a large number of enemies, would be unable to lead the struggle successfully. Lack of discipline is brought into the Party by alien elements who worm their way into it with the aim of destroying it from within. Thus various elements from the petty bourgeois strata who have not lost their petty bourgeois spirit, i. e. people who are not sufficiently mature to be members of the Party, or various careerists, who

bring confusion manage to get in and pave the way for anti-party and Trotskyist work. It is not difficult to recognise all these people if we keep our eyes open.

The conference¹⁸⁾ and the new forums¹⁹⁾ express the conviction that the organisation of the Party in Albania will combine all its energies for the liquidation of the unhealthy situation which has prevailed in all the communist organisations of Albania and will exert all the organisational strength of the Party so as to stand in the front ranks of the struggle for the bolshevitation of our Party, which must respond to the great tasks facing it today.

VI. Political Tasks

The Party must extend its work among the broad working masses of Albania and further extend and strengthen its work with the national liberation movement from below and from above. We must implant the idea of a general uprising of the people for liberation through joint actions.

We must:

1) Create and broaden the fighting unity between the working masses of town and countryside.

2) Fight for the national independence of the Albanian people and for the democratic people's government, in an Albania free from fascism.

3) We must develop love for the Soviet Union, by popularising the achievements of the Soviet peoples and the vanguard role of the USSR in the liberation war against fascism.

4) Through actions (sabotage), strikes, demonstrations, etc., prepare the people politically and military for the armed general uprising, including in the struggle all the patriotic and antifascist forces. And in all these things we must not forget the danger of the influence of nazism. We must expose the government of the traitor Kruja and its manoeuvres to disrupt the national liberation front of the Albanian people by presenting the liberation struggle of the neighbouring peoples of Yugoslavia and Greece as dangerous to Albania, with a

view to weakening the fight against fascism. We must combat the attempts of fascism to divide the Albanian people by means of religion, and eliminate religious antagonisms.

5) We must develop love for and militant collaboration with all the peoples of the Balkans, particularly with the Serbian, Greek, Montenegrin and Macedonian peoples who are fighting heroically for their national liberation.

6) Struggle for the right to a livelihood of the industrious Albanian people-workers, peasants, intellectualls, as well as for our militant younger generation.

7) Only by fulfilling these tasks will our Party be able to ensure its influence among the masses of the people and make it impossible for the enemies to divert the people's war from the correct course, from the course of the war against fascism.

Every Party member must be conscious and understand this serious and fateful situation, must work ceaselessly to achieve this result.

Thus and only thus, shall we be able to play the vanguard role in the fight for freedom of the enslaved and suffering people, for national liberation.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE ALBANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

1) *The fifth column- a counterrevolutionary group comprised of spies, diversionists, Trotskyists and other enemies who were active behind the lines of Republican Spain in the period of the fascist rebellion 1936-1939. The fascists, who attacked Madrid in 1936 with 4 columns, called this group of traitors the fifth column. The expression «fifth column» assumed the meaning of the agency of the imperialists in the democratic countries and in the ranks of the revolutionary movement.*

In our country the disguised enemies of the National Liberation War, who tried to sow confusion, panic and disruption in the ranks of the people's masses, were called by this name.

2) *The Democratic countries or great democracies- At that time this is what the capitalist countries-Britain, the USA, etc., which were fighting against the fascist states, were called, to distinguish their order of bourgeois democracy from the fascist political order in Germany, Italy, Japan, Spain and elsewhere.*

3) Luogotenenza. At the time of the occupation of Albania by fascist Italy, the name of the Italian administrative apparatus created by the invaders in Tirana, which in fact exercised all power in our country. At the head of the Luogotenenza was the lieutenant governor for the king of Italy, Victor Emmanuel III, and the Duce of fascism. At the beginning of the occupation of Albania by fascist Italy, F. Jacomoni, a diehard fascist, former Minister plenipotentiary of Italy in Albania during the time of Zogu's regime was appointed lieutenant governor. In March 1943 F. Jacomoni was replaced by General Pariani.

4) Nationalists- the patriots who loved the homeland and demanded its liberation from foreign invaders, but who did not nurture revolutionary ultimate aims we usually called nationalists. But the pseudopatriots from the ranks of landed proprietors, chiefs of clans and the reactionary bourgeoisie also called themselves nationalists. For this reason, to avoid confusing them with the reactionary and traitorous elements, the true patriots we also called «honest nationalists», «patriotic nationalists».

5) The Party of Fan Noli- the supporters of the democratic government created after the victory of the democratic Revolution of June 1924, of which Fan Noli was head. In reality Fan Noli did not have any separate party. The majority of his supporters belonged to the society «Bashkimi», the Revolutionary National Committee (Konare) was created by emigrant elements of this society, after the overthrow of the democratic government of 1924 and the advent to power of Ahmet Zogu. At first the head of Konare was Fan Noli.

6) The Balkan Committee- the Committee of the Balkan Communist Federation, the section of the Communist Third International which united and coordinated the activity of the communist parties of the Balkan countries. G. Dimitrov was secretary of the Balkan Communist Federation.

