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GREETINGS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ADDRESSED TO COMRADE ENVER ON THE OCCASION OF THE 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF HIS BIRTH

Dear Comrade Enver,

On this marked day for you and the Homeland, on behalf of the Party and the whole people, we send you, Comrade Enver, our beloved leader and teacher, the most ardent revolutionary greetings on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of your birth and whole-heartedly we wish you a long, long life for the good of the Homeland and the cause of socialism in Albania.

All the historic victories of our people — the creation of the Party, the liberation of the country and the establishment of people's power, the construction of the new socialist society, are inseparable from your name and work. In all phases and at every crucial moment, when the fate of the people and the country were in balance, when the correct course has been chosen, your thinking and leadership have always been the guide and decisive.

Under the leadership of the Party and advancing along the road illuminated by our Marxist-Leninist teachings, for the first time in the thousands of years of its history, Albania became truly free and independent, a country where the people are the all-powerful masters, where socialist society — the most advanced and just society mankind has ever known, is being built, where the economy is developing at high rates and the people's culture is flourishing.

All the working people of our country express their boundless love for everything you have done for the people and the Homeland, for the happy life which we enjoy. The liberated working class, the reborn socialist peasantry, the emancipated Albanian women, our revolutionary youth, the people's intelligentsia greet you and send their best wishes.

Comrade Enver, you have dedicated your whole life, all your energy, to the great cause of the liberation of the Homeland, the triumph of the revolution and the construction of socialism in our country. Your work is the embodiment of the finest features of a wise, far-sighted, revolutionary leader, of an ardent patriot and consistent internationalist. You have implemented the teachings of Marxism-Leninism in our country in a creative manner and, as a faithful pupil of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, you have defended and further developed their ideas in the conditions of the present day and in irreconcilable struggle with the renegades and enemies of communism.

In the dark days of occupation and savage fascist oppression, together with the genuine Albanian communists, you Comrade Enver accomplished the deed which was to mark the radical turningpoint in the fate of our people and country: you founded our heroic Party. The Albanian people secured their faithful leadership which was to show them the road of struggle for national and social liberation, the brilliant road of socialism.

Our Party has always had a correct, revolutionary line. This is due to the fact that you, at the head of the Central Committee, have fought and poured all your energy into the work to ensure that the Party was placed on sound Marxist-Leninist ideological and organizational foundations, was educated so and became a genuine proletarian party, a party which would withstand all tests and discharge its revolutionary duty to its own people and the world proletariat with honour.

Our Party, with you at the head, Comrade Enver, led the most glorious epic in the history of the struggle of our people, through the centuries, the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, the great people's revolution. According to your teachings and under your leadership, the Party realized that mighty unity of the people in the National Liberation Front, a unity unprecedented in its strength, cohesion and vitality. The historic merit that the Party closely linked the struggle for national liberation with the problem of the overthrow of the old state power and the establishment of people's state power and merged

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them into one, belongs to you. Under your command, the glorious National Liberation Army, with the support of the whole people, liberated the country with its own forces and ensured the victory of the people's democratic order. You, Comrade Enver, have made an outstanding contribution to the strengthening, modernization and revolutionarization of the People's Army and other structures of defence, to the elaboration of our People's Military Art. Under your direct care, our socialist Homeland today has a steel defence, guaranteed by an entire armed people.

Forty-two years ago, the people entrusted their fate and the future of the Homeland to the Albanian communists. Our Party, with you at the head, Comrade Enver, fully vindicated this trust with its majestic work: the liberation of the country, the triumph of the people's revolution and the creation of socialist Albania. Enlightened by your Marxist-Leninist teachings, Comrade Enver, the Party created that powerful weapon of the triumphant revolution, our new state, the foundations of which were laid in the fiery years of the National Liberation War. Proceeding on the course which you pointed out to us and thanks to the ceaseless care of the Party, the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country remains unshakeable, our socialist democracy has developed and is flourishing, the broad masses of the people take part actively in running the country, have their say on everything and about everyone. Your instructions for the eradication of bureaucracy and liberalism lie at the foundations of the ceaseless process of the revolutionization of our people's state power. You, Comrade Enver, are the inspirer and creator of our Constitution which sanctions the major victories achieved by the people and the Party and embodies the features of a genuine socialist society.

The work of the Party and your teachings, dear Comrade Enver, have been embodied in the living reality of new socialist Albania, built through the titanic efforts of our people. At the head of the Party you worked out the orientations and led, in practice, the historic struggle to set Albania on the road of socialism, to accomplish major economic and social transformations, for the socialist industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture, for the carrying out of a deep-going revolution in the field of ideology and culture, for the education of the new man of our society.

Proceeding on the course indicated by the Party, our Homeland has completely changed its appearance. Within a short period of less than four decades, things were accomplished which had not been done in centuries. From the most poverty-stricken country in Europe, dependent on foreigners for everything, today Albania has become an advanced socialist country, with a developed, stable and independent economy, the Homeland of a people free from every kind of social and spiritual oppression, a country of the growing well-being for all, of education and culture for the broad masses of the people. This is the country which holds out its hand to no one for loans or credits, but builds socialism and defends itself relying on its own forces, a country which never bows its head to any pressure or dictate, but fearlessly pursues its own revolutionary course, a country which knows none of the crises, degeneration or the other grave ulcers which are eroding the very foundations of the world capitalist-revisionist system today.

The Albanian people and communists dedicate all these victories to our valiant Party, to its correct Marxist-Leninist line, to you, Comrade Enver, the beloved leader of our Party and people.

The road of the Party is the road of a glorious heroic struggle. Our Party and people have had to face up to many difficulties and obstacles, to overcome the backwardness inherited from the past, to fight tooth and nail against the activities of internal and external enemies, both open and disguised, who have tried to hinder our progress and development, to undermine the revolution and overthrow so-

cialism in Albania. In all these battles we have always emerged triumphant. This is due to the correct line of the Party, its high level of vigilance, and the consistent waging of the class struggle, due to your political foresight and acumen, unwavering Marxist-Leninist stand and orientations. As a result, our revolution has advanced consistently, the independence of the Homeland has been safeguarded and consolidated, our socialist order has been ceaselessly strengthened and all roads closed to bourgeois-revisionist degeneration and retrogression to capitalism.

The unyielding principled struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism, with American and Soviet imperialism at the head, and against modern revisionism of all shades — Titoite, Khrushchevite, Eurocommunist and Maoist, constitutes a brilliant page in the history of the Party and our country. In this struggle waged over the major questions of principle of the world revolutionary and communist movement, in support and in the interests of the Marxist-Leninist forces, the proletariat and the peoples and the defence of peace and international security, the boundless loyalty of our Party to Marxism-Leninism, its unwavering adherence to principles and the independence of its thinking have emerged with great force. This struggle which you have led with rare wisdom, determination and revolutionary courage, Comrade Enver, has always been and remains vital for our Party, for the defence of the independence and the national interests of our socialist Homeland and all the Albanian people. It has been and is of outstanding importance for all the genuine Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries, for the triumph of the cause of the revolution and socialism.

The revolutionary internationalist foreign policy of our Party and state, worked out and implemented under your leadership, has brought about that the voice of Albania is listened to and respected. It has greatly enhanced the authority and prestige of our country in the international arena and has secured for it the powerful support of the peoples and the revolutionary forces.

The whole course of our Party of Labour, of the revolution and our socialist construction, the internal and foreign policies which have been followed at every phase of our development, according to your teachings and under your direct leadership, constitute a revolutionary experience of outstanding theoretical and practical value.

This original experience has found its reflection and profound scientific generalization in your theoretical work, in your many writings and in all those important materials of the Party which have been drafted under your direction. They represent a colossal and many-sided work and constitute an exceedingly valuable contribution to the enrichment and development of the Marxist-Leninist theory. From this priceless treasury, our communists and working people draw many valuable lessons for their daily work and struggle, for the defence of the victories of the revolution and the successful construction of socialism.

Dear Comrade Enver,

Your revolutionary life and activity are for us a brilliant example which teaches and guides us to dedicate all our strength to the lofty communist ideals, to the great cause of the Party, the revolution and socialism, to the defence of the interests of the people and our beloved socialist Homeland. We, your comrades and pupils, who have the great good fortune to work under your direction, learn and draw inspiration from your struggle and work, how we must ceaselessly strengthen our beloved Party, how to strengthen its unity of thought and action, its indivisible ties with the people, and its leading role, we must always keep our triumphant ideology, Marxism-Leninism, unsullied. We learn a great deal from your method and style in work, your lofty adherence to principle in the solution of every problem from your revolutionary vigilance against the enemy and everything alien, from the wisdom of your judgments and determination in your stands, from your spirit of initiative and communist courage.

From you we learn and assimilate the great virtues of the people and our working class, their ardent patriotism, militant inspiration and spirit of sacrifice, their profound love for their comrades and the working people, the proletarian modesty and nobility of our people. With your example you teach us that the tireless work for the construction of socialism, devotion to Marxism-Leninism, boundless love of and loyalty to the people and Party, are those fundamental features which should characterize the active militant communist.

We assure you, Comrade Enver, that we will always march forward unwaveringly on the Marxist-Leninist road which you show us and will loyally and consistently implement your invaluable teachings. Under your reliable leadership, magnificent victories will always lie in store for our Party and people.

On the occasion of the 75th anniversary of your birthday, dear Comrade Enver, we wish you once again a long life and good health, fruitful work and struggle for the good of the Party, the happiness of our people, for the further progress and strengthening of socialism in Albania and the glory of Marxism-Leninism.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA RECEIVED A GROUP OF WORKERS AND HAD A CORDIAL TALK WITH THEM

In the forenoon of 30 September, Comrade Enver Hoxha, the beloved leader of our Party and people, received a group of workers from the Koman hydro-power plant, miners, oil-workers, workers from the «Enver Hoxha» automobile and tractor combine, textile workers, working people of agriculture, and young people working on the railways under construction, and had a talk with them at his home.

Present at this cordial meeting were Comrade Ramiz Alia, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Adil Çarçani, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Besnik Bekteshi, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Farudin Hoxha, Minister of Constructions, and Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha.

«Welcome, dear comrades!» Comrade Enver Hoxha greeted the workers as they entered his house. He shook hands with them and embraced them warmly. «I know some of the more aged of you.» Comrade Enver Hoxha continued with a smile, «but I don't know most of you, because you are young. It is a great pleasure for the Party and for us to see that the young generation of our country has risen to such levels and is working to make the country a beautiful flowering garden.»

After the usual greetings, a very cordial talk ensued in the course of which the workers informed Comrade Enver Hoxha about the results they have achieved and the pledges they have made. On the 75th anniversary of his birthday they wished him a long life for the good of the Party, the people and socialism in our country.

During his cordial and warm talk with all those present, Comrade Enver Hoxha congratulated them on their successes, wished them new successes, and spoke

about the important tasks lying ahead of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and all the working people of the country at present.

«Thank you for the honour you have done to me by coming to my home,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha, «to report to me on your work and great achievements and, at the same time, for your warm wishes on my birthday. On behalf of the Party and on my own behalf I congratulate you on the successes you have achieved. For my own part, I assure you, the Party and the people, that, as long as I live, and I hope I will live long, I will not spare myself in the service of our great cause, the cause of the freedom of the Homeland and socialism.»

«The work of our entire people, the correct orientations and plans of the Party have created our brilliant and enthusing reality, have ensured the uninterrupted rise of people's well-being, the irresistible advance of socialist Albania.»

«Every sector of our life and activity, industry and the mines, the power industry and cooperativist agriculture, education and culture, are developing each year and each five-year plan at satisfactory high rates.»

After speaking about the results achieved by the builders of hydro-power plants, the oil workers, miners, farmers, and others, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that these successes have their source in the conscientious work and discipline, in the creative practical activity of the masses. «You know quite well,» he continued, «that we have come up against difficulties and obstacles in our socialist construction, which we have overcome through struggle and efforts. We all have unshakeable confidence in our glorious Party, in its Marxist-Leninist line, in its correct and stable internal and external policy. In this line and in this policy lies the strength of our people who have wrought wonders.»

«We have said, and we have proved what we have said, that ours is the only country in the world which builds socialism,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha. «We have built everything ourselves, with the sweat of our brow, with the hands and minds of the sons and daughters of our people. Our magnificent reality could not have been created with the so-called aid from some self-styled socialist countries, which, under cover of aid, plundered us rather than helped us. Not only this, but, as to their so-called aid, we have paid it off to the last penny.

«The traders of turbines, locomotives or some other machinery, for which we have paid in cash or with our primary materials, cannot claim that they have built our magnificent hydro-power plants, railways, combines, or that they have developed the agriculture of our country, which has been transformed into a flowering garden. Our hydro-power plants, railways and combines, our systematized fields and splendid terraces planted with citrus or other fruit-trees, are not the work of one or ten foreign engineers, agronomers or geologists, who came to our country under the guise of friends some time in the past. Nothing could be done without the strength, the will, the knowledge and tireless work of our wonderful people. And this the more so as, instead of helping us, those people went the whole length to sabotage us in everything they could, and only when we got rid of them, everything was put on the right road, the country changed its aspect, development and progress made big strides forward, and many more projects were built.

«The enemies believed that, with the departure of the foreign experts, we would surrender, would capitulate. But they were gravely mistaken and disillusioned. They did not know the strength and vitality of our people and our Party.

«All of us remember that it was a time that the world regarded Albania as a small satellite, first, of the Yugoslavs, and then of the Soviets and the Chinese. However, those who considered and regarded us in this manner were later to be convinced that Albania had never been anybody's satellite. Those who thought of us like this disgraced themselves. The others, those who wished our country well, found, this reality to be natural, therefore they defended us and continue to defend us today. As for the various enemies, who failed in their anti-Albanian capitulationist plans and aims, they were compelled to change the tune.

«The defence of freedom, independence and sovereignty by the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people were called 'isolation from the external world'. What did the enemies mean by isolation? Merely the fact that we did not sell ourselves to the foreigners, to world capital, did not permit the degeneration of the life of our country, did not immerse ourselves in debts to the superpowers and the other imperialist powers, did not sell our socialist Homeland, did not follow them on the road of the spiritual, economic and military servitude, as those gentlemen who slander and criticize us, have been doing in order to cover up their bankruptcy which is clear to everybody.

«In order to cover up the tragedy which they enact to the detriment of the peoples, American imperialism and its secret agency, Yugoslav Titoism,» Comrade Enver Hoxha continued, «have coined the political term of 'non-alignment'. When the question is asked what does this non-alignment consists in, the answer is that non-aligned are those states which are not members of NATO or the Warsaw Treaty. However, the political, ideological, economic and military alignment of most of them with the superpowers and the developed capitalist countries is an undeniable fact. This alignment has become the essential feature of many leaders of those countries which use the so-called policy of non-alignment as a fig leaf to cover up their complete dependence on the big powers. In many of these countries, the profits accruing from the enslaving credits and loans (given by the banks of the big capitalist countries, go into the pockets of the local wealthy class and the foreign capitalists and monopolies, while poverty, crisis and degeneration remain the lot of the peoples, of the working masses.

«Socialist Albania has escaped the grip of these pinners, therefore the advocates of imperialist plunder consider it 'isolated' from the world. But we Albanians are not in the least worried by these names they call us. On the contrary, we march on the right road on which our Party leads us, on the road of socialist construction, of progress and constant raising of the well-being of the working people and the prosperity of the Homeland, a road which knows no crises or debts. The progressive world, that part of the world which can judge things for itself, estimates our road highly, the peoples who work and fight for freedom and the sovereignty of their own countries also appreciate our road.

«Our reality is the magnificent work of the Party of Labour of Albania, is the result of the faithful application of Marxism-Leninism. It is for this reason that the enemies fight our Party and Marxism-Leninism. They do this because our reality brings into the open, by contrast, all the modern revisionists' betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, brings into relief the vitality of our theory. Socialist Albania, small but unaffected by the revisionist filth that has spread in the world, shows the whole mankind that, when the peoples lean on the Marxist-Leninist theory and on their own forces, they can build socialism with success.

«Recently, the Yugoslav Titoites, the sworn enemies of socialist Albania, have begun to use the term 'we build socialism with our own forces'. But the world is not blind, it sees that, in fact, Yugoslavia is building capitalism with foreign forces. Titoite Yugoslavia has become a check-board on which two rivals — the United States of America and the Soviet Union, play. Either's victory in this game means check-mate for Yugoslavia and a threat to peace and security in the Balkans, Europe and the world.»

Speaking about the international situation, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed that it is turbulent, that the danger of war is great. «All say this and declare this. But what is done to stop it? Many speeches are made, indeed, regional and international meetings are held about it.

But what comes out of them? Nothing. On the contrary, the threat of a nuclear war is building up and the capitalist-revisionist world is arming itself feverishly.

«Who incites this new war hysteria? On the one hand, it is NATO with the United States of America at the head, and, on the other hand, the Warsaw Treaty led by the Soviet Union.

«What are the so-called non-aligned countries doing in all this? Some of them, egged on by the superpowers, are warring with one another in Africa, in the Middle East, in Asia, in Central America and elsewhere. In these regions the blood of the peoples is shed for the interests of the superpowers, which divide and redivide the spheres of influence, which hatch up and carry out plots to the detriment of the peoples, which incite the slaves of the dollar and the ruble to violate each other's borders.

