

# Albania today

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**Thirty years ago,  
the Albanian  
people,  
through their  
liberation struggle,  
routed and  
expelled the foreign  
invaders  
from their country.  
The partisan  
rifle  
ensured  
the freedom and  
progress  
of the homeland!**



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# **SOCIALIST ALB COUNTRY OF NEW REALI AND OF THE NEW M**

**Thirty years of free,  
sovereign  
Albania are a confirmation  
of the correctness  
and transforming power  
of the revolutionary  
principles of triumphant  
Marxism-Leninism,  
which are faithfully and  
consistently implemented by the  
Albanian people  
under the leadership of their  
Party of Labour**

*ADIL ÇARÇANI - Member of the Political Bureau of the CC  
of the PLA, vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers of  
the PRA.*

SOCIALIST ALBANIA HAS WELCOMED IN THE 30th ANNIVERSARY OF ITS FREE EXISTENCE. IT BEGAN THIS JUBILEE YEAR WITH A FIRM STEP, AND LEGITIMATE PRIDE IN THE HEROIC ROAD IT HAS TRAVERSED AND THE GLORIOUS VICTORIES IT HAS WON.

THE BOURGEOIS POLITICIANS HAD NEVER ENVISAGED SUCH A MEMORABLE DATE FOR ALBANIA, BUT IT CAME AS A LOGICAL RESULT OF THE CENTURIES-LONG EFFORTS MADE BY THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE AND AS THE OBJECTIVE OUTCOME OF THE SOCIALIST ROAD THEY FOLLOW UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA. THE RENEGADES TO MARXISM-LENINISM, THE MODERN revisionists, did everything in their power to force socialist Albania to its knees and subjugate it, but it is now seeing in its 30th anniversary unconquered, more powerful and more independent than ever. Today the existence of socialist Albania terrifies its enemies and immeasurably gladdens its real friends, wherever they are.

In its thirty years of existence, little socialist Albania has had to fight a life-or-death battle against many enemies, internal and external, savagely hostile or sycophantic, but it never showed its back to any of them. In its thirty years of socialist construction, it encountered countless obstacles and difficulties, of every possible kind, but it was not frightened and did not mark time. Ignoring them from the strategic viewpoint, it tactically built and applied the kind of economic policy which best suited its specific conditions, and scored

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by **ADIL ÇARÇANI**

important victories in all directions, political and ideological, economic and cultural, administrative and military, thus creating a sound, completely stable situation.

Although ravaged by the war and facing a double imperialist-revisionist encirclement, it managed, within a brief period of time, to restore itself fully, and to begin courageously and continue successfully the process of socialist industrialisation and the modernisation of agriculture, to develop socialist education, culture and art and to increase the material well-being of the working masses steadily.

Albania is today the only country in Europe with a highly advanced social system, our socialist order, truly popular regime, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and a truly revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist party to lead it, the Party of Labour of Albania.

Before liberation, Albania had the highest death rate (1 for every 2 born) and the lowest average life expectancy in Europe, it now ranks among the countries which have the highest birth rate, lowest mortality and the longest average life expectancy in the world.

In no country of the capitalist and revisionist world do the broad working masses enjoy the right to free education and medical care to the extent to which these have been organized in Socialist Albania.

Albania is the first country in the world to have totally abolished direct taxation on the population, at a time when, in the capitalist and revisionist countries, taxes are an insup-

portable burden on the broad working masses. Here rent represents only 1,5 to 3 per cent of the family budget, while in the capitalist and revisionist countries it is 5 to 10 times as high.

Our country ranks among those few states that are fully electrified. The energy crisis, like a strong earthquake, has now shaken the economies and is paralyzing life, in the so-called consumer society; yet we can fulfil the constantly increasing demands of our economy and population for energy, without any interruption or restriction of supply (clearly, we do this economically since economizing is a characteristic of our socialist system).

In socialist Albania such phenomena as political and economic crises, inflation and unemployment, the astronomic rise of prices and the continuous worsening of the living conditions of working masses, the exploitation of man by man, parasitism, criminality and unbridled corruption, all common, daily facts in the capitalist and revisionist world are entirely alien. Here on the contrary, there is a stable situation, an active and healthy life, which is characterized by the steady development of the economy and culture, education and science, rising living standards, and the improving moral and political figure of our new man.

This healthy situation in our country was confirmed and further strengthened by the events of 1973, which was a troubled and turbulent year in general, with many immediate com-

plications and disastrous consequences for the capitalist and revisionist world, in particular.

A major economic crisis, considered by the bourgeois experts themselves to be the worst since the second world war and interwoven with an unprecedented energy crisis, seriously affected economic, social and political life in these countries.

According to the bourgeois press, the world index of economic activity, calculated for the main capitalist countries (USA, Japan, West Germany, Britain, France, Holland, Italy, etc.) in December 1973, showed a decline of 19 per cent in comparison with the same period in 1972.

The rates at which the prices of mass consumer goods, increased in 1973, in the main capitalist countries, have been on average 2 to 3 times higher than the 17-year average (1955-1972). This unbridled increase in prices has seriously affected the real income of the working masses, reducing it to such an extent that they are no longer able to buy basic necessities. If we add to this the 100 million strong army of unemployed, including 4.5 million in the USA alone, the «majesty» of the «free world» and the «paradise» of the so-called «consumer society», is laid bare, the discontent of the working people there, is reaching the stage of a general revolt.

The situation is no less gloomy in the revisionist world, the so-called «socialist community».

The economies of these countries, fully geared to the free play of market forces, are suffering all the consequences of this, and being plunged increasingly deeper into economic and social crises. As in the capitalist countries, so in the revisionist ones, 1973 brought new declines and failures in the economy, particularly in agriculture and the consumer goods industry, unemployment and prices rose, and so did crime and degeneration, the new revisionist bourgeoisie grew richer and the working masses more discontented, resulting in demonstrations and strikes.

In these conditions, the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists are zealously striving with all the means available to divert the attention of the working people from the problems of the times and to convince the rebelling youth and masses that it is useless and meaningless to rise in struggle, or seek to find a way out from the deep contradictions corroding their society. They offer them, as the sole alternative, pessimisms, indifferentism, various drugs, and many other low, brutish pursuits which have had disastrous social consequences and have become the fashion in the capitalist and revisionist world. During 1973 the further moral and physical degeneration of man, and of youth in particular, was the focus of attention for the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists.

A totally different picture was presented by socialist Albania last year, characterized by the further increase and steeling of the ideological and political unity of the people, and of party-people unity, the uninterrupted strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the vigorous development of our socialist economy and culture.

The decisions of the 4th Plenum of the CC of the Party, and comrade Enver Hoxha's recent programmatic speeches, created a lively atmosphere of political enthusiasm everywhere, and raised the feeling of responsibility in the struggle against

alien manifestations and liberal stands towards them to a still higher level. A concrete expression of this great political enthusiasm was seen in the returns of the December 23 elections to the people's councils and courts, in which the whole people took part and in which over 99.99 per cent voted for the Democratic Front candidates.

Another important aspect of the concrete expression of this enthusiasm and revolutionary vigour of our working masses, and the heroism of our working class in the first place, was seen in the satisfactory results achieved in fulfilling the tasks of the state plan and budget for 1973. Thus, the general plan for industrial production was fulfilled 100.5 per cent or 9.4 per cent more than in 1972, while separate sectors achieved even greater results. Over the 3-year period (1971-1973), the targets of the five-year plan for industry were reached 101.7 per cent, with an average rate of increase higher than envisaged in the five-year plan.

The dynamic growth of production was maintained in agriculture and in other branches of material production too: Total agricultural production, despite the unsuitable weather conditions, increased by 7 per cent, compared with 1972, and in some particular products still more: grain 12 per cent, rice 31 per cent, sugarbeet 26 per cent, meat 11 per cent, eggs 26 per cent, vegetables 15 per cent, etc. These increases have been realized mainly due to the increase in production yields per hectare of cultivated area, per capita of livestock, etc. These results are the fruit of the mobilization and selfless work of the agricultural workers, and of the great and allround aid given by the socialist state to improve organisation and management, introduce scientific methods on a larger scale in production, and spread advanced experience, in order to increase and strengthen the material and technical base, mechanize work processes, and use chemical fertilizers in agriculture on a larger scale. As the Party has instructed, agriculture is becoming more the «concern of the entire people» as each day passes.

Perceptible successes have been achieved in the construction assembly sector, realizing a volume of work 19 per cent higher than in 1972. As always, in the past year, too, the mass heroism of the working class forcefully appeared in construction work, particularly the heroism of youth, as in the construction of the Elbasan-Prenjas railway, the most difficult line that has been built so far in our country; at the big hydropower station of Fierza, overcoming, besides various technical and organisational difficulties, very difficult ground and climatic conditions as well, the construction of the ferrous metallurgy combine in Elbasan, the intensive oil processing plant in Ballsh, the PVC plant in Vlora, and dozens more large units being built with the internationalist aid of the People's Republic of China.

A dynamic development has been registered in all the other sectors of the economy and culture.

The successes achieved in the year 1973 are not accidental; they are a continuation of previous successes, and the result of the colossal efforts of our labouring masses, the correct and principled policy of the Party of Labour of Albania, and our socialist order itself.

Despite the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade, especially after the year 1960, the development of our country



*At the copper wire plant in Shkodra. A view of the section of very thin wires.*

in all directions did not stop, as Khrushchev and his clique had hoped, but proceeded at a faster rate. This is shown by the figures:

By 1973 the population had increased 1.4 times, in comparison with the year 1960, but the average number of working people and employees in the state sector had increased 2.3 times, and total industrial production 3.5 times. In some branches, production has grown still more: 6.9 times in the power industry, over 3 times in the oil and coal industries, over 20 times in the chemical and copper industries, over 10 times in the engineering and glass-ceramics industries, 7 times in the cement industry, 5 times in the building materials industry, 2.5 times in the food-processing and light industries, etc. There is also the production of chemical fertilizers, plastic products, Radio-TV sets, etc., which was not underway here in 1960 and which is now, together with fuels and electric energy, petrol, fulfilling the planned needs of the economy and the population to an ever greater extent.

A perceptible improvement of the structure of production in general, and of industrial production in particular, has been realized; this process of improvement is deepening and increasingly changing the face of our socialist homeland.

Total agricultural production in 1973, as compared with 1960, had increased 2.1 times, including grain 3.1 times, potatoes 3.6 times, sugarbeet 2.1 times, tobacco 1.8 times, vegetables 3.7 times, fruit 2.8 times, etc. The irrigated area during this period increased 2.3 times, while the volume of mechanized work increased 4.5 times. In 1973, 90 kg. of chemical fertilizer were used for every hectare of cultivated land. In 1960, the average yields of grain and sugarbeet were among the lowest in Europe, 7.2 and 126 quintals per hectare respectively, by 1973, despite the unfavourable weather conditions, these yields had increased to 20.4 and 245 quintals per hectare respectively.

The volume of construction, assembly and goods transport in 1973 had increased nearly 3 times, compared with 1960.

Our education, culture and science showed unprecedented development during this period. The number of 8-year and middle schools increased 2.6 times, while the middle schools in the countryside alone increased over 13 times. The number of pupils and students increased 2.3 times, and that of students alone 4.5 times. Now, in the People's Republic of Albania, 1 out of 3 inhabitants is receiving education (as against 1 out of 5 inhabitants in 1960).

There has been an enormous increase in the circulation of daily papers and magazines, school books and fictions, and in the number of libraries and cinemas, theatres and museums, cultural centres, stadiums and other cultural institutions.

Talented writers and painters, composers and artists have presented the country with worthy artistic works, of revolutionary and educative content, which celebrate the heroic past and present of our people.

Broad horizons have been opened to science and technology. Under the leadership of the Party, thousands of skilled workers and peasants, trained people and technicians, engineers, agronomists and talented doctors, mathematicians and physicists, chemists and biologists, economists and philosophers, historians and linguists, have promoted the technical and scientific revolution with multiplied energies. Our people's

intelligentsia has not only grown numerically (it includes over 4.5 times more highly trained cadres than in 1960) but it has also raised its vocational scope a great deal. In thousands of technical and construction departments, in laboratories and experimental stations, in research centres, in University Faculties and scientific institutes, work is vigorously going on to improve the technology, scientific organisation and management of production, mechanize and automate labour processes, and produce thousands of articles and various spare parts, modern equipment, machines and apparatuses, which were formerly imported from abroad. By our own efforts, we have set up hundreds of lines, sections, factories and plants and even designed and carried out big hydropower projects, such as the big hydropower stations on the Drini and other rivers, these are eloquent testimony to the creative spirit and skilful hands of our people and in the first place of our working class.

The organisation of various scientific sessions, symposiums, conventions and conferences, on a national and world scale (particularly Albanological ones) during this period, as well as the erection, with the aid of the People's Republic of China, of the electronic computer centre, and the nuclear physics institute, the use of the electronic microscope for intensive scientific analyses, the use of isotopes in medicine and for various purposes in economic branches, the foundation of the Academy of Sciences, all show the great care our Party and our socialist State have devoted to the development of science, and the great strides socialist Albania has made in consolidating and strengthening the material and technical base of socialism.

The enemies of our people, the imperialists, the revisionists and reactionaries of different shades, as always at present too, are striving to negate these facts, to describe them as accidental and by their calumnies to distort the truth about Albania, but the Albanian reality is living and tangible, and it cannot be ignored, for as our people say "What is evident needs no demonstration".

Their calumnies are no longer believed by honest people or by progressive world opinion. All those who have been motivated or interested to get to know socialist Albania, and the concrete results of the constructive work of our people, have fully convinced themselves of the magnificence of these results, have revolted, raised their voice against such vicious propaganda, and objectively echoed our successes.

In the light of these facts, how ridiculous the "prophecies" of the Khrushchevite revisionists sound today, stated in a chorus and with their characteristic pomposity, before their supreme forums, that "... without the aid of the Soviet Union, Albania cannot live even a day", that "... Little Albania, outside the ranks of the Warsaw Treaty, will immediately fall prey to imperialist ambitions" or else "... will be sold to the imperialists for 30 pennies" and other nonsense of this kind.

What happened in reality?

Time, as a severe but just judge of the practical activity of men, peoples or their political parties, on the one hand stigmatized the revisionists with betrayal, as renegades to and sworn enemies of Marxism-Leninism, and the freedom and independence of the peoples, as social imperialists, on the other hand it brought out still better the truth about



socialist Albania, which led with wisdom by the Party of Labour of Albania, was not weakened by their blockades, was not gobbled up by the imperialist-revisionist ambitions and was not sold to them for 30 pieces of silver, but free and independent as never before, powerful as never before, having the support of the progressive world opinion, firmly holding the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other and, relying on its own forces, full of confidence and determination, is marching onward, towards the complete construction of socialist society.

The question frequently arises: where does this vigorous development of socialist Albania originate? Where have the Albanian people found this crystal clarity, this iron will and these inexhaustible physical, mental and moral forces? How is it possible that, in conditions of a double imperialist-revisionist encirclement, and the complication and aggravation of the international political situation, as a result of the feverish expansionist activity of the two superpowers, little Albania stands firm and unconquered? The decisive factors in these victories, this new reality, are:

First, the correct leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, its wise and principled policy, the creative application of Marxism-Leninism in the specific conditions of our country to continue the building of socialism in a revolutionary way, and to avoid the tragedy of the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries where capitalism is being restored, the placing of politics in command, and reliance on one's own efforts, the deepening of the class struggle, especially on the ideological front, the narrowing of the essential differences between the countryside and the town, between mental work and manual labour and so on.

Second, the preservation and consolidation of the people's power, of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the working class in power, its leading role in all the life of the country, the struggle against bureaucratism, and the extension of socialist democracy, the strengthening of working class control everywhere and over everyone; the ever broader participation of the masses in running the state and the economy, the struggle against liberalism, etc.

Third, social ownership over the means of production and the perfecting, in a revolutionary way, of socialist relations, the elimination of exploitation in all forms, relations of collaboration and mutual assistance, the perfecting of the relations of distribution of material blessing according to the quantity and quality of the work done, the just division of national incomes, etc.

Fourth, the application of the requirements of the objective laws of socialism, and particularly of the law of planned and proportional development of the economy and the perfecting of its current and perspective planning.

Upholding of the principle of centralized and planned management of the economy (with the participation of the masses, the state sets the relations of development of various economic branches, the productive and non-productive sphere, accumulation and consumption, capital investments, prices, wages, etc).

But among all these great, historic victories, the most glorious deed of the Party has certainly been the creation of the new man, with a high proletarian morality and con-

sciousness, who never shirks any task of the revolution and is always prepared for privations and sacrifice, in order to defend the homeland and the achievements of our socialist revolution.

Preserving and further developing the wonderful traditions of our forefathers, love for the homeland, bravery, the spirit of solidarity and sacrifice, etc., our people, in the new conditions, led and educated by the Party, have given these lofty virtues new content and are displaying them in every sphere of practical activity, with new brilliance.

Placing the interests of the socialist homeland and the revolution above everything the heroic working class, the labouring peasantry and our people's intelligentsia have set about constructive work, overcome any obstacle and difficulty, and are realizing every task. The heroic feats follow one another: in the highlands and lowlands, in mine and construction sites, in plants and agricultural cooperatives, on the borders and on the seas, by men and women, old and young, civilians and servicemen. Along with the work for the complete construction of the material and technical base of socialism, our working masses, led by the party, are waging a fierce ideological class struggle to strengthen and temper socialist consciousness, and improve the moral and political image of our new man, fighting against all the stains and remnants of the past, and against the trends and influences of bourgeois and revisionist ideology.

Our successes in the struggle against the remnants of patriarchy and religious dogmas, for the full emancipation of women etc., are well known.

Then there are the practical measures taken during the struggle against bureaucratism, such as reduction of the discrepancies between high and low wages, the circulation of cadres, obligatory production work, the strengthening of mass control and worker control, everywhere and over everyone, the abolition of ranks in the army, and other measures of great ideological and practical importance.

There is great pressure from bourgeois-revisionist ideology, in order to sow in our men and women the poisonous seeds of the dissolute and meaningless life, of pessimism and indifference, of «boundless» freedom «for everything», of individualism and cosmopolitanism, etc., the sole purpose of which is the moral and physical degeneration of man, so as to promote apathy and corruption and thus achieve the elimination of socialism in Albania; our working masses, and particularly our wonderful youth, are responding by closing their ranks round the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, undertaking political and ideological actions, further strengthening proletarian discipline, implementing the norms of revolutionary socialist life and waging an uninterrupted struggle in all fields of life against liberal manifestations and attitudes.

Our people, educated by the Party with the spirit of proletarian internationalism, have manifested on every occasion their fraternal solidarity with all the people who struggle against the dark forces of the times, US imperialism, Soviet social imperialism and the various aggressive cliques in the world, and are making their modest contribution to this struggle.

Everyone knows our stand towards the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people and the other peoples of Indochina

against US imperialism and the traitorous puppets of those countries, they know the solidarity of our people with the hatred of the Czechoslovak people for the fascist type aggression of the Soviet social imperialists and their revisionist accomplices.

Our position with regard to the just struggle of the Arab people against the Israeli aggressors remains unchanged. Our people have always supported and continue to support the just struggle of the peoples of Africa, Latin America and Asia for freedom and full economic and social independence. We have been and remain opposed to colonialism, neocolonialism and all the other forms of oppression and exploitation of the peoples everywhere, by no matter whom.

This is our new man, full of revolutionary optimism and confidence in victory, who has been educated and forged by the party, and without whom we could not realize the magnificent programme of the construction of socialism and communism in Albania.

But the education and perfection of the new man, with communist features, is a long and complicated process which never ends. Being conscious of this, the party, and the great leader of our Party and people, comrade Enver Hoxha personally, are devoting special care to this problem and are doing allround work for the communist education of the working people and particularly of the younger generation, to whom will be handed the task of continuing and deepening the socialist revolution. This is of first-rate historic importance for the destiny of the homeland and for socialism in Albania. This great cause is being fully served by the historic decisions of the 6th Congress of the Party, the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee, comrade Enver Hoxha's recent speeches, and the whole work of the Party.

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Work has begun, full of enthusiasm and revolutionary optimism in mines and plants, construction sites and transport lines, agricultural enterprises and cooperatives, in service sectors, and indeed everywhere, by manual and intellectual workers, to accomplish successfully all the tasks for the year 1974, which is the fourth year of the fifth five-year plan and the year of the great jubilee – the 30th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and of the triumph of our people's revolution.

This year's plan targets mark a further increase of social production. In comparison with 1973, total industrial output

will increase by 8 per cent, total agricultural production by 27 per cent, the volume of construction and assembly work by 9 per cent, transport by 11 per cent, etc.

We have just begun the battle to carry out the great tasks of this jubilee year. As never before, in this period, our socialist market has been filled with the products of our industry and agriculture. Compared with the same period last year, this January the population was supplied with more edible oils, milk, meat and fish, fruit and vegetables, eggs, and other industrial and agricultural products.

Although we import some mass consumer goods, and must cope with the twofold and three-fold increase in prices in the capitalist world, our people, as a result of the great care of the Party and the socialist State, get such goods at the same low prices as always. This stability of prices, and the actual increase of the wellbeing of the people in these conditions, display the correct economic policy implemented



*At the laboratory of the Albanian Radio Television in Tirana. Technical check up of cameras*

by our party and the economic potential of our socialist homeland.

The complete, successful fulfilment of the tasks of the 1974 plan will still more strengthen the material and technical base of socialism and the defence capacity of the country, it will allow greater development of the productive forces and, in conformity with them, of the perfecting of socialist relations. It will raise the material and cultural standards of the labouring masses in general and will create sound bases for greater economic self-sufficiency in the future.

The basic principle of socialist construction in our country is that of self-reliance. On the basis of this principle our people have achieved successes of historic importance, which, in the near future, will further change the face of Albania and will make our country still more independent from the economic viewpoint. A great struggle is being waged to secure grain, industrial crops and many other agricultural products,

indispensable for the economy and the needs of the people, considering agriculture as the foundation of the economy. Big strides are being made in the further improvement of the structure of products in general and of industrial production in particular. Industrial production at the end of the year 1975, as a proportion of total industrial and agricultural production, will reach 61 per cent. The specific weight of national income coming from industry, will account for 44 per cent of the total income. The specific weight of production of group «A» as against total industrial production will be 62 per cent. It is important to stress the fact that the national income, as a concentrated expression of the economic power of our country and of the actual increase of the wellbeing of the people, will grow, as compared with the year 1970, by 55-60 per cent, which means that it will be four times greater than the rate of population increase. All this has created a sound and stable situation in the country, and a secure future.

But despite this, the Albanian people are conscious that the fulfilment of these magnificent tasks will not be easy, that we shall have to work and struggle still more and in a more organized way than ever before, that we shall have to cope with still greater obstacles and difficulties.

