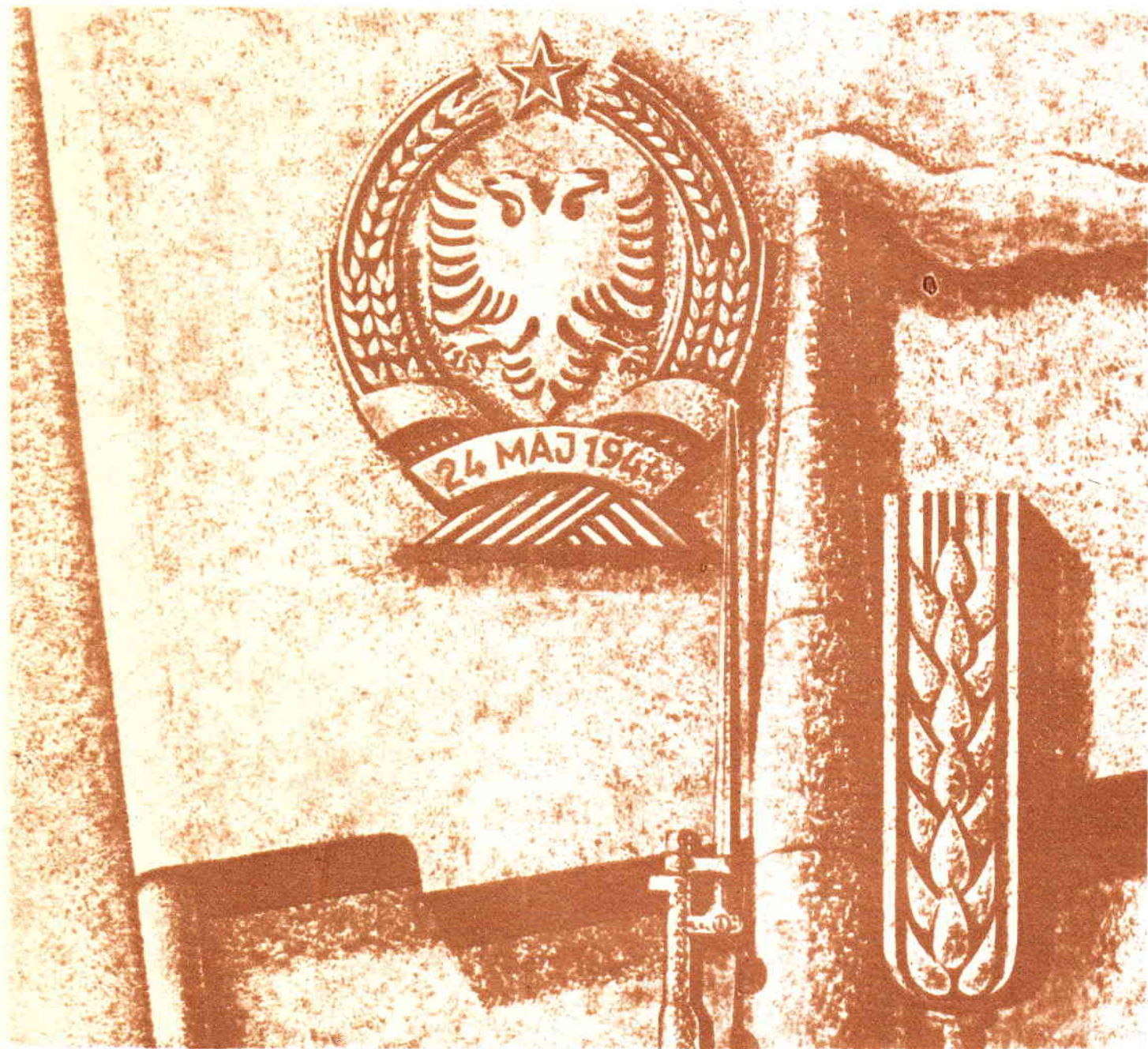


Albania today

POLITICAL AND INFORMATIVE REVIEW / TIRANA

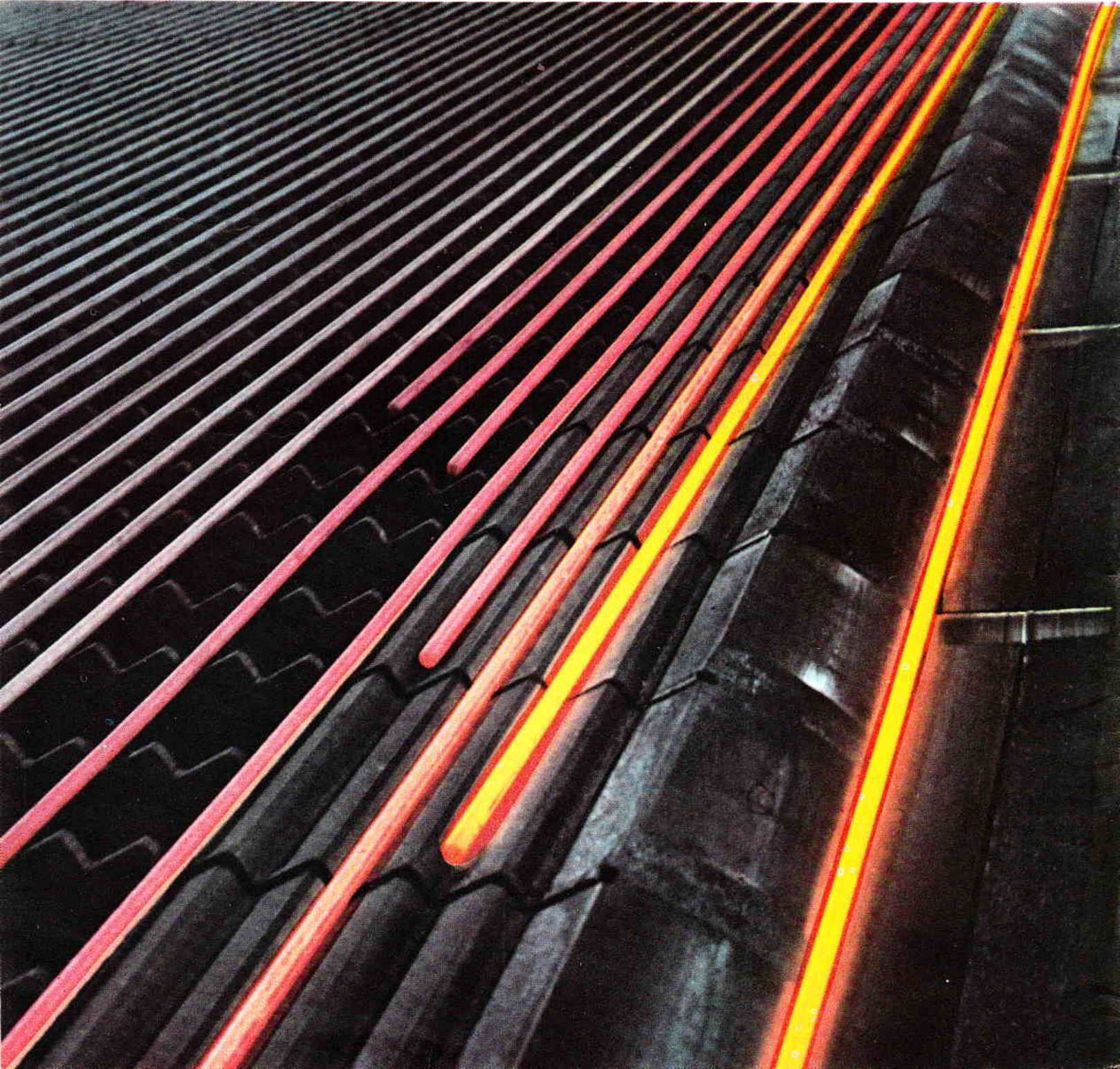
No. 1 (26) / JANUARY-FEBRUARY



11 January 1946 - 11 January 1976

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In January 11, 1976, thirty years were completed since the proclamation of the People's Republic of Albania, a memorable event in the history of the Albanian people who for the first time saw their age-old dream for real freedom and democracy realised.

The work for the construction of the metallurgical complex at Elbasan, the biggest industrial project which is being built in Albania with the aid of the People's Republic of China, is rapidly advancing. The first blast furnace will be put into operation before long. In the photo: A view of the rattling mill of the complex.





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IMPORTANT STEPS FOR PERFECTING OF THE DICTATORSHIP

by **HYSNI KAPO**

The new constitution, as the fundamental law of our State of the dictatorship of the proletariat, will reflect the rich experience gained by the PLA and the Albanian State in socialist construction, as well as the Marxist-Leninist principles of the PLA and its struggle for carrying out the revolution towards the attainment of the ultimate objective - the building of communism

THIS SESSION OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY IS CONVENED OVER THE VERY IMPORTANT ISSUE, OF THE DRAWING UP OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF OUR STATE. IN THIS WAY, THE SUPREME REPRESENTATIVE ORGAN OF OUR STATE IS CONCRETELY SETTING ABOUT THE WORK FOR THE FULFILMENT OF THE GREAT TASK LAID DOWN BY THE 6TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY AND, IN ITS IMPLEMENTATION, OF THE DECISIONS ADOPTED BY THE 8TH PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE WHICH MET RECENTLY. ON THIS OCCASION ALLOW ME, ON BEHALF OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY, TO EXPRESS THE FULL CONFIDENCE THAT THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY WILL FULFIL THIS TASK VERY WELL. ALONG WITH THE GREAT RESPONSIBILITY FALLING ON THEM, THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE IN THIS ASSEMBLY WILL HAVE ALSO THE GREAT HONOUR OF APPROVING THE NEW FUNDAMENTAL LAW OF OUR SOCIALIST STATE, WHICH WILL GO DOWN IN THE HISTORY OF NEW ALBANIA AS ITS SECOND SOCIALIST CONSTITUTION, AS A CONSTITUTION OF THE STAGE OF THE COMPLETE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM IN OUR COUNTRY.

The work for the fulfilment of the task laid down by the Party for the drawing up of the new Constitution is beginning in the revolutionary general situation which characterises our country, when the broadest strata of the people, old and young, have united to a man round the PLA, its Central Committee and the beloved leader of our Party and people, comrade Enver Hoxha. The working masses of our country, with the working class at the head, under the leadership of the Party, mobilised to an extraordinary degree and with a high level of class consciousness, are carrying out allround activity to consolidate and advance the socialist construction in all fields, to deepen the ideological and cultural revolution, to attain new victories for socialist Albania and to defend the homeland and socialist order. The entire Albanian people have engaged themselves in resolute struggle

HYSNI KAPO - Member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA.

Report delivered at the 3rd session of the 8th Legislature of the People's Assembly of the PRA. As already reported, this session, which held its proceedings on November 17, 1975, was dedicated to the question of the drafting of the new constitution of the PRA.

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against the internal and external enemies of our country with the result that, in the face of the invincible force of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism which guide them on their way, in the face of the fiery patriotism and revolutionary vigilance which characterise them, in the face of their steel-like unity around the Party of Labour which leads them, all the attempts of the enemies of every hue have ended in ignominious failure. There is no doubt that the drawing up of the new Constitution will serve to build up this revolutionary situation and will mark a great political and ideological event in the life of the entire country. The drawing up of the new Constitution will be another very important link, in the series of measures our Party has taken for the continued revolutionisation of the life of the country, this will be - as comrade Enver Hoxha says - «step of great theoretical, and practical importance for the further strengthening and perfecting of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country».

The need to draw up the new Constitution at the present stage of the socialist development of the country, is dictated by the great socio-economic transformations which have taken place during this 31-year period of the existence of the socialist state power in our country.

With the liberation of the country and the triumph of the people's revolution, on the 29th of November 1944, a new brilliant page was opened in the history of our people. For the first time Albania won real independence, putting an end to the fascist occupation, as well as to the long period of subjugation to foreign powers. The exploiting classes were overthrown and the old state apparatus in their service was destroyed to its foundations; the new state was created which, immediately after the liberation of the country, carried out the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat; a state apparatus entirely new as to its structure and class content, method and style of work, was set up everywhere. The Albanian people, inspired in everything by the great and immortal ideas of Marxism-Leninism, under the correct and farsighted leadership of the Party with comrade Enver Hoxha

at the head, deepening and carrying further the gains of the people's revolution, set out on the road of socialist construction.

In continuation of these profound transformations, as their crowning and legal sanctioning with the true will of the people, on the 14th of March 1946, the Constituent Assembly approved the Constitution of our new State. It was the first truly democratic and revolutionary Constitution of Albania, the first Constitution made by the people themselves, immediately after they took the State power into their own hands.

The Constitution of new Albania reflected the first socio-economic transformations of a democratic and socialist character such as: the elimination of the domination of foreign capital and its plunder of the riches of the country; the expropriation of the capitalists and landlords, the passing of the principal means of production into the hands of the people and the transformation into common property of the mines and other underground riches, waters and natural resources, forests and pastures, means of communication and transport, banks, etc., the proclamation of the State monopoly over foreign trade and its control over internal trade; the carrying out of the land reform which gave the land to those who tilled it; the process of the socialist industrialisation of the country and the setting up of socialist economies in the countryside, through the collectivisation of agriculture. Deepening the Declaration on the rights of the citizens, approved by the 2nd Meeting of the Antifascist National Liberation Council, which was held in Berat in October 1944, the Constitution sanctioned the rights and democratic freedoms of the citizens. The most important feature of the Constitution in this direction was that it did not confine itself to proclaiming these rights and freedoms, but, as a Constitution of a socialist State, was concentrated on the real possibilities to exercise and guarantee them. Finally, the Constitution not only sanctioned what had been achieved in that short period, but also contained programmatic elements. From this viewpoint, it served as a constitutional basis for the further development of the country on the road of socialism, sanctioning the objectives of the

future activity of the State and society. The adoption of the 1946 Constitution was a great political victory for our people and Party. «Its importance», says comrade Enver Hoxha, «consisted in the fact that it legalised that profound and radical overturn which was made in the life of our society as a result of the triumph of the people's revolution, it sanctioned from the juridical viewpoint all those great political, economic and social gains the people had achieved with their heroic struggle and opened clear prospects for other revolutionary transformations in all fields of life, on socialist foundations».

But, as it was pointed out at the 6th Congress of the Party, the period which this Constitution served has now gone by. The profound revolutionary transformations which have been carried out during this period in our country, under the leadership of the Party, in all fields of social life, mark a whole historical stage which has been left behind. The setting up of the economic base of socialism has long been completed in our homeland. The single socialist system of the economy, has taken the place of the multiform economy, socialist ownership over the means of production has taken the place of private ownership and, on this basis, socialist relations of production have been fully established, both in town and countryside.

The successful carrying out of the policy of the Party for the construction of the economic base of socialism also brought about the radical transformation of the old class structure of our society. With the complete establishment of socialist relations of production the process of the elimination of the exploiting classes as classes came to an end. Our society is now comprised of two friendly classes – the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, as well as the stratum of the people's intelligentsia. The alliance of the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, under the leadership of the working class, and the raising to a qualitatively new level of the unity of our people, which now has the friendship and cooperation of the two socialist classes at its foundation, constitutes the fundamental distinguishing feature of the class structure in our country today.

During this period, the working class itself, the working peasantry and the intelligentsia, have undergone radical changes, too.

The establishment of socialist ownership and the creation of the new class structure eliminated, once and for all, the exploitation of man by man as well as the social antagonisms, which are the offspring of this exploitation and the system, based on it, such as the antagonisms between town and countryside, industry and agriculture, mental work and manual work, while the essential differences between them are being gradually narrowed. They put an end to the age-long oppression of the woman and ensured the fundamental conditions for her complete emancipation, for her active participation equal with the men in running the country and in all spheres of socialist construction and social activity.

The new socio-economic relations became that decisive factor which ensured the impetuous development of the productive forces, which opened the road for the allround progress of our country. Within a very short period, as a result of the policy of the Party of socialist industrialisation, Albania has been transformed today from a profoundly backward agricultural country, into an advanced agricultural-industrial country. Many new industrial branches have been created which permit the local processing of mineral riches and other raw materials, up to the production of finished products. Now the task of making a new qualitative leap to turn Albania into an industrial-agricultural country is on the agenda. The creation of the cooperativist order and the many-sided measures that have been taken for the strengthening of the material-technical base of agricultural production, have put our agriculture on the road of intensive up-to-date development.

The radical changes in the economic and material-technical base as well as in the class composition of society, brought about great changes also in its superstructure. Under the continuous care of the Party, our State of the dictatorship of the proletariat has been further consolidated. The fight against bureaucracy and liberalism, for a new style and method of work, the enlivening and deepening of the mass line and the increase of the direct control by the workers, the perfecting of the relations, between the cadres and the masses, the arming and military training of the entire people, etc., have strengthened the political superstructure of the socialist society and have enriched the practice of the functioning of our State and social life at all levels. The successful development of the ideological and cultural revolution, in fierce class struggle against the old ideologies of the exploiting society and against the pressure and present-day ideological influences of the capitalist and revisionist world, the further revolutionisation of the school and the carrying out of the technical and scientific revolution, the elimination of religious institutions, the allround work of the Party for the communist education of the working people, particularly for the tempering of the younger generation, as a worthy and reliable successor to carry forward the cause of the revolution and socialism – all these have brought about obvious changes in the ideological superstructure of society, and Marxism-Leninism, the world outlook of the working class and its revolutionary Party has become the dominant ideology in our country.

Such is the historic course traversed in these 31 years by our people and our homeland. It testifies to the correctness of the proletarian Marxist-Leninist line pursued with farsightedness and firm determination by the Party of Labour of Albania with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, it testifies to the incontestable superiority of the socialist order we have set up. This whole period is replete with struggle and countless efforts for the construction and defence of socialism. The dictatorship of the proletariat has been unceasingly strengthened and revolutionary vigilance has always been kept

sharp, in order to suppress and destroy any activity of the overthrown exploiting classes and of all the enemies of socialism, internal and external, who have always tried to hinder our people on the brilliant road on which the Party leads them and to turn them back to the dark past. We have had to face up to and defeat the attacks, pressures, sabotage and blockades of the bourgeoisie, of imperialism and external reaction, of modern revisionism, Soviet social imperialism, and of all the enemies of socialism. With unexampled sacrifice and self-denial the age-old backwardness inherited from the past was overcome and that great forward leap was made to bring about the happy socialist life which has opened before our people brilliant new prospects for the complete construction of socialism in Albania. All these victories have been achieved through an uninterrupted class struggle, which, as comrade Enver Hoxha points out, has been carried out in all fields and with the most diverse means, not only against enemies, but also in the ranks of the people, in order to eliminate the alien influences which poison the consciousness of the working people. On this vital question our Party has always kept in mind the teaching of the great Lenin that "the dictatorship of the proletariat is not the end of the class struggle, but its continuation in new forms".

In all these titanic efforts, in carrying out the transformations made so far and in achieving the great gains we are enjoying today, in achieving and strengthening the unity of the people in the struggle against external and internal enemies, the first socialist Constitution of our State, as the fundamental law and the basis of our entire revolutionary legislation, has played an important historical role. But, in the light of the profound changes which have been made in all fields of the life of the country, it is clear that despite the modifications made to it in subsequent years, the constitution in force has become outdated in many aspects. Therefore, the 6th Congress of the Party, on the basis of the report delivered by comrade Enver Hoxha, laid down the task of drawing up a new Constitution.

The Central Committee of the Party, proceeding from this great task laid down by the Congress, set about the work several years ago, carrying out a series of important studies, and has prepared the relevant materials, which will be made available to the organ that will be created by the People's Assembly for the drafting of the new Constitution.

The Party of Labour of Albania and our State of the dictatorship of the proletariat, faithfully following the Marxist-Leninist theory and implementing it in a creative way have gained rich experience in the building of socialism. The summing up which the Party of Labour of Albania and its leader, comrade Enver Hoxha, have made of the experience of our country and of world socialism, constitutes an important contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism, as to how to ensure the constant advance of the socialist revolution to the complete and final victory, and bar the way to the danger of turning back to capitalism. It is the task of the new Constitution, as the fundamental law of our State of the dic-

tatorship of the proletariat, to reflect this rich experience, which affects all fields of life-political, economic, cultural, military, administrative, etc., to reflect the Marxist-Leninist principles of the Party of Labour and its struggle for the uninterrupted development of the socialist revolution towards the attainment of the final objective of the building of communism, to reflect the consistent defence and the creative development by our Party and comrade Enver Hoxha of the theory of Marxism-Leninism on the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism. The Marxist-Leninist principles of our Party and the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha will thoroughly permeate the new Constitution and will constitute its central axis.

In implementing the decisions of the 6th Congress of the Party, the guide lines of the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee and the instructions of comrade Enver Hoxha concerning the drawing up of the new Constitution, the Central Committee of the PLA recommends that the following main issues should be kept in mind:

First, the new Constitution should fully reflect the line of the PLA, embodied in our revolutionary practice. The correct Marxist-Leninist line pursued by our Party during the carrying out of the uninterrupted socialist revolution, the construction and defence of socialism, which has brought our people brilliant victories, should find its complete reflection in the constitutional norms, as it is in reality, a clear, principled, consistent, Marxist-Leninist line.

The Constitution should define, first of all, the fundamental aims and duties of our State of the dictatorship of the proletariat at the present stage of the development of the country, the main directions of its activity in the field of the home and foreign policies, which are an embodiment of the known principles of the classics of Marxism-Leninism closely interwoven with the historical experience of our country. The dictatorship of the proletariat, as the weapon of the socialist revolution, which only begins with the seizure of the state power by the working class, serves to carry this revolution through to the end, up till the complete and final victory, the construction of the classless communist society, by taking all measures to bar the way to the danger of turning back to capitalism, such as that of the revisionist and bourgeois degeneration of the socialist order.

In this context, the new Constitution should clearly reflect the role of our State of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the impetuous development of the productive forces and the increase of the economic might and independence of the country, in the unceasing perfecting of the socialist relations of production, defence of socialist property, the exercise of control over the amount of work and consumption and respect for the socialist principle of distribution; for the development of socialist culture and the technical and scientific revolution; for the continuous increase of the material well-being and the cultural level of the masses; for ensuring the rights, the democratic freedoms of the working people and the development of the personality of man, which consti-

tute the aim of socialism. In the struggle for the achievement of these objectives, the State has the task of actively drawing the working masses into running the country through the wide variety of forms of socialist democracy, of carrying out an allround struggle for the liberation of the consciousness of people from any kind of alien hangovers and influences, for the forming and tempering of the new man of socialist society, endowed with a proletarian world outlook, ideals and virtues. In this direction the social organisations have played and are playing a major role. As important levers in the hands of the Party, as an integral and important part of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, they unite broad masses and strata of the people, draw them in an organised way into the socialist construction and the running of the country, work for their communist education and see to the solution of their special problems.

As Marxism-Leninism, our Party, and comrade Enver Hoxha teach us, the construction of socialist society is carried out through a fierce class struggle, which takes place uninterruptedly in all fields and constitutes a great motive force even after the liquidation of the exploiting classes, up to communism. The essence of this class struggle, in whatever field of social life it may be carried out, is the problem of the dictatorship of the proletariat. «The key problem of the revolution», stresses comrade Enver Hoxha, «has been and will remain till the attainment of the triumph of communism, the problem of the state power, of the dictatorship of the proletariat». These vital teachings will be reflected in our new Constitution.

Likewise, of major importance are the problems of the defence of the socialist homeland, as one of the fundamental duties of our dictatorship of the proletariat, as a duty above all duties. On the basis of the light-giving teachings of the Party of Labour of Albania on this question, and particularly of the decisions of the 5th and 6th Plenums of the CC of the PLA, the Constitution must reflect the fundamental principles of our proletarian policy in the field of defence, such as the replacing of the «barracks army» system with the people armed and militarily organised, the principle of the leading role of the Party, over the Armed Forces, the organisation and directing of these forces on the basis of the revolutionary military science of the people's war, etc.

Likewise, the main duties of our socialist State, as well as the fundamental principles by which it is guided in the field of international relations and foreign policy, must be brought out clearly in the new Constitution. It should be clearly stated there that, in the future, as up till now, the internationalist attitude of socialist Albania and its principled struggle in the international arena, against imperialism and modern revisionism, in support of the revolutionary and liberation movement in other countries, for the triumph of the cause of socialism and communism in the world, will remain unchanged. As comrade Enver Hoxha has characterised it in his speech of October 3, 1974, to his electorate, the

foreign policy of our Party and our socialist State is a profoundly revolutionary Marxist-Leninist policy. It is a policy of firm principles and not a pragmatist policy of unprincipled compromises, of temporary agreements for short-term gains; it is an open policy which is developed in the light of day and speaks the truth frankly and not a policy of backstage deals at the peoples expense, of flattery and tricks and underhand deception; it is a policy of the courage to raise the voice of the truth and to defend the sovereign rights of the peoples and nations, and not a policy of bowing and scraping of submission and capitulation to the arrogance and blackmail of «the mighty». Precisely because socialist Albania has always consistently pursued such a foreign policy its international position has been strengthened from day to day, it has won the love and admiration of the peoples of the whole world, and its international authority and prestige have constantly increased.

Second, the new Constitution should present the true features of socialism, which distinguish it from the distortions and falsifications of the modern revisionists. Built on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist theory of scientific socialism, the new Constitution of our State will be another affirmation of the fundamental principles formulated by the classics of Marxism-Leninism, especially in the field of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as of the defence and creative application of these principles in our country. This is of major importance in the conditions of the present-day struggle, for the exposure of all the distortions and falsifications perpetrated by the modern revisionists of the theory and practice of scientific socialism. As comrade Enver Hoxha points out, «the establishment of a boundary and a clear demarcation line between the truly socialist countries and those which only bear the name socialist» is indispensable. The treatment of problems from clear, proletarian class positions which will characterise the new Constitution, will be another blow dealt by socialist Albania to the betrayal by the Soviet-led modern revisionists, who are trying to deny the class content of socialist State and society as a whole, in order to cover up their bourgeois dictatorship and their counter-revolutionary policy. By reflecting the reality of a truly socialist country, as our country is, the new Constitution will help to develop the correct understanding of socialism. In this direction the sanctioning in the Constitution of our State of such fundamental principles of scientific socialism as the principle of the leadership by the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class, that of the dictatorship of the proletariat as well as the principle of the revolutionary ideology of the working class and its party, assumes special importance.

Whereas the modern revisionists attack the teachings of Marxism-Leninism about the proletarian party, through their preaching of the «multiparty system in socialism», of the «merely ideological role of the Communist Party in socialism and not its leading and directing role, of «the party of the entire people», etc., in the new Constitution of our State,

on the contrary, the Marxist-Leninist principle of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party in socialism will be affirmed and proclaimed as a constitutional norm. With this, the historical reality and the basic practice of our socialist society and State are sanctioned, while declaring, at the same time, that there can be no socialism without the undivided leadership of the proletarian party, which is a concentrated expression of the leading role of the working class in the socialist society and an indispensable condition of the very existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Whereas the modern revisionists deny that the dictatorship of the proletariat is an entirely indispensable phenomenon during the whole period of transition from capitalism to communism and pretend that with the elimination of the exploiting classes it is transformed into a «State of the entire people», in the new Constitution of our State, on the contrary, the Marxist-Leninist principle that during the period of transition from capitalism to communism «the State can be nothing but a dictatorship of the proletariat» (K. Marx) will be affirmed and proclaimed as a constitutional norm. With this, our historical reality of the existence and unceasing strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat is sanctioned, while declaring at the same time, that without the dictatorship of the proletariat there is no building of socialism and communism, that in the proletarian character of the State, the leading role of the working class, which is meaningless without the proletarian party and the proletarian state, finds its concrete expression.