«At present the leaders of Titoite Yugoslavia are travelling all over the world, venting their spleen against our country and clamouring that 'Yugoslavia, the Balkans and Europe are endangered by socialist Albania', 'by the dictatorship of Enver Hoxha', 'by its refusal to participate' in the Helsinki, Madrid and other such meetings which have not yielded and could not yield any result. On the contrary, nuclear weapons are on the point of being deployed in Europe and the danger of the outbreak of a world war has become greater.

«Can the threat of a world war be avoided by not opposing and not exposing the policy of the Soviet Union and of the United States of America, NATO, the Warsaw Treaty, EEC and Comecon? Can world war be avoided by procuring debts from the one and the other, by smiling sometimes to one and sometimes to the other, by blackmailing one and making concessions to the other? No, in no way. On the contrary, this brings catastrophe.

«When we rise in defence of our Albanian brothers in Yugoslavia we do not want to harm Yugoslavia, as the Titoites claim. No. Our stands, which are clear and publicly declared, are based on the fact that we have never interfered in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. It is the Yugoslav Titoites who have plotted and continue to plot against the freedom and independence of the Albanian people and socialist Albania.

«The aims of all those who organize secret plots of a fascist-clerical and annexionist character in order to destroy our regime and to partition Albania, are not unknown to us, we have taken and will always take account of them. But everyone must know that these fiendish aims will never have success with us. The Albanian people will smash any plot and hostile activity of theirs, just as we have done with the hated criminal gang of the multiple agent Mehmet Shehu.

«Socialist Albania wants to live in harmony with all the peoples and in Leninist peaceful coexistence with those states which maintain correct relations with us. It is for the defence of peace and against aggressive imperialist wars.

«Socialist Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania, which leads it, have their own policy and views on

every issue, and they express them openly and publicly. No one will be in a position to drown down our just voice and to cause our revolutionary vigilance to be lowered. Those who think that small states have no voice in the chapter, make a grievous mistake. No one gave us the right to express our opinions everywhere and always openly, we won it with much blood shed and great sacrifices.

«Our rights are sacred and we will defend them with all our forces. We will permit no one, whoever it may be, to violate our rights, to defend unjust actions even when they are covered up with international treaties which others have concluded to the detriment of the interests of the Albanian people and regardless of their will, or to fail to fulfil their lawful obligations towards socialist Albania.»

«The internal situation of our country,» Comrade Enver Hoxha continued, «is healthy in all aspects. Our people are united in steel-like unity around the Party and its line. Our economy is stable. At a time when the entire capitalist-revisionist world is in a crisis, our country develops at constant high rates, the living of our people is good and continues to improve, the defence of the Homeland is strong and invincible.

«Everything in our country is harmonized with the needs of the present and the perspective, with our possibilities. In our development there is no spontaneity, no unfruitful investments and chaos, no useless and uncontrolled expenditure. The political consciousness of the masses has been raised and continues to be raised higher, our ideology has created and brought up the new man who is clear about his rights and duties, who understands proletarian discipline at work and good behaviour in society, who puts the common interests above his personal interests.

«These are invaluable characteristics and merits of our social system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a system which is the most democratic, the most progressive, the most humane of all systems, a system based on proletarian justice, the defence of the personal freedom and the general freedom of the Homeland. National oppression, any impediment to the free expression of people's creative ideas, genocide and apartheid are unknown in our country. In our country there are neither rich nor poor, our people hate luxury and corruption, the life of our people is characterized by dignity, the sense of duty and love and respect for one another. Our social system is a creative system. This is the great merit of our working class, which, in alliance with the peasantry and under the leadership of the Party, guides the life of the country and has created all these moral and material blessings.»

In the end, Comrade Enver Hoxha said:

«I thank you once again for your wishes on my birthday, and congratulate you on the victories you have achieved which not only make me happy but give me new strength and will lengthen my life, I assure you.»

The participants in the reception listened attentively to what Comrade Enver Hoxha said and thanked him for the cordial reception and the talk he had with them.

THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST OF ALBANIA PURSUES AN PRINCIPLED AND CONSISTENT FOREIGN

The speech of Comrade REIS MALILE, head of the delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the 38th session of the UN

MISTER PRESIDENT,

THE DELEGATION OF THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA, JUST AS AT THE PRECEDING SESSION OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, WILL NOW, TOO, EXPRESS WITHOUT RESERVATIONS THE OPINIONS OF ITS GOVERNMENT ABOUT THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL EVENTS AND POLITICAL SITUATION, CONVINCED THAT IN SO DOING IT WILL MAKE ITS MODEST CONTRIBUTION TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND SECURITY. WE THINK THAT ONLY AN OPEN AND ILLUSIONLESS DEBATE WILL BE USEFUL TO THE CAUSE OF THE FREEDOM-LOVING PEOPLES AND COUNTRIES.

The international political situation has in no way improved compared with the preceding year. On the contrary, it is more turbulent, more complicated and very tense. Because of the policy of aggression, oppression and dictate pursued by the superpowers and the other imperialist powers, many peoples and countries have had to face strong economic, political and military pressure, endure innumerable privations and even live with situations of war.

This situation is further aggravated by the world economic crisis which is going on for many years now. The world economy remains in a state of stagnation; in some countries there has been a further decline of production, or only some imperceptible growth. The shrinking of markets has caused exports on a world scale to fall. The colossal debts, which the monopolies and the governments of the big capitalist powers used to advertise as the way of salvation and indeed enrichment, have now turned into chains which imperialism has thrown onto different peoples and countries. All this situation has led to record levels

On October 5, 1983 in New York, the head of delegation of the PSR of Albania, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Comrade Reis Malile, took the floor at the General Assembly of the UNO.

of unemployment, constant price rises and to further deterioration in living standards. In many countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America people live under subsistence level, and true human dramas are unfolded. Today it is becoming clearer than ever that the idea of a «new international economic order», in spite of the good intentions which some people might have proceeded from, remains a utopia, because the imperialists and neo-colonialists never renounce their privileges and dominant positions. A fresh example in this direction is provided by the recent UNCTAD conference in Belgrade, which ended without any result, and this because the industrialized countries, with the United States of America at the head, openly opposed the demands of the developing countries. So, it was proved once again that one can never rely on the moralizing preachings of the imperialist powers. We think that the correct path is the resolute opposition to neo-colonialist plunder, the take-over and independent management of national assets. The developing countries have the possibility to impose on the industrialized powers their just demands for equal exchange in the economic field and for cooperation of mutual benefit.

The international political situation, which continues to deteriorate and

be ridden with fresh conflicts, objectively is the result of the stepping up of the militarist and aggressive course of the United States of America and the Soviet Union and their rivalry for domination and hegemony. In any major event of the world today, in any regional conflict, we come up against either superpower or both of them. In one way or another, to this or that degree, all the peoples are faced with their interference and are threatened by the aggressive policy of US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. In many regions and zones of the world, like Afghanistan, Lebanon, the whole Near East, Central America, South Africa and Southeast Asia, etc., local conflicts and wars are causing the peoples' sufferings and misery.

The development of events in Europe shows that tension and insecurity on this continent have become even greater. It is a fact that for its security many institutions have been set up which keep on growing, innumerable meetings are held and there is plenty of talk about it. A big fuss was made when the Final Act was signed in Helsinki, the same happened at the Belgrade meeting and more recently with the Madrid compromise. However, apart from demagogical propaganda, the peoples are seeing no concrete measure which would justify, no matter how little, the «optimism» of the Marathon meetings of «European security».

What is the worth of all these meetings, documents, acts and resolution when Europe has been turned into a real depot of conventional and strategic weapons when the US imperialists are adding to Europe their CRUISE and PERSHING-2 missiles and when the Soviet social-imperialists have tar-

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geted their SS-20 missiles against the European countries. Vain illusions are created and spread about the talks being held in Geneva on these nuclear weapons. But the European peoples cannot expect their security to come from some mathematical calculations that are offered to public opinion everyday by the propaganda inspired and controlled by the superpowers, such as the proposals and counter-proposals about the number of the missiles to be deployed on this continent. To accept such sophism means to fall into the trap of the theory of the balance of power between the United States and the Soviet Union, consequently it means to submit to their dictate.

Peace and security in Europe and in the world are safeguarded and strengthened by opposing the aggressive policies of the superpowers, giving them no possibility to exploit the political and economic links they have with different states in order to harm and attack the peoples of other countries, to threaten their freedom and independence.

Expressing the view of socialist Albania, the leader of our people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, has said: «Neither the Atlantic Pact, the Warsaw Treaty, the military bases established in various countries, nor the superpowers' atomic weapons guarantee the defence of the European countries, their free and independent development, their sovereignty and territorial integrity. They are secured by breaking up these pacts and sending the American and Soviet soldiers back to their homes and smashing the political, economic and military chains with which Washington and Moscow have bound Europe.»

For a long time now we are hearing statements and theorizings about the threat posed by the military blocs and

their activities, but all this is empty talk if it is not accompanied with concrete deeds. These preachings become all the more worthless and, indeed, harmful when their authors grant facilities and make favours to the soldiers of the United States and the Soviet Union, which create for the imperialist powers favourable ground for their further penetration, thus posing a threat to other countries and to peace, in general.

For its part, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has carried out into effect what it has stated. It will never allow the establishment of foreign military bases on its territory, nor will it allow anybody to infringe on or threaten from its territory the interests, the freedom and national independence of the neighbouring peoples and states.

The opposition of millions and millions of people in Europe and everywhere in the world to the superpowers' arms race and the threat of war is followed with sympathy and understanding by the Albanian people. We join in this because it is only through the determined efforts of the peoples that the war-mongering plans of the imperialists can be foiled.

We think that in the Balkans, too, the superpowers have stepped up their attempts at interfering, at stirring up the dark forces and misunderstandings in order to keep the spirit of confrontation alive and to undermine the good neighbourliness among the peoples and countries of the region.

The Albanian government rightly understands the sincere concerns and efforts aimed at ensuring peace in the Balkans, and any constructive and realistic step in this direction that would serve this aim, will find its support.

It adheres to the view that for peace to be strengthened in the Balkans, it is necessary to oppose the policy of interference of the USA and the Soviet Union in the internal affairs of any country, of the peninsula, to take concrete steps for the dismantling of foreign military bases, not to give facilities to the superpowers' naval and air forces and to cut all links with the aggressive pacts led by them. Such steps would respond to the true aspirations of the peoples of the Balkans to live in peace and friendship among themselves. Socialist Albania has been and will always be a factor of peace and stability in the Balkans. In the future, too, it will not fail to render its contribution to building a lasting collaboration on the basis of the policy of good neighbourliness and the principles regulating relations between sovereign states.

European developments are also linked with the situation in the Mediterranean. The peoples of this area see with legitimate concern the superpowers' activities who have militarized this sea and are practising the gunboat policy. Even when a small country dares to raise its voice about the extremely insecure situation in the Mediterranean, all sorts of accusations are levelled at and even threats made against it. There is much talk today about the pollution of the environment in this sea and the measures which should be taken for cleaning it. But we think that its cleansing must begin with doing away with the more dangerous and deadly pollution — that is, the naval fleets of US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

Much has been said about the situation in the Middle East here at the UN; a great number of resolutions ha-

ve been adopted, the policy of Israel has been condemned, yet it continues for decades on end pursuing the road of aggression, expansion and colonization of the Arab territories, driving the Palestinians from their own land, and committing monstrous crimes against them. The martyred Palestinian people, in particular, have become, the target of the criminal attacks of zionism and imperialism. The policy of Israel in the occupied territories is the policy of genocide, of denying the Palestinian people their national identity. A year ago, Israel attacked Lebanon and is actually carrying out its de facto partitioning. All this aggressive and expansionist activity on the part of Israel has been directly instigated and supported by US imperialism. Moreover, today we are witnesses of the fact that US marines have planted themselves firmly in Lebanon.

The stationing of US military troops in Lebanon and, along with them, of some other European countries is a precedent fraught with very dangerous consequences. In fact, this is tantamount to legalizing an act which, in one form or another, paves the way to the return to the old policy of the imperialist powers, which, under the pretext of «restoring order», dispatched their armed forces to various countries in order to establish their domination there.

The present-day development in the Middle East go to show clearly about a further escalation of the imperialist-zionist plot against the Arab peoples.

After Camp David, Israel attacked and occupied a great part of Lebanon and hit hard the Palestinian movement. Now it is concocting plans for the submission of Jordan and seriously threatens Syria with war. The US and Israeli military staffs plan and work on how to attack and submit other Arab countries, one after another.

The activity of Israel against the Arab peoples is incited and favoured by the policy of the Soviet Union, too, by its plots and deals with the USA. It is a known fact that, besides clashes and conflicts that occur between them, efforts are also made to come to agreement to the detriment of the peoples. This is obvious in the mutual concern which they demand from and make to each other so that each can act undisturbed in Afghanistan and Poland, in the Middle East and in Central America. In spite of mutual declarations and attacks exchanged between Moscow and Washington, the theory

of the spheres of influence is in action.

The development of events in the Near East is also part of a plot hatched up by the West and the East in order to put it between two fires and suffocate the anti-imperialist revolution of the valiant Iranian people who, with their resolute struggle, toppled Shah's regime and drove the US imperialists out of their country.

We are confident that the Arab peoples and the other peoples of this region will not allow the imperialists and the zionists to act to their detriment. They will find the strength to unite and to stay the criminal hand of the aggressors. Experience has shown that when the peoples of the Arab countries close their ranks and strengthen their unity, they have the forces and means to compel the aggressors to «reason». There is no doubt that the cessation of the Iraqi-Iran armed conflict, the settling of disagreements between them through negotiations, would serve the interests of these peoples themselves and those of the Middle East, in general, and would avoid further superpower interference in this neuralgic spot.

The Albanian people and their government will always support the struggle of the valiant Palestinian people to gain their indisputable national rights, the struggle of the other fraternal Arab peoples for the liberation of the territories occupied by Israel, and their struggle to oppose and foil the intrigues and plots of the superpowers.

The Albanian people also support the just struggle of the people of Afghanistan for the liberation of their country from the Soviet occupiers.

The imperialist doctrine of the encitement of local wars, feuds and rivalries, as a means of domination and hegemony on the peoples, is seen clearly on the African continent, too, where conflicts are fanned up almost with periodic regularity. Chad is the most recent example of imperialist intervention. The people of this country are killed and destroyed while others profit from this. The Albanian delegation is of the opinion that the people of Chad have the possibilities and must be allowed to solve their own problems by themselves in harmony with their national interests, without any interference, from abroad, under no pretext whatsoever.

The imperialist powers do their utmost to keep Africa subjugated, undeveloped, divided, so as to ensure the continuation of their neo-colonial ex-

ploitation of this continent. They do not even hesitate to support such regimes as the racial regime of South Africa, which is but another Israel in the hands of imperialism in Africa. Without the support of the USA, in the first place, South Africa would not have dared to continue to keep Namibia still under occupation, and to use fascist methods to suppress the people of South Africa, who continue to live in segregation and deprived of all their rights. The African peoples have never reconciled themselves to this situation, but have fought and continue to fight against imperialist interference, against racism and racial discrimination. The Albanian people and government have powerfully supported and backed up the just struggle of the Namibian people for freedom and national independence, the struggle of the African peoples for uprooting colonialism.

A very grave situation has been created in Central America, where the United States of America has stepped up pressure and open military interference against the freedom-loving people of Nicaragua, and is financing and dispatching mercenary troops in order to suppress the struggle of the peoples of this region. The events in Central America prove that the USA can in no way reconcile itself to the situation created in its «back yard», where the peoples have risen against oppression, plunder and exploitation. The Latin-American peoples are facing pressure and direct attacks of US imperialism, as well as the tricks of Soviet social-imperialism who is trying to make use of the antagonism between these peoples and US imperialism in order to pave the way for its penetration there.

The Albanian people are with Latin-American peoples who want to get rid of the brutal interference of US imperialism. We support the right of the Nicaraguan people to live free and independent in their own country, the struggle of the Salvadorian people, and the sovereign right of Argentina over the Malvinas Islands.

Southeast Asia has become today again the target of plots of and interference by the superpowers, whose policy is aimed at inciting divisions and creating new conflicts so as to open the road for their neo-colonialist penetration and military expansion in that region. We have supported and will support the right of the peoples of that region to live free and inde-

pendent against any interference by and intrigue of the superpowers.

The Albanian government appreciates the withdrawal of part of the Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea and hopes that this process will continue. The superpowers have vilely speculated at the expense of the Kampuchean people who for years on end have suffered from the savage onslaughts of US imperialism and the massacres of the Pol Pot gang. It is high time that international community should recognize the reality and sincerely help the Kampuchean people. Proceeding from these considerations and strictly abiding by the principles of the undeniable right of the peoples and nations to be fully independent and to decide for themselves without any foreign interference, the PSR of Albania has decided to recognize the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

We hold that the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea must occupy its own seat in the United Nations, which is unjustly held by the representative of the Pol Pot gang.

Although 30 years have elapsed from the end of the war in Korea, this country remains divided. The US troops must go away from South Korea and the Korean people must be given the legitimate right to live united in their Homeland.