The deepening of the economic crisis in the capitalist and revisionist countries which is noticeable this year, the sharpening contradictions between capital and labour, between the hegemonistic aggressive policy of the two superpowers and the struggle of the peoples for complete freedom and independence, between the capitalist and revisionist countries and within their fold, will lead to complicated consequences, to a sharpening of the political situation, to fierce clashes and wars in various areas of the world. This stems from the very nature of imperialism and social imperialism. It is fully understandable that the imperialists and revisionists, will respond to the principled policy of our Party and Government, for the exposure of the Soviet-US secret diplomacy and the denunciation of their aggressive activity by further tightening the grip of encirclement, extending their blockade and intensifying their ideological, economic and military pressure on our country.

Our Party, the Government and our entire people know and are conscious of this, and that is why they have continually increased and sharpened their revolutionary vigilance and kept their rifles ready. The Albanian people, under the leadership of their Party and Government are prepared to cope with any situation. However much our enemies may brandish their nuclear weapons, or strike hypocritical poses, they will never find suitable ground on which to sow their poisoned seeds. Holding the rifle in one hand and the pick in the other, with the determination and vigour which characterize us, closely united around the party and comrade Enver Hoxha and under their leadership, we shall march steadily forward to new victories.

The Albanian people will meet the great jubilee of the 30th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and of the triumph of our popular revolution with a rich balance-sheet of achievements, with their chin up and chest out, stronger and more united than ever around the Party of Labour of Albania, with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.



# STABILITY AND REDUCTION OF PRICES- A DISTINCTIVE FEATURE OF THE SOCIALIST ECONOMY

THE 30-YEAR PERIOD OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE P.R. OF ALBANIA IS A PERIOD OF GREAT EFFORTS, CHARACTERIZED BY A SERIES OF IMPORTANT REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE AND SUPERSTRUCTURE OF SOCIETY. THE AIM HAS BEEN TO CONSOLIDATE AND DEVELOP THE SOCIALIST MODE OF PRODUCTION AND PROMOTE THE STEADY IMPROVEMENT OF THE MATERIAL AND CULTURAL WELLBEING OF THE WORKING PEOPLE.

In order to attain this objective, the Party of Labour of Albania, as the leading, guiding and organizing force of the Albanian working people, has pursued, with wisdom and revolutionary courage, a correct economic policy, creatively applying the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism, in the specific historic conditions of socialist construction in Albania. A central place is given to the question of the conscious use of the relations of commodities and currency, prices and the

other economic factors connected with them, as very important instruments for the management and development of the socialist economy, and the education of the working people with a concern for thrift in the use of materials and funds, and a socialist attitude towards work and common property.

## **Prices are a vital factor in the socialist economy**

*PRIAMO BOLLANO - Economist, long-standing scientific expert at the Institute of Economic Studies, under the Academy of Sciences of the P.R. of Albania.*

Prices, and the other economic factors connected with them, such as the market, money, etc., are the economic categories

characteristic of the commodity economy. With the triumph of the socialist revolution and the establishment of common ownership over the means of production, commodity production does not disappear, but develops under different conditions. The development of production and the circulation of goods determines the necessity of preserving exchange and prices, as an important element in the sale and purchase of goods.

In these circumstances, prices and connected factors are among the important, tricky problems for the economic policy of the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, after the victory of the socialist revolution. The experience of socialist construction in the P.R. of Albania shows that the price system is not a momentary feature of the socio-economic development of the country, or a simple intermediate device in the process of buying and selling goods. On the contrary, it is a reflection of socio-economic rela-

**The distinctive feature of prices in Albania - stability.  
They do not know the vacillation,  
spontaneity or unpredictability of market forces.  
Unified, planned criteria  
in the system of a unified economy,  
which develops vigorously in the framework of building  
the socialist society  
and in conformity with the interests of the working people.**

**by PRIAMO BOLLANO**

tions, where all the economic interests of society focus, i.e. a concentration of various aspects of the relations of production - between the producer and the consumer, between individual collectives and society as a whole, between the collectives and their individual members, etc.

The indispensability of prices is determined by a series of socio-economic factors. The social division of labour is not only preserved, but develops and deepens further, in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist principles of the development and distribution of production in socialism. In these circumstances, the uninterrupted development of the reproduction of the social product can be realized only through exchanging the results of labour products, between the different branches of economy, and this can take place only through the process of selling and buying goods.

In the conditions of socialism, common ownership over the means of production exists in its two main forms. The two

forms of ownership also determine the presence of different owners: the state, as the owner of the means of production and the products of labour of state enterprises, and the agricultural cooperatives, as owners of the means of production and the products of the cooperativist sector. In these conditions the exchange of the results of work between the two forms of ownership, as shown by the historic experience of the construction of socialism in the P.R. of Albania, cannot be realized other than through buying and selling goods.

These are the principal material factors which determine the need to use prices in the socialist economy. There are also social factors. Socialism preserves, from every viewpoint, the traces of the old society from which it has emerged. Work has not yet become a vital question for all the members of society. The consciousness of men shows the stains of the old ideology, the ideology of the overthrown classes. These stains and old mentalities be-

come an obstacle, and slacken the rate of the socio-economic development of the country.

All this determines the need for the socialist society, represented by the proletarian state, to exercise permanent control over and keep a general account of the rate of work and consumption. Prices, too, are a very important means of exercising control over the rate of work and consumption, of keeping account, and of educating the working people with a sense of order and discipline, and the thrifty use of the results of their own toil and sweat.

The Party of Labour of Albania, considering the many factors that determine the need for prices in the socialist economy, has followed a correct and cautious line in this field. A characteristic, distinctive feature of this course has been the setting of prices in a conscious, centralized and planned manner, on the basis of unified principles and criteria throughout the country's economy.

The application of such a policy has made it possible to avoid the free play of prices in the market, secure the stability of the market and of prices, increase the purchasing power of the lek, and make planned use of the relations of commodities and money, so as to benefit the development of the planned economy.

This policy originates from the early days of the establishment of the people's power in Albania. Parallel with the other revolutionary measures that the party and the people's power implemented in the early post-liberation years, an important place was held by those measures connected with stopping the rise of prices and inflation which had occurred during the years of the National Liberation War as well as with stabilizing the market, and monetary circulation.

### **How was the rise of prices stopped?**

Liberation found Albania in a lamentable economic situation. Besides the great material and economic damage caused by the war, the people's power inherited enormous monetary inflation and a great confusion of prices.

In these circumstances, the people's power was faced with a very important economic problem: it had to restore the war-ravaged economy and put an end, once and for all, to the chaos that existed in the Albanian economy and finances.

These were great difficulties which the newly created People's Republic of Albania had to cope with. The imperialists and the overthrown classes, who had formed a close counterrevolutionary alliance were convinced that this situation, apparently insurmountable, would force the people's power to its knees. They hoped that although the People's Republic of Albania had won on the political front, it would never be able to face its economic and financial difficulties.

In order to make the economic and financial situation more difficult, the imperialists and their servants, the overthrown classes and the Yugoslav Titoite revisionists, in a thousand and one ways, took overt and covert measures against the people's power, from economic blockades, and sabotage to the

preparation of armed interventions against new Albania. However, events took a different turn. Their hopes were completely dashed. Under the farsighted leadership of the Communist Party of Albania, with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, the People's Republic of Albania, within a very short period, fully relying on the creative energies of our people, and on the internal forces, put an end to monetary inflation, and to the free play of prices on the market, and began to organize and manage the economy on a new basis.

Among the principal economic measures the people's power implemented in this field were the following:

1. Confiscation of the property of foreign and local capitalists through the nationalization of the principal means of production, and the formation, on this basis, of the socialist state sector of the economy. A first and preparatory step in this direction was state control over production and distribution, which was established in December 1944. During 1945 nationalization took place, mainly of the industrial, mining, trade, agricultural, and transport enterprises, the joint stock companies, and the banks, which were owned by foreign capital; all the properties of the war criminals and political exiles, were also confiscated. During 1946, particularly after the February 1946 Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, which exposed and condemned the opportunist line of Sejfulla Malëshova, a general offensive was launched against the foundations of capitalism, for the expropriation of the bourgeoisie from the principal means of production, and their passing into the hands of the working masses.

2. The establishment and application of a revolutionary policy in the field of taxation, as well as the implementation of the first measures in the field of organizing socialist state trade. This aim was served by the law on extraordinary taxes on war profits, enacted in January 1945, the confiscation without compensation of the property of those who did not pay the extraordinary taxes, as well as the application of the law on the requisition of foodstuffs and other raw materials needed for reconstruction, and the establishment of state control over retail prices.

3. The creation and organization of the Albanian State Bank on the basis of na-

tionalization, without compensation, of the National Bank and the other banks which functioned in our country, as well as other measures in the field of monetary circulation. Through these measures, a powerful blow was dealt to private capital and to the bourgeoisie of the country, by wresting from them one of the most powerful means of exploiting the labouring masses, and conditions were created for the establishment of general State control over all the monetary relations that operated in the people's economy, and for the planned arrangement of issuing and circulating money. The Albanian State Bank set up to help solve the problem of overcoming the temporary economic difficulties in the field of monetary circulation, thus contributing to the restoration and development of the economy, and strengthening the economic independence of the country.

4. Measures for the organization and planned regulation of the market, for the prohibition of the sale and purchase of gold, silver and foreign exchange currencies, as well as the establishment of the state system of purchase, procurement and sale of grain. On the basis of these, the state monopoly on foreign trade and foreign exchange currencies, was established, and the state trade enterprises and the consumer cooperatives were organized, as the first economic organizations of factory and office workers, depriving private merchants of the chance to speculate.

5. Transition to the planned management and development of the people's economy, on the basis of the unshaken principle of democratic centralism. The planned management and centralized control of the economy was carried out in its three main aspects:

- organization of centralized management and development, on the basis of a general state plan for the entire economy of the country. This was helped by the measures to set up the organs of state planning, the law on the state plan for the development of the people's economy and culture, and the other measures for planned and centralized price setting. For this purpose, the state economic enterprises were organized by the self-financing method, which is based on the centralized guidance of the activity of the enterprises by the state, and on their economic and operative independence.

- centralized organization, management and control in the field of the formation and use of accumulated funds, income and expenditure of the socialist state, through the reorganization of the financial system, the state budget, and the taxes and functions of the bank. The state budget was transformed into a principal financial plan of the people's economy, taxes lost their fiscal character, and the state bank became the sole accounting and credit centre.

- centralized and planned management and control of the monetary income of the population and all the articles of prime necessity for the national economy, the population and the defence of the country. This aim was served by the measures to institute the 8-hour day, the socialist principle of «equal pay for equal work», the right to a fully paid 15-day holiday, and by the application of the rationing system, in order to have a guaranteed supply of foodstuffs according to set norms, to the country's population.

The above measures made it possible for the P.R. of Albania to eliminate phenomena alien to the socialist mode of production, such as inflation, rising prices, etc., but also to use the economic factors of socialism (prices, finances, credit, money, etc.) to benefit the socialist economy, and raise the material and cultural wellbeing of the working masses.

Their role in the planned development and management of the Albanian economy was very great. Despite this, as a consequence of the interference of the Yugoslav revisionists, at the first stage it was impossible to avoid some shortcomings in the field of the planned prices. Once this hostile interference was got rid of, these defects were righted.

After the first Congress of the communist Party of Albania, the main criteria for setting prices were worked out on Marxist-Leninist foundations. They were embodied in the ordinance of the Council of Ministers of the P.R. of Albania of April 1949. This ordinance stipulated that the Council of Ministers «directs the price policy according to the supreme interests of the national economy and the working masses» and that in the P.R. of Albania, prices are set in a centralized, planned way.

Thus, beginning from 1949, in the People's Republic of Albania prices were set by applying one sole and centralized

policy, on the basis of the knowledge and profound application of the precepts of Marxism-Leninism, the requirements of the objective economic laws of socialism, and the economic policy of the party for the construction of the socialist society in Albania.

### **Working out a unified policy in setting prices**

The policy of price-setting in the P.R. of Albania has been continually developed and improved, in conformity with the development of the productive forces, the maturity of the socialist relations of production, and the main political and economic tasks at every stage of developing the Albanian economy on the road of socialism. In the application of this policy, we can distinguish two main stages:

**First stage** characterized by the establishment and consolidation of unified prices throughout the country. The planned setting of prices, in this period, considered the existence of the multi-form economy, the organized struggle against the capitalist-speculator elements, the supply of the population under the conditions of the temporary application of the rationing system, and the need to create the necessary accumulated funds for the development of extended socialist reproduction.

The price system that was implemented at this stage had a marked class character. It aimed at stimulating, with the help of prices, the development of the productive forces, at further strengthening the economic ties between the countryside and the town, the working class and the toiling peasantry, and at strengthening and consolidating the socialist relations of production, in struggle with the capitalist ones, by the further application of the principle «no work, no food.»

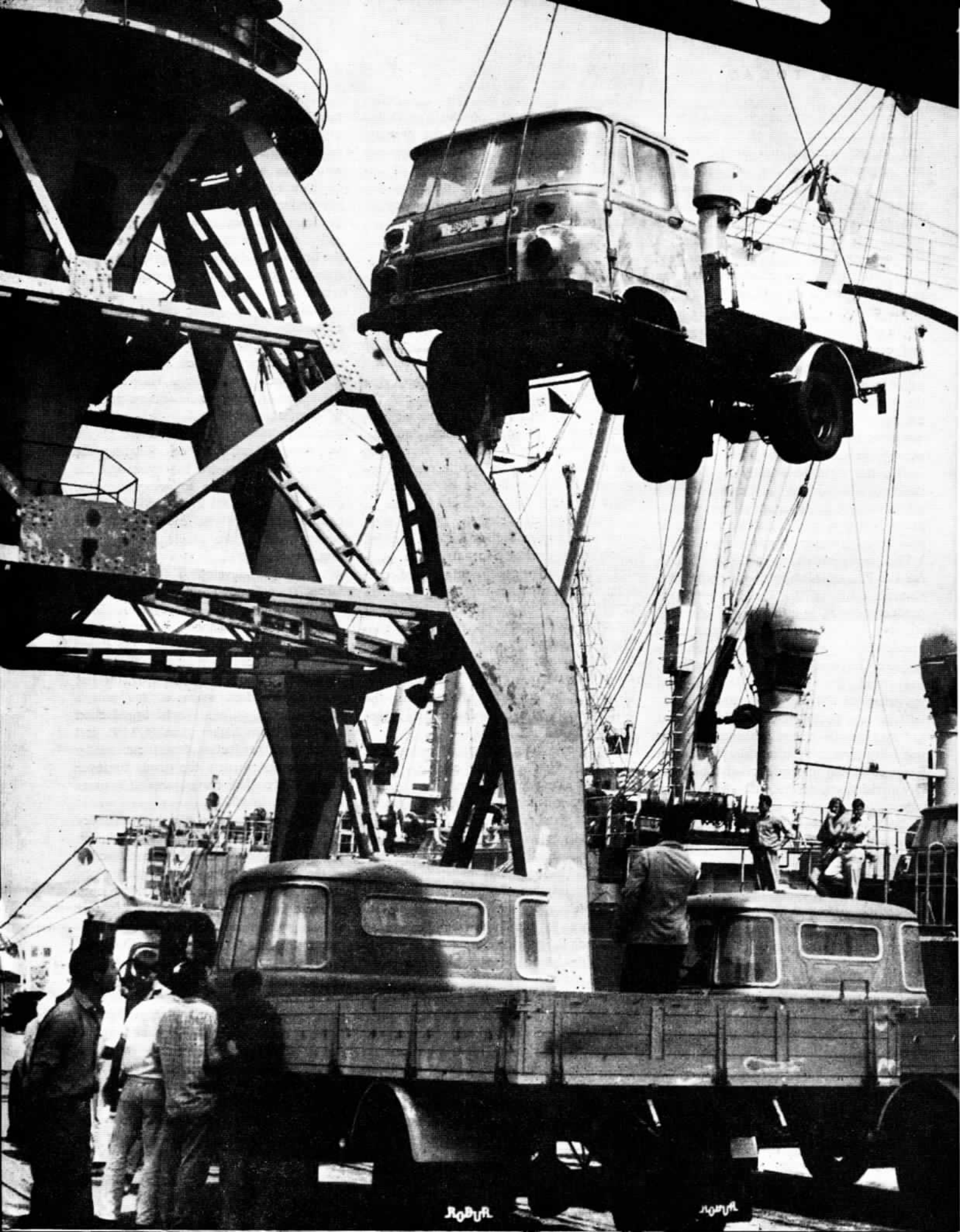
At this stage, great attention was devoted to the regulation of the price relationship. Here we must bear in mind the fact that the creation of stability in the field of prices had to take into account the existing price relations for certain goods. But on the basis of these relations, prices for agricultural articles were very low, and there was an enormous gap between such prices and those of industrial articles. The policy of the party in the

transition to the new procurement and supply system, approved in January 1949, was very important here. This system was based on the simultaneous existence of three kinds of markets supplying the population with food and industrial items (a guaranteed market, a reciprocal market and a free market): and the principle of the obligatory delivery of agricultural and livestock products by the peasantry, in accordance with the principle of taxation in kind for every hectare of land. In conformity with this system a system of purchase prices for industrial products and of procurement prices for agricultural and livestock products was built up.

The supply and procurement system and, in connection with this, the system of prices applied during this period, played an important role in consolidating the economic ties between the town and the countryside, in order to accumulate the funds needed for the industrialization and collectivization of the country, and the development of the ideological and cultural revolution. They also played a very great role in developing the productive forces, strengthening and consolidating the socialist elements of the economy, limiting the capitalist elements, and narrowing the differences in standards of living between the countryside and the town. As a consequence of this, in 1957, the last year of the first stage of the party's policy of price-setting, industrial production was 15.7 times higher than in 1938, and agricultural production had increased by 76 per cent, whereas the goods turnover through socialist trade was 2.7 times larger than in 1950.

**The second stage** of the party's policy of price-setting has been developed during the entire period after the construction of the economic base of socialism in our country, up to the present. It has been characterized by the further improvement of the system and of relations in the prices of various products, on the basis of the new economic and social conditions created after the establishment everywhere, in the town and the countryside alike, of socialist relations of production.

The price system and policy applied during this whole historic period, has aimed, parallel with the development and improvement of socialist relations of production and the planned accumulation of the funds needed for the construction of the material and technical base of so-



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cialism, to secure at the same time the most correct distribution and re-distribution of national incomes, and increased material and cultural wellbeing for the working people, as well as strengthening the economic management of socialist enterprises.

At this stage, particular attention was paid to the further improvement of the price relations between the various products, particularly to narrowing the gap between prices of industrial items and prices of agricultural and livestock articles. This aim was served by the measures carried out by the people's power to raise the procurement prices of agricultural and livestock products and to reduce prices of means of production (machinery, chemical fertilizers, insecticides, etc.) destined for agricultural use. As a result of this, at the end of 1959, the prices paid for compulsory procurement of grain were about 6 times higher than those paid in 1956, the price for grain surpluses was 12.5 per cent higher than that in 1959, meat procurement prices, depending on kind and quality, were 15-35 per cent higher, wool procurement prices - 30-90 per cent higher, etc. At the same time the general index of retail prices for mass consumer goods sold in the countryside during this period showed a reduction of almost 16 per cent.

The transition to unified state trade, the regulation of the system of procurement prices, and the further improvement of price relations for various products, in conformity with the new conditions created after the abolition of the rationing system in the P.R. of Albania, became a great force in developing production and increasing the material and cultural welfare of the population in general, and the

peasantry in particular. In comparison with 1955, by 1960 the real incomes of the peasantry had increased by 35 per cent, making important advances in narrowing differences in living standards between the countryside and the town. As well, during the years of the third five-year plan, 1961-1965, and later on, despite the difficulties caused by the imperialist-revisionist blockade, supplies of mass consumer goods were never interrupted, but on the contrary, improved. Consequently, prices and the market did not vacillate; they achieved complete stability, allowing special measures to be taken to reduce prices.

As a result, at the beginning of 1969, the retail price index showed a further reduction, as against the 1958 level. The price index for the most important mass consumer goods at the start of 1969 was from 92 to 75 per cent of the 1958 level, at a time when, in the capitalist countries and those where the modern revisionists are in power, the price index had shown a considerable rise. In 1969, on the eve of the glorious jubilee of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of the country and of the triumph of the people's revolution, further measures were taken to reduce retail prices; these added up to total reductions of 170 million leks annually.

The Party of Labour of Albania sees planned price setting, on the basis of a unified policy for the entire country, as a general, universal rule for the successful construction of socialism, strengthening the economic ties between the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, and constantly raising the material and cultural welfare of the working people of town and the countryside. Some measures of particular importance were those carried out in 1971, before the historic 6th Congress of the PLA, to improve the system of supplying the countryside with industrial goods and processed foods, to abolish the system of compulsory deliveries of agricultural products, and move to a free State purchasing system through contracts, and to make prices for the machinery, chemical fertilizers and electric power used in the countryside level with those for state enterprises. As the 6th Congress of the Party stated, and these recent years have shown, these measures are playing a great role in extending exchange relations, improving monetary circulation, and increasing the role of economic factors

as important instruments, so as to increase the effectiveness of social labour, to strengthen discipline at work, and to improve the running and control of production, the distribution and consumption.

### **Centralized management of the economy - a sure guarantee of price stability**

The main reason for the stability of prices and the market in the Albanian economy is the fact that the P.R. of Albania is a socialist country. The people's power as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, controls all the principal means of production, and regulates the economic life of the country in a centralized manner, on the basis of the general unified state plan.

The Albanian socialist economy consciously develops in conformity with the requirements of the objective economic laws of socialism. In new socialist Albania, «the domination of products over the producers» was eliminated long ago, and the anarchy of social production has been replaced with planned organization and regulation, so that, as Engels said, men have become the masters of their living conditions.

Being diametrically opposed to the models of bureaucratic centralism and liberal anarcho-syndicalist decentralization, or the so-called model of «market socialism», the socialist management of the Albanian economy has focussed round one sole criterion: how and how much does social production serve to fulfill the immediate and always growing future needs of the economy and the working people. To realize this objective, the Albanian State uses, in a planned and organized manner the entire economic mechanism of the socialist mode of production.

In this framework, the study of the market and its mechanism is very important. The Albanian State takes into account the fact that the market, with its mechanism, objectively exists in the conditions of socialism, irrespective of the fact that, like all other aspects of the economy, it is subject to conscious and planned regulation on the part of society. As a consequence, during the regulation and management of the Albanian economy, we combat as alien to socialism both ten-

*At the Durrës sea port -  
a snapshot of handling of motor-vehicles.*

dencies to undervalue the market and its role in the development of social production, and tendencies to overvalue and absolutize this, as is happening today in the countries where the modern revisionists are in power, or in the capitalist countries.

This means that the economic and state organs must continuously study the market and its dynamic, the demands of the people, and the dynamic changes that occur in the structure of their purchasing power. An important role here is played by the strengthening ties and collaboration between the productive and the trade organs, so that the social labour spent in production will secure not just consumption values in general, but those concrete consumption values which the economy and the working people really need.

From this viewpoint, the improvement of exchange relations and the price system is closely connected with the struggle that must be waged against alien manifestations and liberal stands in economy, about which the IVth Plenum of the CC of the PLA has approved a scientifically studied programme. An integral part of this struggle is the fight against inclinations to realise the plan only in its general aspects and totals, not according to lines, assortments, quality of products, etc.