Whereas the modern revisionists advocate «the free circulation of ideas and cultures» and the spreading of non-proletarian ideas in socialism, our new Constitution, on the contrary, will affirm the Marxist-Leninist principle of the role of the revolutionary ideology of the working class and its party, and will proclaim as a constitutional norm that in our State and society, Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary ideology of the working class and its party, is the dominant ideology, that our entire socialist social order is organised and develops on the basis of its principles. With this the reality achieved during the carrying out of our socialist revolution in the field of ideology and culture is sanctioned, while declaring at the same time, that socialism cannot be built without based on the Marxist-Leninist theory, that in this, too, the leading role of the working class and its revolutionary party in the socialist society finds one of its main forms of expression.

Viewed from this angle, the new Constitution of our socialist State will comprise a new, valuable contribution by the Party of Labour of Albania to the revolutionary theory and practice of scientific socialism, to the historic struggle of Marxism-Leninism against modern revisionism, a struggle which our Party has always considered as its lofty internationalist duty.

Third, the new Constitution must conform to the present stage of the socialist development of the country. The stage of the complete construction of socialist society, which our

country is now in, marks a new reality, with those great social, economic, cultural and defence changes which have been carried out in the course of these 31 years. The duty of the new Constitution – as comrade Enver Hoxha instructs – is that it must conform to the existing social situation in the country and stress the great reality of the construction of socialism. This is connected also with the name of our Republic, which must faithfully reflect this reality. But in any case it is important to keep in mind the idea of the continuity of the present Constitution in the new one, seeing the new Constitution as a development of the former one. Likewise, it is of first importance that the new Constitution while reflecting and sanctioning the achieved gains, should also express the tendency of the further development of the country on the road of the complete construction of socialism. This is an expression of the qualitative leap from the lower to the higher which the present stage will prepare for the future, just as yesterday's stage served the stage which our socialist society is in today.

The continuity between the new Constitution to be drawn up and the former one finds its expression, among other things, also in the fact that many problems and principled attitudes contained in the existing Constitution will preserve their full value in the new Constitution, too. Such are a series of principles of the organisation and functioning of the economic and State life of the country, such as the principles of self-reliance, the planning of the people's economy, distribution «according to work», democratic centralism, socialist legality, the unity of the State power, etc.

In sanctioning the socialist socio-economic order which constitutes the economic basis of the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the new Constitution will reflect the deep transformations that have been carried out and the great victories that have been achieved in the development of this order in our country at the present stage. The establishment of socialist ownership in all the branches of the people's economy, as the only type of ownership over the principal means of production, represents an objective reality and a major historic victory of our country. The socialist ownership in its two forms-State and cooperativist, is the unshakable foundation of our socio-economic order, the decisive factor for the unceasing development of the country on the road of socialism, for the strengthening of the defence capacity of the homeland and the systematic general raising of the wellbeing of the people. Private property now belongs to the past. Not only do this property and its bearers no longer exist, but any activity which may lead, in one form or another, to turning back, to the revival of private property and the social relations set up on this basis, is prohibited. The new Constitution will also reflect the reality, attained long ago in our country, in regard to the ownership over the land, as a result of the original course which was followed by our Party for the solution of this problem, in conformity with the special national, social, and economic features of the country.

In reflecting the changes in the socio-political order, the new Constitution must also deal with the problems of the political basis of the State power and sanction the fundamental principles of the functioning of the State and social mechanism. The essentially democratic character of our State should stand out here in all its clarity, and a series of important revolutionising measures taken by our Party for the continuous implementation and deepening of the line of the masses to fight and eradicate the evils of bureaucracy and liberalism, as well as any other alien phenomenon which carries the seed of bourgeois and revisionist degeneration of the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat, should find constitutional sanction.

It is essential that the new Constitution should reflect the new historical world experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, gained both from the positive example of the socialist countries, as that of Albania, as well as from the negative example of the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries. This experience shows that the guaranteeing of the socialist gains and further advance on this road cannot be conceived without the merciless fight against bureaucracy and liberalism, as the two main dangers of the peaceful degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In opposition to the bureaucratic practices or liberal laxity used by the modern revisionists as mines to blow up the foundations of the dictatorship of the proletariat, our Party has waged and will continue to wage a fierce and frontal struggle in both directions, both against bureaucracy and against liberalism, and this struggle will find the necessary reflection in the new Constitution. Our Party has always said, and this was pointed out again recently in the decisions of the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th Plenums of the Central Committee of the Party, that the struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism constitutes one of the most important aspects of the class struggle.

It is known that the direct worker control is a necessity and a basic principle of social life during the entire historical period of socialism, one of the concrete and vivid expressions of the leading role of the working class, of proletarian democracy in operation, a sharp weapon in the struggle against bureaucracy and alien influences, a very effective norm of proletarian education of the working masses themselves, an indisputable right of the working class to preserve and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist order, and one of the fundamental guarantees to avert the danger of revisionism and return to capitalism. This thesis of major theoretical and practical value of our Party about the direct worker control must be reflected in the new Constitution.

Of major importance is the constitutional sanctioning of the correct, truly socialist relations between the cadres and the working masses, without which we cannot speak either of socialist relations of production or socialist democracy. Historical experience proves that, if correct relations between the cadres and the masses are not established, there exists the

real danger of a «worker» aristocracy or a new bourgeois class, being created in the bosom of socialist society, which can lead to the peaceful degeneration and the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat, such as occurred in the revisionist Soviet Union and in some other countries. Proceeding from the lessons which stem from this and from the positive experience of our Party, while keeping in mind the great lesson of the Paris Commune that in order to preserve its domination as a class, the working class must protect itself also from its own officials and functionaries, must not permit their transformation into the overlords of society, and aiming at the same time to put the cadres in such material and social conditions that they remain revolutionaries till the end of their lives, — the new Constitution should be a synthesis of a series of effective measures that have been taken in our country so that the cadres and employees will always be servants of the people, merge themselves and live with the masses, think and feel in the same way as the working class and the cooperativist peasantry.

In all these directions the Party of Labour of Albania with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, enlightened by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, has worked out a series of key problems vital to the fate of socialism, which creatively enrich the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat. For all these things, the working class and the broad working masses of our country feel a legitimate pride in their glorious Party, steel their unbreakable unity around it still further and strengthen their unwavering confidence that only under the leadership of the Party and according to its teachings will the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania always be kept invincible and pure, and the cause of socialism in our homeland advance unceasingly, until the complete and final victory is achieved.

Fourth, the new Constitution should express the truly democratic character of our socialist social order. In our country, the working people themselves are in power and everything is done on their behalf and in their interest. Hence the essentially democratic and humanitarian character of our socialist social and State order, the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which expresses and defends the interests of all the working people. Only the dictatorship of the proletariat ensures true democracy to the working masses. «Without socialist democracy», says comrade Enver Hoxha, «there is no dictatorship of the proletariat, just as there can be no true democracy for the working people without a dictatorship of the proletariat». The rich variety of forms of the participation of the masses in the discussion and solution of social problems, in running the country, the control of the masses from below, particularly the direct worker control over everybody and everything, the putting of the cadres in effective dependence on those below, on the working masses, etc., as pointed out above — all these are vivid expressions of our socialist democracy in operation. The reality of our country, where the true democracy of the masses, socialist democracy,

operates, grows and becomes stronger uninterruptedly, must find complete reflection in the new Constitution.

In sanctioning the victories achieved on the road of socialist construction, the new Constitution will clearly express the position of man in socialist Albania, which is characterised by the elimination of any oppression and exploitation, and by the transformation of the working masses, with the working class at the head, into the allpowerful masters of their own fate. It must sanction the rights and duties of our citizens, which are a clear expression of the true liberation of the working people in the conditions of socialist society, and one of the fundamental fields of socialist democracy for the broad working masses. Taking into account the worthy place the woman occupies in our socialist society, as an equal participant, as an active fighter for socialist construction and the defence of the country, who enjoys full civil rights and freedoms, which constitute major progress in the fight for the complete emancipation of the Albanian woman, the new Constitution will reflect these historic victories.

True democracy, socialist democracy in action, radically distinguishes our state and social order from the so-called bourgeois and revisionist «democracy». The construction of socialism and the communist perspective have as their fundamental premise and supreme aim the complete liberation of man from all the chains of the old exploiting society, the allround development of his personality, of his capacity and creative energies, the continuous education and tempering of the new man, the increase of his active and conscious participation in running the affairs of the State and the entire society.

An essential requirement in drawing up the new Constitution, as in the existing Constitution, is not only to proclaim and insert the democratic principles, but also to provide real guarantees for their application in practice. In this too lies one of its radical distinctions from the deceptive constitutions of the bourgeois (and revisionist) countries, where – as Lenin pointed out – equality, democratic rights and freedoms are only formally proclaimed, while by means of one thousand real restrictions and complications, the working people are deprived of them and become wage slaves.

There is no doubt that the sanctioning of the principles of our socialist democracy in action, of the real democratic rights and freedoms the citizens enjoy in our socialist society, in the new Constitution, will raise still higher the revolutionary spirit which characterises our people, will increase the conscious participation of the broad working masses in running the country, and will strengthen still more the unity around the Party of Labour in the struggle to achieve the major aim, the complete construction of socialism in our homeland.

Fifth, the new Constitution should be clear, simple and understandable to the broad working masses. The full reflection which the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles of the organisation of our society and State will find in the new Constitution, will raise this important document to the place of honour of the fundamental law of a truly socialist State,

as the true expression of the aims and interests of the working masses themselves, with the working class at the head. But, while keeping in mind this main aspect, i.e. the content of the Constitution, attention must also be paid during the drafting of it to the other aspect, that the Constitution should speak to the working masses in such a way as to be easily grasped by them. This raises the requirement of writing the new Constitution in clear and simple language, understandable to the working people.

All these important guide lines given by the 6th Congress of the Party, the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee, and comrade Enver Hoxha, will serve as a basis for the drawing up of the new Constitution of our State. By realising these requirements in the best possible way in the Constitution to be drawn up, it will become a document of major revolutionary importance to our socialist present and future.

In order to completely achieve these important directives worked out by the Central Committee of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha in regard to the new Constitution, it is understandable that the drawing up of this important document is a very responsible task which requires work and special care, requires serious preparation and thorough discussion. In the context of this work the Central Committee of the Party proposes to the People's Assembly the following:

1. For the drawing up of the draft of the new Constitution a special commission be created by the People's Assembly, which together with the Presidium of the People's Assembly, should also organise the discussion of this draft among the people.

2. The new Constitution which will be drawn up should be approved by the Peoples Assembly following the broad discussion of the draft among the people.

Thus, comrade deputies, a great deal of work lies ahead of us for the drawing up of the new Constitution, up to its approval. The popular discussion of the draft Constitution will be the most vivid expression of drawing in the opinion of the masses on the affairs of running the State and society; this discussion will certainly serve both to supplement the draft with the proposals of the masses and to acquaint the masses with the ideas of our new Constitution. Thus, we shall have – as comrade Enver Hoxha says – a juridical, political and ideological document which will be the complete reflection of a whole glorious road and experience, which will inspire us, will fill us with optimism and will urge us to new battles and victories. The new Constitution, as an important component part of the political superstructure, will render splendid service to the constant advance of the revolution and socialist construction in which we are led with wisdom and farsightedness by our glorious Party with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.

– Long live the Party of Labour of Albania! –

– Long live our beloved leader and teacher comrade Enver Hoxha!

– Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

THE ROLE OF THE SOCIALIST STATE IN THE COMMUNIST TRAINING AND EDUCATION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

by **ZIJA XHOLI**

THE EXISTENCE OF THE EXPLOITING STATE SINCE IT FIRST EMERGED EXTENDS OVER SEVERAL THOUSAND YEARS, WHILE THE BOURGEOIS STATE EMERGED A FEW HUNDREDS YEARS AGO. IN THE COURSE OF THIS LONG HISTORICAL PERIOD THE NUMEROUS MECHANISMS OF THE EXPLOITING STATE WERE CREATED AND PERFECTED AND THE VARIOUS CONCEPTS WHICH THEY NURTURE AND INSPIRE AROSE AND HAVE TAKEN ROOT. A CONCENTRATED EXPRESSION OF THE EXPLOITING STATE, A FUNDAMENTAL FEATURE WHICH STEMS FROM ITS REACTIONARY NATURE AND ANTIPOPULAR FUNCTION, IS BUREAUCRACY. BUREAUCRACY HAS ITS ROOTS IN THE BIRTH OF THE EXPLOITING STATE. IT DEVELOPED PARTICULARLY IN BOURGEOIS SOCIETY. BUREAUCRACY, COMRADE ENVER HOXHA EXPLAINS, WAS BORN TO SERVE FEUDALISM, THE BOURGEOISIE AND THE CAPITALISTS, TO RULE THE MASSES, TO OPPRESS THEM, TO EXPLOIT THEM TO THE LIMIT. «BUREAUCRACY IS A FORM OF THINKING AND ACTING OPENLY OPPOSED TO THE PEOPLE, TO THEIR VITAL INTERESTS». IN THOSE WORDS THE WHOLE IDEOLOGICAL AND CLASS ESSENCE OF BUREAUCRACY, ALL ITS INCOMPATIBILITY WITH THE WORKING CLASS AND SOCIALIST SOCIETY, IS EXPRESSED.

Unlike the bourgeois state, our socialist state has a very short period of existence, only 31 years. If this short period is kept in mind and, at the same time, the fact that the socialist state had to smash the machine of the old bourgeois state to its foundations and create everything from the beginning, it is self-

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evident what a colossal job the working class has had to do, under the leadership of the Party of Labour, to set up the new socialist state and get it working.

It is true that the working class of our country did not have to begin this work as on virgin territory. It had the illumination of Marxist-Leninist doctrine. It based itself on a whole historical experience, such as that of the Paris Commune, and mainly that of the building of

the socialist state by Lenin and Stalin. These things had their own importance, but they were not everything. They constituted only the general guide-lines, only the pattern, while the working class had to build the structure itself, with its own work and thought in conformity with the unceasing development of socialist society in the conditions of the savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement. The Party based itself on the known models, but it also blazed new trails, based on its own revolutionary experience and on the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha.

* * *

To successfully carry out its historical mission of the destruction of the old capitalist order and the construction of the socialist order, the working class must become a ruling class not only politically but also ideologically. It cannot even begin, much less carry forward, the socialist construction if it is burdened down with old ideas. On the

With the development of socialist society the educative-cultural function of the socialist state, which has as its aim to make the ideology of the working class the only ideology of the whole society, also develops. This function is performed in connection with all its other functions: the suppression of the overthrown classes and antisocialist degenerated elements, the organisation of the defence of the homeland, and the economic-organisational function. Only through a state which combines all these functions does the working class emerge organised as the ruling and leading class in socialist society

contrary, it must reject them and create new socialist ideas in production, must carry out a true revolution in the field of ideology and culture.

The ideological and cultural revolution is one of the most heroic tasks the working class fulfils. It is heroic in its sweep and dimensions. The working class aims to implant its ideology not only in its own ranks, but in the whole society. It requires that not only the workers, but the whole society, the co-operativist peasants and the people's intelligentsia, should view the world and its development with the eye of the working class, that they should live and work on the basis of the moral norms of the working class. The working class is the only class in the history of society capable of making its ideology not only the dominant one, but the only ideology of the whole society.

Unlike the bourgeois ideology which cultivates a culture for the minority, for an élite, and which aims to leave the broad masses ignorant and backward, the working class ideology triumphs on the

background of an allround educational and cultural development of the working masses, of an unprecedented flowering of their talents and intellectual abilities.

The ideological and cultural revolution is an heroic task of the working class also from the viewpoint of the difficulties it has to surmount. The working class does not begin the construction of socialism with people specially trained for it, but with people from the old overthrown society who, in a way or another, in one case or in another, bear with them ideas, views, concepts, mentalities, which reflect the old relations of oppression and exploitation and which exist as stains from the past in the consciousness of people. Here we are speaking not only of the working peasantry and the intelligentsia, but also of the working class itself. Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out that we must take the working class as it is and not as it ought to be. He explains that the historical process during which our working class was formed, «has brought into its ranks many petty-bourgeois hangovers and

views which harm that cohesion, that consciousness and discipline of the class, which we want to create».

In its course the ideological and cultural revolution clashes not only with the stains of the past in the consciousness of people, but also with a powerful tide of imperialist-revisionist propaganda.

The bourgeoisie and the revisionists have set up a very powerful industry for poisoning public opinion, an industry which as to the capital invested and people engaged in it, surpasses even the biggest branches of the economy. The bourgeoisie and the revisionists spend their billions on propaganda just as for armaments, for they all serve their policy of aggression and counterrevolution. In his time the imperialist warmonger, Dulles, stressed the special role of ideological diversion in the struggle against socialism and the peoples, and all the bourgeois-revisionist degeneration in which the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries have immersed themselves, is demonstrating this even more clearly.

The pressure of the bourgeois-revisionist ideology is closely inter-connected with the stains of the past in the consciousness of the working people; they nourish each other and are merged in a single front of struggle against socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, the struggle for the triumph of the ideological and cultural revolution, the struggle to make the working class ideologically dominant in society too, is waged on a broad front and on all sides against the reactionary ideas which come from the overturned old world, as well as against the equally reactionary ideas which come from the bourgeois and revisionist world, against conservatism as well as liberalism which defend and spread them. These internal and external circumstances make the ideological and cultural revolution not merely an illuminist-educational process, but a fierce class struggle, a very important front of the class struggle for the triumph of the socialist road over the capitalist-revisionist road.

* * *

The working class gives birth to the Party which leads and inspires it in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the construction of socialism. Under the leadership of its party, the working class seizes state power – it becomes a politically dominant class, carries out the socialist transformation of the economy, it becomes an economically dominant class, realises the ideological and cultural revolution – it becomes a dominant class ideologically.

In socialist society the party has the ideological monopoly. Through its scientific ideology, Marxism-Leninism, through its directives and general line, through its theoretical argument around the many problems of socialist construction, as well as through the practical action of the masses themselves, it transforms the spiritual world of the working people, gives their world outlook and convictions a socialist content, makes the working class and the working masses conscious of their historical mission and capable of realising it in practice.

The party not only forges that ideology which makes the working class transform the world and itself, but it also creates the means and finds the ways to implant it in the consciousness of the masses. In the struggle for socialism it creates a whole system of organisations and organisms through which it carries out the daily work of ideological education and wages the class struggle on the ideological front. In this a special place is occupied by the mass organisations which, under the leadership of the Party, become real schools for the revolutionary education and tempering of the masses. Along with the mass organisations, there is also a whole series of state organisms performing important educative-cultural functions. Besides the important function of suppressing the resistance of the overthrown classes and hostile elements, as well as of the defence of the socialist homeland from any external danger, the socialist state also performs another important function, the educative-cultural function. This function is increased and extended and assumes ever greater importance the more the life of the country becomes revolutionised, the more the socialist society advances.

One of the most powerful state institutions in which the education of youth is realised in a systematic and organised way is the system of schools of all levels distributed throughout the country. During the 31 years of the peoples state power, our school, starting from almost nothing, have travelled a long road of growth and development and has been transformed into a new school radically different from the old school.

While the bourgeois-revisionist school is a school of the élite, a school of the privileged classes and strata, our school is a school of the masses, a school of the sons and daughters of the working class and the broad working masses. While the bourgeois-revisionist school trains future officials and bureaucrats, the cadres who will fill the many apparatuses of political oppression and ideological deception of the masses, our school trains, and it should do this ever better, not candidates for jobs as officials and office workers, but politically and ideolo-

gically tempered cadres who are sent to all parts of the homeland and engage in all sorts of activity, first of all in productive activity, which is the most important, the most decisive for the uninterrupted development of socialist society.

While the education given by the bourgeois-revisionist school is an aristocratic education, an education of disdain for workers and peasants and their work, our school gives, and must give, a proletarian education. It must implant in the young people the conviction that they are cadres of the working class and are trained to serve the cause of the working class, therefore they must go to work wherever the working class and the working masses work and live. The education and specialisation of young people receive at school, the diplomas in their pockets, do not give them superiority over the working class. On the contrary, this increases even more their responsibility to work better and better, willingly and loyally on whatever job they may be appointed to. The instructions of comrade Enver Hoxha that the school is «the place where one studies and works», that it must educate the young people with the love and respect not only for study, but also for work, that the young people must not see the school as a means «making one an intellectual, providing a diploma and a secure job», but as a means making one capable of working everywhere, wherever the socialist homeland has need, remain ever valid and permanent tasks of our school.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's ideas and teachings about its further revolutionisation, have put our school in ideological and organisational positions such that it can perform its mission successfully. The whole problem is that the requirements of the Party about the ideological and Marxist-Leninist axis, about the revolutionary triangle – study-productive work-military training, about socialist democracy, must be understood and implemented properly, in their revolutionary spirit. Here there are still weaknesses and shortcomings, here there must be struggle and seeking of the ways for the further revolutionisation of the school, to make it what the socialist society re-

quires at the present stage of its development.

Besides the schools, on the initiative of the Party and under its leadership a series of other state organisms and institutions have been created, such as theatres, cinemas, radio-television, newspapers, publishing houses, which, all together, constitute a second school of study and education for the broad working masses. As a means of ideological education, they have a pronounced class character. In every step and in their entire content they must be purveyors and disseminators of the ideology of the working class, its best tools, to make it the only ideology in the entire socialist society.

The importance of art and culture in forming the communist outlook of the working people has always been appreciated by the Party. The tasks of art and culture and the ways to develop them have always occupied a special place in its general line of socialist construction. During the 31 years of the existence of the people's state power the Party has elaborated a scientific Marxist-Leninist platform for the development of art and culture. A defence and further development of the theory and practice of the Party in the field of the development of arts and culture and the ideo-aesthetic education of the working people were the decisions of the 4th Plenum of the CC of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha's speech of December 20, 1974 (published in the issue Nr. 2, 1975, of the review «Albania Today»). These documents are a permanent source of inspiration to all the creative artists. They constitute the ideo-aesthetic foundations for the work of all the state artistic and cultural institutions and all the creative social organisations, to realise the great task that, «together with abundance and wellbeing, the Party will create in people and society that world outlook, those habits, those feelings, those tastes, those ethics, that revolutionary philosophy, which will not permit either the revival or the dissemination of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois views».

The complete domination of the working class ideology, the unwavering

realisation of the leading role of the Party is the guarantee that arts and culture will develop rapidly and on a correct road, that they will truly become the auxiliary of the Party in the communist education of the working people.

An important sphere in which the revolutionary world outlook, the proletarian ethic must be known, is that of the socialist property, work and discipline at work. The socialist attitude towards socialist property and work, the proletarian discipline at work with its many components express the new relations that have been established between people in socialist society and the first features of the new man. The struggle for the education of a new conscious discipline is mentioned by Lenin as one of the most important forms of the class struggle in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In its ability to achieve a free and conscious discipline, Lenin saw the strength and heroism of the working class, the guarantee of the victory of socialism and communism.

Education in the socialist attitude towards property and work is a major party problem, which is achieved through the socialist state and social organisations, under the leadership of the Party. Along with the direct participation of the working masses in work and revolutionary actions, which are irreplaceable means of communist education, the socialist state and its respective links, from the economic enterprises and to the judicial organs, play their educative role in the socialist attitude towards socialist property and in the work to implant proletarian morality, in many ways and with numerous means, such as the establishment of fair norms of production, the good organisation of work, demanding of account, the implementation of democratic centralism, the creation of revolutionary legislation, its consistent application, above all by means of education and persuasion. The establishment of order and proletarian discipline everywhere and in everything, teaches comrade Enver Hoxha, is primarily a question of consciousness, education, conviction and tempering of the working masses, a question of organisation and of

strict application of state laws and norms.

The struggle for the inculcation and formation of the communist outlook, for the continued deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution, is a struggle for the further spiritual and intellectual emancipation of the working people, for the release and manyfold increase of their creative energies, it is a struggle for socialism and communism. The role of the state and its organisms, under the leadership of the Party, in the fulfilment of this task will become ever greater and more important. With the development of socialist society, the educative and cultural function of the socialist state, also develops and is realised in connection and coordination with all the other functions. Only by properly realising all its functions, – the function of suppressing the resistance of the overthrown classes and anti-socialist degenerated elements, the function of organising the defence of the socialist homeland from the danger of external imperialist-revisionist aggression, the economic-organisational and the educative-cultural functions, – is the socialist state in a position to fulfil the role for which it has been created. Only by means of such a state does the working class emerge organised as the dominant and leading class in socialist society.

THE TIME HAS COMPLETELY CONFIRMED THE PREDICTIONS OF THE PLA

THE MANY EXTREMELY VALUABLE DOCUMENTS INCLUDED IN THE 19TH VOLUME OF THE WORKS OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, WHICH WE ARE READING AND STUDYING, ARE OF GREAT ASSISTANCE TO US TO SEE THE HISTORIC IMPORTANCE OF THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA AGAINST KHRUSCHEVITE REVISIONISM, IN ALL ITS BREADTH AND DEPTH, TO UNDERSTAND THE INVINCIBLE FORCE OF ITS REVOLUTIONARY LINE, THE SCIENTIFIC ACCURACY OF ITS ANALYSES OF THE SITUATIONS AND ITS LOYALTY TO THE PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM-LENINISM AND PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA'S WRITINGS OF THE PERIOD JUNE-DECEMBER 1960 BRING ALIVE TO US THAT GREAT BATTLE WHICH TOOK PLACE IN THIS PERIOD BETWEEN MARXISM-LENINISM AND REVISIONISM, ALL THAT COURAGE AND DETERMINATION WHICH THE ALBANIAN COMMUNISTS HAD TO HAVE TO COPE WITH THE CONSPIRACIES, PRESSURE, INTRIGUES AND MANOEUVRES OF THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS, ALL THE WISDOM AND MATURITY OF THEIR ACTIONS IN THOSE DIFFICULT AND COMPLICATED CIRCUMSTANCES.

In particular, the 19th volume of the works of comrade Enver Hoxha helps us to see still more clearly where the anti-Marxist concepts of the Soviet revisionist leadership originated, to understand the counterrevolutionary evolution of this leadership, and especially the present situation of the Soviet Union, its chauvinist and expansionist policy.

The stand of our Party and comrade Enver Hoxha in Bucharest and Moscow is a fine testimony to their profoundly communist and internationalist concern for the fate of the revolution and

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socialism, and the Marxist-Leninist unity of the international communist movement. «In the international communist movement and in the relations between the parties», declared comrade Enver Hoxha frankly before all the representatives of the participating parties in the Moscow meeting, «profound ideological and political disagreements have arisen, the deepening of which can bring only harm to our great cause. Therefore, the Party of Labour of Albania thinks that, in order to go forward together to new victories, we must condemn the mistakes and negative manifestations which have been observed so far and correct them».

The future of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet Union itself, its reputation and role as a socialist country, was no less a concern.

With the 20th Congress Khrushchov had created real ideological confusion in the ranks of the communist parties and anti-imperialist forces on the most important questions of strategy and tactics. The campaign against Stalin had cast a heavy shadow over the historical experience of the October Revolution and socialist construction in the Soviet Union, over the Leninist principles of the organisation and life of the Communist Party.

The Khrushchovite revisionists had waged an allround struggle against the communist and liberation movement for the disintegration of their ideological and political positions and the adoption of an opportunist line which would be more easily subjected to the counterrevolutionary plans of the Soviet leaders. In the plans of the Soviet leaders the new Khrushchovite strategy in regard to the so-called peaceful road of transition to socialism, of war and peace, of the stand towards imperialism and social-democracy, etc., the main arsenal to put down the struggle of the proletariat against the

**The restoration of capitalism,
the change of the nature of the Soviet society,
the indoctrination of the masses with the bourgeois-revisionist ideology,
led to the return to the old hegemonistic and expansionist
policy of Russian czarism**

by SOFOKLI LAZRI

bourgeoisie, and of the peoples against imperialism.

