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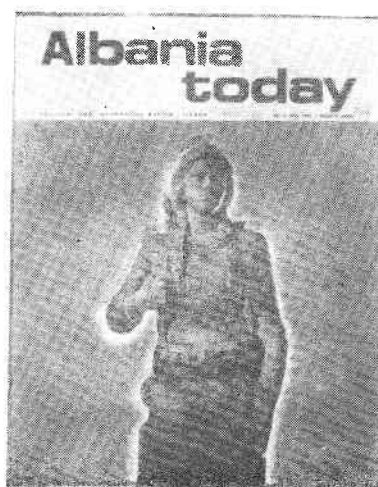




On the cover  
the bust of the heroine  
LIRI GERO, work of the sculptor  
◀ Mumtaz Dhrami.



•WOMAN DELEGATE•  
portrait by the painter  
Zef Shoshi devoted to  
the young highland  
woman who brings  
to the women's congress  
the say of her comrades  
emancipated once  
and for all  
from backward customs.



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# ENVER HOXHA

## WRITERS AND ARTISTS ARE AIDS OF THE PARTY FOR EDUCATION OF OUR MEN AND

***The Party must create in people and in so that world outlook, those customs, those feelings that revolutionary philosophy which will no of petty bourgeois and bourgeois world o***

I THINK THAT WHEN WE REPORT HERE, AT THE SECRETARIAT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, AS IN EVERY PARTY FORUM, ATTENTION SHOULD BE PAID TO RAISING PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE BEEN THOROUGHLY STUDIED. IT IS BETTER THAT THESE REPORTS GIVE US A CLEAR AND FULL PICTURE OF THE WORK BEING DONE IN CONNECTION WITH THE ANALYSIS, THE GRASPING, AND THE FURTHER CREATIVE DEVELOPMENT OF A DIRECTION GIVEN BY THE POLITICAL BUREAU, OR THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY THAN TO CONFINE OURSELVES TO A SCHEMATIC LISTING OF A FEW DATA.

I ASKED THE COMRADES OF THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE, AS WELL AS THE COMRADES OF THE APPARATUS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ENGAGED IN PROBLEMS OF LITERATURE AND ARTS, HOW THEY ACTIVATE THE WRITERS, POETS AND ARTISTS, BECAUSE THEY SHOULD NOT BURDEN THEM WITH OFFICE ROUTINE, GETTING THEM INVOLVED IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER IN THE MACHINERY OF BUREAUCRACY. I ASKED THIS QUESTION BECAUSE I THINK THAT THE WRITERS AND ARTISTS LEAGUE SHOULD NOT BE TURNED INTO A BUREAUCRATIC ORGAN; ON THE CONTRARY IT MUST BE A CENTRE WHERE THERE IS A LIVELY THRESHING OUT OF PHILOSOPHICAL, ARTISTIC, ESTHETIC AND OTHER THOUGHTS. WE SHOULD NOT ALLOW THE WRITERS AND ARTISTS LEAGUE TO BE TURNED INTO AN ORGAN FOR CHECKING THE VARIOUS WRITINGS OF ALL THE WRITERS AND POETS OF THE COUNTRY, BUT PRIMARILY, IT SHOULD WORK IN MANY WAYS AND FORMS TO INSPIRE THEM TO WRITE BETTER AND BETTER.

It is for this reason that I advised our distinguished revolutionary poet Dritëro Agolli, who is also the chairman of the Writers and Artists League, to give up the routine and bureaucratic work of the League and I asked him to tell us at this meeting about the situation of the development of our poetry. And he spoke to us with full competence about this problem.

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*Speech delivered at the meeting of the Secretariat of the CC of the Party on December 20, 1974, concerning the fulfilment to date of the tasks for literature and arts arising from the 4th Plenum of the CC of the Party.*

Over these thirty years of a free existence in a country where socialism is being built, as it is in our country, we have achieved many successes in the field of the economy and culture. There is no doubt whatever that these successes would not have been achieved without the existence of the Party of Labour, without its correct Marxist-Leninist line, without the establishment of the people's power, without the dictatorship of the proletariat and without the continuous waging of the class struggle. All these factors have resulted in great transformations being carried out, in the socio-economic field, and,



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linked with them, in the all-round education of the working people. The economic and cultural life of our people has changed, it has progressed. Our people work, produce, create, learn, and consume.

In all this development the Party has continually made all-round analyses of key moments, which have helped the communists and all the working people to see the good aspects as well as the weak ones during the process of this development.

Some people have not appreciated these analyses made by the Party, as they should. They have not seen in them the essence of the policy and philosophy of the Party to point out that the results of a particular period have their good aspects but that they also have weak aspects associated with them; there are positive and negative factors and these factors are objective and subjective. In the opinion of these people social life develops outside their will, because, they allege, events will take their «predestined» course willy-nilly. Such people differ in appearance from those who philosophize in an idealist and mystical way, but they do not differ at all in their world outlook. At one time, people said and believed that this or that thing «had been written», «it was bound to happen like this», «there is a supernatural power, the decisions of which cannot be opposed». They called this force «God, Heaven, Christ, Mohamed» and all kinds of saintly names. Even

now, there are people who think metaphysically and believe in certain «forces» which they raise as factors that allegedly set development in motion, such as «the bureaucracy, the administration, selfishness, the feeling of private property, ambition, position, etc. «For them heaven has been transformed and taken (root) precisely in those world outlooks and signposts in life which consolidated the idealist inspiration and the life of the capitalist, merchant or money-lending bourgeoisie. Naturally, under our regime the sphere of action of such people has been narrowed and is becoming narrower, but their harmful mentalities are not without effect in life. In life and in various forms, these views act. Often they appear as entirely harmless, normal, lie hidden behind a mentality which allegedly conforms with the laws, the customs and even with the new «patriotism» of the epoch of the Party. This is that petty bourgeois mentality, these are those bourgeois and petty bourgeois remnants which the Marxist-Leninist Party fights and will continue to fight until the dawn of classless society.

It must not be thought that the people have shaken off these remnants, we should not think that after a few moralising articles these dangerous vices and world outlooks disappear without a trace, we should not think that, with the improvement of the living standards of the people, our men and

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women become immune to these «diseases». On the contrary, we may have a reminder of them, and this time shouting «long live the Party» which created abundance for us. But together with the abundance and wellbeing, the Party must create in people and in society precisely that world outlook, those customs, those feelings, those tastes, those ethics, that revolutionary philosophy which will not permit either the revival or the spread of petty bourgeois and bourgeois world outlooks.

Of course, this is not an easy task and this is just what the bourgeoisie, capitalism, is relying on when it hopes for the «failure of socialist society», «the defeat of communism». It is precisely that philosophy, those world outlooks and those economic relations on which the development and consolidation of its state power are based, that capitalism is counting on. Its whole structure and superstructure have, of course, oppressed man in a double way: both spiritually and physically. During the entire course of history the kingdom of capital, of religion, of the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie has clashed with the progressive forces, with progress, and has lost many limbs in these wars. Now it has reached the stage of its decay. Capitalism, imperialism, have lost their economic, political and ideological positions one after another. The revolution, the peoples, are eroding its foundations. Marxism-Leninism is leading the peoples towards the new life, socialism and communism, but we must not think that in face of the defeats it is suffering, world capitalism has laid down its arms. In its objectives, it relies precisely on its barbarous attacks and on predatory imperialist wars against the liberation of the peoples from its yoke, but it also counts on that world outlook and on those remnants which burden the consciousness of men and have kept them as its slaves for centuries.

In this direction the propaganda of imperialism for the degeneration of men and women and of society as a whole, to revive every form and every aspect of the former vices, feelings, sentiments, appetites, selfishness, robbery, gangsterism of those people and of those societies that supported its power, has never known such a broad extension and development as it has at the present time. All this is a reflection of the savage face of capital, a reflection of its degeneration. But with this way of life it is striving, nevertheless to prolong its existence and domination, by influencing the peoples with its propaganda in order to demoralize them, to divert them from the road of the revolution.

Capitalism and imperialism are afraid of the revolution, of the proletariat, and not of the lumpen elements or of those democrats and socialists who fight them with kidgloves nor of the modern revisionists, like those of the Soviet Union and

others, who have betrayed the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. All these, dressed up in various pseudo-revolutionary ideologies, are forces and means of the counterrevolution used by capitalism and imperialism for their own aims.

In view of these things, aware of their danger at any moment, our Party teaches and educates the people, launches them into struggle for the building and consolidation of the socialist society and the victories achieved, and preparing the ground for those new objectives which should be achieved. Every citizen of our country must, therefore, reflect deeply on what the Party means when it says that «we must fight with all our strength against the external and internal pressure of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology». This double, and at the same time single, enemy is not imaginary, but real. The struggle should be waged daily, it should be active and take place in all the manifestations of life in the philosophy of all these manifestations. The struggle must be waged with all the means, through education at schools, infactories, in fields, at work and at home, with the family and tête à tête with mother, with the wife, with the sister, with the children, with the neighbours, in all their manifestations, pointing out and encouraging the good things and condemning the bad things. If we act in this way, we have triumphed step by step over the enemy. We must not allow his evil seed to germinate, and, as soon as it puts up a sprout we must nip it off at once.

Our writers and artists have an exceptionally great role in this direction. Our people and the Party need them. Through their creativity and talents they should give more help in eliminating those remnants I spoke of earlier, from the dark corners of human consciousness and should throw into relief the majesty of the socialist world and the virtues of its new men and women. Under the leadership of the Party, our workers in literature and arts should do that profound ideological, political, moral, and ethical work which is needed to combat the influences and poisons of the old world and of the present-day capitalist and revisionist world, to point out the lofty communist virtues and implant them in the character of our men and women. They should struggle to always play the role of the auxiliary of the Party in moulding the new man. I must say with regret that many communists and leaders of Party committees and state institutions do not properly understand the importance of literature and art. In their reports they repeat Lenin's golden words about the role of literature and art in educating the masses, but when it is a question of practice, they undervalue or forget them.

In the direction of the development of literature and art, the Party has helped in making a great qualitative leap for-



ward. Life in our country, is so great, so broad, so diverse, so beautiful and so open that if you immerse yourself in it you cannot fail to be inspired to write whatever you like, novels, poems, plays, music, comedies, etc.

Comrade writers, poets, musicians, artists, actors and directors of drama, opera and ballet theatres, cinematography, etc., drawing inspiration from the work and heroic feats of the people, have made very great progress in the development of literature and art in our country. This was shown at its best by the literary-artistic creativity realized on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the liberation of our homeland. Inspired by the decisions of the 4th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, our artists and writers came to this great jubilee with all those beautiful works. These achievements, in the series of others, bear witness, among other things, to the possibilities created when the people are in power and are led by a revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist party, such as our Party of Labour.

From among the works of foreign authors of various countries, which I have read, there are some that I have liked, for instance, the works of classical poetry and outstanding French and other prose writers, but there are also writings which I have not liked at all, such as many new novels which I have happened to pick up and tried to read, but to tell the truth I have thrown them away, because they are worthless. Let alone the modern "poetry" which I have read, which is so awful you can't imagine. Reading such "poetry" I ask myself; who are these people who write such stuff? Meanwhile compared to this confused and worthless creativity the magnificence of our literature and art of socialist realism, the value of our exceptionally beautiful folk songs and dances becomes ever greater.

Among our poets and prose writers there are authors who turn out literary and artistic creations of value, others who produce workers of less value; then there are those who write materials without any special value. These latter, particularly the young poets and writers, who is going to help them progress? We must pay great attention to this question, we must encourage and help them, and our affirmed writers and poets, as well as those who have had more training than the young ones, have a special duty in this direction. But the first and continuing aid we must give them is to open the eyes of their consciousness to the reality of our country and people. They themselves must learn to see with their eyes and feel with their hearts the vigorous development of the life of our people and faithfully reflect it in their diverse creativity. We must understand the most profound and diverse aspects of this development which are discovered through knowledge of the material life and the feelings which arise in each period, through the clash of ideas created by internal and external antagonism, which are inseparable in the life of a people in whatever period and in whatever corner of the continents this people may live and fight for its existence, for a better life, in freedom and economic and political independence.

If we find Dritëro Agolli's poems good, this is because they express the pure feelings of the people, are connected with

reality, with the men of work, with the soil, the products and flowers of this land, with the high chimneys of the combines, and with the troubles and joys of the men and women in their family homes. A poet who does not know reality, no matter how developed his imagination may be, is quite unable to produce a powerful poem. But if he properly integrates his imagination with the objective reality of the country, with the life of the people, if in his writings he fights expressions full of pompous phrases, he too, can become a talented writer. For example, in my opinion, Xhevahir Spahiu, and some other young poets have many ideas, but the way they express them is not always real, vital. It is up to them to make efforts to link themselves better with the people, but it is also up to their comrades and the Party to encourage these young talents in this direction, so that they do not see the people mainly through their imagination, but get deep into life, in the flow and continuity of this life, in all the turns and zigzags the people make in order to achieve those aims the Party sets them and clearly understand that everything in life is not a bed of roses.

We must not be discouraged that, alongside the recognised poets and writers, we do not see new talents of a high calibre as was said here. We must bear in mind that it is not easy to create worth while literary pieces, poems, novels etc. in a short time. You need time to write valuable works; besides, you must link yourself with men and women, with the people, you must go deep into the heart of the masses, not just to find the subject for your novel or poem and then immediately leave the village or the factory, considering the birth of the idea to be sufficient. No fine hard-hitting work can come out in this way, that is why it is required of the writer to really get to know people, to know their lives, difficulties and worries, their pleasures and hopes, etc., as I said earlier.

The majority of our young writers have a cultural horizon, but it is their duty to link this culture thoroughly with the life of the country, with the directives of the Party. I am convinced that by drawing inspiration from the life of the people and the correct line of the Party, in time the young writers, too, will mature and succeed in winning recognition.

There are two ways of viewing the development of life: one is the idealist, mystical, pessimistic and conservative view, and the other is the realist view, with a revolutionary spirit, fruit of a materialist analysis of events and history, full of optimistic feelings for a change and a further positive development of history and of the development of society, of a classless society. This view becomes the property and world outlook of those men and women with pure and revolutionary virtues, who, uniting with the progressive classes, strike hard at the entire abhorred ideological and politico-moral arsenal of the reactionary forces. In order to educate and help the young writers and artists, it is essential that we teach them, make understandable to them, the ideology that guides our Party and our working class, Marxism-Leninism.

We must teach our young writers and artists how to read the open book of the socialist life of our country, how to study and grasp the content of this wonderful book. We must

PERSONALLY I FEEL A SATISFACTION WHEN I AM LISTENING TO MUSIC, WHETHER THAT OF GREAT CLASSICAL AND PROGRESSIVE COMPOSERS OF THE WORLD, OR THE MUSICAL CREATIONS OF OUR OWN COMPOSERS. BUT TO TELL THE TRUTH, THE BEAUTIFUL SONGS AND DANCES OF THE PEOPLE PLEASE ME MOST, THEY MOVE ME WITH THEIR POWER AND, AT THE SAME TIME, WITH THEIR SIMPLICITY. I AM NOT SAYING THIS JUST BECAUSE I AM AN ALBANI-AN.







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make them love every «letter» of this book of life, make them see and feel the powerful pulse of the strength, feelings and ardent desires of our people. We must work to make them see and touch the colossal achievements of our people in all fields, see how our new man of socialist society, led by a Marxist-Leninist party, has transformed the plains, the mountains, has harnessed the flow of rivers, and built entire cities out of nothing. We must make these young people see all these beauties, all this rich colour of our people and nature, and from this wonderful book, which is the life of the people, they should make deductions and put all these great treasures of our socialist life in their books, novels, and poems, in their songs and plays, in the paintings and sculptures they create.

If our artists and writers proceed in these directions and are moulded with these teachings, if they immerse themselves completely in the revolutionary current of life with all their strength of character and the depth of their pure and ardent feelings, they will certainly give the people and their homeland wonderful works which will be a reflection of the mighty work being done in our country for the construction of socialism and formulation of the new man. As to their usefulness and magnificence, their works will be like the giant hydro-power stations, factories and combines, the beautiful wheat fields and the hills covered with fruit trees: they will be like the beauties of our cities, schools, and creches, where the happy children of our socialist country laugh and sing, where our working class, cooperativist peasantry and people's intelligentsia, with their minds and skills, are creating and building a new, happy, and prosperous life.

I think that another special sort of help which should be given to the young, less experienced, and as yet unformed writers, apart from the friendly advice of the outstanding poets, writers, painters and musicians, or the comments, they will make about the creative work of the young people, will be the beautiful and rich creativity of our great talents, the splendid writings and compositions they bring to light, which will inspire the younger ones and those with less training from the ideological and artistic viewpoint. The works of poetry, prose, music, painting, etc, provided by our wellknown writers and artists, should become major subjects for study to inspire all those engaged in literature and art in regard to their ethics, content, the treatment of problems, etc. This creativity is, and will remain, a great school and aid provided for the young by the recognised artists, from whose works not only those who have just begun to write, but also the readers, all those who are not engaged in writing, learn and gain education, because they inspire us too.

The fine works of the outstanding writers, poets and artists please us because they are permeated by valuable ideas and thoughts, which do not drop from the skies, but stem from knowledge of the real state of things, of our reality, of the development of the political and social life of our people. These ideas and thoughts correctly and accurately reflect the desires, joys and sorrows, the life and depth of the thinking of the people, they are connected with our prospects, therefore they not only please us, but they inspire us and invigorate our work. Hence the successful works of the outstanding authors should become the main source of assistance to the young creators rather than any schematic organization of giving help on their part. When the works of the writers and artists, their paintings and musical compositions express the profound thinking and great-heartedness of the people and throw into relief real characters from life, this makes those who are reflected in these creations think: With the work we carry out do we deserve this honour? And this question which they ask themselves, inspires them and multiplies their strength to work even more.

The works of our writers, be they young ones, contain inspiration, ideas, tastes, art. All these things may not be always profound, they may not be perfect. It is known that the tree does not yield its fruits as soon as it appears above the soil. It is like this with the young writers and artists too, but in time they, too, will grow up, will mature in their thoughts and will know how to create works which are more beautiful, of greater and more lasting value.

In their creativity the young writers must draw inspiration, primarily, from the line of the Party and the colossal activity of the men of labour, but, as I said, they must also learn from their older and more experienced writer, poet, and artist comrades. Among the young artists and men of letters, indeed also among the older ones, through systematic educative work, we must patiently fight and eliminate conceit, ambition, and arrogance, which remain with us as stains from the society with antagonistic classes. Such a thing is indispensable for a massive development and blooming of the beautiful fragrant, multi-coloured flowers of a socialist garden such as ours. But, I think, we cannot expect that all talents should reach that level of development at the same time. Therefore we must not make thoughtless comparisons between individuals engaged in creativity, saying that the productions of this one or that stand high, while those of the others are nothing! No, we must not act in this way. The literature, art, music, even the economy, sciences and the entire culture of the countries and peoples of the world have not developed all at one time,



they have passed, step by step, from the lowest stages to the highest ones. Differences, of course, have always existed, not only when high levels of science, literature and culture have been attained, but even when such things have not existed. Time and life themselves will make the differentiation.

In world literature of the different epochs and centuries, mention is made of men who, in their time, have been among the most renowned, but in the later centuries their value has fallen right away and they have been forgotten. In a book about the French Academy there is mention of those outstanding French and world authorities who were never admitted to the Academy, such as Molière, Rousseau, Diderot, Balzac, etc. It says that many of them, when they presented their candidatures for membership of the Academy, were turned down. But who turned them down and who was chosen in their stead? The authors of the book show that those who were elected instead of these authorities were men whose creativity had no great value, therefore, with the passage of time, many of them have been forgotten and some of them have disappeared without a trace. In this book one of these authors, himself an academician, presents the grandeur and immortality of Molière who was never admitted to the Academy. In the final account, of what did Molière want with the luxurious armchair of the French Academy when even today millions of men and women go and respectfully touch the old armchair in which he died, playing his immortal comedies?

I mentioned the instance of the French Academy to illustrate the idea that time is what does the sorting out of many people and works. Those which are of the greatest value, the masterpieces, last through centuries as immortal monuments which never fade out. Others, of a certain mediocre value, are talked about for a time, whereas those which are worthless, are entirely rejected and nobody even mentions them. Thus, you may make whatever efforts you like to impose a valueless work, but it will be short-lived. The opposite is just as true; do whatever you like, organize cabals, invent baseless criticisms in a spirit of ambition and denigration about a fine work, but nevertheless it will not disappear, its worth is not reduced, but resists even action, and, finally, it imposes itself through its great values.

I think that a work, of whatever genre, has its good aspects, but it has also its weak aspects. This is precisely why criticism is necessary, but not the denigrating criticism, impelled by ambition and other unhealthy feelings, but the just, objective, constructive criticism.

I make no claim at all, through these few elementary thoughts I am expressing, to place myself in the role of a literary critic and pose as such. No, I am not in that category, but I think that a work, of whatever genre it may be, must have its essence in the correct political, ideological, moral road and present the situation, its general and typical aspects realistically. First of all the work must, inspire, educate, and enthuse the reader. The force and intensity with which it will do this, depends on the profundity of its ideological content, and on the forms, style, figures, colours, etc. used by the author.

In their colossal work our great classical teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin; have dealt with the problems of literature and arts, too. The revisionists and Trotskyists are striving to minimize this major contribution of the great teachers. They do this with a view to opening a broad field for their filth of all genres which they are pouring out in all directions.

I advise the comrade writers and artists, particularly the literary and art critics, that along with the study of the Marxist-Leninist theory, they should read with especially great care those more than a few instances, in which our great teachers make criticisms of writers and artists. They are profound analyses and a model of how we should judge a literary-artistic work.

I do not want to go into detail of what a critic should be as I said above, but I would like to make a criticism of our literary critics and I hope they will excuse me for this. Sometimes criticism is neither simple nor understandable, thus it cannot always be grasped by those who read it and who want to learn. Many of these criticisms are verbose; what should be pointed out is drowned in a flood of analysis and frequently abstruse and «specific» phrases and terminology are used to give the impression of «competence» and of having thoroughly studied the work. But in acting in this way, they forget the reader, on whom this kind of criticism has no great effect. If I may give some advice, this is that our critics, should abandon any inclinations, if these appear among some of them, to imitate the bourgeois modernist critics of the present times who make their obscure, confused, and disorienting criticisms, under the mask of allegedly adapting their criticisms to the works of the times.

In the field of the literary and artistic criticism of the bourgeoisie in various epochs, too, we shall see various stages and forms of it. Without aspiring to the heights of the criticisms of Voltaire, which were as slashing and profound as they were simple and understandable, but just taking the criticisms of the early decades of our century, we shall notice that they were not so «double-distilled» so tangled and twisted, to the degree to which the present bourgeois and revisionist art, literature and criticism have degenerated.

Our literary-artistic criticism must draw inspiration from and pursue the principled road of the great classical teachers and our Party. Our criticisms should be realist, like the works they analyze; they should be simple, understandable, concise, and able to be grasped by the public. Criticism must be educative, therefore he who makes it must not consider himself to be speaking from the «top of Mt. Olympus», but he should consider the author of a work as a comrade, talking to his comrade always advising him for his good.

We should also show a little tact, comrades, in the help to be given to those who create. We should bear in mind peoples psychology, their feelings. The observation made here concerning subjective criticisms is correct. Sometimes the criticisms passed on literary or musical works are exaggerated and subjective. We must require from our writers, poets, and artists, that the content, the essence of the work should be

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on a correct party road and be inspired by a sound revolutionary spirit in the service of socialism. This is the main thing which our authors must bear in mind in their creativity. As to how the one or the other will construct the theme he has chosen, the characters, this is the business of the writer, the poet, or the musician. He, better than anyone else, finds for himself the artistic figures which please him, knows which moment must be underlined to further strengthen the ideological and political axis of his work, and so on. On questions like these, each must decide for himself. It would not be advisable at all, for example, to say to a writer or someone else: «If you will remove this idea or line and add that other one, if you will shorten it a little here and extend it there, remove this artistic figure and put in another», etc. In such a case the writer would have the right to retort: «Then why don't you write your own verse the way you want it and stop messing me about? «We must not ever do things by interfering with uncalled for criticisms of literary-artistic works, for such subjective interference is not assistance, but massacre. Criticisms should not be made in this way. If we allow others to make one comment after another, endlessly, about the publication of a poem, a play, etc., the work will end up a disaster and be turned into a «Russian salad». We should be particularly careful to pursue a correct policy of aid and criticism to the young writers, in the sense that we should neither be fuddle nor intimidate them by telling them baldly «Your poem is worthless», «Your writing is very poor», etc. We should also bear in mind the other aspect, that is not to praise them groundlessly, for in this way they may «take off». The aim is to help them advance, so that they, like all the others, may serve the people with devotion.

In a few words, when a work is correct in line, and does not lack artistic values, but in which there may be something amiss with regard to this or that aspect, there should not be too much hesitation to publish, exhibit, execute, or stage it. But I would like to reaffirm that it would not be right and proper, on the other hand, for the men of letters and arts to adopt a contemptuous attitude towards the fair criticisms and suggestions, of an essentially ideological and artistic character, made by the critics or the readers.

Our theatre, whether that of drama or of opera or ballet, has gained experience and has created a tradition, but we must never cease our efforts to find other, newer, ways and means with a revolutionary spirit to enrich and further improve this experience and tradition. Our theatre must reflect our revolutionary reality, the demands of our working class and cooperativist peasantry to consolidate the new so-

ciety. Of course, for us the theatre is a political and ideological weapon for the education of people therefore it must be understandable and, in order to be such, it must express their feelings and desires.

It is necessary that our dramaturgy should be raised to the highest possible level of perfection, avoid banality, and not only respond to the present level of culture of the masses frequenting this theatre, but it should be, at the same time, the inspirer of a further advance in the tastes and revolutionary impulse for a more cultured life.