As the experience of building socialism in new Albania shows, the centralized management of the economy, according to the principle of democratic centralism, presents the highest and the most effective form, from the socio-economic viewpoint, of state management and the planned organization and development of national economy. This organization and regulation of the economy is the only way to achieve scientific direction of economic factors and processes, and the conscious use of the entire economic mechanism of the socialist mode of production, in order to attain set objectives while using the minimum of social labour. This management and regulation is also the main factor which excludes capitalist anarchy, revisionist stagnation and so-called self-governing in the management of the economy, together with the other negative effects arising from them.

By strictly applying democratic centralism in the management of the Albanian economy, it has become possible for every

cell in the organization of social production, and every economic enterprise, to work according to the principle that what benefits, and is needed by society as a whole, is the best thing for society to produce. As a result, in the economy of the P.R. of Albania, it has become possible for every enterprise to work, produce and distribute material wealth in full harmony with this principle, having as its fundamental objective the best possible fulfilment of the needs of the economy, the population and the country's defense.

To realize this, the socialist society makes organized use of the economic factors of socialism; as important elements of the economic policy of the dictatorship of the proletariat, they are subject to planned regulation. In the Albanian economy, the level of prices, the dynamics and proportions of trade, currency circulation, etc., are not set spontaneously and are not dependant on effective or subjective elements, but are set in conformity with the rates and proportions of the development of extended socialist reproduction. The steady increase in volume of production and goods turnover, and the avoidance of crises of overproduction or competition, have made it possible to strengthen the market stability in the P.R. of Albania from year to year, to eliminate once and for all the spontaneous movement of prices according to supply and demand, to preserve their stability, and to continually strengthen the purchasing power of the lek.

These factors, as well as the state monopoly on foreign trade and foreign currencies, have also made it possible for the level of prices and their movement, the stability of the currency, and the increase of its purchasing power, not to be affected by short-term factors, or be dependent on the changes which occur in the value of foreign currencies, as a consequence of the economic and financial crises of the capitalist-revisionist world, or of inflation and rising prices on the international market.

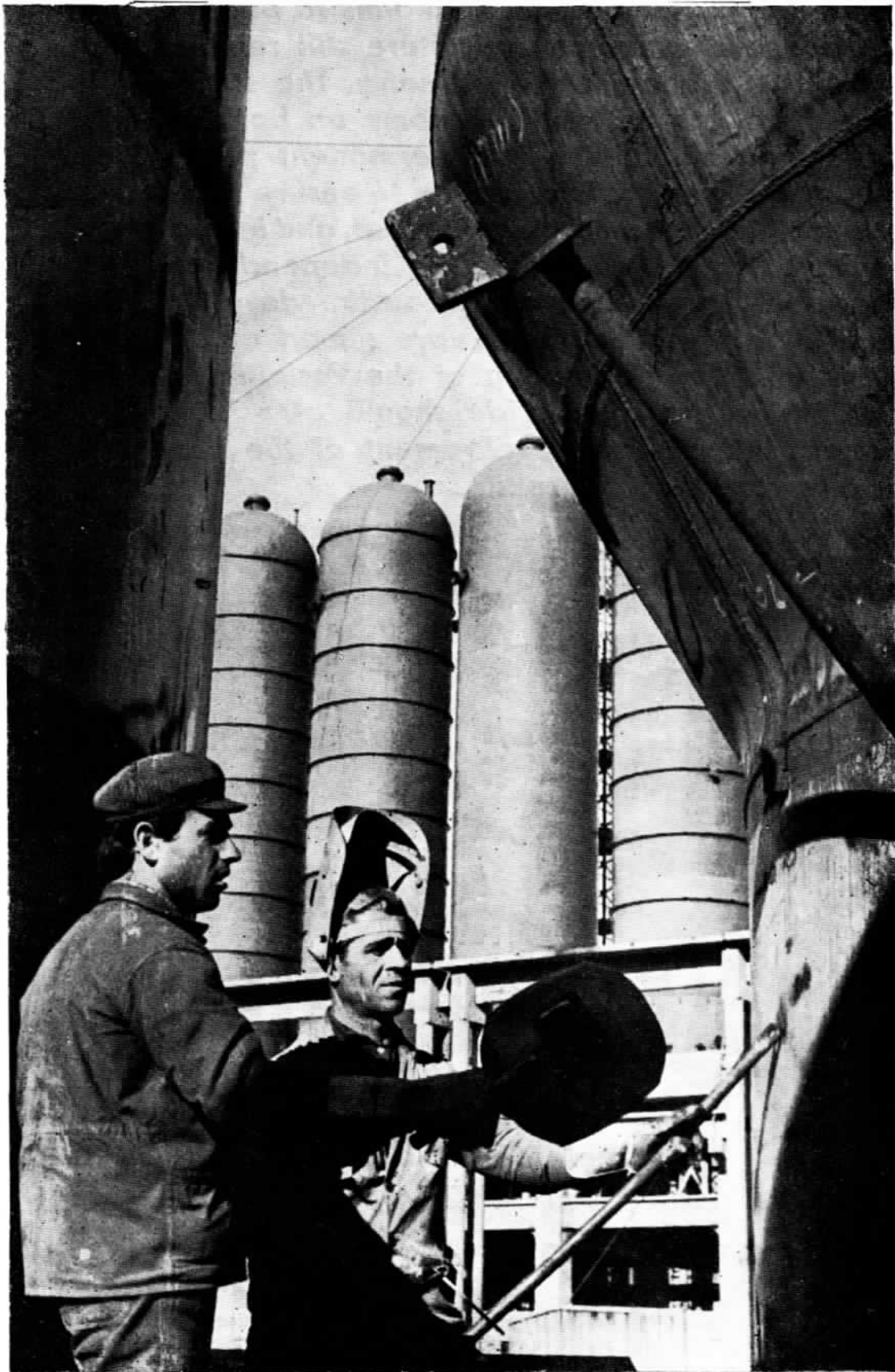
It is an indisputable fact that in the P.R. of Albania, over recent years, the level of prices has been kept completely stable, while the feverish rise in the prices of machinery, equipment, raw materials, fuels, grain, etc., which has occurred in the capitalist and revisionist world, has had no influence whatever on prices or

on the purchasing power of the lek. At the end of 1973 the general retail price index, as against 1960, is calculated to have shown a reduction of almost 8 per cent, while our currency is becoming increasingly stronger. The meeting of the Finance Ministers of the countries ruled by the modern revisionists, held in Prague in 1963, accepted and approved a change in the exchange rate of the ruble with the lek in our favour. The rate was fixed at 83.72 leks per ruble, as against 100 leks per ruble previously, thus effecting a reduction in the value of the ruble, in favour of the Albanian lek, of 16.28 per cent.

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The revolutionary experience of socialist construction in the P.R. of Albania shows that the socialist state, through planning and centralized management of the economy, as well as by applying a correct-policy in the field of price-setting, is in a position to preserve the stability of prices and the market, and to use them to the benefit of the people's economy and culture. The Albanian experience shows that even in those cases where, due to objective or subjective reasons, anomalies may arise between supply and demand, between the purchasing power of the population and the amount of goods on the market, it is fully possible, through the socialist planning of the economy, to coordinate the entire development of the various economic branches and secure the stability of prices and the market.

The correct revolutionary course pursued by the Party of Labour of Albania, for the planned, organized and centralized setting of prices, is an expression of the creative application, in the specific conditions of Albania, of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism. From this viewpoint the PLA's course in this field is eloquent and convincing evidence that, in the fierce class struggle being waged in the world today, socialism is reaping one victory after another, it shows that Marxism-Leninism, this great enlightening doctrine, is triumphing, and winning victories against the bourgeois and revisionist ideology.



*A snapshot of one  
of the sections  
of the plant in Ballsh.  
The photo shows  
two solderers who have  
claimed distinction  
in the assembly of many  
industrial establishments  
in various  
zones of the country*

**«Although socialist Albania aims to become an industrial country, agriculture still remains the basic branch of our economy. The strong reliance of the national economy on both industry and agriculture is a permanent principle, an indispensable condition to ensure rapid harmonious economic development, and increase the degree of economic independence. Therefore, the Party's policy for the development of agriculture has always aimed at ensuring that the deepening of the socialist revolution in the countryside should also lead, without fail, to the development of the productive forces of agriculture.»**

**ENVER HOXHA**

# **MODERN AGRICULTURE, EXTENDED SOCIA**



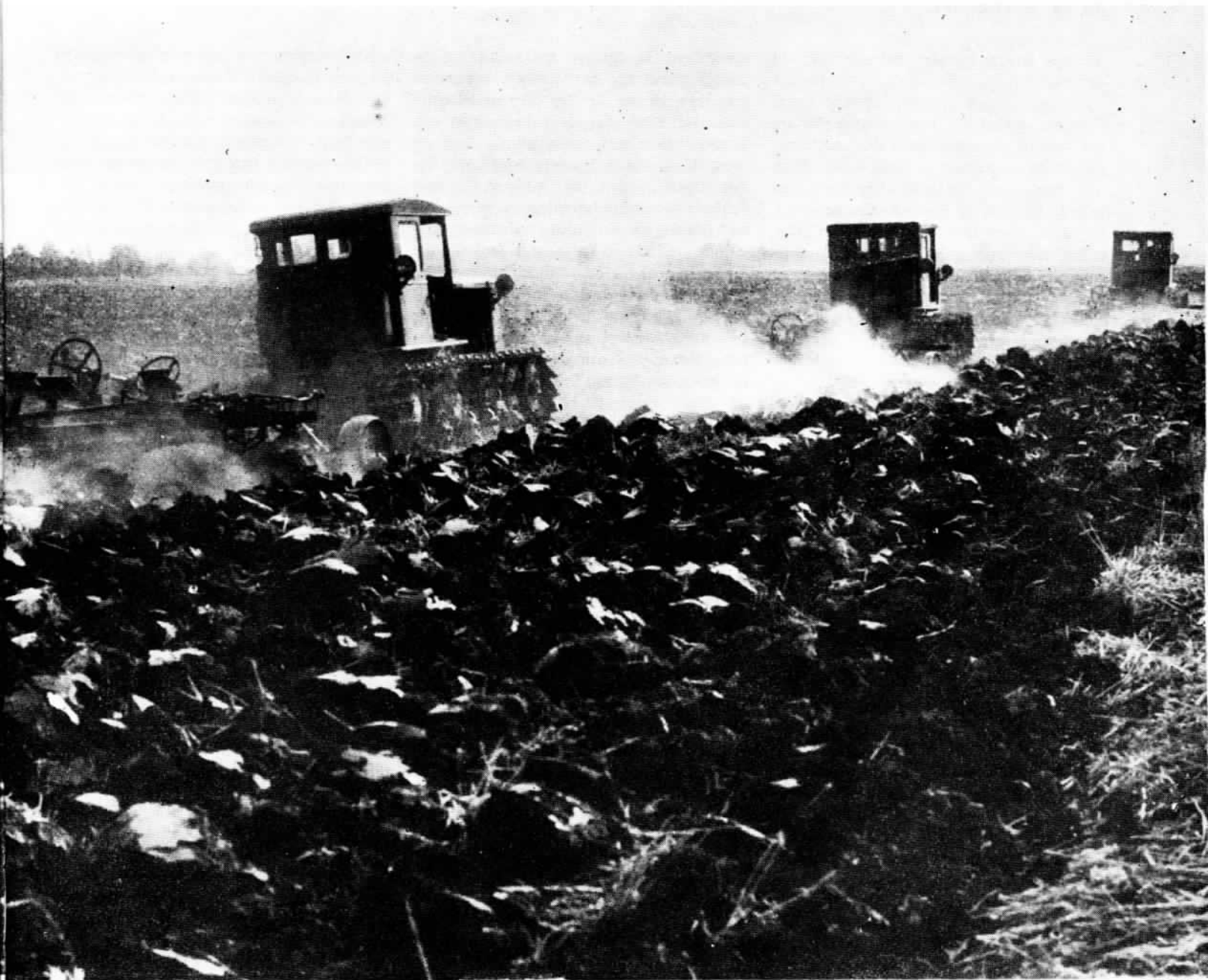
by **KOZMA SKARÇO**

*KOZMA SKARÇO - Journalist, secretary of the editorial board of the newspaper «Bashkimi».*

Socialist Albania has begun the jubilee year of the 30th anniversary of its liberation. These three decades have completely removed it from its situation in the past. Yesterday: an enslaved, semi-colonial country, fought over by the imperialist wolves. Today: a free, socialist, independent, sovereign and inviolable country.

In this land of the eagles on the Adriatic, lives a people who are masters of their own land, and are building a new life for themselves with their own hands.

The spirit and energy of the socialist revolution have entered into everything. Deep-going revolutionary transformations have also been made in the socialist



# LIST REPRODUCTION

countryside. The establishment of socialist relations of production, and their constant improvement, has been accompanied by steady growth of the productive forces. The once primitive farming has been transformed into modern agriculture, which is characterized by extended socialist reproduction.

I

... November 25, 1945. It was less than a year since Albania had liberated its territory by itself, with the lives of its sons. Comrade Enver Hoxha was in the village of Gore, in the Lushnja district, where he was distributing the title-deeds

given to the peasants by the Land Reform. The Party was thus keeping the promise it made to the peasantry in the years of the National Liberation Struggle. The first revolution was beginning in the socio-economic relations of the countryside. Over these last three decades, the banner of the party led the peasantry, just as it

did our entire people, from victory to victory.

At the end of every year, and every five-year period, the cooperativist peasantry, and all the agricultural workers, draw up the balance-sheet of their work. They look back over the road they have travelled and sum up the victories achieved. In 1970, when the fourth five-year plan ended and the fifth began, total agricultural production was three times greater than in 1938.

By 1970, total agricultural production, in comparison with 1965, was 33 per cent larger. This is a great advance, and constitutes a record for agriculture. To their surprise, this leap was made precisely in those years when the Soviet revisionists and their followers were pitying us because, they said, our agriculture was «marking time».

Our agriculture is making big strides under the fifth 5-year plan. It is no longer a question of overcoming the backward situation inherited from the past; now we are striving to make the second, qualitative advance. We have already achieved results which surpass those of many other countries of the Balkans, and in Europe as a whole. We have placed over 56 per cent of the arable area under irrigation. This is a fine result for a country like Albania, where the terrain is so uneven. In 1972 we used 86.4 kg. of chemical fertilizers for every hectare of land. In 1972 agriculture obtained 92 per cent of the energy used from motor power, and only 8 per cent from beasts of burden. In 1938, this ratio was reversed. Albania began the fifth five-year plan with the following scale of mechanization: for every 100 hectares of arable land, the state farms had 3.1 tractors of 15 HP, and the agricultural cooperatives had 2 tractors of 15 HP. By 1970, the volume of mechanized work, compared with 1965, was 80 per cent larger. Further progress in mechanization is being made under the present five-year plan. By 1975, in comparison with 1970, the number of tractors will have increased by 40 per cent, and combines by 50 per cent.

In the capitalist and revisionist countries agriculture is seen as an appendage of industry, and the agrarian countries are satellites of the metropolises, but here in Albania agriculture is considered to be a healthy branch of the people's economy, with as great a potential and importance as industry. In the capitalist countries

agriculture is doomed to lag behind industry. Here the party and the people's power strive to develop it parallel with industry. From the very beginning, our party, has upheld the principle that we must have not only developed industry, but also advanced agriculture. We will achieve this by continuing to mechanize and intensify agricultural production. Agriculture reflects, follows and deepens the general economic crisis which has engulfed the capitalist world; in particular, it deepens the powerful crisis of manpower in industrial cities, and in industrial countries. From the backward agrarian south of Italy, the labour force, especially that of peasant origin, flows to the industrial north. Thousands of able-bodied people, mainly of peasant origin, in Yugoslavia, Greece, or Turkey, abandon their families, their villages, and their homeland, and stream into the developed industrial countries to find «happiness»; they provide their unskilled labour very cheaply, and can often afford only a bare living. However, the industrial countries are also affected by the general crisis, and now need no extra labour.

For years in succession Western Germany, because of certain conditions, had comparatively high rates of industrialization, and gobbled up manpower without examining passports too closely. After 1970, when the rate of economic development began to slacken there too, and the metallurgical, automobile and other industries stagnated, West Germany, (like many other industrial countries) began to close its gates. Those affected by weakened capitalist agriculture are now knocking in vain at the doors of industrial cities. The disintegration of the peasantry, which is inevitable under current capitalist development, is raising new problems, and is making the situation of all the working people in these countries even more difficult.

The Yugoslav press too is compelled to admit that a large number of Yugoslav citizens have left for the capitalist countries particularly people from the less developed regions. The Croatian newspaper «Vjesnik» reported recently that during 1973 about 1700 Croatian workers, 20 per cent more than the previous year, went abroad. The rapid drain of manpower from Yugoslavia is particularly obvious in the countryside. The magazine «Nin» admitted that the «villages are emptying» while «Borba», substantiating this sad fact,

adds: «According to our calculation, in the 23 years 1948-1971, it appears that the countryside has been abandoned by about 5 million peasants, and that about 250,000 people leave the countryside every year».

Our socialist economy knows no such problems. The aims and objectives of our party, for the development of the economy in general and of agriculture in particular, are quite different.

The struggle to eliminate discrepancies between industry and agriculture is here seen as part of the struggle to eliminate the essential differences between the socialist town and the socialist countryside. Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, at the 6th Congress of the Party: «Although socialist Albania aims to become an industrial country, agriculture still remains the basic branch of our economy. The strong reliance of the national economy on both industry and agriculture is a permanent principle, an indispensable condition to ensure rapid, harmonious economic development, and to increase the degree of economic independence. Therefore, the Party's policy for the development of agriculture has always aimed at ensuring that the deepening of the socialist revolution in the countryside should also lead, without fail, to the development of the productive forces of agriculture.»

This policy, which expresses the vital interests of the peasantry, is being fully applied. Under the current five-year plan the rates of development for agriculture are high. By 1975, as compared with 1970, the production of grain is planned to grow by 50-55 per cent, industrial crops by 80-85 per cent, and milk production by 68-72 per cent.

The year 1974 – the year of the 30th anniversary of the liberation of the country – will be also a great year of work. After the fulfilment and the overfulfilment of the production of wheat, and the attainment of many other targets of the 1973 plan, our agricultural workers, convinced of the great potential of the modern agriculture with extended reproduction that the party has set up have decided that in 1974, they will increase total agricultural production by 27 per cent over 1973. In some special branches and sectors this increase will be 50-100 per cent. Our socialist countryside, powerfully aided by the socialist town, has everything it needs to plan and realize such bold, revolutionary rates.

These rates, which reflect the correct policy of the party in the domain of agriculture, did not come about by accident. At its 6th Congress, the party gave a reasoned answer as to why we devote so much attention to the development of agriculture. Agriculture in our country is the basis of the people's economy and of consumption. Agricultural and livestock products, together with the industrial products which use agricultural products as raw material, account for 75 per cent of the consumption fund. Agriculture provides a good part of the national income. The development of this branch promotes the alliance of the working class and cooperative peasantry, which constitutes the political basis of our dictatorship of the proletariat. The major part of the population is involved in agriculture, and so it is one of the most powerful branches which helps to increase the independence and self-reliance of the economy, strengthen the economic potential of the socialist homeland, and more successfully combat the savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement.

Agriculture, as the basic sector of the economy, helps us to cope even better with the economic pressure being exerted on our country, and its price policy, by the capitalist and revisionist world, which is engulfed by general economic crisis and, recently, by the energy crisis too.

## II

In November 1944, when Albania started work on the construction of socialist society, agriculture was weak. It bore the scars of the feudal bourgeois society from which we had come. At that time in the countryside, just as in the town, there was sound revolutionary optimism, and the belief that the party would keep the promise it had made to the peasantry, during the years of the struggle, to give them land and make them happy. Comrade Enver Hoxha, addressing the Myzeqe farmers and, through them, our entire peasantry, in November 25, 1945, said: "The Government does not promise you the moon, but you can be quite certain that it is doing its utmost to improve your situation. What we say, we do."

Over the years, as the five-year periods passed, they bore witness to the efforts of the party and of the people's power to keep the promise to the peasantry.

Those years, with the directives of the party, the powerful material aid of the people's power, and the sweat shed by the peasantry themselves, became years of great revolutionary transformations in the character of our agriculture. Agriculture became, according to the directives of the party, the concern of the entire people.

During these thirty years of people's power, our once primitive agriculture, based on private ownership, became a collectivized economy, and is now deepening the process of its intensification and modernization. Albania, once a backward agrarian country, has become an agrarian industrial country. Now it is striving to become an industrial country with an advanced economy.

These transformations have not been made easily, nor all at once. The revolutionisation of agricultural production here, as a part of the socialist revolution in the countryside, has passed through several stages. The land reform, which toppled the old relations of land ownership, constitutes the first revolution in the socio-economic relations of the countryside. Within a short period of time (November 25, 1945-November 17, 1946) revolutionary transformations of an historic character occurred in our countryside: the land was given to those who till it. The feudal class was overthrown economically. The exploitation of man by man was eliminated.

The land reform made the peasant master of the land, it realized his dream of centuries. As a result of the expropriation of the rich land owners, the estates of the former feudal state of king Zog, and the big estates of religious institutions, there were accumulated 172,659 hectares of farm land, 474,227 olive trees and 5,923 draft animals. These were distributed to 60,211 poor peasant families which were landless or had very little land, and served also to found the state socialist sector in agriculture.

One of the most valuable results of the Land Reform was the creation of conditions for the collectivization of agriculture. Our party clearly realized that even after the successful implementation of the Land Reform, the happiness the peasantry hoped for could not be said to be guaranteed. Lenin in his time had made it clear that "... with small-scale economies, they could not get free of poverty". He had recommended the "commune" as the only way to rid the peasant

of his sufferings and misery. It was necessary to set up agricultural cooperatives, these "levers of economic progress, levers of the socialist development of agriculture", as Stalin called them, so that our agriculture could engage in intensive, modern development.

The collectivization of agriculture constitutes the second revolution, the most radical revolutionary turning-point in the socio-economic relations of the countryside. This revolutionary process, which started with the creation, in November 11, 1946 of the first agricultural cooperative at Krutje, in Lushnja, was one of the great victories of the party and the peasantry, achieved through selfless work in the field of the socialist transformation of our agriculture and of our countryside in general. The collectivization began and ended faithfully upholding the Leninist principle of voluntarism. According to the concrete circumstances, and the ever increasing ability of the socialist state to make capital investments in the countryside, and to help agriculture with cadres and specialists, collectivization was carried out in our country, sometimes quickly and sometimes more slowly, at first in the lowland areas, then in the highland areas. First they were in the form of cooperatives on a village basis, later on villages were united. They began with the usual type. Now they are moving on to agricultural cooperatives of a higher type.