Implementing their revisionist policy, the Soviet leaders fought to compel the socialist countries to give up opposition to imperialism and denunciation of its aggressive policy, to renounce the struggle against bourgeois and revisionist ideology and the class struggle in general.

Khrushchov aimed to subject the socialist countries and the communist parties to this line, so that they would become docile tools and completely tied hand and foot to the Soviet chariot, to turn its dictate and despotism into an obligatory norm.

The Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of China exposed and strongly attacked this strategy. Reading the 19th volume, seeing the attitude and arguments of our Party and comrade Enver Hoxha in Bucharest and Moscow, it clearly emerges that their aim was not to make a general criticism, but to make stern denunciation of Khrushchovite revisionism in the field of ideology, politics, and practical actions. «The most correct stand», writes comrade Enver Hoxha to comrade Hysni Kapo in Moscow, «is that at this meeting we should carry the issue through to the

end, as Marxists. It must come out nakedly who is on an anti-Marxist road, who is betraying Marxism-Leninism, and who is violating the 1957 Moscow Declaration. This is the Khrushchov group. Therefore the meeting must dot the i-».

Comrade Enver Hoxha strongly emphasised that the Moscow Meeting should not be a conciliatory pacifist meeting to gloss over the grave mistakes. «As always we must follow a correct line, for we have a great responsibility to our people» stressed comrade Enver Hoxha. We are a Marxist-Leninist party and it is up to us to maintain a Marxist-Leninist stand towards everything that happens. Life has shown that we have never wavered; therefore, now not even a cannon can shift us from the correct line our Party is pursuing».

In exposing the treacherous line and actions of Khrushchov and his allies, the Party of Labour of Albania and comrade Enver Hoxha gave a clear and open warning of the disastrous consequences in store for all those who would go down the Khrushchovite road. The P.L.A. and comrade Enver Hoxha were absolutely right in thinking that the Soviet Union and its Communist Party could be helped not by adopting an opportunist stand

towards them, not by covering up the Khrushchovite betrayal, not by making unprincipled concessions and compromises, but by openly denouncing and fighting this betrayal, by criticising and overturning the revisionist theses and concepts. A true friend and sincere well-wisher of the Soviet communists and peoples was not he that did not speak out when their traitorous leadership was pushing them towards the abyss, but he that called on them to stop before it was too late. «We shall not be impressed», writes comrade Enver Hoxha, «by those who say: «How can the glorious Soviet Union or the great Communist Party of Lenin be attacked for the fault of a few scoundrels?» We say: Precisely in order to defend the Soviet Union and the Party of Lenin these «scoundrels» must be exposed and there must be no softening of criticism and covering up of the deviators».

The time that has elapsed since the year 1960 is brief, but the balance-sheet of the upsurge and victories of Marxism-Leninism is very great, just as the decline and failures of Khrushchovite revisionism are very grave. History has already confirmed in the most complete and incontestable way the correctness of the

line of our Party, its wisdom and far-sightedness. It has confirmed the warnings of our Party that deviation from Marxism-Leninism and following the revisionist course would lead the Soviet Union, to the bourgeois degeneration of the socialist order just as it did. «The situation of the Soviet leadership», pointed out comrade Enver Hoxha on the eve of the Moscow Conference, «will get worse, will snowball. In its home and foreign policies the mistakes will become deep, and this it will strive to conceal». And the Khrushchovite line led to the restoration of capitalism, to the bourgeois degeneration of Soviet society and to the transformation of the Soviet Union into an aggressive, neocolonialist, warmongering imperialist superpower.

The restoration of capitalism, the change of the nature of the Soviet society, the indoctrination of the masses with the bourgeois-revisionist ideology, led to the return to the old hegemonistic and expansionist policy of Russian czarism. There never has been and never can be an imperialism which exists without aggression, without oppressing and exploiting other countries, without always seeking new space into which to extend its tentacles. The occupation of Czechoslovakia was not an accidental episode, just as the emergence of the ill-famed theory of «limited sovereignty» was not fortuitous. They are the clearest expressions of the implementation of the old imperial policy which the revisionist Soviet Union is carrying out in what is called its sphere of influence; expressions of its imperialist oppression and aggression.

Now the Soviet revisionists have come out with claims to world domination. Their foreign policy is a typically colonialist and neocolonialist policy which is based on the power of capital and force of arms. The struggle the Soviet Union is waging today to occupy the strategic positions of the Middle East, the sending of naval squadrons to the Mediterranean, the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, the extending of its hands to Africa and Latin America, the pressures on Europe and interference in the affairs of Asia, all bear the seal of this policy. Just like the US imperialists, the

Soviet revisionist too, are striving everywhere to quell the flames of the revolution and the movements for the liberation of the peoples.

But the deeper they go into rivalry with US imperialism for the domination of the world, the more they associate themselves with the counterrevolutionary plots against the peoples, the more they incite conflicts and divisions between nations, the more they are exposed, the more they are hated and fought by the peoples. Today it is a fact that the broad world public opinion considers the new Soviet imperialism just as aggressive, just as dangerous and barbarous as US imperialism. The Soviet revisionists have been branded indelibly as traitors to Marxism-Leninism, as enemies of the peoples and socialism.

The Khrushchovite betrayal liquidated the dictatorship of the proletariat which had emerged from the October Revolution and been built with so much toil and sacrifice, through titanic struggles against the white guards, Trotskyists and Bykharinists, which defeated Hitler and faced the whole of united international reaction. It has been replaced by the dictatorship of the revisionist bourgeoisie represented by the stratum of bureaucrats, technocrats, the new revisionist bourgeoisie.

The new economic reforms have destroyed the entire socialist structure. Profit has become the aim of production and the exploitation of the working class, its basis. The Soviet economy has been integrated into the economic system of world capitalism. While the American capital and that of other countries began to pour into the Soviet economy, Soviet capital began to be exported to other countries. The Soviet Union is fighting and competing with imperialist states for markets, spheres for investment, the plunder of raw materials, in defence of neocolonialist laws in world trade.

The process of the degeneration of the spiritual life is now completed. Ideology, culture, morality, the way of life have assumed the complete bourgeois content and form.

Great Russian chauvinism, raised to a dominant ideology, destroyed the very foundations of the historic work of Lenin

and Stalin on the national question. The Soviet Union has again turned into a prison of the peoples.

Comrade Enver Hoxha also clearly predicted and issued the most serious warning as to where those countries and those parties which pursue the revisionist road of the Khrushchovian leadership would end. «It would be a great catastrophe», writes comrade Enver Hoxha, «if we were to agree to enter the revisionist road, on which the Soviet leaders are seeking to lead us. This would have grave consequences. What would some of these consequences be? First, there would be silence about revisionism. From the political aspect this would be a grave crime against Marxism-Leninism... The silence would be the first stage. The next stage would be the opening of the borders to revisionism, as is being systematically done, for example, by the leadership of the Communist Party of Bulgaria... We shall not follow this road. If we, too, were to follow such a road, this would be suicide for our country... Thus, from silence we would pass to the position of Yugoslavia. If we were to allow such a thing, this would mean losing the independence of the homeland and destroying socialism».

Today, 15 years later, the situation in the former socialist countries of Eastern Europe which followed Khrushchov is really sad. They no longer have an independent policy, neither internal nor external. At one time there was talk about a «limited sovereignty». But today one cannot speak even of this. Today there can be talk only of sovereignty lost, of freedom violated, of a heavy burden of foreign domination. The state and party leaderships are appointed and removed according to the whim of Moscow. These countries lack an independent defence and army, which is the most distinctive sign of an independent state. What they call an army, represents a force totally subject to the Warsaw Treaty and the Soviet staffs.

The economies of the COMECON countries have been built and function as parts of the economy of the Soviet Union and in conformity with its needs. For their main raw materials they remain at the mercy of the Soviet Union, which has all the keys and taps in its hands.

The betrayal of the Khrushchovites, the imposition of the opportunist line of the 20th Congress, the obligation to follow the policy and diplomatic manoeuvres of the Soviet leadership have been disastrous to all the communist parties that followed Khrushchov. The process of the departure of the present-day revisionist parties from Marxism-Leninism is completed both in their political and ideological line, and in their organisational line.

All of them, without exception, have completely abandoned the Leninist theoretical principles and norms of the party. As was envisaged by the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, the revisionists were opposed to the revolution. «Although they pose as being for the revolution for demagogical purposes», said comrade Enver Hoxha, «with their views and actions the revisionists are striving to strangle it in its cradle or to sabotage it when it breaks out». The abandonment of the class interests of the proletariat, the betrayal of the cause of the people's national liberation led the revisionists to complete negation of the revolution. For them the entire theory and practise of the revolution have been reduced to a few reformist demands, which can be fulfilled in the context of the existence of the capitalist order and without affecting its foundations.

The revisionist parties have eliminated any class boundary dividing them from the bourgeoisie, and now they have come out with the demand for achieving an alliance and close collaboration with the major parties of the bourgeoisie as the Togliattists and some other revisionist parties of the West are doing. This new orientation, which marks the most disgraceful abandonment of the interests of the working class, also marks the public capitulation of the revisionist parties to the bourgeoisie, their open entry into the service of the bourgeoisie.

The departure from Marxism-Leninism and embracing of opportunism of the social democratic type transformed the various detachments of modern revisionism into rival hostile groups, where each strives to defend the narrow nationalist interests of its own bourgeoisie and spares no effort to gain superiority and positions

at the others expense. A clear example of the lack of unity, splits and quarrels among the revisionist forces, is the long and very wearisome delay in holding the meeting of the European revisionist parties, so greatly desired by the Kremlin leaders.

On the national and international plane, revisionism has suffered one defeat after another. The many Khrushchovite promises about the «golden spoon» are fairy tales, the peaceful road to socialism suffered fiasco and gave birth to the Indonesian and Chilean tragedies, the demagoguery of the Khrushchov group as a «natural friend» of the peoples has been quite unable to conceal the plots and perfidy towards their vital interests, as it has been proved especially in the Middle East.

However, that open struggle which began in 1960 against Khrushchovite revisionism, is not yet over. As at that time, today, too, as our Party teaches us, the main danger to the revolutionary movement and world communism is still revisionism, which is not for the revolution, but for class conciliation and submission to the bourgeoisie, it is not for the liberation of the peoples, but for coming to terms with imperialism and acceptance of slavery, it is not for socialism but for its degeneration and the restoration of capitalism.

The writings, reports, and speeches by comrade Enver Hoxha, of the year 1960, included in the 19th volume of his Works, have been and will always remain fiery and invincible weapons of the struggle against revisionism, imperialism, and all other enemies. They show us in the most convincing manner, that, as the PLA has continually pointed out, the struggle against revisionism is a protracted ideological and political, economic and cultural class struggle, a life and death struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism. At the same time, they are an unerring basis for orientation and reference to understand the new situations which arise in the world, to recognise the fiendish manoeuvres, conspiracies and intrigues of the imperialists and revisionists, to keep our powder dry and always keep our socialist fortress strong and impregnable.

STABILITY AND VITALITY - DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF ALBANIA

Economic stability can exist only in the conditions of triumphant socialist construction, when all the components of the economy develop in a planned, harmonious way, when a correct, thoroughly principled Marxist-Leninist economic policy is carried out in all stages and in all fields, as is the case in Albania

PROFOUND ANTAGONISTIC CONTRADICTIONS ARE GNAWING AWAY FROM INSIDE AND OUTSIDE OF THE ENTIRE STRUCTURE AND SUPERSTRUCTURE OF THE IMPERIALIST-REVISIONIST WORLD LIKE AN UNCONTROLABLE EROSION, AND THEY ARE BECOMING EVER MORE ACUTE, CAUSING ONE DEVASTATING UPHEAVAL AFTER THE OTHER. DECLINE, DECAY, DEGENERATION, INSECURITY, DISINTEGRATION, STAGNATION, IMPOVERISHMENT AND SHARP CLASS CONFLICTS - SUCH ARE THE MAIN FEATURES OF THIS REGRESSIVE SOCIAL ORDER.

THE «PEPSICOLA» AND «GULASH» SOCIETY IS SLIDING FURTHER AND FURTHER DOWN ITS ENDLESS DECLINE. THE CONTINUOUS DEEPENING OF THE SERIOUS ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL CRISIS WHICH HAS NOW GRIPPED THIS SOCIAL ORDER IS CLEAR EVIDENCE OF THIS.

Reports about the decline of production, mass bankruptcies of firms and banks, the increase of unemployment, skyrocketing prices of goods and services, the continuous lowering of the living standards of the working masses, etc., are now the usual thing in the countries of the imperialist-revisionist world. Here are some significant facts. During the months August-September, of 1975, production in the industrialised capitalist countries fell by 10-18 per cent. In the USA, during the period January-June

1975, total production marked a decline of 14,3 per cent, while the building of dwelling houses - 48 per cent. In the Soviet Union, during the period 1960-1974, the retail prices of poultry and other agricultural products have doubled. In West Germany, 7.722 capitalist enterprises went bankrupt in 1974. In Japan, prices of such prime necessities as rice, bread, fish and beans, have increased up to 4 times in 1975 as against 1974, while in Britain, there has been an overall increase in the prices of mass consump-

tion goods of 20 per cent. In Hungary, in 1974, as a result of price rises alone, the real pay of the working people was reduced by 2,3 per cent. Unemployment is rampant and making the conditions of the working masses more and more difficult.

It has reached proportions unprecedented since the 1930's as the following figures show:

Nr.	Country	Year 1973	Year 1975
1.	U.S.A.	4.304.000	8.700.000
2.	France	394.000	800.000
3.	F. R. of Germany	274.000	1.300.000
4.	Great Britain	630.000	1.250.000
5.	Japan	670.000	1.100.000
6.	Italy	668.000	1.150.000

This is the reality of the imperialist-revisionist world. And the manifestations of this reality are by no means tempo-

is led wisely and farsightedly by the Party of Labour with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.

In socialist Albania, both industrial and agricultural production and parallel with them the national income, the fund of accumulation, the fund of consumption, etc., have increased and continue to increase in a continuous and proportional way. Thus, the industrial production of 1950 is realised today within one month. In comparison with the year 1960, industrial and agricultural production realised during the period 1971-1975 is almost equal to the production of the previous 10 years (1961-1970), this means that the average production achieved in every six months of the years of the 5th five-year plan equals one year's production in the period 1961-1970. During the 1971-1974 period the average annual rate of increase of production was 9,5 per cent for industry and 5,9 per cent for agriculture. In the P.R. of Albania, which is building socialism in the difficult conditions of the savage, two-fold imperialist-revisionist encirclement, high and stable rates of development, were achieved, and this testifies to the superiority and vitality of the social system.

The Albanian economy stands out for its stability. On the basis of the unceasing and rapid increase of social production, the general wellbeing of the working masses has been raised and is constantly rising higher. Not only is the social panorama of Albania today beyond comparison with that of the past, but it presents truly majestic achievements. Within the 30 years of our free socialist existence the population has more than doubled, but at the same time the fund of individual and social consumption has increased at 2-3 times the rate of increase of the population.

These ratios of increase have made possible the continuous improvement of the living standards of our working masses. And it must not be forgotten that the phenomenon of unemployment in Albania has been eliminated and full employment has been ensured. Usually, in a family of 5 members, 2 or 3 are wage earners and one is a pensioner. In these conditions the incomes of the population and its purchasing power have constantly increased. According to preliminary calculations the fund of consumption per head of the population in 1974, as compared with the year 1950, increased over 2,5 times. This shows that during this period the standard of living of the

working masses has increased on the same scale.

Another fact: In 1974, in comparison with 1970, the real incomes of the workers and employees increased by 9,4 per cent, while those of the cooperativist peasantry by 13,4 per cent. The working masses of the town and countryside realise their incomes by buying goods and enjoying services at stable or reduced prices, at a time when inflation is rampant in the capitalist and revisionist countries. For the city dwellers, not only have their housing conditions been greatly improved, but they pay merely token house rents. In Britain, the housing problem affects almost half the families in the country, and 1.250.000 houses have been officially described as unfit for habitation. The Albanians have been completely freed from paying taxes and rates at a time when in neighbouring Italy, in 1974, the population paid the colossal sum of 16,1 trillion lira in taxes. In Albania everybody enjoys the health service free of charge and other advantages of all sorts.

In the reality of socialist Albania, not only has the purchasing power of the population been continuously increased, but at the same time its realisation is guaranteed. The turnover of goods in 1973, was 9 times greater than in 1950. In the same period the following increased quantities of goods have been sold to the population: milk 19,3 times, cheese 15,3 times, potatoes 15 times, edible fats 9,9 times, footwear 18,5 times, furniture 11,8 times, underwear and knitwear 5 times, etc. Or let us take the sales of some articles in 1974; in comparison with 1970, the increases were: TV sets 14,3 times, refrigerators 8,9 times, washing machines 5,1 times, knitwear 36,5 per cent, etc.

At the same time, the phenomenon of rising prices is not known in Albania, despite the very steep increases in the prices of many raw and auxiliary materials which Albania is obliged to import from the capitalist and revisionist markets. In our country only the opposite occurs: goods are sold at stable or reduced prices. And concretely for the main articles of mass consumption, as compared with the year 1958, prices have been reduced by 8-25 per cent. This stability in the realisation of the purchasing power is a result of the fact that the economy of the P.R. of Albania is developed in a sound, planned, proportional way, with permanent budget surpluses, without the

rary or of an exceptional character. They have their source in the very nature of this world, in its economic and social structure, in the deep conflicts eroding it permanently. In the cataclysms of the crises the class antagonisms of this society became deeper, the exploiting classes fatten themselves even more and the life of the working masses becomes more miserable. Here there can be no talk of any kind of economic stability.

In a real sense, economic stability can exist only in the conditions of the triumphant construction of socialism, when all the components of the economy are developed in a planned, harmonious way, constantly rising to higher levels, when this development is always and most consistently based on the revolutionary principle of self-reliance, when a correct, thoroughly principled Marxist-Leninist economic policy is always carried out in all stages and in all fields, as is the case in socialist Albania, which

crises and antagonistic contradictions between production and consumption which occur in the imperialist-revisionist world. Herein lies the source, also, of the other phenomenon, that our currency is among the most stable in the world. While the exchange rates and purchasing power of the inflated currencies of capitalist and revisionist countries are continually falling, it is quite different with our Lek, its purchasing power has constantly increased. Thus, in relation to the US dollar and the British pound sterling it has risen by 26 per cent; in relation to the French franc, over 30 per cent, and to the ruble - 16 per cent. Thus, the increase of the purchasing power of the population has been associated, at the same time, also with the increase of the purchasing power of the lek. This has ensured material and cultural blessings in ever greater proportions and the life of the people has become more prosperous and happier.

This economic stability and this wellbeing enjoyed today by the working masses in socialist Albania, where one finds everything in the market, all food-stuffs and industrial and other goods, have been achieved thanks to the great efforts they have made and continue to make for the allround and rapid development of the economy, and primarily of industry and agriculture, thanks to their tireless and selfless work. They have been achieved through a fierce class struggle against internal and external enemies who have left no means unused to force us to our knees, to sabotage and hinder our advance. To preserve this stability and wellbeing our socialist State has had to cope with various expenditures in the form of budgetary subsidies. It is a recognised fact that in the present international situation the ratio between the prices of the goods imported and those exported is such as to cost our economy tens of millions of leks, because the negative difference of prices is subsidised by the State. Albania is building socialism not as an isolated island, but maintaining definite relations with capitalist and revisionist countries, and the deep crisis which has gripped them exerts its negative influence on Albania's economy, too. We have been able to cope with the consequences of this crisis successfully. And not only in the case of imported articles, but the State also subsidises a number of agricultural products which are

produced in the country because the prices at which they are purchased from the cooperativist peasantry are higher than the prices at which they are retailed to the population. During the years 1970-1975 the State spent hundreds of millions leks for this purpose. Within this same period, the State spent more than 140 million leks to subsidise the prices of ready-made garments for children and the reduction of the prices of some mass consumption goods. One more fact: As house rents are very low, the income from rent is not sufficient even to defray the cost of maintenance of the houses, therefore the State also subsidises this too, to the tune of several million leks per year.

The Party of Labour of Albania has made it clear that there is only one way to preserve and reinforce this economic stability and to further improve the wellbeing of the working masses: the working people must fight harder to make agriculture and all the other branches of the people's economy more efficient, fulfilling and overfulfilling the targets of the plan successfully, while continuously revolutionising production, distribution and consumption. Conscious of this the working class and other working people, wherever they are, have risen and are constantly implementing concrete measures to revolutionise the economy. They cannot reconcile themselves to such things as individual cases of failure to fulfill the targets of the plan, poor quality products, unnecessary consumption of materials and other expenditures which raise production costs, misuse and poor administration of socialist property, etc., phenomena which mainly stem from the difficulties of growth. By surmounting the difficulties of growth and avoiding subjective shortcomings, socialist Albania creates new advantages to strengthen its stability and further raise the general wellbeing.

«The Party has fought and will always fight», said comrade Enver Hoxha at the 6th Congress of the PLA, «to constantly improve the wellbeing of the people, within our possibilities and conditions, always proceeding from a correct revolutionary Marxist-Leninist concept of wellbeing in socialism, not to satisfy petty-bourgeois whims, but to fulfill the present and future material, cultural, spiritual needs, the needs of health service, in other words all the needs which determine the life of the entire people». Its

constant aim is, in the concrete conditions of the savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement in which we are building socialism, and guarding our political and economic independence, to ensure a continuous increase of the general wellbeing on the basis of the consistent application of the revolutionary proletarian principles which regulate the distribution and awarding of pay in accordance with the quantity and quality of the work each one does, always in conformity with the laws of the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and taking into account the interests of the working class and socialism, which exclude the possibility of creating a minority with a bourgeois outlook, the creation of entire bourgeois groups and strata, who are easily influenced by, or become purveyors of revisionism.

On this capital question the Party has always been guided by the correct principle of having neither complete equalisation of pay nor privilege for anyone, so that we shall not fall into egalitarianism, but not allow major dislevels either. In this direction measures have been carried out in Albania, which have created a situation entirely different from that of the revisionist countries so that the difference between the highest and lowest pay are small. But this issue is by no means considered closed. The further improvement of the pay system, constantly narrowing the differential between high and low pay is an objective necessity dictated by the supreme aim of preserving the purity of our socialist society. The struggle being waged by the working class under the leadership of the Party, and the measures being taken for the further regulation of the pay system is a class struggle for the further revolutionisation of the relations of distribution and consumption, which is directed against symptoms of the development of a bourgeois outlook. This struggle in no way harms the living standard of the working people; on the contrary, it creates new premises for further improvement. The unwavering policy of the Party remains the continuous improvement of the life of people, of everybody, and not just of a minority. Proceeding on this correct road, we have continued to strengthen our economic stability step by step and raise the general wellbeing of the entire people, which is the supreme objective of the Party of Labour of Albania.

«Every creation, of any epoch whatever, has been done with tendency, is inspired by the ideas of the time, bears the seal of the class struggle and of the ideology of its own time. Therefore, the works of world art and culture, however perfect they may be, cannot be used in their entirety as a model for every time and every epoch».

ENVER HOXHA

THE ANTIPODE OF CREATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THINGS AND PHENOMENA

The propagandists serving imperialism and revisionism with a zeal are seeking to convince various peoples, and particularly the peoples small in number, that, in order that they develop, they must absolutely imitate the big countries and peoples in every thing, while world-scale practice has shown with living facts that to accept imitation in all fields and in everything would mean turning the country's independence into a formal act

Our country has now entered the road of the complete construction of socialist society, a stage which aims at the further development and deepening of our revolution in all the fields of life – political, economic, ideological, cultural, military and social. In the period of development we are going through, special and well merited importance has been and is being attached, among other things, to "...a great and vital problem of the Party and the cause of the socialist construction:

by LILI ZHAMO

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the problem of the fight against the influences of alien bourgeois and revisionist ideology, for the implanting of the proletarian ideology on all fronts, at every moment, and particularly in the present conditions of the hostile imperialist-revisionist encirclement of the country» (Enver Hoxha, Reports and speeches 1972-1973, p. 297).

One of the ways of the penetration of alien bourgeois-revisionist ideology in all fields, but which comes more into relief

and presents greater danger especially in the fields of culture, literature, and arts, and social sciences in general, is that of imitation or mechanical copying of alien models. The imitation or stereotyped copying of what is alien from the philosophical viewpoint represents a regressive concept and attitude. It is the antipode of a creative attitude, while in practice it is an expression of lack of character and ability of crawling and submission to others. It is an enemy of development. Imitation or copying is most dangerous, leading to grave and harmful mistakes of an ideological, political, and social character, particularly in certain fields of activity.

The Marxist dialectical method teaches us that in order to best combat a regressive concept, it is necessary to uncover its reactionary content, so that people consciously despise and reject it, not only as unnecessary for their actions, but also as harmful.

In the concrete case, it is a matter of deeply understanding what imitation is, how it is expressed as a general phenomenon, and what actual concrete dangers, it presents in the field of art and culture, and by analogy, also in the other fields of social activity.

Many philosophers, aesthetes, and psychologists have engaged in explaining this phenomenon. There are those who explain imitation as the manifestation of a general law of society, according to which the life of society, the mutual relations among people, are allegedly based on the mechanical copying of various phenomena. The French bourgeois sociologist and psychologist, Tardy, said that every social group is the totality of beings who partly imitate one-another at a given time, and have partly imitated the same model previously. This bourgeois view is without foundation, for the simple reason that if life as a whole were built on the basis of imitation only, then there would be no development, but a more repetition of phenomena, in which each people or person would not have his own personality. This shows that this view is built on a reactionary and irrational basis, which is the fundamental feature of the present day reactionary trends. However

some other philosophers and aesthetes, ideologists of imperialism and social imperialism, go even farther, strongly advocating an ultra reactionary view, according to which mankind develops in such a way that allegedly the peoples small in numbers traverse that road which the great countries and peoples have traversed before. They try to «argue» that the entire development of those countries which are late entering the road of progress, whether in material or spiritual life, is nothing but a repetition, an imitation, a mechanical copying of the historical models of great countries. For this reason, in their opinion, it would be disastrous for these peoples to seek to develop in an original way.

It is not difficult to understand the reactionary, colonialist and neocolonialist ideological and political essence of these views. The aim of those who propagate these views, who zealously serve imperialism and particularly the superpowers ideologically and politically, is to convince the various peoples, and especially the peoples small in numbers, that, in order to develop, they must necessarily imitate the great countries and peoples in everything, they must submit to and accept the imperialist dictate unconditionally. However practice on a world scale has shown with vivid facts that to accept imitation in all fields and on every occasion, means to hinder development which is founded on relying mainly on one's own forces, to submit to the pressure and dictate of others, to accept subjection and oppression, to turn the independence and sovereignty of the country into a mere formality, etc.

It is known that the progress of different countries is realised in different historical circumstances, within different social structures. Different countries enter given levels of development, through different processes. For instance, our country entered the road of the struggle for national and social liberation, as well as the road of the construction of socialism, and is advancing on this road on the basis of objective laws of the development of society, but bearing well in mind our national historical processes, which have their own original aspect,

which express some special features different from other countries. And it is precisely for this reason that socialist Albania has brought something of its own, special, to the whole of social development. Thus, the example of the development of our country alone would be sufficient to refute those concepts of the bourgeois ideologists we mentioned and to argue the opposite, that every country, every people, whether big or small, not only has something of its own, but it also brings something of its own, something special, to the general development, which is included in the entirety of social development.

What imitation and mechanical copying is, how it appears and what are its consequences in various fields of life, is explained to us only by the dialectical materialist theory. According to this theory, imitation is a complicated social and psychological phenomenon which has its special aspects of expression. People are always in movement and activity, they act in order to achieve definite aims and desires, and history is nothing but the totality of all this human activity. In this active process of actions, the individual not only learns from others, not only avails himself of their experience, but also gives them his own knowledge and experience. These common actions, the exchange of experience with one another or passing it from one generation of people to another, can create the false impression that people do nothing but imitate one another, which is by no means true.