In this picture of the events between the two sessions of the UN General Assembly, what strikes one's eye is that more or less in varying degree, the imperialist superpowers are the protagonists of the grave and turbulent situation existing in the world. Each of them strives to achieve economic, political and military superiority over the other, to occupy new markets and secure spheres of influence. The crisis has made them even more aggressive. However, it is also a fact that the policy of oppression and exploitation, of aggression and dictate, is running up more and more against the

great resistance of the freedom-loving peoples and countries. The development of events will show whether the imperialist powers will lead the world into a new conflagration and catastrophe, or the peoples will say stop to war and save mankind. Therefore, the struggle for the strengthening of national independence, for peace and security in the world is closely connected with the unmasking and the stern opposition of the aggressive policy of the imperialist superpowers.

Mister President,

Our state has pursued an open, principled and consistent foreign policy. It stands for the development of relations and cooperation with all those countries which abide by the principle of equality, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, respect for the sovereignty and the right of each people to have the social system they desire. The Albanian government has always shown good will and correctness in the development of relations with other states. It has been and is against any dictate in the relations between sovereign states. We will never reconcile ourselves to the distortions and insinuations which are made with the aim of obscuring our correct stands and demands. For 35 years now Britain has illegally blocked the Albanian monetary gold plundered by the Hitlerites. This gold is part of the sweat and toil of our people and must be returned to them together with its interest. Our people will defend their interests with determination and to the letter and will fight against injustices which have been and are still being done to them.

The economic and political situation in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is healthy. Our people have achieved important successes in all the fields of life and in the fulfilment of the deployment plans by relying on their own forces. The people in our

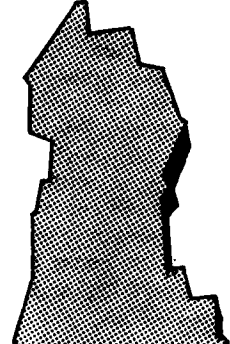
country live free from the nightmare of insecurity about the morrow, because these phenomena, which are seen in many countries of the world, such as crises, inflation and unemployment, price rises, drug-addiction and other ills, do not exist. The well-being of the working masses rises constantly and they look into the future with confidence. All the victories achieved by our people in these four decades of the people's power are due to our genuine socialist order, the correct leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, with Comrade Enver Hoxha, the great son of the Albanian nation, at the head.

There are over-zealous propagandists who write pages out of number full of calumnies against socialist Albania, depicting it as a «mysterious», «isolated» country, etc. Of course, we do not expect benevolence and praise from such people who represent certain reactionary circles, who have made it their profession to fable things from hostile chauvinist positions. This does not worry us in the least. The truth is that Albania forges ahead and becomes daily stronger, without loans or credits, following a completely independent and sovereign policy. Though a small country, it copes boldly with the various imperialist and social-imperialist pressures and plots and does not deviate from its correct and honest road of socialism. Our people are determined to go on marching along this road because life has shown them that only this has brought them continuous progress and development, genuine freedom.

Mister President,

In this session of the UN General Assembly the Albanian delegation will join its efforts with those of the freedom-loving countries and will not fail from rendering its contribution to the cause of the peoples, genuine peace and security.

THE 4th NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE VETERANS OF THE WAR OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE

FROM THE

COUNTRY

The 4th National Conference of the Veterans of the War of the Albanian People carried out its proceedings from 16 to 17 of September in the Capital. Delegates from all over the country represented more than 54,000 veterans, the glorious generation of the first hours of the struggle for freedom under the leadership of the Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.

All those present rose to their feet and broke into stormy applause and ovations when the beloved leader of the Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, emerged on the tribune of the Conference. Smiling, Comrade Enver Hoxha gave the clenched-fist salute to the veterans.

In the proceedings of the Conference also took part the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, the Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Çarçani, and other leaders of the Party and state.

The Chairman of the National Committee of the Veterans of the War of the Albanian People, Comrade Shefqet Peçi, held the opening speech.

Then the delegates endorsed the agenda.

Comrade Shefqet Peçi gave the floor to the alternate member of the Central Committee of the Party and General Secretary of the National Committee of the Veterans of the War of the Albanian People, Sul Baholli, who delivered the report «Let us raise higher the activity of the organization of the Veterans of the War of the Albanian People for the implementation of the

decisions of the 8th Congress of the Party, for the patriotic and revolutionary education of the masses».

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and the beloved leader of the Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, personally, the delegates were greeted by the Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and the Vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Rita Marko.

The delegates received the greeting with enthusiastic applause and ovations.

During the break of the first session of the Conference Comrade Enver Hoxha met veterans from different districts of the country. The meeting was very warm and cordial.

The discussion of the report began at the second session of the Conference.

After the closing of the discussion, the Conference approved the report of the National Committee of the Veterans of the War of the Albanian People and the resolution which defines the main directions of the activity and the tasks of the organizations of the veterans for the implementation of the decisions of the 8th Congress of the Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Then the Conference went over to the examination of the last point on the agenda: the election of the leading organs. The delegates unanimously elected the National Committee comprised of 103 members. At its first session, the Committee elected the Presidium comprised of 17 members and the leadership comprised of 5 members. Comrade Shefqet Peçi was

elected Chairman of the National Committee of the Veterans of the War of the Albanian People, comrades Pilo Peristeri, Jorgji Sota and Bilal Parruca were elected vice-chairmen, and Comrade Sul Baholli general secretary.

The Conference addressed a message of greetings to the beloved leader of the Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The message was approved unanimously amid great enthusiasm and

fiery ovations for our glorious Party of Labour and Comrade Enver Hoxha. Then, the Chairman of the National Committee of the Veterans, Comrade Shefqet Peçi, delivered the closing speech.

ACTIVITIES DEVOTED TO THE 75th ANNIVERSARY OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA'S BIRTHDAY

On his 75th birthday, the beloved leader of our Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, received many letters, telegrams, and messages of greetings from communists and the entire people, through which they expressed their feelings of love and deep, heart-felt gratitude and wishes. Comrade Enver Hoxha has received telegrams, letters and messages of greetings also from Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations, political and state personalities, patriotic associations of Albanians outside the Homeland, associations of friendship with Albania in different countries, friends and well-wishers of our country, and others.

The Message of Greetings of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of Comrade Enver Hoxha's birthday was published and broadcast on October 16. On the same day the comrades of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA paid a visit to Comrade Enver Hoxha in his home, during which Comrade Ramiz Alia, on behalf of the comrades of the Political Bureau, handed Comrade Enver Hoxha the message of greetings of the CC of the Party.

The decision of the CC of the Party that, on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of Comrade Enver Hoxha's birthday and in order to honour his work as the founder of our Party and new state, as the glorious leader of the Party and people in the struggle for the liberation of the Homeland and the construction of socialism, the Koman hydro-power plant should be named the «Enver Hoxha» hydro-power plant, was published on the 15th of October.

The Scientific Conference devoted to the Marxist-Leninist theoretical thought of the Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha, held its proceedings on October 3-4. Taking part in the Conference were leading cadres of the Party and state, working people of the ideological front, students of social sciences, cadres of the army, working people of production, culture, arts, etc. Also taking part in it were the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Çarçani, and

other Party and state leaders. In the town of Gjirokastra, in which the National Folklore Festival was taking place, Comrade Enver Hoxha's book, «Years of Childhood» — Reminiscences from Gjirokastra, was presented to the public and the documentary colour film of the «New Albania» Film-Studio, screened from this book, was shown. The speech of the occasion was made by the Chairman of the Albanian Writers and Artists' League, Dritëro Ago-lli. On October 10, the first day of «Hail, Enver Hoxha», a colour full-length documentary, produced by the «New Albania» Film-Studio, was organized in the Capital.

In the atmosphere of great popular joy which was created all over the country on the 75th birthday of Comrade Enver Hoxha, many working collectives reported on having carried out their tasks ahead of schedule, whereas the working people of the automobile and tractor combine in Tirana inaugurated four new production lines. The new plant of agricultural implements, which will increase industrial production 50 per cent over the production of the existing plant, was also inaugurated. In other regions and districts of the country many new plants, factories and projects were inaugurated. A new 2750 ton ship, «Gjirokastra», the largest ship designed and produced in our country so far, was launched in the shipyard of Durrës on October 14. Various socio-cultural projects and many dwelling appartments were built ahead of schedule.

THE NATIONAL FOLKLORE FESTIVAL 1983

The National Folklore Festival, which is held every five years, was organized in the muzeum-city of Gjirokastra on October 6-12. The curtain of the festival was raised to the sound of manly dances, to the tunes of the songs played on popular instruments, which were followed by thousands of spectators, working people of Gjirokastra and guests from the districts of the country.

The Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Manush Myftiu, Lenka Çuko, and Hekuran Isai, members of the Central Committee of the Party and the government, and personalities of science, arts and culture, were present on this occasion.

Taking part in the festival were also the «Shqiptari» group of the cultural and artistic association of Detroit, USA, an Arbëreshi group from Italy, students, ethno-musicologists, folklorists and journalists from Turkey, Greece, Rumania, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Denmark, Portugal and Switzerland invited by our artistic, cultural and scientific institutions.

This year's festival had 1600 participants, winners of a massive competition of 70 000 popular singers, dancers and instrumentists from the local and district festivals. Groups of 26 districts competed with their songs and dances during the six days of the festival. On the seventh day, the participants in the festival, together with thousands of inhabitants of Gjirokastra, climbed up to the square of the Castle. Present there were also the member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Çarçani, members of the Political Bureau, Comrades Simon Stefani and Manush Myftiu and others.

On this day were shown the best folk costumes selected from various ethnographic zones of Albania, which attracted the attention of art-lovers for their fine popular motifs, the variety of colours and expressiveness.

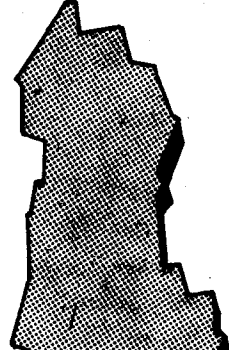
In the end, the jury proclaimed the

winners of the National Folklore Festival 1983.

In the conclusion of the festival, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers, the festival was greeted by the Minister of Education and Culture, Comrade Tefta Cami.

On this occasion the Ministry of Education and Culture put on a dinner which passed in a very joyful atmosphere. During the dinner, Comrade Adil Çarçani also took the floor and congratulated the organizers of and participants in this great artistic action and wished that this festival should be an encouragement for still greater successes in the future and for the uninterrupted development of our very beautiful folklore.

On October 15, a concert with selection from the National Folklore Festival 1983, was given in the Capital. The concert was attended by advanced workers and cooperativists, veterans, working people of arts, culture and science, armymen, young men and women, and others. Those present burst into stormy applause to greet the entrance of Comrade Enver Hoxha into the concert hall. Attending the concert were also the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Çarçani, and other Party and state leaders. At the end of the concert, after the wonders of the magnificent art of the people were displayed in their full splendour, Comrade Enver Hoxha, accompanied by Comrades Ramiz Alia and Adil Çarçani and other Party and state leaders, went up among the artists, cordially met popular singers, dancers and instrumentists, embraced them with love and congratulated them for the very beautiful concert. One of the artists handed Comrade Enver Hoxha a bouquet of flowers and together with it expressed the most ardent wish of all participants in the festival: «Many happy returns of the day, may you live as long as our mountains for the good of the Party, the people and the Homeland!»

FROM THE

COUNTRY

PERFECTING OF THE SOCIALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION

by **HARILLA PAPAJOEJI**

The process of bringing group ownership closer to the ownership of the entire people is a fundamental aspect of the narrowing of distinctions between town and countryside, between industry and agriculture.

ONE OF THE QUESTIONS OF GREAT PRINCIPLED IMPORTANCE IN OUR SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION HAS BEEN AND REMAINS THE STRENGTHENING AND PERFECTING IN A REVOLUTIONARY MANNER OF THE SOCIALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION. THE THEORETICAL THINKING OF THE PARTY, THE TEACHINGS OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA AND OUR HISTORICAL REALITY IN THIS FIELD TOO, CONSTITUTE A VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION TO THE ENRICHMENT OF THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM AND ITS DEFENCE AGAINST THE THREAT OF BOURGEOIS-REVISIONIST DEGENERATION. THE DIRECTIVES OF THE 8TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY CONSTITUTE A NEW STEP FORWARD TOWARDS THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST LINE OF THE PARTY ALSO IN THE FIELD OF THE SOCIALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION.

We will deal mainly with some problems of the dialectical connection between the productive forces and the relations of production in the present stage, the consistent application of the system established in the socialist relations of production and some questions of the perfecting of their specific aspects.

I

Over the whole period of the socialist construction in our country, the Party has treated both aspects of the mode of production, namely, the productive forces and the relations of

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production, in their complexity and interconnection. Every development of the productive forces has been considered not just as development of production and technical progress, but also as the indispensable material base for attaining definite socio-political objectives, for strengthening and perfecting the socialist relations of production. On the other hand, the socialist relations of production have served and still serve the attainment of three main objectives: the dynamic development of the productive forces, the strengthening of the socialist character of our order, and the revolutionary class education of the working people.

This mutual process is not achieved

easily or spontaneously. Its realization goes through the discovery and solution of contradictions, through the correct development of the class struggle. Therefore, as always the Party instructs to discover in time the contradictions which manifest themselves in the process of our growth and development, in order to perfect the relations of production and to ensure the dynamic development of the productive forces during the 7th Five-year Plan and in the future. These contradictions must not be underestimated and, moreover, cannot be solved by adopting a passive stand. The experience over many years shows that the only correct road is to study and understand the causes that give birth to contradictions and to take timely measures to solve them.

The 8th Congress of the Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha provide the scientific analysis, the summing up and synthesis of the main problems of the development of productive forces and perfecting of the socialist relations of production with which our economy is faced today and will be faced in the future, as well as the roads to their solution. The fundamental aim that «the deve-

lopment and strengthening of the material-technical base of the country... should, as always..., be done in close connection with the perfecting of the various aspects of the economic relations,¹ is at the basis of these orientations and teachings.

1. The first problem that emerges here is that **the perfecting of the socialist relations of production should respond to the high-rate development of production and intensification during the current five-year plan with greater dynamic.**

The productive forces are growing at rapid rates. At the present rates of development the social product, despite its present proportions, almost doubles every decade. The national income increases more rapidly than the social product. Within this five-year plan extraction of the main minerals will be doubled. The same occurs in the other branches and sectors of the economy.

The engineering industry, for instance, is more and more extensively going over to machine building. The quality and efficiency of production in this branch must undergo an appreciable increase. However, the tasks in this branch cannot be attained without perfecting some aspects of relations. Specialization and scientific cooperation between engineering bases and plants regardless of their administrative dependence, the defining of norms of consumption of primary materials in conformity with the new structures of production, the perfecting of the mode of planning, etc., have become imperative. Otherwise, all the technical and productive capacities which have been created in this branch, will not be utilized fruitfully.

The same picture appears in all the great work that is carried on in breadth for the concentration and specialization of agricultural production.

All these and other developments in production lead to the conclusion that the steps taken to promote the productive forces must be accompanied with, indeed, even preceded by studies, surveys and new forms of organization and management. And

when we speak of them we imply definite aspects of the relations of production, which in fact are very concrete.

In this context, the many-years experience, which shows that the relations of management have a very dynamic character and constitute a great reserve to carry matters forward, should be put to better use. They can and must open the road more broadly to the productive forces and the dynamic development of production.

2. **The dialectics of combining the development of productive forces with the relations of production should be realized as a continuity, both in the major problems and in the work of the central state and economic organs, as well as in the organization and concrete management of production.** So, in the present stage the Party demands that a more determined struggle should be waged against the artisan and fragmented character of production. This must be achieved in every enterprise, in every agricultural cooperative, in every district and on a national level. Likewise, the struggle to overcome the situation of «mosaics» in agriculture has been stepped up. The situation of «mosaics» must be overcome at more rapid rates also in other branches and sectors, such as the engineering industry, the wood-working industry and the construction materials industry, in designs and studies, scientific experimentations and in scientific informational technique.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's orientation about the gradual transition to the creation of large-scale economic-territorial complexes in extensive hilly zones specializing in fruit-growing and about cultivated pastures built on joint state-cooperative investments must be studied concretely in the districts and the agricultural economies so that they come out with proposals for a more complete activation of the work force, for the expansion of investments in agriculture, etc. This is a new field in which the relations of state ownership must combine with those of group ownership in order to raise the latter to a higher level.

For the relations of production to develop on a large scale, the need for experimentations is raised. In technique and technology experimentation is an ordinary practice, but our time requires that it should serve to find the most appropriate forms for the application of the existing economic relations, and to perfect specific aspects of them. Naturally, the relations of production have to do with delicate questions, therefore experimentations should be carried out after thorough consideration, good organization and examination of both their positive and their negative aspects.