The creation of higher type agricultural cooperatives represents a creative application by the Party of Labour of Albania of the Leninist policy on the collectivization of agriculture. The new type of cooperatives now being set up in our country represents a higher degree of the socialization of group property, in the course of its moving nearer to becoming the property of the entire people. The socialist state, by its direct participation with non-repayable funds, makes larger capital investments in agricultural production, thus contributing to the modernization and intensification of production in these economies at still higher rates. "The creation of the cooperatives of a higher type", comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 6th Congress of the Party, "is of great theoretical and practical importance, for the present and the future of our socialist agriculture, and the complete construction of socialism in the countryside."

A regressive anti-Leninist road is pursued by the Soviet revisionists and their followers in the field of collectivization. The bitter fruit of the degeneration of the Soviet collective farms, which in Stalin's time raised Soviet agriculture high, is being gathered by the present Kremlin czars. The Soviet Union, until recently an exporter of grain, is now compelled to purchase very large quantities of grain from the capitalist world, as admitted by the Soviet press itself, «to fulfil the need for bread».

This is not accidental. The Soviet countryside has landed in a crisis. The collective farms have taken the road of capitalist organisation and development. In his time, Khrushchev began to apply to the agriculture of the Soviet Union the same methods applied in the United States of America by the 20th century slave-owner, Hearst. Khrushchev's successors, Brezhnev and Kosygin, do not want to lag behind their teacher. As a result of the breaking up of the Soviet collective farms, the number of private land owners is continually increasing. With their products they now decide the prices on the Soviet agricultural market. These owners produce 40 per cent of the meat on sale, as well as large quantities of fruit and vegetables.

However hard the Soviet revisionists may try to «prettify» this kind of private property, it is becoming an increasingly capitalist type of private property, which, as Lenin says, gives birth to capitalism and to the bourgeoisie continually, every day, every hour, spontaneously and on a large scale. This phenomenon is also being noticed in the other revisionist countries. The private sector in Poland controls 80 per cent of the arable area. Polish capitalist private farms account for 87 per cent of the agricultural produce. In Hungary, too, the private sector owns over 550,000 hectares of arable land. In these countries, just as in the capitalist states, the process of the degeneration of the countryside continues.

The landlords and kulaks get rich by destroying the poor and middle peasants who, just as in the capitalist world, abandon the countryside and go to the town in search of work.

Our five-year plans changed the aspect of our countryside and agriculture. They made it more beautiful, more prosperous. Our collectivized countryside has now been fully electrified and every village

has the telephone. It has got rid of illiteracy and disease. The Party has ensured to the cooperativists, like the rest of our people, a free medical service and old age pension. The average life expectancy of our people has increased from 38 years before the war to 69 years at present. Numerous social and cultural projects are going up in every village. The standard of living rises from year to year.

The prospects for our agriculture and countryside are brilliant. The 4th Congress of the Party proclaimed the construction of the economic base of socialism to be concluded. It gave the directive for the transition to the stage of the complete construction of the socialist society. The intensification and modernization of agriculture constitutes one of the most important elements in this stage. The October 1962 Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party is known as the plenum of the intensification of agriculture. It set out the main tasks in this new stage of agricultural development. The 5th and 6th Congresses of the Party defined these tasks more thoroughly. The January 1971 letter of the Party Central Committee on agriculture lays down a series of tasks to make all the agricultural cooperatives large modern units of extended socialist reproduction. This means that every unit should steadily increase total agricultural production and commodity production per hectare of land.

### III

... November 1945. Comrade Enver Hoxha wholeheartedly congratulated the peasants on the land they received. «Your task is to cultivate the land you received in the best way, cultivate it thoroughly for your good, for the prosperity of your families, for the good of the entire Albanian people».

The land constitutes the fundamental and irreplaceable means of production in agriculture. But, as Marx teaches us, without man the land is neither a means nor an object of work. In our country, it is being turned into a great granary, thanks solely to the conscious and selfless work of our patriotic peasantry with the all-round aid given to it by our working class, and the colossal funds the state spends on agriculture.

Before liberation, agriculture was characterized by small plots of land, worked



with a wooden plough, plots suffered from the winter rains and the summer droughts, and chemical fertilizers and insecticides were unknown.

This «sick» land had to be «cured». The party and the people's power, as they had promised the peasantry, did their utmost in this direction. Colossal investments have been made in our agriculture. Over 220,000 hectares of land have been reclaimed, and over 300,000 hectares have been placed under irrigation, as against 29,000 in 1938. 800,000 tons of organic fertilizers were used in 1960, but by 1970 the figure had reached 3,3 million tons, whereas by 1975 about 5 million tons of organic fertilizers are expected to be used. About half of the lowland area has been reclaimed, in the full meaning of the word. This is one of the finest examples in Europe. There are few hydrotechnical works like that of Hoxhara in Europe, either. Through it, 22,000 hectares of farm land have been drained.

A great deal of work has also been done to systematize hilly and mountainous areas. The traditional terraces of Dibra, Puka, Himara and Kukësi have now been joined by those of Lukova, Vrithi, Jonufër... Our hills and mountains have been made beautiful, rising tier upon tier. Both young and old trees grow there, and the work continues. The objective of the agricultural workers is: Every plot of land will be systematized and prepared in such a way as to be fully utilized, drained, irrigated by the most rational methods, unable to be eroded by flooding, and allowing the fullest mechanization.

Our agriculture today fills us with pride; especially at its future. According to the instructions of the party, work is going on to place farming on a scientific basis. The objective: to arrive at the point of working out technological maps for every crop according to the climate and soil conditions of the plot of land, the properties and requirements of the crop, and the planned yields.

The increase of yields at the planned level requires a deep knowledge of the natural environment, the climate and the soil. Only with such knowledge can one do a proper job. During the early years of the current five-year plan, according to the party directives that every agronomist should work with the map of the land like an army officer with his topographic map, we began and successfully

concluded the great national undertaking to study the land, and to draw up on this basis, the cadastral, pedologic and agronomic maps for every agricultural economy. The study of the land constitutes another powerful scientific tool in the hands of the agricultural workers, to raise the level of production, and the effectiveness of the big capital investments which have been made in Albanian agriculture.

#### IV

Our patriotic peasantry, after having made their great contribution to the liberation of the country, started work on the land given to it by the people's power. But at that time there were small private economies, and simple reproduction. In this year of the 30th anniversary of liberation, agriculture displays a different, transformed, socialist face. The production processes are now carried out on an increasingly larger scale. During the 1961-1970 decade alone, in comparison with the 1951-1960 decade, total agricultural production increased by 62 per cent. The total agricultural production from the whole country in 1938 was obtained from the Fier, Lushnja, Durrës and Vlora districts alone in 1970.

Extended socialist reproduction is ensured both through an increased arable area and through constantly increasing yields.

In Albania, with its small area and a rapid population growth – it has doubled in 30 years – the reclamation of lands has been considered just as important a task as increasing yields from the existing land. Thanks to the people's high sense of responsibility, during the first four five-year plans, 350,000 hectares of land or 60,000 hectares more arable-land than Albania had in 1938. Under the fourth five-year plan alone, about 100,000 hectares of land was reclaimed, or as much as one-third of the arable land Albania had in 1938. During the current five-year plan, too, our cooperativist peasantry will reclaim 92,000 hectares of land.

The slogan launched by the Party at its 5th Congress «Go to the hills and mountains, and make them as fertile and beautiful as the plains,» gave a new and powerful impetus also to land reclamation. The work begun to implement this great directive is opening up new horizons in the remote mountain areas.

By means of this directive, with its profoundly Marxist-Leninist content, the party aims at still further transforming nature and the economic life of these areas, ensuring a great increase in production on a national scale, establishing a more correct distribution of the population, and providing more help for the rapid advance of these areas, so as to prove, in the specific conditions of our country, the false, reactionary character of bourgeois revisionist claims that «the highlands have no prospects of development».

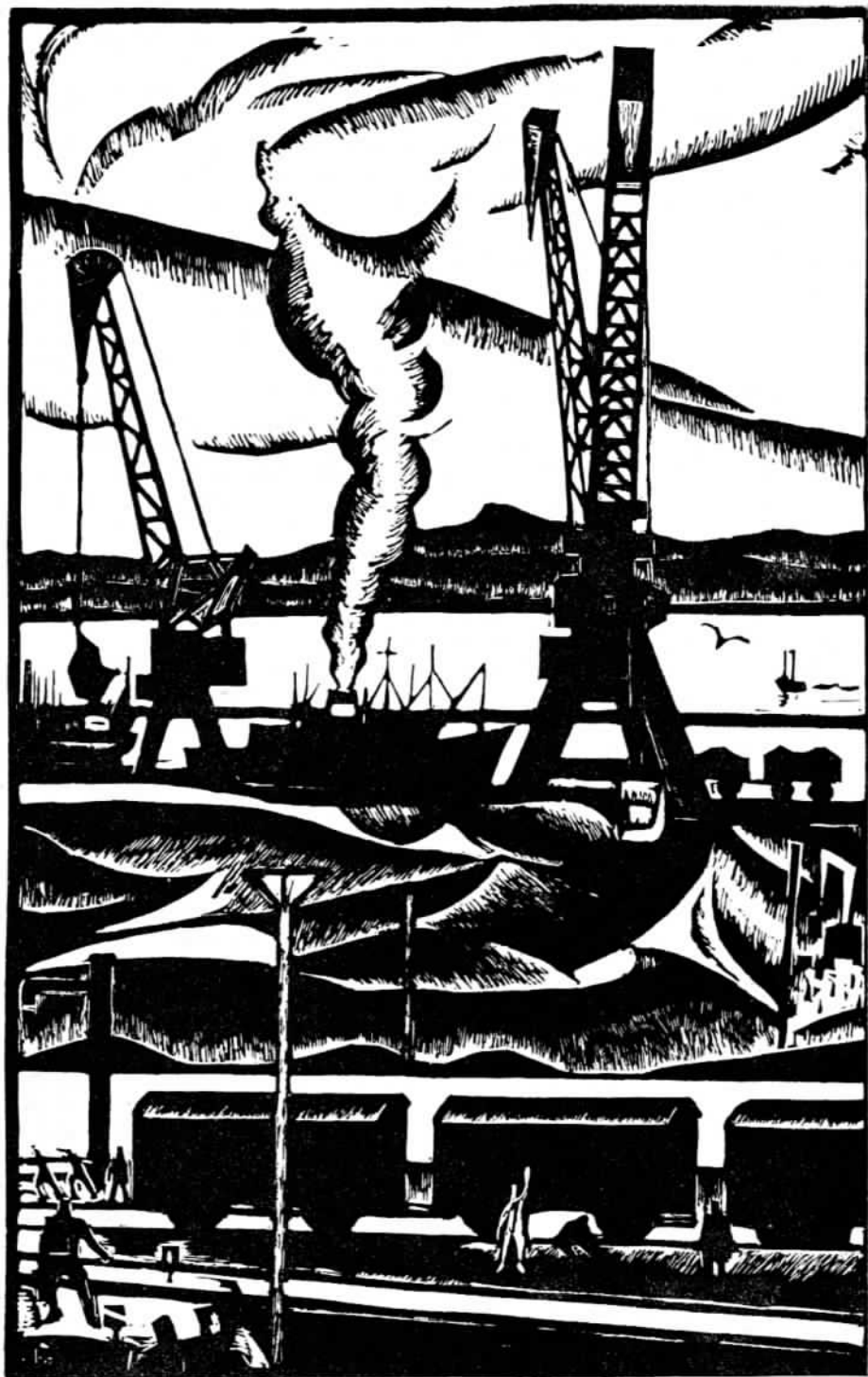
Livestock and crop yields have increased rapidly. This has been the main way of ensuring extended socialist reproduction. During the fourth five-year plan, 93 per cent of the increase in grain production was due to increased yields. 70 per cent of total agricultural production growth was achieved the same way. In 1970, as compared with 1938, the wheat yield was 2,2 times larger, maize 1,8 times, and rice 1,9 times.

The enlarged agricultural cooperatives, the deepened process of concentration, specialization and cooperation: and the establishment everywhere of a strict regime of economization, are creating the conditions for the extension and deepening of the process of extended socialist reproduction.

Agriculture in Albania has entered a new stage; it now has all the objective and subjective requirements to make another big leap forward.

The intensification and modernization of agriculture in our country is a result of the correct policy of the party, and an expression of its consistent but also creative application of the precepts of Marxism-Leninism on agriculture. Extended socialist reproduction comes from our vital society, the great work of the entire people, and the application, on this important front of socialist construction, of the principle of self-reliance.

The intensification and modernization of agriculture, and hence extended socialist reproduction, is being achieved in our country through a revolutionary road, on a scientific basis. We now possess a strong material and technical base. We have amassed a wealth of experience in all branches of production. Above all, we have the correct line of our party. All these factors encourage and inspire us to achieve even more victories in the domain of agriculture during future five-year plans.



*Pandi Mele*  
*«The City of Sirens»*  
*black and white.*

# **SOCIALIST REALISM - GREAT ART OF THE REVOLUTION**

*by ISMAIL KADARE*

**The current bourgeois  
and revisionist  
predictions that art  
and literature  
may be eliminated  
in the future  
merely express  
the longstanding  
desire of the ruling  
classes, passed  
on by them from  
generation to  
generation, together  
with their thirst  
for power.  
Art and literature have  
given the people  
a sure backing in their  
struggle  
for freedom,  
for the realization  
of their aspirations,  
when they have  
been connected with  
the people's  
destinies.  
The best expression  
of the  
connection art  
and literature have  
with the people  
is the proletarian  
partisanship  
of socialist realism**

AMONG THE MANY GLOOMY PREDICTIONS BEING UTTERED TODAY IN THE BOURGEOIS AND REVISIONIST WORLD BY THE SERVANTS OF THE RULING CLASSES THERE ARE SOME CONCERNING ART AND LITERATURE. WILL ART AND LITERATURE CONTINUE TO EXIST IN THE FUTURE? THIS QUESTION IS RAISED BY THEIR PROPAGANDA, AT TIMES DIRECTLY AND AT TIMES INDIRECTLY. THE ANSWER TO IT CONSISTS OF A SERIES OF PREDICTIONS WHICH ARE AS FATALISTIC AS THEY ARE ABSURD; THEY PREDICT THE DEATH OF THE NOVEL, THE DEATH OF POETRY, THE DEATH OF LITERATURE AND OF THE ARTS IN GENERAL. WHAT IS THE CAUSE OF THIS INCESSANT MOANING BY THE ACOLYTES OF THE BOURGEOISIE? THE ANSWER IS SIMPLE: JUST LIKE SO MANY OF THEIR PREDICTIONS THIS, TOO, IS MERELY A LONGSTANDING DESIRE OF THE RULING CLASSES, PASSED ON BY THEM FROM GENERATION TO generation together with the thirst for power and exploitation.

From ancient times, the great militarist bureaucratic structures, and the big aggressive states, such as the Roman Empi-

*ISMAIL KADARE - writer and journalist.*

re, have supported official literature, and thus have frequently come into open conflict with progressive literature and art. This was natural, for such art in general could not reconcile itself with the aggressive spirit, with the desire for hegemony and domination over the world, which

promoted all the propaganda of these states. The same thing is occurring today with the superpowers of our time, the United States of America and the Soviet Union. The literature and art of these countries were long ago faced with an alternative: either become totally deformed, according to the antipopular interests of these regimes, or disappear. Thus, the predictions about their death are in the final account simply indirect threats to literature and art, if they do not fully conform with the aggressive, hegemonistic aims of these superpowers.

As for the people, struggling for freedom and independence, history shows that they have always found a sure backing for their struggle and aspirations in literature and art. The history of our country confirms this with particular force. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said; "Our people have never separated the rifle from the book, the sword from the pen, bravery from knowledge. . .". This is absolutely true. Our people have always had Scanderbeg as the focus of their national memory, but have never relegated Naim Frashëri to the background. Our people have frequently had to rise alone against the danger of being wiped from the face of the earth. But neither aggression nor death, hunger nor the storms of history have ever made them lose the beauty of words, pictures or sounds. On the contrary, this difficult fate has perfected their artistic skill. How wonderful to see an art which is vital to the people in both good and hard times, and what a great test our art has successfully undergone, since it was cherished by the people at the key moments of history. Those aesthetes eaten up with self-conceit, who sit in their ivory towers laying down the law and whether literature and art must or must not exist, seem quite ridiculous by comparison.

The fact that the people, in their deep poverty, hungry and badly clad, beset by troubles (those "other mountains" of the country) have always loved art, shows that they had deep reasons. They have loved Albanian poetry, literature and other arts because they have always been linked with their destiny. This link with the destiny of the people and the nation is the main, most important and most immortal feature of our literature and art. All its other values would be annihilated without this essential factor. This link has

been the greatest blessing of our art just as divorced from the people would have been its greatest misfortune. Our art of socialist realism inherited this connection as its most cherished treasure, enriching it and raising it to a higher level through the ideas of the revolution and communism. The proletarian partisanship of our art of socialist realism best shows how it is connected, more fully than ever before, with the destiny of the people.

All of us writers of socialist realism bear a great responsibility for keeping this invaluable feature intact.

In the 30 years of its existence, our new art of socialist realism has known great successes and joys. Unreservedly placed at the service of the revolution, communist and national at the same time, it has done away once and for all with the centuries-old rust of feudal-bourgeois art, its mysticism, non-realism, sentimentalism, and diktantism, its make-believe tales of poor girls and prince Charmings, in a word, with all the deceiving inventions of the old world. It has continued to wage a successful struggle when these inventions, chased away through the door have attempted to get in through the window disguised in modern dress. The task of preserving the purity of our art is as difficult as it is magnificent, particularly at the present time, full of revolutionary and counterrevolutionary storms. The truth is that despite the successes achieved, although we have preserved the main fortress of our, we cannot say that we have sufficiently defended all its ramparts. Crashing against them, the wave of various influences has inflicted damage, and sometimes made a breach, and the responsibility for this rests upon all of us. However, our art has such a close connection with the revolution and the nation that a brief period has sufficed to build the damaged sections up again. But this must not throw us off our guard. In the future we can expect no weakening in the surging waves, on the contrary, there will be an intensification. Aggression is as old as the class society — Homer, the first poet, wrote of only one historical aggression. But in no century has it been so widespread, cunning and many-featured as in our time. This comes about because we are living in an epoch of great revolutionary upheavals. Aggression does not indicate the strength

of the aggressors, but their fear and their panic in the face of history. The second half of our century is witnessing an unparalleled intensification of aggression. It is no longer the old, classical aggression, which made its presence felt only when the foreigner's boot trod a nation's soil. Now the enemy may be thousands of miles away, and there may be no exchange of fire at all; yet despite this, unconsciously, one may fall victim to his aggression. Cultural aggression, invasion in words, sounds and colours, is no less dangerous than the invasion of an actual army.

The leaders of the superpowers want the world to be mute, so that it cannot denounce their crimes. However, men are born with tongues. Thus they reason, if you cannot compel men to keep silent, try to make them talk nonsense, as if they were mad. So we have a feverish competition to create the most degraded books, hermetic poetry, confused prose, beast-like sounds and abstract compositions. This whole performance, which frequently resembles the production of psychopaths, is a great service rendered to the present-day bourgeoisie, and is highly valued by it. The history of decadence is as old as art itself, but it has never before known such an outburst as today. This is because in no previous century have the ruling classes found themselves so near the abyss as they are today. Finding their situation desperate, they are running round frantically in all directions, economic, military, political, moral, ideological, and artistic, so as to avert the catastrophe. In the realm of letters and the arts, realizing that the connection of art with the fate of the people would be the greatest misfortune for them, they make haste to destroy this connection as best they can. The phrase which most clearly sums up the essence of all this multitude of poisonous flowers in current bourgeois and revisionist art is divorced from the people. The common objective of all the current reactionary propaganda is to effect this "divorce".

The bourgeoisie and the revisionists realize that the call for the separation of art from the people may possibly discredit them; so they look for more sophisticated, camouflaged ways to achieve this separation. They begin the campaign much more deviously. In order to cover their traces, they do not call for separation

from the people as such, but from man in general. This explains the passion for the dehumanization of art, for setting man aside and putting fetishes and masks in his place. «My superiority consists in the fact that I have no heart», a decadent poet has said. It also explains the rage for primitivism, for pre-logical thinking, which, in their opinion, is more profound because it comes from afar, from barbarity. Connected with these are the efforts to achieve the disintegration of time, the destruction of the laws of composition and syntax, and finally the breakdown of human language. (One of the arch-decadents, Joyce, has striven, for example, to create the language of water and wind).

Even in the cases the decadents accept man in their works, it is not man in the normal meaning of the term. He is something else, a surrogate of man, a biological being, outside time, space and society. Decadence strives to make precisely such a creation the typical hero of the times. The Man without qualities is the title of a voluminous novel by Musil, one of the textbooks of modern decadence. The man who belongs to no society whatever loses his identity, and thereby becomes cipher. Such characters are badly needed today by world reaction. Thus, bourgeois art is striving today to create a new anti-hero, an «outsider», as he is known in the West. This outsider, who fills the books, stages and films of the bourgeois and revisionist world, embodies the departure from our world, the shameful rejection of the time. He is not a new invention; on the contrary, his roots are to be sought deep in the Bible and the Koran, which are full of reactionary ideas. It is no accident that one of the present-day bourgeois ideologists has written: «The individual starts this long journey as an outsider and will end it, perhaps, as a saint». The present-day hippies, or the outsiders and anti-heroes of Camus or Becket, are nothing but modifications of the bearded saints who roamed the Sinai desert two thousand years ago, the hermits, the palmers or the Muslims on pilgrimage to Mecca. All this mouldy ignorance and obscurity has been inherited by contemporary bourgeois and revisionist art. Thus although this degraded art claims to be up-to-date and modern, in reality it is old and dogmatic in the extreme.

At the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, comrade Enver Hoxha

made a profoundly Marxist analysis of the truly conservative essence of the present-day bourgeois and revisionists. Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «It is not just the centuries-old ideologies, but also the current, degenerate bourgeois and revisionist ideologies, with all their liberalism and modernism, which are conservative». Applying comrade Enver Hoxha's thesis in the field of literature and art, it is not difficult to perceive the holy alliance of the most rabid conservatism and the most dissolute modernism in our time. Let us mention a few facts from the history of our literature. Who was the greatest conservative in Albanian letters, and not just in letters, but in our whole culture? Clearly, it was Gjergj Fishta. A rabid fanatic, idealizing everything patriarchal, an apologist of religion and medieval institutions, singing praises to primitivism, a fierce enemy of any progress — this sums up that literary cleric. However, if we ask who was the greatest liberal in Albanian literature, the answer is the same: again, Gjergj Fishta. He was a rabid Italophile, an agent of the Vatican, an emissary for the fascist occupation, an advocate of the denationalization and Romanization of our culture. He was on the one hand a fanatic arch-conservative, on the other an arch-liberal, a rabid chauvinist, and a convinced cosmopolitan. When it was a question of new social ideas, progress, or the revolution, he was the most fanatic conservative. When it was a question of the fate of the homeland, freedom, or the borders, he was the greatest liberal.