We run across phenomena of imitation in life and more especially with children. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that, even in the period of childhood, imitation is not a mere photographing, it is not a mechanical copying, because up to a certain extent the child too has its own individuality, which changes and develops, continually with its growth. Later, when the individual forms his own personality, when he is capable of knowing reality directly when his individual consciousness, his world outlook has been formed, he has no need to imitate, for he is guided in his activity by political, ideological, moral principles, by the objective laws,

therefore his activity now becomes conscious. When it happens that practices of mechanical imitation are preserved in a grown up, in this case we have to do with his incapacity for creative activity, we have to do with a non-active role on his part in production and social activity.

It is important to make a principled distinction between imitation and utilisation of the experience of people or mankind, between stereotyped imitation and the drawing of lesson from the positive or even negative example and the generalisation of the material from life and social activity at home or abroad. Imitation has absolutely nothing to do with the utilisation of the experience of others, for, in the final account, it is copying, taking, shifting and mechanical implementation of things without subjecting them to elaboration according to the time, the place, and concrete conditions. In this sense, imitation, in all cases, is an alien and harmful manifestation because it does not serve development in general. Thus, if the experience of production and other sectors is implemented without being subjected to our conditions and circumstances, or when progressive elements of the culture created by mankind are used as they are, without being viewed from the present-day positions, from the positions of the working class and proletarian partisanship, then such an action is erroneous, does not serve the active development of all the fields of life, and in some of them, particularly in those of art, culture, the way of life, etc., can have very grave negative consequences.

The PLA teaches us to see things objectively, assess them from the positions of our ideology and in a dialectical way. In many important materials and documents it has clearly defined its stand towards foreign culture in general, both progressive and reactionary. But in practice we encounter cases which do not conform with the instructions of the Party. It must be made completely clear, for example, that however perfect the works of art of the Renaissance or those of critical realism, may be, they cannot fulfill the requirements of our time, and

an art which tries to imitate that of the previous epochs would have no value whatsoever. On the other hand, as comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, «Every creation, of any epoch whatever, has been done with tendency, is inspired by the ideas of the time, bears the seal of the class struggle and of the ideology of its own time. Therefore, the works of world art and culture, however perfect they may be, cannot be used in their entirety as a model for every time and every epoch» (Enver Hoxha, Report at the 5th Congress of the PLA, p. 148). The Party also describes as harmful the view that everything foreign is bad and instructs us to combat it and reject it as unacceptable. Our people should constantly benefit from progressive world experience, progressive technology, art and culture, but at the same time they must be vigilant, they must not become slaves to these things and swallow everything without a profound analysis, without a correct classification. This demands a struggle both against cosmopolitanism and xenomania, and against xenophobia, the fear of everything foreign.

In order to fight successfully against any concept and practice of imitation and mechanical copying it is necessary to know the ways and forms in which they are expressed.

Imitation is, above all, one of the numerous means of the allround pressure exercised by the class enemy on our people to befuddle their minds, to arouse in them the feeling of incompetence, and the impossibility of building socialism with our own forces, to create ideological confusion, passivity, and degeneration, as occurred in the revisionist countries where «music, radio, literature, dances, jazz, drugs, murders, prostitution, the putting of the homeland up for auction, the flood of American capital, for buying secrets, buying people, buying brains, became the fashion, the current coinage indeed to such a degree that the individual, enterprise, or state which does not act in such a way is not «with it»; «has left its brains behind», «is backward», «is not modern» (Enver Hoxha, Reports and speeches 1972-1973, p. 273).

This counterrevolutionary aim of our enemies has not been achieved in Albania and it never will be. But our vigilance must be enhanced, and we must also fight, among other things, against any concept and practice of imitation, because alien manifestations of this sort have cropped up in some individuals even in our country.

As a rule, people who are inclined to imitation, who do not understand its dangers ideologically and politically, and especially elements who spread imitation in pursuit of hostile aims, strive to create a «theoretical» basis for this phenomenon. A few people acted in this way here in the sector of literature, arts and culture, but in other sectors, too, and especially the enemies of the Party and the people's state power Fadil Paçrami, Todi Lubonja, and Co., who had hostile political and ideological aims.

It is common knowledge how some people of these sectors, who had fallen under alien influences and failing to understand the dialectical unity existing between content and form, thought that by borrowing alien forms, or elements of alien forms our art could be developed without any danger whatever. As a consequence, before the 4th Plenum of the CC of the Party a series of special theorisations and practices had been spread which aimed at «proving» that in literature and art imitation may be practiced by taking mainly elements of the form, etc. Likewise, it is known that these theorisations were properly exposed during the great popular debate which took place in the Party and among the working masses before and after the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, defending in theory and practice the Marxist-Leninist thesis and conclusion, which has been confirmed by life and reaffirmed by this Plenum, that any kind of imitation in art and literature is dangerous, be it even an imitation in form alone, because there is no form without content, and even less can elements of the form born from decadent trends be picked out and implanted in our arts. Such a thing would, without fail, also bring about the defiling of the content of these arts with the reactionary ideo-

logy which has engendered that particular form. Of course, on the basis of that great ideological work which was carried out, the situation was cleaned up. But there is no room for complacency.

As is known, our whole country, under the leadership of the Party, is engaged in an ideological class struggle against certain harmful phenomena which began to appear in some individual working people and especially in some young people. Our youth in general are characterised by a rich spiritual world, a pure proletarian culture and revolutionary socialist feelings and tastes. Armed with the Marxist-Leninist ideology of our Party and moulded with comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, they have adopted a clearcut stand towards bourgeois and revisionist culture and art, because they have seen in them the opposite of the socialist ideology, norms, feelings, and aesthetic tastes. But there have been occasions on which some young man, unformed from the ideological aspect, has been swayed by and imitated the bourgeois-revisionist way of life and fashion, has attached most importance to the external aspect of things. On some other occasions, due to the lack of formation of his individuality in the field of art, some student has copied from the foreign, without deeply analysing what he was copying and imitating and without bearing in mind that there is no work of art, and there cannot be, without its ideological aspect, which means, consequently, that the imitation of alien models cannot fail to bring ideological reminders with it, along with other negative aspects.

From all that has been said it follows that imitation and mechanical copying, in the fields of culture, art, literature, the way of life, etc. as in every other field, serves as a bridge over which alien bourgeois-revisionist influences can pass to be introduced not only into the method and style of work of the creators, but also into the consciousness of our people through their creations. If we look at what happened in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries and analyse the process of political and economic degeneration, as well as the degeneration of art, culture and the way of life in

these countries, we shall arrive at the conclusion that, among other factors, a great role in this was played by their embracing the bourgeois decadent trends, such as abstractionism, formalism, cubism and surrealism, Freudism, and deheroisation in the content of works of art. The spreading of these trends has its own social-economic, political and ideological causes which are connected with the birth of the new bourgeoisie in these countries. But the great role played by the imitation of bourgeois fashions and isms in this process of degeneration, cannot be denied.

Imitation is dangerous and fraught with grave consequences also in cases in which we have to do with imitations or copyings of vestiges of the patriarchal, feudo-bourgeois and petty-bourgeois past in life and in our way of behaving and living. The manifestations of patriarchalism, domineering, arrogance, conceit, of other concepts and vices alien to our socialist society, must be treated as aspects of the class struggle and must be combatted as manifestations which, in the final analysis, have a common aim – to revive the past and cause our society to degenerate.

Literature, art and culture, being a constituent part of superstructure, have a marked class content, are built on the basis of the ideology, policy and morality of a definite class and serve its interests. Therefore, any imitation from the present-day bourgeois-revisionist literature, art, and culture, would be in opposition to proletarian partisanship in literature, art, and culture, and would become a serious hindrance to the communist education of our people. Analysing the aims of bourgeois culture at the 4th Plenum of the CC of the Party, comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that "Not only we have nothing to learn from this culture, not only we have no reason to make our masses and our youth acquainted with it, but we must reject it with contempt and fight it with determination" (Enver Hoxha, Reports and speeches 1972-1973, p. 321). This pseudoculture must be constantly combatted because, in expressing the interests, feelings and ideals of the present day reactionary imperialist bourgeoisie, and being built on a social

and ideological basis entirely opposed to our Marxist-Leninist ideology, it has long ago lost everything progressive and has become completely an enemy of social progress and development.

If we consider the matter carefully on the socio-historical plane too, we shall see that the reactionary exploiting classes have always been linked with international reaction, they have always relied on this reaction materially and politically. And just as the spirit of cosmopolitanism constitutes one of the characteristic features of these classes, so imitation too, has been and remains a practice of their work, for even when these classes are in power, or when the revolution declasses them, they can never possibly create true values, their national consciousness is weak and, as such, readily predisposed to be satisfied with the alien. Therefore, when we speak of heritage, as in every other field of life, in art and culture too, positive values must be sought in those creations which have reflected the progressive development and the aspirations of the people and not those of the reactionary ruling classes.

Being products of the reactionary class in power and in its service, the various publications of bourgeois revisionist literature exert pressure, spread and sow reactionary views in all fields of life, not only in the countries where they are published, but wherever they are distributed. This literature constitutes one of the principal means of the real bourgeois-revisionist ideological aggression and diversion against the socialist countries, including our country. It exerts pressure on the culture of every country, especially on the socialist national culture, strives to make it degenerate, to make it run after fashion, to take an alien lustre, become cosmopolitan and forget the troubles and problems of the people. And it is clear that any rational culture which runs after alien fashions does not serve the people; it becomes disgusting, for it does not proceed from that spiritual structure the nation has, from those forms elaborated through the centuries of its national culture.

When we analyse the activity in every field of those representatives, who imi-

tated, who have bowed their heads to the alien, we shall become convinced that we cannot find real values in their works. Let us recall for a moment how all those hired scribblers who embraced the fascist ideology and placed themselves at its service have faded out, together with their works or how later on, those who embraced the bourgeois and revisionist ideology and deliberately cast away their national individuality have faded out, together with their works. Whilst on the other hand, popular creativity, folklore, and the works of true writers and artists are assessed as monumental works, for they reflect the life of the people and raise it to the level of art because their creativity does not imitate, does not bake with alien dough.

Another aspect which should be pointed out is that imitation is a social phenomenon of a parasitic character, for due to its very nature, having nothing in common with creative work, it represents easy, simple work, incomparably less tiring than original, creative and independent work which, as is known, is born only with very serious strivings and toil. Imitation is a feature of the lazy, the slothful, who want everything ready-made, so it can be copied without any brain-racking, without sweating; it is a feature of a man of rotten morality, dishonest, who, in order to win renown and take prizes, steals creations belonging to others, presenting them as his own. These negative features are manifested in an ever uglier way in that person who imitates and steals from foreigners, in as much as such an action damages the national character of creativity, affects the patriotic feelings and national pride of the people, and has a negative influence on their education.

During its entire activity, consistently defending and applying Marxism-Leninism, the Party of Labour of Albania has uncompromisingly fought against any reactionary alien influence which has appeared in the healthy body of our development. As, in all fields of life, in our art and culture too, it has been irreconcilable towards any kind of imitation, copying, and influence from the bourgeois and revisionist world. In order

to wage this ideological class struggle properly, the Party has utilised the fine traditions of our people, who during their entire legendary history, with rifle and pen have always opposed the reactionary culture, and every effort of the representatives of the reactionary classes to imitate alien culture, and in the process of their historical development, have elaborated their own culture which has expressed their patriotism and those psychological features that distinguish them as a nation. «If through the centuries our people preserved and further developed this culture», says comrade Enver Hoxha, «then it is up to us, the generations of socialist society, to fight with the passion of a communist militant to keep it pure and develop it further». (Enver Hoxha, Reports and speeches 1972-1973, p. 319).

The experience of the general development of our country, and in this context, the progress of our culture, literature and arts, their continuous flourishing, under the paternal care of the Party, has shown that, like everything else, the works of our creators too, become a powerful weapon for the communist education of our men and women when they are based on the Marxist-Leninist ideology, when this creativity has been realised on the basis of the dialectical method of reflecting life truthfully, without any darkening, distortion, or any lustre and idealist treatment of it.

Just as in the whole of our life, in the field of culture, art and literature, too, alien manifestations of imitation, have been strongly resisted, not allowing them to take root and develop, for any symptoms of imitation, however slight, constitute a serious danger to the development of the entire life of our country on the right road, and, in this complex, of our culture and arts too. Our working masses and our literary and artistic practice itself, have valued and encouraged only those works and those writers and artists whose creativity is thoroughly permeated by proletarian partisanship, is strongly based on our national soil, and inspired by the titanic march of our people, under the leadership of the Party, towards the highest peaks of socialism and communism.

PEASANT ART AND ARTISTIC CRAFTS IN ALBANIA

by **ANDROMAQI GJERGJI**

IN THE CULTURAL HERITAGE FROM OUR PAST AN IMPORTANT PLACE IS HELD BY THE POPULAR TRADITIONS IN THE FIELD OF APPLIED ARTS. IN THE LIGHT OF THE TEACHINGS OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA, WE ASSESS THESE TRADITIONS NOT ONLY AS AN ETHNIC INDICATOR WHICH DETERMINES THE SPECIAL FEATURES OF OUR PEOPLE AND DISTINGUISHES THEM FROM OTHER PEOPLES, BUT ALSO A HEALTHY COMPONENT WHICH ENRICHES THE FUND OF THE NEW SOCIALIST CULTURE. COMRADE ENVER HOXHA HAS DESCRIBED THE WORKS OF THE POPULAR ART AS PRICELESS VALUES AND HAS INSTRUCTED US MANY TIMES TO BASE OURSELVES FIRMLY ON THIS NATIONAL SOIL. THIS WILL BE ACHIEVED BY EVER BETTER AND MORE PROFOUND KNOWLEDGE OF THIS ART.

From the outset we must point out that the development of the decorative arts of the last three or four centuries in Albania should be viewed within its close connections with the historical and social conditions, such as the protracted Ottoman occupation with its grave consequences and with the changes it brought about on the religious, ideological, and cultural plane, the national and social oppression, etc, which made the flowering of art in many fields, such as in monumental architecture, sculpture, etc., extremely difficult and for some time suppressed the local art, confining it to more limited spheres, to dress, to the decoration of small objects and ornaments, to interior decoration, etc.

The most typical field of the manifestation of the local artistic creativity was without doubt the pure peasant art, which was manifested mainly in the decoration of objects of daily household use, with special vividness and optimism and with clear ethnic features. That is an art of the peasant masses, of anonymous craftsmen which has preserved and further cultivated the ancient local artistic tradition and has not altered as much as artisan productivity with the currents of

the styles of the times which circulated more readily in town environments. Conditioned partly by its slow evolution, and partly by the technique used, it was represented mainly by geometrical patterns or patterns stylised in geometrical form. In this peasant art the great wealth of ornamentation (especially in textiles, weaving, and embroidery), the very striking combinations of colours as well as the pure and clear compositions, are features which attract attention and from which we still have much to learn.

A branch of art that was half peasant and half artisan were the skills exercised by itinerant craftsmen, such as wood and stone carvers, masons, etc. Organised into groups comprising 7-8 persons or more, including wood-carvers and masons, these craftsmen used to emigrate during the major part of the year to work in various zones of Albania, and even beyond its borders, to many zones of the Balkans.

In the main cities of Albania, a series of artistic crafts flourished during the 18th century, about which many documents and examples from that time tell us a great deal. At that period the markets in Shkodër, Prizren, Elbasan, Berat, etc., counted hundreds of shops where

numerous artistic trades were exercised, such as those of the silver smiths, embroiders, etc.

The craftsmen of this time gained their training within the country. They had a broad range of occupational knowledge, in the first place from assimilation of the local tradition of the respective skill cultivated for generations. The pupil managed to master the skill only after a long period of work, which required not only patience and persistence, but also great talent, to become a renowned and sought after master craftsman.

Their artistic work was done in order to be sold, thus it was turned into commodity. It was the work of a man specialised in that branch, therefore the craft developed more quickly, the horizon of the master craftsman artist became wider, and new techniques of work appeared. Thus, with the development of trade relations, the popular masters worked mainly for the market. At that point an important differentiation of their works began. Those intended for the upper classes of the society were more expensive and elaborate, but not always more beautiful, because greed for profit sometimes led the craftsman to excesses which damaged the artistic value. In the works intended for the broad strata of the population, the decorations were fewer and the material poorer. These differences can be seen very clearly, for example, in the works of such craftsman as embroiderers, silversmiths, wood carvers, etc., during the XVII and XVIII centuries.

Another factor which broadened the professional knowledge of the master craftsman was the continuous contact with the best products of the time, which were

Peasant art and artistic crafts have been highly developed in Albania. But in the first half of the current century the peasant art and crafts were neglected. After the liberation, the Party of Labour of Albania and comrade Enver Hoxha raised them to a new pedestal and they are valued as a healthy component which enriches the fund of the new socialist culture

imported from both East and West. It is wellknown that the Albanian merchants participated in the main fairs of the Balkans and the West, where they presented local goods and bought products of other countries.

However, many Albanian artists, powerful and wellknown talents in their time, not finding a suitable field of work, were obliged to go to foreign countries, where they have left outstanding works. We can mention among them Andrea Aleks Durrsaku, (Durrachiensis) who left many works in Dalmatia and Italy; Kristo Dullo from Berat, known by the name of Atik Sinani, who worked on the Mehmedie Mosque in Istanbul; Hoxha Kasëmi from Gramshi and Mustafa Meretmeci, who built the Valide Sultanie Mosque, or Mehmet Sedefqar Bicakciu from Elbasan, who built that masterpiece of art, the Blue Mosque (Sultan Ahmed's Mosque) also in Istanbul.

The ruling classes used the skills of the craftsmen for their own aims, placing them at the service of their ideology. Therefore, we find the works of the best master craftsman of this time in religious buildings, in the decoration of the houses of the town nobility, in the dress and ornaments of the representatives of the upper strata of the society.

In recent centuries (XIX-XX) the growth of capitalist production and the unjust policy of the regimes in power, brought the destructive competition of foreign goods with the work of artisans, thus, the majority of the artistic crafts began to decline gradually and even to die out completely.

In the Albanian countryside, the tradition of the peasants themselves working

and decorating small wooden objects for the needs of their household life had been kept alive even in our century. The shepherds decorated their crooks and wooden food containers for themselves, as well as the distaffs and spindles for the young wives of the households, or as gifts for friendly shepherdesses. Other, more experienced peasants, worked chairs with traditional forms like those of Dukagjini, Mirdita, Puka, etc., cradles for babies, boxes for brides, musical instruments, and other household articles.

In the majority of cases, these objects have harmonious and elegant forms, decorated on the surface with engraving or incision. Generally the motifs used are of the geometric style, motifs of ancient origin which frequently find a visible analogy with motifs used in Illyrian art. But in many cases we also find very interesting plastic decorations which present developed animal and human forms, as for instance in the head of the musical instrument, the lahut, curved likes, a shepherd's crook, the backs of some chairs, etc.

In some regions of the country, wood carving reached the level of true artistic skill. In the XVIII and XIX centuries it is worthily represented by some of the best examples in many cities of Albania from religious buildings, such as the iconostases of many orthodox churches (the iconostasis of the cathedral church of Korca, worked in the XVIII century; that of Leusa, worked at the end of the XVIII century, the iconostasis of the cathedral of Berat, worked in the year 1850, and many others), the ceilings and other timber parts in the monasteries of the time (for example the ceiling in the mo-

nastery of the Halvetis in Berat, the monastery of Kruja, etc.), and in many ceilings of town dwellings built mainly towards the end of the XVIII century up till the second part of the XIX century. It is understandable that the execution of such works required a long time as well as qualified craftsmen, consequently, they were expensive, hence only the ruling classes of the time, the gentry and the clergy had the possibility to pay for them. On the other hand, in their decoration, religious symbols held an important place. These expressed the taste of the upper strata of the society of the time and, to a certain extent, also their concept of beauty.

Many foreign travellers have spoken of the Albanian master craftsmen in wood working in the XIX century, and of their works in Serbia, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Greece, European Turkey and Asia Minor. The French traveller, L. Hugonmet, says that in the Tatar-Pazarhik Church near Plovidid (Bulgaria), he saw an iconostasis, «entirely in old oak skilfully carved by Albanian craftsmen»¹⁾ while Tozer described the inhabitants of the Dibra region as the best wood carvers of European Turkey²⁾. It is wellknown likewise that the Dibra craftsmen worked in the church in Krushevë³⁾ etc.

All the decoration of churches aimed at creating an environment to make the maximum impression on the believer who entered there, to divorce him from his day today life and befuddle him, not only with the unceasing intoning of prayers, the smell of incense and the dim light of lamps and candles, but also by the fearful scenes of hell painted on the walls and icons, or by the fantastic ani-

mals carved on the iconostasis. This mystical atmosphere exerted a very strong spiritual pressure on the minds and hearts of people. We have this function of the art of that time in mind when we assess the outstanding abilities of the craftsmen who executed these artistic works.

Another field in which we have outstanding woodwork are the interiors of the town dwellings of the time, especially in Shkodra, Elbasan, Berat, and Gjirokastra. Here it is a matter of timber ceilings, window shutters, wall cupboards, tables, etc. In nearly all these towns, the best examples of these works are from the end of the XVIII century to the second half of the XIX century, when the craftsmanship begins to decline. But it should not be forgotten that such woodwork of outstanding artistic values, is frequently found in peasant homes, too, particularly in the zones where this skill was exercised.

In the realisation of all these works in timber, technique played an important role. In the way the motifs have been worked, sometimes one overlying another, they assume depth sometimes in two or three planes. The craftsmen who worked them thus give proof of great skill and a powerful feeling for form and decoration. On the other hand, these ceilings and tables, just as all the other equipment of the sitting rooms, show the degree of wellbeing and the luxury in which not only the feudal aristocracy of the main towns of the country, but also the new commercial bourgeoisie, which was more and more strengthening its economic positions, were living. It is understandable that these strata were living in conditions entirely different from those of the common people of the towns.

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The tradition of silver working, transmitted from one century to another, is found in the XVII-XVIII centuries still in full flower. Many dated inscriptions on silver objects of these centuries tell us that at this time, in a number of cities of our country, such as Elbasan, Berat, Voskopojë, etc., the local silversmiths executed works of very high artistic quality.

The silversmiths of the time worked not only the costly equipment of the religious buildings, but also a series of

lay objects such as weapons, ornaments, household equipment, etc.

The craftsmen of our cities decorated a multitude of weapons with five silver plating, frequently dipped in gold, which cover almost their whole surface. They include those long flint-lock rifles described by foreigners as «les longs fusils albanais» or «langen Arnauten-Flinten» or simply «arnautk» which we find as a component part of the equipment of the Albanians presented in many drawings of the XVIII and XIX centuries⁴). The complete armament of the Albanian man of this time was the long rifle carried on the shoulder, the two pistols in the belt, the sword, a dagger and the cartridge belt.

All these were covered with silver ornamentation, frequently gold-plated.

The techniques used in their works were many: casting, swaging, carving, filigree. Cast or swaged objects were sometimes also decorated with niello, but not on objects worked before the XVIII century.

As to the ornamental motifs in these works, it is clear that, in Albania, as in other countries of the Balkans at this time, the influences of the eastern (Turco-Persian) and western styles mixed with many Byzantine symbols were very strong, but of course there is also a very wide range from the local repertoire. In these centuries the double-headed eagle assumes the significance of a national symbol, and as such we see it used extensively in many lay objects (rifles, cartridge belts, oil bottles, belt ornaments etc).

In niello, ranging from dark grey to black, rifles and cartridge belts were decorated with numerous floreal motifs, as well as symbolic animals and birds, and human figures with typical Albanian costumes.

The works in filigree which were a speciality of the master silversmith of the northern cities (Shkodër, Prizren, etc.) rather than of those of the South show a special finesse. We notice that in some groups of objects (rings, watch-chains etc.) the granular form predominates and silver thread is less used, while in other objects, such as belts, plates, coffee-cup holders, mirrors, various boxes, the granular form is sometimes completely absent. The worked surface looks like crochet work which, without doubt, required rare patience and delicacy on the part of the craftsmen. In any case, the extent of the use and quality

of ornamentation was undoubtedly connected with the social situation and material possibilities of the owners of these things.

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Weaving and embroidery have been carried on for centuries by the peasant women in preparing and decorating both the popular dresses and other household equipment (mattresses, cushions, divans, table covers- etc.). This is a field of activity in which, perhaps more than in any other field, not only the executive abilities but also the creative talents of the masters of folk arts have been most outstanding. Here, many factors together, such as the various techniques of work, the variegated and broad repertoire of ornamental motifs, the rich colours, etc., have contributed to giving these works from the hands of peasant women that vividness and warmth which makes an agreeable impression and is immediately attractive. Among these works there are many which are minor masterpieces of harmony, rhythm, and colour.

Almost up till the liberation of the country, the working of textiles in the countryside was a cottage craft mainly for the family needs, but in some town centres, since the past century, many women worked for the market.

In regard to silk fabrics it must be said that they have been worked and used much more in our country than in the other Balkan countries. Their most usual decoration was stripes of different widths running lengthwise, which could be of different colour from that of the background. Thus, their combinations with the background, which was always white and transparent created an effect very pleasant to the eye. In cotton fabrics, too, the peasant women managed, by quite a simple technique, to achieve very interesting results, executing motifs in soft colours but which clearly stand out as the light shines through them, or they also used threads of various colours with a view to giving brilliance and warmth to the worked fabrics. The woollen textiles, produced by a wide range of work techniques, are richer from the viewpoint of the motifs and patterns of their composition and especially of their colours.

Without doubt, the folk costumes, especially those of peasant women, have great artistic value. With their elegance of form, the rich decorations, concentrated

mainly in the blouses, aprons, and stockings, with the chromatic unity that characterises the dress of every ethnographic zone, the peasant costumes testify to a strong artistic sense elaborated and refined from one generation to another. Despite the richness, and sometimes the excessive ornamentation of some parts, the costumes as a whole preserve the sense of proportion and plastic connections with the movements of the body.

Alongside the textiles stand the folk embroidery worked by peasant women. These were generally worked on a white cotton fabric, which they produced on a loom. They used cotton or silk thread of different colours in embroidery. The most beautiful embroidery works come from Shpati, Dumreja, Fusha e Krujës, Zadrima, etc.

Another group of embroideries, along with the original popular embroideries, form the works of the professional master embroiderers who have worked for centuries in the most ancient urban centres of the country or in the monasteries of the time. Clear evidence shows that in the medieval centuries embroidery was exercised in Albania as a trade in itself, by highly specialised master embroiderers who sometimes also produced major works. So it was with gold-embroiderer, Gjergj Arianiti, who put his name alongside that of Bishop Kalisti who had ordered that impressive tapestry of the great epitaph of Glavinica (Berat area), dated 1373. With relatively large dimensions, executed with minute work which required extraordinary patience and skill, it is one of the very rare works of this kind preserved in the Balkans, a testimony proving the high development of applied arts in Albania in this period. In this epitaph, which holds one's concentrated attention, the figures and decorations have been presented with that solemn immobility of the Byzantine tradition. This testifies to the stylistic horizon and the very high technical level of the master embroiderer, who through the powerful expressiveness of his work, undoubtedly became a bearer of religious concepts to the masses.

In later centuries, even though the Byzantine tradition begins to decline in the decorative tapestries for religious services, features of this tradition are still preserved, but they are no longer so rigid. A breeze of lyricism is now rippling the old canons of art.

In the XVII century we find the master embroiders established in many of the developed cities of the time. Their works are assuming more of a secular character, emphasising designs rich with leaves and flowers, which replace the figures with a religious theme. The taste for great luxury which pleases the eye with the brilliance of gold and silver, is prominent in them.