Naturally, we are opposed to the literature of the modernist dramatic art which strives to entangle and enslave people in the consumer society, to deprive them of their pure feelings and of a revolutionary human morality in thoughts and actions.

Of course our revolutionary theatre does not and can not have the individual features of one artist, but the best features of our masses, of our socialist society. This does not mean at all, as the bourgeoisie and its «theories» about theatre claim, that our revolutionary theatre lowers, undervalues, or entirely eliminates, the personality and creative talent of the artist. On the contrary, our revolutionary theatre opens to the artists a very wide field of feelings and thoughts which greatly enrich the spirit of the theatre and their possibilities for creation.

The inner world of our artists does not know those limitations which are imposed on the artist in bourgeois society. Such artists in bourgeois society have only the illusion of «freedom of creation», while in fact their activity is conditioned and, of course, orientated by the bourgeois reality, by a life full of abnormal, amoral, extravagant phenomena. It is precisely these confusing phenomena and extravagance that give the bourgeois writers and artists the impression of «freedom to create». The dark halls of their cinemas and theatres are dominated by the aim of creating anguish in the hearts of the spectators, so that this anguish will stay with them the whole day and the whole week and become their second life. This content, this aim, this form, and these esthetics, are rejected and combatted by our revolutionary esthetics, inspired by the pure feelings of our people and serving the masses of the people.

In this sense we should give a great impulse to our popular art through the development of the amateur art movement, too; and by this we should not think only of our folk songs and dances. We must extend and enrich these two genres which the people love.



Now we have people who are masters of the pen. I am not saying that they should not write novels and poems, for these are a healthy and indispensable nourishment for the education of our men and women of the socialist society, but I notice that there is a marked inclination among the literary people to follow those who have blazed the trail in creativity with novels and poems, and a trend to underestimation or lack of interest in writing plays, film librettos and scenarios and sketches for variety theatre. I have heard people saying: "What can we do, -one cannot write without the desire", "there are no inclinations, no talents for these genre". What groundless and harmful ideas! These people are making a great mistake, because they are neglecting or, what is worse, underrating these genre, which are also of incalculable importance for the education of our people. Little by little even those who have had inclinations for such genre and who have claimed distinction in this field of literary and artistic creativity have begun to neglect it. We see our theatres filled to capacity, so are our cinemas every night. But what can the spectators see? The repertoires are out of date, not in the sense that they are useless, but they have no new subjects. We make few films, very few. We should not expect to have theatrical pieces in perfect form. Such a requirement would certainly lead us, to closing down the theatre and would make us see day and night, as we do, the dramatization of the novel "The Godfly". Why should we not put on more of our own works but always persist with "The Godfly" till our eyes are stricking out from watching it on television? The "Godfly", with a subject from the history of the carbonari,<sup>1)</sup> hasn't so much value that it should be put on so often.

Our cinemas are screaming bad foreign, capitalist and revisionist films. How do our people endure the showing of revisionist Czechoslovak, Rumanian or Hungarian films, for example "How I became a policeman" and similar vile rubbish? Not only is the selection of foreign films done badly, which does great harm to the education of our men and women and youth, but hackneyed excuses are made. "What shall we do, we have no films", they say. My opinion is that the films produced by our film studio are very good, they are marvellous in comparison with those dished up to us from abroad, with bandits and cowboys.

We have wonderful artists, whom, without hesitation, I consider to be of world calibre. And here I have in mind not only veteran actors like Sandër Prosi, Pjetër Gjoka, Naim Frashëri, Tinka Kurti, Ndrek Luca, Pandi Raidhi, Skënder Sollaku, etc., but also younger ones like Rikard Larja, Demir Hyskja and several others, boys and girls, whose names I have not yet learned. With these wonderful actors and the talented directors we have, we can produce not two or three films a year, but many more, provided we prepare the scenarios for them and their working and living conditions. We have these treasures, but we do not know to use them properly.

We have wonderful singers, whom we say belong to the opera. May be so, but these and the variety show singers, as well as singers from the ranks of the people, greatly please the public with the concerts they give. Well, these great artists

and others a little less great, could they not play in films? Couldn't we use them in films in which they would sing to this beautiful life blooming before our eyes, to this life which we are building with our own hands? Of course we could.

In no way must our variety theatres in districts confine themselves to a few songs, a few sketches which they put on in the cities where they have been set up. My opinion is that the professional variety shows and theatres of the districts must be turned into powerful centres and means for organisation and propaganda, to encourage a great development, both in breadth and quality, in the setting up of theatrical and variety groups in work centres, schools, and particularly, in the agricultural cooperatives.

We are filled with great enthusiasm when we see on the stages of the Opera and Ballet Theatre of the Capital, in the concerts and variety shows of the districts, hundreds upon hundreds of young girls and boys playing in such a perfect manner and singing with such, harmonious, melodious, and fine voices, that we forget that they are lathe operators, workers of the "Migjeni" artistic products enterprise or the "Stalin" textile combine, wool workers from Kukës, girl students from Shkodra, or school girls from Gramshi.

What a great development our art has achieved! These talented young people are capable of stage performances full of feeling and pathos, of playing important roles in films, of learning all sorts of song and dances. I am speaking of all those who have no artistic schooling. We have opened schools and we shall extend them, but we should not forget, and should not underestimate the great art which in like a precious jewel in the bosom of the people, and which is developing from day to day towards new heights. We must organize this still better.

I am aware of the instructions given, according to which our professional variety shows and theatres of the cities must give performances in the villages too. But from what I have heard, these institutions are not yet properly implementing this directive of the Party, because even today, they give few performances in villages, and the greater part of them in villages near the cities. It is the duty of our professional theatres and variety shows to extend their activity even to the most remote areas, covering our entire countryside with their artistic performances.

Today in all the agricultural cooperatives everywhere in our country, there are groups of outstanding popular singers and dancers, there are talented instrumentalists who please and educate the broad masses of the cooperativists with their performances and new ones are emerging every day. There is no doubt that alongside them, there are also talents who prefer dramatic art, people able in this field, fine humorists, with whom variety groups could be created in every agricultural cooperative to give theatrical and variety performances there. Therefore, when the professional theatres and variety shows of the cities, go to the villages, they should discover these talents in the ranks of the masses, urge them and encourage them, and organize amateur theatre troupes with them, help to organize and get them going, appoint

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artistic leaders from among their own company, who will look after these amateur groups and help them until they are able to stand on their own feet. Thus, in our socialist countryside amateur dramatic art, will flourish, too, new people and new talents will arise, who will enrich the stages and the repertoire of our professional theatres.

The teachers who work in agricultural cooperatives, communists and non-party people, art-loving boys and girls, must help in extending the artistic activity in the countryside. All around them are people with rare dramatic talents, capable people, with a keen, educative, and amusing humour. The houses of culture in the cooperatives, should become real cultural centres in the full meaning at the term. See the great talent with which our people perform folk dances and songs! These cooperative farms are able to play theatrical parts, they know life well, and if we organize them properly, they will find great satisfaction for themselves, and they will please others and make them happy too.

But we must go still further. In every period, talented artists have emerged in the ranks of the people, who, even though illiterate, have created works of a great artistic value, even some masterpieces. But now when all the young men and young women have seven and eight year schooling, can this not occur? Of course it can. Therefore we must work, look for them, encourage them, support them wherever they are, on the jobs, in production, in the villages, and then we shall have lots of cooperativists, lathe operators, textile workers and women workers like those of «Migjeni» who will create artistic objects so beautiful that they will enthuse and inspire the professional artists too. We should break through the frozen walls of academicism, of rigid forms, we should throw the ice which keeps so many new talents locked away because, allegedly, you need school for this and school for that. The Party is not opposed to school, but even when we did not have special schools of poetry, music, painting, etc., our people created and continue to create, to produce wonderful talents from their ranks.

Personally I feel a satisfaction when I am listening to music, whether that of the great classical and progressive composers of the world, or the musical creations of our own composers. But, to tell the truth, the beautiful songs and dances of the people please me most, they move me with their power and, at the same time, with their simplicity. I am not saying this just because I am an Albanian. No, but because our folk songs and dances are really beautiful, very beautiful indeed. The Party has performed a great deed in raising to a high pedestal and perpetuating all this excep-

tional wealth we have inherited from the past. Since the early years of liberation, when our people were still poor and living in great privation, it forcefully set about this work, insisting on the production of folk instruments, and that the folk songs and dances should not be neglected. Do you remember, comrades, when instructions were given on these matters? And today the folk songs and instruments have become a very healthy spiritual food for our working masses and our youth.

If the writer or poet desires to write, or the musician to compose a musical piece with a great inspiration, about the past sufferings of the Albanian people and their joys, let him turn to the songs and melodies of the people, in which he will find a powerful source of inspiration. Recall, for instance, the song «I remained, comrades» which even Dritëro Agolli has included in his poem «Mother Albania». This is a song of value not only for the words chosen with rare artistic mastery, for its great spiritual power, but also because its content is a profound synthesis and reflection of the past suffering of the Albanian people. You never tire of hearing this song interpreted with such rare mastery by the folk singers of the Skrapari district, Demir Zyko, Medi Kushi, and others.

Our people have always been optimistic. In sorrows and joys they have never lost their faith in the future, and this optimism, this majesty has been perpetuated in the rich heritage of oral literature, in their songs, in their dances, in their costumes and in their other wonderful traditions. This is something majestic which is perfectly realized in art only by the genius of the people.

Sometimes I see in television concerts by the groups of folk singers of various districts. Among them there are many really lofty and beautiful pieces, with regard to content and melody. In many instances I have noticed that they have managed to achieve a logical and attractive integration between the form of the folk melody and the new content of the songs. Thus, for instance, I am very fond of the songs which the folk singer Fatime Sokoli sings with so much feeling and love about the hero of Dragobi, Bajram Curri, and about the heroic feats of the warrior people of those regions. Another television programme I liked very much was some songs by folk singers from the town of Kavaja about the girls with golden hands who weave carpets, about the workers of the glass works who decorate vases with designs of snel beautiful roses that when you hear the song, it seems their fragrance is wafting round you. I heard another programme of songs with singers from Elbasan, a city with musical traditions, where 60 years ago the Normal

School was established, one of the important educational institutions, which, besides a whole army of patriotic teachers, also turned out musicians and composers. But, to tell the truth, without wanting to underrate them, the «elaborated» melodies of the folk songs festival of this district seemed to me poor and fringed in comparison with the colour, freshness, and beauty, of the songs full of inspiration of the folk art. This does not mean that our composers should give up the «elaboration» of folk songs or dances, cultivated music, as it is called, but these «elaboration» and «cultivations» should always be based, not just here and there on a chord or motif in the national heritage, but they should have the soil of this land, blended into them, they should be inspired by the creativity, the work and aspirations of this people, and be dedicated to them, please them and arouse their spirit. If you depart from this background, you neither serve your own people, nor give other peoples, any reason to value you, because you are not bringing anything new to the common treasury of the world's progressive culture and art.

Another evening I heard on television the interpretation of some folk motifs on violoncello and piano. Not only was I greatly pleased, but I said: How beautifully our cultivated music can be developed on the basis of folk motifs!

On this correct road valuable works have been created like those composed by Çesk Zadeja, Tish Daija, and many others. Songs like the one entitled «For you, my country», composed by Pjetër Gaci, and interpreted by the People's Artist, Mentor Xhemali, will remain immortal in the treasury of our new art. It is a hymn to our socialist homeland, to our unconquerable people and Party. It was born at the difficult moments of the revisionist blockade, and is permeated by a lofty revolutionary and optimistic spirit. If not every day, at least every two or three days, in moments of joy or difficulties, I like to listen to it on my tape recorder and it always moves me and inspires me to work.

This is the case with many other beautiful songs too, such as those by Avni Mula and others, which the public love and sing so much, interpreted with such great mastery, pathos and feeling, not only by known and talented singers such as Ramiz Kovaçi, Gaço Çako, Vaçe Zela, and others, but also by new singers, professional and nonprofessional, such as Zeliha Sina, Ema Qazimi, Alida Hisku, Shyqyri Alushi, the young singer, Violeta Zefi and many others.

On no account must we neglect our folk songs; on the contrary, we should strive to have our composers base themselves firmly on these very songs. It is not right that in the «Jordan Misja» middle school of art the pupils should begin to learn foreign classical music first and Albanian folk music later. The remark made on this question by comrade Ramiz is quite right. However much effort may be made to teach the pupils foreign music they will not reach the heights of Litz for example, who also became a renowned composer precisely because he knew how to revive the Hungarian folk rhapsodies. The same can be said of Chopin, Bizet, etc., who won renown with folk music as their basis.

The broad and variegated life of our country needs the multitude of people working in art, in music. We should discover them, support them, put them on the stage, and some among them who distinguish themselves there will be sent to special schools and then return in large numbers to the bosom of our art-loving people.

Our Party wants every work which comes to light be as nearly perfect as possible in all aspects, and it strives for this but perfection is not easy. It takes time, it requires experience, it requires, ability, too, things which are not innate in man, but are developed and worked up during the process of the continuous education of his innate learnings. Our people have many leanings which should be utilised and developed, for the good of our socialist society. In this direction, as in every thing, the Party must play the decisive role, not only from the material aspect, but especially from the aspect of ideas, by inspiring people with its ideology, with Marxism-Leninism. Our poets, writers, musicians, etc., all our artists, should learn Marxism-Leninism, not only from the books, but also from life, there where it is concretely applied by the people. Books have great importance for the information and education of man, therefore our people must have books and read them zealously. But to inspire people, to form their world outlook and their education, this cannot be confined to books alone. And in the case of people lacking in ideological and political development, who have extravagant inclinations, in opposition to the orientations of the Party, it is even more necessary that they should not be given books of any old kind particularly, those with harmful, poisonous content, for this has a negative influence on their formation. We must provide our readers with that literature which has a revolutionary character. However, we should bear in mind that there are writers of other countries who demand that the working class rise in revolution, but they do not conceive the revolution in the way Marxists do; consequently, they are unable to handle the question of the revolution, in prose or poetry, like our writers, poets and artists. Therefore, we should always be very careful to continually mould our young artists and writers with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, so that, under the leadership of the Party, they will mature, create for the people and think like the people. If we act in this way, what fine and healthy fruit we shall have!

In our post-liberation literature many Albanian writers and poets have distinguished themselves. In the long run a good many of them have won recognition, therefore, I think that the works of value which they have produced and which please us so much, should become subjects for study, not in a pick and choose way, but systematically. I remember how in the French school that I went through, we were given a thorough and systematic foundation knowledge of the works of the French writers and poets. But our poets and writers, who are closely linked with the people, who are inspired by and learn from them and on this healthy soil create popular works of ideological and artistic value have wonderful talent too. Therefore, with their works it is essential that they



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should not be simply skimmed just to say we've read them, read once and then put back in the shelf, but they should be read carefully and attentively, for the mighty reality of life, the heroism of our people who are building socialism, is reflected in them.

The beautiful works of our writers are welcomed not only by us, they are welcomed by foreigners, too. Here I am not speaking only of Ismail Kadare's novels or Dritëro Agolli's poems and those of some others of our literary men, which have been translated into foreign languages, but of the works, of many other writers and poets too. If we can manage to train our own really able translators in foreign languages (because foreigners have always ignored our beautiful language, this is why you do not find people in other countries who have mastered the Albanian language thoroughly), we shall have great success in popularising Albanian literary-artistic works abroad. Therefore, let's get down to the job of training our own cadres who will really master other languages so that they are capable of translating the works of our writers into them.

We have been informed that the exhibition "Albanian art in centuries" which we opened in Paris, has aroused great interest among the French progressive public. We have been told that thousands upon thousands of people, including critics, literary men, philosophers, diplomats, etc., have gone eagerly to visit our exhibition which they have appraised as one of the best put on in the French capital. The visitors have been astounded at the development of our art, in the same way as foreign audiences were astonished at the second National Folklore Festival in Gjirokastra when they saw it on film, or a few years ago at our folk music and dances at the Dijon festival, where our wonderful folk art was presented. Imagine when the foreigners are able to get really good translations at the works of our poets and writers, - they will discover and get to know many aspects of the material and spiritual life of our people who are building the new life of a truly socialist society.

Thus, in this direction we must work very hard indeed. It is not sufficient to publicise abroad the grandeur of the Albanian people in the field of national traditions alone, but we must also make world opinion acquainted with the great struggle and work of the Party, of this Marxist-Leninist Party, which is building socialism in its own country quite unafraid of the allround struggle waged against it by the bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists. We must make the bourgeois-revisionist world see the great force of Marxism-Leninism in Albania, not only in the economic field, but also in

that of art and culture. We are building in all directions with the maximum of our possibilities, and our friends can see this in the works produced and draw inspiration from the heroism of our people.

There are many foreigners who, even though they are bourgeois, speak well of our country. In the past Albanian was a "blank space" to foreigners, about which they knew nothing. Now, when they see the development of our archaeology and the scientific level of our research work in this field, they are amazed and ask: How is it possible that all these treasures have lain hidden in this country?! It is a good thing that you have discovered them for yourselves, - they tell us, - "because had you asked others to help you they would have grabbed them".

In the outside world there are people with great artistic culture who have the Byzantine culture and art, for instance, at their finger tips. The appraisal which these critics make of the mural paintings of Onufri and the works of other Albanian authors is exceptionally high. In these artistic creations they do not see the plasticity of Byzantine art. In these paintings, in the colours even in the rocks of our soil which are reflected in them they observe a special living quality, "Even the saints, - they say, - have human faces and are presented like the mountain eagles".

That is all I had to say about some of the questions which were raised at this meeting. We wish all the workers of the front of literature and arts still greater successes in carrying out the tasks laid down by the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, as well as in the other tasks which the Party, the people and the socialist construction, have placed before our literature and arts.

I am sorry that I have not yet been able to see the exhibition of figurative arts which was opened on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the liberation, because, as you know, comrades I have been very busy; nevertheless, I shall find the opportunity and I shall certainly go to see it. I have been told that works very good from the ideological viewpoint and well executed from the artistic viewpoint, have been exhibited there. The new talents will certainly grow. This is very important for the future. The very fact of the opening of this exhibition illustrates our great successes in this field. May your work go well!

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1) Carbonari: was a general term given to the anti-papal, anti-feudal revolutionaries of 19th century Italy. The term reflects the important role played by the coal-miners in this bourgeois revolutionary movement.

*March 7 is celebrated in Albania every year as «the Teacher's Day». On this occasion children of all ages express their feelings of the most sincere love and gratitude to their teachers.*



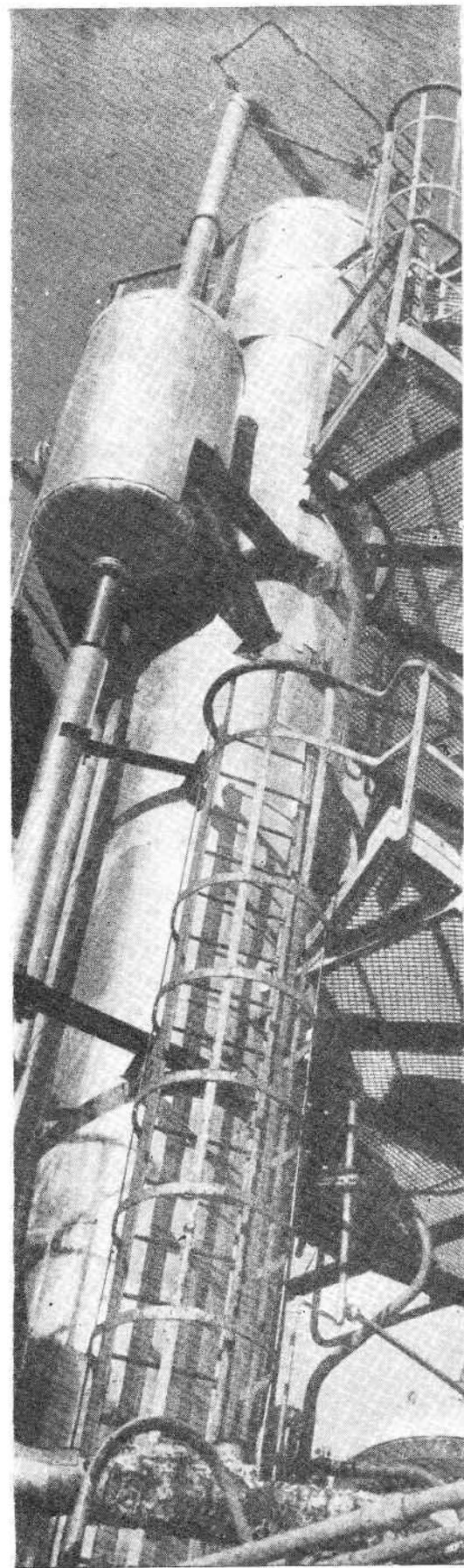
# **GREAT SUCCESSSES, BRILLIANT PROSPECTS**

by **ABDYL KËLLEZI**

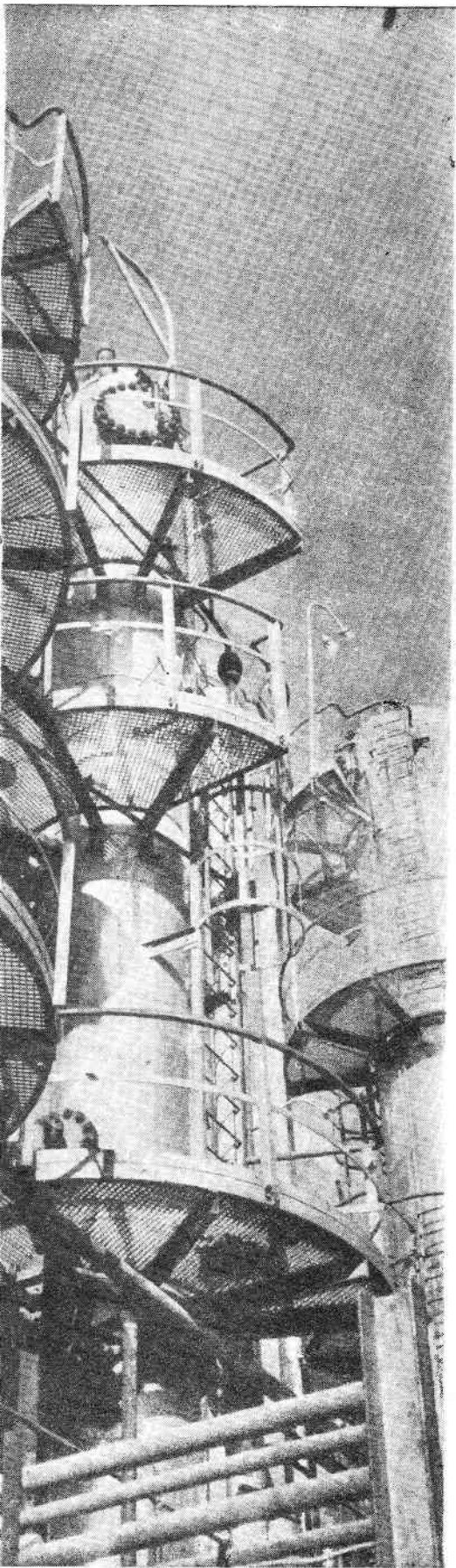
**Our people's economy, organised and run  
by our socialist State,  
under the leadership of the Party, on the basis of the  
objective laws of socialism and taking into  
consideration the concrete national  
and international conditions  
and circumstances, not only does  
not know the phenomena of the economic  
and financial crisis and the other  
evils of the capitalist and revisionist world,  
but on the contrary,  
is developing in a planned and harmonious  
way at a rapid rate**

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*From the report of ABDYL KËLLEZI, vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Chairman of the State Planning Commission, delivered on behalf of the Government, at the 2nd Session of the 8th Legislature of the People's Assembly.*







THE YEAR 1974 MARKED A FURTHER RISE IN THE ORGANISATION, MANAGEMENT, AND PLANNED DEVELOPMENT OF OUR PEOPLE'S ECONOMY. THE STRUGGLE FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECISIONS OF THE 4TH PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY AGAINST ALIEN MANIFESTATIONS AND LIBERAL STANDS, THE GREAT EFFORTS TO CARRY OUT THE TASKS LAID DOWN BY THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY AND DEFINED BY THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, TO APPLY A STRICT REGIME OF SAVINGS EVERYWHERE, THE GENERAL MOBILISATION OF THE BROAD WORKING MASSES FOR GREATER ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE NATIONAL ECONOMY AND OTHER FIELDS, CONSTITUTE THE MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF ALL THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC ACTIVITY TO FULFIL THE TASKS OF THE PLAN FOR 1974. CONSEQUENTLY, THE TASKS ENVISAGED IN MOST OF THE BRANCHES OF MATERIAL PRODUCTION AND IN THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL SECTORS HAVE BEEN FULFILLED SUCCESSFULLY OVER-ALL MARKING A FURTHER AND IMPORTANT RISE AS COMPARED WITH THE YEAR 1973.

In 1974, as against 1973, total production in industry increased by 7,3 per cent. As a whole, the plan for total industrial production was fulfilled 101,3 per cent. The major part of the industrial branches fulfilled or even overfulfilled the targets of the plan.

Increased attention and struggle to fulfill the plan targets in every index, as well as the efforts to strengthen contractual discipline, made possible the fulfilment of the targets according to the assortment better than in any other year. During 1974, in comparison with 1973, the following increases in production were achieved: crude oil 7 per cent, petrol 7,5 per cent, diesel 7 per cent, chromium ore 17 per cent, blister copper 6 per cent, iron-nickel 5 per cent, electric power 6 per cent, machines and equipments over 8 per cent, spare parts over 19 per cent, cement 7 per cent, footwear 5 per cent, sugar 14 per cent, edible fats 34 per cent, cheese 29 per cent, etc.