The same example is provided by the figure of the fascist literary man Ernest Koliqi. His extreme conservatism did not stop him using, in his reactionary work, a theory greatly cherished by present-day modernism — Freudianism. Thus, in his writings he appears at time to be a fanatic conservative, and at time a raving snob.

It would be difficult to find another theory that has served conservatism and liberalism alike with so much zeal as Freudianism. Its conservative essence, an appeal for a return to barbarity, does not put off but on the contrary further attracts decadents of all shades.

This holy alliance between conservatism and liberalism is easy to explain if we look at the problem from a Marxist viewpoint. In the final account, the aim

of the two sides, conservative and liberal, is one and the same: a return to the overthrown world, a regaining of the «lost paradise».

While they frantically rush to destroy the link connecting man and his art with society and the human community, the decadents never forget to attack the other link, that which keeps man and his art connected with his people, his nation and national character. They furiously attack these two links because they know that if they can be destroyed, spiritual values will be at the mercy of the raging torrent of world reaction.

The self-styled writer, enemy of the party Fadil Paçrami, filled his dramatic efforts with shadows, and not with men. Both he and T. Lubonja were frantic opponents of national character in our arts. In poetry, Fadil Paçrami hated references to fathers, in sculpture he objected to mothers, in prose he despised stories about the black-kerchiefed old women. He was terrified, like a Turkish pasha, by mention of Scanderbeg. Thus, he could not endure anything connected with the foundations of the people or the nation. From this viewpoint, he resembled those silly scholars on Swift's Island of Laputa; Swift tells us how they were trying to invent a method of beginning the construction of houses from the roofs down. The rightism of T. Lubonja and F. Paçrami, their cosmopolitanism, their dislike of folklore, and their anti-Albanianism, once more showed that the class struggle in the field of literature and the arts is still alive and will remain so for a very long time.

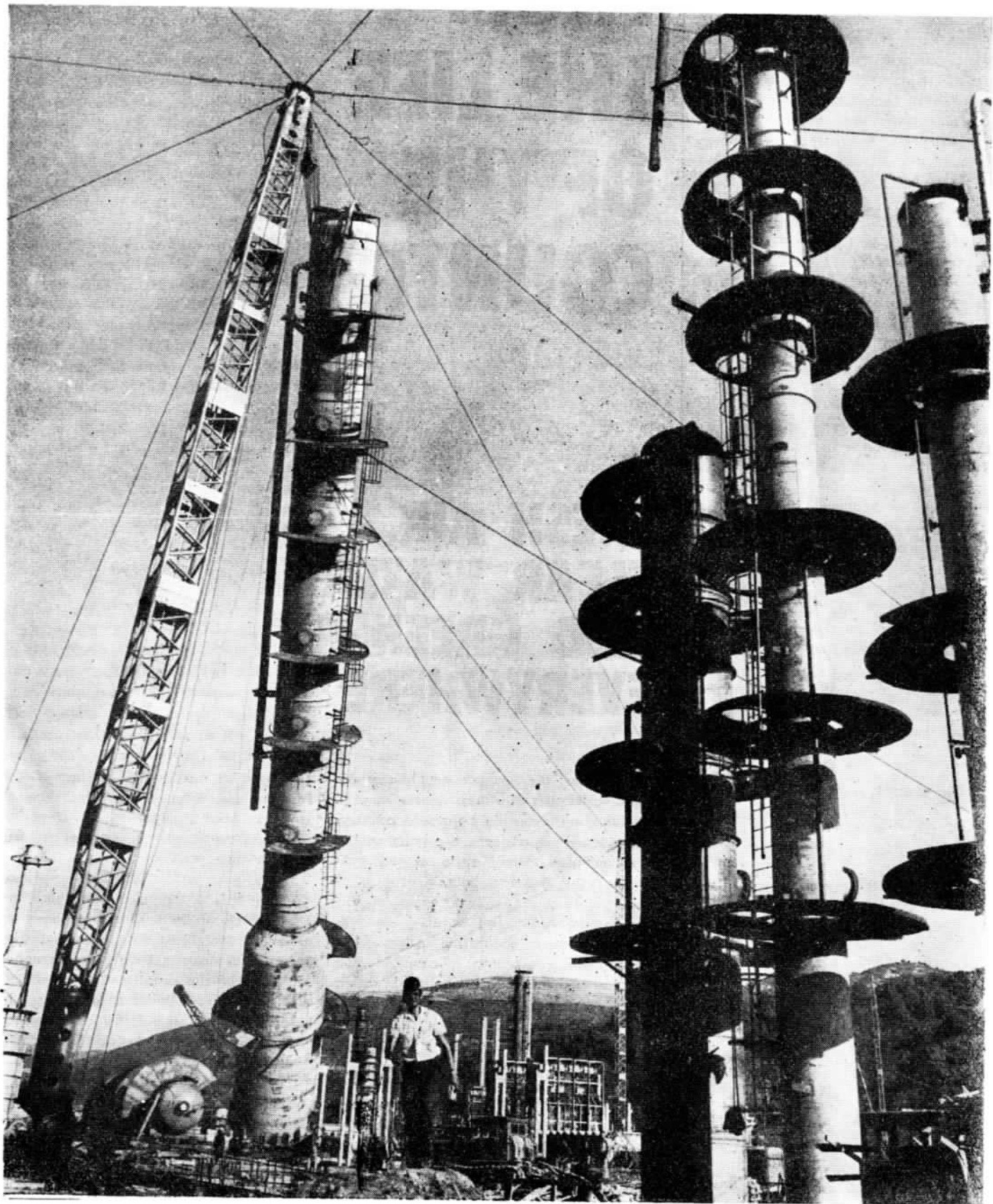
As an integral part of the mechanism of the revolution, socialist realism has the same enemies as the revolution. Their rage and their ferocious attacks, merely show its strength, and the danger it poses to the ruling classes. Charges alleging that it is narrow, and bound by restrictive rules which shorten its life, have been refuted time and again. Socialist realism is the art of the future. It has enormous potential, to produce works of epic spirit and profundity, dramatic power and high ideo-artistic level. These qualities are given to it by the communist revolution. The freedom stemming from the revolution is the greatest freedom that has ever been seen on this planet, because it is freedom for the millions. Before this freedom, all the other freedoms celebrated by the poets

grow dim. Socialist realism, as a creation of the revolution, enjoys the same freedom as the revolution. It does not obey rules and dogmas, as claimed by its overt enemies or its sham friends. It obeys only the laws of the revolution, and recognizes and respects these laws; this gives rise not to weakness and a short life, but on the contrary to strength and immortality. Sometimes we ourselves, the writers and artists of socialist realism, do not know how best, or are unable to use the boundless possibilities of this art. Marxism says it often happens that the first aesthetic taste of the victorious class elements of the last preferences of the defeated class it is everybody's constant duty, and particularly ours', the artists', to get rid of such elements.

Totally rejecting the theory of «limitless realism» promulgated by the French revisionist Roger Garaudy, who aims at integrating a part of decadence into socialist realism, we are also against artificial limitations of the scope of the new art of the working class. Socialist realism has such internal force that it is able to develop all themes within its fold, beginning with the proletarian revolution and ending with the most profound legends of the centuries. It is in a position to re-examine and re-explain the whole world artistically, from the siege of Troy to the imperialist-revisionist encirclement. This new ability to enlighten is given to it by the revolution itself; it is precisely where the essence of its great potential for innovation lies. To limit the sphere of socialist realism in time and space merely detaches the roots of this art from their national foundations and gives complete domination over fivethousand years of the history of the peoples to the cultural tyranny of all the old superstructures.

The epoch of capitalism is on the wane, and the highest tone of world art is being set, and will be set still more in the coming years, not by the bourgeoisie, but by the working class. Socialist realism is still in its early years. In those to come it will increasingly narrow the bourgeois-revisionist cultural empire until, at last, it will encircle it. Thanks to the vanguard position of the Party of Labour of Albania in struggle against the old world, in the framework of communist world art our new Albanian art today has a privileged position, and boundless potential for great works.

*One of the most important projects of the 5th five-year plan – the deep oil processing plant, is going up in Ballsh, Fieri area.*



# **FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY**

## **FRESH AIR, CLEAR WATER AND GREENERY EVERYWHERE**

This year, the People's Republic of Albania celebrates the 30th anniversary of its founding. From an oppressed country, dependent on foreigners, a country of the wooden plow, small scale artisan production and thatched huts, a country of the pine torch and the oil lamp, of illiteracy and malaria, of poverty, exploitation and forced emigration, Albania has been transformed into a country with a most advanced socio-political order, where the ruling classes, the exploitation of man by man, and unemployment, have all been liquidated, industry is developing rapidly, the collectivized countryside is flourishing, and electric light illumines every home. There have been great successes in the field of education and health; 8-year education has become compulsory for the entire population, the health service is free of charge and nobody pays

any kind of taxes; the defence of the freedom and independence of the homeland has been strengthened as never before, and the people are masters of their own destinies.

In the year of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the free Albanian state, we may rightfully say that we have an advanced, diversified and modern industry. Plants and factories have been set up in all parts of the country. The extracting and processing industries have been developed, and the chemical, food and textile, timber and other industries have grown and strengthened.

This whole industry has certainly brought its blessings, but if not carefully handled, it may also bring pollution of the environment, and damage the people's health. It is true that ecological problems here have not become so disturbing and



alarming as in some countries with highly developed industry. But it is not a question of the present level of industrialization, or the amount of pollution in the environment; rather of the future development of the country and the attitude taken towards problems that arise.

Thus, in this case, it is important to look at how the state, and the society, deal with this problem, in order to prevent the present and future danger of polluting the environment, and to see how much they value people and their health.

In our socialist society, man is the most valuable capital, and every measure is taken to protect his health and life. As a result of this care, material and cultural wellbeing has grown, and the country's population has rapidly increased. Thus, for example, while births are at a high level, the death rate has been reduced more than 2.5 times over, in comparison with 1938. Before liberation, there was one death for every two births; today there are 5 births for every death, a natural increase which is the highest in Europe. Another example - Tirana is the only capital city in the world which uses the water of mountain springs as drinking water.

We gave these instances just as an example to show how well people are looked after in Albania; this context includes all the measures adopted at the recent meeting of the Council of Ministers, to ensure that Albania always has fresh air, clear water and greenery all over the country.

Along with the decree of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, forbidding the pollution of the country's territorial waters, measures have been taken which show how important this problem, primarily a social one, is thought to be.

The level of pollution in the waters of the world has become disturbing. The main pollution of this type in our country comes from the chemical and metallurgical industries. This occurred with the wastes from the big plant producing nitrate fertilizers in Fier; arsenic laden soot and water began to pollute the waters of two rivers into which they were discharged. But this did not last long. As a result of the measures taken, particularly the changeover in the plant from oil to gas, the discharge of more than 2,000 tons of soot annually into the river was avoided, and by setting up two installations, it became possible to separate the arsenic from the discharged water, and eliminate

it from the gas discharged by the plant. In order to increase the effect of the measures adopted still more, as well as to have a clean environment around the plant, the height of the chimney for the discharge of nitrous gases was doubled. In other chemical plants too, stringent measures have been taken in this direction. Thus, at the big phosphate fertilizer plant at Laç there is an installation to clean the polluted water; at the caustic soda plant in Vlora, the polluting wastes no longer goes into the sea, but is deposited in special basins which do not endanger the environment through pollution. Similar protective measures have also been taken at other chemical enterprises in other cities, and at the copper refining, chromium and coal enrichment plants, and others.

Albania is a country with a developed oil industry, for both extraction and processing. By special decision of the Government, attention has been drawn to pollution, and the concrete measures to be taken in order to avoid the pollution of the environment, particularly in cases occurring with the waste resulting from the cleaning of wells, have been laid down. As far as the oil processing plants are concerned, their waste, before being discharged into the environment, is forced through filtration blocks set up for this purpose. A similar measure has been adopted for the big intensive oil processing plant which is nearing completion at Ballsh. The plan for it included the construction of the proper filtration blocks equipped with oil separator, neutralizers, rapid filter, etc.

We could cite other measures that have been taken to avoid the pollution of the environment by the plants in operation, and by the new ones which are being built from year to year in our country. The metallurgical combine going up in Elbasan is a magnificent work, which will turn out the first Albanian made steel, with an advanced technology. This unit, too, will have its own «troubles» concerning waste, yet despite this, and all the difficulties in its construction, the necessary measures have been planned, right from the design stage, to clean the combine's waters so that their discharge into the Shkumbini river will not be harmful to people, agriculture, or animal life.

Besides these, we might mention dozens more measures that have been taken in our country to preserve the environment from pollution.

The western press reports everyday on flagrant cases of pollution of the environment, which is a result, in the first place, of insufficient care taken for the protection of man's health. There, the laws take care to defend the interests of the factory owners, who take no measures to preserve the environment because this would require expenditure on their part, and thus eat into their profits.

Such things do not happen in our country. This is why, in Albania, although industry is developing so rapidly, and although we have plants and factories which, in size and technological standards, compare well with those of advanced countries, we have fresh air, clear water and greenery in every acre of our homeland.

Likurg ROSHI

## **70<sup>th</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF PEOPLE'S SCULPTOR ODHISE PASKALI**

On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the birth of people's sculptor Odhise Paskali, the Albanian Writers' and Artists

Union, in collaboration with the Ministry of Education and Culture, organized a celebratory function in the Union's club

# FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY

on December 27, devoted to the work of this well known artist.

The function was attended by sculptors, painters, composers, writers and artists of the Capital, as well as other art-lovers. Also present were Ramiz Alia, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Spiro Koleka, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Thoma Deliana, Minister of Education and Culture, and other comrades.

The merited sculptor Kristaq Rama spoke of the life and work of Odhise Paskali.

The gathering was also addressed by comrade Spiro Koleka.

The work of people's sculptor Odhise Paskali occupies an important place in our figurative arts in general and in the genre of sculpture in particular. It spans two different epochs. It starts, on the one hand, in the dark epoch of oppression and violence by the antipopular regimes and foreign invaders, but full of the struggles and efforts of the people to win freedom and independence, and continues in the full light of the party epoch, in the epoch of socialism and people's power that opened new horizons to the sculptor, providing conditions which did not exist before liberation, and which made his talent grow and flourish as never before. The number of sculptures he completed kept increasing, and the period after the liberation of the country shows the largest number of works; one characteristic is that the ideological and artistic level and quality reaches a higher level in this period, compared with his previous works.

His work shows many different characteristics. It is distinguished above all by its national, patriotic and revolutionary character.

The revolutionary pathos of our epoch, the revolutionary epic spirit and romanticism, find their full embodiment in the works belonging to the period of socialist realism.

The image of the liberating fighter, of the hero and victorious partisan, carrying on the soundest militant traditions of the people, bears the features of the man with lofty revolutionary ideals, reared and tempered by the party. In the monumental

works «Liberator Partisan» (Përmet) and «Victorious Partisan» (Mathauzen) the majestic and the heroic, the present and the future, are interwoven and harmonized in an organic unity, as a result of the typification and artistic generalisation of reality. The people's power comes out of the barrel of a gun and is defended with the gun! (Liberator Partisan). The war with the enemy was a titanic clash in which the victorious partisan triumphed! («Victorious Partisan»). This synthesis of the glorious history of our people finds its concrete embodiment in the ideological content of these works which raise the great truths of life to art.

Precisely in this consists the force of the art of socialist realism itself. It spurs on the searching spirit of the artist to discover what is typical. In opposition to the bourgeois-revisionist views, or some theorisation influenced by the pressure of this ideology, according to which «the typical narrows the scope of the artist, or makes art monotonous», socialist realism as a creative method, which rests on Marxist-Leninist dialectics, in fact reflects the events and phenomena of life in their development.

The typical in Paskali's works is not something abstract or intangible, connected only with the great theme. It is clear and understandable, and is analyzed and materialized through the concrete and individual, which is interwoven with deep realism and a convincing, generalizing artistic presentation. The image of the liberating fighter, of the partisan, with his convincing features, has its own individual characteristics. This individualisation is at the same time also typifying, because it shows all those characteristics which are common and typical in a series of representatives of this generation of fighters for freedom. On the other side, placing the positive hero at the centre of his work, sculptor Odhise Paskali masterfully discovers and engraves the most typical, and arrives at powerful artistic generalizations. This synthesis is realized even when the sculptor deals with figures and characters of individual men. In this case, the individualization does not remain merely in the external similarity of physical features, but resting on them, it is enriched and engraved in the form of a figurative generalization and typification.

In the works depicting comrade Enver Hoxha, the sculptor has realistically portrayed the leader of the people and the party, and we are struck by the deep revolutionary feeling, the clarity of thought, wisdom and farsightedness in his work.

The manifestation of the typical through the individual, as a characteristic feature of creativity, appears in other works in diverse and recurring forms, for instance in the works, «People's Hero Vojo Kushi», «Naim Frashëri» and «De Rada». In the monument to Scanderbeg (in collaboration with the merited sculptors J. Paço and A. Mano) the hero's image is as earthy and concrete as it is legendary.

Our figurative arts of socialist realism, in these 30 years of the epoch of the party, have already formed a new tradition from which every artist can and must learn. To this tradition belongs the work of People's Sculptor Odhise Paskali, who has completed 70 years of his life and 50 years as a sculptor, but who continues to create with youthful energy.

*The sculptor, people's artist  
Odhise Paskali working in his studio.*



## EXHIBITION OF SATIRE IN SCULPTURE

An exhibition by the sculptor Uran Hajdari, showing a new type of sculpture in our country, satire in sculpture, was recently opened in Tirana. Over 160 works, mainly portrait figures and composite groups of such figures, included a wide range of themes, both from before liberation and in the period of building our socialist life, divided into several cycles. An important place in this exhibition is

held by current problems in our country, problems of the struggle against alien influences in the arts and in life, for instance. «The poet aloft», literally up in the sculptured clouds, inspired only by what others write; or the «Composer creating», ignoring the inexhaustible source of the people and straining to listen to alien music on the radio, also «The painter who imitates», etc.

The significant combination of serious sculpture with caricature in sculpture seen in «Hurricane of the people's hatred against the Zog regime» which shows, with artistic mastery, that whole powerful mass of workers and peasants, the men who loved the happiness of the peoples more than anything else, blending into a giant fist smashing the hated Zog regime. An epilogue to this struggle and the final victory over the occupiers was the ridiculous attempt of the «Balli Kombëtar» to reap the fruits of the victory achieved by the partisans. This is materialized in the composition «... Now that the horse has lost its shoes...», a line taken from Sh. Musaraj's satirical poem «The epic of the Balli Kombëtar». Another important composition is the powerful «Reaping the whirlwind», in which Albania, personified as a proud, majestic woman,

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undaunted by the storms of time, shows our enemies the bones they have left on our land, indicating that all who dare to touch even an inch of Albania will meet the same fate. The compositions on electrification, the emancipation of women, vigilance, etc. are also at this level.

All these works are permeated by the idea: The revolution marches on, the new triumphs over the old, the beautiful over the ugly and we defend them, we are soldiers of the people's revolution.

Guided by the teachings of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha about current problems and those of the past, and using the inexhaustible rich culture of our people, especially their proverbs and wise sayings, Uran Hajdari has created penetrating portraits such as that of the slug-a-bed who says: «May the sun never rise», the sarcastic man, the sycophant, the know-all, the empty-headed man, who is a literal example of the proverb 'It is difficult for an empty sack to stand', or the portraits of the toady, the malcontent, the hypocrite, and the narrow minded man who is always repenting of his deeds; this one is titled «You have made your bed, now you must lie on it, what are you complaining about?» There are many others which put their message powerfully across, prompting the viewer to study them with growing interest, think hard, and finally leave, laughing at the ridiculous contintibility of the traits satirized in this gallery of types, the author has skilfully created a set of individual characters which are indelibly printed on one's mind.

All these are permeated by the class tendency, but this tendency is even stronger in the sculptures based on themes from the countryside. The portrait of the landlord is among the best, and those who have known that time instantly recognize this old-fashioned, mouldy-minded man who wantonly exploited the peasants. The sculpture on land reform is particularly interesting artistically; the kulak, the overseer and the landlord are shown as stakes in a fence which is being knocked down by the reform.

The sculptor's satirical edge attacks the «fathers of the nation» just as sharply. Uran Hajdari has created vivid pictures of those who, posing as the saviours of the Fatherland, grew fat at the expense of the people. In their portraits you see only shortsightedness, just as the whole system they served was shortsighted. This group includes portraits of the mercenaries

and ministers with a great reputation, led by King Zog». The ridiculous, anachronistic despotism which characterized the bandit king, can be seen in every line of the sculpture portraying him.

Modern Albanian artists have always been interested in showing up religion, the fitting servant of the reactionary regimes. Uran Hajdari, too, has some works on this theme which must be mentioned for their expressive force. The portrait of the priest who «preaches peace and instigates war» is distinguished for his hypocritical solemnity. Then there is the jesuit, the foxy cleric who has always been the enemy of the people.

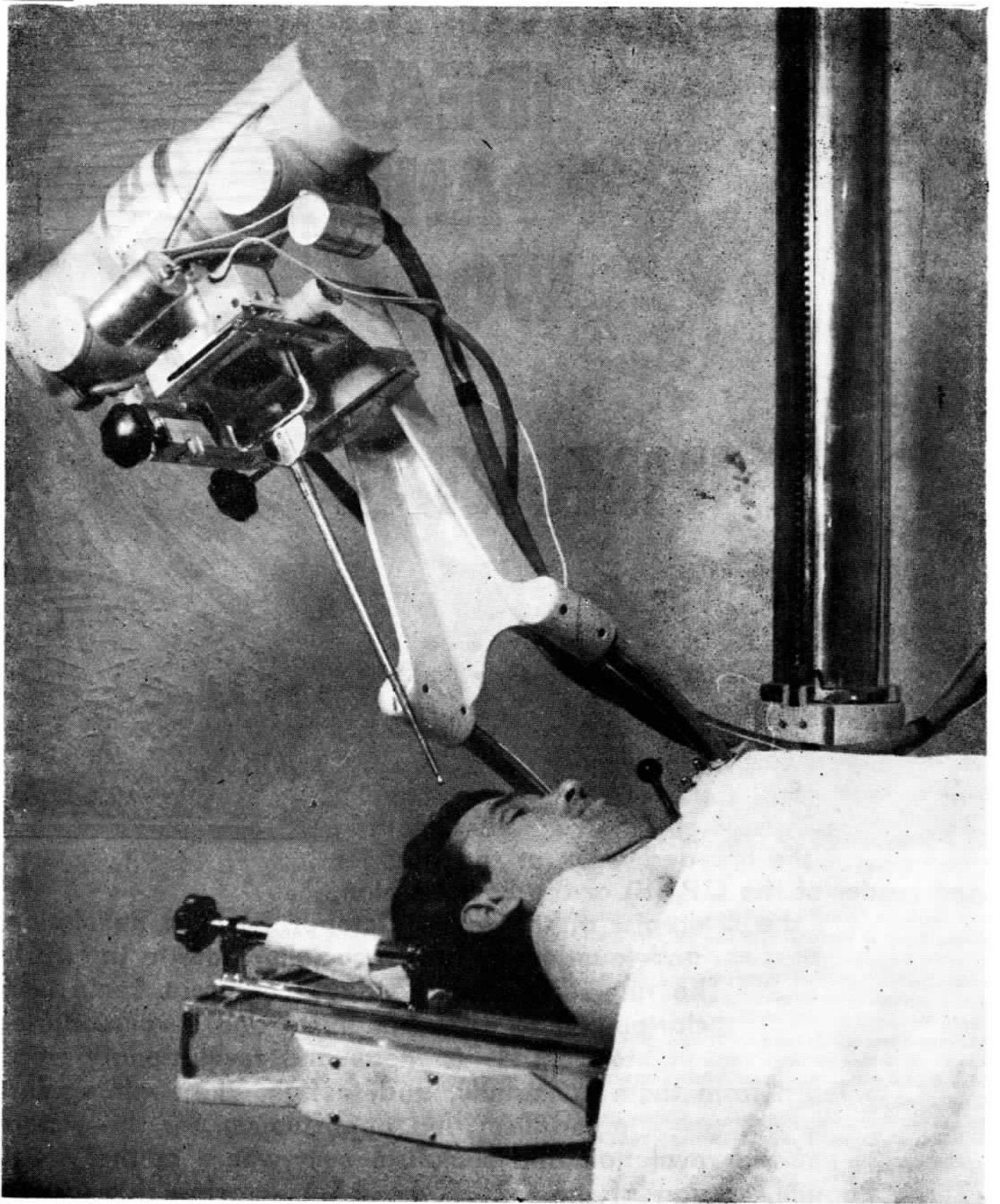
Uran Hajdari's work becomes clearer, stronger and more piercing because artistic thought has found the right artistic form. For instance, there are the group portraits of conservatives, indifferent men and liberals who together form a «trio» which the entire people is fighting.