3. **The most extensive and comprehensive field, in which the economic relations find their concrete reflection and application for the development of the productive forces, is the unified general state plan. Therefore, the struggle and work to draft and implement mobilizing and scientifically based plans remains the main front also for the complete and correct realization of these dialectical links.** Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, «The plan in itself contains and must contain both aspects of the mode of production: the tasks for the development of the productive forces and those for the perfecting of the socialist relations of production.»²

Why does the Party emphasize this Marxist-Leninist principle? Because the plan reflects the requirements of the objective economic laws, the economic line and policy of the Party, embodies the main ratios of the development of production. The plan expresses the links between production and consumption, between productivity and real income, the relations between town and countryside, and so on. Besides, the plan is drafted and applied through such mechanisms as the system of working norms and wages, prices and cost, productivity and the relations with the budget. Therefore, if we draft and apply optimal plans of production and income, if we establish scientific norms for work and material consumption, if we pay well-earned wages, proceeding from the principle that before we demand from society we must give it its due, then both the productive

forces and the economic relations of production will advance.

These fundamental questions of our socialist development are frequently understood in a narrow manner and applied improperly. In this manner, however, the danger is created of violating the basic ratios and principles of the economy, of weakening control on the part of society on the amount of work and consumption, a control which has been and is an irreplaceable means to prevent all inflationist phenomena from manifesting themselves in our economy. It is precisely violation of these fundamental principles and questions in the revisionist countries where the laws of the market and capitalist spontaneity operate freely, that landed them into a deep economic, political and social crisis without a way out.

Therefore, the Party teaches us to guard against the idea that since we have a correct system of economic relations and the economy develops on plans and has stability, weaknesses in production, planning or the implementation allegedly carry no weight. **On the contrary, we must delve deeper into and fight more sternly in order to attain the indices, the categories and the links of the plans, to maintain the economic relations which they represent,** in order to close the way to globalism, one-sidedness, underrating of the social aspect of the plans and a series of the other questions which breed liberalism and bureaucracy in the economy. For the economy to be organized and managed in a scientific manner, and for the economic and social processes to develop on the correct road, the Party teaches us that «... the drafting of realistic and mobilizing plans, based on all-round studies of current and future problems, on profound generalization and analyses has special importance.»³ It is precisely because our Party consistently acted along these lines that the enemy Mehmet Shehu and his gang broke their heads against the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Party. Despite the great threat they posed, they failed to displace the axis of the correct line and policy of our Party of Labour or impede our march

forward on the road of socialism, complete independence and freedom.

4. As is known, **the more active role of the relations of production over the productive forces manifests itself in the subjective factor, the economic, organizational and administrative forms and measures the people, the state and economic organs decide upon and carry out.** The elevated level of the productive forces and the major tasks of this five-year plan require that the subjective factor, the cadres, specialists, the various organisms should have a scientific knowledge of problems and the economic and technical laws, delve deep into the structural changes occurring in the economy, into the priorities and trends of development of the specific branches and sectors. Hence, the question arises here of properly following the dynamic of the development of life and of reflecting it in time with measures taken in the most effective manner, on the basis of studies and concrete results, in order to avoid any delay in the perfecting of specific aspects of the relations of production. This makes the activity of the organs of the state and the economy more resilient, and bars the way to manifestations of empiricism, spontaneity and tagging at the tail-end of situations.

These and other problems require that the cadres and the directors must take more seriously the word of the workers and specialists. And this because the broad working masses, under the leadership of the Party, bear the brunt of and play a decisive role in the implementation of economic relations, too. Cadres, specialists and all the working people have an interest in the correct development of economic processes and the relations of production which are reflected in the plans, and this interest must increase. So, they will participate more actively in the fight to improve what is healthy and combat what is unhealthy in production and management; will make their irreplaceable contribution to the understanding and conscious implementation of the objective economic laws and demands, to putting into practice the objectives of the policy of our Party and socialist state.

5. The treatment of the mutual relationship between the productive forces and the relations of production, from the positions of materialist dialectics, by our Party of Labour leads to some important theoretical and practical conclusions: the main thing is to avoid divorcing the relations of production from the productive forces; to avoid subjectivist manifestations by allowing «improvements» to be made when conditions are not ripe or by skipping stages; and, as well as this, to ensure that all the aspects of the relations of production advance and are improved en bloc. The development of the productive forces will always be reflected in the relations of production, however, the Party and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and their levers, should work to prepare the subjective factor for this, the working people must be made conscious of the support they must give for the measures adopted in this field. Of great importance is also to find the most propitious moment for effecting the changes needed, judging from the complex of economic, political and social stand-points. However, even when measures are adopted and carried out for the perfecting of economic relations we must proceed cautiously, because, along with the many positive aspects, obstacles and difficulties, even negative aspects emerge in practice, which must be watched closely, overcome and avoided in time.

By proceeding in this manner, the Party has fought and shown continuous concern to ensure that the perfecting of the relations of production always strengthens their socialist character, bars the way to manifestations of liberalism and bureaucracy, puts our social order in general more solidly on the road of the complete construction of socialist society. Our Party has never slipped into the positions of one-sidedness regarding the development of the productive forces, nor has it absolutized or made a fetish of their role in the development of society. It has exposed the bourgeois and revisionist practices and concepts of economism and technocracy, which ascribe a determinative and independent importance to the

technical-scientific revolution in the development of society, etc concepts and practices which cultivate a new variant of vulgar materialism, the theory of the productive forces, the negation of the proletarian revolution and spontaneity in the development of society.

II

Both theory and practice show that, from the viewpoint of the fundamental features of the relations of production, socialist society preserves its nature unchanged through the entire process of its complete construction. However, this does not imply that the socialist relations of production, which were established as an integral system after the construction of the economic base was completed, do not undergo improvement. On the contrary, everything in our country speaks of their development in the desired direction towards the construction of socialism and its defence against any threat of bourgeois-revisionist degeneration.

The policy and the practical activity of the Party for the strengthening and perfecting of the relations of production covers all fields: the relations of ownership and exchange, distribution and management of the economy.

1. The Party has always stressed that **the strengthening of the socialist attitude towards socialist ownership, the most complete and effective use of the objects of ownership, are at the foundation of the socialist ownership.** This has to do with our national wealth, which has been almost entirely created through the work and accumulation in the years of the people's state power, and which today is calculated in terms of colossal figures, in tens of billions of leks, and grows incessantly.

Therefore, it is not correct to reduce the slogan of the Party about the socialist attitude towards property, as occurs sometimes, to the struggle against abuse and ambezzlement, or, in some other case, to the material maintenance of buildings, etc. which,

of course, is indispensable but not the main thing. The question is especially connected with the most complete utilization of productive capacities, the exploitations of the many reserves which exist in the utilization of metal-cutting machines and means of transport, the utilization of productive capacities in the food industry, in the extraction of all useful components from minerals and other primary materials, in the exploitation of the fund of the land and the irrigation capacity, the productive capacity of livestock, and so on in other fields. All this speaks of the need for a more comprehensive conception of the relations of ownership.

The relations of ownership during this five-year plan **are characterized by the strengthening of the cooperativist order at accelerated rates in order to bring group ownership closer to the ownership of the entire people.** This tendency will be strengthened by intensifying production in the most fertile plains of the country with precedence, by strengthening the existing higher-type cooperatives in the plains and in the hilly-mountainous zones. In this manner, the higher-type cooperative becomes widespread. It will comprise, at the end of the five-year plan, nearly 40 per cent of the arable land of all cooperatives. Along with this, some higher-type cooperatives will be transformed into state farms. A series of economic and financial measures will be carried out to develop and strengthen the cooperatives of the hilly-mountainous zones.

The new which the Party has brought in this field **is the gradual combination of the relations of group ownership with the ownership of the entire people.** Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that this process «...should be carried out in such manner that the sphere of relations of state ownership is extended while the sphere of relations of the cooperativist ownership is narrowed gradually.»⁴ This road of development and progress of group ownership is understood and accepted by the peasants, too. It accords with the interests of the peasantry, is normally coped with the possibilities our society has and creates and opens a

broad road to the intensification and increase of agricultural production in the interest of the entire society. In this broad context of the current and future development of the cooperativist order, emerge no simple problems and great and many-sided tasks.

A problem connected with the progress of the cooperativist order is **the more efficient use of the material-technical base and live work in order to make sure that the cost of agricultural and livestock products falls and the sources of accumulation rise.** Without this it is impossible to achieve two of the main objectives in the field of relations which the Party has set for the zone of priority cooperatives: the raising of the well-being of the cooperativist peasantry to the level of the agricultural workers; the creation of greater material and financial means for the state to make investments and to assist the hilly-mountainous zones more.

The process of bringing group ownership closer to the ownership of the entire people is a fundamental aspect of the narrowing of distinctions between town and countryside, between industry and agriculture. Experience and studies show that the ratio between funds earmarked for internal accumulation and consumption in agriculture and in the countryside in general, and the total national income created in agriculture must be gradually increased in order to narrow the fundamental distinctions. As in the other sectors, here too, the state has made big investments, therefore it expects to get more from them in order to be able to cover more thoroughly the needs for their development for the raising of well-being and strengthening of the defence of the country.

The new qualitative measures adopted for the formation of common herds and the narrowing of the cooperativist's personal plot constitute another very important moment in the strengthening of the cooperativist order as a whole and the perfecting

of the socialist relations in the countryside.

This is an original road which proceeds from the experience of the peasantry, as summed up by the Party. It ensures the maintenance and increase of livestock, which represents a major national asset, the gradual withering away of the relations connected with the personal plot and, together with it, of the petty-bourgeois psychology it fosters, the growth of the group property and the improvement of the living conditions and supplies for the peasantry. In this manner, the volume of production and income from the cooperative will grow constantly, while the cooperativist's personal plot gradually loses its importance.

This is a process in development, one which has raised and will raise problems which must be anticipated and watched attentively. The question here is about the equal treatment both of the livestock of the collective property, the small livestock and cattle of the common herds; about preparing the gradual formation of common herds from the cooperativists' cattle in the hilly-mountainous zone; about ensuring the ever better supply of the peasants with livestock products, etc.

2. **In the field of distribution** there are many problems which the Party has put on the right road and are making progress towards their solution.

— Linking up work remuneration with its three components (quantity, quality and material expenditure) is yielding results. But **this must be further deepened, finding and using, in the different branches and sectors, indices which are controllable and serve as better incentives to work.**

— Working day, as an intermediary unit of remuneration, emerged along with the cooperativist order in agriculture. Its application was a necessity, but the majority of the cooperatives now have overcome the conditions which justified its application. So in a great number of ordinary

cooperatives it is gradually being removed and **they are going over to pay according to work norms.** The analysis of the many-years' experience of the higher-type cooperatives shows that through this step, some socio-economic goals are achieved; to encourage participation in work and fulfilment of work norms, to further guarantee the income of the cooperativists and to enforce accounting and financial control in the cooperatives by means of the lek.

— It is known that scientific norming of work is an indispensable regulator to promote production and ensure a correct distribution according to work done. However, norms today must be improved, **especially qualitatively**, because they represent great reserves.

Qualitative improvements of work norms are necessary **not only to increase productivity, but also to apply the established system of wages correctly**, with a correct escalation and differentiations reflected in the tariffs system, in the categories of work places, etc. which, for their part, are vital for the observance of the law of distribution according to work, therefore they are defined in a centralized manner by the state.

These improvements are indispensable. Just as indispensable is, however, **the creation of conditions for the fulfilment of norms by all the workers, as well as the encouragement of efforts to overfulfil them.**

— In the conditions of the development of the technical-scientific revolution, two processes among others, take place in production: the division and fragmentation of work tends to grow as the educational and cultural level of the workers tends to rise to the level of their qualification, thereby enabling **the reduction of categories for working places.**

— **In the field of distribution one must understand more profoundly the fact that the raising of well-being in our country has a social character.**

Figures show that in the 7th Five-year Plan 80 per cent of the increase of the real income of the worker or employee is made up of the fund of wages going to an increased number of workers, 30 per cent is made up of increased incomes from social insurance and social consumption as well as of increased average pay through the raising of the degree of attestation and overfulfilment of work norms.

It seems as though there are disproportions here, but experience shows that the adoption of such a structure in order to ensure the increase of the real income of workers and employees has always been correct. It is based on the line and policy of the Party to ensure the complete occupation with work of the new active forces which amount to over 40 thousand people every year, to fulfil a series of social needs of a common character with priority, to narrow distinctions between social classes and groups, and, lastly, to increase incomes through overfulfilment of norms and higher degrees of attestation. Here, our Party and state stick firmly to the principle that the productivity of labour should increase more rapidly than the real income of the population, which creates possibilities for the accumulation to increase to the necessary level.

— **The structure of the real income of the cooperativist peasantry has its specific features.** In the 7th Five-year Plan it is envisaged that nearly 53 per cent of the increase of income will be secured from the increase of the average income for every work hand, about 27 per cent from the numerical increase of the work force in cooperatives, and the rest, nearly 20 per cent, from other sources outside the cooperatives (such as work in the state sector, social insurance, etc.). Hence, it emerges that the increase of the real income of the peasantry is based, in the first place, on the income of each work hand. Therefore, **the struggle for the fulfilment of the**

plans in agriculture is decisive for raising well-being.

3. **In the field of exchange**, large-scale agricultural production must be supported better by the existing system of accumulation and processing of agricultural products. Attainment of the objectives set by the Party for agriculture in the present stage, raises the imperative duty of improving not only planning, organization and management of production, but also the subsequent links of the chain: the procurement organs, the light and food-processing industries, the home and foreign trade.

The intensive as well as the extensive development of agriculture **must necessarily be accompanied with the further improvement of economic levers**. We must expand supplies of means of production for agriculture, which are ensured from industry, through lowering costs and reducing prices for them. The development of the hilly-mountainous zones must be better supported with **complex measures**. So, the structure of agriculture and livestock in these zones is being adapted to their natural conditions better. More production and greater efficiency should be achieved from the investments made by the cooperatives themselves and from non-return state subsidies — about 80 million leks annually, as well as from the credits accorded to the cooperatives. Similarly, there is room for further differentiation in the procurement prices for some agricultural and livestock products in favour of the mountainous and hilly cooperatives.

4. **In the field of the management of the economy, the present stage has brought into evidence the problem of a better co-ordination and cooperation of work in production, distribution and consumption**. Our economy is an organic whole, and its development is directed under a unified general state plan, which co-ordinates all economic-financial links of reciprocity and subordination on a branch,

district or enterprise level, the co-ordination of all the management and organizational activity of the state and economic organs for the fulfilment of the tasks set in the plan on a broad front is an objective necessity. Co-ordination and cooperation today are dictated by the more advanced stage of the development of the economy, by the multiple and complicated economic technical and scientific relationships existing between different enterprises and productive activities, by the more complete integration of branches, districts and zones of the country into the national economy as a whole. This represents at the same time a distinguishing feature of our socio-economic growth.

Therefore, who strives for scientific co-ordination and cooperation in production, designing and constructions, in science and studies, who strives for the proper fulfilment of the plan in all its component parts, he understands correctly and applies realistically the links, relationships and ratios needed for the development of the economy. The lack of ... cooperation and collaboration for the solution of various problems not only prevents us from utilizing the superiorities of the socialist economy as a unified economy, but also impedes the rapid development of the economy,» the 3th Congress of the Party pointed out.

In the field of management improvements must be made especially in **the methodology of economic and financial planning**. It must respond better to the requirements of intensification, efficiency and technical and scientific progress.

This is a broad field of activity, in which the economic as well as the technical and scientific thinking will delve deeper into things in order to ensure solutions more appropriate to the higher stage of development of our socialist economy.

In the framework of the improvements in methodology and methods,

there is the important problem of a **better regulation and accord between the economic indices and the financial indices of the plan**. Tasks are set to lower costs, but the result does not always properly figure in the increase of the net income. The rule exists for industrial enterprises, once they deliver their goods to the trade organs, to report the centralized net income to the budget. But this report is also made for goods which are not circulated in the time fixed by the trade organs. These and other problems of this kind, call for solution in theory and in practice.

The methodology of planning and the practice of economic management should place on more correct scientific bases **the evaluation of the economic-productive activities of the state farms and the agricultural cooperatives**. According to the present practice the work of the state farms and cooperatives is measured mainly by the degree of fulfilment of the planned tasks. This is necessary and must continue. However, along with this, it is reasonable that the quantitative and qualitative level achieved in economic indices (productivity, cost, norms of consumption, etc., in comparable enterprises or cooperatives must be kept present. The complex following up of these three components will help discover internal reserves, will encourage the advance and give a more logical and objective character to the evaluation of the work in the base.

III

From the struggle and effort of our Party and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the establishment of the socialist relations of production and their perfecting on the correct revolutionary road, as well as from the analysis of the negative experience of the re-establishment of

capitalism in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries, our Party has drawn conclusions of a general character, which have a theoretical and practical importance.

Above all, the preservation and strengthening of the proletarian character of the Party and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is fundamental. This because it is the ideology and policy of the Party that lead and have priority over the economic base of society. It is the Marxist-Leninist ideology and policy of the Party and its leading role in the entire system of the dictatorship of the proletariat that have carried forward and guarantee the socialist construction of our country.

At the 8th Congress of the Party, making a penetrating analysis of the causes of the emergence of revisionism and the capitalist degeneration in the Soviet Union, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed that right from the start the Khrushchev group set itself as its main task to usurp power in the party and to liquidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Here began the undermining of the foundation of the socialist society.