The good results achieved in the development of industry and in the increase of industrial production are the fruit of the selfless work and great mobilisation of our heroic working class for the fulfilment of the targets of the plan for 1974. The bulk of the increase of industrial production realised during 1974 was secured through the better utilisation of the productive capacities and the more rational use of the material and technical base, as for instance in the oil processing and copper industries, in the production of hydro-electric power, in the paper and other industries. The year 1974 saw greater efforts and a better organisation of the work and struggle of the engineering industry workers to increase the production of machines, equipment,

and particularly, of spare parts. At the same time, there was a further development of the movement to set up new lines and sections relying on our own forces, and master new products, to increase export goods and reduce imports. Great efforts have been made to improve the quality of products and extend their range. Industry as a whole fulfilled its tasks towards the other economic sectors better and particularly in regard to the development and strengthening of the material and technical base of agriculture. The geology workers too in general fulfilled, and in some indices overfulfilled, the tasks set for the increase of industrial reserves of useful minerals. Besides the increase of reserves around the deposits being worked, new promising areas have been discovered.

To implement the Party directives and the important tasks laid down by the People's Assembly, the work in agriculture was done with better mobilisation and multiplied forces to overcome the difficulties created by the bad weather conditions in the spring, with heavy rain that caused flooding and damage, and the long summer drought. Thanks to this work fresh progress was marked in the increase of agricultural and live-stock products. Total agricultural production of 1974 is about 11 per cent larger than that of 1973. The agricultural workers made greater efforts to increase production of bread grain as the main task of agriculture. Wheat production marked an important increase, overfulfilling the plan by 11 per cent, or 20 per cent more than in 1973. Better work and with greater care than in the past years, was done for the development of livestock farming and for the increase of live-stock products.

The Council of Ministers has supported and encouraged the numerous initiatives taken by the agricultural workers to extend the irrigated area, to level and drain the land, to increase the accumulation of organic manure etc.

Satisfactory results have been achieved, also in other branches of our people's economy. The plan for goods transport in ton/Km. has been fulfilled 100 per cent. The motor-transport workers have worked carefully for the extension and more efficient use of trailers, fulfilling the plan targets.

The total volume of construction-assembly work in 1974, as compared with the year 1973, increased by 8 per cent, while that carried out by the construction enterprises increased by 9,4 per cent. In the revolutionary drive which characterises our whole life, the construction workers have intensified their work, particularly on the big projects which are being built with the fraternal internationalist aid of the People's Republic of China, fulfilling the targets of the plan in the construction of the metallurgical combine, the Fierza hydropower station, the deep oil processing plant, and many other important projects.

The better fulfilment of the targets in the plan of industry with regard to quantity and assortment, and the increase in the delivery of agricultural and livestock products, in comparison with the previous year, have improved the supplies of various goods on the market. Goods turnover in 1974, as compared with the year 1973, increased by 5 per cent. The needs of the population for industrial goods, have been better fulfilled in quantity, variety, and quality, while exports increased by 17 per cent as compared with 1973.

The targets of the plan have been fulfilled in a satisfactory manner also in the sector of education and culture. Carrying out the instructions of the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA and the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha, in the framework of the 30th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution, the fighters on the major front of culture

gave the people worthy works, of lofty proletarian partisanship, with profound ideological and revolutionary content and high artistic level. The unprecedented extensive participation of the broad working masses in various fields of the culture, artistic, and sports movement, was a characteristic of the great revolutionary leap forward that has been made in the field of culture. Tens of thousands of amateurs made their first appearances on the stages and sports fields of the cities and villages. The many different festivals, the films produced by the «New Albania» film studio, the literary works of all genres, the beautiful television programmes, the magnificent national spartakiad and the many fine sporting contests—all demonstrated the great transforming force of the ideology of the Party, how high it stands and how much powerful it is to overwhelm the views of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology when it is mastered by the broad working masses, the cadres and specialists of art, culture, etc. In the heat of the great class struggle being carried out and deepened in all fields of life in our country, under the leadership of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, the consciousness of the new socialist man is being tempered with the world outlook of the Marxist-Leninist proletarian ideology.

The targets of the plan have been reached in a satisfactory manner also in the municipal, health, and other sectors.

In income of the 1974 State budget was achieved 100 per cent, and the expenditure—88,2 per cent. The non-fulfilment of the expenditure of the state budget is a result of the numerous measures which were carried out in various branches of the economy to further strengthen the savings programme, and to fulfill the tasks of the plan of production, construction, and services with the least possible consumption of material and monetary funds, as well as of the failure to complete investments in some individual projects.

Very important results were achieved in increasing the defence capacity of the homeland and strengthening our People's

Army. In accordance with the decisions of the 5th and 6th Plenums of the Central Committee of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha's programmatic speeches, the Marxist-Leninist line of our Party on defence matters, as an important part of its general line, is being ever better mastered and implemented by the entire soldier-people. The bourgeois-revisionist theories and their purveyors have suffered one defeat after another, and this is what is in store for them in the future too. The question of defence has become the duty above all duties.

1974 was a year of a mighty allround mobilisation of the working masses and the state and economic organs, led by the Party, to overcome the great difficulties stemming from the savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement and from the international circumstances of the aggravation and deepening of the economic and financial crisis of the capitalist-revisionist world. In this framework and in implementation of the tasks approved by the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers adopted a series of important measures for the further allround strengthening of the savings programme. These measures are playing a great role in the mobilisation and utilisation of internal resources and reserves. Thanks to them and to the political understanding of the problem, the labour force was used more rationally, better work was done for the more economical use of raw materials, there was an intensification of the struggle to reduce failures, damage, and waste, and, in general, greater efforts were made to protect, develop, and increase socialist property.

Although in general the tasks of the state plan and budget for 1974 are completed in a satisfactory manner, we cannot fail to mention that in some branches, sectors and enterprises, there have been shortcomings and weaknesses due to insufficient work and liberal or bureaucratic attitudes, towards carrying out their tasks.

The existence of these shortcomings shows that the savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement and the need for a more intensive struggle against liberal ma-

nifestations and attitudes, as well as against bureaucratic routine in organising and running the people's economy has not always been properly understood by everybody. The Council of Ministers has taken, and in the future will continue to take measures, aimed at raising the efficiency of the managerial work of the State and economic organs to a higher level to strengthen the discipline of the plan and financial and contractual discipline, to improve the organisation of assistance and clock-up and particularly to further strengthen the demand for rendering account and individual and collective responsibility in carrying out tasks. Better organisation of the struggle against these shortcomings and weaknesses will ensure better conditions for fulfilment of the state plan and budget for the year 1975.

Then Abdyl Këllezhi spoke of the draft State plan and the draft State budget for the year 1975.

The targets envisaged for 1975 take into consideration the quotas set in the five-year plan, the new possibilities created for economic development, the good experience gained by the working class and the broad working masses for the fulfilment of the plan for 1974, the creative thinking of the working people expressed during the whole process of working out the draft-plan, as well as the conditions created as a result of the deepening of the economic and financial crisis of the capitalist-revisionist world. The fulfilment of these tasks will be achieved, thanks to a more complete utilisation of the productive capacities and of the material and technical base, a more frugal use of raw materials, other materials and monetary values, and thanks to the exploitation of all the new possibilities and resources which lead to increased production and the development of other sectors of the economy and culture.

Gross industrial output is planned to increase by 4,4 per cent as compared with that of the year 1974. The chromium industry is planned to increase by about 10 per cent, electric power-about 6 per cent, the chemical industry-about 8 per cent, the engineering industry-about 5

per cent, the food processing industry-about 5 per cent.

The fulfilment of the tasks in industry for the year 1975 must be accompanied with more effort for the best possible utilisation of productive capacities.

In 1975, and especially from the beginning of 1976, many industrial projects with complex equipment and technology will come into operation. In order to ensure the best possible use of these projects all the necessary measures are being taken, particularly for the cadres who will be employed in them.

Total agricultural production in 1975, in comparison with that of the year 1974, is expected to increase by 15,9 per cent. It is planned to open up about 15000 hectares of virgin land, including about 9000 hectares for field crops. As compared with 1974, the production of bread grain will increase about 8 per cent, potatoes-about 60 per cent, rice-about 39 per cent, cotton-about 25 per cent, sugar-beet-about 30 per cent, sunflower-about 41 per cent, meat-about 12 per cent, eggs-about 17 per cent, milk-about 14 per cent, etc.

For the fulfilment of these tasks in agriculture, the Council of Ministers has envisaged important measures for the further reinforcement of its material and technical base.

On the basis of the increase of agricultural and livestock products perceptible increases have been envisaged also in wholesale purchases of them.

The volume of goods transport in 1975 is envisaged to be 4 per cent larger as compared with the 1974 figure. This will ensure the fulfilment of the needs of our people's economy for goods transport.

The 1975 draft plan envisages growing tasks also for the construction workers. The volume of construction-assembly work, in comparison with that of 1974, is envisaged to increase 1,6 per cent. The construction-assembly work carried out by the enterprises of the Ministry of Construction will increase 4,7 per cent. During 1975, parallel with the intensification of the work on the big projects going up with the fraternal aid

of the People's Republic of China, such as the metallurgical combine at Elbasan, the Fierza hydropower station, etc., work will begin or continue on many other projects. We plan to complete and put into operation important projects, including the extension of the cement factory in Elbasan to increase its productive capacity four-fold, the wall-board factory in Elbasan, 9 lines for production of maize oil and corn flour, the polygraphic combine in Tirana, the brick production lines in Fier and Tepelene, the flour factory in Lushnja, the Gjançi water reservoir in Korça, that of Maqellara in Dibra and of Izvor in Tepelena, the Fier-Ballsh railway will be completed, and more than 7.200 flats, the Durrës water pipeline from Fushë-Kuqë, and many other socio-cultural projects will be built.

The 1975 draft-plan envisages bigger tasks also for the other sectors of the economy and culture. Retail goods turnover, as compared with that of 1974, is expected to increase by 3,2 per cent.

In the field of education there will be a further rise of the level of measures and requirements for the further allround revolutionisation of all categories of schools. This year 100 per cent of the pupils graduating from the middle schools will do their probation period in production. About 14.000 young men and women are expected to graduate from full time higher schools and professional and general middle schools. Most of them will go to work in the various economic and cultural sectors, in town and countryside, fulfilling the needs of the main projects which will be put into operation. The various sectors of people's culture will also be further developed.

On the basis of the draft-plan for the development of the economy and culture for 1975, the Council of Ministers has also prepared the draft state budget. According to this draft, income will be 7 billion, 300 million leks. Expenditure will be 7 billion, 100 million leks, with a credit balance of 200 million leks. In the state budget expenditure the main place is occupied by expenditure for financing the people's economy, which amounts



to 4 billion, 482 million leks, or 63, 1 per cent of the total budget expenditure, expenditures for education and culture will be 818 million leks or 11,6 per cent; public health — 342 million leks or 4,8 per cent; defence—653 million leks or 9,2 per cent, and for the upkeep of the administrative apparatus—106 million leks or 1,5 per cent.

The 1975 draft-budget ensures the uninterrupted financing of the development of the country's economy and culture.

As always, in achieving the 1975 targets, too, we shall have the powerful, fraternal aid and support of our close friends, the great Chinese people, the Government of the People's Republic of China, and the Communist Party of China with comrade Mao Tse-tung at the head. From the highest state rostrum of the People's Republic of Albania we, the deputies, and together with us, the entire Albanian people cordially thank the people, the Party, and the Government of the People's Republic of China, for the continuous and unlimited backing and support, for the great, generous and internationalist aid they give us, in all the fields of the socialist construction and the defence of our homeland.

After having pointed out the main directions on which the attention of the state and economic organs must be centred for the fulfilment of the tasks of 1975, Abdyl Këllezi continued:

The fulfilment of the tasks for 1975 and the closing of the fifth five-year plan for the development of the economy and culture with great successes, will make our economy more powerful and more independent, always forging ahead on the basis of the principle of self-reliance.

This positive development of our country is being achieved at a time when the economy of the capitalist and the revisionist world is bogged down in a profound economic and financial crisis which is shaking this rotten system to its foundations.

The present economic and financial crisis, which expresses the sharpening of all the antagonistic contradictions of the present-day capitalist and revisionist

system, further deepens its general crisis. It has engulfed all the capitalist countries, without exception particularly the industrialised capitalist countries. This crisis once more proves the falseness of all the bourgeois and revisionist theories about "people's capitalism", "the consumer society", "the peaceful transition" or "integration" of capitalism into socialism, etc. It once more shows that the capitalist and revisionist system is based on the savage and merciless exploitation of the broad working masses. The characteristic features of the economy of the capitalist and revisionist countries today are stagnation, decline of production and the marked slackening of rates of production the great increase of the army of unemployed, skyrocketing prices, particularly of food-stuffs, the great devaluation of the main capitalist currencies and the enormous increase of inflation, the continuous deepening of chronic deficits in foreign trade in budgets, and the balance of payments, etc. These phenomena and contradictions, which stem from the very class nature of the capitalist and revisionist system, are insurmountable. They are permanent fellow-travellers of this rotten system. In their vain efforts to get out of the crisis that has gripped them, the imperialist and revisionist bourgeoisie, the monopolies and business circles, the bourgeois and revisionist governments and political parties are increasingly shifting the consequences of the economic and financial crisis on to the shoulders of the broad working masses, raising the level of exploitation and markedly lowering their living standards and subsistence level.

As pointed out by our Party of Labour, the deepening of the economic and financial crisis in the capitalist and revisionist countries has led to a further intensification of the class struggle in these countries, to the rise of the ideological and political consciousness of the working class and the other working masses, who day by day are rising in open struggle, not only in defence of their vital interests, but also against the bourgeois system as a whole. The best evidence of this is the extension and deepening of the strike movement of the working class of

Britain, Italy, France, the USA, Japan, and the other capitalist countries, by the political, ideological, and organisational, consolidation of the Marxist-Leninist groups and parties, and the ever greater opposition of the peoples of the world to the hegemony of the two superpowers, imperialism and social-imperialism.

The economic and social situation in our country is entirely different. Our people's economy, organised and run by our socialist state, under the leadership of the Party on the basis of the objective laws of socialism and taking into consideration the concrete national and international conditions and circumstances, not only does not know the phenomena of economic and financial crisis and the other evils of the capitalist and revisionist world, but on the contrary, develops in a planned, harmonious way and at rapid rates. Our production in industry, agriculture, and other sectors, is steadily increasing; in our country there is no unemployment; retail prices have been systematically reduced and not a single thing has gone up in price, more and more supplies of mass consumer goods are available on the markets. Our people's economy does not know inflation; the purchasing power of the lek has grown continually stronger. On this basis, the standard of living of the broad working masses of the town and countryside has been steadily rising. In 1974, as compared with 1970, per capita real income increased about 12 per cent. This is what has happened in our country, and it is what will happen in the future, too.

# POWERFUL LEVER OF THE PARTY IN ITS REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

by RITA MARKO

**The Trade Unions of Albania, under the leadership of the Party, and thanks to the continuous care of the Central Committee and Comrade Enver Hoxha, have always stood in the front ranks of the struggle for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the further steeling of the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry, for the extension of socialist democracy. They have worked tirelessly so that the working class will always remain the leading force of our society**

THE TRADE UNIONS OF ALBANIA WERE FOUNDED IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE LIBERATION OF THE COUNTRY AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S POWER, ON THE INITIATIVE, UNDER THE DIRECTION, AND ACCORDING TO THE TEACHINGS, OF THE PARTY AND OUR BELOVED LEADER, COMRADE ENVER HOXHA. THE FOUNDING OF THE TRADE UNIONS WAS AN URGENT AND HISTORIC NECESSITY DICTATED BY THE ESSENTIAL NEED TO CARRY OUT THE PROGRAMME OF THE PARTY, TO FULFILL THE TASKS ARISING FROM THE TRANSITION OF OUR COUNTRY TO THE ROAD OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM, TO HELP THE PARTY IN TRAINING, EDUCATING AND TEMPERING THE WORKING PEOPLE, AND PARTICULARLY THE WORKING CLASS, AS THE LEADING CLASS OF THE NEW SOCIETY BEING BUILT, WHICH, IN REVOLUTIONARY ALLIANCE WITH THE LABOURING PEASANTRY, HAD TO FULFIL ITS HISTORIC MISSION FOR THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM, TO BREAK THE POWER AND RESISTANCE OF THE EXPLOITING CLASSES AND THE UNDERMINING ACTIVITY OF OUR INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL ENEMIES.

These circumstances also defined the form, the role and the tasks of the Trade

*From the speech delivered at the solemn meeting dedicated to the 30th anniversary of the founding of the ATU, by RITA MARKO, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and President of the ATU Central Council.*

Unions, as broad organisations of the masses, of the working class and other working people, of a political, class and revolutionary character, as a powerful lever of the Party and a school of communism. Their organisation and activity was based on the Marxist-Leninist principles, on the

general line and programme of the Party and its directives.

The creation of the Trade Union organisation was another great victory of our working class on the road to the realisation of its aspirations. Therefore, on this important anniversary the finest feelings of boundless gratitude and ardent love of the workers and all the other working people, of the members, activists and cadres, of the Trade Unions, are extended to our glorious Party and to our beloved leader and teacher, comrade Enver Hoxha.

Under the influence of democratic ideas, and later, of the communist ideas which were spread by the communist groups, the working class was the first to go on strike and stage demonstrations in defence of its rights. The fascist occupation raised the struggle of the Albanian wor-

kers to a still higher level. But the founding of the Communist Party of Albania with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, as the political staff of the working class as a party of the new type, of the revolution, created the decisive, permanent condition, for the leadership of the working class in the National Liberation War, in the struggle for its complete liberation and the victory over the enemies.

With the founding of the Communist Party of Albania the workers' movement ensured its unity on a national scale. The working class was the first to set the example in this struggle. The workers, led and inspired by the Party, were in the front ranks of the demonstrations and emerged as their organisers and leaders.

When the Party issued the clarion-call for armed uprising, the workers were the first, who under the leadership of the communists, distinguished themselves in bold actions of the guerrilla units, became the core of partisan detachments and battalions, and, having withstood the difficult tests of the war, were admitted to the Party ranks and became capable commanders and commissars who, with their maturity and ability, won the confidence and love of the partisans and the people.

The National Liberation War, led by the Party, became a great school for the revolutionary education of the working class, and prepared it to perform its mission in the new historical stage of the building of socialism, the consolidation of the new state power, and the defence of the socialist homeland from the external and internal enemies.

Now, after thirty years, our socialist Albania is an advanced and developed country. This has been achieved thanks to our glorious Party, to its leadership and its correct Marxist-Leninist line, thanks to the titanic work of our working class and of our entire people. Our enemies—the imperialists, the revisionists, and their internal agents—did their utmost to stop our revolution and undermine our victories, to keep Albania as their private estate but all their plans and conspiracies failed. Our people, led by the Party, with the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other, achieved historic victories

in all directions. Our working class has always been on the forefront of this struggle.

The balance of victories we drew up a few months ago, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution, is truly majestic: profound revolutionary transformations have been carried out in all the fields of the country's life. In the difficult conditions of the terrible backwardness inherited from the past, of the resistance of the overthrown classes, the savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade, our glorious Party has had to solve the great problems of the reconstruction of the country, the construction of socialism and the defence of the homeland. With great sacrifices, and overcoming countless difficulties and obstacles, one victory after another was achieved: social ownership was established over the means of production; socialist relations included all the sectors of activity; our new socialist industry was set up, agriculture was collectivised, unemployment and poverty were eliminated, a profound revolution was carried out in the field of education and culture, the wellbeing of our working masses was perceptibly raised, and the dictatorship of the proletariat and the defence capacity of our homeland became invincible. Thus, many aspirations of the working class were realised, and today it enjoys all the rights which the workers in capitalist countries have been struggling for and dreaming of for centuries.

The Trade Unions became a powerful support for the Party in the struggle for the realisation of these historic victories which changed the whole appearance of our beloved homeland. They have grown and extended, and include in their ranks over 20 times more members than they counted in the early post-liberation years. A profound change has taken place not only in their numerical strength, but also in their qualitative composition. Implementing the teachings of the Party, the workers and the other labouring people, liquidated the backwardness, mastered the equipment, technology, and the art of the organisation and running of production



and the other sectors of life. While previously the country could barely count 80 occupations, today our working people, tempered by the Party, work in more than 2,000 occupations and specialities. About 50 per cent of our workers have 8 year and secondary education, while among our workers the number of specialists with tertiary level schooling has increased 50 fold and those of secondary level have increased 23 times over.

But, above all, in fierce struggle against the class enemies, the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, against the petty-bourgeois psychology and the remnants and blemishes from the past in the consciousness of men and women, the Party tempered our new working class with a lofty revolutionary spirit, with sound class and socialist consciousness, with an ardent feeling of heroism and self sacrifice, with political maturity, with the fine virtues of communist morality and with exemplary devotion to the cause of the Party, socialism, and the revolution. The Party moulds our workers and the other working masses with the revolutionary concepts of the construction of socialism with their own forces, of waging the class struggle, with the feeling of socialist attitude towards work and social property, with revolutionary concepts and attitudes in life, in the family and in society.

The best testimony to these splendid qualities of our working class are the great projects of the construction of socialism, the rapid increase of social production and labour productivity, the development of education, culture and art, the all-round strengthening of our socialist socio-economic order, the strengthening of the international position and authority of socialist Albania.

The essence of the entire work of our Trade Unions is the ideological and political education of our working people. Lenin called them «schools of communist education». Our Party has emphasised that the main role of the Trade Unions, as one of its levers, is the education of the working class and the other working people.

In struggle to put these directives of the Party into practice and under its leadership, the Trade Unions have worked

to temper our working people with the revolutionary features of our working class, to make them determined fighters for the implementation of the line of the Party and the defence of the gains of the revolution and our socialist homeland.

The main objective of the educational work of our Trade Unions has been and remains the continuous tempering of the political consciousness of the working people so that they thoroughly understand the role of the working class as the leading class of our society, which, under the leadership of the Party, sets the tone for the entire life of the country.

The study and the ever better assimilation of the line of the Party, of its directives and decisions, is an indispensable condition for the working people of our country to march triumphantly forward on the road of the revolution and socialism. For this reason, our Trade Unions have devoted great attention to the ideological political education of the working people through organised forms of political education. Summing up the positive experience of this work, we are faced with the task of making better efforts to make this system as effective as possible and further improving the other forms of educational work for the continuous ideological elevation of the working people by making full use of all the possibilities created by the Party for this purpose.

The ideological class struggle against the influences of the alien bourgeois-revisionist ideology, to deepen the process of the further revolutionisation of the entire life of the country, to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, to defend the gains of the revolution and the independence and freedom of our socialist homeland, assumes special importance today. Bearing in mind the teachings of the Party concerning the class struggle, which continues during the entire period of transition from capitalism to communism and constitutes one of the principal motive forces of our society, our Trade Unions are working to wage it unceasingly against all enemies, against all alien, liberal, conservative, bureaucratic, and technocratic manifestations, and against anything which hinders our advance.

Ensuring the understanding and implementation of the teaching of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha that the defence of the homeland is the duty above all duties, has been and remains, an important direction of the ideological and political work of our Trade Unions.

A great deal of work has been and continues to be done, for the education of our working people in the socialist attitude towards work and property. But the great tasks of socialist construction demand that we should not be content with the results achieved, but should exercise our minds seriously and fight even better against alien attitudes towards work and property, for discipline and the full use of working time, for the quality of production, the setting of work quotas, and so on.

A special role in the struggle to protect the gains of the revolution and our socialist construction, to bar the way to the penetration of bourgeois-revisionist ideology, and to march with sure steps on the road to socialism and communism, is played by the direct working class control, which is led and inspired by the Party. The direct workers' control has become a powerful weapon in the hands of the working class for the defence of the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Party and for its full application. It is becoming ever better understood as a profound ideological movement and as a powerful weapon in the hands of the class and of its Marxist-Leninist Party to preserve intact the dictatorship of the proletariat, to constantly strengthen the vanguard political role of the working class, as the leading class, controlling the entire life of the country. The workers' control, under the leadership of the Party, is exercised everywhere and over everybody without any limitation. It includes all the spheres of our social activity. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us «From every viewpoint the working class constitutes the foundation of our socialist construction, its decisive factor. The working class must direct, exercise its control and influence, both in the general context of the state as well as directly on all the links of the state economy and administration». And

as a matter of fact, all the alien manifestations—bureaucracy, liberalism, conservatism, technocratism and any other influence of the bourgeois-revisionist ideology have come under the fire of its control. The Party is struggling to have the workers' control develop unceasingly, so that the working class, under the leadership of the Party will be always on its toes, sternly criticising shortcomings and weaknesses, demanding that the line of the Party, its directives and the laws of the State be resolutely carried out everywhere.

The Trade Unions help the Party in organising the workers' control. They devote great attention to the application of the line everywhere and always, to develop socialist democracy, to draw the working masses as extensively as possible into the struggle for the solution of the problems raised by the further revolutionisation of the entire life of the country and the construction of socialism. As levers of the Party, they pay attention not only to taking the word of the Party to the masses, but also to bringing the voice of the masses, the problems arising from the life and struggle of the working people, back to the Party. For this purpose, it is of great principled and practical importance that the life of the Trade Unions should be further enlivened, that the working people always have their say, that they courageously develop revolutionary criticism and self-criticism, that they do not reconcile themselves to the shortcomings, but hit out at every bureaucratic distortion, any alien manifestation and stand in opposition to the interests of the revolution and socialism. The Trade Unions will fight incessantly to deepen socialist democracy, to prevent anyone from becoming overcome by complacency and seeking privileges.