The group of the Albanian communists in the Soviet Union, to which Ali Kelmendi belonged, as well as «Çlirimi Nacional» maintained regular contact with the Committee of the Balkan Communist Federation.

7) «Puna e Korçës» was the communist group of Korça. («Puna e Korçës» must not be confused with the professional association «Puna» of the building trade workers created in Korça in 1933).

8) Archeiomarxist was the name given to the members of an anti-Marxist organisation in Greece. In 1930 it united with the fourth International of Trotsky, as the Greek section. During the second world war the archeiomarxists acted openly as servants of the Italian and German fascists.

They took the name archeiomarxists from their organ named «Arqio Marksizmu» (the archives of Marxizm).

9) The Trotskyist group of Tirana was a small group comprised of Trotskyist

elements, enemies of communism, created in Tirana towards the year 1936. This group was headed by the traitor Aristidh Qendro, a renegade from the communist group of Korça. The group was destroyed immediately after the creation of the ACP. Aristidh Qendro placed himself at the service of internal reaction and the fascist invaders. After the liberation he was tried and sentenced to death for activity as a traitor.

10) This refers to the directives of the Comintern, according to the decisions of the seventh Congress of the Communist International, which was held in Moscow from the 25th of July to the 25th of August 1935. The Congress heard and discussed G. Dimitrov's report «On the attack of fascism and the duties of the communists for the unity of the working class in struggle against fascism», P. Togliatti's report «On the tasks of the Communist International concerning the preparation of the new world war on the part of the imperialists», and the report «On the conclusions of the construction of socialism in the USSR».

Taking into consideration the situation created after the establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Germany, the seventh Congress defined a new tactical orientation for the communist parties and the world labour movement in general. This new orientation was the uniting and mobilisation of all the forces of the working class and the broad masses of the people in the struggle against fascism and the preparation of the new war. In connection with this orientation, the Congress laid down the tasks of creating a single, popular, antifascist and antiimperialist front, in which apart from the communist parties, the trade unions and all the workers' and antifascists organisations should take part, and thus the struggle against fascism and in defence of peace would be waged through joint actions. The tasks laid down by the seventh Congress of the Comintern, in the form of directives, were sent to the communist movement in Albania in 1937.

11) «The Green Bulletin» -organ of the Communist group Shkodra, which was directed personally by the former head of the group, the Trotskyist Zef Mala. Two issues were published altogether: Nr. 1 of Decembr 1938 and Nr. 2 of January 1939. «The Green Bulletin» contained a number of anti-Marxist views and grave political mistakes. The Bulletin was called «green» because of its green covers.

12) The demonstration of Korça took place on the 8th of November 1941. It resulted in clashes with the fascists who used hand grenades and fire arms against the masses of demonstrators. Apart from the many wounded, the veteran member of the Korça group, Koci Bako (Hero of the People was killed in the demonstration.

13) Zai Fundo- enemy of the working class and socialism, renegade, carried out vicious hostile work against the extension of communist ideas in Albania,

against the Soviet Union and the Communist International. During the National Liberation War he placed himself at the service of internal reaction and the German fascist invaders. For his traitorous activity against the Party and the people he was tried and sentenced to death during the war, in 1944.

14) The trios- the cells of the communist groups comprised of three persons we so called.

15) This refers to the communist group of Korça on the occasion of the occupation of the city of Korça and of a part of Southern Albania by the Greek army at the end of the year 1941, after the defeat and the withdrawal of the Italian fascist army. The communist group of Korça, like the entire Albanian people, maintained a correct stand on this occasion, sabotaging the war of the aggressive Italian army and assisting the war of the Greek people against the fascists by every means. Elements and sympathisers of the Korça group who happened to be soldiers at that time deserted the front. But the communist group of Korça fell into error by thinking that the Greek army and the reactionary government of Metaxas, the fascist dictator of Greece, would behave towards Albania as liberators. Consequently, on the occasion of the withdrawal of the Italian army from Korça and its outskirts, Korça remained free without any occupier for more than two days. Instead of taking the initiative to create an Albania administration and distribute to the people the stores of arms left by the Italians, the communists became guardians of the depots and handed them over to the Greek army. Only a few days after the occupation, the Greek government proclaimed the annexation of Korça and Gjirokastra to the kingdom of Greece.

16) The extension of Albania was a slogan of the fascist invaders and local traitors to arouse chauvinistic feelings, to sow enmity between our people and the neighbouring Yugoslav and Greek peoples and divert them from the national liberation struggle.

17) See: J.V. Stalin. Works, vol. 14, p. 136.

18) The meeting of the communist groups.

19) The Provisional Central Committee of the ACP and the Central Committee of the Albanian Communist Youth.