We find a significant artistic solution in the sculptures entitled, «The shake in the grass», «The rubbish tin of history» and «The bootlicker».

Uran Hajdari's work is characterised by the way it deals with acute social problems, for example in «gossip-mangerers», «False friendship», «The Pedant» and one of his best works of this kind, the «Nepotist», who divides people into «sheep» and «goats».

The principal merit of this exhibition does not lie only in its original form but also in its great ideological and aesthetic value. It embodies precisely what comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party: «For us Marxist-Leninists, the new is that which serves the destruction of everything obsolete, retrogressive, and reactionary, everything alien to our society and ideology, and that which affirms everything progressive and revolutionary».

*In Albania  
a great care is devoted  
to the health of man. A free  
health service for all the working  
people of the town and country  
has been ensured by special law.  
Hospitals and specialized clinics  
are equipped with skilled medical  
cadres and modern means which help  
in diagnosing and combating diseases.*



# **LENIN'S IDEAS AND WORK ARE IMMORTAL**



**On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the death of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, many activities in our country marked the life and work of the founder and leader of the C.P. (B) of the Soviet Union,**

**the strategist of the great October Socialist Revolution, and founder of the first socialist state in the world**

**The anniversary of the death of great Lenin is a clarion-call to all communists and revolutionaries to defend his ideas and revolutionary work,**

**to learn from them constantly, and to fight like Lenin against imperialism and opportunism, for the victory of the revolution and socialism everywhere in the world.**

**«Zëri i Popullit», organ of the CC of the P.L.A., carried this article**



V. I. LENIN

*Black and white by painter, Lumturi Dhrani.*

FIFTY YEARS HAVE PASSED SINCE THE DEATH, ON JANUARY 21, 1924, OF VLADIMIR ILYICH LENIN, THE GENIUS WHO SUCCEEDED MARX AND ENGELS, AND CONTINUED THEIR REVOLUTIONARY WORK, THE STRATEGIST OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, THE FOUNDER OF THE FIRST SOCIALIST STATE IN THE WORLD, THE TEACHER AND LEADER OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT, AND OF ALL THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD.

LENIN'S NAME, IDEAS AND WORK ARE INVOLVED WITH THE ENTIRE HISTORY OF OUR CENTURY, AND WITH ALL THE RADICAL TURNING POINTS IN THE DESTINY OF MANKIND, AS WELL AS THE GREAT, WORLD-WIDE CLASS BATTLES WHICH PAVED THE WAY TO A NEW EPOCH - THE EPOCH OF THE COLLAPSE OF CAPITALISM AND OF THE TRIUMPH OF SOCIALISM.

THE MORE TIME PASSES, THE MORE MAGNIFICENT LENIN'S IMAGE APPEARS AND THE MORE VITAL AND RELEVANT HIS IDEAS AND WORK BECOME.

THE VITALITY OF LENINISM SMASHES ALL THE ATTACKS OF HIS ENEMIES, FROM OPEN IDEOLOGISTS OF ANTI-COMMUNISM TO RENEGADES AND RE-

visionists of all hues. Leninism and the revolutionary work of Lenin cannot be conquered by violence, treachery or demagogy; they are alive and triumphant in China and in Albania, in the crucible of the class and liberation struggles of the working class and the peoples throughout the world and, in the revolutionary activity of the Marxist-Leninist parties which faithfully adhere to Leninism and fight for its defence and victory in struggle against modern revisionists.

A fierce ideological struggle, which is essentially over the future of social development and how to realize it, is being

waged in our times. The ideologists of the bourgeoisie, and the modern revisionists, too, are seeking to prove, overtly or covertly, that the teachings of Marxism-Leninism have become obsolete, that they no longer fit current conditions, and that the world is developing along lines contrary to those envisaged by Marx and Lenin.

Just as after the death of Marx and Engels, so after the death of Lenin and Stalin, a great historic task faced the proletarian revolutionaries – that of defending the revolutionary doctrine of the proletariat from the attacks of its enemies, exposing the treachery of the modern revisionists, with the Soviet modern revisionists at the head, and confirming the historical law that the destruction of capitalism and imperialism and the triumph of socialism and communism are inevitable, and that the only correct way to achieve victory is that indicated by Marx and Lenin.

Lenin has the great historic merit of having made a profound analysis of the new stage in the development of capitalism – imperialism. Experience has fully confirmed the correctness of this analysis and of the revolutionary conclusions Lenin drew from it. The new phenomena which have appeared in the capitalist world have not changed the exploiting essence of the capitalist order, the class nature of the present bourgeois state, or the contradictions internally and externally corroding the capitalist system. It is only the modern revisionists, speculating on these phenomena, who try to refute the principle of Marxism-Leninism, to deny the class struggle, the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and replace them by their anti-Marxist concepts of class collaboration and peaceful co-existence, and by reforms within the capitalist order, which aim at perpetuating it.

Reality today in the capitalist world is a new confirmation of the immortal ideas of Leninism. The general crisis of capitalism, with all its consequences, is deepening steadily. The capitalist countries are in the iron grip of the monetary and financial crisis to which the energy crisis is now added, shaking the world capitalist economy to its foundations. On this basis, both internal social contradictions and external interstate contradictions have been further aggravated, divisions in the imperialist economic-military alliances are

deepening, and the conflict with the underdeveloped or developing countries of the third world is sharpening.

A new revolutionary situation is being created in the world. The waves of the struggle of the working class against capitalist oppression and exploitation, against the consequences of the economic crisis – the high cost of living, inflation, and unemployment – are rising fast. There is tremendous growth in the liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and reaction, old and new colonialism, for the defence of freedom and national sovereignty, for the democratic, independent development of their countries, and for social progress. The resistance and struggle of the working people of the Soviet Union and other countries against the fascist domination of the revisionist cliques in power is also on the increase.

The revolutionary struggle is exposing all the pacifist and reformist theorisations and preachings of the Khrushchevite modern revisionists, who have everywhere become the servants of the bourgeoisie and saboteurs of the revolution. The working class and the people are becoming ever more convinced that the only way to liberation is the road of revolution shown by Leninism. The peaceful road advocated by the Khrushchevite modern revisionists does not lead the revolution to victory, but in fact paves the way to savage counterrevolution which bloodily suppresses the revolution. The example of Chile is further vivid evidence, showing how dearly the people of that country paid for the pacifist illusions of the modern revisionists. Heavy failures and defeats have also been suffered by the theories and practices of the other pseudo-revolutionary elements who, although appearing to have leftist slogans, in fact cause great damage to the revolution.

There is more current relevance than ever in Lenin's words: «One of the indispensable conditions in preparing the proletariat to win victory is the protracted, determined and merciless struggle against opportunism, reformism, social-chauvinism and all bourgeois influences and trends of this kind, which are inevitable as long as the proletariat is acting in the conditions of capitalism. Without this struggle, without a complete preliminary victory over opportunism in the



labour movement, we cannot begin to talk about the dictatorship of the proletariat» (V.I. Lenin, complete works, Russian edition, vol. 40 p. 24).

Under the present conditions, the world revolution cannot proceed successfully without a determined struggle against U.S. - led imperialism, and revisionism, with Soviet social imperialism at the head. These are the two greatest, most savage and most cunning enemies of the revolution and socialism. The stand taken towards U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism has today become the touchstone for all political forces.

Despite the heavy blows it has been dealt and the defeats it has suffered, U.S. imperialism remains the principal enemy of all the peoples, the greatest oppressor and exploiter of other countries, the international gendarme that has undertaken the defence of the rotten capitalist system. Not only is Lenin's characterization of U.S. imperialism today more valid than ever but the aggressive, oppressive and exploiting characteristics of U.S. imperialism have become more prominent. In Indochina or the Middle East, in Africa or Latin America, wherever aggressions have broken out and plots have been organized, the hand of U.S. imperialism can be discerned. It brandishes arms, it threatens war, it undermines the freedom and independence of the peoples, it brutally interferes in the internal affairs of other countries, it carries out a neo-colonialist policy, and it strives to establish its world domination. The new soviet imperialism has today become another enemy, no less dangerous than U.S. imperialism. What Lenin had stressed with regard to the opportunistic chieftains of the parties of the second International, who became social chauvinists and social imperialists, happened with the soviet revisionists. The internal political course the revisionists took to restore capitalism could not help leading, in a country as large as the Soviet Union, to the revival of the great-Russian foreign policy of the old Kremlin czars.

The only thing that distinguishes Soviet social imperialism from U.S. imperialism is that the latter tries to disguise its policy with the so-called ideals of the «free world», while the Moscow chieftains try to do this with the name and the ideas of Lenin. This is the gravest insult the revisionists have offered to the conscience

of the Soviet people and all world revolutionaries the most hateful demagoguery and cynicism of the revisionists are expressed in this. But they will not be able to hide the great truth that revisionism and social imperialism have nothing in common with Leninism, and are in eternal enmity with it. As a consistent internationalist and revolutionary, Lenin was a mighty fighter against great-power chauvinism, and against any form of oppression or enslavement of the peoples. He will always be the great standard-bearer of the freedom and independence of the peoples, national equality, and equal rights for all states, whether large or small.

Leninism is the doctrine that lights the way for the proletariat and the peoples, showing them not only how to destroy the old world, but also to set, up the new world on its ruins. Under Lenin's leadership, socialism was transformed from a scientific theory into a living reality. He worked out the concrete plan for the construction of the socialist society, and defined the general lines of the road of development towards communism. All the victories of socialism have been achieved on the theoretical Marxist basis which Lenin substantiated and developed. «Socialist» theories and practices which do not rest on this scientific basis have nothing in common with real socialism.

The «socialism» the Khrushchevite revisionists talk about is only a mask to disguise its complete degeneration into a bourgeois order, in which power does not lie with the working class and the dictatorship of the proletariat, but rather with the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie, which exerts its savage dictatorship; the means of production are used by the state, as a collective capitalist, to exploit the working masses, and bourgeois ideology, despite its consequences, has become the dominant ideology.

Economic difficulties, accompanied by price rises, unemployment, inflation, fierce social and political conflicts and national disputes, dissolution and moral degeneration, corruption and criminality, have become massive phenomena in national life in the countries where the revisionists are in power.

The revisionists are trying to present all this great treachery as a «continuation of the road followed by Lenin», and as «consistent implementation of Lenin's teachings» against «Stalinist deformations».

In fact, the attacks of the modern revisionists against Stalin are attacks against Leninism, because Stalin, during his whole revolutionary life, defended, developed and implemented Leninism. Experience has clearly showed that the trend which emerged under the banner of the struggle against Stalinism was in fact a regressive, counterrevolutionary trend, which destroyed Marxism-Leninism and the cause of socialism.

The regression of the Soviet Union and of some other formerly socialist countries does not in the least prove the failure of Marxism-Leninism and socialism, as the bourgeois ideologists are trying to make out; it merely shows what happens when the teachings of Marxism-Leninism are abandoned and the principles of socialism are given up. Hence the conclusion, which is confirmed by the practice of socialist China and socialist Albania, that this danger is completely avoidable if the communist party remains loyal to revolutionary principles, follows a correct line, adheres firmly to class policy and the class struggle, and every measure to bar the way to bourgeois degeneration.

Lenin considered overthrowing the bourgeoisie and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat to be not the end, but the beginning, of the socialist revolution, which continues throughout the entire historic period of the transition from capitalism to communism. Until this transition takes place, he stressed, the class struggle continues, with the aim of securing the complete and definite victory of the socialist road over the capitalist road of development. The main weapon in this struggle is the communist party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, which will exist as such for as long as the class struggle continues inside the country and on an international scale.

The preachings of the revisionists about the extinction of class struggle under socialism, and the transformation of the communist party and the socialist state into a «party and state of the entire people», are not only a flagrant deviation from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, but also a great deception, because in fact they continue the class struggle, but from another position, i.e. from the position of the bourgeoisie and in its interest; their state is not a state of the entire people, because such a state cannot exist, but a new dictatorship against the people, while

their party has nothing communist about it, and serves only as a mask to deceive the communists and the people.

Uncovering the ideological beginnings of opportunism in the labour movement, Lenin stressed that these are rooted in advocating economism and spontaneity. The modern revisionists have absolutised the role of the objective factor, the conditions of material life, the development of the productive forces, the economy, science and technology; thus they have in fact slid into a variant of vulgar materialism, that is economism and technocratism. It is vital to substantiate the role and importance of incessantly strengthening the party and socialist state, placing politics and proletarian ideology in command, educating and tempering the new man, and establishing correct relations between the leaders, the class and the masses; these are decisive factors in the success of the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

Lenin's ideas are the most powerful weapon of the struggle of the working class and oppressed peoples, all over the world, for national liberation and social progress. There is no question of revolutionary practice on which Lenin has failed to give his scientific Marxist opinion. His contribution to Marxist doctrine is such that it is rightfully called Marxism-Leninism. The correctness and life-giving force of Leninism have been confirmed by world revolutionary practice, and also by the example of our country. Our entire revolutionary road, with all the magnificent deeds of our party and people, bears the seal of Leninism, and stands witness to its great transforming and creative force.

The great merit of the Party of Labour of Albania and its beloved leader, comrade Enver Hoxha, is that they have always resolutely abided by the immortal ideas of Marxism-Leninism; they have defended them with courage, and a high sense of principle, from all their enemies, particularly from the modern revisionists, and have implemented them creatively. It is precisely because they have defended and implemented Leninism that our party and people have successfully coped with the many difficulties caused by the backwardness inherited from the past, and by our internal and external enemies, the imperialists and their tools, the modern revisionists, and have always emerged victorious

over them. On this basis, we have achieved all those great victories in developing the national economy and culture, strengthening and democratizing the people's power, deepening the ideological and cultural revolution, raising the well-being of the people and increasing the defence capacity of the country.

In this struggle, the Party of Labour of Albania has amassed a wealth of experience, and has made a contribution of great value, not only to defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism, but also to developing it further. The precepts of the party and comrade Enver Hoxha on the revolutionarisation of the country's life, and their implementation in our revolutionary practice, are a new contribution to the great cause of barring the road to the emergence of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism, of ensuring the onward march of the revolution and socialist construction.

These lessons have made the Albanian people stronger and more invincible; they have created an unprecedented revolutionary spirit and a firm confidence in the brilliant future of socialism in Albania. This revolutionary atmosphere was raised to a new, ever higher level by comrade Enver Hoxha's speeches last year, and by the documents of the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, which constitute a great long-term programme of work and struggle, to carry out the important tasks we are faced with in the struggle against all the manifestations of alien ideologies and liberal stands towards them.

In commemorating the 50th anniversary of Lenin's death the communists and all the working people of socialist Albania, are proud of the Leninist road they have traversed, and the magnificent victories they have achieved, under the banner of Leninism; with still greater confidence in Lenin's immortal ideas, they march onward for the complete construction of socialism.

The anniversary of great Lenin's death is a clarion-call to all the communists and revolutionaries of the world, to defend his revolutionary ideas and work, to learn from them, and to fight, as Lenin did, against imperialism and opportunism, for the victory of the revolution and socialism everywhere in the world.

«ZËRI I POPULLIT», January 20, 1974

# **A MEETING AGAINST REVOLUTION AND COMMUNISM**

**Press reports indicate  
that the Soviet  
leaders have initiated  
a feverish campaign  
to convene a new**

**world conference of the revisionist parties. Its initiators say  
that this assembly will aim to develop the programme  
of the Moscow meeting of 1969 and to «strengthen  
ideological unity in the communist ranks».**

The meeting the Soviet revisionists want to organize, as a meeting of anti-Marxists, has the aim of further deepening the counterrevolutionary line of modern revisionism. Through this conference the Kremlin chieftains want to disguise their betrayal under false theses and slogans and to strengthen the counterrevolutionary front led by the Soviet revisionists.

But the fundamental aim urging the leaders of the Soviet Union to set to work, in order to summon a new assembly of all the world revisionists, has been and remains the mobilization of all the revisionist forces on as wide a scale as possible against People's China and Albania, which determinedly defend Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian

internationalism. They want in particular at the meeting to condemn the Communist Party of China, alleging that it has betrayed Marxism-Leninism and diverged from the road of revolution and the building of socialism, and other such nonsense.

This objective is also clear from the fact that the Soviet propaganda and that of its revisionist satellites has, currently concentrated on these two socialist countries and their Marxist-Leninist parties. A particularly hateful campaign has been going on recently against the P.R. of China, the Communist Party of China and their leaders, and against the correct theses and principled stands defended by the Chinese communists. The Soviet revisionists want the «condemnation» of

China and Albania to hide their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, to divert the attention of public opinion from the economic difficulties and crises that have gripped them, to hide their sabotaging of the cause of the revolution and socialism, to camouflage the entirely reactionary and very dangerous nature of the Soviet-US collaboration and to create an axis round which they can organize the confused ranks of the revisionist parties.

Another testimony to these aims of the Soviet chieftains is the meeting of the representatives of the revisionist parties which they called some time ago in Prague, allegedly to discuss the problems of a theoretical review they publish in the Czechoslovak capital. In reality, this «edi-

torial» mask conceals the aim of attacking and «condemning» China and preparing the ground for this to become even more forceful at their future general meeting.

This meeting closely resembles that at Bucharest in 1960, when, through his sudden attack on the Communist Party of China, Khrushchev wanted to pave the way for his anti-Leninist and counterrevolutionary line, and to subjugate the entire communist movement to his dictate. But this scheme, planned with great cunning, failed shamefully, and special merit in this is due to the Party of Labour of Albania, which fought determinedly, courageously defended the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the Communist Party of China, and thus sabotaged the Khrushchevite plans. The treachery of the Soviet leaders was revealed especially at the general Moscow meeting in 1960, and from then on they ceased to be communists. A powerful demarcation line was drawn once and for all between them and the genuine revolutionaries.

They were unsuccessful then; now too, the Moscow revisionist chieftains will be unable to achieve their aims. Whatever slanders they invent, whatever farces they organize and whatever manoeuvres they use, they will never be able to smear in the least the authority and prestige the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania enjoy among the revolutionaries and peoples all over the world.

The time that has elapsed since 1960 to this day has fully proved that the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania stand firmly in a Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary position, while the Khrushchevite revisionists are not Marxist-Leninist, but counterrevolutionaries, traitors to communism. They have retained only the name of «communist», which they use to mask their anti-communist activity, and to deceive the members of their parties and the working masses.

The Khrushchevite chieftains of the Soviet Union began their struggle against Marxism-Leninism and communism, as well as the struggle against the genuine revolutionary parties after Stalin's death. As a result of an incessant regressive process, as a result of the imposition of revisionist views, theses and theories, the expulsion of a great number of old revolutionary party members, and the filling of the

party ranks with wavering elements, careerists, bureaucrats and technocrats, as a result of the rejection of Leninist norms, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has degenerated into an instrument of domination and subjugation of the working people by the bureaucratic-revisionist caste in power.

The Khrushchevite treachery also liquidated the dictatorship of the proletariat, the state power that had emerged from the October Revolution. Its place has been occupied by the so-called «state of the entire people», which represents the dictatorship of the new Soviet bourgeoisie.

The revisionist economic reforms during these years opened all the doors to the operation of capitalist laws in production, in labour relations, and among the people. Making profit the fundamental aim of production, and transforming this into the fundamental motive force of the entire economy, shattered all its socialist structures.

U.S. capital and that of the other big capitalist countries has begun to flow into all sectors of the Soviet economy. The doors of Siberia and those of other regions have been opened to the investments of the U.S. monopolies which hope not only to draw large profits from these enterprises, but also to incite and consolidate the restoration of capitalism.

The restoration of capitalism also led to all the chronic diseases of the bourgeois system, that whole grave situation of crisis and social conflicts.

The bourgeois ideology and culture have replaced socialist ideology and culture everywhere in the Soviet Union. The norms and morality the Soviet men and women are taught are similar to the norms and morality of the capitalist world.

Lenin's and Stalin's work for the solution of the national question was shattered to its foundations. Revived great-Russian chauvinism has unsheathed its sword, and the Soviet Union has again been transformed into a prison of nations, in the time of czarist Russia.

In order to hide all this great treachery, the Soviet revisionist chieftains are trying in vain to profit from the fact that Lenin was born in Russia, and that he was a great Russian bolshevik, in order to pose as Leninists, to call themselves the direct heirs of Lenin and of the other bolsheviks. Certainly, Lenin was Russian, just as Marx and Engels were Germans. But the claim

of the Moscow revisionists that they are Leninists merely because Lenin was a Russian, is an absurdity, as is their other claim that their party is Leninist because Russia was the fatherland of Leninism and the October revolution. Lenin and Leninism have been abandoned in the Soviet Union, and trampled under foot by the Soviet revisionists. The Soviet Union, is no longer a hearth of world revolution; hearths of revolution now are those countries and parties where socialism is really being built, where Leninism is defended in reality and where they are fighting for the triumph of Lenin's ideas. It is a great tragedy, but it is a fact, that the present-day Soviet Union has been transformed into a counterrevolutionary centre, into a social-imperialist country, which implements an expansionist and chauvinistic policy, fighting revolution and sabotaging the liberation struggles of the peoples.