Under the leadership of the Party, the Trade Unions of Albania have given major attention to the broad and all-round education and mobilisation of the masses of the workers and other working people in the struggle for the development of the economy and the realisation of the State plans. Enlightened by the teachings of the Party, they have worked to implant

in the consciousness of every working man the fact that, in the conditions of our socialist country, after the establishment of the people's power and the accomplishment of the radical economic and social transformations, the working people have become masters of the country, that they are working for themselves, for their society, and for their happy future. And, in fact, on this basis there has been an outburst of the inexhaustible energies, revolutionary initiatives, and creativity of the broad working masses, a powerful socialist emulation drive has developed and spread everywhere for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the plans of the development of the economy, culture, and the all-round progress of our country.

The working class grew and tempered itself in this great struggle; from its ranks emerged hundreds of innovators and people outstanding in work and life, thousands upon thousands of talented cadres devoted to the cause of the Party.

In the present international conditions, when the capitalist and the revisionist world has plunged into a profound general and serious crisis, it is the duty of all the working people to make maximum efforts in order to achieve the greatest possible successes in all the sectors.

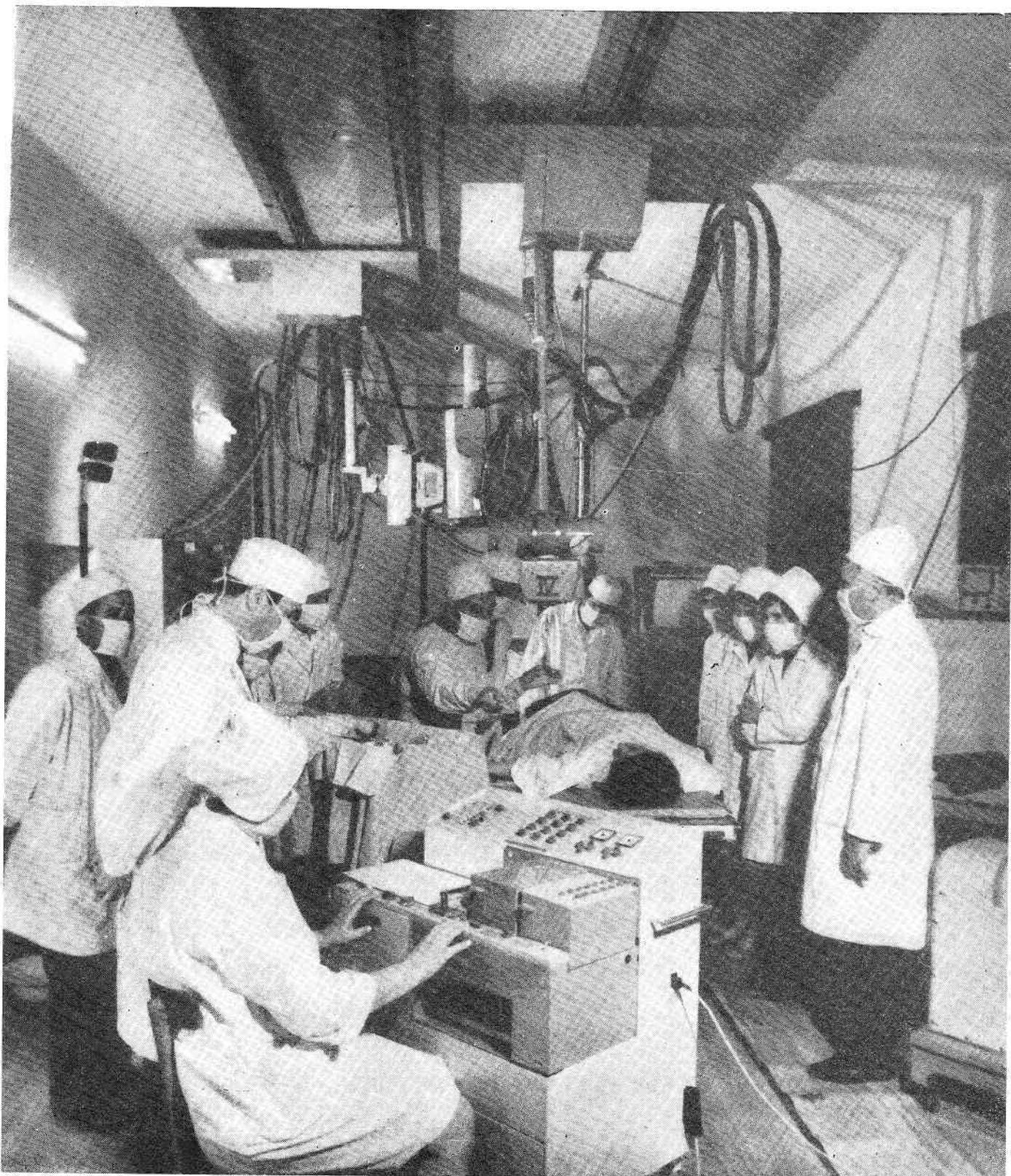
The Trade Unions of Albania, firmly based on the Marxist-Leninist ideology of our Party, on the principles of proletarian internationalism and workers solidarity, have provided and will always provide, active support to the revolutionary fighters for national and social liberation, for the democratic rights of the working people and for trade union freedoms, against capitalist oppression and exploitation, against imperialism and social imperialism, old and new colonialism, revisionism, and all opportunist and reformist trends, for the triumph of the revolution and socialism.

The determined struggle of our Party and the entire Albanian people against imperialism and revisionism has gained for our country and the working class of Albania numerous friends and allies in all parts of the world. We enjoy the support of all the revolutionary and progressive forces in the world, and, above all,

of the fraternal people and workers of the People's Republic of China, with whom we are united by common aims and ideals. The deep revolutionary friendship, forged by the parties and the great leaders of our two countries, comrade Enver Hoxha and comrade Mao Tse-tung, and which is a brilliant example of the application of the principles of proletarian internationalism, will develop and become even stronger in the future.

The growth, extension, and intensification of the class struggle of the proletariat against the monopoly bourgeoisie, against US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, the intensification of the revolutionary and national liberation struggles, as well as the deepening of the grave economic, political, and social crisis, which has gripped all the capitalist and revisionist countries recently, testify to the great militant strength of the working class and to the growth of its class consciousness. These things fully prove the thesis of the 6th Congress of our Party of Labour that the revolution and the triumph of socialism is the trend of development in the world today.

All the victories achieved by our people and our working class are due to the correct Marxist-Leninist leadership of our glorious Party with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head. The strength of our Trade Unions lies in the leadership of the Party.



*Our health institutions make use of the most modern apparatus to diagnose and treat diseases. New health cadres are trained by the Tirana University in the use of such apparatus*



# THE LEADING ROLE OF WITH THE DEVELOPME AND CONSOLIDATION O

*Editorial article of the review «RRUGA E PARTISË»*

**All the great historic victories  
reaped by our people in the struggle for national  
and social liberation,  
for the establishment, consolidation of the dictatorship  
of the proletariat,  
for the realisation of the deep-going  
revolutionary transformations  
in all fields, the construction of socialism,  
the defence of the Homeland  
and of the victories achieved, are inseparably  
linked with our Party  
of Labour, with its wise, correct, and farsighted  
leadership. Therefore, the leading  
role of the Party in the entire life of our country,  
everywhere, over  
everyone and in everything, is indisputable**

# THE PARTY GROWS NOT FROM SOCIALISM

**THE LEADERSHIP OF THE WORKING CLASS IN THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY BY ITS REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST-LENINIST POLITICAL PARTY CONSTITUTES A GENERAL LAW WHICH THE GREAT TEACHERS OF MARXISM-LENINISM HAVE VERIFIED WITH SCIENTIFIC ARGUMENT. PROCEEDING FROM THIS LAW THEY ALSO BUILT UP A COMPLETE DOCTRINE ABOUT THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS LEADING ROLE, DEFINED THE PRINCIPLES AND NORMS OF THE BUILDING AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE LIFE AND ACTIVITY OF THE PARTY, AND, PASSING FROM THE FIELD OF THEORY TO PRACTICE, THEY ORGANIZED AND LED THIS PARTY. LIFE HAS FULLY CONFIRMED THE CORRECTNESS, ACCURACY AND FORCE OF THIS LAW AND THIS DOCTRINE.**

The Party of Labour of Albania, always true to Marxism-Leninism, has fully upheld this general law and, at every step of its activity, has carried out to the letter the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the party and its leading role, in irreconcilable struggle against any erroneous view and practice in this field. It has risen with determination and smashed any enemy and deviation from these principles, has exposed and refuted the dangerous views, aims, and practices, of the old and modern revisionists, on this question, as in every other field. Meanwhile, through summing up the great experience it has amassed, it has further refined and enriched the Marxist-Leninist doctrine about the party and its leading role.

At the 5th Congress of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that «The historical experience of our party has confirmed the Leninist view that the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie,

the construction of socialism and communism, cannot be achieved without a revolutionary party of the working class, a party loyal to Marxism-Leninism, an organized party able to lead and guide the working masses in struggle and at work. This is a general law of the revolution and socialist construction. The slightest weakening of the leading role of the party and any departure from the Marxist-Leninist principles, creates for the working class, the great danger that it will remain disorganized and unarmed facing the class enemies, creates the source of ideological and organisational degeneration, the danger of losing the victories achieved and of the liquidation of the party, of its transformation from a revolutionary party into a revisionist, reformist, bourgeois party». (Enver Hoxha, «Report to the 5th Congress of the PLA», second edit., p. 80).

The fundamental conclusion is that the

fate of the revolution and socialism is linked with the preservation of the Marxist-Leninist purity of the party, with its continuous strengthening and tempering, with ensuring and perfecting its leading role in the entire life of the country. It is because our party has consistently followed this road that the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country is strong and invincible, that triumphant socialism is constantly advancing. In this sense, it is by no means fortuitous that our internal and external enemies, in their aims to overthrow the power of our working class and our people, to bring about the degeneration and destruction of the dictatorship of the proletariat and our entire socialist order, to restore capitalism in Albania, have always directed their main blow against our party first of all, in order to weaken, liberalize and degenerate it, to undermine, weaken and liquidate its leading role. This has been the aim and desire of all the deviators, traitors, and internal enemies of our party and people. This has also been the aim and desire of our external imperialist and revisionist enemies. Their hostile aims and activities have always had this as one of their common characteristics. And if their plans have failed, this is due to the strength and farsighted leadership of the party, to the defence and resolute appli-

cation on its part of the Marxist-Leninist principles and its correct line, to the monolithic unity of its ranks round its Central Committee with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, to its close ties with the masses, its firm reliance on them, and their steel-like unity. This is another great lesson we draw from our experience.

Upholding the Marxist-Leninist principle that, with the development and consolidation of socialism, the leading role of the party not only does not grow weaker, but on the contrary becomes increasingly stronger and perfected, the 6th Congress of the PLA underlined that this constitutes a permanent and vital duty and that a profound understanding and especially, the correct implementation of this principle in practice are of special importance. This was reaffirmed also by the 4th, 5th and 6th Plenums of the Central Committee of the PLA.

The necessity for the constant strengthening and perfecting of the leading role of the party during the entire period of the transition from capitalism to communism, is dictated by a series of factors, such as the construction of socialism in the conditions of the waging of a fierce and extremely complicated class struggle on a national and international scale over the entire period of transition from capitalism to communism, the ever increasing extension and complexity of the tasks of this construction, the constant growth of the leading role of the working class and the ever more active participation of the masses in this construction. And life has shown that it is precisely the party, which, teaches, directs, and leads the working class and the other working masses in the class struggle, so that they always remain vigilant, know how to distinguish between friends and enemies and avoid falling either into opportunism or into sectarianism, so that they know how to sniff out the aims of the enemies, to expose their manoeuvres, to avoid falling into their traps and always hit them right on the mark, so that they assess the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and its allround pressure on us, realistically

and concretely and wage a real and concrete struggle against it. Likewise, it is the party that, being armed with Marxism-Leninism, is in position to grasp the interconnections of the complex phenomena which emerge in the process of the rapid development of socialist society, to distinguish the forces which drive this development ahead and those that hinder it, to predict the course of events and respond in time with a correct solution to all the problems raised by the practice of socialist construction. Finally, while socialism is the deed of the masses themselves, it is the party which makes them conscious of the need to take part actively in its construction, to drive it forward as rapidly as possible. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said that «Socialism is built by the masses, the Party makes them conscious» (Speech at the plenum of the Mati district Party Committee, February 26, 1972).

But the continuous strengthening and perfecting of the leading role of the party in the entire life of the country does not constitute a process that takes place spontaneously. In turning this necessity into reality, the main role is played by the subjective factor. Nobody handed our party its leading role in the revolution and the socialist construction. It won, preserves, and plays this role, with its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and with the unwaveringly correct line it has worked out and applied, with its extremely high level of organisation with the solidarity of its ranks and the unity of thought and action it has ensured in irreconcilable and uncompromising struggle against any deviator or deviation from its correct course, with the close ties it has created with the masses based on mutual trust, with the mobilising, educating organising and leading capabilities of its organs, organisations and members, through the vanguard and leading role of the communists.

It has been so thus far, and so it will be in the future, too. Therefore, the Party has emphatically pointed out that the further strengthening and perfecting of its leading role in every sector, in the enti-

re life of the country, does not come about spontaneously, nor is it ensured or imposed through decrees and administrative measures. It is a process of intensive work and struggle of the party itself, which has to do primarily with the constant strengthening and revolutionisation of its own ranks, of the life and activity of its organisations, organs, and members, of the entire method and style of their work of leadership. Therefore the party has instructed that we must devote all our attention, efforts and abilities, all our minds and hearts to work on this problem. In this direction, there are some main questions on which we must continually concentrate most of our attention.

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It is known that the party realises its leading role in all fields: political, ideological, organisational, economic, educational, military, etc., in every sector and even in every cell of the activity and life of the country, primarily, and in the most all-embracing way, through its ideology and its correct line, through the directives it issues from time to time. But the Party ensures both the working out of its line and directives, as well as their elucidation, concretisation and the effective leadership for the application in practice, through its leading organs and grass-root organisations, through its members wherever they work.

Certainly the fundamental and decisive link which ensures in practice the leading role of the party in every cell of our life, is the Party branch. Through the branch all the instructions and directives of the Party are elucidated and concretised with decisions and practical measures and the work is organised for their application, the party ensures its direct ties with the masses and carries out their mobilisation to attain the objectives set, and exercises its check up on how every communist or cadre, irrespective of where he works or what office he holds, implements the po-

licy and decisions of the party in his activity. The party has always stressed that thoroughly grasping and applying in practice the Marxist-Leninist principle of putting the party above the state administrative and technical organs and organisations, and of putting politics above profession, speciality, and technology, the further strengthening of the leading role of the party branches wherever they have been built and extend their activity, in all the sectors of work, production, service, teaching and study, in civilian life and in the army, is one of the fundamental duties.

It is a fact that with the great ideological, political and organisational work the Party has carried out, the leading role of the party branches has constantly increased. In this direction, all the work done for the grasping and implementation of the decisions of the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party has been very useful. The concepts and practices of the enemies to the Party, Fadil Paçrami and Todi Lubonja, who, to achieve their liquidatory aims, wanted to revise the great principle about the leading role of the Party, were criticised and exposed. They tried to weaken this role of the Party branches and of the leading organs of the Party in the sectors of art and culture, tried to displace them and cultivate the idea that, allegedly, the affairs of these sectors, and not only of these, are the concern of specialists, that the Party organisations are unable to lead, etc. Measures were taken, also to strengthen and perfect the leading role of the party organisations.

But it must be admitted that despite the improvements that have been made there are still gaps in the understanding and, particularly, in the implementation, of the leading role of the Party branches. There are party organisations in various sectors, particularly in the administration, but also in economic enterprises and agricultural cooperatives, in various institutions and the army, which do not play this role as they should. Therefore, viewing the problems with a critical eye, as the 5th and 6th Plenums of the Central Committee of

the PLA stressed, the work to strengthen and perfect the leading role of the Party branches remains a very important and vital task for the present and the future.

What is required first of all is that everybody in every field of life should thoroughly understand and strictly adhere to the principle that the Party stands above everything, that the party organisations lead the entire work and life wherever they extend their activity, that the Party decisions and directives are binding on everybody. This means, among other things, that every action carried out by state leaders, whether of the economy, culture, or the army, must without fail be based on the Party decisions, it must without fail conform to its line, directives and norms, that nobody can emerge above the Party organ and organisation, that everybody is obliged to accept tasks from the Party organisation and is answerable to it, rendering full account on how these tasks have been performed.

The question is that the whole method and style of work of the Party branches must be further improved on the basis of such a profound and principled grasping of this problem, while combating any manifestation of bureaucracy, officialdom, routine, formalism, technocratism, liberalism, etc., in their activity. Viewing the life and activity of the Party organisations from this angle, we see that they are faced with certain problems on which we must dwell more seriously.

First, the ability of the Party branches to give leadership is increased by their engaging themselves in the main problems which ensure the implementation of the line, directives, and decisions of the Party in all fields, in those issues which constitute the fundamental content of their work in the economic enterprise or agricultural cooperative, the institution or military unit over which their activity extends.

But where will the Party branches find these problems which ensure the application of the Party line in all fields? The

major and inexhaustible sources for this are the decisions and directives of their superior organs, their own decisions, as well as those questions dictated by the actual situation and needs of the sector in which they are working. And their main duty is precisely: to engage in the study, the grasping, elucidation and application of the Party decisions and directives, adapting them to the concrete conditions and the field in which they act, to engage in important questions of the theory and practice dictated by life, elaborating and solving them in a creative manner. Such work extends the range of vision of the party branches, enables them to clearly define their objectives, widens their horizons, and opens perspectives and fields of action, both to them and to their levers. The opposite occurs in case the Party branch tails behind taking up second or third rate problems, matters which others should deal with, or simply current questions of the day, minor affairs, which are often repeated over and over again.

The 6th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA pointed out that «We must strictly put in practice everywhere the principle, continually stressed by the Party, that no important matter whatever, facing any sector at all, can be acted on without being previously examined and decided on by the Party organisations and organs concerned. «Meanwhile, the question as to what the Party branches will deal concretely, must be thought about, judged and decided jointly by all their members, and not just by their secretaries. This helps every party branch to avoid getting itself tied up in less important, second-rate problems, and to take up the most important ones, those concerning the implementation of the line of the Party, not only in the economic field, but also in the political, ideological, military, administrative, and organisational fields.

Second, the increase of the leading role of the party branches is directly linked with the realisation of their function, primarily as a political and ideological leadership, with the establishment always,



of a correct relation between politics and occupation.

The various Party documents point out clearly that in our socialist society, where the class struggle is being waged ever more fiercely, no problem whatever can remain outside politics. Every problem, every task, has its own technical professional aspect, but it has also its political aspect, which are in unity with each other. In this unity, the political aspect is the principal one because, the proletarian policy ensures that everything will be carried out in the interest of socialism, that every task will be solved in conformity with the line, with the directives, and instructions, of the Party, while the professional -technical aspect is the means to implement political direction. Therefore we stress that every problem, irrespective of its character, can be solved correctly when politics is in command, when we act in the way comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, that is, in dealing with and solving any economic or administrative, juridical or military, cultural or organisational problem, we must give priority to its ideological and political aspect.

Such a view, treatment and solution of problems enables the Party organisations, every communist, to ensure wise and skilful leadership in the application of the Party line, to strengthen and perfect their leading role. On the other hand, if in the examination, treatment, and solution of problems their political and ideological aspect is forgotten or underestimated, if the professional and technical aspect is regarded as the main objective, as something which must have priority over everything, even over politics, we inevitably go over to the positions of professionalism and technocratism, with all their negative consequences. Such a practice leads to underestimation of viewing things from a political, class angle, with proletarian partisanship, it replaces political and ideological leadership with technocratic leadership, Marxist-Leninist political and ideological education and the method of conviction, which is the principal method in the work of the Party

with people, with bureaucratic methods of orders, domineering, and arrogance. It weakens revolutionary vigilance and leads to violations and distortions of the Party line, places specialists above the Party, beyond its leadership and control, and weakens, neutralises, displaces, and eliminates, the leadership of the Party organisations. It should be borne well in mind that this has been one of the main ways which all the enemies of the Party have followed in their aims to weaken and displace its leading role, as a first important step towards weakening and eliminating the Party itself.

There is no problem with which the Party organisations are not concerned and nothing should escape their eye. But the correct solution of any problem, on the basis of the line and directives of the Party, greatly depends on the thorough political and ideological understanding of it, on the ideological convictions created about it. The elucidation of directives, gaining a correct understanding of them, and thorough-going analysis of issues on the basis of ideological debate, create the possibility of seeing them in depth, of recognising the positive and negative phenomena, of forming sound ideological convictions about the questions put forward, of increasing collective and individual responsibility, the initiative and independent action of the communists, of defining measures and adopting decisions which lead to advances in thinking and work, which impel the communists and the masses to undertake bold revolutionary actions. This results in opening wide horizons of work, knowledge, and activity to the Party branch and the communists, enabling them to think out everything for themselves on the basis of the line, directives, and decisions of the Party.

Every day the class struggle in our country brings to light the most varied negative phenomena, showing that there are alien concepts and manifestations in the minds and consciousness of various individuals. But it is not sufficient just to reveal this reality. It is also necessary to understand it and deal with it ideologically, to create profound convictions in

one's self and amongst the masses about the danger of alien concepts and manifestations and to engage in irreconcilable struggle against them. Otherwise, those successes which the Party seeks will not be achieved.

But what are the ways to create profound Marxist-Leninist ideological convictions and to handle problems politically and ideologically? The Party has continually shown us these ways. We re-emphasise that one of the most important ways is that of careful, systematic, and continuous study, closely connected with practice, of the ideology of the Party, of its teachings and those of comrade Enver Hoxha, which clarify our thinking, purify our consciousness, and impel us to undertake revolutionary actions.

Third, the increase of the leading role of the Party branches also calls for the continuous strengthening and perfecting of their work of organisation, action, and check-up, considering them as very important functions which make their leadership effective, and which ensure the implementation of the line, directives, and decisions of the Party.

Of course there has been progress also in these aspects of strengthening the leading role of the party organisations. However it must be said that there are still party branches whose work of organisation, action, and check-up are not up to the mark. Life provides many examples showing that in some of them there have been symptoms of liberalism, laxity and lack of discipline in the organisation and check-up on the implementation of the decisions of the higher organs and of their own decisions. Generally, the communists play the vanguard role at work, in life, in society and everywhere, but there are cases in which work is not organised in such a way that every communist will feel himself in his rightful position to propagate and organise the implementation of the line, of the directives and decisions of the Party. Failure on the part of the Party branch to entrust many communists with concrete party tasks, creates in them the spirit of underestimation of the party organisation and

its work, sows the seed of indifference, weakens the organisation and the force of the party organisation for action and achievement. And this becomes still more dangerous and with extremely grave consequences if the wrong impression is created that the decisions adopted and the tasks assigned by the Party branch might be carried out, but them again, might not to be carried out, if these decisions are not made problems of various managers and sectors, and there is no demanding of account on the way in which they are carried out by everybody, even by the State leaders.

Organisation increases the fighting capacity of the party and of every link of it a hundred fold. But it is important to correctly understand that organisation does not have to do merely with some practical forms of work, as is frequently thought. It constitutes a scientific work which includes a host of political, ideological, economic, technical, moral, and social factors, and which is realised through a complex of measure of an educational, technical, military, and other character.

The Party branches also play their leading role, according to the principle of «the party is in command», through the realisation of their controlling function over the whole life and activity of the economic enterprise, agricultural cooperative, institution, or military unit, over the activity of the management, of the chairmanship, the command or the headquarters, and their apparatus. This is a permanent and indisputable function of the Party branch, without the exercise of which everywhere, over everybody, about everything, and without any gaps the leading role of the Party cannot be understood and ensured. To realize and strengthen this control it is necessary, above all, to uproot any erroneous concept about the «cult of managers», the fear and concern that with the demanding of account, with the Party check up on them, their authority will allegedly be weakened. We must be concerned, first of all, about the role and authority of the Party, of the Party branch, that it should always and effectively be in the leadership, for only

then will everything be in order, including the authority and personality of the leading cadres.

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The ideological struggle for the principled grasping, the consistent defence, and the revolutionary and strict implementation of the Leninist principles and norms of the Party, is vital for the continuous strengthening and perfecting of its leading role. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that «the more profoundly we understand the correct line of the Party, the more thoroughly we grasp the principles and norms of its life, the more correctly and thoroughly we implement them with revolutionary courage, the stronger and more unwavering our Party will be, and socialism will forge ahead successfully» (Enver Hoxha, reports and speeches 1967-1968, p. 41).

Our Party has always devoted special attention and care to the work for knowledge of the preservation, and revolutionary application, of the principles and norms on which it has been built and carries on its life and activity. It has always taken measures to keep its ranks strong, to make the life and activity of its organisations, organs and members, ever more vigorous, active and dynamic, combating any manifestation of either of bureaucratic rust or of liberal looseness in all the work for the implementation of its line in general; and of the principles and norms of its life and activity in particular. But this question remains constantly on the agenda because sings of violation of them and formalism in their application, as well as of failure to rise in their defence, have not been lacking.

Experience has shown that the principles and norms which regulate the internal life and activity of the party organisations and organs are defended and implemented through waging the class struggle inside and outside the party, in struggle against hostile elements who act directly or indirectly, against any wrong concept or interpretation of these principles and norms, as well as against

any distortion of them, against the alien bourgeois and petty bourgeois remnants, against conceit, careerism, conformism, servility and opportunism, against the influence of the external pressure of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology. All the communists are required to wage an unceasing struggle against such concepts and manifestations of course against any element who is possibly a camouflaged enemy, but also in themselves and in their comrades.