20) In the Resolution of the meeting of the main communist groups and in the first appeal of the CC addressed to the Albanian people after the creation of the Party mention is made of some event belonging to the month of December, as is the advent to power of the quisling government of Mustafa Kruja. For this reason these two documents approved by the meeting of the communist groups, were put in circulation in December, after having undergone their final drafting and after the technical possibilities for publication had been created.

press review

THE TWO SUPERPOWERS-GREATEST PRACTITIONERS OF DISCRIMINATION IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE

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

The question of the relations with the developing countries and trade with them is causing the imperialist powers ever increasing concern. This has its own reasons. The developing countries are rich in mineral and agricultural raw materials, so indispensable to the metropolises. They represent an extensive and profitable market for the sale of high-priced industrial goods, from the stockpiles of the capitalist countries. They are likewise very profitable zones for the export of capital, because raw materials are plentiful and cheap and manpower too, is cheap. Thus, the monopolies are assured of fat profits. The raw materials which the two superpowers import from the developing countries account for the 73 per cent of the total volume of their imports. The United States imports from them the 95 per cent of its manganese, 92 per cent of its bauxite, 59 per cent of its zinc, 82 per cent of its copper, 79 per cent of its tin, etc. In 1974 alone the Soviet social imperialists imported from the developing countries, 94 per cent of the hides and leather they require, 92 per cent of the cotton, 72 per cent of the tobacco, 56 per cent of the bauxite, as well as considerable quantities of rubber, cocoa, wool, tea, etc.

Due to the inherited profound economic backwardness,

and the penetration of monopoly capital, particularly American capital, which has captured the key positions and controls the majority of the raw materials of the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the imperialist states find it easier to dictate to those countries depressed world market prices for the raw materials they import, and higher than world market prices for their exports of processed goods. The price «scissors» cuts still deeper, especially in the conditions of the present crisis. The prices of raw materials exported by the developing countries in 1975 were 56 per cent lower than one year earlier. On the other hand, the prices of industrial goods exported by the imperialist states to the developing countries for the period 1950-1974, rose 230 per cent. In particular, the prices of American exports during 1974, in comparison with 1973, increased as follows: steel 65 per cent, chemical fertilizer 100 per cent, metallurgical products 33 per cent, etc., while the price of rubber imported by the USA from Sri-Lanka in 1975 fell 41 per cent, coffee from Ethiopia 35 per cent, copper from Zambia 40 per cent, etc. According to some official figures, in 1975 the prices of industrialised goods in the world market marked an increase of 10 per cent, while the

prices of raw materials fell 17 per cent.

In this «Marathon» of plundering the Soviet social imperialists, too, are not lagging behind their partners. The deep crisis in their economy and their successive failures in the economic field, have increased their appetite to plunder the developing countries and their vassal states. By means of their instrument of plunder COMECON, the Kremlin chieftains control and manipulate the trade of the countries of Eastern Europe. Through «joint enterprises» and «joint programs», they unload the burden of the crisis on the markets of Eastern Europe by means of selling their stocks of goods at very high prices. For those expensive raw materials which they supply to their vassal countries, they grab from them foreign currency or goods which are in demand on the western market, manpower and financial «contributions» for the construction of various projects in the Soviet Union. Through the inequality in trade exchanges, the Moscow neocolonialists robbed the East European countries of over 19 billion dollars, during the period 1955-1973, just from the increase of the price of the oil which they sold to their vassals in 1974-1975, they secured a supplementary profit of more than 1 billion dollars. But the Soviet social imperialists

also plunder the developing countries to no lesser extent. Through massive exports of capital, the «agreements» concluded with them and «joint enterprises» set up in these countries, they sell them equipment and industrial goods of very poor quality, imposing on them prices 15-25 per cent higher than those of the international market, whereas they get from them agricultural raw materials, fuels, minerals, etc., at prices by 10-15 per cent lower. For their part, the US

imperialists gain 2 billion dollars every year from unequal trade with the developing countries. During 1974 alone the non-equivalent exchanges in international trade obliged the developing countries to pay 23 billion dollars more for the goods they needed. The worsening of the situation in their foreign trade has meant that the foreign debts of 86 developing countries reached 160 billion dollars in Spring this year.

The old international rela-

tions based on discrimination, exploitation and plunder by imperialism and social imperialism, are not eternal. The peoples of the developing countries are objecting to them ever more forcefully. In struggle for the defence of their national interests, the developing countries are strengthening the cooperation among them, they are nationalising foreign companies one after another, and are putting their national resources under their own control.

FALSITY OF BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

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

The presidential election campaign is now in full swing in the United States of America. The candidates for the presidency are roaming from one city to another of the USA, presenting their programs, granting interviews to the press and television, and making promises that the situation will be improved after their coming to office. But up till now many presidents have sat in the soft seats of the White House, while the situation in America remains what it was: wide open for the millionaires and multi-millionaires to increase their profits; poverty, uncertainty, discrimination and humiliation for the rank and file masses of the people, the Afro-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, or

the native Indian inhabitants. The presidents, senators, or the members of the House of Representatives are installed or removed by the millionaires, they are financed and bribed by the millionaires, and for this they reward their patrons when they occupy the warm arm-chairs of the president, vice-president, congressman, governor or judge. Facts show that there is not even one representative from the strata of the working people in the American Congress. It turns out from a study made of the biographies of 92 members of the Supreme Court of the United States that they came from the top families of the bourgeoisie of the country. The facts show that 20 per cent of the richest

American families provide from their ranks about 90 per cent of the political élite of the United States. As regards the remaining 10 per cent they are likewise representatives of the bourgeoisie, completely in the service of the big monopolies.