Therefore, the profound knowledge and consistent implementation of the Marxist-Leninist line and policy of the Party by our working people and cadres, in the field of the relations of production, just as in every other field, are essential for them to proceed on the correct road and to protect themselves against the danger of bourgeois-revisionist degeneration. In this aspect, the struggle of the Party against manifestations of bureaucracy, liberalism, and technocracy, the waging of the class struggle on all fronts correctly, have always had special importance. In the field of the management of the economy, among other things, this requires a still more powerful reliance on the broad working masses, their creative thinking, knowledge in depth of and greater consideration for the general laws of

the socialist construction and the requirements of the objective economic laws, so as to treat and solve the concrete problems of every branch and sector of the economy always in conformity with the principles and laws which lie at the foundation of our society.

Second, the preservation and strengthening of the socialist character of ownership, which constitutes the foundation of economic relations and social equality among working people, must be followed up closely and always carried forward. We are well aware of the great work done and the fierce class struggle waged for the establishment of the socialist ownership in town and countryside, and for bringing cooperativist ownership closer to the ownership of the entire people. In all this revolutionary process the Party has not withdrawn in face of difficulties and obstacles, because it relied on the people and marched ahead with clear perspectives, always with the aim of serving the fundamental interests of the broad working masses. That is why the masses have followed and supported the Party. Quite the opposite happened in the revisionist countries, where the former communist parties, corrupted by opportunism and liberalism, abandoned half-way the processes of the transformation of ownership on the socialist road, and this became a breeding ground for stagnation, degeneration and return to capitalism. Hence emerges once again the need for a thorough understanding of the orientations of the Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha that socialist ownership should be conceived and realized as a process in development, that group ownership should be brought closer to and gradually transformed into socialist ownership, should be increased and used with the highest possible economic and social efficiency;

Third, special attention must be devoted to preserving the purity of the aim of the socialist production, which is the ever better fulfilment of the growing needs of the entire society. Our Party has conceived and implemented this principle in a broad context, on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, thereby ensuring the harmonious and complex development of the economy, the development of industry together with agriculture, of the town together with the countryside, ensuring the stability and independence of the economy, the continuous uplift of the well-being and the strengthening of the defence capacity of the Homeland.

These aims of the development of production must be borne in mind well in the drafting and implementation of plans of distribution and use of the human, material and financial resources of the society according to the correct Marxist-Leninist conception of the efficiency of the economy and profitability of production. In this sense, globalism, the production of goods with a slow turnover, narrow-mindedness in cooperation, in the observance of contracts and in other directions, which hamper fulfilment of the aim of socialist production, must be combated more efficiently.

Our Party has exposed and rejected the revisionist conception of placing capitalist profit in command, above everything: production, distribution, the socio-cultural activities and any other sector. The economic «reforms» of the Khrushchevite revisionists and those who succeeded them, and the so-called workers' self-administration of the Titoites are merely unbridled demagoguery about the so-called efficiency and dynamic of the economy. In fact they failed, the clearest evidence of this is the deep crisis into which they have landed.

Fourth, a correct line about the place, the role and the roads of perfecting the commodity-money relationships and the operation of the law of value has been followed in our country,

both in theory and in practice. The Party has always demanded that they be used and applied in the context of the unified state plan and serve the aim of socialist production, without losing sight of the perspective of the gradual narrowing of the sphere of commodity production. This is one of the most delicate fields of economic relations, one on which the revisionists focussed their attacks right from the beginning in order to denigrate the Marxist-Leninist economic theory. At the 8th Congress of the Party Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «In order to open the way to the re-establishment of capitalism, the Khrushchevite revisionists attacked the fundamental theses of the Marxist-Leninist theory about commodity production and the operation of the law of value in socialism. In theory and practice they identified socialist commodity production with capitalist production. On this basis, they reformed the whole economic mechanism.»⁵ The role of such categories as cost and prices, state financing and credit, the role of the bank and finance should be further enlivened in order to strengthen financial control and to open the road to new products, to the efficiency of the

economy, to the strengthening of relations between production and consumption.

Fifth, the consistent implementation of the line of narrowing the distinctions in the level of income and the way of life between social classes and groups, the gradual narrowing of the sphere of operation of the «bourgeois right» in distribution, has been and still is another question of major theoretical and practical importance for the destinies of socialism. Our Party has always taken into account the Leninist teaching and our own revolutionary experience that private ownership begets capitalism everyday, and that allowing great distinctions in the distribution of the product for oneself in other directions it fosters the desire and creates the material conditions for making larger profit and becoming bourgeoisified.⁶ Therefore, we must continue to delve deep into the significance of the party line and policy of the construction and implementation of the relations of distribution according to work, the roads to raising the well-being of the people in our country and the harmonization of the material incentives with the moral incentives, giving priority to

the latter. The correct implementation and perfecting in the revolutionary road of these relations serves still better the mobilization of the working people in their creative activity in every field of life, in strengthening their class education.

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All these fundamental questions have capital importance for the establishment and correct application of the system of socialist relations of production, but they are vital also for their further perfecting, for the complete construction of socialist society.

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- 1 *Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 17, Eng. ed.*
 - 2 *Enver Hoxha, «On the 7th Five-year Plan», p. 69, Alb. ed.*
 - 3 *Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 61, Eng. ed.*
 - 4 *Enver Hoxha, «On the 7th Five-year Plan», p. 185, Alb. ed.*
 - 5 *Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 241, Eng. ed.*
 - 6 *Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches, 1947-1975», p. 141, Alb. ed.*

INCREASING THE EFFICIENCY OF THE ECONOMY

by **HEKURAN MARA**

The economy of socialist Albania has all the possibilities to continue its steady development at relatively high rates relying completely on its own forces

THE MARXIST-LENINIST ECONOMIC SCIENCE HAS WORKED OUT A CORRECT AND COHERENT CONCEPT, VALUABLE BOTH IN THEORY AND IN PRACTICE, OF THE EFFICIENCY OF THE ECONOMY, IN GENERAL, AND ITS INDIVIDUAL BRANCHES AND ENTERPRISES IN SOCIALISM. HENCE, THE DISCOVERY OF THE FACTORS ON WHICH THE EFFICIENCY OF THE ECONOMY DEPENDS, HAS BEEN MADE POSSIBLE.

FOR OUR CONCEPT OF THE EFFICIENCY OF THE ECONOMY TO BE DEVELOPED TO THIS STAGE WE HAD TO ENRICH CONSTANTLY, STEP BY STEP, OUR THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE FUNCTIONING OF A GENUINE SOCIALIST ECONOMY IN FIERCE AND CEASELESS STRUGGLE WITH CAPITALIST, BOURGEOIS AND REVISIONIST THEORIES AND PRACTICES, RELYING ALWAYS ON MARXISM-LENINISM. THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE THEORETICAL THOUGHT OF THE PLA, THE TEACHINGS OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA AND OUR HISTORICAL REALITY TO THIS IS A COMPONENT PART OF THIS PROCESS.

- 1 -

Our experience over many years convinces us that the **problem of the efficiency of the socialist economy cannot be posed, even less solved correctly, separated from the aim of social production.** That is why the ever better fulfilment of the needs of the whole society lies at the foundation of the Marxist-Leninist con-

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cept of the efficiency of the socialist economy.

However, that is not enough. As long as it is proved and accepted that the state plan expresses the interests and the needs of society, the needs (both of production and individual or social consumption) for every given period of time (of one or five years), as well as the resources and possibilities of society for their fulfilment, then **the most natural, the most precise and adequate criterium to assess**

the efficiency of the economy as a whole is that which reflects the drafting and implementation of the plan in its totality with the least possible expenditure of live and materialized work.

On this basis, to any increase of the social product and national income, accompanied with the increase of accumulation with absolute priority, as well as with the maintaining and systematic improvement of the well-being of the people corresponds an enhancement of the efficiency of the economy as a whole. This logic leads inevitably to the conclusion that the efficiency of every individual branch, enterprise or cooperative must necessarily be measured and assessed with the degree of fulfilment of the tasks of the state plan and of the expenditure made for their implementation.

This criterion for the measurement, assessment and expression of the efficiency of every link in the economy, that is, comparing the output with expenditure, is a correct and

truly socialist criterion from every stand-point — political, economic or social. Our planned socialist economy strives to attain and ensure the greatest efficiency while developing at steady rates and with stability. This, in turn, ensures the uninterrupted and high-rate development of the socialist economy, the increase of accumulation, the improvement of the well-being of the people and the strengthening of the political and economic independence of the country.

Our Marxist-Leninist concept of the efficiency of the economy is essentially different from and contrary to the capitalist, bourgeois or revisionist concept and practices of economism and profit. Both in principle and in practice the modern revisionists place maximum profit at the foundation of the efficiency of social production. This is typically capitalist efficiency, because it proclaims profit as the highest aim of any economic and financial activity for the whole economy or for everyone of its individual branches and enterprises, through the exploitation of the toil of workers and peasants. This is why, as Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «the modern revisionists indulged in unrestrained demagogy when they demolished the socialist economy with their economic 'reforms' under the slogan of increasing the efficiency of production.»¹

Nearly four decades of socialist construction are time enough for us to admit that the ceaseless relative and absolute increase of the total social product and the national income has been one of the major features of the historical development of the forces of production in the epoch of the Party. This dynamic trend has ensured the attainment of forecast results on the strategic plane for the construction and defence of socialism on the basis of self-reliance.

In order to see that the question here is not merely about an abstract or academic affirmation, but a concrete reality, we will bring only some of the main figures which enable us to assess both the quantitative development of the forces of production and the efficiency this development brings about. In 1980, as against 1950, the total social product increased 11.4 fold and 5.2 times over per head of population. During the same period the overall industrial product increased 33 fold and 15.2 fold respectively, and this at a time when the population grew 2.2. times over. In the years 1981-1982 the social product and national income attained the highest increases ever reached in the last years of the preceding period. Today the number of people working in the various branches of the economy is larger than the total population of the country before Liberation.

Those are some of the summary indices which show the high and historically new efficiency of our socialist system of economy. This efficiency is unimaginable under the capitalist, bourgeois or revisionist system of economy. That explains why our socialist economy is immune to such problems as crises, unemployment, stagnation, constant price rises, inflation, internal and foreign debts which have become chronic ulcers of the capitalist, bourgeois or revisionist world today. Like the evils that sprang from Pandora's box, these problems are rife in every country of this world, big or small, more or less developed industrially.

The present deep crisis of the capitalist world has revealed the ineffectiveness of the «economic reforms» carried out in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries, as well as the bankruptcy of the so-called «workers' self-administration»

of the Titoites. Neither the social bourgeois demagogy of the revisionists nor the «blessings» of the representatives of the «divine power» can cover up the facts of this crisis.

2

The raising of the efficiency of production remains an unalterable feature of our socialist system of the economy. That is why in the fundamental economic task adopted by the 8th Congress of the PLA for the 7th Five-year Plan the increase of the efficiency of the economy is considered one of the decisive links for the successful implementation of the planned task and the correct development of economic processes.

The ever greater importance of efficiency, which is a major factor for the development of our economy in the 7th Five-year Plan and in the future, is based on a number of objective conditions. Let us mention the main ones:

1. Analysis of all factors of economic development indicates that not only in the 7th Five-year Plan, but also in the future **the economy of socialist Albania has all the possibilities to continue its steady development at relatively high rates relying completely on its own forces**, on its inner material, financial, monetary and labour sources. The increase of the efficiency of the economy is and should become ever more one of the main factors of this development.

2. The absolute increase of the total social product and the accentuation of its complex character **lead inevitably to the absolute increase of material expenditure.** The problem posed here is that this trend should absolutely be accompanied by a relative reduction of the consumption of primary materials and energy for the total social

product and the reduction of expenditure per unit of product; that the increase of the total social product should be ensured, in the first place and above all, through raising the productivity of social labour; that the national income should grow at rates quicker than the increase of the total social product; that the norms of productive accumulation should be maintained at a relatively high level.

3. Another factor which underlines the importance of raising efficiency in the 7th Five-year Plan is the **introduction of ever more natural resources of the country into economic circulation.** During the 7th Five-year Plan, twice as much useful minerals as in the 6th Five-year Plan, without mentioning other assets, will be produced. This calls for a higher degree of efficiency in their utilization, as most of them are unregenerable resources and, as such, do not belong to this generation alone, but also to the coming generation.

4. The Party has correctly and constantly stressed that **the high growth-rate of the population in our country** (one of the highest in Europe beginning from the 1950's) is a phenomenon which shows the vitality of the socialist system of economy and the superiority of socialism over capitalism. It is accompanied with the full employment of the whole active population, which, in turn, is one of the major factors for the increase of the total social product and the national income, as well as for the systematic raising of the standard of living of the population.

There is no doubt that the demographic trend that has characterized the construction of socialism in our country up to now, will make itself felt in the future, too, and raise problems with which our socialist economy has all the possibilities to cope

successfully. However, it is evident that both full employment and the raising of the standard of living of the working masses calls for greater struggle and effort, tireless work and innovative and creative thinking in order to increase our natural resources and introduce them into economic circulation with ever higher efficiency, to create new jobs, to raise productivity, to steadily increase accumulation and capital investments.

3

The Marxist-Leninist theory and practice prove beyond any doubt that **the efficiency of our economy is the result of the fulfilment of the planned tasks as a whole, and of the attainment of all its economic and financial indices.** The figures of the first two years of the 7th Five-year Plan clearly indicate that all the branches and sectors of the economy, all the enterprises and cooperatives that have fulfilled the planned tasks in quantity and quality, that have implemented the tasks for the increase of productivity and profitability and the lowering of costs have also reached a high degree of efficiency as a whole.

Now that our economy is developing in the conditions when the intensive factors of production are coming more and more to the fore, **higher productivity of labour represents the main factor for the increase of both the social production and its efficiency.** «The decisive factor to ensure the rise in the efficiency of production and to carry forward the whole economy is people working with high quality and productivity,² Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us. That is why the 7th Five-year Plan foresees that about half the increase of the total industrial product will be achieved through higher pro-

ductivity of labour, and about 90 per cent of the increase of agricultural production will come about as a result of higher yields from crops and livestock. This is a major task the fulfilment of which calls for our all-out mobilization.

Studies and forecast assessment clearly indicate that **the further raising of the degree of mechanization, automation and modernization of technological processes is a great reserve for increasing the productivity of labour in our economy, in general, and in every enterprise and cooperative, in particular.** Without taking due account of this important material factor, a steady and perceptible increase of the productivity of labour is inconceivable and unattainable. Hence, all the tasks and measures provided for in the 7th Five-year Plan for the reconstruction and modernization of the existing productive capacities, the mechanization of the more toilsome work processes, and the introduction of new technological processes should be seen and assessed in this light. From this stand-point should also be seen the irreplaceable role our engineering industry with its powerful material-technical base, the whole potential of our creative and innovative scientific, economic, engineering and technical thought, all the specialized institutions of scientific research which cover the main directions of development of the productive forces, have to play in deepening the technical-scientific revolution.

Man is a very important factor for raising the productivity of labour in our economy. The figures of the last two years of the 7th Five-year Plan show that the stress should be laid, in the first place, on work norming and better work discipline. It is important to emphasize, in particular,

that in this case this can be achieved without additional expenditure on the part of society; hence, any rise in the productivity of labour will be reflected immediately in an increase of the profitability of the enterprise or cooperative.

It is not superfluous to stress also that raising of the productivity of labour is not a problem of the 7th Five-year Plan alone, but represents a constant trend stemming from the economic laws of socialism and the economic policy followed by the Party for the complete construction of socialism. As a consequence, concern, studies and measures to raise the productivity of labour should be permanent.

4

It is known that the intensification of production envisaged in the 7th Five-year Plan **must necessarily be accompanied by and lead to the reduction of the live work put in, of the primary materials and energy consumed, that is, expenditure per unit of product.** Only in this way can the national income increase at rates higher than the material expenditure made for its production, which is a synthesized expression of the correct development of the increase of the efficiency of the economy according to the tasks envisaged in the 7th Five-year Plan.

The main road to the achievement of these objectives is known. It goes through the systematic lowering of production costs for products of the existing or new structures. In this manner, on the basis of this factor, the 7th Five-year Plan envisages to ensure most of the accumulation to finance the general development of the economy, to ensure the stability of retail-trade prices, to increase re-

serves to meet the needs of the non-productive sphere, of the strengthening of the defence potential, etc. We mention all these things to emphasize the key idea that **without implementing the plan of cost neither the financial accumulation nor the efficiency envisage.**

The analysis of the figures for the first two years of the 7th Five-year Plan shows that production costs were reduced by another 100 million leks above plan. However, in determining production costs some enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, district and central departments have a tendency to «rough» planning in order to be «on the safe side».

It is of decisive value to find the ways and take the necessary technical, economic and organization measures to reduce costs, that is, of materials, energy and fuel consumed per unit of production.

At present the more urgent problem about cost reduction is **to extend the norms of material consumption to all the branches of the economy, maintaining the planned norms of expenditure unifying them within the same branches for identical or similar conditions of production establishing technical norms and lowering them further.**

The present level of the cost of some industrially processed food-stuffs is inevitably influenced by external factors, too. To ensure that production costs are lowered, the negative influence of external factors must be reduced, too. For this purpose measures to increase the percentage of oil extraction from sunflower, of sugar from sugar-beet, etc must be further intensified and more natural primary materials must be replaced with less expensive artificial primary materials, of course, without affecting quality, etc.