We must do more work but particularly better work to gain knowledge, the theoretical and philosophical understanding, of the principles and norms of the Party, intensifying and perfecting our entire work for their theoretical and practical elucidation stripping it of empty phraseology, and lack of concrete analysis of the situation and further intensifying the struggle against any liberal concept of the principles and norms of the Party, against the simplification and mechanical understanding of them as rigid and lifeless rules. But this is not and should not be a simple process of teaching, as some think. Of course the study of the principles and norms of the Party in the forms of Marxist-Leninist education with lectures, party, courses and schools, has its own importance; the same is true of individual study and the discussion of these problems in the press. These things must be done, without fail, and better than to date, forcefully combating both the manifestations of formalism and those of bookish teaching. But the party principles and norms are learned especially in life, in the heat of the revolutionary action of the communists and the masses for the implementation of the directives and decisions and on the anvil of the party organisation all of which constitutes a great school where the communists not only grasp and master the theoretical and philosophical content of the principles and norms of the party, but also arm themselves with the organisational abilities to carry them out. This is why we must devote more attention to further enervating the life and activity of the party organisations and the activation of every communist, charging him with party du-

ties, insisting above all, on the application to the letter everywhere, always, and by everybody, of the Leninist principles and norms governing the life and activity of the Party, not allowing the slightest violation of them by anyone.

Particular importance is assumed especially by those norms which have to do with the understanding and application of democracy and discipline, of rights and duties, in such a way that the communist will be clear and conscious about their duties and carry them out to the letter, and likewise will be clear and conscious about their rights and be staunch fighters for their defence, not allowing anyone to trample on them.

The discipline of the Party is a norm of great importance. Its implementation invigorates the militant activity of every branch and leading organ. Without a steel-like and conscious discipline the Party cannot exist, there can be no sound party life and activity. Our Party has continually fought to temper the sense of discipline in its members. Results have been achieved in this respect also through the discussion of the documents of the Plenums of the Central Committee of the PLA. But this does not mean that there are no cases of breaches of Party discipline. Therefore, the strengthening of conscious but steel-like discipline, equally obligatory on everybody, on the cadre and rank-and-file party member, irrespective of the merits and post each may have, constitutes a permanent duty which must remain the focus of attention of the party organisations, of every communist and leading cadre. This is realised in struggle against any erroneous concept and practice which weakens discipline, especially in struggle against any manifestation of liberalism, as well as against the slightest manifestation of domineering, arrogance, or arbitrariness.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has continually pointed out that liberalism in the application of the discipline, of the Party, from the smallest to the most major questions, in the application of the norms of the party, of its line, must be regarded as the offspring of bourgeois ideology and the bearer of every kind of evil.



*The communists have always been in the front ranks of the struggle for the defence of the country and the establishment of the ranks of the struggle for the defence of the country for complete construction of socialism in Albania. Her work to them. A fragment from*



front ranks of the struggle for the liberation of the people's power; they are always in the front of the victories achieved with toil and sweat and blood. The painter Lumturi Dhrami dedicates this placard "THE COMMUNISTS".

V.I. Lenin pointed out that whoever weakens the iron discipline of the party and the state in the slightest, helps the class enemy against the proletariat. Therefore, revolutionary class education is the main weapon to strengthen the party discipline, an education which we must accomplish better, improving not only the political and ideological work, but also the organisational work, and not only through some rigid forms, but on the anvil of the party organisation and in the fire of the class struggle, of revolutionary practice for the carrying out of the tasks.

The development and strengthening of self-criticism and criticism, as an important norm of the party life, is the main means in the hands of the party, of every member, for the discovery and correction of shortcomings and mistakes, for the strengthening of the unity of thought and action of the party ranks, for the uninterrupted development of the internal democracy and the leading activity of the party organisations.

As such, criticism and self-criticism in our Party have been developed and continue to develop in a Marxist-Leninist way. A new impulse was given to their development by the discussion in the Party organisations of the documents of the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA and comrade Enver Hoxha's speeches. The communists criticised openly and with courage, better than at any other time. They made self-criticism of their shortcomings and mistakes, and forcefully criticised alien manifestations and phenomena. This helped to shake up some party organisations and organs and put them in a more revolutionary position. This is happening at present too, with the discussion of the documents of the 6th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party.

However it must be said that not everybody has completely correct concepts about this tested weapon of our Party, criticism and self-criticism. There are communists who have narrow concepts of the application of this important party norm, who do not conceive it as a great motive force for the development of the

life of the Party, who do not understand the curing and transforming essence of it. That is why there are weaknesses in the development of self-criticism from above, shortcomings in criticism from below and parallel criticism, and, occasionally, a vindictive stand towards the person who has criticised. This raises the task that the party organisations must work continually, ideologically and organisationally, to perfect the weapon of self-criticism and criticism, in the party and outside it; that every communist, cadre and worker should use it properly and with courage, everyday and on every occasion, towards himself and towards others, from below-up, and from above-down, as well as parallel, making a deep-going analysis of causes and consequences, clearly pointing out responsibilities, and taking a party stand towards anyone who makes mistakes.

The development of self-criticism, demands special attention, particularly on the part of the cadres. The deepening of self-criticism, particularly from above, and the development of criticism, particularly from below, will help to further strengthen the party, to disclose, criticise, and correct the shortcomings and weaknesses, to recognise and resolve the contradictions of development, to carry the work rapidly forward. —

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The increase and perfection of the leading role of the party in the entire life of the country is realised through the uninterrupted strengthening and revolutionisation of its organisations and leading bodies, through the further tempering of the communists as revolutionaries in the fire of the class struggle, in struggle and in work for the defence and implementation, in close connection with the masses and jointly with them, of the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Party. We have followed this road so far, we shall follow this road in the future too, for the uninterrupted growth and perfection of the leading role of the party everywhere, over everybody and about everything, in the entire life of the country. —



# FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY

## MARCH 8 IN ALBANIA

The women of Albania and the entire Albanian people celebrated March 8, the day of international solidarity of the fighting women of the whole world, in an atmosphere of joy and revolutionary enthusiasm. In plants, factories, combines, construction sites, agricultural cooperatives and enterprises, wherever the women are militating, there were organized meetings, thematic parties festive evenings, and other activities, dedicated to the magnificent victories achieved by the Albanian women in all fields of life under the leadership of the Party with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, about their great role in the work of the entire people for the complete construction of socialism.

A solemn meeting was held in the People's Theatre under the auspices of the General Council of the AWU and the Tirana district AWU General Council.

The meeting was attended by women and girl workers, cooperativists and intellectuals, veterans of the National Liberation War, mothers and relatives of martyrs, distinguished activists of the organisation, and Party and State leaders.

Amidst the enthusiasm of those present, the member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC of the PLA, comrade Ramiz Alia, read the greeting of the Central Committee of the PLA extended to the women of Albania on the occasion of March 8. It said in part:

"Today the women of our country are outstanding everywhere in the glorious work our people are carrying out for the construction of socialism, the defence of the freedom and independence of the homeland, and the allround progress of the country. The Albanian woman is emancipated, with a new revolutionary world outlook, educated and cultured, a skilful worker, a loyal defender of the line of the Party and a valiant soldier of our People's Republic.

The liberation of the woman, her eman-

ipation, is one of the monumental deeds of the Party and of the women of our country themselves. It is a great qualitative leap forward, testifying to the correct line pursued by the Party of the solution of the problem of women, to the transforming power of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

Our experience has confirmed the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the emancipation of the woman is an integral part of the socialist revolution. Outside it there is, and there can be, no real liberation of the women, there is and there can be no emancipation and progress for them. A free woman can live only in a free society, liberated once and for all from capitalist oppression and exploitation, from every kind of national, racial, or religious bondage.

The Party patiently and persistently prepared the conditions for carrying out that great revolutionary transformation the Albanian woman has undergone. The Party aroused the women, together with the entire people, to fight for a free homeland and the people's state power, which constitute the foundations of the emancipation of the woman and our whole society. It prepared the woman to come out in the great world of work as an active and equal member of the mighty army of socialist workers. The Party led the women in the great battles of the class struggle against backward customs, feudal and patriarchal remnants, in the efforts to overcome religious beliefs and smash the shackles of ancient canon laws, in the struggle against degenerate alien liberal influences. The Party has always seen the emancipation of the woman as emancipation of the entire society and has linked the struggle for its realisation with the struggle of the entire people for the construction of socialist society and the education of the new man.

The bourgeoisie and the revisionists clamour about the progress and emancipation of women. But this is just their usual social demagogy, aimed at suppres-

sing the struggle of the women and the revolutionary and progressive forces for the emancipation of women, at distracting their attention from the great pressing political and social problems of the capitalist and revisionist world today. They are striving to turn the great desire of the women for emancipation into devious channels and use it in the interest of their expansionist and hegemonistic policy.

It is clear to the progressive women and peoples of the world that neither the high-sounding propaganda, nor the deceptive theories, petitions and «philanthropic» appeals at monarchs and bourgeois and revisionist presidents can ensure the real emancipation of women.

Under the leadership of the Party, our country is advancing with firm steps towards the complete construction of socia-

list society. Great tasks lie ahead of us. We should be aware that not everything in regard to the emancipation of women and society as a whole has been completely and finally solved. Among both man and women, there are still wrong concepts and remnants of the past. We still frequently run across bureaucratic and conservative attitudes and violations of the rights which our Party and State have guaranteed women. Such things harm not only the women but our entire socialist society. We must wage a continuous struggle against them, we must patiently work for the political, ideological and moral education of our men and women, of our boys and girls. We should always bear in mind comrade Enver Hoxha's instruction that «The Party must never cease its glorious struggle for the defence of the rights of the woman, make her capable with the courage and abi-

lity to lead the Party, the State, the socialist economy, the economy and life of the family, on a par with the man».

The greeting was punctuated by applause and acclamation for the Party and its Central Committee, with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.

Then the secretary of the AWU General Council and chairwoman of the Tirana district AWU Council, Eftimi Lito, delivered the main address.

Similar solemn meetings were organized also in Gjirokastra, Peshkopi, Shkodër, Korçë, Burrel, Kukës, Librazhd, Rrëshen, etc.

An exhibition with works by women painters, sculptors, and architects, was opened in one of the halls of the Palace of Culture in Tirana on the occasion of the International Women's Day, March 8.



«COMRADES IN ARMS». This is the title of the drawing by the woman painter Lumturi Dhrami, displayed at the exhibition of works by women painters and sculptors which was opened in one of the halls of the Palace of Culture in Tirana on the occasion of March, 8 International Women's Day

# FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY

## A NEW RAILWAY LINE

The new Fier-Ballsh railway line, another deed of the heroic youth of Albania, was officially opened on March 9.

The railway, which is 25 km. long, links the city of Fier with the new industrial area of Ballsh and will be one of the most important arteries of our economy. 220,000 young men and women from all parts of the country—workers, cooperativists, school pupils and students incorporated in 370 brigades, worked on its construction.

For a whole year the young builders worked with vigour and enthusiasm overcoming the most diverse difficulties and obstacles. They shifted 800,000 cubic metres of spoil, laid 21,260 cubic metres of concrete, and 47,256 cubic metres of gravel, and built 136 culverts, retaining walls, etc. The construction work of the new railway line was completed ahead of schedule.

The meeting held for the opening of the new railway was attended by more than 15,000 people. The participants in the meeting and the young builders of the new railway were congratulated, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, the Council of Ministers, and comrade Enver Hoxha personally, by the member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC of the Party, comrade Hysni Kapo.

«The Party», said comrade Hysni Kapo among other things, «has devoted and continues to devote a great attention to the youth actions, for they radiate a lofty revolutionary spirit to every corner of Albania, wherever the youth work and live. Our youth, led by the Party, educated with its line and light-giving ideology, with the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha, play a role of first importance in all the fields of our revolution. There is no sector of life in which our youth take an active part, which does not show their spirit of initiative, their triumphant vigour, their strong hand, their healthy minds. With their initiatives and their

work, our youth powerfully support and drive forward the process of the revolutionisation of our life, which is led by the Party in all fields, in politics, ideology, the economy, the army, education, culture, and everywhere. Like our entire working class and people, our youth feel themselves masters of the country, masters of their own fate. Happy and rejoicing they see and live the present, full of optimism and confidence they look to their happy future which they are building with their keen minds, with their skilful hands, and their steel-like will, under the reliable leadership of our beloved Party.

How different is the life of our people and youth from that of the working people and youth in the capitalist and revisionist countries! In those countries, their system of oppression and exploitation, militarism, fascistisation, of deep economic, spiritual, political and social crises, weighs on the shoulders and the consciousness of youth. In order to turn the attention of youth from the chronic mass unemployment, to divert them from the revolutionary struggle of the working class against their oppressive system, the bourgeoisie and the revisionists, with all sorts of theories and means, drive the youth of their countries towards corruption, crime, gangsterism, anarchism and fascism. This is the aim of all that extensive and unrestrained propaganda, never seen in the past, which the bourgeoisie and the revisionists are carrying on through the powerful means of brainwashing they possess, from the press, pornographic advertisements, to films, radio, fashion, television, literature, decadent art, and so on.

But, despite the difficulties and the treachery of the modern revisionists, the revolutionary youth of these countries, find in Marxism-Leninism, in the class struggle of the proletariat, in the Marxist-Leninist parties, and in the inspiring example of our Party and our country, as well as in the great Communist Party



*The member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party comrade Hysni Kapo, among the participants in the meeting and the youth who volunteered to work on the construction of the new Fier-Ballsh railway*

of China, the only correct road to the revolution, to the victory over the bourgeoisie and to building the new life.

The future of our people and country is brilliant. Our people, under the leadership of the Party, will build this future with their own hands, toil and sweat. The Party is now preparing the new five-year plan for 1976-80 and is making forecasts for the economic and cultural development of the country for a still longer period. It is doing all this for the prosperity and happiness of our people, for the happy future of our heroic youth.

The Party calls on youth, wherever they work and learn, to put themselves at the head of the struggle for the realisation of the plan. As always, with their

revolutionary vigour, they must support every directive of the Party with all their might and do their utmost to put it in practice. Therefore, the youth, more than anyone else, should pour out all their knowledge and strength to make our homeland more prosperous and more powerful. The Party has complete and unwavering faith in our heroic, loyal, intelligent, and goldenhanded youth. Everything the Party has entrusted to them they have carried out honourably and well. With this profound and unwavering confidence the Party and its Central Committee again entrust our heroic youth with a great task—the construction of the 28-km long Përrenjas-Gur i Kuq railway, and the 27,5-km long railway network

within the metallurgical combine. Let these two actions, also become a new expression of the socialist patriotism, revolutionary spirit and unyielding determination of our wonderful youth, and their unshakeable loyalty to the line of the Party and the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha».

A message of greetings was sent from the meeting to the beloved leader of our Party and people, comrade Enver Hoxha, expressing among other things, the revolutionary readiness of our youth to go to new national youth actions—for the construction of the Përrenjas-Gur i Kuq (Pogradec) railway and the internal railway network of the metallurgical combine at Elbasan. —



## FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY

# NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AGRICULTURAL SCIENCES

A national conference of agricultural sciences was held in Tirana under the auspices of the scientific institutions of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Higher Institute of Agriculture.

The conference was attended by vanguard representatives of science and production as well as invited guests from other research and scientific institutions of the country.

During the three days of the conference 14 reports and 80 communications were delivered and many discussions ensued. The conference made a broad generalisation of the work of hundreds of experimenters and thousands of agricultural workers, who, for years in succession, have striven to solve a number of questions connected with the increase of agricultural products. The following reports were delivered at the plenary sessions: «Agricultural sciences in the PR of Albania, their contribution to the intensification and modernisation of agriculture», by professor Mentor Përmeti; «Farm land and the problems of increasing its fertility», by the longstanding scientific collaborator, Aqif Dabulla; «Scientific research in the field of breed improvement and feeding of live-stock», by lecturer Teki Tartari; «Development of selection work and scientific organisation of the produc-

tion of seeds in the service of the intensification of agriculture», by the director of the Seeds Department, Sali Kubati. «Land reclamation and irrigation-one of the main factors of the development of our agriculture», by the longstanding scientific collaborator, Murat Klosi; the co-reports «Planning of scientific work -an important link in the development of science to the benefit of agricultural production», by Stavri Mitezi; «Problems of collaboration and coordination of scientific work in agriculture», by Andrea Shundi, etc.

Attending the conference were Party and State leaders.

The delegation of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forests of the People's Republic of China, headed by the vice Minister of Agriculture and Forests, Lian Chan Wu was also present.

The alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Minister of Agriculture, Pirro Dodbiba, brought to the conference the greetings of the Central Committee of the Party, the Council of Ministers, and comrade Enver Hoxha's personally.

A message of greetings was sent from the conference to the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers.

## MEETING OF THE PLENUM OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE OF THE ALBANIAN WRITERS' AND ARTISTS' LEAGUE

The steering Committee of the Albanian Writers' and Artists' League has held its plenary meeting. Besides the members of the Committee, it was also attended by the heads of the branches of this League from the districts of the country, leaders of the groups of writers and artists of

Tirana, outstanding rhapsodists and singers, leaders of cultural and artistic institutions, and representatives of the press.

The member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Party Ramiz Alia, the Minister of Edu-

cation and Culture Thoma Deliana, and other comrades also took part.

The president of the Albanian Writers' and Artists League, Dritëro Agolli, delivered the report: «For a new qualitative leap of our literature and arts in the light of comrade Enver Hoxha's speech delivered recently at the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Party».

The following report was also delivered: «The main directions of the ideological, esthetic and creative work of the writers and artists», by the League's secretary-general, Xhemal Dini.

Then writers, painters, sculptors, com-

posers, critics, singers and rhapsodists took part in discussion in a vivid optimistic and revolutionary atmosphere.

Both in the report and in the discussions, they spoke about the allround creative work done by the writers and artists to carry out the great tasks laid down by the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, and opinions were threshed out and concrete tasks set to put into practice the ideas put forward in comrade Enver Hoxha's latest speech to make our literature and arts increasingly more militant, pure and clear, free from any alien, liberal and conservative

influence, so that they will worthily respond to the revolutionary reality of our times, as well as to the spiritual requirements of our people. Attention was centered particularly on four main problems: the increase of consciousness of the great mission of the writers and artists in our society, knowing life through the ideological tendency of the creator towards reality, harmonious proceeding of all kinds and genres of literature and arts and improvement of the work of the Writers' and Artists' League, so that it will better and better turn into a source of inspiration to the creators.

Durrës, which was known by the names of Epidamnus and Dyrrachium, both in the Hellenistic and Roman period, never lost its character as a port, a powerful emporium, on the coasts of Eastern Adriatic. It carried out a broad sea and trade activity, with the coming and going of numerous ships. It was a city of such a vivacity that the Roman poet Catullus depicted it as «the Adriatic tavern», while inspired Plautus placed the plot of his comedy «Menehms» in Durrachium.

The historical and literary sources well show the majesty of ancient Durrës, but more than anything else it is the fact that these sources meet their support and material documentation in the rich archaeological objects.

Of work and study interest is the area north of the city, or more exactly north of the mosaic of the «Beautiful woman of Durrës». In the «Maliq Muço» street of this area there have been discovered some mosaics of buildings, which together with the constructions discovered, tell about the luxurious quarter of the ancient city. And the findings continue. Further north of this street, in the vicinity of the city's stadium, where new dwelling compounds are going up, the construction workers discovered a number of archaeological objects.

The found objects define here a necropolis area. The typology of the funereal objects convinces us that we are faced with a necropolis of the Roman epoch.

The objects found during this excavation work consist of 6 urns of calcareous

## UNDERGROUND-MUSEUM OF DURRES

stone, two amphorae-urns made of clay, a glass amphora-urn and other things found inside them. It follows that here there has been used the funeral rite of incineration. While there was discovered nearby also a grave with tiles in the shape of roof according to the rite of burying the corpse.

The urns of calcareous stone have a square and cubic shape. Their covers are in the form of a roof or plain. The height, together with the cover, ranges between 0,25 and 0,37 mètres.

The two amphorae have a spheric body and end with a plain ring-like bottom. They have two small semi-circular handles vertically placed on the neck of the utensil, while the upper part of it is cylindrical. Their existing height is 0,30 m. One of these amphorae-urns was found with cover, with a small clay plate.

The glass amphora-urn has been found fragmented in the vicinity of the other urns. It has a skyblue-green colour. The handles in the form of the letter «M», which fall vertically on the sides of the utensil, are massive. The amphora has a broad neck with profiled edges from outside and is covered with a lid in the shape of a discus, in the middle of which rises a cylindrical wire ending with a small sphere. This amphora is similar to the

other glass amphorae preserved in our museum.

The inventory found in the urns is simple and almost the same: oil lamps, iron strigils (which were usually placed in the tombs of young athletes), iron rings, bone stylettos and 6 pieces of coins. These belong to the imperial epoch. One of them bears the effigy of Vespasianus in profile. Around it there is the full legend, dating the coin in the year of 77 of our era, when Vespasianus was consul for the eighth time. The backside of the coin shows the goddess of victory, Victoria, standing in a boat, holding an olive branch in her hand, symbolizing glory. The other coins are dated up to the III-IV centuries of our era.

The numerous archaeological findings in this area of the city once more tell about broad extension in ancient times, the result of an intensive economic life and of the density of the population. We are here in a rich archaeological zone with layers of mosaics, villas, lead tubes of the ancient water pipeline and, in the outskirts, parts of broad walls. Today in this zone socialist life is growing and developing with new dwelling houses, the bread factory, the «Punëtori» sports palace, etc.

# A NECESSARY CONDITION FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE PEOPLES

*Editorial from «ZËRI I POPULLIT»*

**Resolute, step by step opposition  
to the social imperialist  
policy in general and to every aggressive act,  
as well as the exposure of and opposition  
to US imperialism, is an historical  
necessity for the defence of the socialist  
victories and the freedom and independence  
of the peoples, a condition  
to hinder and avert the great dangers  
with which the two  
superpowers are threatening all mankind**

RECENTLY, THE SOVIET REVISIONIST LEADERS HAVE BEEN RAISING A HUE AND CRY TO PROVE THAT ALLEGEDLY DUE TO THE «PEACE-LOVING POLICY» OF THE SOVIET UNION, THE WORLD IS NOW ENJOYING A TRANQUIL PERIOD OF PEACE AND SECURITY. IF THE PEOPLES WERE UNAWARE OF THE AIMS OF THE NEW CZARS, THEY COULD BE TAKEN IN BY THE REVISIONIST FAIRY, TALES, COULD BE HOODWINKED BY THE PACIFIST DEMAGOGY. BUT IN THE STRUGGLE WHICH THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD ARE WAGING AGAINST THE AGGRESSIVE AND REACTIONARY FORCES, THE SOVIET UNION IS ON THE OPPOSITE SIDE OF THE BARRICADE, AS AN ADVERSARY OF THE PEOPLES.

Their aggression against Czechoslovakia and the provocations along the Chinese border, their interference in the latest Indian-Pakistani war and meddling in the Middle East conflict, has whetted the imperialist appetite of the Soviet leaders. They are demanding «their share» in the division of the world.

The main directions of Soviet territorial, political, economic and military expansion are quite obvious. They are the arrows drawn on the maps of the old General Staff of the Czarist empire aiming at the Balkans and the Mediterranean, the Baltic and North Europe, Vienna and Berlin, the Indian Ocean and the sea of Japan.

The policy of the Soviet Union is aggressive, expansionist and hegemonistic in all its directions and components. It is such both towards its «friends» and towards its enemies, against the big and small peoples, of Europe or Asia. In competition with the USA for world hegemony, for captive markets and territories, this policy is responsible for the present crises and tensions, international disputes and conflicts.

Everybody is realising what is happening with the pseudosocialist countries of Eastern Europe, which are tied to the Soviet Union through the Warsaw Treaty, the Council of Mutual Economic Aid (COMECON) and the so-called socialist integration. At one time it was said about those countries that they had a «limited sovereignty», that they were semi-independent. This now belongs to the past. Today one can speak only about a «lost sovereignty», freedom violated and all-

round subjugation. In Eastern Europe, at present there is an intensive development of the process of suppressing the separate political, economic and military identities of its countries and merging them into the Soviet State. The latest juridical agreement between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, which ensures obvious privileges for the Soviet citizens in Bulgaria, is a clear example of this tendency.

The revisionist countries no longer have independent national foreign and internal policies. The leaderships of the parties and states are appointed and removed by the Soviet Directions of Cadres, just as the economic, cultural, and other programmes are worked out and elaborated in the chancelleries of the Kremlin.

In the deals with the American, West German, British, and other chieftains, Brezhnev commits the interests of those countries, too, giving undertakings as to their future attitudes and activities. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague or Budapest have never been asked whether they want to embrace the German revanchists or not whether or not they want to be involved in the Soviet adventures in the Middle East, or to join the Kremlin's anti-China campaign. The Polish, Bulgarian, Hungarian, Czech and other leaders are simply told about it after matters are settled, as if they were secretaries of provinces and regions summoned to the centre just to receive instructions so they can implement a line decided from above.

A distinctive feature of an independent country is the existence of an independent national defence and army. Do the revisionist countries of Europe have such a thing? Not only do they not have an independent national army, but they themselves are under military occupation. Following the Prague events, there has been an increase everywhere in the number of the Soviet military units which now amount to several tens of divisions, with all kinds of arms. Their mission is many-sided, but they are there, primarily, to defend the Soviet imperialist interests, to serve as guards of the counterrevolution and to suppress any popular revolt against the revisionist regime and foreign domination.

The armies of the revisionist countries are bound hand and foot by the Warsaw

Treaty and are completely under the control of the Soviet General Staff. They are dependent on Moscow even for a cartridge, and Grechko and Yakubovsky do not consider or treat them other than as ordinary Soviet armies.

Ever more obvious is the process of the loss of independence on the part of the satellite countries in the field of the economy. The majority of them do not have a national energy basis and depend on supplies of Soviet coal and oil. They are at the Soviet Union's mercy also for many basic raw materials, the extraction of which has been abandoned since the Soviet friends have them in "abundance".