Inequality is encountered at every step in America. In America today there are 21 million illiterate and semi-illiterate people: about 30 million Americans are living under the poverty line at a time when 5 per cent of the rich families of the United States own half of all the national wealth, or 1 per cent of the richest people hold 31 per cent of the country's national wealth and 61 per cent of the shares.

press review

This inequality is even more grave when it is a question of the Afro-Americans, the Puertoricans or the elderly, who live in utter poverty, completely abandoned by the capitalist society which after having squeezed all the strength and energy out of them during their whole lifetime, has now cast them aside. Studies carried out on a national scale show that the average income of an Afro-American is only 53 per cent of the income of a white citizen. Likewise, the studies show that half the people over 65 years of age suffer from malnutrition.

Despite this the whole burden of taxes by which the bourgeoisie maintains all its apparatus of oppression and

defrays the colossal expenditure for the militarisation of the country (the record war budgets of over 110 billion dollars a year) falls on the masses, precisely on these tens upon tens of millions of the poor and the discriminated. The entire oppressive apparatus of the bourgeoisie works for only one aim: The bourgeoisie must preserve intact and increase its profits at the expense of the working masses. Taxes in America have become an intolerable burden. It has been calculated that from every dollar of national income, the federal and local authorities plunder the Americans, in the form of taxes, of 37 per cent, and at the present rate, before long, will be taking 50 per cent in tax (taxes in the USA are increasing at

an annual rate of 8,6 per cent).

Hence, this great burden of taxes is borne by the working people. As regards the millionaires, we need only say that it emerges from the statistics of the Taxation Service in 1974 that 244 persons with annual incomes of more than 200.000 dollars, had not paid even a cent in federal tax.

The bourgeois legislation creates numerous advantages for the millionaires to avoid paying taxes, and the greater the wealth of the millionaire, the greater these advantages are, which means that the big monopoly companies pay very low percentages of taxes.

This is only one aspect of the inequality and falsity of the all bourgeois propaganda clamour about the so-called society of equal opportunities.--

THE WORKING MASSES ARE SUFFERING THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE GRAVE CRISIS IN THE CAPITALIST WORLD

«PUNA», organ of the Central Council of the A.T.U.

The grave economic, political and social crisis, which has gripped all the capitalist countries without exception, is becoming ever deeper and more acute, showing up the continuous decay of this savage oppressive and exploiting system. Capitalist society, so greatly advertised by the bourgeois propaganda as the «consumer society» or the «society of general wellbeing», is increasingly revealing itself as it

is, as a society of enslavement and merciless exploitation of the working class and all the working masses, a society in the grip of contradictions and deep crises which are eroding it, incurable old and new ills. In this situation of continual deterioration of the economic-financial and socio-political conditions, the bourgeoisie is seeking to curb this degradation and its own all-round de-

composition by trying to make the workers and the broad masses of working people pay for the consequences of the crisis. Allegedly for the sake of the struggle against inflation, the bourgeoisie demands that the workers should not seek increased wages, that for the sake of stopping the decline of production, they should accept the constant raising of prices, and so on.

press review

The aim of the bourgeoisie is to preserve its profits intact and even to increase them.

The problem becomes even more grave for that part of the working class which has been turned out of the factory or the plant and has no work. Unemployment is one of the gravest social and economic ills of capitalism, and it has become still more acute in this situation of the exacerbation of the crisis. According to figures of the world press, in the 24 main capitalist countries alone, there are about 20 million people totally unemployed, the main place being occupied by the United States of America with 9 million unemployed, followed by Italy, Britain, Japan, the GFR, with 1,5 million unemployed each, and so on. And this great army of unemployed is steadily increasing.

The capitalists have accompanied the mass firing of workers from the factories and plants with the intensification of the rates of work for those workers who remain in their jobs, who are compelled to produce more for the

same wages. The capitalist aims to maintain the same amount of production with fewer forces, and so to preserve his profits intact.

As if this were not enough, the heavy burden of taxes, also, falls on the shoulders of the working masses. Through increased taxes, the bourgeois state and the monopoly companies behind it, aim to take from the pockets of the ordinary tax-payers the funds to finance various branches of capitalist industry, and the policy of war and aggression. As a result of the increase of the taxes alone the American working people have been plundered of a sum of over 2 million dollars during the first six months of this year. In Israel, a new increase of taxes of 8 per cent was announced recently, and so it goes on in all the other capitalist countries in turn.