In the XVIII and XIX centuries the master embroiders of Shkodra, Prizren, Tirana, Elbasan, Berat, etc., are distinguished for their fine work. They work not only for the gentry of their own cities, but also for clients from other regions. A powerful pasha also has his own tailors, as for example the Bushatas of Shkodra, or Mehmet Pasha of Plasa (Korça), who had brought his master tailor from Prizren, at the end of the XVIII century.

With amazing skill and fine artistic taste these master embroiderers beautified not only men's clothing, waistcoats jackets, trousers, belts, etc.), but also that of women (gowns, waistcoats, jackets, sashes, long dresses) and many other items of household equipment (pillows, sofa covers, etc.). On a background of fine woollen cloth (black or red) or velvet (wild-cherry colour, violet or green) using silk or gold thread or cord, they have worked a very rich repertoire of floral and animal motifs placed in symmetrical compositions. The working techniques have changed in the course of centuries, but in the last two centuries, the most widespread have been the embroideries on cardboard. As time goes on, embroidery assumes an ever more popular character, raising to the forefront the taste, technique and themes to suit the bourgeoisie and even the peasantry, too.

The beginning of our century finds the artistic crafts in almost total decline. The period from the proclamation of independence to the liberation of the country (1912-1944) saw only further decline in them. Thus, ceilings, tables, etc. (and even less iconostases of artistic value like those of the previous centuries, were no longer worked, especially after the proclamation of independence. The decoration of arms was now something rare too, especially after the first world war, with the large-scale introduction of modern weapons. The various silver ornaments likewise kept diminishing, especially those worked by swaging and casting, while

the works in filigree continued to live, but almost entirely repeating the repertoire and forms already worked. The craft of embroidery suffered the same fate, because the new fashion in dress especially after the first world war, eliminated many of the earlier embroidered garments. The use of the embroidering machine had a great influence on this trade.

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From the facts presented in this article we can understand that in the past centuries the artistic crafts in Albania had reached a high level of development. The master craftsmen of that time reached a standard of perfection in their works which stand comparison with the finest works realised in the Balkan countries as a whole, and indeed, in some cases, in wood working for example, the works of Albanian masters are of a higher level than those of others.

On the other hand we must point out that the very rich existing materials from various fields of the original folk art testify to the rich spiritual world of the broad masses, especially of the peasant masses with their inexhaustible creative vigour, who have preserved and further developed the rich traditions in the field of the popular applied arts. In these works the great wealth of the ornamental motifs used, the chromatic features, a series of characteristics of composition and the placing of ornamental fields, all taken together, create that original way in which the Albanian people have conceived and placed their decorations on objects of day to day use. They give us that specific ethnic feature which makes these works immediately distinguishable from the analogous works of other peoples, even of our neighbours.

1) L. Hugonnet, *La Turquie inconnue*, Paris 1886, p. 17.

2) H. Tozer, *The highlands of Turkey*, London 1869, p. 390.

3) Drounev - A. Vassilev, *L'Art bulgare de la sculpture sur bois*, Sofia, 1955, p. 12.

30th anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of Albania

FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY

Filled with revolutionary enthusiasm to realise the tasks for 1976, the first year of the 6th five-year plan, the Albanian people celebrated the 11th of January 1976, the 30th anniversary of the proclamation of Albania a People's Republic, with great joy.

On this occasion various festive activities were organised in work and production centres, educational and cultural institutions, agricultural cooperatives and military units, and meetings were held at which speakers dealt with the 30-year road traversed by the People's Republic of Albania, the successes achieved by the Albanian people under the leadership of the PLA with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, and the majestic prospects opened to the Albanian people with the 6th five-year plan.

In Tirana, the capital city of the PRA, on January 10, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania, the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, and the Tirana district Party Committee, organised in the Opera and Ballet Theatre, a solemn meeting on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of Albania.

The solemn meeting was attended by working people from work and production centres, Government departments and central institutions, people of art, culture, science, servicemen, cooperativists, Heroes of the People and Heroes of Socialist Labour, veterans of the National Liberation War, as well as members of the Central Committee of the Party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Government. Taking part were the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Haxhi Lleshi, the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mehmet Shehu, and other Party and State leaders.

The main address was delivered by the member of the Central Committee of the Party and vice-President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Shefqet Peçi, who said among other things:

«The proclamation of the People's Republic of Albania was the successful crowning of a protracted and complicated revolutionary struggle for the seizure of state power by the insurgent people and

the building of new, democratic, people's Albania. The people became the real and all powerful master of the country and their fate.

«In proclaiming Albania a People's Republic, the Constituent Assembly provided a correct class solution to the question of the political form of the new Albanian State. With its content, principles, form, structure, institutions and functions, the new state power would serve as a powerful weapon in the hands of the people to further deepen the revolution, strengthen and consolidate independence and national sovereignty and carry out new social transformations to the advantage of the broad working masses of city and countryside, and build the new socialist Albania.

«The past thirty years have confirmed that the course chosen by the Party, was correct. They have demonstrated the strength of the people's state power, its capacity to mobilise the masses in running the country and the construction of socialism.

«The People's Republic of Albania comes to this outstanding jubilee with majestic victories, proud of the successes achieved and full of confidence in its secure future. It comes strong as an impregnable fortress of socialism, with a steel-like unity of the people round the Party, with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, intrepid and proud of the glorious course it has traversed. It comes to this jubilee as a free and sovereign state, with friends and well-wishers throughout the world, as a socialist state with a high international reputation and prestige».

After having spoken of the glorious road traversed by the People's Republic of Albania during the 30 years, Shefqet Peçi pointed out:

«Today the world situation is developing in favour of the forces fighting for freedom and independence, for national and social liberation. During the past year, as a result of a protracted war, other peoples and countries which but recently were colonies, liberated themselves from foreign colonial bondage and won their independence. Likewise, a fierce struggle is being waged today between the revolutionary and progressive forces, on the one hand, and the forces of world imperialism and reaction, on the other hand; between the peoples and countries which are fighting to win and defend their freedom, independence and rights, and the two superpowers, which are pursuing a savage expansionist and hegemonistic policy. Despite the natural

difficulties and ups and downs, this struggle is always advancing.

«The peoples of the developing countries, in solidarity and collaboration with one another, are more and more increasing their resistance and opposition to the policy of plunder and exploitation, dictate and hegemony pursued towards them by the imperialist powers. Their struggle to defend their national sovereignty and independence and for equality in international relations, as well as the resistance they are putting up to the efforts and manoeuvres of the imperialist powers to export the crisis and shift the burden of it on to the backs of these countries, are mounting ever higher.

«The capitalist and revisionist world today is experiencing one of the greatest and most serious economic, political, and social crises, which has sharpened all the contradictions of the bourgeois and revisionist society, as well as the inter-imperialist contradictions.

«US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism are seeking a way out of this situation in political and military adventurism. They are arming themselves and continually increasing their military power, carrying out feverish aggressive expansionist activity in fierce rivalry for influence, hegemony and key strategic positions in various areas of the world.

«This aggressive policy and this rivalry carried out by the United States of America and the Soviet Union are the permanent source of tension in the world, endangering the general peace and security. This notwithstanding, however US imperialism, Soviet social imperialism and

world reaction may try, they will never be able to smother and subjugate the fighting spirit of the peoples, to suppress their powerful aspirations to freedom, national independence, social equality and liberation. The revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples cannot be put down.

«The People's Republic of Albania and the entire Albanian people side with those who are fighting for the revolution, the freedom and independence of their peoples, for their national dignity and their rights and sovereignty. They have supported and will continue to support the struggle of the peoples against colonialism, against the interference, conspiracies and aggression of the two superpowers.

«Our people have always wished all peoples well, they have always respected those governments and countries, which, in their international relations, uphold the known principles of equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of others.

«Just as in the past, in the future too, the People's Republic of Albania will be a determined fighter against US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, as well as against the other reactionary forces collaborating with them. Our people will always resolutely oppose their aggressive policy and their hegemonistic plans, they will mercilessly expose their deceptive propaganda and their diplomatic manoeuvres, and will strike hard blows at the despotism and big power dictate which they seek to impose on the world.

«A great revolutionary friendship, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, links the

People's Republic of Albania, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people especially with the Communist Party of China and the great Chinese people. Our fraternal friendship and collaboration are unbreakable and they are continually growing and becoming stronger because our two countries and peoples are linked for ever by Marxism-Leninism, by the same struggle for the building of socialism, the common battles against our greatest enemies-imperialism and revisionism.

«The majestic successes of the Chinese people, led by the Communist Party of China and the great Marxist-Leninist, comrade Mao Tse-tung fill us with enthusiasm and immeasurably gladden us. We always consider the brilliant victories they have achieved as our own victories, as forces which advance the cause of the revolution and socialism, not only in China, but throughout the entire world».

In conclusion, Shefqet Peçi said: «Entering the 31st year of the proclamation of our People's Republic, the successes achieved fill us with enthusiasm and the prospects for the future make us still more optimistic. At the same time, we are conscious of the great tasks awaiting us, and of the difficulties and obstacles to be surmounted. But our patriotic and revolutionary people, united in a steel-like unity around the Party with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, will carry their People's Republic constantly forward and make it ever more prosperous, they will always uphold its honourable name, and keep it beloved and respected for its friends, and fire and gunpowder for the enemies».

Deep gratitude and respect for the martyrs who fell outside the fatherland

After 31 years the mortal remains of more of the 600 Albanian martyrs who fell in the war against fascism for the liberation of the Albanian brothers of Kosovo and the Dukagjinit Plateau, as well as in the battles for the liberation of Montenegro, Sandjak, and the southern part of Bosnia (regions of Yugoslavia) were brought home. With profound gratitude and respect, the Albanian people received the mortal remains of their beloved sons who, obeying the order of the Party and the General Commander of the Albanian National Liberation Army, comrade Enver Hoxha, fought and laid down their lives for the great cause of freedom and progress, socialism and proletarian internationalism.

Hundreds of thousands of people of all ages and professions paid homage and threw flowers on the coffins, from the moment they entered the State borders until they were buried in the Martyrs Cemetery in Tirana. In Shkodër and Kukës mass meetings were held at which the heroism of those who shed their pure blood for the lofty ideals with which they were imbued by the Party was extolled.

A solemn and moving ceremony was organised in Tirana. The coffins with the mortal remains of the martyrs covered with wreath and fresh flowers, were placed in the large hall of the Palace of Culture. Members of the families of the martyrs, workers from work and

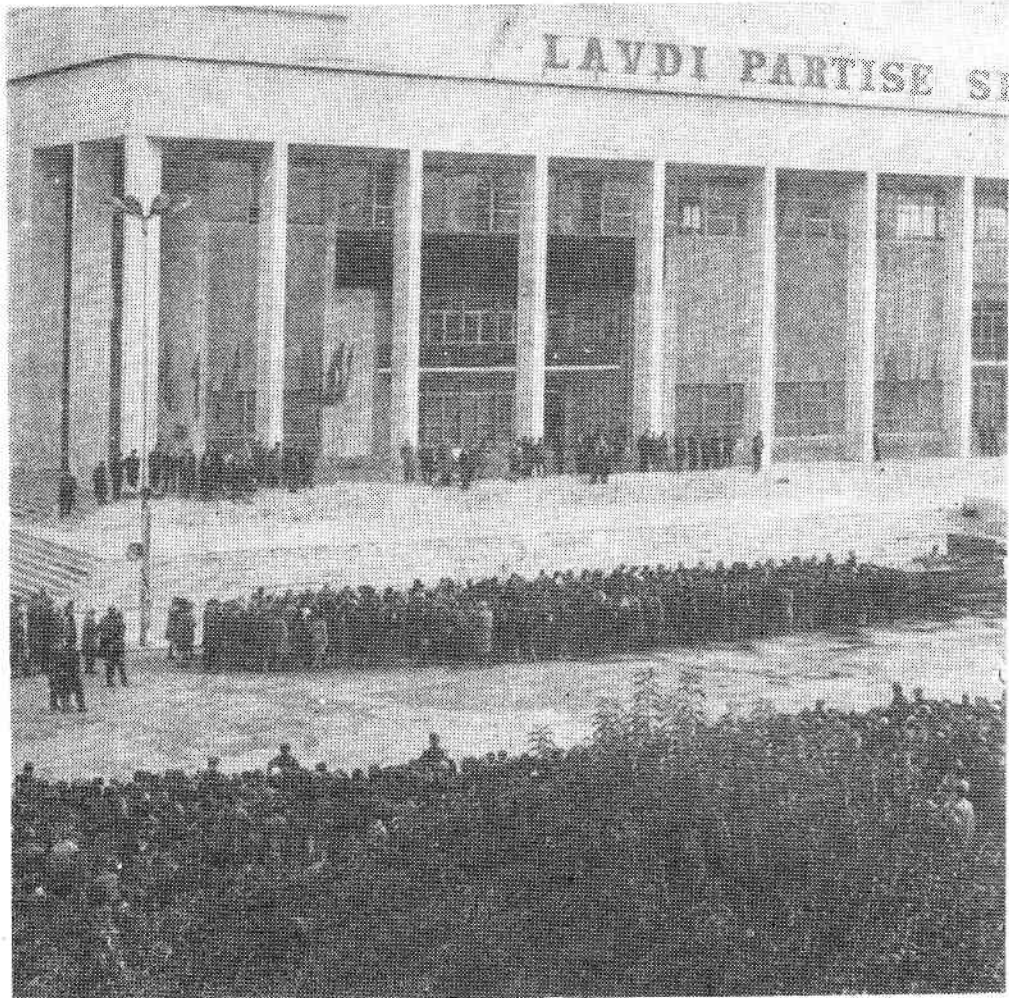
production centres and various institutions, servicemen, veterans, young people, school pupils and other residents of the capital, as well as delegations from all parts of the country, filed past and paid homage.

Homage was paid likewise by the members of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA, Adil Çarçani, Hekuran Isai, Manush Myftiu, Pali Miska, Ramiz Alia, Rita Marko and Spiro Koleka, the alternate members of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA, Pilo Peristeri and Llambi Gegprifti, members of the CC of the PLA, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Government, representatives of mass organisations, etc.

At the same time, tens of thousands of Tirana residents had gathered in the large square in the centre of the capital which bears the name of the national hero Gjergj Kastrioti-Scanderbeg, and on both sides of the «Martyrs of the Nation» boulevard.

On this occasion a funeral meeting was organised, which was addressed by the

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The people of the capital accompanying with veneration

chairman of the Albanian Committee of the Veterans of the Albanian People's War, Ndreçi Plasari. He said in part:

«The mortal remains of the martyrs have returned to repose for ever in the land that gave birth to them and reared them, in the bosom of the people who imbued them with love for their country and their traditional bravery, near the Party which instilled in their fiery hearts the great ideals of the revolution, freedom, and progress, of socialism and proletarian internationalism.

For years on end their rifles echoed through the mountains, the plains and cities of Albania. Then, on the order of the General Commander, comrade Enver Hoxha, they went and fought with self-sacrifice in the ranks of the brigades and divisions of the Albanian National Liberation Army to which they belonged, for the liberation of Kosovo and in the battles for the liberation of Montenegro, Sandjak, the southern part of Bosnia.

They sacrificed themselves for the people, whom they wanted to see free, independent and happy, for the revolution which they had embraced unhesitatingly as the most powerful means to lift the people from slavery to freedom, from darkness to light, from poverty to prosperity, for the Party to which they remained

faithful to the end and spared nothing for the implementation of its political line, because they saw in the realisation of this line the only way to the salvation, progress and prosperity of the Fatherland, the only way to happiness for the broad masses of the people.

These martyrs, like all our partisans who fought there, will never be forgotten by the people of Kosovo or the peoples of Montenegro, Macedonia, Sandjak and Bosnia, who knew them at first hand. With their bravery and exemplary honesty, with their profoundly revolutionary internationalist spirit, the ANLA partisans won their hearts, showing them with deeds, as comrade Enver Hoxha says, that «just as they wanted freedom and independence for our country and people, they wanted them equally for other peoples, too». They will go down for ever in history as a vivid testimony to that heroic internationalist fight waged by the brigades and divisions of the Albanian National Liberation Army, with over 20,000 fighters, to help in the liberation of the peoples of Yugoslavia, a vivid testimony to that valuable contribution made by the Albanian people to the victory over fascism in the Second World War, alongside the peoples and states of the great antifascist coalition.



to the cemetery the coffins containing the mortal remains of the martyrs fallen on the territories of Yugoslavia

This was not the first time that our people, although small in numbers, had gone to the aid of the neighbouring peoples of the Balkans and others, arms in hand. They have always shown their readiness to take up arms and sustain sacrifices, not only for themselves, but also for the liberation of other peoples, proceeding from the feeling of solidarity and fraternity in struggle against aggressors and occupiers, against oppressors and exploiters.

Our martyred brothers and sisters!

While placing you today to rest forever in your mother soil we, your comrades, your fellow fighters, all the working people of our country, bow with the most profound veneration before your mortal remains, before your immortal

deed and memory, and swear to you that, under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, we will remain faithful to the end to the revolution and socialism for which you laid down your lives, that we will constantly strengthen socialist Albania and make it flourish, that we will not spare our lives to defend our historic victories, our socialist homeland, from any enemy or any danger, be it internal or external».

Afterwards those present at the meeting set out for the «Martyrs Cemetery». Here, accompanied by volleys from the artillery and a platoon of riflemen, the coffins were placed in the graves. Wreaths were laid on them on behalf of the CC of the PLA, the Presidium of the People's Asse-

mblly and other institutions and their relatives.

After the playing of the national anthem, those present paid homage once more before the graves of the martyrs.

The ceremony of the burial of the mortal remains of the martyrs was attended also by a delegation of the League of Fighters of Yugoslavia, headed by the vice-Chairman of the League's Federative Council Mito Dimitreski, who paid homage and also laid a wreath.

Likewise, the ceremony was attended by the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the FSR of Yugoslavia to the PR of Albania Trajko Lipkovski, who paid homage and placed a wreath on behalf of the embassy.

The Albanian people honour the memory of comrade Chou En-lai

With deep sorrow the Albanian people, old and young, received the news of the death of comrade Chou En-lai, vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the

Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China.

From January 9, broad meetings of the

working people were organised throughout the country, in work and production centres, agricultural cooperatives, schools, and various institutions, where the obituary notice of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Standing Committee of the People's National Congress and the State Council of the People's Republic of China was read and speakers

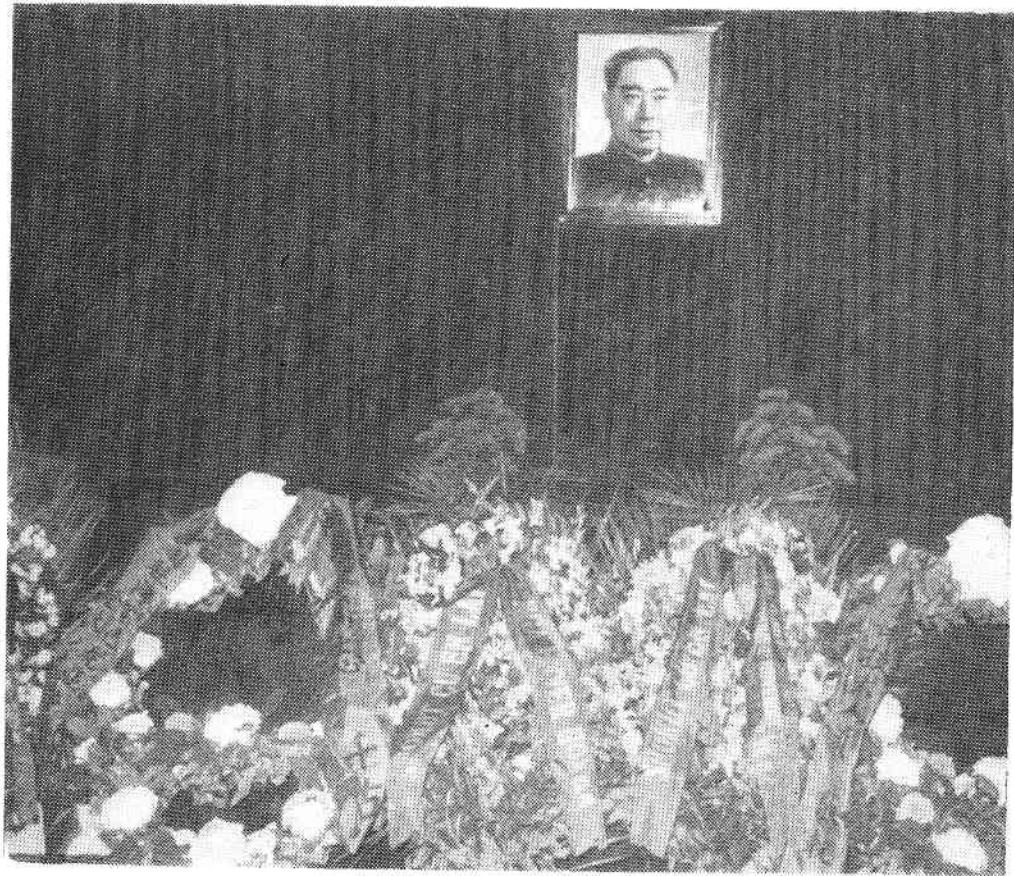
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dealt with the life and activity of comrade Chou En-Lai, an unflinching revolutionary and consistent Marxist-Leninist. Expressing their deep sorrow at his death, the working people who took the floor at these meetings stressed the tireless work done by comrade Chou En-Lai to strengthen the great fraternal friendship and develop the close relations and all-round collaboration which link Albania and China, our two parties and our two peoples.

On January 9 the comrades Enver Hoxha, first Secretary of the Cen-

and respected friend of the Albanian people.

With the death of comrade Chou En-lai, the Communist Party, the People's Republic of China, and the entire Chinese people lost a great revolutionary and one of the tried and tested leaders of the Chinese Party and State, one of the closest comrades-in-arms of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, who dedicated all his life, his energies, knowledge and strength to the great cause of the triumph of the Chinese revolution, the building of socialism in China, the progress and all-



The comrades Enver Hoxha, Haxhi Lleshi, Mehmet Shehu and other Party and State

tral Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Haxhi Lleshi, President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and Mehmet Shehu, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, sent a message to the chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China comrade Mao Tse-tung, which reads:

We learned with a deep sorrow about the death of the vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, comrade Chou En-lai, one of the most outstanding leaders of the Chinese Party and State, and a very close, beloved

round strengthening of the People's Republic of China.

Comrade Chou En-lai fought with determination for the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, for the building and strengthening of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese socialist State. He had made a valuable and everlasting contribution to the triumph of the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticise Lin Piao and Confucius, as well as to the struggle against imperialism, social imperialism, and modern revisionism.

Comrade Chou En-lai's death has profoundly moved the Albanian people who lost one of their most beloved and res-

pected friends who worked wholeheartedly and tirelessly for the strengthening of the great fraternal friendship and the development of the close relations and allround collaboration which link our two parties, our two peoples and countries.

Old and young in our country will always remember his visits to Albania, his cordial talks and meetings with our working people, his ardent feelings of respect, sincere friendship and love for the Albanian people. Comrade Chou En-lai was a resolute supporter of our people

of China, the State Council of the People's Republic of China, the family and relatives of comrade Chou En-lai.

We express our conviction that the fraternal Chinese people will convert this great grief into new strength to carry the cause for which comrade Chou En-lai fought and worked tirelessly till the last moments of his life constantly forward. The revolutionary work of comrade Chou En-lai will always inspire the great Chinese people, under the wise leadership of the glorious Communist Party of China with the great Marxist-Leninist

Chou En-lai, outstanding leader of the Chinese Party and State, great revolutionary, close, beloved and respected friend of the Albanian people, the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania decided to proclaim the day of his funeral the 15th of January 1976, a day of national mourning. On this occasion, the flag was flown a half mast over Government and State administration organs, throughout the country, and theatre and cinema activities, concerts and other activities of this kind were suspended.



leaders paying homage before the portrait of comrade Chou En-lai in the embassy of the PR of China to the PR of Albania

in the common struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism and other reactionaries.

Our people will never forget his constant interest, great attention and special care for the uninterrupted construction of socialism in Albania and the allround progress of our country.

Respectfully honouring the illustrious memory of Comrade Chou En-lai, the Albanian people, the Party of Labour of Albania, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, convey their most sincere condolences to the Communist Party of China, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress

Chairman Mao Tse-tung at the head, to achieve ever more brilliant and majestic victories in the revolution and the construction of socialism, in smashing the warmongering plans of imperialism and revisionism and in the struggle for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism and communism in the world.

The unflickingly revolutionary and consistently Marxist-Leninist figure of comrade Chou En-lai will remain a lofty example for the revolutionaries and the progressive and freedom-loving peoples of the world.

May the memory of comrade Chou En-lai remain eternally honoured.

To honour the memory of comrade

On January 14 in the morning, the first Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, comrade Enver Hoxha, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, comrade Haxhi Lleshi, the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, comrade Mehmet Shehu, as well as other Party and State leaders went to the embassy of the PR of China, where they expressed their condolences for the death of the vice Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council of the PR of China, comrade Chou En-lai.

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Comrade Enver Hoxha placed a wreath near to the portrait of comrade Chou En-lai. Wreaths were placed likewise by the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania.

The Party and State leaders paid homage and kept one minute silence before the portrait of comrade Chou En-lai.

On the same day workers from work and production centres, cooperativists

and other agricultural workers, working people of central departments, men of art, culture and science, representatives of mass organisations and army, went to the embassy of the PR of China where they presented their condolences for the death of comrade Chou En-lai and paid homage and laid wreaths before his portrait.

The embassy of the People's Republic of China to the People's Republic of Albania received likewise thousands of messages of condolence from all parts of the country.

All for one and one for all

On the 22nd of November 1975, a force 7 earthquake rocked 15 villages of the Saranda region.

There were no casualties, but 117 houses were destroyed or made uninhabitable, 322 were heavily damaged, and 255 others suffered moderate and light damages. The buildings of some socio-cultural institutions were damaged, too.

On the occasion of this natural calamity, the district and central Party and Government organs rose up and immediately went to the earthquake stricken areas where they took all measures to shelter the families left homeless, and work began at once to eliminate the aftermath of the earthquake as quickly as possible.

The first Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Enver Hoxha, pointed out in his letter to the population of the earthquake-stricken villages:

«As soon as I received the distressing news about what happened to you, I gave the order to the Government that emergency aid be sent to you immediately and at the same time that measures must be taken so that within the month of December all the uninhabitable houses would be built anew, while those damaged would be repaired, also within this time limit».

The Council of Ministers of the PRA pointed out in its decision «On measures to help the population of the Saranda district to liquidate the aftermath of the earthquake» that all the costs would be defrayed by the State.

With a view to eliminating the aftermath of the earthquake quickly not only the population of the Saranda district, but also workers and specialists from many regions of the country rose to the occasion. They went immediately to assistance of the damaged villages. The slogan of the Party and the teaching

of comrade Enver Hoxha «All for one and one for all» became the general motto.

The district of Saranda was transformed into a huge building site, seething with the magnificent work and revolutionary impetus of the working people, including 730 various building specialists, 1,685 cooperativists, and over 300 working people from other economic enterprises.

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PR of Albania, comrade Mehmet Shehu, made a personal visit to the area damaged by the earthquake in the district of Saranda.

On December 19, the Council of Ministers of the PRA announced with joy that all the families in the area damaged by the earthquake were back in their homes and all the socio-cultural institutions were functioning again.

Within 23 days, 13 days ahead of the timetable set by comrade Enver Hoxha, 95 new dwelling houses, and 2 school buildings, were erected, major repairs to 150 very heavily damaged buildings were carried out and 811 dwelling houses and socio-cultural buildings which were heavily, moderately or slightly damaged were completely restored. In all 1,058 dwelling houses and socio-cultural buildings were rebuilt or repaired in 23 days.