But the worst thing is that the economic development of these countries is done in one-sided way and not in conformity with their national conditions and needs. Under Soviet pressure, the economies of the COMECON member countries have been built as part of the economy of the Soviet Union and according to its needs. They have been tied up so tightly by the Soviet financial system and credits that they have not been allowed any possibility of normal, independent development with prospects for the future. The Soviet Union keeps an absolutely firm hold on the fundamental means and levers which play a decisive role in working out and implementing the economic plans of the COMECON countries, such as raw materials, heavy equipment, banks and credits, technological and scientific knowledge, the commodity market, etc. It is GOSPLAN which defines the main lines of the economic plans of these countries, and defines the quotas and types of production, the size of investments, consumption funds, etc.

The so-called socialist internationalism to which Moscow swears its devotion from morning till night, is despicable demagoguery and a bombastic noise to conceal its savage chauvinism, its military occupation and colonialist plunder, it is a manoeuvre to cover up with words that grave situation of subjugation and enslavement in which the peoples of revisionist Europe are living.

No less chauvinistic and hegemonistic either, is the policy the Soviet leaders pursue towards the "sister parties" of the West. They want to turn the other revi-

sionist parties into appendages of the Soviet foreign policy, into instruments with which the Kremlin diplomacy can manoeuvre. They want to have "Soviet parties", just as there are also "American", "British", and other parties.

They are exerting particularly great pressure so that these parties do not undertake any hasty step which might make their diplomatic bargainings and combinations with the western bourgeois governments the least bit more difficult.

The ruling circles of the West are pleased with the stand adopted by Moscow towards the revisionist parties, with the pressure it exerts on them which is an important factor in their ideological and political degeneration, a convincing guarantee that they will remain loyal partners of the bourgeois parties.

Now the whole capitalist world is facing grave economic, energy, financial and other crises of its structures and superstructures. The bourgeoisie and the monopolies are striving in every way to unload the heavy consequences of these crises on to the backs of the working people and to intensify the exploitation of the developing countries.

Under these conditions the working masses are faced with the task of opposing the frenzied offensive of the monopolies and of fighting in defence of their standards of living, standing vigilant against the dangers of fascism and of dragging the peoples into the military adventures of the bourgeoisie. But what sort of struggle by the western revisionist parties is being called for by Moscow, which still parades itself as the "centre of world communism"? It is calling on them to gather urgently, as soon as possible, to discuss "European security" which, as is known, constitutes one of the main current designs of the diplomacy of the Kremlin. The aim of this meeting is to hitch them firmly to the Soviet chariot of "European security", to make these parties devoted supporters and defenders of the imperialist spheres of influence in Europe, supporters and defenders of the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, of the stationing of the US and Soviet armies in the European countries, of the neo-colonialist exploitation in Western and Eastern Europe. It will line up the Euro-



pean revisionist parties against all those who do not approve the expansionist and hegemonistic policy of the Soviet Union in Europe, and particularly against China and Albania, which have exposed and resolutely condemned the barbarous oppression and exploitation of the East European countries by the Soviet Union and its plans and threats towards the Balkans and other countries of our continents.

The Kremlin couldn't care less that, by going to the meeting which is being prepared in East Berlin, the revisionist parties are taking the grave responsibility of acting against the interests of their own countries and other peoples, that they may become even more discredited and compromised. For the Kremlin it is enough that its objectives are achieved—nothing else matters.

In words, the Soviet revisionist pose as being on the side of the peoples fighting imperialism and colonialism, for national freedom and independence, for equality and full rights in international relations. But in fact, they are scabs, firemen quelling the revolutionary struggles. Together with US imperialism, they are fighting to ensure spheres of influence, the invasion of new markets, the subjugation and exploitation of nations.

Its stand towards the liberation struggle of the Arab people is revealing ever more clearly that the Soviet Union considers and deals with the national liberation movements from the angle of its own narrow imperialist interests and within the framework of the rivalry with the USA for political and economic influence and strategic positions. The Soviet revisionists manoeuvre and intrigue so that nothing will be solved in the Middle East, so that everything will remain in suspense and they can hang on there for ever. Just as Eisenhower once did, they consider that region as a «vacuum» that should be filled with their military, political and economic presence.

To hear the Soviet propaganda, you would think that the Soviet leaders are ardent anti-Zionists, the most determined

opponents of Israel and its aggressive and annexationist policy. But the Soviet press writes not a single line about those thousands of Soviet jews who leave for Israel every day. Can it be said that this great human contingent, which already amounts to hundreds of thousands, does not strengthen the potential of the Israeli State? The weapons are pouring in from America, but to fire them requires men and these men are pouring in from the Soviet Union.

A new phenomenon is occurring in the world which is exerting increasing weight on the present development of international life. We are referring to the struggle being waged by the developing nations to ensure their complete and effective sovereignty over their natural resources and the establishment of a just international economic order.

In this field, too, the Soviet revisionists are on the other side of the barricade, on the side of the imperialists and against the peoples. It is not to their liking when the developing countries rank the Soviet Union among the neocolonialists, when they denounce its attempts to plunder the riches of other countries, when they expose the character of its imperialist aid. But this is an indisputable fact and cannot be concealed with demagogy.

By following the same policy of prices and of monopolising markets as the big monopoly companies, by joining the big gold speculators or gambling with the prices of wheat, sugar and other commodities on the market, the Soviet Union becomes part of the camp of those reactionary and conservative forces which are trying to stop the process of the struggle of the peoples in defence of their riches from imperialist exploitation. It becomes part of that counterrevolutionary capitalist grouping which wants to attack the struggle of the developing countries for their political and economic emancipation, to sabotage their efforts to establish equality in trade exchanges. In a word, it is fighting, together with the US and other imperialists, to establish a kind of colonialism

just as brutal and barbarous as the previous one.

The characteristic feature of the imperialist policy of the Soviet leaders lies in the fact that they try to conceal their expansionist efforts and counterrevolutionary activity with peaceful sentences and tranquilizing slogans. They even call their policy a «programme of peace». But their claims and the reality are far apart. Their «programme of peace» is a programme of war. It is the programme of speeding up the armaments race and increasing military expenditure, of political penetration and economic expansion in other countries. It is a programme to strengthen the policy of dictate and arbitrariness towards other countries. It is not a programme of detente, as they claim, but of raising tension. It has now become the custom in Moscow to describe anybody who is against their programme and their «detente» as an «enemy of peace» and an «enemy of detente». But these threats intimidate nobody. The peoples who are against the «Soviet peace programme» have always been and still are for real peace and detente among the states. And there are no «enemies» among them in the war the Soviet revisionists claim, but they are the enemies to imperialism and social imperialism, enemies of the aggressive and expansionist Soviet policy.

By detente the Soviet revisionist imply the weakening of the struggle of the peoples against imperialism and social imperialism; the ceasing of the efforts of the nations and countries to repel the interference and pressure of the two superpowers and to attack and expose their counterrevolutionary policy and plots. The peoples will never give them this pleasure. They will never fall into the traps of the imperialist and revisionist propaganda and will never allow themselves to be taken in by their empty promises. The condition for new successes in the struggle of the peoples for national freedom and independence, democracy and social progress, is not Soviet-American harmony and collaboration, the relaxation of tension between the Soviet

Union and the USA, as the two superpowers claim, but the consistent and determined struggle against them.

It is not long ago that the Kremlin chieftains announced some big projects about convening a world conference of the anti-imperialist forces in Moscow. With great clamour they insisted on its urgency and listed all the things that were worrying the peoples about the aggressive policy of US imperialism. Now that they have become partners with the Yankees in their efforts for world hegemony and domination, they have completely abandoned these projects. They have replaced the mask of «anti-imperialism» with that of «peace and relaxation of tension», «security», «disarmament», etc.

But no matter how they label themselves, whether as «socialists» or «revolutionaries», «anti-imperialists» or «peace-lovers», they cannot conceal their political decline and cannot deceive the peoples.

The Soviet campaign about lowering tension is a speculative campaign to lull the revolutionary vigilance of the peoples in face of the dangers and threats of the two superpowers. It is an effort for the ideological and psychological brain washing of the masses to persuade them to swallow the aggressive social-imperialist policy and to weaken the resistance towards it.

The hypocrisy, cynicism and perfidy of this campaign are seen also in the fact while on the one hand the Moscow chieftains are talking about peaceful coexistence, about understanding and relaxation of tension among states, on the other hand, they are intensifying their anti-China attacks, instigating acts of diversion and their ultra-reactionary propaganda to present the situation in China in gloomy colours and to attack the Chinese internal and foreign policies. Their anti-China zeal has increased recently, in particular after the successful conclusion of the proceedings of the National People's Congress of the PR of China.

But the revisionist insults, slanders, and calumnies are quite unable to move the Chinese colossus, they are never capable

of diverting the Communist Party and the People's Republic of China from the correct revolutionary road of obscuring in the least the great positive role they are playing in the international arena.

China, emerged from the great proletarian cultural revolution remains an impregnable fortress of revolution and socialism. Its example inspires and encourages the fighters for freedom and social progress throughout the world.

The meeting of the National People's Congress was another great victory of the Communist Party of China, of its revolutionary line and comrade Mao Tse-tung's thought, a brilliant victory for socialism in China. It testified to the unity of the Party, the people and the army, to the all-round progress of China, the brilliant prospects that have been opened to the industrious and revolutionary Chinese people.

It is these great victories that enrage the Soviet revisionist that make them lose their equilibrium and logic, fall into absurdities and expose themselves. The great Chinese reality shines like the light of the sun and nothing can darken it. This is apparent in the successful construction of socialism, which is being realized correctly according to the doctrine of Marx and Lenin and Mao Tse-tung's teachings. It is apparent in the resolute and revolutionary attitudes adopted by China towards the phenomena and events in the world. No anti-China campaign, great or small, or wherever it may come from, can weaken the place and role of China in the international arena. The peoples fighting for freedom, independence and wellbeing, are always aware of the powerful support and solidarity of great China. The Soviet revisionists and their allies will never be able to break the love, respect and high opinion of the peoples for great People's China, its glorious Communist Party, and Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

Analysis of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and its daily activity in the international arena leads to the inevitable conclusion that it is following an imperialist policy directed against the general

peace, against the freedom and independence of the peoples. The tendency of this policy is to evolve towards still greater aggressiveness, towards the intensification of interference in the internal affairs of other states, towards the stepping up of armaments race and preparations for war.

The situation of crisis which has gripped the imperialist and revisionist world today, the savage rivalry with US imperialism, are impelling the Soviet social imperialists towards a more militaristic policy, which might launch out into military adventures anywhere, in Europe or in Asia, on the Atlantic seaboard or that of the Pacific Ocean, either in the South or the North.

In his October 3 speech, comrade Enver Hoxha said: «Watch out! Us imperialism and Russian imperialism are leading the world into another world war, more terrible than the two previous wars! These two superpowers are responsible for the present great crises, they are vying with one another for world hegemony, they are fighting to capture markets, that is, to invade and enslave the peoples. It is precisely the two superpowers that are arming anti-popular cliques and governments to use them as watchdogs and their peoples as cannon fodder for the inevitable shambles they are preparing if they are given a free hand».

The peoples cannot sit idly by with folded arms and fail to act against the criminal activity of the Soviet social imperialists as the revisionist in Moscow would like them to do. Likewise, they cannot fail to resolutely condemn and reject the multitude of hostile propaganda campaigns of the Kremlin, its false and deceptive slogans, its demagoguery about «peace», «security», «relaxation of tension», etc. Resolute, step by step opposition to the social imperialist policy in general and to every aggressive act, as well as the exposure of and opposition to US imperialism, is an historical necessity for the defence of the socialist victories and the freedom and independence of the peoples, a condition to hinder and avert the great dangers with which the two superpowers are threatening all mankind. —

**NDREÇI PLASARI**

# THE UNITY OF THE PEOPLE IN THE NATIONAL LIBERATION

THE PROBLEM OF THE UNION OF THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE IN THE LIBERATION WAR AND IN THE REVOLUTION IS A MAJOR KEY PROBLEM WHICH CONSTITUTES A DECISIVE FACTOR FOR THE FATE OF THE WAR AND THE REVOLUTION.

THERE CAN BE NO CORRECT SOLUTION OF THIS PROBLEM OUTSIDE THE CONCRETE CONDITIONS OF THE PERIOD IN WHICH THE LIBERATION WAR OR THE REVOLUTION IS BEING CARRIED OUT, OUTSIDE THE AIMS OF THE CLASS FORCES CONCERNED IN THE OVERTHROW OF THE OPPRESSIVE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC-SOCIAL ORDER AND THE SOLUTION OF THE DECISIVE, ANTAGONISTIC SOCIAL CONTRADICTIONS IMPEDING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY, A PEOPLE OR A NATION.

THEREFORE, IN THE DIFFERENT HISTORICAL PERIODS, THE SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF UNITING THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE WILL BE DIFFERENT. ON THIS KEY QUESTION, WHAT IS COMMON TO EVERY PERIOD IS THAT WITHOUT UNITY THERE IS NO VICTORY.

This has been reaffirmed by the history of liberation wars in Albania. Whenever the Albanian people have succeeded in uniting, they have been invincible to their enemies, however great, powerful, and savage, they may have been. The Albanians united around Scanderbeg ensured themselves immortal glory by smashing the repeated onslaughts of the great army of the Ottoman Empire, the strongest army of the time, that had struck terror into the heart of Europe. Without unity, the Albanians would have been unable to rise in the struggle for freedom in the past century and at the beginning

of this century, under the great leaders of the National Renaissance, and they would not have won their independence, nor succeeded in creating the Albanian national state in 1912.

But such a strong and stable unity of the Albanian people as that which was attained in the Anti-fascist National Liberation War under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania (CPA) had never been known before in the many centuries of Albanian history.

The unity of the people in their war against the Italian and German occupiers and the local traitors was embodied in the National Liberation Front.

The union of the Albanian people in the National Liberation Front could not but bear the brand of the objective and subjective historical-social conditions under which it was realised.

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*Report delivered at the National Conference of Studies on the Anti-fascist National-Liberation Struggle of the Albanian people.*

# PEOPLE AROUND THE CPA LIBERATION FRONT

The circumstances of the low level of development of Albania of that time, as a semi-feudal agrarian country, determined that the major place in the Front, and the decisive role in the war, belonged to the peasantry, which constituted more than four fifths of the population (77 per cent of them poor peasants), and preserved in its bosom deep patriotic traditions and great revolutionary energy, created in the struggle for freedom and land in the course of centuries. In the Communist Party, the peasantry found its resolute defender and fighter for its political, economic, and social interests. Therefore it embraced the Party's political line 'en masse' and recognised it as the sole leader in the war.

The character of the National Liberation War as an anti-fascist, anti-imperialist democratic revolution and, in conformity with this, the strategic slogan of the CPA for the union in the National Liberation Front of all the patriotic and anti-fascist forces of the country, without distinction as to religion, region, class or political conviction, conditioned the broad social basis of this union.

Albania was a country oppressed and exploited by foreign enslavers for centuries on end. Liberation from the foreign yoke, freedom and national independence, have been a dream and an aspiration not only of the poor, but of the entire Albanian people, with the exception of the big feudal landowners, the

tribal chiefs, and the handful of rich bourgeoisie, who have always served as tools of the foreign rulers, and became lackeys of the fascist invaders, too.

The occupation of the country by fascist Italy deeply hurt the national sentiments and the interests of the broadest social strata of the country. In the political line of the CPA and its struggle to carry out this line, these strata found the assurance of the fulfilment of their demands and desires for the driving out of the occupiers and the building of a free, independent, and democratic Albania.

As a result of this not only the working class and the labouring peasantry, which constituted the main forces, but also the petty and middle bourgeoisie of the city, the patriotic intellectuals, as well as a number of anti-fascist and democratic elements from the upper strata, all united in the National Liberation Front under the leadership of the CPA.

The youth in particular, who constituted the most vigorous force of the movement, poured into the Front. In the beginning the working and school youth joined in, then the peasant youth. In the political line of the Party and in the platform of the National Liberation Front, the youth found the prospect of fulfilment of their burning material and spiritual desires for freedom and independence, for economic, educational, and cultural

development and progress, for a prosperous and happy life. The Communist Party not only ensured a very broad participation of the youth in the National Liberation War, which was unprecedented in the past, but created all the conditions for the youth as a principal factor of this war. It was not by chance that the National Liberation War of the Albanian people was called «the war of the youth».

A new phenomenon in the union of the people in the National Liberation War was the broad and active participation of the women. Unlike the other liberation wars, in the last war the woman did not play the role of a mere auxiliary to her husband, but she took part, shoulder to shoulder with him, in all forms of the struggle, including the armed fighting. For the women the war had a two-fold liberating revolutionary character: for the elimination of both foreign and internal domination, and of the age-old enslavement of the women themselves.

The sole and undivided leadership by the CPA determined the deeply revolutionary and militant character of the union of the people in the National Liberation Front, the realisation of the leading role of the working class and of the unbreakable alliance of this class with the peasantry, which constituted the steel-like foundation of this union, the high level of political consciousness, the gua-



rantee of the victory of the people, and for the people alone.

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The union of the Albanian people in the National Liberation Front was not achieved easily or all at once. It was created and strengthened in the life-and-death struggle against the external and internal enemies and it passed through several phases, and overcome many difficulties and dangers threatening it at every step.

Prior to the founding of the Communist Party the Albanian people were not united in struggle against the invaders, due to the lack of a genuine revolutionary leadership which would realise this union on the basis of a clear program, a high level of political consciousness, and sound organisation.

However, the premises for unity existed.

The broad masses of the people had in common the feeling of love of country, which had struck deep roots in the hearts and minds of men through the centuries, and especially in the period of the National Renaissance. This feeling was greatly strengthened following the proclamation of independence and the creation of the Albanian national state in 1912 in the struggle for the allround improvement of the appearance of the Albanian nation, for the preservation and consolidation of the national independence and sovereignty of the Albanian state against the greed of the imperialist powers and the chauvinistic rulers of the neighbour countries, as well as against the tools of the foreign powers within the country. With the occupation of Albania by fascist Italy the Albanians' love for their country was deeply aggrieved. No kind of demagogy or terror was able to close the great wound inflicted on Albanian patriotism by this occupation.

As a result, what the broad masses of the people had in common were: total nonacceptance of the regime of the fascist occupation, resistance to the policy and activity of Italianisation and fascis-

tisation of the country which the occupantists pursued, readiness to rise in a great liberation war.

The Communist Party seized on these common elements to unite, organise, and mobilise the people in struggle against the fascist occupiers and the traitors.

However, there was one very great obstacle which had to be overcome. The broad masses, especially the peasantry, which comprised the majority of the population, did not know the newly formed party of the working class. The big landowners, the bourgeoisie, the clergy, fascism, spread the most monstrous slanders against communism and the communist parties. The CPA had inherited very weak links with the masses from the communist groups from which it had emerged, and these almost entirely in the cities.

No kind of satisfactory or stable unity could be achieved if the masses were not convinced of the correctness of the political line of the CPA, the leading nucleus of this unity, and of its ability to carry out this line. This conviction was the indispensable prime factor of the unity of the people.

The Party set to work with might and main to win the confidence of the masses in the correct road it showed them for the liberation of the country and the construction of an independent, democratic, people's Albania. By means of its fiery words of truth, but especially through the revolutionary action and the example of courage, correct behaviour and honesty of the communists, it succeeded in overcoming the obstacles and difficulties and attained extraordinary successes within a relatively short time, establishing the first sound links with the masses, gaining very great authority, and becoming, in this way, the axis around which all the aroused patriotic, antifascist forces of the country would be united.

In this way the Party laid the foundations for unity in the joint struggle before the 1st National Liberation Conference, which was held in Peza. It was precisely this success which made possible the convening of this historic assembly called to

help the Party, and organised and led by the Party.

At the Peza Conference the political and organisational basis was laid for the unity of the Albanian people in the struggle «for a free, undivided, independent and democratic Albania».<sup>1</sup>

The political platform which was approved at the Conference by the representatives of the anti-fascist democratic forces of the country, constituted the political basis of this unity. This platform was, in fact, the minimum program of the CPA.

The General Council, set up by the Conference, and the national liberation councils, which were simultaneously organs of the National Liberation Front, and of the insurgent and revolutionary people's power, constituted the organisational basis. It was written into the Resolution of the Conference of Peza that, as organs of the Front, the councils unite all the people's liberation forces. . . In order to rally the wide groupings of the people the councils will be councils of the broad masses.<sup>2</sup> Comrade Enver Hoxha has described the national liberation councils as «the first step towards the creation of the National Liberation Front in the form of an organisation».<sup>3</sup>

The term «the National Liberation Front» was not used at the Conference of Peza. But this does not prevent us from asserting that it was there that the Front, as an organisation, was founded.

The main thing is that, while defining the essence, the unity of the people in the war against the occupiers, which was a strategic task, the Conference also created the organs, the General Council and the national liberation councils, in which this unity would be embodied.

The creation of the Front as an organization, constituted a tactical task.

Usually it is not possible for the forms of the war and its organisation, which belong to the sphere of tactics, to be completely defined at the same time as the fundamental strategic tasks. To find the most appropriate forms of the war and the organization of the masses requires great experience which is gained in the course of the war, of the revolu-

tion itself. Such experience cannot be accumulated immediately.

In fact, the term «National Liberation Front» was used as early as the meeting to found the Party, in November, 1941, but it was used indirectly in the task laid down by that Meeting to «expose the government of the traitor Kruja and its manoeuvres to split the National Liberation Front of the Albanian people».<sup>4</sup> The idea of the National Liberation Front emerged in this way, too at the first Consultative meeting of the Albanian Communist Party, in April 1942, in the task set by that consultative meeting «not to permit any deviation or misunderstanding on the question of a common national Liberation Front of the Albanian people.»<sup>5</sup> The direct task of the «creation of a common National Liberation Front is mentioned for the first time in the directives of the Central Committee of the Albanian Communist Party, in June 1942.<sup>6</sup> But in the three cases, the idea of the National Liberation Front is used in the sense of uniting the people, and not in the sense of an organisation. Only after the Conference of Peza was the National Liberation Front fully created as a concrete form and expression of the unity and organisation of the masses of the people in the struggle for national liberation and the establishment of the people's state power. In November 1942, comrade Enver Hoxha wrote in «Zëri i Popullit», «the Albanian people have united as one against the occupier and the National Liberation Front has been formed and is becoming steeled in struggle.»<sup>7</sup>

During this period, from the Conference of Peza up to November and December 1942, the union of the people around the National Liberation Front experienced a really vigorous extension, a great quantitative leap. This vigour was the outcome of the extraordinary response the decisions the Conference had among the masses of the people.

However the situation was greatly complicated by the emergence of the «Balli Kombëtar», at the end of 1942, as a reaction against the National Liberation Front. As is known, it proclaimed that it did not recognise the Conference

of Peza and its decisions, and began extensive activity to split the unity, to divide the masses of the people from the Communist Party and to destroy the National Liberation Front.

Political confusion was noticed among various strata of the people. Through demagoguery and intimidation, the ballist chieftains managed to win over part of the population, especially in the countryside. A number of waverers broke away from the National Liberation Front and went over to «Balli». Under these extremely complicated circumstances, Comrade Enver Hoxha gave the instruction: «Very great care is needed. We are at a turning point of our history, a dangerous turning point, and if we emerge successful, then our cause has triumphed, but if we slip, we'll break our necks.»<sup>8</sup>

The period from January to September 1943, when the Second National Liberation Conference was held at Labinot, was a period of organisational strengthening of the Front with the creation, within its framework, of broad social political organisations, the anti-fascist Youth Union and the anti-fascist Women's Union. It was also a period of its political strengthening through a very fierce political struggle with fascism and especially with the «Balli Kombëtar», which had pinned all its hopes on, and committed all its forces, to destroying the National Liberation Front and the National liberation councils, and preventing the outbreak of the people's general uprising. The Party and the Front emerged victorious in this struggle, despite the betrayal of Ymer Dishnica and Mustafa Gjinishi at Mukje, where they signed the infamous agreement with «Balli», which, for a moment, seriously endangered the cause of unity and the question of the power of the national liberation councils.

The struggle, both armed and political, against fascism and the political struggle against the «Balli», tempered the National Liberation Front politically, brought about a good sifting out of its ranks, and at the same time differentiated all the social political forces in the country. This differentiation was accelerated and deepened greatly, especially after the occupation of

Albania by Hitlerite Germany, when the Zogites with Abaz Kupa broke away with the Front and created another traitor organisation, «Legaliteti», as a reaction against the National Liberation Front, as well as when the «Balli» and «Legaliteti» went over to open armed struggle against the National Liberation Front, together with the German occupiers.

In the Autumn of 1943, two blocs of opposing forces, mortal enemies, stood face to face as never before. On the one side: the insurgent people—the working class, the poor and middle peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, and the bulk of the middle bourgeoisie of the town, the patriotic intellectuals, individual elements from the upper strata—united around the National Liberation Front, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania. The Front was based on the armed forces, having as its main striking force the National Liberation Army and as its external support the anti-fascist world war, in the first place, the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union. On the other side: reaction — the landowners, the reactionary bourgeoisie, the tribal chiefs, the bulk of the rich peasants, the professional bourgeois politicians, and the intellectuals with anti-communist and fascist tendencies, a relatively small section of misled people from the lower and middle strata—gathered in a motley of organisations and groups, with no sound links between them. Reaction was based on the «state apparatus» which had been set up, with the help of the occupiers, on the quisling gendarmerie, on the mercenary ballist and Zogite bands and those of the traitorous gentry and especially on the German Wehrmacht. In fact, it did not comprise an independent bloc in itself. It was part of the Hitlerite front and was kept in existence mainly with the aid of the occupiers.