It is obvious that these attacks of capital on the living standards of the working masses are making the lives of millions and millions of ordinary working people in the capitalist countries ever more difficult. The reactiona-

ry, anti-worker policy pursued by the bourgeoisie in all the countries where it is in power, to load the heavy burden of the crisis on to the backs of the working masses, cannot fail to cause the justified revolt of the working class and of all those who are oppressed and exploited by capital. The working class is realising more and more clearly each day that its response to these ceaseless attacks of the monopoly bourgeoisie on its vital interests must be the intensification of the class struggle, for only in this way can it defend its rights. Its day to day battles against capitalist oppression and exploitation, its courageous clashes with the police apparatus of the bourgeoisie, show that it is advancing on the road of resolute struggle against the bourgeois order. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «The working masses, their most conscious forces, will certainly rise to their feet to defend their vital interests and turn this situation of crisis into a favourable situation to carry forward the cause of the revolution». —

THE PLOT OF «INTERNATIONALISATION» OF CULTURE

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

It is known that the so-called «internationalisation of culture», a term which is being used ever more frequently by the revisionists, es-

pecially the Soviet revisionists, is nothing but the application in the field of art and culture of the hegemonistic policy of «limited sovereignty», this

monstrous invention of Brezhnevism. In their campaign of cultural aggression on a world scale, the revisionists and imperialists understand

press review

very well that they have to deal with a hard bone, which is difficult to digest: the national character of the cultures of the peoples. For this reason, this national character, a creation of the various peoples over the centuries, has become a principal objective and target of the revisionist attack. Naturally, the waves of the attacks are heavily camouflaged and concealed with flowery words, for the revisionists are well aware that on this point the peoples are very sensitive. Hence, prior to any attack, a whole stream of flattery and demagogical phrases is released, which, nevertheless, is quite unable to conceal the essence of the matter.

One of the vanguard organs of the revisionists, «Literaturnaya Gazeta», published in one of its issues a lengthy study in the form of a questionnaire under the title of «Creative Unity». In this study, a collection of critics and literary people give opinions and assessments about the development of literature in the «socialist world». With all the luster of its pseudo-Marxist phraseology, this lengthy feature is a typical example of the concept of the cultures of various countries as a part of the internationalised «socialist» (read: Russorevisionist) culture. In their study the authors analyse manifestations and phenomena from the art and literature of Yugoslavia to that of Mongolia, but they do not mention the art and literature of China or Albania.

Running right through this study is the motive of the «common» and the «international» which unites these arts, in struggle with «the separate» and «archaic national» which they are successfully overcoming.

It is not only a matter of the facts this study contains. In reality some of the so-called socialist countries, the satellite countries, have put their art and literature under the dictate of the Soviet revisionist art. From this aspect, this questionnaire-study is a strong self-indictment. But what is thoroughly reactionary in this collective writing is the spirit of generalisation which the authors derive from the facts. They deal with and discuss with one another the shortcomings and the tasks which face the «sister» literatures in overcoming the obstacles to merging completely. They ask, for example, whether the similarity of the «sister» literatures constitutes a weakness. On the contrary, they answer, this similarity not only is not a weakness but it is a great merit of theirs in the advance towards their «creative unity». They do mention the national character, which they dare not reject in words, but there and then they add: however this national character should not be exaggerated because then it becomes patriarchalism! What curious terms!

One of the most ironical features of this article is the part dealing with present day Czechoslovak literature. Ac-

cording to the authors, in the field of internationalisation of culture, Czechoslovakia is outstanding for notable successes. Hence, occupied Czechoslovakia allegedly provides examples of internationalism in art and literature! And here are the three titles which stand out amongst the recent Czechoslovak literature productions: first, the book «We are with you, Chile!»; second is the book with travel notes from the USSR, «The White Sparrow», published in 1975, and the third is another book by a certain B. Hujonpeku, «The General with lion», also with reportages from the Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship. These three pitiful books, constitute the major contribution of the Czechoslovak literature to socialist world art! In praising Czechoslovakia for this, the Soviet bosses are telling the other satellites what course they ought to follow.

The Soviet revisionists follow the same policy within their own country too, with the national cultures of the non-Russian peoples. In the Soviet press, particularly in the cultural and literary press, in congresses and symposiums, great and high-sounding words are uttered about the alleged flowering of national cultures, but in reality quite the opposite is occurring. Some of the writers of the non-Russian peoples are more and more abandoning their mother tongues to write works directly in Russian. Such a thing is being encouraged and supported in every way by Moscow.

press review

One of the most prominent present day Soviet writers is the Kirgiz, Çingiz Ajtmatov, whose works are given great publicity in the Soviet Union today, are awarded prizes one after another, and are being screened everywhere. However, Çingiz Ajtmatov is precisely one of the writers who has abandoned his own mother tongue. By making Çingiz Ajtmatov known and «famous» everywhere, the Moscow bosses give all the writers of other nationalities to understand that writing in the Russian language brings renown and glory, which cannot even be dreamed of in the context of the forgotten literatures of other nationalities that are becoming more impoverished and losing more of their colour every day.

The great-Russian revisionists are so headstrong in their struggle for cultural invasion that sometimes they do not even bother to apply the usual camouflage to their campaigns. In the month of May «The week of Mongolian culture and art» was solemnly opened in Moscow. All the or-

gans of the Soviet press published this event on their front pages. However, in what the press published on the opening day there were three surprising names connected with this cultural event. First, the name of Leonid Brezhnev, to whom Soviet-Mongolian friendship is allegedly very dear and who had interested himself directly in this cultural action. Second, the name of Tsendenbal, first Secretary of the Mongolian revisionist party, to whom the friendship is allegedly even more dear, and under whose direct patronage this cultural action was being held. Third, the name of Tchaikovsky, with whose ballet, «Swan Lake», performed in the Bolshoi Theatre, the «week of Mongolian culture and art» was opened in Moscow! No further comment on this farce is necessary.