The correct line of our Party led with wisdom and farsightedness by its Central Committee with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, stood out once more in the great and selfless work of the working masses to eliminate the aftermath of this earthquake.

In this great people's action, the mighty revolutionary fighting unity, the vitality of our state social order, the economic power of our socialist homeland, the political consciousness and the lofty patriotism of the people, were once again manifested.

The 70th anniversary of the publication of Lenin's article

«Party organisation and party literature»

On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the publication of Lenin's article «Party organisation and Party literature», the Writers and Artists League of Albania and the Higher Institute of Arts organised a scientific meeting which was attended by writers and artists, students, workers in art and culture, etc.

The opening speech at the meeting was delivered by the Chairman of the Writers and Artists League of Albania, Dritëro Agolli, who said among other things: «The years have not dimmed the great ideas of this article, but on the contrary they have given them a new brilliance. Neither the fierce open attacks of the bourgeois and liberal philosophers, aesthetes and politicians, nor the hypocritical camouflaged and demagogic efforts of the revisionist «thinkers» and critics could do any harm to those ideas. The principle of partisanship, raised by Lenin 70 years ago, marked a new stage in Marxist-Leninist thinking.

«This whole period of seven decades, when major revolutionary events, national liberation wars and movements have taken place in the world, when amazing social transformations have been made, and when all sorts of reactionary literary and artistic theories and trends have arisen on the ideological plane in this struggle, demonstrates the truth of V. I. Lenin's ideas, expressed in the article «Party organisation and Party literature».

Taking into account the special nature of art, as individual work, our Party has always upheld the idea that it is a tool in the great cause of the revolution. Our writers and artists, educated with the ideas of our Party and enlightened by the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha, are becoming more and more convinced that the defence of the principle of proletarian partisanship is a vital question for literature and arts. Deviation from this principle leads to total degeneration, to deviation from the aim that art must serve the people.

Dritëro Agolli pointed out the further development of the principle of proletarian partisanship by the Party of Labour of Albania bearing in mind the

practice and experience of the ideological and cultural revolution in Albania.

Razi Brahimî, a literary critic, presented the paper «Fundamental work of Marxist-Leninist aesthetic thinking». He said in part: «In this article, the historical and theoretical importance of which has assumed fresh brilliance in our time, while further developing the Marxist view about the class tendentiousness of literature and arts, Lenin formulated for the first time the great principle of communist partisanship, which is the corner stone of Marxist-Leninist aesthetic thinking and the arts of socialist realism; he argued it scientifically, and disclosed its historical, objective, militant, revolutionary content.

Lenin's article puts forward as a fundamental requirement the creation of a new, socialist, literature and art, inspired by the struggle of the revolutionary proletariat, imbued with the ideas of scientific socialism, a militant art which must serve the working masses and feel itself an integral part of the great cause of the liberation of the peoples and the building of communism. Such an art cannot fail to be connected with the conscious revolutionary vanguard of the working class, with the Marxist-Leninist party, which leads the revolution and the building of socialism. This requirement expresses not the subjective desires, but an objective attainment of artistic progress; it entails not the creation of a doctrine of some closed circle which would be imposed on art from outside, such as occurs in many idealist and metaphysical aesthetic and artistic doctrines, but with the conscious activity which the revolutionary artists of the proletariat must carry out for the fullest possible flowering of the new art. It has to do with the attentive, organised; and planned work of the Marxist-Leninist party to harmonise the literary and artistic work with all the other parts of the work of the party and to use it in the most efficient manner to the advantage of the revolution and socialism, for the communist education of the working people».

In his paper «The principle of pro-

letarian partisanship and the criticism of some bourgeois-revisionist views», Doctor Dalan Shaplllo stressed the force, vigour, and contemporary importance of the Leninist ideas about literature and art. Criticising the degeneration aroused by decadent and formalist works, he pointed out that they have the same philosophical foundation, conceal their dependence on capital, and are direct or indirect expressions of its spiritual and ideological chaos. He said among other things: «From the time Lenin's article appeared to the present day, the representatives of the various formalist and decadent trends and schools have attacked the principle of partisanship by trumpeting the «freedom» of the artist, his «independence» in society. These preachings and false declarations of the artists and theoreticians of the bourgeoisie were exposed by Lenin in his article: «We do not want to and we shall not become slaves of the bourgeois-commercial literary relations», said Lenin at that time. To live in a society and be independent of it, is impossible, therefore, he who preaches the absolute independence of the artist from ideas, and classes, is either living with illusions or trying to conceal his nature as a servant of the bourgeoisie. The decadent, and reformist trends replace one another, their manifestos and theories become more sophisticated, but the philosophical basis remains the same and the main courses of art are clear: either with the people, the revolution, the truth, or against them, with the bourgeoisie, with the spirit of submission and anxiety which gives birth to all sorts of artistic forms within which, however indirectly it shows up, dependence on capital cannot be concealed with phrases of protest and individualist grief.

Skënder Milori, also a literary critic, presented the paper «Links with the revolutionary reality, with the working class and the people – the basis for strengthening proletarian partisanship in art». He said among other things: «Connection with the revolutionary reality is the basis for strengthening proletarian partisanship in art, because to live in it as an on-looker, sometimes half active and at other times passive, means failure to grasp what is typical of the reality, to vacillate and not be at all in a position to give even a vague idea in conformity with the objective reality».

A paper entitled «The PLA has consistently followed the Leninist principle of proletarian partisanship» was presented by the critic Adriatik Kallulli. He pointed out the contribution of our Party and comrade Enver Hoxha to the creative development and deepening of the principles of partisanship.

THE REVOLUTION DETERMINES THE COURSE AND OPENS THE WAY TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRESENT DAY HUMAN SOCIETY

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The events of the year 1975 demonstrated to the peoples once again, that the only way to ensure the realisation of their national aspirations, to be free and independent, is through determined and uncompromising struggle against the aggression of the two superpowers and other colonialist and neocolonialist forces

THE YEARS, ONE AFTER ANOTHER, ARE BRINGING CONTINUAL CHANGES. ALWAYS TO THE ADVANTAGE OF FREEDOM AND SOCIALISM, AND TO THE DISADVANTAGE OF THE SLAVERY AND AGGRESSIVE IMPERIALISM OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS. THE YEAR JUST OVER CONFIRMS THIS. 1975 WAS A YEAR OF GREAT CLASS BATTLES OF THE PROLETARIAT, OF VICTORIES OF THE PEOPLES FIGHTING FOR LIBERATION, OF ALL THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES. IT WAS A YEAR OF IRREPARABLE DEFEATS FOR US-LED IMPERIALISM, OF FURTHER DISCREDITING OF RUSSIAN SOCIAL IMPERIALISM, OF THE DECLINE OF THEIR SYSTEM OF OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION, AND THE FURTHER DEEPENING OF INTER-IMPERIALIST CONTRADICTIONS. DURING THE YEAR THE CONCLUSION GIVEN BY COMRADE ENVER HOXHA AT THE 6TH CONGRES OF THE PARTY THAT: «THE HISTORICAL INITIATIVE HAS DEFINITELY PASSED INTO THE HANDS OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE PEOPLES. THE REVOLUTION DETERMINES THE COURSE AND OPENS THE WAY TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRESENT-DAY HUMAN SOCIETY,» WAS ONCE AGAIN CONFIRMED.

The People's Republic of Albania is advancing ever triumphant on the road of the revolution and socialism, towards

ZËRI I POPULLIT - organ of the CC of the Party of Labour of Albania. Article published on the occasion of the new year 1976.

new victories in all fields. It enters this new year with its prestige, higher than ever, with comrades and brothers of the one barricade, with countless friends, shoulder to shoulder with the revolutionary peoples, in the struggle against US

imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. All this is based on the revolutionary foreign policy pursued by the People's Republic of Albania, on the immortal Marxist-Leninist doctrine and on the principles of proletarian internationalism which it consistently defends and implements. It is based on the revolutionary courage of our Party, on the sincerity and clear honesty of our foreign policy. This is the road on which socialist Albania is advancing. It has been so and it will always be so. Our people and our Party have always faced the most difficult situations courageously, they have spoken out boldly, unafraid of anything or anybody. «Our People's Republic», comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, «does not lower its banner either to blackmail and intimidation or to the ruble and the

Communist Party and fulfill the important tasks laid down by the 1st session of the 4th legislature of the People's National Congress of the PR of China, which approved the new draft-constitution, they have fulfilled and overfulfilled the plans of industrial and agricultural production, have further strengthened the defence capacity of their homeland and are advancing with determination on the road of the revolution and socialism to turn their brilliant prospects into reality. During 1975, the powerful movement of the multimillion Chinese masses to criticise the reactionary and bourgeois-revisionist ideas of Confucius and Lin Piao has been carried further, the national conference of agriculture which launched the slogan to create agricultural districts of the Tachai type throughout China, has been held, two earth satellites have been successfully launched, one of which was returned to the earth, and so on. Great People's China is rising to new heights. Today it is a powerful socialist country, with modern industry and advanced agriculture, with science and technology of the highest world standards, with a defensive might capable of destroying any aggressor.

The Marxist-Leninist parties went through a year of vigorous revolutionary struggle, which made them stronger ideologically and organisationally. They have gained their strength in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and revisionism, in confrontation with the savage forces of reaction and regression, for the defence of the interests of the revolution and the triumph of the immortal ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

With the many events everywhere in the world, the year which has just closed confirmed the correctness of the principled foreign policy of our Party.

During the year 1975 the state power of the bourgeoisie, in the grip of the grave economic and financial crisis, increased its violence, terror, arrests, and the mass lay-offs, and, at the same time, also its trickery and demagogy. The effort of the bourgeoisie to saddle the masses of working people with the consequences of the grave economic crisis has further increased the antagonistic contradictions between labour and capital, between the working people and the capitalist-revisionist bourgeoisie. As a result, the year

1975 was a year of great class struggle. Those who came out in demonstrations and strikes during the past year were counted in millions. In Italy the past year began with the strike of 14 million workers and continued with the same intensity during the whole year. In Japan the number of strikes was about 100 per month. In Spain, over 300,000 people held antifascist demonstrations in November alone. What is important is that during the past year the proletariat has had the support of and has led growing numbers of the other working masses of city and countryside, oppressed and exploited by the monopoly bourgeoisie. Once again it was seen that the «class peace», so loudly and bombastically advocated by the bourgeois ideologists and modern revisionists, is just a myth which has nothing in common with reality.

Ideological diversion, undermining activity in the ranks of the forces which participate in the workers' movement, are a favourite weapon of the bourgeoisie. In this direction not only the old opportunist trade unions, united in the ranks of the blackleg Socialist International, but also the revisionist parties, have given it great assistance. The traitorous role of the revisionist parties stood out clearly, particularly in the present conditions of the sharpening of class contradictions and the new impetus which the struggle of the proletariat has assumed. The chiefs of the revisionist parties and trade unions are spreading the idea that the present crisis «is hurting» the owners as well as the workers, therefore «both sides must make sacrifices», and that «the only way out is through agreements». The modern revisionists are seeking to confine the struggle of the proletariat within the framework of their aims, by preaching «peaceful changes», «reforms», etc.

The year 1975 was a year of great victories for national liberation struggles, the struggle of sovereign peoples and countries against US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism in defence of their freedom, independence and sovereign rights, for free and independent development. The past year once more confirmed the thesis of our Party that the aggression of the imperialist great power can be counterposed with great success by the people's war.

dollar». Our Party and the People's Republic of Albania consistently carry on the principled struggle against the two most savage and fiendish enemies of mankind, US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, which are responsible for all the evils.

In the revolutionary struggle in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, for the cause of socialism, freedom, progress and real democracy throughout the world, socialist Albania stands shoulder to shoulder with great People's China and with all the revolutionary and democratic forces of the world. The fraternal Chinese people are celebrating this new year in an atmosphere of great revolutionary enthusiasm when, fully mobilising themselves to put into practice the historic decisions of the 10th Congress of their

The heroic Vietnamese and Cambodian peoples routed the US imperialist aggressors and their lackeys on the battlefield and inflicted on them one of their heaviest defeats. The US imperialists used all their military arsenal, all the methods of war and aggression against them. They also had the continuous assistance of the Moscow social imperialists, but it did them no good.

In Africa the dark forces of colonialism suffered further defeats as a result of the liberation struggle of the peoples of that continent. One after the other, the former Portuguese colonies broke the centuries old shackles of colonialism, threw off the humiliation, contempt, and inhuman exploitation, and opened to themselves perspectives for the building of a free and independent life. During 1975, the oppressed peoples everywhere, carried their struggle for liberation and independence. Not even for one day could the Zionist aggressors feel themselves secure in their lairs surrounded with tanks and missiles. The Palestinian partisans, the valiant sons of that martyr people, have carried out bold actions one after another in the territory that has been seized from them, and inflicted heavy losses in human lives and materials on the Zionist enemy. The Park Chen Hee clique, this fascist regime, a puppet in the hands of US imperialism, is propped up by the bayonets of the US army, using the most savage violence.

The developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are playing an increasingly more active and important role in the international arena. The peoples of these countries have risen courageously in the struggle against the policy of aggression and economic expansion, of plunder and imperialist exploitation, in defence of their freedom, independence, and sovereign rights, to ensure their economic independence and the exercise of full sovereignty over their natural resources and raw materials. They have forcefully exposed their plunderers, the imperialist powers, and primarily the two imperialist superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, which are the culprits who bear the main responsibility for their grave situation. The 7th special

session of the UN General Assembly, as well as a series of international activities organised by the developing countries, show that they do not allow any trifling with their rights, do not allow the imperialist powers to do what they please with their national riches. On the other hand, they adopted numerous measures, including nationalisations, to bar the way to foreign plunderers, and to make themselves masters of their own national assets. The OPEC countries, which raised the price of oil, and the producers of other raw materials, such as iron, copper, coffee, bananas, etc., acted in this way. Important nationalisations of foreign capital were made in Venezuela, Peru, in some countries of Africa, etc.

Besieged from all sides by the hatred of the oppressed peoples, under the continuous blows of the revolutionary and national liberation forces, democracy and social progress, the imperialists, the social imperialists, and the whole of reaction are suffering one defeat after another, and this has further deepened the economic, political and social crisis in the imperialist-revisionist world, and in the USA and the Soviet Union first of all. «Today the two superpowers are in a great economic, cultural and spiritual crisis», stresses comrade Enver Hoxha. «Their regimes and ideologies have been swamped by corruption». The major decline of production, the successive bankruptcies of thousands of enterprises which could not stand up to the competition, the ever increasing inflation, the adverse balances of payments, and unemployment, constitute the political and economic picture of the bourgeois-revisionist countries. In the USA industry worker at only 70 per cent of its capacity during 1975 and unemployment mounted to 9,5 million people. In the Soviet Union the decline in total industrial production was 28 per cent, unemployment about 6 million people, while the trade deficit exceeded two billion dollars.

In these conditions of its further deepening, the general crisis of capitalism has been and is associated with continued political crises, with cabinet re-shuffles, with scandals like that over the CIA in the USA, the Indian «Watergate», etc. They

are testimony to the continuous process of political and moral degeneration, perpetual disputes and backstage deals among various political groupings of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

It is understandable that in such a situation of general crisis, the year 1975 led to a further sharpening and deepening of the inter-imperialist contradictions among capitalist countries, among various political, economic, and military groupings, between these and the two superpowers, as well as between US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. The USA is not in a position to mend and close the many cracks which have developed in its groupings and alliances, and it is encountering ever greater opposition from its allies. Numerous difficulties, antagonistic, internal and external contradictions are unceasingly eroding the strength of the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries. The new czars of the Kremlin are oppressing the peoples of the Soviet Union, feeding them with aggressive nationalism and great Russian chauvinism, keeping the so-called allied countries under occupation and their peoples in subjugation under their iron heel. With the noose of the crises tightening remorselessly around their necks, US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism have begun to put pressure on their allies and are striving to shift the heavy burden of the consequences of the crisis on to them, although their allies are already burdened. They have begun the frontal attack on all the peoples, seeking to divide the world into spheres of influence and get their claws into every corner of the globe. «The ultimate objective of each of them», comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, «is to dominate all the world, the peoples and states. This gives rise to the irreconcilable contradictions between them, which can lead to another great world war». The events of the year 1975 are a clear confirmation of this. In permanent rivalry and occasional collaboration, US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism covet the riches and markets of Africa, Asia and Latin America, compete for superiority in the Mediterranean, in the Indian and Pacific Oceans, fight for

spheres of influence in the Middle East, etc. Both US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism are striving for recognition of their right to decide everything in the world, want to create the idea that without them no political, economic or social problem of our time can be solved, that if their policy and solutions are not accepted, if their dictate, control and hegemonism are not accepted, then mankind will be threatened by great dangers.

In order to achieve their aggressive aims, as easily as possible, to camouflage the dangers brought about by their rivalry and deals, they are seeking to create the euphoria of a false peace and advertise their hackneyed slogans about the «relaxation of tension», «collaboration and security», «disarmament», etc. By means of these slogans they aim to lull the peoples to sleep, undermine their vigilance and weaken the opposition to the two superpowers. During the year 1975 many meetings and conferences were held, a great deal was said about peace, but what was the result? The Helsinki Conference, the so-called European security conference, was convened with great publicity. Moscow and Washington did their utmost to disguise this Soviet-US conspiracy at the expense of the European peoples, but it was no sooner over than it showed that it was a conference of insecurity in Europe. The Helsinki Conference was a Soviet-US plot from start to finish. It was hatched up by the two superpowers, not out of their concern for the fate of peace and security in Europe, but for their hegemonistic aims, to legalise their spheres of influence and their privileges in various European countries, to compel the participating countries to recognise their right to play the role of arbiter in all the European issues. The question of European security, will be solved only when the European peoples themselves take it firmly into their own hands, when they put an end to spheres of influence on our continent, when the aggressive NATO and Warsaw Treaty military blocs have been finally destroyed, when the US and Soviet foreign troops have disappeared once and for all, from European soil.

The other Soviet or American «initiatives» are of the same nature. The two superpowers miss no opportunity to speak about disarmament, hold secret meetings under this guise, make dozens of proposals on this problem in the UNO and outside it, while, on the other hand they incite the feverish armaments race and continue to produce and test new arms unceasingly. Their military budgets only get bigger. While the US War budget for the past fiscal year was 90 billion dollars, recently the US imperialists approved the new budget of 119 billion dollars. The war budget of the Soviet social imperialists exceeds 100 billion dollars. They speak of relaxation of tension, but in their concrete activity they do the opposite. Their warships carry out manoeuvres on all parts of the globe, while their troops prepare for war, and the American and Soviet generals boast of their new weapons and try to sow fear and submission among the peoples. They pose as the best mediators of peace, but the Arab people are suffering under the heel of the offspring of imperialism – the Israeli Zionists; the Palestinian people are being killed by American bombs dropped from American aircraft piloted by crews supplied by the Soviet Union. They pose as supporters of new states, but in reality they incites splits and interfere, spreading fire and death, as they are doing in Angola. They pose as benefactors willing to offer «aid», but in reality their aims are chains of neocolonialism to plunder the national riches of other countries and peoples. The tension and insecurity reigning in the world today, are their work, the work of US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism.

During the year 1975, through numerous facts and in various countries, the peoples become acquainted with the aggressiveness of the hegemonistic policy of US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, whose aims remain what they have always been, the extension of the spheres of influence, the fight against the peoples seeking freedom and independence, allround support and backing for fascist regimes and all reaction everywhere in the world, as well as the feverish preparations for a new world war. The

events of the past year showed that the two imperialist superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, remain the two most savage and most dangerous enemies of the peoples. The events of the past year also tore the mask off all the theories of the revisionists about the «peaceful coexistence», «class conciliation», «relaxation of tension», etc. The triumphant struggles of various peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America are the best proof of the falsity of the bourgeois-revisionist pacifist theories and taught the peoples that the right road to the realisation of their national aspirations, to be free and independent, can be ensured only through determined and uncompromising struggle against the aggression of the two imperialist superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, and the other colonialist and neocolonialist forces. «The golden age» of the imperialist, social imperialist aggressors and reaction of all hues has come to an end. Today time is working for the peoples, for the revolution, the victory of which is inevitable. The future belongs to socialism, while for imperialism and social imperialism, sinking in the quagmire of the allround crisis and caught in the grip of the struggle of the peoples and the revolutionary forces, certain defeat awaits them.

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THE SPECIAL COMMISSION OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA, HEADED BY THE THE FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PLA COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, ON THE BASIS OF THE GUIDE LINES OF THE 6TH CONGRESS OF THE PLA AND THE 8TH PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PLA, PREPARED THE DRAFT OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF THE PR OF ALBANIA, WHICH WE ARE PUBLISHING IN FULL IN THE PRESENT ISSUE. THIS DRAFT, PUBLISHED IN ALL THE ORGANS OF THE CENTRAL PRESS AS WELL AS IN A SPECIAL PAMPHLET IN TENS OF THOUSANDS OF COPIES, IS NOW BEING BROADLY DISCUSSED BY THE BROAD WORKING MASSES IN ALL PARTS OF THE COUNTRY. AFTER THE REMARKS AND SUGGESTIONS IT WILL BE PRESENTED TO THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY FOR FINAL APPROVAL.

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the thousands of years of their history, the Albanian people have defended their existence as a people and nation in struggle against their external and internal enemies, have fought for national freedom and independence, for their native land and mother tongue, for their livelihood and social justice. After centuries of bondage, they achieved the first victory with the creation of the independent Albanian national state in 1912.

The national democratic and revolutionary movement was given a new impulse and content with the triumph of the great October Socialist Revolution and with the spread of communist ideas, which marked a decisive turning point for the future of all the peoples of the world.

In the grave conditions of fascist and nazi occupation, and betrayed by the ruling classes, the Albanian people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania (today, the Party of Labour), united in the National Liberation Front, rose to their feet, and arms in hand hurled themselves into the greatest war of their history for national and social liberation. In the fire of the war for freedom and on the ruins of the old state power, the new Albanian state of people's democracy emerged.

On November 29, 1944 Albania won genuine independence and the Albanian people took their fate into their own hands. The people's revolution triumphed and a new epoch, the epoch of socialism, opened.

In the conditions of the people's state power, under the leadership of the working class and its Party, great social-economic changes were carried out, which were outlined by the first Constitution of the Albanian socialist state. The domination by foreign capital and plunder of the country's riches was ended. The capitalists and the big landed proprietors were expropriated and the main means of production passed on to the hands of the people. The way was opened for the socialist industrialisation of the country. The Land Reform gave the land to those who till, and the collectivisation of agriculture set the countryside on the road to socialism.

Social ownership over the means of production and the single system of socialist economy, which prevails in town and countryside, replaced the private ownership and the multi-form economy. The exploiting classes and the exploitation of man by man were liquidated. The entire social development proceeds consciously, according to plan, and in the interest of the people.

In socialist Albania, the working class is the leading class of the state and the society. New relations of mutual assistance and cooperation have been established between the two friendly classes of our society, the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, as well as the stratum of the people's intelligentsia. The work readily contributed by free people has become the decisive factor in the flourishing of the socialist homeland, in raising the general and individual wellbeing. Albania overcame its age-old backwardness and has been transformed into a country with advanced industry and agriculture.

The vital forces of the people were freed and their inexhaustible creative energies burst out. The Albanian woman emerged from darkness became a great social force and is advancing towards her complete emancipation. Education and culture have become the property of the broad masses of the people and science and knowledge have been placed at the service of society. The foundations of religious obscurantism were toppled. The moral figure of the working man, his consciousness and world outlook are moulded under the influence of the proletarian ideology, which has become the dominant ideology.

Socialism has shown its absolute superiority over the old exploiting order.

Albania has entered the state of complete construction of socialist society. The great historic changes have created new conditions for the continuous advance of the revolution and socialist construction.

The development of the class struggle in favour of socialism, the continuous strengthening of the state of the dictator-

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ship of the proletariat and the deepening of socialist democracy, the development of the productive forces and the perfecting of socialist relations of production, the steady raising of the wellbeing of the working masses, the gradual narrowing of distinctions between industry and agriculture, town and country, mental and physical labour, the affirmation of the personality of man within socialist collectivity, the mastering of contemporary technology and science, the continuous revolutionisation of the entire life of the country, are the main ways through which socialist society is growing stronger and advancing.

The Albanian people are determined to defend their na-

tional independence, the people's state power and their socialist victories against any enemy. Socialist Albania is always an active factor in the struggle for national social liberation, for peace, freedom and the rights of all the peoples against imperialism, reaction, and revisionism. In its foreign policy it is guided by the great ideals of socialism and communism and fights for their triumph the world over.

The Albanian people have found constant inspiration in the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, under the banner of which, united round the Party of Labour and under its leadership, they are carrying forward the construction of socialist society to pass over, later, gradually to communist society.

PART ONE

FIRST CHAPTER

SOCIAL ORDER

A. Political order

Art. 1

Albania is a People's Socialist Republic.

Art. 2

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which expresses and defends the interests of all the working people.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is based on the unity of the people and it has at its foundation the alliance of the working class with cooperativist peasantry under the leadership of the working class.

Art. 3

The Party of Labour of Albania, the vanguard of the working class, is the sole leading political force of the state and of the society.

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania the dominant ideology is Marxism-Leninism. The entire socialist social order is developed on the basis of its principles.

Art. 4

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania unceasingly develops the revolution by adhering to the class struggle and aims at ensuring the final victory of the socialist road over the capitalist road, at achieving the complete construction of socialism and communism.

Art. 5

All state power in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania derives from and belongs to the working people.

The working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the other working people, exercise their state power through the representative organs as well as directly.

The representative organs are the People's Assembly and the people's councils.

No other body besides the organs expressly defined in this constitution can exercise the sovereignty of the people and any of their attributes in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania or in its name.

Art. 6

All state organs carry out their activity under the direction and control of the representative organs, are responsible to them and render accounts to them.

Art. 7

In all their work, the representative organs and other state organs, rely on the creative initiative of the working people and social organisations, draw them into running the country, and render accounts before the people.

Art. 8

The representative organs are elected by the people through universal suffrage with equal, direct and secret voting.

The electors have the right to recall their representatives at any time when he has lost their political trust, when he does not fulfil the tasks he is charged with, or when he acts in contravention of the laws.

The organisation and procedure of the elections are regulated by special law.

Art. 9

Officials serve the people, participate directly in work in production and are paid salaries in fair ratio with those of the

workers and cooperativists with the aim of preventing the creation of a privileged stratum. The pay ratio is set by law.

Art. 10

The working class, as the leading class of the society, as well as the other working masses, exercise direct and organized control over the activity of state organs, economic and social organisations and their workers, for the purpose of defending the victories of the revolution and strengthening the socialist order.

Art. 11

The political and economic life in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania proceeds by combining the centralized management with the self-action of local organs and with the creative initiative of the working masses, in struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism.

Art. 12

It is the duty of the state organs, enterprises, institutions, organisations, state representatives, and officials in their activity, to respect and carry out the constitution and its laws, which express the will of the working class and the other working masses.

Art. 13

The state cooperates with the social organisations and creates conditions for the development of their activity.

The social organisations unite the masses and broad strata of the people, draw them, in an organized way, into the socialist construction and the running of the country, work for their communist education and take care of their individual problems.

Art. 14

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania, follows the policy of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance with the socialist states on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, supports the revolutionary movement of the working class and the struggle of the people for freedom, independence and social progress.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania stands for peace and good neighbourliness, for relations with all states on the basis of equality, respect for sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs and mutual benefit.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania opposes any form of imperialist aggression, colonial exploitation, tutelage, dictate and hegemony, national oppression and racial discrimination. It upholds the principle of selfdetermination of the peoples, the exercise of full national sovereignty and equality of all countries in international relations.