The period which followed, the winter of the years 1943-1944, was the period of the great test for the unity of the people around the National Liberation Front, just as it was for the National Liberation Army and the national liberation councils. The National Liberation War knew no greater difficulties and dangers than

it experienced in that period, during which the outcome of the war was decided. Precisely at that time, it was proved how powerful and unbreakable was the union of the people around the Communist Party in the National Liberation Front, how high the people's consciousness and readiness to face the extraordinary sacrifices required for the sake of victory.

Of course, there were vacillations, and it could not be otherwise, among certain strata and individuals, especially among the nationalists. There were even some who abandoned the Front because they could not withstand the pressures, terror, and deception of the enemies. But these waverings and resignations were insignificant compared with the all-round tempering and training which the union of the people around the party gained in the fierce battles and the grave sufferings of the Winter of 1943-1944.

From the Spring of 1944, not only was there a further strengthening of the National Liberation Front, but there was an ever greater extension of the Front, which reached its culmination in the October-November period of that year, when the traitor organisations and armed forces of the «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legaliteti» had been destroyed. Seeing the victorious advance of the National Liberation war and coming to understand, some sooner and others later, the mistake they had made by taking the traitorous road of the «Balli», «Legaliteti», and the reactionary «gentry», the majority of those who had been misled abandoned this road and joined the Front.

The outcome of the National Liberation War had now been decided: the final victory was expected day by day. The National Liberation Front had reached its culmination. The all-round strengthening of the people's democratic state power presented itself as the key problem in the preservation of the victory and the further development of the revolution. The Anti-Fascist National Liberation General Council and the national liberation councils, which had, until now, also carried out the political functions of the National Liberation Front, but which had

affirmed themselves mainly as organs of the people's democratic state power, would have been hindered in carrying out the functions of the state power if they had continued to keep the functions of the Front. On the other hand, the circumstances which had arisen called for a stronger organisation base for the Front. For these reasons, upon the recommendation of the Central Committee of the Albanian Communist Party, the second meeting of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Council, held at Berat, in October 1944, decided to relieve the national liberation councils of the functions of the Front, which from now on, would be a separate organisation with its own special councils.

As can be seen, despite the extraordinary difficulties, obstacles and dangers it had to overcome, despite any zig-zags, waverings or resignations by individuals or separate groupings, the union of the Albanian people in the National Liberation Front, under the leadership of the Communist Party, has mounted steadily higher and higher, has been constantly extended and become stronger and has shown itself to be unbreakable, thus serving as a decisive factor in achieving the final victory over the fascist foreign enemies and internal reaction.

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Which were the main factors that made the union of the people around the Albanian Communist Party in the National Liberation Front, unbreakable and a decisive weapon for victory?

First, the common ideal, the liberation of the homeland from the occupiers, the winning of national independence and the democratisation of the country. The Communist Party instilled this ideal into the minds and hearts of the people, relying on the common feeling of patriotism and the common interests of the broad masses of the people. It made the people fully conscious, convincing them from their own revolutionary experience, of the absolute necessity for the armed struggle, and for struggle by all other

means and methods, of the extraordinary difficulties and obstacles which had to be overcome, the innumerable sacrifices needed to achieve victory over the enemies. Never before in the history of the previous liberation struggles of the Albanian people, had there been such profound political conviction, so uniform, and widespread, as existed in the Anti-fascist National Liberation War. Never before had the people felt such great confidence and certainty of victory. Never before had they been so sure that they would reap the fruit of this victory themselves and that it would not be wrested from them by the others, the beys, the gentry, the merchants, the feudal chiefs, as in the past. At the same time, never before have the masses of the people been so clear about the prospects of the country's development and progress in the future. The common ideal, the same political convictions, the basic questions of the programme of the Front, fused into the consciousness of the people, were the steel fibres which bound together the social political forces, the patriotic, democratic, anti-fascist classes and strata around the revolutionary leadership – the Communist Party. The common political, anti-fascist, and revolutionary ideal and convictions, neutralised or routed the old reactionary, political, moral, religious, customary beliefs of the masses who participated in the National Liberation Front.

This high level of political consciousness and ideas was attained because, as comrade Enver Hoxha says, «the programme of the Front which in fact, was the Party's minimum programme, was a clear, comprehensible militant and revolutionary programme»<sup>9</sup>, because the Party knew how to implant in the minds and hearts of the masses, the concrete ideas and tasks of this programme, while, at the same time, exposing the profoundly anti-national and anti-popular character of the political platforms, the ideology and propaganda, of the fascist Italian and German occupiers and the various reactionary trends and organisations, tools of the occupiers.

Second, the union of the people in the National Liberation Front was based on

the common struggle. Unity had to be achieved, and was achieved, in war and only in war. The talks of Communist Party and the national liberation councils with the nationalists of various trends about the question of unity could not solve these questions. They only helped everybody to understand that without taking part in the war against the occupiers and their flunkys there could be no unity.

As early as the Conference of Peza, it was clearly laid down that «true unity can be achieved only through armed struggle, being convinced that the right of freedom and the victory can be achieved only by fighting the enemy occupier right now».<sup>10</sup>

The Conference stressed the words right now, because the pseudo-patriots, the hidden collaborators of fascism, those who later formed the «Balli Kombëtar», spoke out against the war. They said that the war should be waged only three to four days, at the most one week, prior to the victory of the Allies over Italy and Germany! Exposing the «Balli» and other opponents of the war against the German occupiers, who tried to deceive the people by pretending that they were for unity and that the Communist Party did not want such unity, comrade Enver Hoxha instructed the district committees: «You must make it clear to the people that the campaign of reaction for unity is filthy demagoguery and that we stand for true unity, that we work for this unity, and there can be no unity outside the National Liberation War.»<sup>11</sup>

Third, the unity in the national liberation Front was a direct and voluntary union of the masses of the people, and not a mere coalition of political parties and organisations. The only political party in the Front was the Albanian Communist Party and it was the leader and architect of this unity.

Thus, the unity in the National Liberation War in Albania was achieved from below. The Communist Party aroused and united the working class, the broad masses of the peasants and patriotic intellectuals around the National Liberation Front, on the basis of their patriotism and revolutionary spirit, on the basis of

their conviction in the correctness of the Party's political line and platform of the Conference of Peza, on the basis of the struggle against the occupiers and the traitors, without the mediation of other political parties.

This does not mean that there was not some degree of mobilisation and union from above. The Communist Party placed primary importance on mobilisation and unity from below, but it did not neglect work for mobilisation and unity from above, too. «Mobilisation from above can be achieved by uniting with all the anti-fascist political trends.»<sup>12</sup>

These anti-fascist political trends could be unorganised currents and groups, but could have been organised into parties. The Communist Party did not exclude cooperation with anti-fascist political parties and bringing them into the National Liberation Front, if such parties had been created. The Party proceeded from these positions in its efforts to draw the «Balli Kombëtar» and later, «Legaliteti», into the National Liberation Front, on the basis of armed struggle against the occupiers. But, as is known, other anti-fascist political parties were not formed, while instead of joining in the war against the occupiers, the «Balli» and «Legaliteti» united with the occupiers against the National Liberation Front. Thus, the Party worked to unite and did unite, the patriotic nationalists around the National Liberation Front from above, only as individuals or groups. This was achieved through talks, meetings and conference such as the Conference of Peza, the Second Conference at Labinot, the Congress of Përmet, the regional National Liberation conferences, and so on.

Among the countries of Europe occupied during the Second World War, which fought arms in hand against fascism, Albania is the only one in which the common front of the anti-fascist forces was almost entirely a direct voluntary union of these forces achieved from below, and where there were no other political parties in the Front apart from the Communist Party which forged and led this union.

The experience of the union of the people in the National Liberation Front

in Albania indicates that unity which is achieved mainly from below, that is, which is a voluntary and direct uniting of the masses of the people and which has a single revolutionary leadership, the party of the working class, is always stronger and more stable for the present and for the future of the revolution, than that unity which is achieved mainly from above, that is, which is created as a coalition of political parties and organisations and has no monolithic leadership.

Only unity from below ensures the broadest and most direct participation of the masses of the people in the revolutionary liberation movement, the outburst at the maximum level of the creative force and energies of the masses, as the authors of revolution and the makers of history. Not only does the single revolutionary leadership of the working class party not cripple or curtail the broad participation and direct role of the masses as the true authors of the revolution, but it is an indispensable condition for the achievement of such a thing. The experience of our revolution, not only in the stage of national liberation war, but in its later stages, refutes all the false theories of the mouthpieces of imperialism and reaction, which negate the objective law of leadership by the working class party in revolution, and regard this leadership as a hindrance to the direct broad participation of the masses in revolution, so that they can play the role of author of the revolution.

Fourth, the union of the Albanian people in the National Liberation Front was an organised union and not at all amorphous. Summing up the revolutionary experience of the ties and unity of the masses of the people with the Albanian Communist Party, comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out: «To establish ties with the masses means to ally yourself with the organised masses, and if these important organisations are underrated by the Party, then, you are not linked with the masses.»<sup>13</sup>

Through the councils and other mass organisations, which were participants in the Front, as well as through the partisan and volunteer units, the Party car-

ried its political line among the masses, formed and strengthened their revolutionary, patriotic, political consciousness, fought against the disruptive sabotage activity of the enemies, mobilised the masses in the war, in short, achieved the unity of the people and ensured its undivided leadership in the National Liberation Front.

This experience shows that the only unity of the masses which is solid and lasting is that which is organised on a sound revolutionary basis and equipped with a common programme.

Fifth, the monolithic unity of the leading nucleus of this union, the Communist Party, around its Central Committee with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, was of primary importance for the invincibility of the union of the people in the National Liberation Front. Without such a unity, the ties and the steel-like unity of the masses around the Party could not have been created nor could they have been preserved, and the undivided leadership of the Party in the Anti-fascist National Liberation war could never have been attained. Neither during the war period nor after the war, has our Party ever regarded the question of its monolithic ideological, political, and organisational unity as an end in itself, but as an indispensable condition for fulfilling its strategic aim and programmatic tasks and for carrying out the proletarian leadership. Proceeding from this basis, it has fought the anti-Party and hostile factions, views, and elements in its midst.

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Of all the means the occupiers and the traitors used in their efforts to destroy the unity of the Albanian people around the Albanian Communist Party, they pinned their greatest hopes at first on the «Balli Kombëtar» and later, on «Legaliteti».

Guided by their unchanging line of uniting the people around the Front, without discrimination as to class and political belief, and proceeding from the fact that in the «Balli Kombëtar» and

«Legaliteti» there were many elements who had been deceived by the reactionary chieftains but who wanted Albania to be free and were ready to fight against the occupier, the Albanian Communist Party and the National Liberation Council made great efforts to have these organisations abandon their sabotaging attitude of wait and see, to prevent them from entering the service of the occupiers, and to unite them with the National Liberation Front, even giving them the right to preserve their own individuality as organisations in the Front. But the traitorous leaders who had formed the «Balli» and «Legaliteti» to fight, not against enslaving fascism, but against the Communist Party and the National Liberation Front, torpedoed all efforts to achieve unity and established increasingly closer ties with the Italian, and especially the German, occupiers, with whom they lined up openly in a common front.

The armed struggle against the «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legaliteti» burst out in the Autumn of 1943 and the Winter of 1943-1944, as a reaction to their open collaboration with the German nazis.

This was a life-and-death struggle against local reaction, the tool of the occupiers, which represented and defended the interests of the main exploiting classes, the landowners, the feudal chiefs, the reactionary bourgeoisie and high ranking clergy.

As such, can it be called a civil war?

In Albanian historiography, there are various views on this question. Bourgeois historiography supports the thesis that the war between the National Liberation Movement and the «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legaliteti» was a civil war and constituted the principal war in Albania during the Second World War.

In the documents of the Communist Party and the General Council of that time it is never described as a civil war, indeed, such a view is opposed. It was called a civil war by the German occupiers, the «Balli» and «Legaliteti», and the British together with the Americans, in whose documents this term is often encountered whenever the struggle between



the National Liberation Movement and internal reaction in Albania is referred to.

When General Wilson, commander of the Allied Mediterranean Headquarters asked the General Command of the Albanian National Liberation Army to put an end to the «civil war», that is, the fight against the «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legaliteti», comrade Enver Hoxha answered him: «There are no internal quarrels, let alone a civil war, in Albania. There is only one quarrel and one war: war against the occupier in the first place and against its traitorous tools.»<sup>14</sup>

The Communist Party always opposed the launching of a fratricidal war and the turning of the National Liberation War into a civil war, at a time when the country had been invaded and subjugated by the Italian imperialists, and later, by the German imperialists, and when the unity and mobilisation of the entire Albanian people in the fight against the occupier were indispensable. «You must expose and fight all those who criticise the Party and the National Liberation War» – comrade Enver Hoxha instructed, – «always remembering that the war must not degenerate into a civil war, which the occupier is trying to kindle through its agents.»<sup>15</sup>

The Italian and German occupiers made great efforts to kindle a fratricidal war in order to split and weaken the unity of the people around the National Liberation Front, and consequently to wipe out the National Liberation Movement. Apart from the occupiers, this was also in the interests, of the big landed proprietors, the reactionary bourgeoisie, the feudal chiefs and the reactionary clergy, who saw the end of their rule and privileges in the revolutionary development and the victory of the National Liberation War. Upon the instigation of the German occupiers, these classes launched a fratricidal war, imposing it on the Communist Party and the National Liberation Front. For them this really was a civil war, that is, a very fierce armed struggle against the masses of the insurgent people – the working class, the poor and middle peasantry, and all the

democratic, anti-fascist forces of the country. The «Balli Kombëtar», «Legaliteti», and other reactionary groupings waged no other war and had no enemy other than the National Liberation Front, which embraced the insurgent Albanian people, and the Communist Party which led it. «For reaction and its traitor organisation» – explains comrade Enver Hoxha – «the main contradictions were the internal contradictions with the Communist Party and the National Liberation Front, which they converted into antagonistic contradictions by attacking us with arms, together with the occupiers», at a time when the Communist Party «tried and did everything possible to prevent the development of the contradictions with the «Balli» and «Legaliteti» into antagonistic principal contradictions».<sup>16</sup>

In spite of this attitude of the Party and the General Council, the class struggle grew extremely sharp, and as was mentioned above, the social – political forces of the country split into two groups, mortally hostile to each other. Under these conditions, the victory of the National Liberation War could not help sweeping away the political rule of the big landed proprietors, the feudal chiefs, and the reactionary bourgeoisie, along with the foreign domination, as it really happened.

Nonetheless, I don't think it is correct to call the war of the National Liberation Front with the «Balli» and «Legaliteti» a civil war, though it contains elements of such a war, both in content and in form.

It was not a civil war because it did not constitute a war in itself, but was an integral part of the war against the occupiers.

In the present epoch, it is impossible to avoid a combination, to this or that extent, between the war for national liberation and the war for social liberation, between the war against the external imperialist enemies and the struggle against the internal reactionary enemies. The international bourgeoisie uses all its forces and means to prolong the lifespan of the world capitalist system. Imperialism is trying every means to preserve its positions, irrespective of the new forms

of domination it applies, at the same time sparing nothing to defend the exploiting capitalist system of each separate country. On the other hand, the landowners and the reactionary bourgeoisie of this or that country, mortally afraid of the revolution, are trying every means to find a base of support in one big imperialist power or the other, paying the highest price for this support, with part or the whole of their national independence and sovereignty. For this reason it is difficult to have a liberation war or revolution which is spearheaded just against the foreign enemy or just against the internal enemy, taken separately. The struggle will inevitably be waged against both one and the other enemy simultaneously, that is, it will be a combined one.

This is what happened in our National Liberation War, too, during which, the fight against the Italian and German occupiers became combined with the struggle against the local reactionary classes.

But no matter how profound it may have been, this combination did not change the over-all national liberation character of the war. From start to finish, the occupiers remained the main enemy. The local enemies, even though they did not represent just individual elements and groupings, but entire social classes and strata such as the landowners, the reactionary bourgeoisie, the feudal chiefs, the well-to-do peasants, were not fought as exploiting classes and strata but always as traitors, as tools of the occupiers. The Communist Party and the National Liberation General Council never considered it correct to change the political platform of the Conference of Peza and to put forward slogans for war against the beys, against the bourgeoisie, against the tribal chiefs, and so on. They regarded any attempt at changing this platform and any distortions of it as grave errors. They never allowed the main enemy, to be forgotten or put aside, or the National Liberation war to be turned into a civil war, in the sense that the spearhead of the war could be shifted from the occupier to the local reaction. While waging the fiercest possible struggle against the

Ballists, the Zogites, and other reactionary groups, always as traitors and lackeys of the occupier, they never, for a moment, ceased their efforts to have anyone, irrespective of his class, strata, or political convictions, who had come to understand that he was on the road of treachery and was willing to abandon this road, break away from the ranks of the «Balli» and «Legaliteti» and other collaborationist forces.

Bearing in mind that the main enemies were the fascist occupiers and not the local reaction, that the main spearhead of the war was directed against the occupiers and not against local reaction, that the war against local reaction was conducted as a war against traitors, against the lackeys of the occupiers, and not against the exploiting classes, that the struggle against the local enemy was subordinate to the struggle against the foreign enemy, it can be concluded that the war against the «Balli Kombëtar», against «Legaliteti» and other reactionary grouping should not be called a civil war.

It could have been turned into a civil war only after the fascist occupiers had been driven out, if the «Balli», «Legaliteti» and other reactionary groups had not been routed prior to November 29, 1944, and had continued their armed resistance to restore the feudal-bourgeois political order. In this case, too, the war with local counter-revolution would certainly have been combined with the war against foreign enemies. This time, the foreign enemies would have been the British-United States imperialists, who had worked out a special plan intended to prevent the victory of the National Liberation Front and the people's revolution in Albania, and to support in every way the struggle of the Albanian exploiting classes and reactionary forces to restore the feudal-bourgeois order.

Despite this combination, the main enemy would have been local reaction (counter-revolution) so long as the British-American armies had not occupied Albania.

The Party, the Front, the National Liberation Army, and the Democratic Go-

vernment were prepared for this eventuality, too. But as is known, this did not come about. The «Balli» and «Legaliteti», the two biggest organisations of reaction, were routed as early as September-October, 1944. All the endeavours of the Anglo-Americans to rescue the home reaction from disaster came to nothing. Any direct interference on their part in the internal affairs of the National Liberation War and every attempt at landing and stationing their military forces in Albania, were defeated. The frantic efforts made by the British and American governments after liberation to revive the defeated home reaction and to throw it into a civil war against the victorious revolutionary democratic forces and the people's state power led by the Communist Party, were smashed, too.

While ensuring for the Albanian people the historic victory of November 29, 1944, the Party of Labour of Albania at the same time, gained a great tempering and experience, very valuable for the later stages of revolution. The unity of the broad masses of the people around the Party was to serve as a decisive weapon in achieving the strategic objective of these stages too, just as it did in the Anti-fascist National Liberation War.

After the war the Party used the great experience of the National Liberation Front, to organise the Democratic Front as the most suitable form, as the embodiment of the unity of the broad working masses under the new conditions.

During the thirty years since the day of Liberation, the experience in uniting the people around the Party has been further enriched. The roots of this unity, which developed during the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, penetrated even deeper, always on the basis of the common ideal and interests of the masses of the people, of their profound conviction in the correctness of the Party's political line, of the broad, active and direct participation of these masses in the revolutionary activity for the development of the economy and culture, for the socialist transformation of the society, for the governing of the country and the defence of the Homeland.

This steel-like unity has withstood every test and weathered all the storm and tempests of history. It has served as a decisive weapon to smash the plans and activity of the external imperialist and revisionist enemies, as well as of the internal enemies, and has ensured the development of the country at a rapid pace, on the road of socialism. Always united around the Party, always led by its proletarian policy and ideology and by the Marxist-Leninist teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha, the Albanian people will remain invincible and will always score victories.

1. *Resolution of the Conference of Peza, September 16, 1942. Documents of the Supreme Organs of the Revol. Nat. Lib. Power, Tirana, 1962, p. 13 (Alb. ed.).*

2. *Resolution of the Conference of Peza, September 16, 1942. Documents of the Supreme Organs of the Revolutionary National Liberation Power, Tirana, 1962, pp. 12-13.*

3. *E. Hoxha, Report at the 1st Cong. of CPA, Works, 5, p. 277.*

4. *PLA, Principal Documents, vol. I, p. 28.*

5. *PLA, Principal Documents, vol. I, p. 64.*

6. *Ibidem, p. 78.*

7. *Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. I, p. 76, (Alb. ed.).*

8. *Enver Hoxha's Letter addressed to the Gjirokastra Regional Committee, February 23, 1943. Works, vol. I, p. 199. Alb. ed.*

9. *E. Hoxha, Report at the 4th Congress of the Democratic Front, September 14, 1964. Reports and Speeches, 1967-1968, Tirana, 1969, p. 162, Alb. ed.*

10. *The first Call of the General National Liberation Council issued from the Peza Conference, September 1942, Documents of the Supreme Organs, etc... p. 17.*

11. *Enver Hoxha, Directives of the CC of the CPA, November 3, 1943. Works, vol. II, pp. 14-15, Alb. ed.*

12. *Enver Hoxha, Directives of the Communist International, February 1943. Works, vol. II, p. 222, Alb. ed.*

13. *Enver Hoxha, Report at the 2nd Congress of the PLA, March 1952, Works, vol. IX, p. 260, Alb. ed.*

14. *Enver Hoxha, Answer to the note of General Wilson, July 12, 1944, Works, vol. II, p. 273, Alb. ed. Underlined by comrade Enver Hoxha.*

15. *E. Hoxha, Letter addressed to the Central Committee of the CPA for the Gjirokastra region, February 23, 1943. Works, vol. I, p. 198, Alb. ed.*

16. *Enver Hoxha, Report at the 4th Congress of the Democratic Front, September 16, 1967. Reports and Speeches 1967-1968, Tirana 1969, pp. 164-165, Alb. ed.*

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## FULL SOVEREIGNTY OVER THEIR NATIONAL RICHES — INDISPUTABLE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLES

*«ZËRI I POPULLIT», organ of the CC of the PLA.*

The conference of the developing countries on raw materials, which was held in Dakar, was another important event in the struggle of the peoples for their liberation from economic plunder, from the control and interference of the imperialist powers, and particularly of the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, for the use of their national riches in the interests of their independent development and social progress. It constitutes a continuation of the efforts of the developing countries for their economic and political emancipation, which reached a higher level during the past year at the special session of the UN General Assembly on the problems of development and raw materials, at the UN conferences on the law of the sea and the problems of population, etc.

The developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, are the main producers of fuels and other raw materials. They carry very great weight in the world in regard to both human potential and natural resources. But for a very long time the imperialist powers imposed utterly unequal and enslaving relations on these countries. And precisely because of

this, in spite of their many natural riches, manpower, and the other great possibilities for progress, these countries have lagged behind.

Being aware of the great strength of the peoples of these countries, the imperialists and social imperialists are seeking to change the forms of exploitation and plunder. Under the guise of «aid», «economic and technical collaboration», «credits», «joint organisations» etc., they are striving to preserve their domination and economic plunder of the developing countries, to hinder the independent development of these countries and undermine their struggle for freedom and national independence. But the developing countries, too, have risen against this enslaving policy and are demanding that an end be put to the unequal relations that exist between the countries importing raw materials and those producing them, between the very high prices of equipment and machinery, on the one hand, and the very low prices of the raw materials, on the other hand. They are struggling for the establishment of full sovereignty over their riches and to place them at the service of strengthening their eco-

nomie and political independence. «Real economic and social development», — emphasised the Algerian president, Houari Boumedinne, in his message to the Dakar Conference, — «can be achieved only when the peoples of every country take control of their own national resources».

It is an indisputable sovereign right of the raw materials producing countries to decide for themselves the prices of these materials, the quantities, and the markets on which they will be sold, in conformity with their national interests, outside any imperialist dictate and arbitrary behaviour. The solution of the fundamental problems of international economic relations in our days is not a monopoly of the two superpowers, or of other imperialist powers and neither should it be. These problems can be solved only with the participation of all countries, irrespective of their size and economic potential, on the basis of equality, mutual benefit, respect for economic and political independence. This is what the developing countries are aspiring to and striving for.

The developing countries are faced with many and urgent

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problems which have to do with their freedom and independence, with their present and future. Experience has shown that the solution of these problems depends, primarily, on resolute struggle for the consolidation of their sovereignty and political and economic independence, on the mobilisation of all their material, financial, and human resources in favour of progress and allround development. The developing countries are aware that they have still much to do to achieve their aspirations, the establishment of complete sovereignty over their

territories and riches, their independent development and further progress. With a view to preserving the old, unequal and enslaving relations, the imperialist powers are creating a common front, the mission of which is to counterpose the just measures of the raw materials producing countries. In these conditions, self-reliance, unity and solidarity in the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, and particularly against the US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists; is an imperative necessity for all the developing countries. The

more united and determined the peoples of the developing countries, the stronger their solidarity, the more numerous and certain will be the victories they will achieve. «The revolution, the struggle for political and economic independence, -said comrade Enver Hoxha in his October 3, 1974 speech, - constitute and unceasing historical process. The present conditions of social development in the world drive them forward with ever greater force and make them indispensable. This also constitutes a guarantee of their triumph».

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## **SOCIALIST CHINA IS FORGING AHEAD EVERY DAY TOWARDS EVER HIGHER PEAKS**

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

On October 1, 1949, announcing the founding of the People's Republic of China, the great leader of the Chinese people, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, declared: «The Chinese people, who constitute the one quarter of mankind, have risen to their feet».

This declaration of comrade Mao Tse-tung's was a profound expression of the unshakeable determination of the talented Chinese people, to march forward on the road of the revolution and socialism. The 25 years and more that have elapsed since the founding of the

People's Republic of China have fully confirmed the brilliant truth of this statement of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Radical changes have occurred all over the country and in all fields of life, completely transforming the appearance of the former poor and backward China, which has now become a very powerful and prosperous socialist state. Guided by the correct revolutionary line of Chairman Mao Tse-tung the Communist Party of China has constantly developed the socialist revolution in depth on all fronts and has reaped one magnificent vic-

tory after another in the struggle against the enemies of socialism and the revolution, at home and abroad.