Spare parts figure high on the list of material expenditure in all the

branches of the economy. It is a great success for our economy that it has succeeded in producing more than 94 per cent of them. However, along with a radical improvement of the quality of spare parts, another means of meeting the needs of the economy for them is their extension and large-scale regeneration, for which modern technologies must be broadly applied.

The problem of cost entails a broad field of research and activity, not only for our economic thinking, but also for our technical and technological thinking, as well as for all the sciences and specialists that should make their contribution to the expansion of production and the reduction of expenditure made for its realization. Here the entire process of the deepening of the technical-scientific revolution must make itself felt more than hitherto. Mathematics is expected to make a special contribution in this field of studies with its methods of modelling and programming and a broader use of contemporary computational technique.

5

In our socialist economy **the lowering of costs and the increase of the profitability of the economy are directly linked with and condition the financial possibilities to increase accumulation.** As such they represent the origin of the process of accumulation based mainly on self-reliance.

The fact that one of the distinctive characteristics of the 7th Five-year Plan is the further increase of the fund of accumulation, in relative and absolute figures, is already known. Compared with the 6th Five-year Plan, the fund of accumulation is expected to increase 30.8 per cent in the 7th Five-year Plan for the five years. In this way the norm of accu-

mulation in the utilization of the national income will reach 32.8 per cent, as against nearly 30 per cent, in the 6th Five-year Plan.

The practice of nearly four decades of the planned development of our socialist economy has proved that, after ensuring the volume of accumulation required, a very important problem remains: that of its utilization with as high economic efficiency as possible and, especially, the utilization of that part of accumulation intended for productive investments. Here many problems of a principled character have already been clarified and correctly resolved by the Marxist-Leninist economic thinking. Proceeding from these solutions, which reflect the objective laws of socialist economics, it is envisaged that in 1985, as against 1983, every 1.000 leks increase of productive investments must result in an increase in the national income 2.2 times as large as the increase which resulted from the same amount of investments in the period of the 6th Five-year Plan.

Most of the productive investments envisaged in the 7th Five-year Plan will be utilized to create new productive capacities or to extend and modernize the existing ones. Hence, the completion and coming into production of the capacities in time and according to plan and, then, their full utilization according to the parameters designed, constitute a key problem to guaranteeing the efficiency expected from new productive investments, whether of the extensive type, that is, based on the existing technique, or of the intensive type, that is, with important changes in technique and technological processes.

Other problems related to investments have to do with the utilization of investments as efficiently as possible. Naturally, they are not problems

of a normative character, and, as such should be studied at any time (every time a five-year or one-year plan is drafted) in order to achieve maximum economic efficiency. Amid them, there are such problems as the establishment of correct proportions in the distribution of investments among the different spheres, enterprises and branches of the economy; the establishment of correct proportions in the utilization of investments to create new productive capacities, to reconstruct and modernize the existing ones, in the utilization of investments to achieve the complex solution of a given problem, etc. To the solution of these and other problems the economists and the other specialists are expected to make a greater contribution than up to now to reviewing the existing methods of work or working out new methods to calculate the economic efficiency of fundamental investments, the term of their amortization, etc.

The idea of higher efficiency in the utilization of productive accumulation would be incomplete **if the problem of the means of circulation were not considered**. It is true that here, too, improvements have been made, which find their expression in a more rapid turnover of the means of circulation, which makes for higher efficiency in their utilization. However, here, too, improper methods of work are still noticed and must be overcome. And here, **the global methods in assigning and planning the means of circulation** come foremost.

6

Our concept of a higher efficiency of the economy would be incomplete were it not integrated with **one of its major aspects — efficiency in foreign trade**.

The unalterable aim of our foreign trade is expressed in the objectives set in the 7th Five-year Plan. Hence, its efficiency cannot be assessed otherwise than by taking account of the very important role it is expected to play in the fulfilment of this plan.

According to the directives issued by the 8th Congress of the PLA, the main task of our foreign trade under the 7th Five-year Plan is for exports to be almost double the increase of the total social product, and ensure the complete coverage of imports with the income from exports. The raising of the efficiency of foreign trade and the enhancement of the great role it is expected to play in the fulfilment of the 7th Five-year Plan are linked with the fulfilment of this task.

The range of exports of our economy enables it to increase its competitiveness and strengthen its positions on its traditional markets, as well as to penetrate into new markets. This is done, of course, without causing internal losses for our economy or lowering the degree of profitability of our exports. Therefore, our exports must be better and more quickly adapted to the fluctuations of offer and demand on the foreign markets and, in particular, meet the requirements of these markets for goods of ever better quality and presentation, especially in the conditions of the grave crisis they are going through today.

Prices for our export goods are perceptibly influenced by our internal conditions, although they do not depend entirely on them. Our country does not dictate its prices on the foreign market, but, on the other hand, the cost of the goods we export depends wholly on our work. On the internal factor also depend the quality and quantity of the exported goods, the possibility of creating reserves and utilizing them in order to make

the best possible exploitation of the fluctuations of prices for import and export goods on the world market.

7

The further improvement of the quality of our social product is particularly important in raising its efficiency, regarding it as a complex of physical, chemical, economic, technical and, why not, aesthetical elements. This is a requirement of equal importance both for the products and goods which have already become traditional in the present structure of production and the new products and goods.

Quality in many cases is equivalent to the increase of quantity or the achievement of a set amount of economy. In this direction, our economists and specialists are faced with the task of putting on sounder scientific economic and technical-technological basis and definition, assessment, control and planning of the quality of production, as well as the definition of the factors which condition its improvement.

Seen in this light, the problem of quality must be resolved, first of all, through the utilization of the existing technical means and the new ones that will be made available during the 7th Five-year Plan, in some cases even aiming to reach advanced world levels.

8

The scientific, engineering, technical and organizational potential, which the Party has created with patience and persistence, should be utilized better to increase the efficiency of the economy. The efficient work of cadres and specialists, the efficiency work of cadres and specialists, the efficiency of studies and scientific work must be assessed and measured concretely, in so far as they are linked with the problems they have to solve and affect the efficiency of the enterprise, the cooperative, this or that branch and sector of the economy.

For the role of the specialists in raising the efficiency of the economy it is important that everyone of them, pro-

ceeding from the political and ideological line of the Party, fulfils the tasks he takes upon himself in time and with good, quality, studies modern science, thinks and creates to carry forward production and raises his sense of responsibility for improving the qualitative indices of the branch, sector, enterprise, or cooperative in which he works or lead.

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These were some of the main problems which preoccupy us connected with the raising of efficiency in the 7th Five-year Plan and later, on which the attention and efforts of the workers and specialists, who directly or indirectly have to do with the problem of production and the economy, have been concentrated.

1 Enver Hoxha, «On the 7th Five-year Plan», p. 79, Alb. ed.

2 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 63, Eng. ed.

THE RAISING OF THE QUALITATIVE LEVEL OF THE SCHOOL TO CONTEMPORARY DEMANDS

by **TEFTA CAMI**

Our school has become a popular school of a mass character. The important thing in our school consists not just in this quantitative leap, but first of all, in the qualitative leap which has entirely transformed all its features and has made it a new revolutionary school

IN THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA A DEEP-GOING REVOLUTION HAS BEEN CARRIED OUT IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION, A REVOLUTION WHICH RELIES ON THE TEACHINGS OF THE CLASSICS OF MARXISM-LENINISM, THE PARTY AND COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, AND ON THE REVOLUTIONARY PRACTICE OF OUR COUNTRY, AND WHICH HAS AS ITS MAIN AIM TO ENSURE THE ALL-ROUND COMMUNIST EDUCATION OF THE YOUNGER GENERATIONS. ON THIS BASIS OUR SCHOOL HAS ALWAYS MADE PROGRESS, REVOLUTIONIZING ITS CONTENT, PERFECTING ITS STRUCTURES AND ITS METHODS OF TEACHING AND EDUCATION. THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM TODAY IS COMPLETE AND RESPONDS FULLY TO THE NEEDS OF THE COUNTRY. THE SCHOOL HAS MADE AN OUTSTANDING CONTRIBUTION TO THE RAISING OF THE CULTURAL LEVEL OF THE YOUNGER GENERATIONS AND THE WORKING MASSES. IT HAS CONTINUOUSLY STRENGTHENED ITS OWN NATIONAL CHARACTER, ITS LINKS WITH LIFE AND WITH REVOLUTIONARY PRACTICE. THE PROGRAMS AND TEXTBOOKS USED IN OUR SCHOOL ARE NEW, ORIGINAL, BASED ON SOUND IDEOLOGICAL AND SCIENTIFIC CRITERIA, AND SERVE THE ATTAINMENT OF ITS AIMS.

The most consolidated link in our educational system is the 8-year school, which realized with success the task of drawing all the 6-year old children. It makes a valuable contribution to the ideo-political and moral-

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-civic formation of the pupils and has equipped them with the basic scientific knowledge necessary to continue studies in secondary schools and to orientate themselves well in life. Four-year secondary school system covers almost all the territory of the country. The secondary professional

school, especially the agricultural secondary school in the countryside, has developed in breadth. Today secondary schools take in half of the pupils who finish the 8-year school against 34.2 per cent in 1975, and this figure has a tendency to rise from one year to the other. About 80 per cent of the secondary school students are enrolled in professional schools of 65 specialties, 12 of which have been opened in the last ten years. In the course of its existence the higher school system of our country has trained over 50 thousand specialists in 60 branches and profiles. It has coped well with all its tasks and has made its valuable contribution to the major realizations of our economy, the achievements of science and culture. In the school-years 1981-1985 will be enrolled 45 per cent more students than in the school-years 1976-1980. The scientific-research activities of the higher schools have extended continuously, assisting the raising of the

teaching level and the solution of many problems of production and science, and the socialist construction of the country. Scientific qualification and post-university specialization, which is gradually becoming an important link of our higher school, has also developed.

After the triumph of the people's revolution, the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha gave orientations for and defined the contents and character of our national school, the roads of its progress and uninterrupted development in dialectical unity with the entire economic and social development of the country. Our school has made important achievements and profound transformations, especially in the last 15 years of its further revolutionization. From the time when Comrade Enver Hoxha held his speech «On the Further Revolutionization of Our School» in 1968 and the 8th Plenum of the CC of the PLA in 1969 to the 8th Congress of the PLA, an entire Marxist-Leninist platform for the all-round development of our revolutionary education and school has been worked out. The implementation of this program with success has given the country a new socialist school with a clear national class character, a school which is distinguished from any other bourgeois and revisionist school as regards principles.

Our school is not considered the exclusive domain of the teachers and pupils, but has become a great question of the Party, the state and the entire people. Herein lies its strength and superiority, one of the deepest reasons of its ceaseless advance and flowering.

Our school has become a popular school of a mass character. The important thing in our school consists not just in this quantitative leap, but first of all, in the qualitative leap which has entirely transformed all its features and has made it a new revolutionary school. All its cycles, all its structures and its content are permeated more and more thoroughly by the materialist dialectical philosophy. The theoretical-scientific thinking of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, the rich experience of the socialist construction of the country, the outsta-

nding national traditions of our people have been more and more consistently reflected in our school. It has been integrated into the entire socio-economic development of the country, always playing an active role in this development. It uses revolutionary, living methods of teaching and education, applies socialist democracy in unity with proletarian discipline on an ever broader scale, basing itself on the intensive communist education of the pupils and students, in struggle against all anti-socialist, bourgeois and revisionist influences and manifestations.

The Marxist-Leninist principle of the linking up of lessons with life, with production work, with physical and military training, with great revolutionary actions, has been put into practice and has established itself as a living reality of our school.

The linking up of school with life, with the requirements of the economic and cultural development, is a fundamental question. It requires that the school should be always awake to the new developments and demand and respond ever better to them.

Consistent in its Marxist-Leninist course, the Party has worked out the fundamental orientation according to which we must be guided in all our work by the principle of relying on our own forces and internal reserves. This is not just a principle, but a great working program, too. The current five-year plan is the first which we are carrying out relying completely on our own forces, means and possibilities. It is clear that the successful realization of this plan and of the future plans requires more knowledge and culture, needs people of great faculties and abilities, with a high contemporary technical and scientific level, who have initiative and work with imagination. Thus, the foundations of this preparation and formation of the youth and working people of our country are laid and will be laid ever better by our school.

The vigorous technical-scientific revolution in our country develops on bases entirely different from those of the bourgeois and revisionist countries, and is alien to any technocratic treatment of its problems. The technical-

scientific revolution in our country is a revolution in the full meaning of the word, because its objective is to ensure the development and progress of the country, to defend the socialist Homeland, to raise the level of well-being of the people. It has not been reduced to a concern of narrow groups of specialists, or a technical-professional élite, but has assumed mass character and proportions, extending in all fields of life. It encourages the broad working masses to acquire scientific knowledge and to carry out scientific experimentation, thus, building up the trust of the cadres and working people in their own thinking and creative abilities.

Nevertheless, the deepening of this revolution cannot be conceived outside the present powerful tendencies of the development of production, science, technique and technology, outside the colossal increase of scientific information and its dynamic changes, outside the unity and integration of specialization and knowledge with their application, outside the shortening of the limit of time from the scientific discovery to its practical application. In these conditions the integration of education with science and production, with the technique and technology of production, is proceeding satisfactorily. Education today is becoming a powerful investment in the economy, which repays itself several times with the possibilities it creates for the great uplift of the qualification of the working people, and consequently, the productivity of their work. Precisely for these very explicit reasons the raising of the scientific level and the quality of the organization and management of work is required now more than ever in the past. This need in the specific sector of education and culture is felt more acutely and urgently.

The historic decisions of the 8th Congress of the Party, the new stage of the development of socialism and the present and perspective conditions of the development of our country dictate the need for the level of the school to be raised to achieve a new quality, so that the younger generation should acquire more knowledge and culture. At the 8th Congress of

the Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha instructed: «Now the time has come for all the forces of our education and teaching front to concentrate more seriously and in a more qualified way on raising the quality of the work of the school, without neglecting constant care to further increase the mass participation in education in general, and especially in certain of its links. This need is dictated not only by the specific internal development of education, the school and pedagogy, but in the first place, by the general economic, social, scientific and technical development of the entire life of the country.»¹

The successful solution of the urgent problems of the extension of the popular education, the stabilization of the school structures, the theoretical elaboration of the problems of its revolutionization and the experience accumulated in the implementation of these problems in practice, are specific internal developments of the education, in which the struggle for the all-round qualitative development of the school will be based.

This process has specific aspects in the various categories of schools. In 8-year education, which is complete with young teachers who have finished higher-school studies, and this is to be done for the lower-cycle of the 8-year schools, from the 1st to the 4th grade, objective possibilities have been created to raise requirements for better quality. In secondary education, which is going through a very rapid quantitative development and in which the professional schools predominate, the struggle to raise quality appears still more complicated, whereas in the higher schools the conditions to raise the level for work, in general, are becoming more and more favourable.

The orientations of the Congress of the PLA are a great program of work for raising the qualitative level of our school. The popular discussion which was organized in education circles showed clearly in what this new quality consists and what directions must be followed to achieve this objective. The implementation of these orientations and decisions of the Party will further deepen the process of the

revolutionization of the school.

We are working continuously to further strengthen the application of the principles and fundamental features on which our school is built, such as the Marxist-Leninist ideological axis, its national character, the linking up of school with life and production, the three components of the school: lessons, productive work, physical and military training, with the objective of materializing them in the most rigorous and consistent manner.

The raising of quality is a duty for the entire system of our school, and the important thing here is to reflect the contemporary achievements and sciences in the most faithful manner. In the branches of natural and technical sciences work is going on to reflect the achievements of our science and the contemporary science in the world, in compliance with the conditions of our country and without mechanically transplanting them in our country and school in time and continuously. The qualitative uplift of the social sciences which are taught in our schools, is closely connected with the complete materialization of the theoretical thinking of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, with the conclusions of social and Albanological sciences. In these sciences it is totally impermissible to make borrowings from foreign texts, because the character and ideological contents of our school are completely alien to them.

Continuous work is done to strengthen and consolidate the revolutionary concepts of our Party on the school, in ceaseless struggle against intellectualist, technocratic and bureaucratic concepts. It is the duty of our school to ensure that the youth are educated and moulded with stable convictions and are always guided by healthy revolutionary motifs about the school and lessons, linking this closely with the supreme interests of the Party, the people and socialism. The aim of the school is to educate the younger generations with the desire to learn and to ensure that they learn not only at school, but continuously, throughout their lives.

The 8th Congress of the Party emphasized that we must combat alien remnants and manifestations in our

school, «a certain traditionalism in the presentation of the basic scientific disciplines, which has become outdated,» and to liquidate it whenever it manifests itself.

The struggle against traditionalism is one of the important conditions in which the education and raising of the younger generations is carried further forward. Traditionalism has nothing in common with the outstanding tradition of our national school, with its positive experience, which has been continuously enriched and must be generalized better. The struggle against anachronistic traditionalism consists of the fight against manifestations of conservatism which breed routine, formalism, schematism and bureaucracy, marking time and work lacking in perspective, which, in turn, leads to the divorce of school from life.