B. The economic order

Art. 15

The economy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a socialist economy which is based on the socialist ownership of the means of production.

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania there are no exploiting classes, private property and the exploitation of man by man have been liquidated and are forbidden.

Art. 16

The socialist property is the inviolable basis of the socialist order, the source of the wellbeing of the people and of the might of the homeland, it has special protection from the state.

Socialist property in the means of production is comprised

of the state property and the cooperativist property in agriculture.

Art. 17

State property belongs to the whole people and is the highest form of socialist property.

The following are property of the state alone: the land and underground riches, the mines, forests, pastures, waters, natural energy resources, the plants, factories, machine and tractor stations, the state farms, the banks, the roads of communication and means of rail, water, and air transport, post, telegraph, telephone offices, radio and tv stations, cinematography.

Any other wealth created on the basis of state property or which the state gains according to law, is also state property.

Art. 18

Foreign trade, is a state monopoly. Domestic trade is mainly carried out by the state, which controls every activity in this field.

Art. 19

Land is granted free of charge for social use to the economic enterprises and state institutions, to the agricultural cooperatives and social organisations and for the individual use of special citizens.

Farm land may be used for other purposes only with the consent of the respective state organs.

Art. 20

Protection of the land, natural riches, waters and the atmosphere from damage and pollution is a duty of the state, of the economic and social organisations, and of all the citizens.

Art. 21

Cooperativist property belongs to the group of working people of the countryside, voluntarily united in the agricultural cooperative for the purpose of increasing production and wellbeing, for the construction of socialism in the countryside and throughout the country.

Buildings, machines, equipment, means of transport, tools and implements, live-stock for work or production, fruit-trees, agricultural and live-stock products, as well as other means necessary for the activity of the agricultural cooperative, make up its property.

Art. 22

The state supports the promotion and strengthening of the agricultural cooperatives, their transformation into modern economies of largescale socialist production.

Under certain circumstances, the state supports the setting up and development of highest type cooperatives in which it participates directly with investments, especially in the main means of production, becoming co-owner with them.

The transition of the cooperativist property into property of the entire people is done in conformity with the objective conditions, according to the free will of the cooperativists and with the approval of the state.

The state works for the narrowing of the distinctions between town and country.

Art. 23

The personal property of the citizens is recognized and protected by the state.

Personal property are: income from work and other lawful sources, dwelling houses and other objects which serve to meet personal and family material and cultural needs.

The objects belonging to the cooperativist family on the basis of the constitution of the agricultural cooperatives are also personal property.

Personal property cannot be used to the detriment of social interest.

Art. 24

When the general interest requires it, certain fixed assets of the cooperativist or personal property may be converted into state property.

The criteria of conversion and the method of payment are fixed by law.

Art. 25

The state organizes, manages, and develops all the economic and social life by a unified general plan in order to meet the growing material and cultural needs of the society, to strengthen the country's independence and defence, constantly increasing and improving socialist production on the basis of advanced technology.

Art. 26

The development of the economy and the whole construction of socialism in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is based mainly on self-reliance, as well as on the internationalist aid of other socialist countries.

The granting of concessions to, and the creation of foreign economic and financial companies and other institutions or ones formed jointly with bourgeois and revisionist capitalist monopolies and states, as well as obtaining credits from them, are prohibited in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Art. 27

For the administration of means which are property of the whole people, the state creates economic enterprises which conduct their activity guided by the general interests of the society expressed in the state plan.

The enterprises operate on the basis of the principle of covering their expenditure with their incomes and ensuring accumulation for themselves and for society.

The amount of accumulation, its distribution and use is regulated by the state in a centralized manner.

Art. 28

The selling prices of the products of the state enterprises as well as the prices for state purchase of agricultural products are fixed by the state.

Art. 29

Work is the foundation of the entire economic-social life of the country. Work constitutes the main source from which every citizen ensures the means of livelihood.

The state aims at narrowing the differences between mental and physical labour, between work in industry and work in agriculture.

The state takes care of and adopts measures for job protection and the qualification of the working people.

Art. 30

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania the socialist principle «from each according to his ability, to each according to his work» is implemented. Equal pay is guaranteed for equal work.

The use of material stimuli is combined correctly with moral stimuli to encourage work for the maximum results giving priority to moral stimuli.

The fund of social consumption for the fulfilment of the common needs of the citizens is increased continually in accordance with the possibilities created by the development of the country's economy.

The state exercises control over the amount of work and consumption.

Art. 31

The citizens pay no levies or taxes whatsoever.

C. Education, science, culture

Art. 32

The state carries out extensive ideological and cultural activity for the communist education of the working people, for the moulding of the new man.

The state takes special care of the allround development and education of the younger generation in the spirit of socialism and communism.

Art. 33

Education in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania follows the best traditions of the Albanian national secular school.

Education is organized and run by the state, is open to all and free of charge, it is built on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and combines lessons with physical work and physical and military training.

Art. 34

The state organizes and directs the development of science and technology in close connection with life and production, in the service of the progress of society and defence of the homeland.

The state supports the dissemination of scientific knowledge among the masses and drawing them extensively into scientific research activity.

Art. 35

The state protects the cultural heritage of the people and cares for the allround development of the socialist national culture.

The state supports the development of literature and arts according to the method of socialist realism. Literature and art uphold the ideals of socialism and communism and are permeated by the national and people's spirit.

Physical culture and sports are supported by the state.

Art. 36

The state recognizes no religion whatever and supports and develops atheist propaganda for the purpose of implanting the scientific materialist world outlook in people.

CHAPTER II

THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF CITIZENS

Art. 37

Citizens of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania are those who have Albanian citizenship according to the law.

Art. 38

The rights and duties of citizens are built on the basis of the reconciliation of the interests of the individual and the socialist society, giving priority to the general interest.

The rights of the citizens are inseparable from the fulfilment of their duties and cannot be exercised in opposition to the socialist order.

The further extension and deepening of the rights of citizens are closely linked with the socialist development of the country.

Art. 39

All citizens are equal before the law.

No restriction or privilege is recognized on the rights and duties of citizens on account of sex, race, nationality, education, social position, and material situation.

Art. 40

Protection and development of their culture and folk traditions, the use of their mother tongue and teaching of it in school, equal development in all fields of social life are guaranteed for national minorities.

Any national privilege and inequality and any act which violates the right of national minorities is contrary to the constitution and is punishable by law.

Art. 41

Citizens who reach the age of 18 years have the right to elect and to be elected to all the organs of state power. The only persons excluded from electoral rights are those deprived of them by the court and those who are mentally incompetent and declared as such by court.

Art. 42

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania citizens have the right to work, which is guaranteed by the State.

Work is a duty and honour for every able bodied citizens.

Citizens have the right to choose and exercise their profession according to their capacity and personal inclination, and in accordance with the needs of the society.

Art. 43

Citizens enjoy the right of rest after work. The working day and working week and the paid annual holiday are regulated by law.

Rest homes, houses of culture and other centres of this kind are created and are put in service of the working people.

Art. 44

Citizens of town and country are guaranteed the necessary material means of livelihood in old age, in case of illness or loss of ability to work.

The State takes under special care the invalids of the National Liberation War, of the struggle in defence of the homeland and invalids from work, and creates the conditions for their rehabilitation.

The young children of those fallen in defence of the country and the socialist construction are under the care of the State.

Art. 45

The State guarantees to citizens the necessary medical services as well as medical treatment in the health centres of the country free of charge.

Art. 46

The woman, liberated by the people's revolution from political oppression and economic exploitation, takes an active part in the socialist construction of the country and the defence of the homeland.

The woman enjoys equal rights with man in work, pay, holidays, social security, education, in all social-political activity, as well as in family.

Art. 47

Mother and child enjoy special solicitude and protection. A mother is entitled to paid leave prior to and after childbirth. The State opens maternity homes and creches and kindergartens for the children.

Art. 48

Marriage and the family are under the care and protection of the State and society.

Marriage is contracted before competent state organs.

The parents are responsible for the upbringing and communist education of the children.

The children are duty bound to care for parents who are disabled and lack the necessary means of livelihood.

Children born out of wedlock have the same rights and duties as children born within marriage.

The children bereaved of their parents and without support are brought up and educated by the state.

Art. 49

Citizens enjoy the right to personal property.

The right of inheritance is regulated by law.

Art. 50

The State guarantees the freedom of scientific work and artistic creativeness.

Author's rights are protected by law.

Art. 51

Citizens have the right to education.

8-grade education is universal and compulsory. The State aims at raising the level of compulsory education for everybody.

Art. 52

Citizens enjoy the freedom of speech, organization, association, assembly and public manifestation.

The State guarantees the realization of these freedoms, it creates the conditions for them, and puts the necessary material means at their disposal.

Art. 53

The right to join various organizations which operate in the political, economic, cultural as well as in any other fields of the country's life, is guaranteed to the citizens.

Art. 54

The creation of any type of organization of a fascist, anti-democratic religious, and anti-socialist character is prohibited.

Fascist, anti-democratic, religious, warmongering, and anti-socialist activities and propaganda are prohibited as well as the incitement of national and racial hatred.

Art. 55

The State guarantees the inviolability of the person.

Nobody can be arrested without the decision of the court or the approval of the prosecutor. In special cases, the competent organs can detain a person for a maximum of 3 days.

Nobody can be sentenced penally without the verdict of the court or for an act which is not envisaged by the law as a crime.

Nobody can be sentenced without being present at court apart from when it has been legally proved that he is missing.

Nobody can be interned or expelled except in special cases envisaged by the law.

Art. 56

The house is inviolable. No one is permitted to enter another person's house without the approval of the respective person, apart from representatives of the competent state organs and under the conditions defined by law.

Art. 57

The secrecy of correspondence and other means of communication cannot be violated, except in the cases of the investigation of a crime, a state of emergency, or of war.

Art. 58

Citizens enjoy the right to make requests, complaints, remarks and proposals to the competent organs over personal, social, and state affairs.

According to the conditions defined by law, citizens have the right to demand compensation from the State or its officials for the damage caused by the illegal activities of the state organs and its employees in the exercise of their duty.

Art. 59

The citizens are obliged to respect and implement the Constitution and other laws.

The preservation and strengthening of the socialist order and the implementation of the rules of socialist coexistence are a duty for all the citizens.

Art. 60

Citizens have the duty to protect and strengthen socialist property.

Violation of socialist property constitutes a grave crime.

Art. 61

The defence of the socialist homeland is the supreme duty and the greatest honour for all citizens.

Betrayal of the homeland is the most serious crime.

Art. 62

Military service and the constant training for the defence of the socialist homeland are duties for all the citizens.

Art. 63

Albanian citizens abroad enjoy the care and are under the protection of the State.

Art. 64

The right of sanctuary in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania can be granted to foreign citizens who are persecuted on account of their activity in favour of the revolution and socialism, of democracy and national liberation, or the progress of science and culture.

PART TWO

CHAPTER I

THE SUPREME ORGANS OF THE STATE POWER

A. The People's Assembly

Art. 65

The People's Assembly is the supreme organ of State power, the bearer of the sovereignty of the people and the State and the sole law-making organ.

Art. 66

The People's Assembly has the following main competences:
it defines, in conformity with the general line and the orientations of the Party of Labour of Albania, the main directions of the internal and external policies of the State;

it approves and amends the Constitution and the laws, decides on the conformity of the laws with the Constitution, and interprets the laws;

it approves the plan for the economic and cultural development of the country and the state budget;

it proclaims partial and general mobilization, the state of emergency as well as the state of war in case of armed aggression against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, or when this is necessary to fulfil the obligations deriving from international treaties;

it ratifies and denounces international treaties of special importance, as well as those which give rise to changes in the laws in power;

it grants amnesty;

it decides on popular referendums;

it elects, appoints, and dismisses the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers, the Supreme Court, the Attorney General and his deputies. These organs are responsible to the People's Assembly and render account to it;

it defines the administrative territorial units;

it decides on the creation or dissolving of ministries.

Art. 67

The People's Assembly is comprised of 250 deputies who are elected in constituencies with an equal number of inhabitants.

The elections to the People's Assembly are held not later than three months from the day its mandate ends.

The People's Assembly holds its first session not later than two months from the day of its election.

Art. 68

The People's Assembly is elected for a term of 4 years.

In case of war or in similar state of emergency, the People's Assembly may continue its activity beyond the normal term as long as the state of emergency continues.

In special instances, the People's Assembly may decide its dissolution before the completion of the term for which it has been elected.

Art. 69

The People's Assembly elects its Presidential Council which presides over meetings according to the rules.

Art. 70

The People's Assembly meets in normal session twice per year.

The People's Assembly may be summoned in extraordinary session by decision of the Presidium of the People's Assembly or at the request of one third of the deputies.

The meetings of the People's Assembly open when the majority of the deputies are present.

Art. 71

The laws and other acts of the People's Assembly are considered approved when the majority of the deputies present have voted for them.

The laws are proclaimed not later than 15 days after their approval and enter into force 15 days after their proclamation apart from occasions when they themselves envisage otherwise.

Art. 72

At its first meeting the People's Assembly elects a Commission for the examination of the mandates of the deputies. At the proposal of this Commission the People's Assembly confirms or annuls the mandates of the deputies.

Art. 73

The People's Assembly elects from its ranks permanent and temporary commissions comprised of deputies.

The permanent commissions have the duty of observing and controlling the activity of the state organs according to their respective sectors and of presenting problems to the People's Assembly or the Presidium of the People's Assembly. The temporary commissions are created for special questions.

Art. 74

It is the duty of the deputy to the People's Assembly to serve the interests of the people, the cause of the homeland and socialism conscientiously and loyally, to maintain close contact with his electors, and render account to them.

The deputy to the People's Assembly has the right to require explanations from all the State organs and to intervene with them for the precise implementation of the Constitution and laws.

The state organs are obliged to examine the requests and proposals by the deputies and to reply to them within defined regulations.

Art. 75

The deputy to the People's Assembly enjoys immunity.

The deputy cannot be detained, arrested or suffer penal punishment without the approval of the People's Assembly or the Presidium of the People's Assembly, apart from cases in which a grave crime has obviously been committed.

Art. 76

The right to initiate legislation belongs to the Presidium of the People's Assembly, to the Council of Ministers, and the deputies.

B. The Presidium of the People's Assembly

Art. 77

The Presidium of the People's Assembly is a superior organ of the State power with permanent activity.

The Presidium of the People's Assembly is comprised of the president, 3 vice-presidents, the secretary and 10 members.

Art. 78

The Presidium of the People's Assembly is elected from the ranks of the People's Assembly in its first session and it continues its activity till the election of a new Presidium.

Decisions of the Presidium of the People's Assembly are taken on a majority of votes when a majority of its members is present.

Art. 79

The Presidium of the People's Assembly has these main permanent competences:

- it convenes the sessions of the People's Assembly;
- it sets the date of the elections to the People's Assembly and to the people's councils;

- it awards decorations and titles of honour;

- it accords or divests Albanian citizenship and accepts the renunciation of it;

- it exercises the right of pardon;

- it defines the territorial-administrative divisions;

- it enters into, ratifies, and denounces the international treaties within its competences;

- on the proposal of the Council of Ministers it appoints or dismisses diplomatic representatives;

- it accepts the credentials and the letters of recall of the diplomatic representatives of foreign states;

- it proclaims the laws and referendums decided by the People's Assembly.

Art. 80

Between sessions of the People's Assembly, the Presidium of the People's Assembly exercises these competences;

- it controls the implementation of the laws and decisions of the People's Assembly;

- it controls the Council of Ministers, the Supreme Court, the Attorney General and any other state organ, and summons them to report;

- it appoints or dismisses individual ministers on proposal of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, it appoints or dismisses individual members or the Vice-Presidents of the Supreme Court and the deputies of the Attorney General. In each case the decrees for their appointment or dismissal must be approved by the People's Assembly;

- When the convening of the People's Assembly is impossible, it proclaims partial or general mobilization, the state of emergency, as well as the state of war in case of armed aggression against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, or when this is necessary to fulfil the obligations deriving from international treaties;

- it issues decrees of a normative character which it presents for approval to the People's Assembly in its next session;

- it makes interpretations of laws and presents them for approval to the People's Assembly in its next session.

Art. 81

The Presidium of the People's Assembly may disband people's councils, appoint the respective provisional executive committees, as well as decide on the election of a new people's council.

The Presidium of the People's Assembly abrogates the unlawful or irregular acts of the Council of Ministers, of the people's councils and of the executive committees.

CHAPTER II

THE SUPREME ORGANS OF STATE ADMINISTRATION**Art. 82**

The Council of Ministers is the supreme executive and administrative organ.

It comprises the Chairman, the Vice-Chairmen and the Ministers.

The Ministers are appointed, as a rule, from among the deputies to the People's Assembly.

Art. 83

The Council of Ministers is appointed by the first session of the People's Assembly.

The decisions of the Council of Ministers are taken on the majority of votes, when the majority of its members is present.

Art. 84

The Council of Ministers has the following main competences:

it directs the activity for the realization of the internal and external policies of the State,

it promulgates decisions and ordinances on the basis of the Constitution and the laws and for their implementation;

it directs and controls the activity of the ministries, other central organs of state administration, and the executive committees of the people's councils, and defines their internal organization;

it works out the draft plan for the economic and cultural development of the country, the state draft-budget, it organizes and controls their implementation, it directs and organizes the monetary and financial system of the State;

it directs the activity for the fulfilment of duties in the field of the defence of the country, in conformity with the decisions of the Defence Council;

it takes measures for the security, protection, and strengthening of the socialist juridical order and the rights of citizens;

it enters into, approves and denounces, treaties or other international agreements within its competences.

Art. 85

The Council of Ministers abrogates the unlawful or irregular acts of the ministers and other central organs of the State

administration and of executive committees of the People's Councils.

The Council of Ministers suspends the implementation of unlawful or irregular decisions of the people's councils and presents the question of their abrogation to the higher people's council, or to the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

Art. 86

The Presidium of the Council of Ministers comprises the Chairman and the Vice-Chairmen of the Council of Ministers.

The Presidium of the Council of Ministers supervises, controls and takes decisions on the implementation of the duties allocated by the Council of Ministers.

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers represents the Council of Ministers, presides over the meetings and directs its activity.

Art. 87

The ministries are central organs of the State administration, specialized in particular branches of activity, which are directed by members of the Council of Ministers.

Art. 88

The ministers are responsible for the activity of their respective ministries and of the Council of Ministers, they help, control the organs, enterprises, institutions and organizations dependent on them.

On matters within their competences, the ministers issue orders and instructions according to the laws, ordinances and decisions of the Council of Ministers, and for their implementation.

Art. 89

The ministers abrogate the unlawful or irregular ordinances and orientations by the organs, enterprises or institutions dependent on them and suspend the application of the unlawful or irregular decisions of the executive committees of the people's councils, which have to do with their respective spheres of activity, presenting the question of their abrogation to the Council of Ministers.

CHAPTER III

THE DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY AND THE ARMED FORCES**Art. 90**

The State safeguards the victories of the people's revolution and the socialist construction, defends the freedom, national independence and territorial integrity of the country.

The territory of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is inalienable and its borders are inviolable.

Art. 91

The defence of the homeland and of the victories of socialism are ensured by the armed people, organized in the armed forces, which comprise the People's Army, the forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Voluntary Forces of People's Self-defence.

The People's Army, as the main force defending the homeland, is the army of the people and serves the people.

The armed forces are led by the Party of Labour of Albania.

Art. 92

The Defence Council is created to direct, organize and mobilize all the forces and resources of the country in defence of the homeland.

The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania is the Commander-in-chief of the armed forces and Chairman of the Defence Council.

The composition of the Defence Council is defined by the Presidium of the People's Assembly on the proposal of the Chairman of the Defence Council.

Art. 93

No one has the right to sign or accept, in the name of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the capitulation or occupation of the country. Such an act is condemned as treason to the country.

Art. 94

The stationing of foreign military bases and troops in the territory of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is prohibited.

CHAPTER IV

THE LOCAL ORGANS OF THE STATE POWER AND STATE ADMINISTRATION

Art. 95

The people's councils are organs of the state power, which carry out the governing of the country in the territorial administrative units, with the broad participation of the working masses.

The people's councils direct the entire social life in the political, economic, social-cultural fields, as well as the defence of the country and the protection of the socialist juridical order reconciling the local interests with the general state interests.

The people's councils are elected for a term of three years.

Art. 96

The people's council adopts the plan and the local budget, from its members it elects the executive committee and the commissions of the council and may discharge them, it directs, helps and controls the activity of the people's councils at lower levels. It issues ordinances and decisions within its competences.

Art. 97

The meetings of the people's council open when the majority of its members is present.

The decisions of the People's Council are taken on the majority of the members present.

Art. 98

A higher people's council may dissolve a lower level people's council, appoints the provisional executive committee and decides on the elections for a new people's council.

A higher people's council may dismiss the executive committee of a lower level people's council and order a new election.

Art. 99

The people's council abrogates the unlawful or irregular acts of its executive committee, of the lower level people's council and the respective executive committee.

Art. 100

It is the duty of the members of the people's council to serve the people conscientiously and loyally, to maintain close ties with the electors and render account to them. They have the right to control the state organs, enterprises, institutions and agricultural cooperatives and demand from them the precise implementation of the socialist law.

Art. 105

The people's courts are the organs which administer justice. The courts protect the socialist juridical order, fight for prevention of crimes, educate the masses of working people to

The respective state organs are obliged to examine the remarks of the members of the people's councils and take the necessary measures.

The members of the people's councils enjoy immunity within the territorial unit under the administration of the people's council. They cannot be detained, arrested or subjected to penal prosecution without the consent of the people's council or the executive committee, except in cases when a grave crime has obviously been committed.

Art. 101

The executive committee is the executive and administrative organ of the people's council.

The executive committee continues its activity even after expiration of the mandate of the people's council which has elected it, until the first meeting of the new People's Council.

Art. 102

Between sessions of the people's council, the executive committee exercises the rights and duties of the people's council, with the exception of those which by law come within the competence of the people's council alone.

The executive committee renders account to the people's council about its activity, presents its most important decisions for approval and reports on the implementation of decisions of the people's council.

Art. 103

The executive committee of the people's council is dependent on the people's council which has elected it and the next higher administrative and executive organ.

The executive committee of a higher people's council abrogates the unlawful and irregular acts of a lower level executive committee and suspends those of the lower level people's council, presenting the question of their abrogation to the competent people's council.

Art. 104

The specialized organs created under the executive committees are dependent on the people's council, its executive committees, and the higher organs of the state administration, they render accounts to them and to the masses of working people.

CHAPTER V

THE PEOPLE'S COURTS

respect and implement socialist law, relying on their active participation.

At the head of the organs of justice is the Supreme Court.

which directs and controls the activity of the courts. The people's courts are elected by the people, according to the method defined by law.

Court organization and trial procedure are defined by law.

Art. 106

The courts judge penal and civil cases and other cases which are within their competence according to the law.

The trial takes place with the participation of assistant judges and in public sittings, with the exception of cases when it has been decided otherwise by law.

During the trial the Albanian language is used. Persons who do not know Albanian may use their own language and speak through an interpreter.

The accused enjoys the right of defence.

Art. 107

The court is independent in its judgment of a case, it takes its decision on the basis of the law alone, and it pronounces its verdict in the name of the people.

The verdict may be annulled or amended only by the competent higher court.

CHAPTER VI

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE

Art. 108

The duty of the Attorney General's Office is to control the precise and uniform implementation of the laws by the ministries and other central and local organs, by the courts, the organs of investigation, enterprises, institutions, organizations, officials and citizens.

The Attorney General has the right to protest against every illegal act and to demand from the respective organs its abrogation or amendment. The request of the Attorney General must be discussed within the period defined by law, otherwise the implementation of the act is suspended.

Art. 109

The Attorney General puts before the People's Assembly and before the Presidium of the People's Assembly cases in which the laws and decrees are not in conformity with the Constitution and it also puts before the Council of Ministers cases in which its decisions and instructions do not conform with the law.

Art. 110

State attorneys are appointed by the Attorney General and directly depend on him.

PART THREE

CHAPTER I

THE EMBLEM, THE FLAG, THE CAPITAL CITY

Art. 111

The emblem of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania bears a black, double-headed eagle, encircled by two sheaves of wheat with a five pointed red star at the top and which are tied at the bottom with a ribbon, on which the date «24th May 1944» is inscribed.

Art. 112

The state flag of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

presents a red background with a black double-headed eagle in the middle, above which there is a five pointed red star, outlined in gold. The ratio between the width and the length of the flag is 1 x 1.4 metres.

Art. 113

The capital of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is Tirana.

CHAPTER II

FINAL DISPOSITION

Art. 114

The Constitution is the supreme law of the state.

All activity for the creation of juridical norms is conducted on the basis of the Constitution and in complete conformity with it.

Art. 115

Amendments or additions to the Constitution can be made only by decision of the People's Assembly.

Proposals for amendments or additions to the Constitution can be presented by the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers, or by two fifths of the deputies.

Proposals for amendments or additions in the Constitution are accepted by a majority of two thirds of all the deputies.

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STALIN WAS A GREAT MARXIST-LENINIST

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

The stand towards Stalin has been and still is a question of fundamental principle, a very clear-cut political and ideological line. Both now and in the future, this remains one of the main lines of demarcation dividing the genuine Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries from the revisionists of every hue, dividing the progressive forces from the reactionary forces.

Year after year, the imperialists, the fascist, and the revisionists have invented all sorts of slanders about the figure and work of Stalin, in the hope that they will be able to revise history and make mankind forget the truth. But the place Stalin occupies in history is so lofty and unassailable that the bourgeois-revisionist scum are quite unable to sully him.

The figure of Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin is that of a great revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist. Stalin is the faithful pupil and successor who carried onward and further developed the thought and work of Lenin. Together with Lenin, he laid the foundations for and built the first socialist state in the world. For thirty years on end, Stalin successfully led the communist party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet proletarian state in the great battles of socialist construction according to Lenin's teaching

and the Leninist norms. Stalin was the glorious leader of the Soviet people and the Soviet army in the great patriotic war which led to the destruction of German fascism and which made that priceless contribution to the liberation of the peoples of Europe and the world. Under the leadership of Stalin, within a short period and without the material aid of anybody else, the Soviet people healed the wounds of the war, reconstructed the economy and created the necessary basis for the further development of industry, science, etc.

As a principled and consistent revolutionary and internationalist, Stalin worked for the promotion and strengthening of the international communist and liberation movements, both in the time of the Comintern and afterwards. After World War Two it was he who inspired the creation of the Information Bureau, which, as long as it existed, acted with wisdom for the exchange of experience among the sister communist and workers parties on a revolutionary internationalist basis. Time has completely confirmed the correct decisions it adopted. The Party of Labour of Albania has frequently spoken out and has always heartily defended Stalin and his work from the attacks and slanders of Khrushchov, the Khrushchovites and all the anti-

communists. It is proud of having done this. It will rise again and speak out forcefully against the reactionary bourgeoisie and the revisionists who attack Stalin in order to fight the revolution and the ideas of communism.

There are people and revisionist parties that, whenever they are faced with internal difficulties or want to gain capital in the eyes of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, reactivate the old bankrupt propaganda arsenal and begin to slander Stalin. It has already been proved that the anti-Stalin campaign of these parties has been associated with or has been a consequence of their further opportunist degeneration, of the growth of the chauvinist spirit and of efforts to interfere in the domestic affairs of others. In order to defend their bankrupt cause, a number of individuals of this sort label their personal enemies, or rivals for power, saboteurs and spies in the pay of the Soviet social-imperialists or of the U.S. imperialists as «Stalinists – supporters of the Information Bureau». But this is a false appellation because nowadays even children know that the saboteurs and spies, the imperialists or the social imperialists have nothing in common either with Stalin or with the Information Bureau. But even the fanciest patches can't make tattered

clothing new, any more than sickness can be cured with a magic wand.