Since the 20th Congress, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other revisionist parties which follow it have gone far along the road of betrayal and have been completely transformed into social democratic parties of the type of the second International, against which Lenin fought. It was precisely against those parties that he began the struggle for the creation of genuine revolutionary communist parties, which led to the enlivening of the entire world revolution. It was precisely Lenin's principled and powerful polemics against the opportunism and treachery of those parties that raised to a new and higher level the revolutionary theory of the working class, and equipped the new world communist movement with a powerful weapon to fight and win against social-democratic revisionism. As once the social-democratic parties were united with the bourgeoisie and the capitalists against the October Revolution, the Soviet Union and communism, so today the revisionist parties have joined the social imperialists and the bourgeoisie against China, Albania and communism.

The final departure of the revisionist parties from Marxism-Leninism is very evident in the political line, as well as in the organisational line. All of them, without exception, have completely abandoned the theoretical principles and Leninist norms of the party. There is nothing Leninist about the functioning of the

grass-root organisations; their roots have no soil.

For instance, the Italian Communist Party, which has been transformed into an amorphous organization, which anyone who likes may enter or leave and in which no control and discipline exist, long ago ceased to teach its members Marxism-Leninism. The membership in that party has no stability whatever. With the change of membership cards every year, tens of thousands become new members, and as many leave it. Like the Soviet revisionists themselves, it has embraced anti-Marxist theses such as Khrushchevite peaceful coexistence, the peaceful parliamentary road, etc., which constitute the most typical distortion of Lenin's teachings, irrespective of the fact that the revisionists peddle those theses as Leninist.

The Italian revisionists long ago declared that they are prepared to unite with all the bourgeois parties, even with the Christian-Democrats, who represent the big monopoly capitalists of present-day Italy, allegedly in order to achieve socialism and to build it together with them. Relying on the present Italian bourgeois constitution and advertising it as if its implementation is the climax of the wishes and aspirations of the working masses, they are preparing to enter the government and sit down on the same benches as the capitalists and monopolists. They have eliminated every class boundary with the bourgeoisie and are not at all ashamed to present their great betrayal of revolution and the working class as a «new development» of Marxism.

The Italian revisionist leadership has now come out with the proposal of achieving a greater alliance and collaboration in all fields with the Christian-Democrat Party. This new orientation, which it calls an «historic compromise», is in fact a shameful capitulation to the bourgeoisie, a base abandonment of the class interests of the proletariat, and a grave betrayal which so far no revisionist party had the courage to ask for and to accept publicly. It is not an «historic compromise» but an historic betrayal, for which the Italian proletariat will never forgive them.

Some days ago the general secretary of the Italian revisionist party reiterated the already old call for the creation of a «democratic, independent and pacifist Western Europe, which will be neither anti-Soviet

nor anti-American». The Western Europe proposed by Berlinguer is the Europe desired by the most ardent social-democrats and Atlantists, the industrialists and international monopolies, which are now making the law in Western Europe. The Berlinguer «plan» is another betrayal, a new blow at the revolutionary movement of the working class and the working masses, and at the struggle of the European peoples against the hegemonistic interference and policies of the two superpowers in Europe.

The French Communist Party, after the 20th Congress of the CPSU, at the beginning wavered about Khrushchev's theses and Togliatti's views. But later, it gave in and became the ardent defender of the theses and acts of the Soviet revisionists. Now nothing communist remains in the French party. Its members have only a «communist» card and the task of selling «l'Humanité», although this is mainly sold in the kiosks of the bourgeois press. Its grass-root organisations, just as in the other revisionist parties in the West, meet with difficulty and very rarely, and all real organisational life has been eliminated.

This grave situation, these great deformations and divergencies from the Marxist-Leninist road, which are typical of all the revisionist parties, were caused by the treachery of the Khrushchevites, by the imposing of the opportunist line of the 20th Congress, and the obligation to follow the policy and diplomatic manoeuvres of the Soviet leadership.

The Soviet revisionists ended up on the road of Yugoslav revisionism which destroyed the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and opened the doors to the opportunists and agents of every hue. It liquidated the leading and guiding role of the party in the country's life and transformed it into an organism with propaganda and cultural functions. Now the Yugoslav revisionists are trying in vain to return to the old norms and to increase the party's role and prestige. This is impossible in the existing conditions in Yugoslavia and their effort will remain only a sham attempt to «return» to the past, and a testimony to the impossibility of establishing order in the revisionist ideological chaos.

The Soviet revisionists, too, can never return to the positions and norms of a Marxist-Leninist party. Certainly one day,

and we are sure of this, it will happen that a genuine Leninist party will come to the head, but this will be done by the revolutionaries and the proletarians, after they have wiped out the revisionist clique ruling in the Soviet Union today.

The Moscow revisionist chieftains and all their running dogs fear this revolutionary overthrow, which is why they hurry to hold meetings and conferences so as to present themselves as «communists» and «Leninists», and to condemn China, Albania and the parties which are loyal to Marxism-Leninism and defend it.

Contrary to the miserable situation in the revisionist parties, with the degeneration and decline that have occurred in the whole life of their countries, an entirely different situation exists in our party and country. This great contrast helps everyone to see and understand better the alienation and the insurmountable gap which has opened between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, to see how high a genuine revolutionary party stands and how low a party which has turned its back on revolution and socialism has fallen.

The road of the Party of Labour of Albania is a correct Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary road. Our party has implemented faithfully and consistently the Leninist principles and norms of the construction, functioning and the entire activity of the party, it preserves intact and strengthens its leading role in the entire life of the country, it continually strengthens the dictatorship of the proletariat and the ties with the masses, and stands loyal to the end to the proletarian ideology. This strict implementation of Leninist principles and norms has served to create the sound situation and high revolutionary spirit which prevails in Albania today, to achieve great victories in socialist construction, and to transform our country into a fortress of socialism and an unyielding bulwark of Marxism-Leninism.

The great Communist Party of China loyally and consistently implements the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism. It eliminated two dangerous agencies of the Soviet revisionists – the Liu Shao Chi clique and that of Lin Piao. This brilliant victory of the Chinese people and the Communist Party of China, of the revolutionary line of the outstanding Marxist-

Leninist, comrade Mao Tse tung, consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat, opened brilliant prospects to socialist development in People's China, dealt a powerful blow to revisionism and international reaction, and strengthened the general cause of the world revolution.

In order to attack China in particular, the Kremlin's juggling propagandists forge all kinds of arguments, alleging that it is destroying the «unity» of the world communist and anti-imperialist movement, that it is not pacifist like they are, etc.

The Kremlin chieftains accuse China of being an aggressor because it is arming itself, and strengthening its defence capacity. However, not only China and Albania, but all the revolutionary peoples and countries have a full and sovereign right to arm and strengthen their defence, because the Soviet renegade clique is as dangerous as U.S. imperialism; China, Albania or the other peace-loving countries, by strengthening their defence, are not against real peace, as the leaders of the Soviet Union accuse them of being, but against aggressive imperialism and social imperialism, enemies of the peoples and peace.

The Soviet revisionists slander the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania and accuse them of allegedly being against Marxism-Leninism. Are we against Marxism-Leninism because we maintain diplomatic relations with many countries of Europe and the world? Or is China against Marxism-Leninism because it has established relations and maintains ties with many different countries on all continents? China and Albania are acting in a correct, revolutionary way. It is the Soviet revisionists who have tied themselves hand and foot to U.S. imperialism and all the world reactionary bourgeoisie, who have eliminated every distinction between social classes and systems, who, in alliance and rivalry with U.S. imperialism, want to establish their domination over the world. It is the Kremlin chieftains and their running dogs who are playing the role of servants of the bourgeoisie, of stranglers of the revolution and the liberation struggles of the peoples.

The Soviet revisionists are trying to present themselves as powerful and united, but they are rotten and divided, from their leadership down to the grass-roots level. And it cannot be otherwise. Being traitors, they cannot have unity. The

existence of various trends, tendencies and groups which quarrel with one another is inevitable; it is absolute. This division and this struggle are also expressed among the people, as happens in the bourgeois countries. The only difference is that in the Soviet Union no noisy changes are made, as is the case in the classic bourgeois countries, where governments are changed successively. They have an ace they still make use of – they deceive the people in the name of bolshevism. But how long can they go on like this? No one can go far with lies and demagogy, and the day when this «weapon» also fails will not be far off.

The Soviet revisionist leaders cannot arouse the various cliques which will go to their meeting to oppose the P.R. of China in the way they want them to, because if those cliques join them in condemning China they will surely find themselves facing the severe opposition of rank-and-file party members, and particularly of their workers and people. This would mean destruction for them and they all feel this.

Now it has been clearly proved that the revisionist attacks against the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania are turning against the authors themselves and becoming a reason for their further exposure and isolation. The practice of recent years has shown that the more the Soviet revisionists deepen their anti-China and anti-Albania campaign, the more their treachery towards Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is revealed, the more the aggressive character of their imperialist policy comes to the fore, and the more they are exposed as extinguishers of the revolution and the liberation struggles of the peoples.

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The initiative undertaken by Moscow to call a meeting of the revisionist parties is directly connected with Brezhnev's allegedly new foreign policy, and with the urgent need of the Moscow chieftains to mobilize the world revisionist movement and institutions dependent on it in support of this policy, in order to approve its social-imperialist platform.

In this new period of the intensification of rivalry and collaboration with the U.S.A., when the Soviet Union is imple-

menting a global strategy of political, economic and military expansion, when it is entering the stage of aggressive neo-colonialism, and particularly in the present stage of the aggravation of the crisis of the imperialist-revisionist system, the Soviet leaders have a great need to establish order and discipline in the degenerated revisionist parties, to strengthen their hegemony, and to ensure maximum support from all those political forces and groups which still dance to the Kremlin's tune. The Soviet Union's present foreign policy needs to be presented to internal and external public opinion as a «line coordinated and approved by all the sister parties and fraternal countries», as a «general line of world communism». This support would serve to give great weight to Brezhnev's previous and coming initiatives in the international field.

This happened too in 1969, when the revisionist parties were last summoned. In order to justify the aggression against Czechoslovakia, which they had launched a year earlier, the Soviet leaders needed then, besides the re-establishment of order after the general disarray August 21 brought about among all their friends, a legalization of their action on the part of the revisionist parties, a more or less open acceptance of the theory of limited sovereignty, and the recognition by the others of Moscow's right to interfere when it likes in the revisionist movement and to make the law in it. For this purpose, they were unsparing with «severe» words against the «U.S. imperialists», and «the German revanchists», who had «attempted» to overthrow socialism in Czechoslovakia, who hatched up «intrigues», «plans» and made «attempts» to gain entry to the other fraternal countries, etc.

But now the Moscow conductor is following a new score and the revisionist chorus must sing about the Brezhnev policy of so-called détente, Soviet-U.S., and Soviet-German rapprochement, European and Asian security, Soviet «aid» to the Middle East, and the so-called peace programme of the 24th Congress of the CPSU. Not only will they demand from the new revisionist meeting a free hand for Brezhnev concerning the superpower policy the Soviet Union follows today, but they also want to give this policy an ideological basis, to paint it as «communist», and give it the label of a creative application of Marxism under the new conditions of world development.

The Soviets will ask their revisionist partners to applaud the recent Soviet-U.S. agreements and accept the policy of equilibrium followed by the two superpowers. The Soviet Union wants to legalize and gain international acceptance for Article 4 of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on atomic weapons signed by Brezhnev and Nixon, through which the two superpowers grant themselves the right to interfere anywhere and at any time they judge that their hegemonistic interests are impaired. The Soviet Union wants to legalize the practice which has now been tested, on the occasion of the recent Middle East events, where the Soviet Union and the US alone discuss great problems and present the world with accomplished facts.

In the framework of the so-called «line of détente», the Soviet Union has undertaken a series of actions, aiming at ensuring its spheres of influence and further extending Soviet revisionist expansion.

Now the Soviet revisionists have begun to implement large scale plan for penetration and expansion in the Middle East. They are working to seize and extend as much as possible political, economic and military positions in that region. They are making great efforts to restore the «no war no peace situation», which is the basis on which the hegemony of the two superpowers rests. There is no doubt that they will demand that the revisionist parties support their diplomatic manoeuvres, follow in the wake of the Soviet adventures in the Middle East, and join them to sabotage the liberation struggle of the Arab peoples and to undermine the international solidarity and support of other peoples.

The Kremlin chieftains will particularly demand that the coming revisionist meeting give its blessing to the Soviet-German rapprochement and call the sacrifice of the national interests of the East Germans, Poles and Czechoslovaks «merited sacrifices for the strengthening of peace in Europe». They will demand that it launch pacifist slogans to calm the great concern aroused by the new Soviet-German imperialist alliance among the peoples of our continent, and to lull the European working masses with the poisonous illusion that there is no longer any German militarism, that revanchism no longer exists, and that there are no more threats and dangers of aggressive war by Hitler's successors.

Through the revisionist meeting, Brezhnev will seek to reduce the opposition of the European masses towards the policy of the preservation and perpetuation of the spheres of influence being followed by the two superpowers, and to lower their vigilance towards the ever greater strengthening of the aggressive NATO and Warsaw pacts, towards the joint Soviet-U.S. plans for the subjugation and domination of all the European countries, towards the SALT projects, etc. The Khrushchevite revisionists want to keep the peoples under the domination of the superpowers, so that the big and small countries will submit to the dictate and arrogance of Moscow and Washington.

The stand towards U.S. imperialism, as well as towards Soviet social imperialism, these two greatest enemies of all the peoples, is a fundamental question not only for revolutionaries, but also for every democrat, patriot and progressive in every country. The struggle against these two imperialisms is a sacred struggle for the freedom and independence of all the nations, a struggle to achieve international peace and security.

The Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania, fighting both against US imperialism and against Soviet social imperialism, have become a great, inspiring example for all revolutionaries and fighters for freedom; they have contributed to holding aloft the banner of the anti-imperialist struggle, so as to raise vigilance and increase resistance to the aggressive plans and aims of the two superpowers.

The principled struggle the Communist Party of China, the Party of Labour of Albania, and the other revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist parties wage against Khrushchevite revisionism and the social imperialist line of the present Soviet leaders, tore off and threw down the «communist» masks the Kremlin chieftains tried to put on. The anti-imperialist poses of the Soviet leaders have been exposed, just as their efforts to pose as supporters of the revolutionary and national liberation struggles have suffered defeat.

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At the meeting they are preparing for, just as at other times, the Soviet revisionists will not fail to stress, for internal

and foreign consumption, that Moscow remains «the centre of world communism», that it has the right to decide and lead in what it still calls «the world communist movement», and that everybody should submit to its demands and orders. It will demand centralism and submission on the part of all those who follow it, not only in the field of propaganda and coordination of tactics, but also in the organisational field, in order to attach the parties and groups firmly to the chariot of its foreign policy, and to turn them into its mere agencies.

The aims, hopes, and wishes of the Soviet revisionists in their initiative to summon what they call an «international communist forum», are great, but reality is not very promising for them. On the revisionist front, there does not exist in practice a real international unity and collaboration among the parties. The successive turnabouts of the Soviet leaders, their opportunist manoeuvres with the bourgeoisie of various countries, the secret diplomacy with U.S. imperialism and particularly the extension of the superpower policy on all the continents have brought about a great disorientation in all the revisionist parties. On the other hand, the constant pressure, interference and intrigues being implemented by the Soviet chieftains against the leaderships of these parties have instigated the creation of various revisionist groupings, tendencies and factions fighting among themselves to impose their own policies. But the main thing is that the political and ideological decadence of these parties is the result of their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, the abandoning of the struggle for the socialist ideals of the working class and revolution, and a passive stand of submission to the Soviet chieftains.

A situation full of tension exists, especially in the relations among the Kremlin rulers and the parties of the revisionist countries. The aggression in Czechoslovakia, which was followed by a still greater aggravation of the political, economic and military domination in the other Warsaw treaty member countries, strengthened nationalist inclinations and increased the centrifugal forces. A gloomy atmosphere has now been created in those countries by the Soviet-U.S. agreements which mutually guarantee their respective spheres of influence and enable the Soviet leaders to have their hands free to strangle unceremoniously every attempt by the parties

and governments of the revisionist countries to achieve any kind of independence in running major home and foreign affairs.

The economic and military integration of the satellite countries with the Soviet Union, which is being carried out at the gallop, is also leading to political integration; their parties and governments are being turned into organs of a kind of Soviet local administration, where all independence becomes formal and without content.

The fact is that the revisionist countries, in comparison with the Soviet Union, are remaining an undeveloped region where Soviet neo-colonialism is being implemented with all its monstrous consequences.

Today there exists in all the revisionist countries a perceptible lack of stability both in economic and in political life. This is not characteristic of the Soviet Union alone, but also of Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the other countries the Soviet revisionists keep under their control by means of force, intrigues, pressure and rubles. Everywhere the Soviet revisionists give orders and decide to get rid of those men they no longer need, and replace them with the elements most loyal to Moscow.

If these countries remain bound to the Soviet Union, this is explained by the fact that they are bound by many ties to the Soviet imperialist system. The leaders of the satellite countries hate communism, and hate the Kremlin rulers. They want to divorce themselves from the Soviet revisionists, not because they want to follow the Marxist-Leninist road, but in order to bind themselves to U.S. imperialism.

Now the Moscow chieftains are trying by all means to keep their satellite countries under their strict control, so that nothing moves, so that no step is taken that would impair the Soviet imperialist interests. The Soviet secret police, and numerous Soviet spies and agents, overt and covert, work in those countries as if at home. Above all, the Soviet army has settled down there, with its tanks ready to establish «order» if there is any trouble.

Under these conditions, the various East European revisionist groups do not seem to show any great desire of special readiness to go to the meeting Moscow wants to summon. They know from their own

experience that the leaders of the Soviet Union will ask for unconditional backing for their foreign policy, without taking into consideration that this may place these groups in a very difficult position, causing new losses and failures.

For the revisionist parties in power an «international meeting» means a new order to keep pace with Moscow; it means a fresh tightening of the screws to make them more obedient and manoeuvrable by the Kremlin.

The prospect of this meeting for the revisionist parties of the capitalist countries is no better. Now they are engaged in a close collaboration with their own national bourgeoisies, and are struggling to occupy yet another seat in parliament or to gain posts in the government. At a time when they are trying to prove their loyalty and sincerity to the bourgeoisie, with which they have announced joint platforms and have concluded political pacts, any reference to or connection with «Moscow international communism» is not suitable to their policy, and the struggle they are waging to transform themselves into «national parties» as the bourgeoisies wants.

When or even whether the meeting of the revisionist parties planned by the Soviet leadership will take place is not known yet. But such a meeting, based on the struggle against Marxism-Leninism, and the struggle against the genuine revolutionary parties, such as the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania, a meeting which aims at securing support for the hegemonistic policy of the Soviet social imperialists, is destined to fail from the outset.

The Moscow chieftains want to turn back the wheel of history, but this is impossible. They want, jointly with the US imperialists, to transform the period in which the world is living today, the period of the intensification of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist struggles, of the great efforts of the peoples for national and social liberation, into a period of absolute domination by the superpowers. But the peoples will never allow themselves to be trampled under foot by the imperialists and the social imperialists; they will never allow the dictate and arrogance of the two superpowers to dominate in the world.

Despite the efforts being made by the Moscow rulers to summon their followers

from other countries, the various revisionists are acting cautiously, because it is not in their interest to follow the adventures of the Soviet leaders blindly. In this way, it is not China or Albania that will be isolated, but the Soviet revisionists, and this time no longer by the peoples and the revolutionaries which occurred long ago, but by their friends. The signs are obvious. Obstacles and disagreements have been openly seen at all the international revisionist meetings that have taken place recently.

In the face of this situation and of the defeat revisionism will suffer, changes may occur in the Soviet leadership. But whoever may be eliminated and whichever member of the revisionist clique takes the reins, this changes nothing. Such a change would be only a settling of accounts among the revisionists. What will settle accounts in a correct way will be revolution, the working class of the Soviet Union, and Marxism-Leninism, which will surely triumph. As for the Party of Labour of Albania and all the other Marxist-Leninist parties, the meeting of the revisionist traitors will help these parties to increase and strengthen the revolutionary struggle. Certainly, the Marxist-Leninist movement will assume a new unprecedented upsurge. The meeting of the revisionists, if they succeed in holding it, will once more expose them as anti-Marxists and sworn enemies of communism. With this meeting they will take a new step towards their own liquidation.

History has shown whoever has risen against the peoples, betrayed Marxism-Leninism, and joined imperialism and the enemies of the revolution, has headed for bankruptcy and destruction. The same fate lies in store for the modern revisionists of every hue.

The Party of Labour of Albania, and all the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries, with the Communist Party of China in the fore front, will continue their revolutionary struggle and will forcefully expose all plots and intrigues, including the plot the Soviet revisionists want to hatch at the meeting they are planning. They will fight to mobilize the working masses and all public opinion in the struggle against the treachery of the Soviet-led modern revisionists, and to further promote the cause of socialism and the liberation of the peoples.



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## «THE NEOCOLONIALIST OBJECTIVES OF THE SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISTS TOWARDS LATIN AMERICA»

«ZĚRI I POPULLIT», organ of the C.C. of the P.L.A.

At the present stage of the development of imperialism, the competition with the US to seize the great riches of Latin America has involved the West German, Japanese and other monopoly circles. Emerging in the international arena as an expansionist, neocolonialist and social imperialist power, the Soviet Union is also making every effort to secure for itself a part of the profits which are drawn from the toil and sweat of the Latin American people. Its objectives and forms of economic and political expansion in Latin America do not differ from those of other imperialist powers.

In some Latin American countries power is held by military juntas which act under the dictate of US imperialism. But this did not hinder Brezhnev, in his Alma Ata speech, from describing collaboration with these regimes as one of the most relevant tasks of the international political activity of the Soviet Union. While striving to whitewash the dictatorial regimes in the countries of the Latin American continent, the Moscow revisionists condemn, undermine and sabotage the revolutionary and anti-imperialist movement of the peoples of that area, calling the freedom fighters «irresponsible adventurists», people

who «artificially precipitate the revolutionary process», etc.

The Kremlin chieftains grant political aid to the Latin American dictatorial regimes to help them retain power, with a view to securing neocolonialist privileges. «Each ruble invested must bring in several more rubles» – this is the motto of Moscow's economic relations with the developing countries. Like other imperialists, the Soviet revisionists get great profits from their invested capital, gaining from interest on loans, from unequal exchange and in other ways, plundering large quantities of coffee, cocoa, sugar, rice, vegetable oil, wool, hides, cotton, non-ferrous metals and other products produced with the toil and sweat of the Latin American working people.

The Soviet revisionists are persistent in this economic expansion, despite zigzags and obstacles. In comparison with 1960, the exchange of goods between the Soviet Union and the Latin American countries has more than doubled. For instance the revisionists have granted the dictatorial regime in Brazil about 400.000.000 dollars in credits. For the construction of the «Cappivara» hydropower station on the Parapaneva river, alone, Moscow has invested 32.000.000 dollars.

The Soviet revisionist neocolonialists propose to the US imperialists the creation of joint enterprises so as to emerge jointly in the Latin American markets, and to exploit jointly the working people and riches of that continent. According to the American magazine «Newsweek», they have held talks on this with the US monopoly United Fruit Company, with the Windsor metal corporation, and with other US monopoly companies which suck the blood of the Latin American working people and in fact pull the strings of economic management in most of the Latin American countries.