The great Proletarian Cultural Revolution marked another great victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, of Marxism-Leninism over revisionism and overthrew the black headquarters of the counterrevolutionaries and traitors, Liu Shao Chi and Lin Piao. During this revolution, and during the criticism against Lin Piao and Confucius, the precepts of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung's thought were further studied

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and mastered by the broad masses hundreds of millions strong, raising to a higher level their consciousness for the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to bar all the pathways to capitalist restoration and to forge constantly ahead on the road of socialism.

The imperialists, social imperialists, and the other enemies of China and the revolution, have slandered and screamed that allegedly the Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticise Lin Piao and Confucius have seriously damaged production. But incontestable facts show very clearly that during these last ten years two-fold successes and victories have been achieved, both in deepening the revolution and in increasing production. Thus, over this period Chinese agriculture has had good harvests for thirteen years on end and the problem of food and clothing for a population of about 800 million, as well as of raw materials for industry has been definitely solved. Likewise, over these last 10 years industry has developed at very rapid rates, 1100 big and middle-sized units have been built throughout the country, and the problem of the distribution of products in correct proportions all over the country is on the way to solution.

Thanks to the impetuous development of the whole econo-

my of the country, now the quantity of meat, fish, medicaments, household goods, fruit, vegetables, and other broad consumption articles has increased from 10 to 100 times, the market is thriving, and the living standard of the masses has risen beyond any comparison with the past.

Chinese science has successfully solved a series of very important technological problems, such as that of atomic energy, the production of aircraft, computers, semi-conductors, etc.

A great revolution has been carried out in the field of art and culture.

The art and culture of people's China are the art and culture of the Chinese revolution. They express the colossal transformations of the consciousness of the new Chinese man, who, guided by the Marxist-Leninist thought of Chairman Mao Tsetung, has placed his mind and talents at the service of the people, the revolution, and socialism.

Today the People's Republic of China has an invincible defence potential, based, first of all, on the colossal strength of the glorious Chinese people's liberation army and on the entire armed people, educated with the teachings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and equipped with all kinds of the most up-to-date arms, capable of defending the gains of the revolution

and socialism against any aggressor or coalition of imperialist-revisionist aggressors.

As a result of the great unity of thought and action in the ranks of the Party and of the broad multimillion masses and of these brilliant victories, a sound foundation has been laid to speed up the rates of the construction of socialism in China even further.

Guided by the latest instructions of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and on the basis of the victories achieved, the recent session of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China defined the objectives for the allround development of agriculture, industry, national defence, and science and technology in two stages over the next 15-20 years, to transform China into a very powerful and developed socialist country, so that it will stand in the front ranks of the countries of the world in regard to the development of the people's economy, too.

The Albanian people are immeasurably rejoiced by these brilliant victories and prospects of the fraternal Chinese people. They consider them as their own triumphs, and wholeheartedly wish the Chinese people new magnificent victories and successes in the fulfilment and overfulfilment of these plans, for the triumph of the great cause of the revolution and socialism throughout the world. -



**press review****GREAT RENAISSANCE ARTIST**

*«DRITA» organ of the Albanian Writers and Artists' League.*

Five-hundred years have elapsed since March 6, 1475 when Michelangelo was born in the home of a stonecutter in Florence. The history of art knows many artists. Many masterpieces have been created during the centuries; Michelangelo, too, created, but when you stand face to face with his works, you are filled with a feeling of joy and pride. This is the great force of true works of art. In those years of the Renaissance, Leonardo, Raphael, and Titian, were working at the same time as Michelangelo. But Michelangelo occupies a special place among those world figures. Although rich in outstanding figures, the Renaissance did not produce a second Michelangelo, with such love for mankind, so universal and majestic, so profound in thought, and resolute in his convictions, so morally pure and capable of moving one's emotions in such a complex way, as Michelangelo Buonarroti.

In present-day bourgeois-revisionist Europe, in the Europe of the formalist decadent art, weary of advertisements, drugs, religious preachings, along side the concited nonsense of the modernist artists who try to weld together bits of iron and gather up roots, tins, and stones in the modern art

galleries in order to express their «emotions», in that monstrosity of forms, colours, and figures, the humanitarian art of the Renaissance, that lofty ideal for man which is seen in these works, makes a particular impression.

The Party has taught us to look at the creativity of the past with a critical eye, discover in it the positive and progressive features, and criticise reactionary and regressive phenomena. We must place Michelangelo's creativity in those socio-political and economic conditions in which it was formed. He saw Italy dismembered, plundered, and betrayed, he saw the fall of the Republic of Florence, he saw the hypocrisy of the popes. His world outlook assumed a tragic character. Although he did not merge with the counter-reformist movement, Michelangelo felt that sensualism of the early Renaissance was far away, it was being replaced with asceticism, he was now living in a world which was alien to him. Michelangelo marked the culmination of the Renaissance, but also the beginning of its decline. In his creativity, which was almost entirely specially commissioned, Michelangelo did not express the requirements of the client of the time, no! He expressed

the epoch, its most progressive aesthetic ideals. For us, the artists of socialist realism, Michelangelo is close to us because of his love for man, the powerful realism of his work, his force of expression, dynamism and the clarity of his artistic figure. In the struggle against the distortions of the present-day bourgeois and revisionist art, Michelangelo's work is splendid support along with the creations of value of other progressive and revolutionary epochs and artists.

Michelangelo never used his art to illustrate the religious doctrines blindly. True to his own ideals, and ideological and compositional principles, he submitted neither to dogmas or routine, nor to conventions of forms. In many of his works he manifested the independence from religion of his ideological and esthetic concepts. Rather than illustrations of the subjects of the Bible, his figures are more an expression of the emotions of the epoch in which the artists lived. Michelangelo recognised the force of action of the work of art, not so much through the illustration of fables, facts, stories, as through generalisations of moments and phenomena.

So many centuries have elapsed and the work of Michelan-

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gelo lives on. In the present-day bourgeois Italy of governmental crises, the work of this artist of genius has been surrounded by the bourgeois maniacs, by the priests and nuns, and has been transformed, into a means of profit. Near the statue of Moses, placed at ground level (not as conceived by the author 4-5 metres above the level of the eyes) an illuminating apparatus functions. To see Michelangelo's work illuminated you must put coins in the slot. You must pay to visit museums, you also have to pay the guide for accompanying you around the works of this great artist, as well as for the hire of an apparatus which plays a recorded commentary. But no barrier whatever cuts off Michelangelo from the human emotions, which he knew and expressed so well in his works.

When you see the cold statues in many museums and squares you understand what genius lay hidden in those powerful hands, in those sharp eyes, in the aching heart of that stocky figure of a man. He could not endure flatterers and servility. He preserved his own dignity, being very stern towards the mundane society. He worked with an unrestrainable tempo which stemmed from scrupulous preparatory work on his drawings, models and rough copies. Even at the age of 89, he did not lay down his chisel until six days before his death.

Now progressive mankind bows with veneration before the great work of Michelangelo Buonarroti.

Through his esthetic ideals Michelangelo is alive even now in the hearts of those artists who want to be sons of the

people, who want their works to be imbued with the powerful emotions of our epoch, to be hymns to the beauty and heroism of men and women, to inspire, move, and educate, with their ideological and esthetic values.

Michelangelo, this indomitable believer in the Republic, never lost his democratic features. He did not become a courtier for title and rank, and never dressed in the expensive silks and velvets of his contemporaries.

On this 500th anniversary of Michelangelo's birth, we go beyond the bourgeois ugliness, beyond the rusty bits of iron, boxes, and tins of the present-day bourgeois art; Michelangelo's beautiful drawings, frescoes and statues march right over them, bringing to the present day from the dimness of centuries gone by, their vivid and innovating humanism.

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## **ATU RESOLUTELY STRUGGLE FOR THE TRIUMPH OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST REVOLUTIONARY CLASS LINE IN THE WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT**

*«PUNA», organ of the Central Council of the ATU.*

The Albanian Trade Unions, led and inspired by the Party, are carrying out extensive vigorous and many-sided activities in the world trade union movement. They have unreservedly backed and supported the national liberation struggles of the peoples for freedom, national independence and social

progress, and against racial discrimination.

Implementing the line of the PLA, the Albanian Trade Unions have waged on extensive and irreconcilable struggle in the trade union and international field to expose all the anti-worker, opportunist, and reformist trends and, in particular,

the treachery of the leaders of the World Trade Union Federation, who, strictly applying the ideology and policy of the Soviet revisionists, abandoned the line of the class and anti-imperialist struggle of the trade union movement, embraced the line of capitulation and class collaboration with the monopo-

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ly bourgeoisie, transforming themselves into a fire brigade to restrict and quell the revolutionary actions of the working class. In the fierce class battles the differentiation of forces is becoming increasingly accentuated, while the new revolutionary forces led by the real Marxist-Leninist parties, are increasing and becoming tempered in struggle against reformism and revisionism. In this struggle they will become even stronger and will score new victories.

As an organisation with a marked political character, the Albanian Trade Unions have waged and continue to wage a great struggle for the exposure of the aggressive policy and plots of the two superpowers against the freedom and independence of the peoples of the entire world. They have drawn the attention of the working class in all countries to the dangers posed by the collaboration and rivalry of the two super-

powers, with their ambitions for world domination and the division of spheres of influence.

It is precisely as a result of its internationalist line and consistent principled struggle against imperialism, social imperialism and reaction that our working class and its trade unions, enjoy the friendship, respect, and revolutionary support of the working class and the trade union and progressive movement in the world. Not only were they not isolated as the Soviet revisionist trade union chieftains and those of the WFTU strove to bring about, but on the contrary, they increased the number of their friends all allies in all parts of the world and extended and strengthened their international ties and relations. Thus, now the ATU maintain fraternal ties of collaboration with more than 210 national trade union centres and federations in 82 countries of the world.

In the present conditions of the further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, which has engulfed all the political, ideological, economic, social, and other spheres, in the conditions of a further intensification of the class struggle in the capitalist and revisionist countries against US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, of the extension of the national liberation struggles in various areas of the world, as in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and elsewhere, the ATU, led by the Party and armed with comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings as always, will fight still harder to strengthen worker solidarity and wage the anti-imperialist class struggle against imperialism, social imperialism, and all the enemies of the working class, against capitalist exploitation, for democracy and social justice, for the final victory of the cause of the proletariat and socialism.

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## **A MEMORABLE EVENT IN THE FRATERNAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ALBANIAN AND VIETNAMESE PEOPLES**

«BASHKIMI»

Twenty-five years ago diplomatic relations were established between the People's Republic of Albania and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. This memorable event paved the way to the further extension and

consolidation of the fraternal friendship and close collaboration between our two countries.

The Albanian people, educated in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, by their Party of Labour with comrade

Enver Hoxha at the head, always standing shoulder to shoulder with the Vietnamese people, have followed their struggle against the imperialist colonisers and local traitors, for national liberation and social

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progress, with deep sympathy. The establishment of the people's power in our two countries created conditions for all-round fraternal ties and real militant friendship.

The great victories of the Vietnamese people, achieved under the leadership of the Vietnamese Workers Party, with the respected Ho Chi Minh at the head, in the socialist construction of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, in the defence of independence and for the unification of the homeland, against US imperialism and its Saigon puppets, are considered by our people as their own victories. «Our country», comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out in his October 3 speech, «resolutely supports the just struggle of the Vietnamese people for the liberation of South Vietnam, the defence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the reunification of the homeland».

The great successes achieved by the Vietnamese people on their road to freedom, independence, and social progress, have always disturbed the US imperialists and their obedient Sai-

gon tools. Despite the heavy blows received from the liberation struggle of the brave and freedom-loving Vietnamese people, and flagrantly violating the Paris Agreement, the United States is continuing its military engagement in that country in many ways. US imperialism is striving to achieve its fiendish aims of forcing the Vietnamese people to their knees, of perpetuating the occupation of South Vietnam and turning it into a colony and a base for aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the other Asian countries. The colossal sums of money granted to the puppet Thieu clique, are another expression of this aggressive policy being obstinately pursued by the Washington

However the Vietnamese people, who have a wealth of experience in their struggle for freedom and independence, are not afraid of brute force and are not deceived by the manoeuvres and plots of their enemies. Life has taught them to keep a firm grip at their weapons and to ceaselessly increase their revolutionary vigi-

lance, to defend the socialist gains in the North, to put an end once and for all to the interference of the US imperialists, to liberate South Vietnam and reunite the homeland.

The Albanian people will always support the just struggle of the Vietnamese people for the realisation of their lawful aspirations. Commemorating the 25th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries, the Albanian people extend warm revolutionary greetings to their brothers of heroic Vietnam. We express our firm conviction that the friendship and close collaboration between our two peoples and countries will develop and grow ever stronger. On this memorable day in the history of our mutual fraternal relations, the Albanian people whole-heartedly wish the Vietnamese people, under the leadership of their Workers Party, new, still greater victories in the socialist construction of the North, the defence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the liberation of the South, and the reunification of the homeland.

## THE SOVIET ARMY-AN ARMY OF OCCUPATION AND OPPRESSION OF THE PEOPLES

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The transition of Soviet revisionism to social imperialism is connected with all the counterre-

volutionary transformations in the base, and the political and ideological superstructure of the

Soviet Union. In the framework of the complete liquidation of the dictatorship of the proleta-

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riat and its replacement with the dictatorship of the new bourgeoisie, the Soviet party and state changed their character, being transformed into tools of the revisionists to preserve and strengthen their political and economic domination. The army, too, in that country, as an element of the superstructure, has been transformed to its very foundations, from an army of the workers and peasants, from an army of the dictatorship of the proletariat, into an army of the bourgeois type, an aggressive, putschist, fascist, barracks army.

Whose hand it is in, the interests of which class it defends, define the character of an army. At present the Soviet army is a weapon in the hands of the new Soviet bourgeoisie, serving to strengthen its rule and its imperialist aims.

The anti-Marxist and fascist character of the present-day Soviet army is seen in the fact that it has raised and aimed its weapons against its own people, and has suppressed and drowned in blood the revolts of the Soviet working people. The present day Soviet army has been moulded with reactionary fascist ideology, with counterrevolutionary and anti-popular ideas and concepts. It has placed the interests of the class domination of the Soviet bourgeoisie above everything. The men directing it form a special caste which enjoys the special care

of the new bourgeoisie. Unbridled careerism, the militarist and aggressive spirit, conceit, arbitrariness and domineering are some of the characteristics of the Marshals, Generals, and the other senior officers of the putschist and fascist Soviet army. These strutting rank-bearers are zealous executors of the orders of the Kremlin rulers; they are watch-dogs in defence of the interests of the domination of the new Soviet capitalists. As such, they also influence the home and foreign policies of the country. The squabbles and divisions in the ranks of the ruling clique of the Kremlin have made reliance on special groups of the military caste necessary. In order to strengthen his position in the ruling clique, in recent years Brezhnev, himself, the head of Soviet social imperialism, brought the Defense Minister, Grechko, into the ranks of the Political Bureau of the revisionist party

The Soviet Union has been transformed into a prison of the peoples. The regime in power is based on violence and fascist oppression, on the reciprocal distrust, disputes and enmities, among the different nationalities. The army, too, as a part of this superstructure has been transformed from an army of fraternisation among nations, from an army of the liberation of oppressed nations and of defence of their freedom

and independence, into an army of occupation and oppression of the peoples, moulded with the spirit of great Russian chauvinism, with the spirit of colonial national enslavement. Now Russian chauvinism is using the army to keep the other non-Russian nations in captivity, to quell any national feeling of those nations and to Russify them completely. More than once the army and the tanks of the new Kremlin czars have been sent to suppress revolts and demonstrations in Georgia, the Ukraine, the Baltic Republics, and other regions of the country.

«US imperialism and Russian imperialism», comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, «are leading the world to another world war more terrible than all the others. These two are responsible for the great crises of the present-day, they are competing with one another for world hegemony, struggling to capture markets, which means to occupy and enslave peoples». The present-day Soviet army is one of the pillars of this aggressive and expansionist policy pursued by the Soviet social imperialist in their international relations. It has been transformed into an aggressive, occupation army, educated in the spirit of hatred for the peoples of other countries, with the desire to oppress and persecute them. The reality of our days provides numerous facts testi-



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fyng to the anti-Marxist, aggressive, fascist, character and nature of the Soviet army.

The barbarous aggression against Czechoslovakia, carried out by the Soviet army, was the first manifestation of the application in practice of an aggressive and chauvinistic policy of the fascist type, the signal for the beginning of a great onslaught against the freedom and independence of the peoples. The armed provocations and attacks against the People's Republic of China in 1969 showed that the madness of the fascist adventurers ruling in the Kremlin knows no limits; they demonstrated the application in practice of the old great-Russian expansionist czarist policy. Parallel with this blatantly aggressive activity, on the quiet the Soviet army has also reinforced its occupation of Poland, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, and Mongolia. In these countries it has been concentrated in cities and villages, and enjoys a special status which only an aggressor and occupationist army can have. Through the Warsaw Treaty, this instrument of oppression and aggression, the Soviet social imperialists also decide the policy and make law in these countries. In order to preserve their imperial rule, from year to year they are increasing their military forces, armaments, and manoeuvres. During the past year alone, the Soviet occupation troops in these

countries were increased by more than 100,000 in comparison with one year ago, 18 joint military exercises were carried out, which is 25 per cent more than in 1973, and 2,000 tanks of the «T-62» type were added, etc. The main theme of the military manoeuvres has been offensive warfare and paratroop exercises. The Soviet social imperialists have also created an army with specialized paratroopers and a mobile corps with 100,000 soldiers who move from one country to another. In order to completely enslave the East European revisionist countries from the political and military viewpoint, the Kremlin neo-czarist rulers and their army Generals have demanded the stepping up of military manoeuvres in these countries, the building or allocating of special railway lines for military transport, that the respective countries pay the costs of military constructions for the Soviet army, that the military industries of the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and other countries, specialise in producing spare parts for Soviet weapons and so on.

The occupation regime of the Soviet social imperialists in the East European revisionist countries has aroused the indignation and revolt of the working masses. There is open hostility which is growing with every passing day between the occupationists and the peoples of these coun-

tries. On the other hand, contradictions exist between the revisionists of the countries of the Moscow empire and the Soviet social imperialists in all fields, the military field included. Thus, for instance, the Hungarian revisionists want to reduce their financial obligations for the Soviet troops in that country; the Poles and Czechoslovaks are opposed to the increase of military expenditure in the framework of the aggressive Warsaw Treaty, for such a thing has a negative influence on and increases their economic difficulties. There are other contradictions also, with regard to the increase of the effective of the Soviet armies in these countries, over the question of the production of armaments and military equipment, and over supplying weapons, etc. All this, however, is expressed within the limit defined by the conductor's baton.

The aggressive Soviet army is seen today also in other regions of the world. For example, the Soviet naval fleet is present on all the seas and oceans, in the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, the Atlantic, Pacific, and other oceans. It openly carries out the policy of strength and blackmail, everywhere, acting parallel with the policy and diplomacy of pressure exerted by the Russian imperialists on the peoples of sovereign countries.

The peoples of the world who have still fresh in their memory

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the glorious epic of the army of Stalin in World War Two, clearly see how low the present Soviet army has sunk. From an army of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, as Lenin and Stalin created it 57 years ago, it has been transformed by the revisionists into an

army of the counterrevolution and the bourgeois dictatorship; from an army of the liberation of the oppressed and enslaved peoples, it has now become an aggressive army, an army of occupation and oppression of the peoples. The only way to overturn this situation is the

one pointed out by comrade Enver Hoxha, that «the Soviet soldier must turn the weapons they give him to enslave others, against the usurper clique, in order to return to his country its former glory, the name and honour trampled in the mud by the traitors and renegades».

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## **SPIRITUAL ALLIANCE AND PRACTICAL COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE VATICAN AND THE REVISIONIST CLIQUES**

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

Two prelates of the Vatican, the arch-bishops Casaroli and Poggi have been visiting Czechoslovakia and Poland, respectively. Their meetings and talks with the official and religious circles of these countries were centered on finding new ways and means to strengthen the positions of the obscurantist clergy and to promote the relations and collaboration between the centre of medioeval obscurantism and the new Czechoslovak and Polish bourgeoisie. According to the Czechoslovak revisionist news agency «ÇETEKKA», the talks in Prague, were held in a «frank realistic and positive» atmosphere. On the other hand, the Polish revisionist newspaper, «Zycie Warszawy» wrote in connection with the visit of the other missionary of the «Holy See», that archbi-

shop Poggi's visit to Poland will contribute to the further progress of the process of normalisation not only as a result of his talks and meeting with the representatives of the Polish authorities, but also as a result of his direct contacts with the clergy».

The visits of emissaries of the Vatican to these countries are now quite usual and welcomed by the revisionist cliques. This is because there is conformity of interests between the new revisionist bourgeoisie and clerical reaction at home and abroad. In all the countries in which the revisionists are in power today, religion, as an organic part of the superstructure, has that same role and mission it has had through the centuries: the sanctification of the power of the rulers, be

they feudals, bourgeois or revisionists and the spiritual enslavement of the working masses, the general curbing of all revolutionary and progressive movement. «On the general background of bourgeois degeneration», comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out referring to the situation in the revisionist countries, «because of the internal and external political circumstances, indeed using even the church for social imperialist aims, religious propaganda is being extended there, churches and the clergy are increasing, the reactionary, old obscurantist rubbish of the Middle Ages is being revived». Now, in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries, religion and its institutions have gained complete freedom of action. The new Soviet bourgeoisie has sup-

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ported and financed the construction of churches in all parts of the country. Today the Soviet Union has 7,500 parishes and 73 dioceses. In Poland there are, at present 27 arch-dioceses and dioceses with 7,000 parishes. In recent years alone, 500 churches have been reconstructed and 600 new ones have been built in Poland. In Hungary, too, the advent to power of the revisionists, brought happy days, also for clerical obscurantism and Jesuitism. The head of the Hungarian revisionists himself, Kadar, has declared that «the Roman catholic church is striving to find its place in this modern world».

The revival of religion as an obscurantist ideology and counter-revolutionary and reactionary practice is connected with the entire process of the capitalist degeneration which has occurred in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries of Eastern Europe. Its extension and development are a necessity to defend the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, to befuddle the proletariat and the other labouring masses of these countries and keep them in ignorance and darkness. «The idea of god», V.I. Lenin points out, «has always lulled to sleep and stupefied «social feelings» replacing the living with the dead, and is always the idea of slavery (the worst slavery without any way out). The idea of god has never «linked

the individual with society», but has always tied up the oppressed classes with belief in the divine character of the oppressors». In the present day conditions the clergy, whether of the west or of the east is adapting itself to the new internal and external circumstances, and its propaganda has become more sophisticated and dangerous. In the revisionist countries the clergy is training large contingents of priests, preachers and demagogues of obscurantism with university diplomas. The Soviet Union has religious seminaries and universities in Moscow, Leningrad, Odessa, and elsewhere. Zagorsk, in the vicinity of Moscow, otherwise called the Russian Vatican, has been transformed into a centre where hundreds of priests are trained for the parishes in the Soviet Union.

In view of the extension and preaching of religious ideology the bourgeoisie of the revisionist countries has also encouraged the setting up of a whole network of mass media. In the Soviet Union religious obscurantist literature is published and sold. In Poland there are a number of press organs which are directly administered by the Roman catholic clergy.

The attitude of the revisionist cliques towards internal clerical reaction has also led to the strengthening of collaboration with the chief centre of medieval obscurantism, the Vatican. Many revisionist chieftains ha-

ve visited the Pontiff's palace. The epoch of close political collaboration between the clerical reaction and the Soviet social imperialists which was opened by Khrushchov, has been even more zealously continued by the Brezhnev clique which has sent Podgorny, to see the Pope, and Gromyko, too, on several occasions. On the other hand, the revisionist cliques of Eastern Europe, on Moscow's example, did not lag behind in this direction. The revisionist Ministers and the emissaries of the «Holy See» come and go.

The Soviet social imperialists and the other revisionist partners need the services of the clergy and the Vatican, not only to befuddle and mislead the toiling masses in their countries, but also to spread the pacifist wind of capitulation and the spirit of reconciliation and compromise in the international arena. The various demagogic imperialist-revisionist conferences being held in Europe now, and the bilateral Soviet-US talks, have united the preachers of imperialism, revisionism, and the Vatican, in a single chorus. The «Holy See» has begun to take an active part in the discussion of many problems of present-day international relations. Casaroli, who is known in fact, as the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Vatican, during his recent visit to Czechoslovakia, talked with deputy Premier Lukan and Foreign Minister Hnousek, also about a series of in-

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ternational problems and, particularly, about European problems. In connection with these talks the Czechoslovak revisionist news agency «ÇETEKA», pointed out that the two sides «had identical or very similar views about the majority of the problems discussed». This identity of views is not accidental,

but stems from their having the same class character, from their common interests and aims.

The revival of religious obscurantist ideology and the strengthening of ties and collaboration with the Vatican are one of the aspects of the process of counterrevolutionary changes in the degeneration of the revisionist

countries into capitalist countries. But neither the fascist violence and revisionist demagoggy, nor the preachings of the local priests and the popes of the Vatikan will be able to enslave the souls of the peoples of these countries in their efforts to win real freedom and socialism. —





*"JOY OF THE VICTORY",  
work of the  
painter N. Jonuzi,  
beautifully reflecting  
the joy of the partisans  
who shelled the  
Assembly of the traitors  
gathered in Tirana  
on October 18, 1943  
to serve the  
Nazi occupationists.*



**Albania  
today**