In order to cover up the failures, in their national policy, which is a typically bourgeois nationalists policy, these same individual and revisionist parties even reach the point of labelling some nationality with all sorts of epithets, accusing them of «irridentism», «Stalinist» dogmatism, and so on. However means of such falsehoods and insinuations they will not be able to cover up the injustices that exist or extinguish people's pure and legitimate national feelings, nor will they have the slightest effect on those coun-

tries to which the modern revisionists seek to make allusions and to damage the friendship between peoples.

Stalin was a great marxist theoretician on the national question. If the revisionists have forgotten this, let them read Lenin properly and see how highly he appraised the great theoretical and practical importance of Stalin's work on the national question, let them recall the struggle waged by Lenin in defence of Stalin's theses against the attacks of the deviators and other enemies of the revolution. («On the National Programme of R.S.D.L.P», Lenin, Works, vol. 19). In writ-

ing about these questions in defence of Stalin, our desire is that the matter will be kept on the ideological plane. However if the scribblers and the defenders of anti-Marxist theses on the national question aim at persecuting the national minorities, they may be sure that the Party of Labour of Albania, on a Marxist-Leninist way, will defend any people and national minority which is oppressed and persecuted by any one at all. This is a revolutionary obligation and an internationalist duty from which no people and no party fighting for socialism and the liberation of the peoples can turn away.

THE PEOPLES OF NORTHERN EUROPE FOLLOW WITH VIGILANCE THE AGGRESSIVE AND EXPANSIONIST PLANS OF THE TWO IMPERIALIST SUPERPOWERS

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

In the context of their hegemonistic and aggressive plans on the European continent an intensification of the military presence of the two superpowers – US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, has become apparent in recent years in the area of Northern Europe.

Impelled by their imperialist nature, the two superpowers are in fierce, allround rivalry,

and are speeding up their expansionist plans in the northern part of Europe, too.

It is not difficult to understand the aim of the intensification of the Soviet-US rivalry in this area, if its major strategic importance is borne in mind.

Between the British islands and continental Europe lies the North Sea, which is an important route to the Baltic, and

which ensures entry to Barents Sea through the Sea of Norway.

On the other hand, the countries of Northern Europe have discovered in their off shore waters great natural gas and oil resources which are estimated to comprise 13 per cent of those of the world. The oil deposits in the area of Northern Sea are estimated to reach about 2,950,000 000 tons. Being

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aware of the major strategic importance of the oil and gas fields of this area, the US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists are greedy to get the oil in their hands by establishing their military control over it. Without doubt, the establishment of military control by the superpowers means fierce rivalry which is associated with the increase of the presence of their naval and air forces, with the increase of their armed troops in the military bases of this area, «justifying» this under the pretext of the «balance of power».

The US imperialists have reinforced their military bases in some countries of the aggressive NATO bloc and have intensified their ground, naval and amphibious manoeuvres in Denmark, in the northern and central parts of the Federal Republic of Germany, in the Eastern Atlantic, the Sea of Norway and in the vicinity of Britain. Aircraft-carriers, cruisers and destroyers, submarines and military aircraft have been en-

gaged in these manoeuvres. The carrying out of NATO manoeuvres in the Eastern Atlantic and the Sea of Norway immediately after those in the eastern and southern areas of the Mediterranean, is clear proof of the aggressive and expansionist aims and the warmongering character of this aggressive bloc which is directed and manipulated by US imperialism.

In fierce rivalry with the US imperialists, and likewise aiming at expansion in and then military control over the area of Northern Europe, the Soviet social imperialists, through the aggressive Warsaw Treaty (a military machine in the hands of the Moscow revisionists), have carried out continual military exercises in the territorial waters of Sweden, near to the borders of Norway, and in the territorial waters of Denmark, and have carried out missile launching tests in the Barents Sea. The Soviet social imperialists have turned the Kola peninsula, which

borders on Northern Norway, into a powerful naval base. The warships, submarines, and aircraft of their northern and Baltic fleets are engaged in increasing brandishing of arms in this area. Their hegemonistic aims cannot fail to lead to the increase of the contradictions between these two aggressive powers themselves, on the one hand, and between them and the peoples, on the other hand. The peoples of Europe are becoming more and more aware of the dangers with which the fierce rivalry between Washington and Moscow in their area is fraught. Therefore, to avoid falling prey to the predatory aims of the US imperialists and Soviet social imperialists, they have raised their voice and condemn the aggressive policies of the two superpowers, demanding the dismantling of foreign military bases on their territories, as well as the withdrawal of the aggressive US and Soviet fleets which are prowling the waters off the coasts of their countries.



THE AGGRESSIVE ACTIVITY OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS REFUTES THE PROPAGANDA ABOUT THE RELAXATION OF TENSION IN EUROPE

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

All the imperialist-revisionist demagogic propaganda clamour for years on end has accom-

panied the meetings of the leaders of the USA and the Soviet Union, the conferences

at various levels arranged by them, the agreements, the treaties concluded as a result of

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numerous bargainings at the expense of the peoples, is permeated with the same worn out theme which is aimed at creating the false belief that it is all in the interests of the relaxation of tension in various regions and throughout the world. As far as Europe is concerned, it was particularly active on the eve of and after the Helsinki conference about the so-called «European security». According to the Soviet social-imperialists, this conference confirmed «a determination which makes the relaxation of tension in Europe unrestrainable», and had as its mission «the opening of a new page, of an epoch of peace in European history», etc.

The facts, however, show the opposite. There is no security in Europe, primarily because the two superpowers, implementing their strategy for world hegemony, maintain here, in the framework of the aggressive blocs, NATO and Warsaw Treaty which they control, almost 2 million soldiers, thousands of tanks and aircraft, missile bases, etc. The chiefs of US imperialism have made repeated declarations about the strengthening of the American units on the European continent.

The rivalry of the two superpowers for hegemony has also extended to Northern Europe. The Sea of Norway, the North Sea, the Baltic and Barents Seas, as well as the North At-

antic, all this sea space, is one of the fields in which their predatory interests clash. Both US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism are interested in the large oil reserves which have been discovered off the Norwegian coast. They are aiming to place the strategic ocean traffic routes in this area under their control. The abundant wealth of fish also attracts the greed of the two superpowers. These are the reasons for which both US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism are pursuing identical gunboat policies in regard to the countries of this area, making a show of their strength. Thus, part of the US fleet has long been stationed in these waters. The piratical Soviet war ships too, have continually extended the sphere of their activity and manoeuvres from the Sea of Norway and the Baltic into the Atlantic. The two largest fleets, the North Atlantic and the Baltic fleets, with more than 10 army divisions and about 1,000 aircraft, have been concentrated in this area with the same objectives. They aim at the realisation of the joint strategy of world hegemony.

In the southern part of the European continent too, in the Mediterranean, to realise their expansionist objectives, the two superpowers, contending for hegemony, are striving to fish in troubled waters, to exploit the difficult situations in order to

revive old enmities, to create such conditions as would allow their expansion or justify their interference in this area. The Cyprus tragedy emerged on the background of the Soviet-US rivalry, of the atmosphere of intrigues and conspiracies which the two superpowers, separately and jointly, concoct against the peoples.

The demagogic slogans of the two superpowers about «relaxation of tension», «collaboration and security» in Europe, are aimed at concealing from the peoples the dangers which their rivalry and deals over expansion and hegemony bring about, at spreading the spirit of demobilisation and slackening vigilance, weakening and eliminating the opposition of the peoples to imperialism and social imperialism.

The European peoples, witnesses and victims of two world wars which have started on our continent, must not forget the lessons of history and allow themselves to be deceived today by demagogic slogans and deceptive situations.

By taking the cause of peace and security in Europe into their own hands and making it their own, by fighting through to the end against the two superpowers, the peoples of Europe will bring about the elimination of tension and the situation of pressure and blackmail imposed on the continent by the two superpowers.

press review**THE STRUGGLE OF THE BROAD PEASANT MASSES
IN LATIN AMERICA IS ON THE UPSURGE***«ZËRI I POPULLIT»*

The peasant struggle in Latin America became more and more extensive and thoroughgoing during the past year. Armed actions, the occupation of the estates and lands of the great landowners, the clashes with the police forces, the demonstrations of protest, etc., are a component part of daily political life, in these countries, an expression of the determined opposition to the reactionary policy of the dictatorial regimes and local oligarchies. They reflect the forming of political consciousness and ever better understanding that the road to salvation from slavery, from the clutches of the exploiting feudal and capitalist order, runs through the revolutionary struggle against the capitalist bosses and forces of reaction. It is clear to the Latin America peasant that the so-called land reforms have served only to deceive them, to turn them from their resolute struggle and keep them in slavery. In fact, although for more than one century promises have been made about carrying out the land reform, even today the lands are concentrated in the hands of a handful of feudals and great estate owners.

In Brazil, for instance, big estate owners own almost 80 per cent of the entire land area, in Venezuela land barons own 78,7 per cent of the entire area of the cultivated land, while in Chile 2 per cent of the landowners own 87 per cent of the land. It is even worse in Paraguay where 93,82 per cent of the area of the arable land is owned by a tiny handful of local and foreign landlords. Such a situation exists almost everywhere in Latin America. The ownership of the best and most fertile lands by capitalists and landlords, the application of the most savage methods of exploitation, high taxes and rents, etc., have impoverished millions of people, and deepened the class differentiation. The Latin America countryside is a mirror of the profound backwardness. The exploitation and oppression, famine and disease, emigration and lack of medical assistance, the high death-rate among children and illiteracy, are clearly reflected there. The tales of oligarchy and imperialism about the realisation of the «green revolution» have not only failed to find any application in practice, but are used to increase the profits of

foreign owners and local landlords through all sorts of neo-colonialist methods. Eighty-five per cent of the Haitian peasants are in conditions of permanent hunger and lack of food. In Colombia more than 40.000 children die every year, the majority from starvation. Peasants in Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Guatemala, and elsewhere, are living in extremely difficult conditions. In these countries medical assistance is just an unrealisable dream for the peasant. There are countries like Haiti where there is one doctor for every 15.000 people.

The Latin American peasantry are fighting to liberate themselves from the domination of capitalist monopolies, to throw off the age-old bondage of Yankee imperialism. In Paraguay and Guatemala, in the Dominican Republic and elsewhere, many strikes and demonstrations took place during the past year against the exploitation of the inhabitants of the countryside by the American «United Fruit» Company, as well as against the building of strategic aerodromes or US military bases in these countries. On the other hand, the struggle of the peasants is

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being waged for democratic rights, against reactionary laws, such as the one on «social security» in Bolivia, the Nr. 5 constitutional law in Brazil, the law Nr. 064 in Ecuador, etc., which prohibit any kind of opposition by the masses and compel them to submit to the domination of the capitalist and the landowner.

Despite its growth, the peasant movement in Latin America is also suffering the grave consequences of the traitorous activity of the modern revisionists, who are seeking to deceive the masses, as they are doing with the

labour movement, to make them await their liberation as a gift of social evolution, of the «economic revolution» which is allegedly occurring in these countries. The revisionists have become mouth pieces for the reactionary bourgeois theories of the «economic miracle», «economic stability», «social regeneration», «social harmony», or «loyalty towards the constitution and laws», etc., etc. Their aim is clear: to mislead the masses, divert them from their struggle and keep them in eternal bondage.

But, in spite of the efforts of

the revisionists, in spite of the terror and violence of dictatorship, the struggle of the Latin American peasantry is advancing, thereby affirming that it will achieve its liberation with resolute struggle to gain the land, freedom, and bread. The peasantry has linked its struggle closely with the movement of the working masses of the city, with the leadership of the working class and the Marxist-Leninist parties, which are coming out more and more as the main leading revolutionary force of the liberation of the broad working masses.

■

THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND ARE FIGHTING FOR THEIR JUST CAUSE

«BASHKIMI».

Despite the repressive measures of the British occupation forces and the terrorist acts of home reaction against the inhabitants of the poor quarters, the course of events in Northern Ireland shows that the people of Northern Ireland and their patriotic forces are determined to carry their struggle through to the final victory. The many protest demonstrations, the continual bold actions of the patriots against the British soldiers and local traitors, testify to this.

In Belfast, Newry, Derry, and other cities, not a day passes without the explosion of bombs, the burning of a military lorry, the destruction of a building or premises frequented by the occupiers. The number of attacks on the British soldiers and local reactionaries is increasing. The British bourgeois press itself has admitted that the number of British troops killed in the fight against the patriots during these recent months amounts to several hundred and that the material damage is heavy. During

the first six months of the past year the Northern Ireland patriots undertook more than 200 actions against the British colonialist forces.

These courageous actions are proof of the increase of the hatred and resistance of the people of Northern Ireland for the British occupiers. The determination among them to drive out the British occupiers and win freedom is very clear. These bold actions have given the struggle of the patriots of Northern Ireland a national libera-

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tion character for freedom and independence. The religious disguise, with which the British colonialists have sought for years to cover the events in Northern Ireland, has now been torn to pieces. The explosive situation in this country is a result of the outburst of the indignation of a people who have suffered for years on end, a consequence of the extreme sharpening of the contradiction between the people and the colonialists, between the local working masses and the Irish-British exploiting oligarchy.

This is why the struggle of the people of Northern Ireland has flared up more powerfully than ever. And in this struggle the patriotic forces of the country are increasing day by day on a broader basis, rejecting the backstage deals, the religious

discrimination and divisions imposed by the foreign occupiers.

Faced with this situation, the British colonialists are using both violence and demagogy, in their efforts to put down the struggle and revolt of the patriots and popular masses of Northern Ireland. The propaganda from London continues to clamour about the so-called «political solution». Secret talks are taking place between the British government chiefs and their lackeys about drawing up a new constitution, which is nothing but a farce to perpetuate the occupation by the colonialists. The British clergy, too, have engaged themselves on a large scale. Many clergymen, zealous servants of the British big bourgeoisie, including the head of the Church of England, Archbishop Donald Coggan, have undertaken

trips to Belfast. Coggan, indeed, stayed six days in Northern Ireland and held a series of talks with the local clergy with a view to increasing their activity to convince the people about the so-called «political solution».

The fact is that while they speak about a «political solution» the British rulers are intensifying their violence and terror against the people of Northern Ireland.

These actions do nothing but further increase the determination of the people of Northern Ireland in their struggle and show them that the British colonialists will not withdraw voluntarily from the country but will exert every effort, using the local reaction for this purpose, to preserve their occupation and economic and political interests in Northern Ireland.

■

EFFORTS TO DIVERT THE STRUGGLE OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES INTO COMPROMISES AND BARGAININGS

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The great gulf between the level of economic development of the developing countries and that of the industrialised countries has become steadily deeper.

In fact, while the developing countries are inhabited by nearly

70 per cent of the national population of the world, these countries realise only 30 per cent of the national income of the world. This is seen also in the decline of their specific weight in industrial pro-

duction and the volume of world trade. According to UNO data, in 1960 these countries accounted for the 21,3 per cent of world trade, while in 1970 this figure dropped to 17,6 per cent. Also according to UNO statistics, in

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the developing countries about 1 billion people suffer from insufficient food and as many people are illiterate. Through the lever of unequal prices alone, the two superpowers and the other imperialist powers, from 1961 to 1972, robbed the developing countries of a total of about 100 billion dollars. During the years 1971-1972 alone, they robbed them of a sum of about 24 billion dollars. According to the data of the International Monetary Fund, last year the developing countries paid 23 billion dollars more for the goods imported from the industrialised countries as a result of the rise in prices.

During this year alone, under the pressure of the imperialist powers, and particularly of the two superpowers, prices on the international market have moved to the detriment of the developing countries which supply raw materials. Thus, for example, the price of copper in London dropped from 1268 to 561 pounds per ton, the price of the Philippine copra dropped from 700 dollars per ton to 287 dollars, the price of palm oil from African countries fell from 1456 dollars to 544 dollars per ton, etc. There were also appreciable reductions in prices for dates, natural rubber, cotton, wool, cocoa, coffee, sugar, etc., while the index of prices of industrial articles exported to developing countries rose to 193 in the year

1973, and to 230 in the year 1974, taking the year 1950 as 100.

At the 7th special session of the UN General Assembly, representatives of developing countries condemned this predatory activity of the imperialist, colonialist, and neocolonialist powers. They pointed out forcefully that the industrialised countries continue to draw great profits to the detriment of the countries producing raw materials, and they exposed the discriminatory trade system, unequal exchanges, the many tariff and customs barriers, the policy of closed markets, etc. They declared that their countries are implementing determined measures to exercise their national sovereignty over the natural resources and riches of their countries, striking at the interference of foreign capital, such measures as putting under their control and nationalising foreign monopoly companies, placing natural resources at the service of the national economy through the creation of national enterprises of production, processing, transport and trading in the products of the mining industry etc. Acting with initiative in defence of their national interests against imperialist plunder, the developing countries have several times raised the prices of their raw materials, particularly of fuel, to bring them into comparable relationship with the

international prices for imports of industrial products. On the example of the organisation of the OPEC countries, some collective organisms of economic cooperation have been created for the production and trading of coffee, sugar, bananas, aluminium, etc. By such collective measures the developing countries aim at defending themselves from the economic aggression of the imperialist powers, and at coping with the competition of the foreign monopolies and monopoly companies.

The imperialist powers, and in the first place US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, are striving in every way to undermine the struggle of the developing countries and divert it into a process of «understanding», and bilateral or multilateral international compromises and deals. As a rule, they have used and continue to use all-round pressure, up to open threats, towards the developing countries, to make them renounce their just struggle and lawful demands. And when pressure and threats do not work, then sophisticated demagoguery appears on the stage, or the espionage services are set in motion, etc.

The struggle against the hegemonistic policy of the two superpowers, against colonialism and neocolonialism, is a just struggle. The results achieved so far have increased the confidence of the peoples of the

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developing countries in their possibilities and capacities to score new, still greater victories in the future. Of course, a long road of struggle and efforts still lies ahead of these peoples. A series of important battles on national and international level

have been won, but there still remain many other battles until the final victory is attained. The basis to achieve this victory is the further and continuous strengthening of the solidarity and unity among the peoples of developing countries, the unyield-

ing stand against any pressure and threat, while, at the same time, guarding against the traps into which the imperialist powers, and in the first place the two superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, want to draw them.

■

FEVERISH PREPARATIONS FOR WAR BY THE TWO IMPERIALIST SUPERPOWERS

«LUFTËTARI», organ of the Ministry of Defence of the PRA

Every passing year bring further increases in the military budgets of the two superpowers. Thus, while some years ago the American war budget was about 80 billion, during these last three years alone it has had an increase of 27 billion dollars. Recently it was announced that the House of Representatives of the Congress approved a military budget for the fiscal year 1976-77 of 112 billion dollars, a record figure, unprecedented in the history of the USA. For its part, the Pentagon expects this figure to reach 120 billion dollars. The same thing is occurring with the Soviet social imperialists. While the Soviet military expenditure was about 50 billion dollars, in 1963, last year the Soviet social imperialists allocated for war preparations a military budget

amounting to 117 billion dollars. Thus, both the one and the other superpowers, are tearing ahead with feverish preparations for new wars, for which the US and Soviet sides are equally to blame.

The new military budgets of the two superpowers clearly speak of their very dangerous aggressive nature. This clearly proves that the imperialist states can never change their nature, despite the claims of the modern revisionists. Armament and war are permanent fellow travellers of imperialism or social imperialism, and a condition of their existence, emanating from the very character of their economic order and their aggressive policy. Therefore, all the fuss the two superpowers are making about their alleged steps to-

wards «peace», «disarmament», or «security», is nothing but shameless demagogy. They have a great deal to say about «disarmament and security», indeed in recent times the Soviet social imperialists have invented still another «new proposal» to feed to the 30th session of the UN General Assembly, which is called the «international treaty on the complete and total prohibition of nuclear weapons test», but in fact they are doing the opposite, perfecting their nuclear and non-nuclear weapons, increasing their military budgets, etc.

The only thing the superpowers are concerned with is the extension of their domination over the free countries and peoples and continuation of their preparations for war. For this

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reason, they are maintaining the two most savagely aggressive military blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty which are the pillars of their imperialist domination in Europe and weapons of aggression and war in the hands of Washington and Moscow. Therefore, they devote special attention to the strengthening of these blocs, they are incessantly arming and preparing them.

Parallel with the strengthening of their military potential and that of the aggressive military blocs, for their purpose of preparations for war, the two imperialist superpowers are devoting attention to the training of their soldiers, separately, or in the framework of their military alliances, in order to prepare and perfect them for new conquests. Particularly last summer, Europe was filled as never

before with the smell of gunpowder. The military exercises of NATO, and the Warsaw Treaty on this continent, as well as those in the Mediterranean or over the oceans, have been very frequent, of all kinds and on a large scale. Scarcely had the complex NATO manoeuvres finished in the Mediterranean, than others were beginning on the continent, and parallel with them, the eastern aggressive bloc has carried out numerous exercises on the territories of the Soviet dominions. Common to all of them is their offensive character, the carrying out of landings, the movement of troops on land, or by air from one region to another and parachute landings. These manoeuvres, like the others, once more show that they do not serve «defensive» aims, as their organisers declare, but are preparations for

new aggressions and wars against the peoples.

The present situation in the world shows that the two superpowers are stepping up their war preparations. The bilateral or multilateral conference and talks they keep open in Vienna, Geneva, Helsinki, or anywhere else, directly serve the realisation of their dark plans, because they are intended to deceive the peoples and lull them to sleep. Therefore the peoples, who are becoming more and more aware of the dangerous aggressive nature of the two superpowers and their allies, are drawing new lessons day by day. They are enhancing their vigilance and condemning the war preparations of the two superpowers and their aggressive blocs, which are preparing to drive the world into a new slaughter, if they are left free to act.

■

THE GAP BETWEEN THE RICH AND THE POOR IS BECOMING EVER WIDER

«BASHKIMI»

The bourgeois propaganda is making a great fuss about the so-called society of «wellbeing for everybody». But the actual situation in capitalist society, the intensification of capitalist ex-

ploitation and the worsening of the situation of the working people, show that capitalism is the order of poverty and misery for the majority of the population, and of profits and un-

limited luxury for a handful of capitalists.

In the USA, the wealthy, who constitute 4,4 per cent of the population, own over 60 per cent of the shares, and have at their

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disposal over one-third of all the money in circulation and one-fourth of the fixed assets, while 60 per cent of the rank and file Americans have only 7 per cent of the wealth. And in spite of the heavy crisis which has gripped the capitalist world, the profits of these monopolists continue to grow to ever greater dimensions. Thus, according to the American press itself, during the first quarter of the past year, the «General Dynamics Corporation», recorded an increase of 88 per cent in its net profits. On the other hand, the monopoly company, «International Telegraph and Telephone», reported that, in comparison with the first quarter of the year 1974, the profits of this company increased by 106.6 million dollars. Here is another very significant fact: from every hour's work by one of its workers the multimillionaire Ford family draws 2 dollars clear profit. There are 200,000 people employed in the Ford plants; thus the profits which are drawn can easily be calculated!

The same thing is apparent in the other capitalist countries, too. In the Federal Republic of Germany 1,7 per cent of the wealthy families own 74 per cent of the means of production. In Britain the 200 wealthiest families own 60 per cent of the means of production.

Of course, the concentration of wealth at one pole, means the

concentration of poverty at the other pole. In the developed capitalist countries we see that along with the worsening of the situation of the working class and the broad working masses, the strata affected by poverty are widened. In the USA there are 25,5 million people officially recognised as poor. At a time when these 25,5 million Americans have a living standard below the official poverty line, the wealthy families in the USA amuse themselves by keeping 248 million pet dogs, spending 17 billion dollars a year for their feeding and care! In Britain, according to the newspaper «Guardian», 11 million people, or 20 per cent of the population, are living in poverty. There is marked poverty also in France, Italy, Spain, etc.

Here is what the newspaper «Frankfurter Rundschau» says about the situation in Rome: «To see how great is the difference between luxury and poverty, one only needs to look at the suburbs on the two sides of the Tiber river. On the one side there are 30 persons per hectare, on the other side 1800. On the one side there is 1 hospital, 2 outpatient clinics and 4 modern clinics, while on the other side there is nothing. Still more accentuated is the class polarisation in the Latin American countries. For example, 62,2 per cent of the arable land is in the hands of the big landlords, while over

70 per cent of the small landowners possess only 4 per cent of the land.

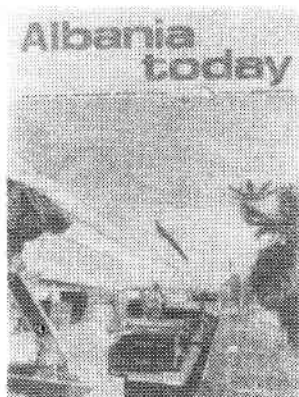
The tendency to class polarisation is becoming ever more pronounced in the revisionist countries, too. According to the revisionist press, in the Soviet Union today there are over 25 million people who have a living standard under the official level of poverty. While the living standard of 50 per cent of all the agricultural workers is lower than that of the working people and employees of the city, the incomes of the leaders of collective farms are several, ten, or even 20-30 times larger than those of the rank and file members.

The polarisation of society is a law of capitalism, which operates and will operate with ever greater force in the framework of the existence of the social order which is based on private ownership over the means of production and the exploitation of man by man. The development of state monopoly capitalism and the technical and scientific revolution does not eliminate the fundamental contradiction of capitalism. «Is the hunger and misery in the world being wiped out?» – said tradition of capitalism. «Is the October 3, 1974 speech. «On the contrary, it is becoming worse. Is the life of the poor being improved or the power of the rich being liquidated? The opposite is occurring».

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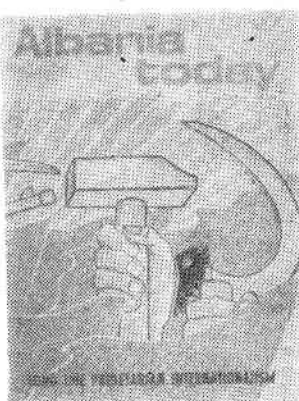
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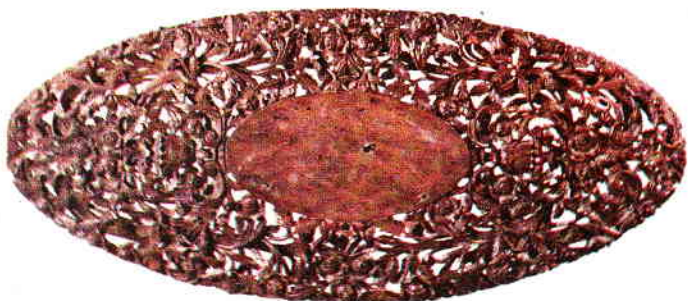
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This issue of the «Albania Today» is dedicated to the 19th Volume of the Works of Comrade ENVER HOXHA which was distributed throughout Albania on November 8th 1975. This volume includes speeches, reports, letters and radiograms of the period June-December 1960 which throw light on the determined struggle waged by the Party of Labour of Albania and comrade ENVER HOXHA against Khrushchevite revisionism.

- Real Unity Is Achieved and Strengthened Only on the Basis of Marxist-Leninist Principles
- We Shall Go to Moscow not with Ten Banners, but with Only One, with the Banner of Marxism-Leninism
- Whether Albania Is a Socialist Country or not, This Does not Depend on Khrushchev, but it Has Been Dedicated by the Albanian People through the Wars They Have fought and the Blood They Have Shed.
- We Shall Ardently Defend Marxism-Leninism and the Interests of the People
- We Have Fought Empty-bellied and Bare-footed, but Have Never Kotowed to Anybody
- Other Reports, Speeches, Letters, and Radiograms

Artistic wood carving of the 19th century in Berat (Central Albania). In the photo: A ceiling and fragments of ceiling.



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