Our school interprets the results of science on the basis of the dialectical methods and with class tendentiousness. The objective of our revolutionized school is to give more scientific information and knowledge in conformity with the age of the pupils and students and to find the most appropriate forms and means for knowledge to be acquired, assimilated and implemented in practice.

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The quality of the teaching-educative work of the school depends on the ideological and scientific level not of a single subject or some specific subjects, but of all the subjects without exception. Every cycle, every discipline of the educational system is a definite objective in the all-round formation of pupils and students. Therefore, the transformations which have been and are being made in our school, in the scientific content of the school, must be harmonized and strongly based not only on different subjects but also on the whole cycle of the entire educational system. Great care is devoted to the transition from one cycle of the school to the other,

in which the problems are more conspicuous, such as in the transitory stage from the 4th to the 5th form of the 8-year school and to the 1st course of the secondary and higher school.

In all this process precedence is given to purely ideological subjects, and the subjects on problems of a national character, which, by and large, determine the physiognomy of our school. These teaching subjects have been consolidated in the course of time, from one year to the other, nevertheless, the objective of making the necessary differentiation and a special gradation indispensable for all school ages, a thing which has brought about a certain overloading, repetitions and unnecessary parallelisms, which occur in the schooling of our youth, has not been achieved completely. That is the reason why further improvements are made, taking account of the achievements of contemporary science and of the new social manifestations and processes, while making the criticism of the bourgeois-revisionist views deeper.

The teachers of the subjects of Marxism-Leninism in all categories of schools are doing a good work, which they must improve further, in order to ensure that the main ideas and arguments of the documents of the Party and the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha are conveyed to the pupils and students in conformity with their age, the level of the school, the specific nature of the subject and the branch.

The teachers and pedagogues of the history of Albania, the Albanian language and literature must work to put these subjects on a more extensive theoretical base and to reflect the achievements of our Albanological sciences in the most complete and comprehensive manner. In these fields we have a number of fundamental studies and important works, we have organized scientific conferences and symposiums which have enriched them with new information and argument. The stage reached in the history of Albania requires that the class standpoint of the subject, the phenomena and events should be treated in a more complete and the broadest possible

manner, the analysis made more profound and with greater generalizing effect. Apart from this, many foreign bourgeois-revisionist historians of the past and the present have deliberately treated problems of the history of our people in a distorted light and with ulterior anti-Albanian motifs, indeed, they have even misrepresented a number of key points in the history of our people. In these conditions it is the duty of our school to organize an ideological fight against the present idealist trends in history and geography, to provide convincing proofs to expose and refute the erroneous treatment, falsifications and distortions the bourgeois-revisionist authors have made and continue to make of the history of our people.

In the domain of the study of the Albanian language and literature, the tasks of our school are great, the scope of activity is broad. The final aim is to equip the pupils with stable knowledge of the language within the 8-year school cycle, and to enable them to use it correctly. The Albanian literature acquaints our pupils and students with the great values of the oral creativeness of the people, imparts sound knowledge of the Albanian literature, especially of socialist realism, as well as of the best achievements of the progressive world literature, enabling them to appreciate and judge literary works and phenomena, and reach sound theoretical conclusions on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist aesthetic thinking.

Apart from history, language and literature, there are other subjects of a national character and content, such as the geography of Albania, geology and subjects on art, etc. Proper attention is paid to these subjects, in order to affirm the successes of our scientists and our Marxist-Leninist views.

In order to raise the scientific level of the school and to keep it abreast of the contemporary developments, the need arises for strengthening the role and the contribution of the natural and technical sciences in all categories of school. The knowledge which is imparted through them must be supplemented, renewed and kept up to day from time to time, in conformity with the present rapid development

of sciences, technique and technology, the achievements and with demands of the technical-scientific revolution in our country. Development in the above-mentioned sciences is accompanied with a considerable amount of information. The higher school in particular, the authors of textbooks and school programs, with their careful and vigilant selective work, are a sure defence against the many speculations on scientific and technical problems and the misleading noise about information. On the other hand, in all this work we take account of the fact that the school is the main place in which the pupils and students acquire the fundamental knowledge of every science, and enables them to enrich and deepen these fundamentals continuously after school. In this aspect, every subject of these fields is treated as a concentrated matter of the respective science, with models and conceptions built to suit every age of the pupils and students and the possibilities of the school. With this we have in mind also the important fact that the other channel through which scientific information is acquired with success, such as the radio, TV programs, the press, etc., in a closer collaboration with the school, help the pupils and students, the teachers and pedagogues to gain contemporary knowledge.

The main roads to achieving the desired scientific level of this process, which is as complex as it is imperative, within the framework of the school, are connected, first of all, with the improvement of the conceptions and presentation of information according to a definite pattern and with more generalizing structures. This constitutes the basic and stable structure of all the system of knowledge and the habits which are acquired in a given subject. Laying the stress on conceptions and fundamental knowledge, we devote special attention to avoiding overburdening the subjects with them. It must be understood that these concepts and knowledge are acquired in a process of varied and gradual application in teaching practice, through which the first stage of linking up theory with practice and influencing

the theoretical and practical formation of pupils and students is realized.

The trend of an «osmosis» of contemporary sciences is becoming widespread today. Many mathematical subjects are treated according to algebraic methods; the elaborate methods and conceptions on physics find ever greater application in the discovery of chemical mechanisms; biology exploits a great arsenal of means and methods from non-biological disciplines; the efficient methods of computational mathematics have been introduced in many technical and applied sciences and in calculation of analyses; modern methods and means are used in the solution of different problems, etc. This tendency, which in many cases goes to the point of the merger of some sciences, due to the complex character of scientific research, requires that all this should find reasonable reflection, especially in the discipline of the higher school.

Development in our country is a vigorous phenomenon, which brings about much the same development of the school. The linking up of the school as closely as possible with life, with our achievements and with the entire technical and scientific progress, is a great motive force for the scientific and pedagogic modernization of the school and for avoiding traditionalism.

As a direct result of the evaluation our Party has made of the basic theoretical sciences continuously, the role of mathematical-natural subjects in all the categories of our schools has been strengthened. New premises have been created so that these subjects respond better to the needs for a more healthy formation of the pupils and students. Their equipment with knowledge of the contemporary level is possible beginning from the 8-year and secondary schools because the didactic-teaching equivalents of the theories, laws, concepts and basic methods of the respective scientific disciplines have been intensively worked. Hence, the possibilities to create models suitable for the younger age-groups exist.

Mathematics will undergo changes of its content, structure and manner of treatment in the school. All these

changes will be done by taking account accurately and always serving the main aim of this discipline, which is to ensure the general formation of students and to assist them ever better in acquiring professional knowledge in their respective disciplines. It will be enriched with new concepts and methods, part of which will affect the whole structure of the subject from its beginnings in the 8-year school. In the 8-year school, especially, efforts will be made to avoid strictly deductive and untimely treatments of the subject, relying more broadly on intuitive and inductive treatments, while the former will gradually build up at a later stage. The logical continuity of the subject of study requires that transformations in the secondary school should be made posterior to their realization in the 8-year school. In the meantime, a preparatory measure has been taken to make some transformations in the secondary school, without affecting the existing structure of the subject.

In physics, the concepts derived from the theory of molecular kinetic, electronics, the wave and corpuscular theories, will become a still broader basis for the interpretation of many other phenomena of this domain. The fundamentals of the course of chemistry will consist of the theory of the structure of atom and chemical combinations and, on this basis, proceed with the explanation of the chemical conceptions, manifestations, reactions, etc. Knowledge about the cell, genetics, etc. will be reflected more thoroughly in the subject of biology, and so on. Experiments, either for illustration or as a laboratory course, will occupy an important place in the above-mentioned subjects, and serve to enrich the source of knowledge. It will enable the students and pupils to develop their power of observation and experimentation to sum up and interpret conclusions, to cultivate their intuition and dexterities which they will need in scientific experimentation in their practical activity of production.

Along with the general theoretical and cultural formation of the pupils,

it is necessary that the basic theoretical subjects should serve professional subjects better. Therefore, their volume and extension must be defined in conformity with the objectives of the respective speciality and branch. Thus, in the technical schools, mathematics will occupy a greater place than in the agricultural schools, at a time when biology and chemistry will be treated more extensively and more completely in the latter category of school.

It has become clear now that the rational road to the achievement of the objectives set for the higher school is the strengthening of the basic theoretical subjects and the strictly professional subjects of the speciality. These two groups of subjects ensure a sounder and broader preparation and training of the students. Although the most stabilized part of the professional culture is based on them, the vigorous development of the perspective sciences, which sometimes has altered even the fundamental principles of them, raise the imperative need of the reflection of these changes in the school programs and texts. The programs will envisage changes so as to make room for the introduction of contemporary concepts and methods, especially the new methods which the modern computational technique has rendered very efficient.

The further consolidation of the professional school raises the need for a general uplift of the level of professional, technical, agricultural subjects, etc. This is achieved by basing the respective programs and textbooks within reasonable limits on the theories, concepts and methods of the basic theoretical subjects and subjects of the speciality proper, the main notions of the general and professional subjects, avoiding any repetition. For this to be done, especially in information of an encyclopaedic character we insist that redundant theorizing, fragmentation and narrow practicism, concentrating on contemporary models of modern technology and technique, on representative and generalizing models, must be avoided.

Considerable alterations will be

made in these subjects for the higher schools, in particular. They will reflect in the most coherent manner the knowledge accumulated in the category of theoretical subjects, especially in the colossal wealth of the new methods, which fundamental disciplines have made available for this purpose. On the other hand, professional culture in the higher school will be completely brought up to date with the main trends and realizations in the development of technology and technique. New subjects which the development of science has made an integral part of the culture of speciality, will be added. Those subjects which no longer make their contribution to the training of cadres either will be eliminated altogether, or will be attached to other subjects, and still other disciplines have been or will be treated as a separate subject on the basis of the common laws and phenomena they treat, etc.

The mastering of the theory of information, and especially its active application in the professional and theoretical subjects, in school and in science, by the students and pedagogues, the introduction, on a broad scale, of the minor computational technique in the higher school, is one of the questions which needs to be treated further and with priority, because it is of special value for the modernization of the teaching process, the raising of the efficiency of this process, the further transformation of the traditional structure of many subjects.

Special care has been given to strengthening the links of school with life and production, the ideological education and tempering of the you-

nger generation and to the professional training of pupils and students ever better. The new programs of the productive work and professional practice courses for secondary schools, for the higher technical and agricultural schools have begun to be used from this school-year, according to the orientation that they should be conceived and treated as one and a whole, both in content and organization and in their organic links with lessons. This is a new conception which requires a higher level of the treatment of subjects and, along with a sounder ideological tempering of the pupils and students, ensure a more complete professional preparation and practical habits.

The struggle and efforts of our school for the consolidation and qualitative strengthening of the physical and military training has found its concrete expression in the day-to-day activity of our pupils and students, in their zeal and persistence to study and master the military art of people's war. In the implementation of the tasks of the 8th Congress improvements of the structure and in the contents of the physical-military education have been made. The changes in the programs and the inclusion of the requirements of the Military Art of People's War in other similar subjects ensure the more complete extension and harmonization of this discipline with lessons and achieve a more efficient physical and military preparation of the pupils and students. The gradual achievements of the objectives envisaged in the program from one grade to the other and from the secondary school to the higher school, helps to define more clearly the volume of knowledge,

the amount of practical habits needed to train the pupils and students as soldiers and cadres able to carry out their tasks in the field of battle.

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The scientific work of the school and the organs of education should become more massive, occupy the place it deserves and contribute to raising the quality of work. Of special importance here is the well-studied co-ordination and collaboration of theory with practice, the rapid seizure of the problems and their correct solution. The pedagogical science, along with the study and generalization of the experience hitherto, must find new and more fruitful solutions. The field of pedagogical studies is very extensive. In our country it covers methodological, fundamental theoretical and applicative studies and the working out of structures and models which have to do with the drafting of new programs and texts, the study of advanced experience and the creative activity of individual teachers and schools. The problems of perfecting the school documentation and those concerning the methods of teaching and education, the problems of raising the efficiency of teaching-educational work, have become foremost problems at present.

1 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 140, Eng. ed.

SUPERIORITY OF SOCIALIST AGRICULTURE *by IBRAHIM BAÇI*

Albania knows no agricultural crises, no shortage of food-stuffs. On the contrary, it has secured the uninterrupted increase of the real per capita income of the peasantry (like that of the entire people) and the increase of the per capita consumption of food products, clothing and footwear articles

THE PSR OF ALBANIA HAD A VERY GOOD HARVEST IN 1983. REPORTS CAME FROM THE PLAINS DISTRICTS FIRST, AND THEN FROM THOSE IN THE MOUNTAINS, ABOUT THE VERY GOOD RESULTS ACHIEVED IN THE PRODUCTION OF WHEAT. THEIR AVERAGE YIELDS OF 50, 60, 70 AND EVEN MORE QUINTALS OF WHEAT PER HECTARE IN THE PLAINS ZONE, ESPECIALLY IN THE ZONE OF PRIORITY INTENSIFICATION, ARE HIGHER THAN THOSE TAKEN IN DURING THE PAST AND COMPARE FAVOURABLY WITH HIGH WORLD STANDARDS.

Achievements made in this field crop constitute no exception. They are followed by a very promising harvest of many other field crops and in all the branches and sectors of the agricultural economy. Likewise, these achievements are not the result of an accident, nor are they temporary. The production and the yields of wheat have been on the continuous rise. In 1980, against 1970, yields of wheat increased 63 per cent, while many districts achieved yields averaging from 10 to 16.6 quintals per hectare more than in 1980. This dynamic of growth, this road of the intensive development of the production of wheat, is seen also in the growth of production of other field crops, fruit-growing, livestock-farming.

Our socialist agriculture, this basic branch of the people's economy, has

IBRAHIM BAÇI — Publicist, specialist in agricultural questions

continuously increased every year the volume of food-stuffs for the population and primary materials for the industry, despite the weather conditions. During the nearly four decades of the existence of the people's state power (1944-1983) agricultural production has increased twice as rapidly as the increase of the population. In the 6th Five-year Plan (1976-1980) the annual average of agricultural production was 21 per cent higher than that of the 5th Five-year Plan (1971-1975). In 1980, as against 1960, agricultural production for unit of arable land and for each agricultural worker has increased 1.7 and 1.6 fold respectively. On the basis of these sound fundamental achievements, in the envisages for the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985) the total agricultural production increase is set at 30-32 per cent higher than that of the 6th Five-year Plan.

Such are the rates of development of agriculture. Albania knows no

agricultural crises, or shortage of food-stuffs. On the contrary, it has secured the uninterrupted increase of the real per capita income of the peasantry (like that of the entire people), and the increase of the per capita consumption of the food products, clothing and footwear articles. The co-operativist peasantry and all the agricultural workers of the country, with the powerful support of the working class, under the leadership of the Party, have concentrated their efforts on these following targets: the increase of production in order to ensure the ever better supply of the people with food-stuffs and to improve their structure; the large-scale increase of the agricultural primary and raw materials for the light and food-processing industries; the gradual cutting of that small amount of imported food-stuffs and other agricultural primary and raw materials; the increase of the volume of export of agricultural finished products and raw materials; the increase and strengthening of the necessary reserves. These fundamental targets and tasks are achieved on the basis of the socialist development of agriculture, the large-scale modern production, closely connected with all other branches and sectors of the people's economy.

The agricultural workers have ensured, for some years in succession, the whole amount of bread grains needed, through the increase of production. The year 1976 marked the beginning of this period of great economic and political importance for our country. From 1976 to 1983, achieving self-sufficiency in bread grains and increasing their reserves, a powerful impulse has been given to the whole economy of the country; the foundations of the independence of our socialist Homeland have been further cemented; possibilities have been created to cope more easily with unexpected situations; great sums in foreign currency have been relieved, which have been used to fulfil other needs of the economy. At present our country has become completely independent of the import of bread grain. The cooperativists and the working people of state farms see the tasks for the production of bread grain as the primary task of agriculture.

Achievements in the production of bread grain and in the development of agriculture, in general, are the result of the correct agrarian policy the Party of Labour of Albania has always followed and of the complete superiority of the cooperativist order, which guides the peasantry on the brilliant road of socialism. They are the fruit of the tireless work of our cooperativist peasantry which loyally follows the road indicated by the Party and consistently carries out the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha on the socialist development of agriculture and the revolutionary transformation of the countryside. With full confidence in the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, the line and directives for the construction of socialism in the countryside, the peasantry of our country has always followed the Party loyally. This is how it acted in the application of the Land Reform in the years immediately after the liberation of the country and, later, during the work for the collectivization of agriculture, the setting up of the higher-type cooperatives, the formation of the common herds of cooperativist families and now in the efforts for priority intensification of the plains zones of the country at rapid rates.