There are many such examples in the relations among members of the «socialist community». They are simply copies of the former relations between metropolises and colonies.

The struggle the Soviet revisionists are waging against the national cultures of the peoples, is one of the most savage and most difficult struggles for them. However much they strive or spend on it, this struggle will end in ignominious defeat for the revisionists. Whether open or camouflaged, soft or brutal, refined or clumsy, in whatever form it may be waged, it will end in their complete defeat, because the peoples have great experience concerning the defence of their ancient cultures. History has taught them much.

«The bourgeois reactionary concept about the «internationalisation» of culture and art, the opinions that «the stage of national schools has been left behind», — stressed comrade Enver Hoxha at the 4th Plenum of the CC of the Party, — «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 even more imperative for us». —

■

DEMAGOGY AND VIOLENCE-CARDS OF THE BOURGEOISIE IN CRISIS

«ZERI I POPULLIT» .

Economic crises in the capitalist world have always been accompanied by the ef-

forts of the forces of retrogression to hang on to or to seize state power by means

of counterrevolutionary violence. A similar phenomenon is being observed now in the

press review

conditions of the present economic-political crisis.

The fact is that in recent years, under the pretext of defending «law and order», the bourgeoisie in many capitalist countries is more and more demanding the implementation of fascist laws and, through the activation of fascist elements, groups and parties, is striving to restore fascism. The neo-fascist movements in Italy, West Germany, France, Britain, etc., have become very active. Although they have changed their former names the nazi and fascist parties exist officially and act freely. In Italy the Italian Social Movement-the national right, has taken the place of the fascist party. Former Mussolini fascists who make up attempt to conceal their fascist record, as well as representatives of the big bourgeoisie and the feudal aristocracy, make up the basis of this neofascist Party. On the international plane it maintains ties with fascist parties and organisations which are acting in other capitalist countries, especially in Switzerland, France, FR of Germany, Britain and, some countries of Latin America. Through the CIA and the leading circles of NATO, U.S. imperialism supplies it with money and armaments.

The chieftains of various groups of this movement in Italy blatantly say that they have a definite, programmed objective: the restoration of

fascism. The neofascist organisation, «The Black Order», has publicly declared that its objective is the seizure of state power and that it will achieve this on the model of the Hitlerite «national socialist revolution». The propaganda materials of this organisation also say that work is going on for the creation of «SS detachments» like those of Hitler.

In a number of capitalist countries, laws and decrees of a dictatorial character have been approved under the most diverse pretexts, such as the law against «terrorism» and against «the radicals» in the German FR, decrees and regulations on the prohibition and restriction of strikes and demonstrations in France and Italy, the law on the nationalisation of Arab lands in the territories occupied by Israel, etc. Under the protection of these laws and decrees, the police organs and other weapons of the bourgeois dictatorship exercise open terror and violence against worker, peasant and student demonstrators, as is the case in Spain, the USA, Honduras, Bolivia, Israel South Africa, etc.

In many other countries, such as Britain, West Germany, the USA, Australia, etc., precisely in the context of the implementation of fascist laws and the fascistisation of life, measures have been taken to strengthen and modernise the oppressive police apparatus, the means of terror, persecution, and spying have been

increased and perfected even going to the length of training special paratroopers to drop them over the demonstrators.

In the approval and application of these antiworker laws and decrees the capitalist bourgeoisie also has the support of the revisionist parties, which not only vote for them in the parliaments where they take part as «opposition» parties, but under various counterrevolutionary and defeatist slogans of being «patient», «keeping calm» to avoid «frightening» the bourgeoisie, etc., are striving to quell the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat and the working masses, to sabotage their strikes and protests, their just struggle against capitalist oppression and exploitation. Now, as is occurring in France, Italy, Spain and elsewhere, things have gone so far that the traitorous leaders of the revisionist parties are seeking collaboration with the bourgeois parties to share the state power through the division of government posts, hence, joint administration and domination over the working masses. The capitalist bourgeoisie fully supports this because it serves its aims and current needs.

The peoples, the working masses everywhere in the world have sufficient experience concerning the manoeuvres and demagogic activity of the capitalist bourgeoisie, when it calls to office the parties of compromise, the socia-

press review

list and social democrat parties, when it supports coalition governments with the participation of the revisionists, or when it openly collaborates with fascist parties.

Therefore, they are increasingly enhancing their revolutionary vigilance. Evidence of this is the continual increase of the protest of the working masses, expressed through

ever more powerful demonstrations and strikes, to defend their right to work and their wages, against the savage capitalist oppression and exploitation.—

AGGRESSION AND WAR-PRINCIPAL MEANS TO SECURE POSITIONS OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND MILITARY DOMINATION OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS

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

The day to day activity of US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism testifies very clearly to their unrestrained arming and increasing of their offensive strength to occupy and re-divide the world between them, to put down revolutions and enslave the peoples. To this end they have increased their war budgets as never before. Whereas a few years ago their military budgets were at the level of 80-90 billion dollars, today they are in excess of 100 billions. Thus, for the current year, the US imperialists have allocated 112,7 billion dollars, whereas the Soviet social imperialists have raised their military budget to over 110 billion dollars this year. This means that the military expenditures of the two superpowers account now for more than 60 per cent of the total military expenditure of the

imperialist and revisionist states.