One field to which the neocolonialist objective of the Soviet revisionists has been extended, is the natural resources of the coastal waters of the Latin American continent. The fish and other wealth of the seas and oceans around the coasts of Latin America have become an object of exploitation and plunder not only by the imperialist maritime powers, such as the US, Japan and Britain, but also by the Soviet Union. It sends numerous vessels and floating factories to catch and process fish in those areas, ignoring the many continuous protests of the Latin American peoples, for some of whom fishing and the exploi-

tation of other marine riches is a vital question. In March last year, the president of Mexico condemned this policy of the neocolonialist powers, including the Soviet Union, pointing out that «the Soviet Union is very similar to the United States and Japan when it is a question of making profits».

In these conditions, many Latin American states have taken defensive measures, not only economic ones, but also security measures, since, disguised as fishing boats, military spy-ships, mainly American and Soviet, hover about the coasts of these countries. Therefore, these measures have met with strong

opposition by the two imperialist superpowers, which are exerting strong pressure on these countries to have them rescinded. Instead of defending marine riches and state sovereignty, the Moscow revisionists demand the opening of the ports of the Latin American countries to Soviet ships, the joint creation of fishing enterprises, etc. Thus, they aim at penetrating as much as possible not only into the ports, but also into this important economic branch of many countries in Latin America.

The peoples of the Latin American countries have a long experience of struggle against foreign imperialist and expansionist

powers. They are in a position to distinguish between friends and enemies. The neocolonialist aims of the Soviet social imperialists and their reliance on renegades and traitors, on the dictatorial regimes in Latin America, show the peoples of that continent that in their liberation struggle they must direct their attacks not only against the US imperialists and their vassals, but also against the Soviet social imperialists. Only in this way can the broad working masses and all the progressive forces of Latin America carry through their struggle for real national independence and social progress.

## ■ «SHAM POSES AND REAL ANTISOCIALISM»

*«DRITA», organ of the Writers' and Artists' Union.*

In the West, a new book was published recently by the Soviet counterrevolutionary writer Solzhenitsyn, entitled «The Gulag Archipelago», and a great deal of fuss is being made about it. As is usual in the practice of the bourgeois propaganda with the publication and the advertisement of reactionary and anti-communist books, Solzhenitsyn's book is being utilized for a new denigrating campaign against communism and revolution. The «Gulag Archipelago» contains base counterrevolutionary material, with hackneyed slanders against socialism and the October Revolution, against the Bol-

sheviks and particularly against the great leaders of the international proletariat, Lenin and Stalin. The agents and traitors (like the author himself) appear as positive figures in this book and are presented as innocent; so do the criminals and deceivers, who are presented as honest; and, finally, the Hitlerites who, with unmatched brazenness, are presented as if they were courteous and humanitarian towards the peoples during the second world war. Of course, one is not surprised by the content of the latest book of counterrevolutionary Solzhenitsyn who is such scum that he

long ago denied socialism and uses stale slanders. Nor is one surprised by the great publicity which the international imperialist bourgeoisie is giving him through its own press and other mass media. What draws attention and is most revolting is the pose the chieftains of Soviet social imperialism are trying to strike before home and world public opinion. They feign to be angry at the publication of the book and allege that it will affect their relations with the capitalist West. This is hypocrisy. On other occasions too the Kremlin leaders have pretended to protest against the publication

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in western countries of the books of Solzhenitsyn and other ultra-reactionary Soviet writers who attacked the socialist system and the Soviet Union in the pre-revisionist period. But these books, written in the Soviet Union, have gone abroad freely one after another, and have been printed in the West. Therefore, the condemnation of Solzhenitsyn's book by some Soviet information organs is an out and out bluff. It is a sham pose seeking to conceal the truth of the anti-socialist nature of the present-day Kremlin clique.

The Soviet revisionists, who persecute and annihilate with fascist savagery every spark of revolutionary revolt and thinking in the Soviet Union, allow these books of Solzhenitsyn to leave the country, allow him and other counterrevolutionaries, like Sakharov, to become an object of publicity, giving interviews right and left to the western press, sending letters to American and French newspapers, appearing on Swedish or West German television, etc. We have to do here with clear encouragement by the Soviet revisionist clique, which is inte-

rested in having loudspeakers of counterrevolution always turned up high. The Kremlin chieftains are doing everything in their power to discredit and slander socialism and the revolution, and at the same time they are striving, together with US imperialism, to suppress socialism and revolution everywhere in the world. It is their enmity towards socialism that urges them to instigate and encourage any attack on the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, such as those undertaken by the counterrevolutionary Solzhenitsyn.

### «THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE WILL ALWAYS SUPPORT THE JUST STRUGGLE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE»

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

At the invitation of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania and of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, a friendship delegation of the Palestinian national liberation movement «Al Fatah», headed by colonel Sa'ad Sayel Abu Walid, member of the Revolutionary Council and of the Military Council, is visiting our country. This is a memorable event and another important contribution to the further strengthening of the friendship binding the Albanian people with the Palestinian people and with the other Arab people.

The friendship delegation of the Palestinian national liberation

movement «Al Fatah» is visiting our country at a time when the situation in the Middle East region is becoming increasingly complicated, when the lawful national rights of the Palestinian people continue to be denied and when, under the guise of «reasonable solutions», the old plots to liquidate the liberation movement of the Palestinian people and their just cause are being reenacted.

But the Palestinian people are a brave and freedom-loving people. They have been under arms for years and, inspired by the lofty ideals of freedom and independence, are struggling to return to their homeland usur-

ped by the Israeli aggressors. The years that have passed, the liquidationist plots and plans concocted by their Zionist, imperialist and revisionist enemies, have not broken their revolutionary spirit, their determination to carry their just national struggle through to the end. On the contrary, in its heat they have tempered themselves, they have gained a greater experience and they have got to know their sham and real friends. In the present situation which is greatly complicated by the anti-Arab policy of the two superpowers, the Palestinian people have known how to correctly orientate themselves, they have un-

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derstood the essence of the plans of their enemies in time, and have determinedly exposed and rejected them. With their courageous struggle, the Palestinian people are rejecting the illusions which the two superpowers and reaction are trying to spread, alleging that the Palestinian people and the other Arab people are powerless to fight and win against the Israeli aggressors on the battle field and that there is no other road but that of compromise. The long struggle of the Palestinian people, as well as the October war, are

concrete examples showing the opposite of what is being propagated by their enemies and those of the other Arab peoples. The Palestinian people are convinced that the only possible way to achieve their just aim is the road of armed liberation struggle, the strengthening of unity with the other fraternal Arab people, self-reliance and determination to carry through to the end their struggle against the Israeli aggressors and their supporters of all shades. «The Palestinians», the VAVA agency pointed out in recent days, «will continue

their armed struggle, until their legitimate rights are restored».

The Palestinian people's struggle for national liberation is a great example of people's heroism. As such, it enjoys the support of all the peoples and revolutionary forces everywhere in the world. In this just struggle to live free and independent in their own country the heroic Palestinian people, as up to now in the future too will have the full backing, support and militant solidarity of the Albanian people and of the People's Republic of Albania.

## A GREAT BLOW TO THE ANTI-CHINA ACTIVITY OF SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISM

«BASHKIMI»

As has been reported, recently, the Government of the People's Republic of China discovered and caught redhanded some members of the embassy of the Soviet Union in Peking involved in espionage activity against the Chinese people. They were immediately expelled from the territory of the PR of China. The activity of these spies behind a diplomatic mask constitutes another revelation which shows that the Soviet social imperialists, alongside their propaganda hysteria and real anti-China military threats, have not given up their espionage activity against the Chinese people.

It is not their first time facts about the subversive activity of Moscow agents against the PR of China have come out in the open. This activity has been carried on for years, coordinated with the entire anti-China strategy of Soviet social imperialism. For espionage activity against People's China, the Soviet revisionists have used, besides their diplomats, their specialists, tourists, paid agents, etc. It is a known fact that Soviet espionage experts have frequently gone in recent years to Hong Kong, which they have used as a centre to collect political, economic and particularly military

information against the People's Republic of China.

The activity of the Soviet spies shows that the revisionist Moscow chieftains, just like the US imperialists, use subversive espionage as one of the main weapons to undermine the freedom and independence of the peoples. The events of recent years are full of facts which reveal this espionage activity of Soviet social imperialism not only against the PR of China, but also against many other countries of the world.

Our people are among the first that have clashed with and exposed modern revisionism and

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its agents. They never forgot how the Soviet revisionists, through their embassy, carried out espionage activity to undermine the achievements of our people, to pave the way for the counterrevolution in Albania and to turn Albania into a colonial appendage of the Khrushchevite metropolis. But, as is known, Khrushchev's diehard agents, just like those of the US imperialists and others, broke their lances against Albania. Our people are always vigilant. They keep their rifles ready to

defend the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania.

The discovery and exposure of the spies, agents of Moscow, is a deserved response by the Chinese people to the Soviet social imperialists.

The Moscow leaders are enraged by the fact that the great China of Mao Tse-tung stands as firm as a fortress in defence of the gains of the revolution and socialism. It has become a resolute defender of the great cause of the freedom and independence of the peoples. The revolutionary attitude of the

Chinese people, led by the Communist Party of China with comrade Mao Tse-tung at the head, has always caused the defeat of the counterrevolutionary aims of US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. In particular, the Chinese people stand vigilant and struggle with all their forces to oppose consistently the Soviet social imperialists, these sworn enemies of socialism and the revolution, who do everything they can to stop the triumphant march of China on the road of socialism and revolution.

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## «THE SPIRAL OF THE CURRENCY CRISIS»

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The passing years have brought nothing to capitalism except further decline. This law is most evidently demonstrated in the arena of foreign exchange relations, which has become the epicentre of deep contradictions and fierce conflicts among the countries of the capitalist world. On January 20, the French Government decided to abandon its undertaking not to alter the exchange rate of the franc in the relations among the Six of the Common Market, as was jointly decided in March last year when a unified policy was defined for the combined fluctuation of exchange rates in relation to the US dollars. Now the franc will float from time to time in compliance with the actual course of events in the

currency markets. This new manifestation is not accidental. The expected end to the protracted bargainings and compromises, and the creation of a new foreign currency system, did not occur either at the Nairobi conference in September last year or at the Rome conference this year. The only thing decided at these conferences was to leave this question at the mercy of fate.

By freely floating the franc, France aims first of all to liberate herself from the international obligations of the Atlantic community and to secure more favourable conditions for following a more independent economic policy. By this measure, which has been mainly dictated by the need for self-defence, France aims to realize twofold

aims which extend to the financial as well as to the commercial field. In the financial field France is seeking to defend its foreign currency reserves and have them free so as to use them to cope with the difficulties created by the energy crisis (for the purchase of oil), or other similar needs, while in the commercial field, it seeks to improve its competitive capacity in the struggle to secure foreign markets. The devaluation of the franc, even if indirect, brings about, on the one hand, cheaper exports, and on the other hand, dearer imports. On this basis the conditions are created to increase exports and decrease imports and, consequently, to improve the balance of payments.

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The decision to allow the free floating of the French franc is closely connected with the entire complex of measures France is adopting to overcome the consequences of the energy crisis, looking for ways to solve it outside the plans which are being mapped out by Nixon and his cabinet. According to these plans, the February 11 meeting, to be held in Washington with the representatives of the main oil consumer countries is expected to work out a unified policy towards the oil producing countries under the aegis of the US, which will allegedly be in the interest of all the partners. Taking advantage of the difficulties being experienced by the European countries, the US is seeking, under the guise of aid, to impose on them a new «Marshall» plan, when the disastrous consequences of the old one are still fresh in the memory of the peoples of these countries.

France, by her stand, both in the financial and commercial field, is resolutely opposed to these plans, and this stand, is undoubtedly further deepening and sharpening Franco-American contradictions.

A stable joint foreign currency policy was the main premise for the creation of the European economic and currency union, and this premise has already been undermined. Therefore, the programme of economic integration of continental Europe which was expected to be carried out towards 1980, remains only a dream for an indefinite future. After this measure, there is no guarantee whatever that other countries, too, will not follow France's example, promoting the chain reaction of the devaluation of foreign currencies.

Capitalism has been involved in an almost general system of currency fluctuation. Neither on a world nor on a regional scale,

was it able to create any kind of relative stability. This reality clearly shows up the absurdity of the revisionist statements that capitalism has undergone such changes in its nature that it is able to arrange its economy and avoid crises. To justify these anti-Marxist statements, they have continually cited the example of international agreements and compromises among capitalist countries in the foreign currency field. But in reality the unprecedentedly deepening socio-political crisis of capitalism in general and the foreign currency crisis in particular testify to the opposite of these statements. The capitalist foreign currency system is in a blind alley, and the consequences of this fact are more conflicts and cracks, leading the further development and deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. Only the revisionists can entertain illusions about some other prospect.

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#### «THE REFORMIST LEADERS OF THE ITALIAN TRADE UNIONS SABOTAGE THE STRIKE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKING CLASS»

«PUNA» - organ of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania

Italy is undergoing a deep social, economic and political crisis. The social conflicts of the Italian capitalist society have greatly sharpened. The working class in all the cities of Italy comes out in the city streets demonstrating its will and resolute

determination to defend its rights, to oppose the power of capital and the insatiability of the capitalists, who are continuously raising the prices of main food and industrial articles. The Italian rank-and-file worker is clearly seeing that the bour-

geoisie is making great efforts to preserve its profits at the expense of the broad working masses by raising prices, decreasing the number of workers in enterprises, throwing them into the streets without a job etc.

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The leaders of the Italian trade unions, the Italian General Confederation of Labour (IGCL), the Italian Confederation of the Workers' Trade Union (ICWTU) and the Italian Labour Union (ILU) are making great efforts to curb the strike movement of the Italian proletariat, weaken it, and split the ranks of the workers. They long ago betrayed the interests of the working class and placed themselves at the service of the bourgeoisie. They are opposed to the organization of militant strikes, and their extension and deepening, because this is to the detriment of the capitalist monopolies. They do not want the Italian working class to face the power of the bourgeoisie, or endanger it. The reformist and revisionist chieftains of three Italian trade union organizations realize perfectly well that the extension of the strike movement, its intensification and militancy, leads to the development and tempering of the class consciousness of the

Italian proletariat, which will thus escape their control.

As the press has reported, about 1,500,000 Italian industrial workers have held strikes in Italy recently. These strikes were preceded by partial strikes in factories, plants and various other work centres of Italy, organized by the workers themselves at the grassroots level without the permission and approval of their respective trade union confederations. This disturbed the revisionist and reformist leaders. They hurried to give their approval to some strikes, finding it impossible to prohibit them absolutely. These strikes were very limited in duration, being held during a period of from two to four hours. But they did not have that feature which both the bourgeoisie and the traitorous trade union leaders wanted. Despite the efforts of the worker aristocracy to hold «peaceful» strikes, without clashes, without strong slogans, the strikes of the in-

dustrial workers were a testimony to the aggravation of the antagonistic contradictions of the Italian society. «We want bread», «We demand bread», «End rising prices», «Stop fascistizing the country's life», «We are fed up with words, we demand deeds», these and others were the slogans of the strikes. One characteristic was that the student and school youth took part in them. They marched in a united and compact front with the working class. The Italian police, zealous defender of the bourgeois order, savagely charged the strikers and demonstrators. In the clashes, the police used clubs and weapons, and arrested many workers.

The situation in the country has not calmed down. Police violence is not subjugating the working class, which is realizing that only through struggle and unity can it win its denied rights, and defend its life and future. The strikes are not ceasing.



### «THE STRUGGLE TO CRITICIZE LIN PIAO AND CONFUTIUS — A GREAT REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT»

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

In great People's China a mass political and ideological movement is now developing in all fields to criticize Lin Piao and Confutius. This movement, initiated and led by the great

Marxist-Leninist, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, has aroused the whole of China, workers, peasants, soldiers and young people, who, with courage and determination, expose and condemn Lin Piao's

counterrevolutionary line and activity and the reactionary doctrines of Confutius and Mentius.

This movement is an allround revolution in the field of ideo-

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logy in China, it is a life and death struggle between two classes and two lines, a determined struggle against feudalism, capitalism and revisionism and a heavy blow against US imperialism, Soviet revisionism and all the other reactionaries.

Initiating this revolutionary movement, the Communist Party of China and the Chinese working people aim at definitely destroying Lin Piao's anti-party and counterrevolutionary views, and exposing and toppling the influences of the reactionary philosophy of Confutius and his disciples, which has reigned for centuries not only in China, but also in Asia.

The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confutius is a continuation and deepening of the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution, initiated and led directly by Chairman Mao Tse tung. It is a struggle for the defence and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, for the uninterrupted development of the revolution in the superstructure, for the education of the new man with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, for the implementation of the decisions of the 10th Congress and of the teachings of Chairman Mao Tse tung in every direction.

The criticism against Lin Piao is closely connected with that against Confutius, not only because he was a faithful disciple and great worshipper of Confutianism, but because he made use of the philosophical, political and moral ideas of the ancient philosopher of the slave-owning class as an ideological weapon in his

plot to usurp the leadership of the Party and state power and to restore capitalism. It is understandable that in these conditions the struggle to expose the right opportunist essence of Lin Piao's counterrevolutionary line is inseparable from the struggle to eradicate the doctrines of Confutius and Mentius.

Confutianism is an idealistic, profoundly reactionary and regressive doctrine. For more than 2,000 years, the ethical, political and philosophical views of Confutius have been spiritual chains which have been used by all the reactionary rulers to oppress the labouring masses. These had become very old traditional ways of thinking which were drawing China backward, obstructing its development and progress. In ancient China they had penetrated into all spheres of social life and had turned into powerful inhibitive traditions and customs. It is a known historical fact that in China all the reactionaries of all epochs, in order to preserve their rule, to turn the wheel of history backward, waved the banner of Confucianism and used his doctrine to deceive the broad masses of the people.

The Communist Party of China and comrade Mao Tse-tung have waged a continuous and consistent struggle against the reactionary ideologies of the old exploiting classes and against all deviationists who, on the basis of these ideologies, have striven to divert the Chinese communists from Marxism-Leninism, and the Chinese people from the revolution and socialism. Lin Piao, this conspirator, traitor

and renegade, is among these dangerous deviationists, whom the Communist Party has severely condemned and rejected.

Lin Piao and company tried, through tricks and plots, to liquidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and to restore capitalism, to destroy Marxism-Leninism and replace it with Confucianism, the bourgeois and revisionist ideology. As an agent of the Soviet revisionists, he demanded the extinction of the anti-revisionist struggle and the transformation of China into a colony of Soviet social imperialism. He had set himself the task of sabotaging the Party line of opposition to US-led imperialism and Soviet-led modern revisionism.

The compliance of Lin Piao's thoughts and actions with those of Confutius and Mentius is defined by his counterrevolutionary aim, by his desire to use the reactionary traditional ideas to topple the dictatorship of the proletariat and to restore capitalism in China. Confutius's language well suited Lin Piao's counterrevolutionary objectives. The reactionary essence of Confutius and Lin Piao is identical, they both wanted to restore the previous social system, they both strove to turn back the development of society.

The victory in the struggle against Lin Piao and Confutius is of great historic importance for the socialist present and future of China. It serves, in the first place, the further strengthening and ideological tempering of the Communist Party and the defence and consolidation of the position of socialism in



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China. It is still better arming the Chinese communists and people with the precepts of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung thought; it is further increasing the revolutionary spirit of the workers, peasants, soldiers and youth to be courageous and to march onward, to bravely withstand any storm wherever it may come from.

Raising high the political and ideological consciousness of the masses, increasing their active participation in the social and political life of the country, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confutius is associated everywhere with the intensification of the struggle for the increase of agricultural and industrial production, for the progress of science and technology. It will further strengthen the defence capacity of great People's China and will make it a still more powerful bulwark where whoever dares touch it will meet with certain death.

The liquidation of the Lin Piao clique and the exposure of his reactionary views, is at the same time a very heavy blow to all the enemies of People's China, to all those who have hoped and continue to hope for a change of the situation there. This is a new confirmation of the fact that the hostile plans and plots against China are doomed to failure in face of the vigilance, maturity and determination of the glorious Communist Party of China and of the heroic Chinese people. This shows that China will never change colour, that

it will always remain red, that it will remain a resolute fighter against imperialism and revisionism, and ardent defender of the cause of Marxism-Leninism, of the freedom and independence of the peoples.

Defending and developing the achievements of socialism in China, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confutius is of great international importance because of the weight which the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Republic of China have, and the great role they play in the development of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist movement and in general in present-day world development. The struggle being waged in China today is a powerful inspiration and a great lesson for all the communists and revolutionaries to increase their vigilance towards the actions of internal and external enemies, to reject resolutely all the ideologies and influences of the reactionary ruling classes, to rely on the masses, to raise them in struggle and to continually temper them in uninterrupted revolutionary battles.

The Party of Labour of Albania and the entire Albanian people, who are bound by a great revolutionary friendship with the sister Communist Party of China and with the fraternal Chinese people, are in full solidarity with the new powerful movement to criticize Lin Piao and the doctrine of Confutius and Mentius, and support it with all their forces.

The workers, peasants, intellectuals, women and youth of our country are following with attention and sympathy the growth and development of this movement, which fills them with enthusiasm and greatly inspires them. They greet the victories being won from day to day in this new great class battle and express their conviction that the present and future successes will further strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and the cause of socialism in China. The communists and working people of socialist Albania will always be beside their Chinese comrades-in-arms and, just as Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said, they will stand together, fight together and win together.

We have upheld and will always strongly uphold the Albania-China friendship, forged by our two parties and our two leaders, comrades Mao Tse-tung and Enver Hoxha. This is a fraternal and militant friendship, a friendship based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, based on common socialist aims and ideals. This friendship has been still further strengthened in the protracted and common struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction, in the struggle for the defence of Marxism-Leninism and revolution. It is unbreakable, it will live and continually be strengthened to the benefit of our two peoples, and to the benefit of the revolutionary and liberation struggle of the peoples of the whole world.

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*PHOTOS: P. 5 H. Gostivari, 6-14-29-33 P. Kumi, 17 P. Cici, 18 ATSH, 35 R. Zhara*

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YOU SEE ON THE FRONT COVER A MEMORIAL DEVOTED TO THE «MUSHKETA BATTLE»,  
IN WHICH, ALMOST THIRTY YEARS AGO, SOME PARTISAN DETACHMENTS ANNIHILATED A  
GERMAN MOTOR-COLUMN  
WHICH WAS COMING TO ASSISTANCE OF THE ENCIRCLED GARRISON OF THE INVADERS  
IN TIRANA, DURING THE BATTLE FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE CAPITAL  
IN NOVEMBER 1944. ON THE THIRD PAGE OF THE COVER: WORK IN PRODUCTION  
OF SCHOOL PUPILS. ON PAGE FOUR: A SNAPSHOT OF THE SUPERPHOSPHATE  
PLANT IN LAÇ, KRUIJA AREA.



**Albania**  
**today**