In conformity with their strategic plans for domination of the whole world, both the one and the other superpower have set about the production and perfecting of conventional and strategic weapons, giving priority to nuclear weapons. But now the two superpowers are giving great attention to the extension and modernisation of their aggressive naval fleets. And this is understandable. It is easier for them to maintain their presence in every port of the globe on the sea. Their aggressive naval fleets are among the principal means by which the two superpowers exert their pressures, blackmail and threats against other countries on all the continents; they are the weapons with which Moscow and Washington are planning to carry out the open

and armed interventions against coastal countries which are their aim.

In this direction, the increase of the number of nuclear submarines and aircraft carriers, without overlocking their other war ships, is very striking.

The increase of the American and Soviet war fleets and aggressive armed forces in general, is accompanied by a stream of threatening declarations from the superpowers, with which they aim to frighten the peoples and make them bow to the dictate of the two superpowers. On the other hand, neither is there any shortage of blandishments and smiles to force the peoples to make territorial and political concessions to the two superpowers and give them port and territorial facilities, so that they can station their troops and

press review

fleets there and set up military bases. In this direction too, the allround efforts of each of the two superpowers to elbow the other out and extend the network of bases in its own favour, can be seen. This fierce rivalry is observed in the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean, and everywhere. In Northern Europetop, a fierce struggle for bases is going on. In this way, the two superpowers have created a dense network of military bosses for their ground, naval and air forces in all parts of the world.

An integral part of the strategy of the two superpowers to extend their allround expansion all over the world is also their widespread activity of espionage and diversion which has been raised to a system. Wherever the Americans or the Russians turn their eyes on political, economic and military objectives, there the American or Soviet agents and spies or their agents, are active in the front line. Their embassies on

all the continents and in all states are filled with hundreds of CIA or KGB spies, who prepare the ground for the interference of the two superpowers on a larger scale. The fact that a multitude of Washington and Moscow agents have been caught red-handed in various countries of the world proves this clearly.

All this aggressive, expansionist, an warmongering activity of the two superpowers testifies to the allround preparations they are making for war. The local wars they kindle in all parts of the world, the puches and conspiracies concocted by their agents also serve these same aims. All these and other things, together with the great clamour and slogans spread by agents, provocateurs, by sold out scribblers and by diplomats of the salons and clubs have one and the same aim: to sow insecurity and fear among the peoples in regard to the two superpowers; to create suitable soil for the latter to un-

dertake new military adventures and establish their economic, political and military domination. They are an expression of the effective military preparations of the two superpowers to weaken the resistance of the peoples and then drown them in blood.

But the two superpowers are wrong in their reckoning. More and more the peoples are recognising them for what they are, and are neither deceived by their pacifist demagogy, nor intimidated by their military blackmail and threats. The struggle of the peoples against the two imperialist superpowers is constantly mounting, therefore, the broader and the more powerful this struggle is, the more quickly and surely will the US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists and all thier lackeys be smashed and defeated in the face of the strength of the peoples. The peoples are increasingly enhancing their vigilance against the war plans of the two superpowers. —

■

FROM INTEGRATION TOWARDS COMPLETE ASSIMILATION

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The Soviet social imperialist bourgeoisie is pursuing the policy of assimilation of the non-Russian nationalities,

their russification. Bureaucratic Russian big capital wants of vassal countries. For this purpose, along with the mili-

tary occupation and economic enslavement of these countries, Moscow is now going even further than the so-called

press review

«integration» of the COMECON countries. Their propaganda is saying that «the course of integration has passed the test of the time successfully». According to them, «the program of the complex integration of the economy, art, education, and all other fields, through the joint military-political and ideological actions, now institutionalized», must serve «the uniting of peoples and states», «the formation of one people of one community», the creation of the united «socialist people» in the «countries of the socialist community».

The ruling revisionist cliques of the European countries, who are utterly submissive to their Moscow bosses, have shown their readiness. Thus, now the Czechoslovak revisionists, who capitulated to the Soviet occupation and collaborated with the aggressors in 1968 are also preaching «the objective conditions for the uniting of the peoples and states». In the Czechoslovak press one encounters ever more frequently such theorisings seeking on the basis of an «historical experience», to legitimise the gobbling up of the countries of Eastern Europe by the Soviet Union, or, as it is put, the creation of «one people» in the countries of the so-called «socialist community». As to that most obedient vassal of the Kremlin Zhivkov, in advocating the creation of a «single cooperated socialist nation» at the last congress of the Bulgarian re-

visionist Party, he presented «the ever more complete organic rapprochement of Bulgaria with the Soviet Union» as a «great historical perspective». The Hungarian revisionists too, who advertise «the objective tendencies towards the uniting of the peoples of the socialist community, etc., are rendering their Moscovite boss the same service. The Soviet social imperialists are blatantly demanding the obliteration of any state and national boundary, any trace, be it even formal, of independence of the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe, and that they should be absorbed as Soviet republics in order to submit to the complete assimilation of Great Russian chauvinism.

The Soviet social imperialists have worked for years through the COMECON in order to achieve this, and now, in fact, the Soviet Union has the economies of the «allied» countries under its control, and exercises its economic dictate and pressure on them. The slightest trace of resistance and discontent, is punished by them by shutting off the oil or gas tap, by cutting off supplies of raw materials or cancelling orders placed with them. By carrying out the military integration of these countries, too, through the aggressive Warsaw Treaty, the Soviet social imperialist leaders keep them under a constant pressure. The new czars of the Kremlin, who have also inherited from their predecessors the role of the gendarme

of the European peoples, insult and humiliate the dignity and the freedom-loving revolutionary traditions of the peoples of Eastern Europe by presenting them as incapable to defending themselves from some possible aggression, of preserving their integrity and independence. According to the social imperialist propaganda, «the defence» of these peoples is possible only through the «Warsaw Treaty», the pivot of which is the Soviet Union». For definite purposes, the chiefs of the war staffs of Soviet social imperialism declare that they «feel their responsibility for the security of all the countries of the socialist community very deeply». On the basis of these great Russian chauvinistic theories, according to which the peoples and countries of Eastern Europe cannot ensure any independent economic development nor any sovereign military defence, the idea is propagated that they have no reason to continue to be independent, even formally, and the ground is being prepared to merge them into «a single people», into a single state.

The theories of the «formation of one people of one community», or of a single «socialist» people, are variants of the ill-famed Brezhnev doctrine of «limited sovereignty» which is the theory of great — Russian chauvinism and of great power expansionism, of the right of the stronger to gobble up the weaker. —

press review

**DANGEROUS CONSPIRACIES OF US IMPERIALISM
AT THE EXPENSE OF THE ZIMBABWEAN PEOPLE**

«Bashkimi»

The situation in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) is becoming ever more serious for the racist regime. The Zimbabwe people's struggle for freedom is expanding; they can no longer endure the savage racial oppression; they cannot endure that the state power should be in the hands of a handful of racists who represent the 250.000 whites, whereas the 6 million African inhabitants of this country, enjoy no rights whatever.

The Ian Smith fascist clique is striving to prolong the days of its rule through the most savage terror. It imprisons and kills anyone suspected of supporting the fighters for freedom. It burns whole villages and bombs them, killing women, children and old folk en masse (in just one village 70 inhabitants were killed recently). In order to hinder the liberation struggle, the racist clique has borrowed the experience of the US imperialists in Vietnam and has created so-called strategic villages encircled with barbed-wire, soldiers, machinegun nests and search-lights.

And despite this terror, despite the fact that the racist clique has proclaimed general military mobilisation for the whites, although it is recrui-

ting mercenaries in Britain, the USA, and elsewhere en masse, the situation is rapidly slipping from the control of the racist clique. The liberation struggle is becoming ever more powerful.

The extension of the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe has aroused great concern not only among the Rhodesian racists but, in the first place, among the US imperialists. The fact is that the more this struggle extends the more the US diplomacy intensifies its activity. Kissinger has presented several plans, has had a series of contacts with the racists, including those with the head of the other racist regime, that of South Africa. He is trying to emerge in the role of a mediator allegedly for the establishment of the rule of the African majority in Rhodesia. The US diplomacy has a two-fold aim: on the one hand to make the Zimbabwean people give up their armed struggle and enter the course of negotiations with the racist regime; on the other hand to appear before the African countries and peoples as an alleged supporter of theirs. In the final analysis, it is not so very important to the US imperialists whether or not Smith is in power in South

Rhodesia. They will be satisfied provided that the state power is in the hands of a docile tool of theirs, that their major imperialist interests are preserved in Rhodesia, that the doors are open to them for a greater economic, political and military invasion; that the Zimbabwe people's liberation struggle is put down.

The concern of US imperialism is understandable: the isolation of racist regimes is becoming ever more complete; the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia, and Azania is extending; the solidarity of the African peoples with this struggle is becoming stronger. In these conditions the racist regimes are being shaken to their foundations and, consequently, the big interests of US monopoly capital in these countries are being endangered. In the conditions when the two superpowers have increased their rivalry and efforts to dominate in Africa, it becomes still more necessary that the African peoples should increase their determination to rescue their continent from the clutches of the neocolonialists of Washington and Moscow, who are the most savage enemies of the peoples. —

Saranda is the southernmost city of Albania. Built on the shores of a small bay of the Ionian Sea, it is one of the most beautiful in the country.

In the new school year 1976-1977, which began regularly in the whole educational system of Albania, according to the instructions in the draft of the 6th five-year plan, greater attention will be given to the training of qualified workers for various branches of production and auxiliary cadres of production. An aspect from the beginning of the new school-year in one of the laboratories of a secondary school in Tirana,



Albania today