This correct road has found complete confirmation in practice. The superiority of the cooperativist order is evident in the increase of production and yields, in the abundance of market commodities, such as food products, clothing, etc in the continuous improvement of the material and spiritual life of the peasantry. Our country does not know the phenomena of the drain of the countryside as happens in many capitalist and revisionist countries, but, on the contrary, the countryside flourishes and prospers more and more each day. Socialist Albania, with a predominantly mountainous terrain, with a limited area of arable land per capita, has everything it needs.

The collectivization of agriculture, this radical revolutionary change in the social and economic relations of our new countryside, has confirmed its superiority over the capitalist mode of production in agriculture. The establishment of the socialist relations of production in the countryside was the foundation on which work began to overcome the former backwardness of the extensive primitive agriculture, to create the premises to implant the new socialist ideology and culture there, and to further strengthen the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry.

The Party and the people's state power have carried out a great work for the improvement and irrigation of the land, for the extension of the mechanization of agriculture, for its ever better supply with chemical fertilizers and selected seeds, for the uninterrupted raising of the ideological and political, technical and professional level of the working people, for the development of our agricultural sciences and for putting them in the service of production. The productive forces of agriculture have developed uninterruptedly along with the establishment and continuous improvement of the socialist relations of production in the countryside.

The area of arable land in our country has more than doubled against 1938. Initially this was done through the land improvement schemes and the draining of marshes and bogs, and later through the opening up of new lands in hills and

mountains. Before Liberation our country had an irrigation that covered only 10 per cent of the arable land, whereas today about 55 per cent of the arable land is under irrigation. The primitive work tools of the farmer have been replaced with tractors and modern means for the cultivation of crops. In 1981, as against 1960, the volume of mechanized work increased over 7 fold, the use of chemical fertilizers about 12.7 fold. The amount of various high productivity seed has increased about 3 fold. All these factors not to mention more of them, have facilitated the introduction and application of the advanced contemporary technologies in the agricultural and livestock production.

A factor of great impact for the intensification of agriculture are our agricultural sciences. Today there are 8 scientific-research institutions and 13 stations carrying out their scientific activity in the direct service of agriculture. Nearly 4,000 themes of study covering different fields of agriculture have been presented, and about 3,700 groups of workers and thousands upon thousands of specialists engage in scientific-research work. The Institute of Agricultural Research in Lushnja, in collaboration with other scientific centres and with the working people of agriculture, has solved a series of important problems of genetics and agrotechnics of wheat, without mentioning its work on other field crops. Apart from those working in the scientific institutions, there is also a whole army of specialists who carry out scientific work directly in the agricultural economies and who are in a position to put into practice the scientific information and results without delay. Until today the Higher Agricultural Institute of Tirana has trained 8,700 specialists of agriculture in various specialities. The number of agricultural secondary schools, both part-time and full-time, which function all over the country is 386 and 235 respectively. The higher and middle cadres of agriculture direct the agricultural work with ability, while many of the middle cadres work directly in production. The agricultural pursuit is today the field of work for people with schooling, knowledge, culture and professional ability.

CONSTANT IMPROVEMENT OF HOUSING CONDITIONS

by **IDEALE HASKO**

321 841 new apartments and dwelling-houses were built until 1980. As a result of all this construction work, now over 80 per cent of the population lives in new houses built in the years of the people's state power

HOUSING CONSTRUCTION IN THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA IS AN EXPRESSION OF THE PARTICULAR CARE OF THE PARTY FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF THE WORKING MASSES OF TOWN AND COUNTRY AND FOR THE RAISING OF THEIR LEVEL OF WELLBEING.

As in all the other fields of the economy, in housing also Albania inherited a very great backwardness from the past. Before the triumph of the people's revolution people lived in individual privately-owned houses and most of the towns had an oriental look. In general, families were very large and led a patriarchal way of life, which was reflected also in their way of living. Houses occupied an unnecessarily large area and as often as not were improperly situated. Despite their small population, towns were over-extended and had no proper roads, water supply, or sewerage systems.

Thousands of houses destroyed during the Second World War must be added to the great backwardness of the pre-Liberation period.

Within short time the working masses, under the leadership of the PLA, rebuilt the towns and villages destroyed during the war. Then, the whole country set out on the road of the rapid economic development. New factories were set up, new mines opened, new motor roads and railways laid, the collectivization of agriculture was carried out, etc. The complex development of the economy brought about the numerical increase of the working class, which, in turn, made necessary the construction of large tenement houses.

For the new buildings to meet not only the requirements of the time but also those of the perspective, our designing institutes worked out long-term regulating plans for all the towns and dwelling centres of the country. Now all towns are built according to these plans, with their road network, their water and power supply, their

sewerage system, their parks, etc. Along with dwelling-houses other necessary buildings, like schools, shops, ambulances, hospitals, etc. were also built. Particular attention was paid to constructions in the countryside. As a result, villages now are more concentrated, and the newly built dwelling-houses cluster around the village centre which is separated from the production objects. Every village has its well-defined boundaries as well as its plan regulating all building.

Particular attention is paid to the designing of mass dwelling-houses, which has undergone increasing typification. At the same time, in order to avoid monotony, design types for dwelling-houses take account of the place of their building, as well as of the climatic conditions and relief and, above all, aim at a functional solution of external and internal architectonic problems. Along with modern urban-architectonic elements, our designers have skilfully introduced traditional elements of house building.

The Party of Labour of Albania, having always at the centre of its attention the uplifting of the well-being of the working people, has made large investments for housing construction, which goes on increasing from year to year, from one five-year plan to the other. On the other hand, the people themselves, especially in the countryside, have built a great number of personal dwelling-houses. This has been achieved because of the ever growing well-being and the large possibilities the state has created for the cooperativist peasantry. Every year the state allocates huge funds for housing construction in the countryside and grants the peasants loans to build new houses or repair or enlarge the existing ones, while, for their part, the agricultural cooperatives assist their members by putting at their disposal special builders' teams. In order to facilitate the building of houses for the peasantry, the state sells them the necessary construction materials, like timber, cement, bricks, tiles, lime, etc. through its trade network in the countryside.

In this manner 321 841 new apartments and dwelling-houses were built until 1980. As a result of all this construction work, now over 80 per cent of the population lives in new houses built in the years of the people's state power.

Speaking about housing construction at the 8th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: «The improvement of the housing conditions of the population has always been one of the important issues of the Party's policy in the field of well-being.»¹ In implementation of the instruction of the Party during the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985) over 80 000 new apartments and houses to accommodate about 400 000 people, will be built. This total of about 50 000 apartments will be built with state funds in towns, industrial centres and agricultural enterprises. In this five-year plan housing construction with state funds will undergo an increase of 90 per cent compared with what was done in the 6th Five-year Plan. The state has

made the investments to cope with this great volume of housing construction and taken appropriate technical and organizational measures. A powerful construction materials industry, comprising several cement factories, many brick kilns, a factory of eternit tubes and sheets, lime kilns, etc., has been set up, while the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical complex, among other things, produced steel for construction purposes. Good work has been done to increase the degree of mechanization of work, to broaden the scope of use of pre-fabricated elements, etc., as well as to increase the utilization of cheaper, lighter and more beautiful building materials. With the entering into production of the factory of pre-fabricated construction elements, whole city quarters are being built with pre-fabricated elements in Tirana and some other cities of the country. This has greatly sped up the rate of housing construction. An apartment of pre-fabricated elements is built twice as quickly as an apartment with conventional building materials. All this is in line with the instruction of the Party to turn building sites into assembly sites.

The great army of construction cadres trained in the years of the people's state power make a particularly important contribution to the construction of all these objects. Right from its foundation the University of Tirana has paid special attention to the training of building engineers. From that time on, it has turned out hundreds of architects, town-planners, constructors and hydro-technicians. Middle building schools train not only building technicians of medium training but also qualified specialists capable of coping with the large-scale construction work that is being done in our country. Construction with the voluntary contribution of the population also occupies an important place in housing construction in towns and dwelling centres. This is a peculiarity of our country. Dwelling-houses are also built with the voluntary contri-

bution of the workers or employees of particular factories or institutions and with the powerful support of the state which provides funds, construction materials and specialists. The apartments built in this manner are intended for the accommodation of those who take part in their construction. This action of a profound political and ideological character started in 1968 in implementation of the instruction issued by Comrade Enver Hoxha in Peshkopia in December 1967, when work was going on for the liquidation of the consequences of the November 30, 1967 earthquake in the districts of Peshkopia, Librazhd and some other districts. Housing construction with voluntary contribution and the powerful socialist solidarity which manifested itself all over the country on the occasion of this natural calamity showed that there existed great possibilities and reserves in this field. Until the end of 1980 45 572 apartments were built with the voluntary contribution of the working people. This initiative continues and has assumed particularly large proportions in the recent years.

In the process of the great construction work that has been and is being done all over the country entirely, new cities and towns, like Laç, New Kukës, Cërrik, Ballsh, Kurbnesh, etc. have sprung up.

The state has given great assistance for the liquidation of the consequences of the earthquakes that have from time to time struck our country. In the period 1967-1982 our country has suffered 6 serious earthquakes which have caused considerable damage. In all cases the state has taken all the necessary organization measures to complete the construction of new houses or the repair of the damaged ones within the shortest time possible. The April 15, 1979 earthquake which struck the districts of Shkodra, Lezha and some other districts, affected 500 villages and several towns, destroying 17 000 dwelling-houses and economic and socio-cultural objects and leaving about 100 000 thousand people homeless.

To cope with this calamity the state immediately allocated huge funds and large amounts of construction materials and the whole people, from the North to the South, sprang as one to the assistance of their quake-stricken brothers. In October of the same year (within 5 months), all damage was eliminated and the houses that were built with state funds were donated to the quake victims. For the elimination of the consequences of the April 15, 1979 earthquake the Party and the people's state power spent 150 million leks whereby as many dwelling-houses were built anew or repaired as those of the cities of Durrës and Berat taken together.

All this is unimaginable in the countries of the capitalist and rev-

sionist world in which earthquakes are terrible calamities causing wounds that remain unhealed for a long time.

The many dwelling-houses that are built with state funds all over the country are given the working masses against a symbolic rent. One to two days' work are sufficient to pay the monthly rent of an average apartment. Characteristic is the fact that with the income from rents the state does not create any accumulation fund for the construction of new houses. On the contrary, all the income from rents is utilized only for the maintenance of the existing houses.

Speaking about this problem at the 8th Congress of the Party Comrade Enver Hoxha said: «Although house

rents are among the lowest in the world, they have not been and will not be raised.»²

Proceeding from the fundamental economic law of socialism the Party of Labour of Albania follows a clear long-term political aim: the meeting of the ever growing needs of the working masses. It concerns itself constantly about the people and the uplift of their well-being. The results achieved in housing construction are the implementation of this policy.

1 *Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 54, Eng. ed.*

2 *Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 54, Eng. ed.*

FAILURE OF THE CAPITALIST OF YUGOSLAV SELF

«ZÈRI I

YUGOSLAVIA IS GOING THROUGH ITS MOST DIFFICULT ECONOMIC PERIOD SINCE THE TIME THE TITOITES SET UP THEIR CAPITALIST SO-CALLED SELF-ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM. BY HAS GONE THE TIME WHEN BELGRADE SANG THE PRAISES OF ITS CAPITALIST SYSTEM AND TRUMPETED ITS «SUCCESSES», WHEN IT WANTED TO CONVINCING PEOPLE THAT THE BILLIONS OF CREDITS AND LOANS WERE MAKING TITOITE YUGOSLAVIA FLOURISH. NOW ALL POMPOUS AND MEGALOMANIAC STATEMENTS HAVE GIVEN THE PLACE TO ALARMING INFORMATION ABOUT FAILURES, INSECURITY AND EVEN PANIC. THE FARCE HAS TURNED INTO A TRAGEDY. THE PREDICTIONS OF OUR PARTY THAT SELF-ADMINISTRATION HAS NO FUTURE ARE BEING FULLY CONFIRMED, AND WHAT COMRADE ENVER HOXHA HAS WRITTEN IN HIS BOOK «YUGOSLAV «SELF-ADMINISTRATION» — A CAPITALIST THEORY AND PRACTICE» IS BEING PROVED IN PRACTICE.

Despite all the measures taken to cope with the situation, the Yugoslav economy finds itself on the brink of disaster this year. Industry, agriculture and the other branches of the economy have seen their productive capacities decrease to critical levels, and the volume of their production has sunk very low. They work now at only 16 per cent of their own means of circulation. General investments, and especially those on major projects, have been drastically cut. Work has been suspended on more than 3,000 projects. Unemployment affects about 14 per cent of the able-bodied population or about one million people, one of the highest figures in Europe, without reckoning more than 600,000 people who have gone in quest of work to different countries of Western Europe. Inflation cannot be checked and prices for broad consumer goods are three to four times as high as two years ago. «The more dangerous economic and political trends in the economic development of the whole country,» writes the newspaper «Borba», «are the decline of production in industry, the general growth of unemployment and inflation and, as a

«ZÈRI I POPULLIT» — Organ of the CC of the PLA

result, the constant fall of living standards.»

Above all, a twenty billion dollar debt continues to hang like Damocles' sword over the head of Yugoslavia. With their safes empty, the Yugoslav banks are in no position to pay their debts. The deficit in the balance of payments has increased and the dinar has been devalued twice against the dollar. The Yugoslav capitalist economic system is on a downhill course towards complete paralysis.

Faced with this difficult situation, the Titoites are forced to admit publicly that the contradictions in their economic and social order have reached such a degree of exacerbation that the country is threatened with the danger of being put up to auction. To come out of this situation, to prevent the complete collapse of the crumbling structure of self-administration, the Titoites call on the working people to make heavy, indeed extreme, sacrifices. Belgrade has taken a step which few countries of the world have dared to take after the Second World War: Yugoslavia is ready to pay any prices, to accept total economic dependence on international capital provided it grants Yugoslavia more funds to save its economy from complete

bankruptcy.

On July 3, 1983, the Council of the Assembly of the Republics and Regions of the SFR of Yugoslavia and prime minister Milka Planinac declared that the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, a consortium of more than 600 commercial banks and 15 Western governments would grant Yugoslavia another loan of 6 billion dollars of which 4 billion dollars within this year. This was only oxygen to stave off immediate asphyxy. In the speech she delivered to the Council of the Assembly, Planinac said: «At the outset of this year our material situation has been clear in the sense that we are unable to cope with the obligations of 1983, no matter how much we may try, and if there is no other possibility, we must proclaim a moratorium and undertake a general re-programming of our obligations to the external world... The Western countries and their governments, as well as Yugoslavia's commercial partners have displayed their readiness to help us avoid the proclamation of a moratorium and a general re-programming.» «We must leave nothing undone,» said the Slovene Franc Setinac on July 12, 1983, «so as not to allow such a situation to develop as would force us to proclaim a moratorium unilaterally, that is, to tell the world that we are unable to pay our debts and allow the foreigners to have us by the throat.»

So, Yugoslavia finds itself under the threat of a moratorium which means putting up to auction the national interests of the country. A logical and natural moment has come in the whole capitalist development of self-administrative Yugoslavia — the failure of its weak capitalist economic system.

But how was Yugoslavia brought to

URE ECONOMIC SYSTEM F-ADMINISTRATION

POPULLIT»

this condition? What ideology, what political system, what political programs and what leaders led Yugoslavia into this blind alley within a few decades? The Titoite chiefs give no direct reply to this obvious question from every Yugoslav working man. Some of them say that the cause of the present situation should be sought in mistakes of political orientation, others claim that the world economic crisis has badly affected the Yugoslav economy, that foreign loans have been taken irrationally, that errors have been made in investments, etc. There are some who say that the interests of the Federation as against those of the individual republics were not taken in due account in the working out of the economic policy, that the unified Yugoslav market has not functioned, etc. Some go so far as to claim that the essence of self-administration has not been implemented in a creative manner, as its architects — Tito and Kardelj, conceived it, and that there have been deviations in its practical implementation.

Of course, the Yugoslav revisionists can find many such plausible and implausible reasons for their failure, and formulate them as they like. Demagoguery has been and remains the favourite weapon of the bourgeoisie to deceive the masses.

Now, however, the capitalist system of self-administration has lost all its splendour. The present ills of «Yugoslav specific socialism», this model of the «most authentically socialist» system, as the Titoites once claimed it to be, are caused neither by mistakes in investments nor by failures in the so-called basic organization of unified work, nor by shortcomings of the Yugoslav unified market. Yugoslavia did not land in this situation because

it was a socialist country. It is going bankrupt because it is a capitalist state. The Yugoslav «system of self-administration» has brought about a permanent confusion in the economy, a weak and unequal development among the republics and regions, disproportions among and within the branches of the economy, breaks in the cycle of production, and a major social polarization. The journal «NIN» writes, «The millionaires are an economic power to be reckoned within Yugoslavia. They possess about 5 billion dollars in the different banks of the world.» This system has accumulated an endless number of unsolved problems. There is an uninterrupted string of failures from one decade to the other. And they have boiled down to the present situation.

The Yugoslav economy, according to the open door policy of the Yugoslav government, has linked itself closely with the capitalist economy of the West. Its main sectors have developed according to the neo-colonialist strategy of international big capital not only in regard to credits, technology and raw materials, but also in regard to markets. Now that the crisis is wreaking havoc in the main capitalist countries, the Yugoslav goods destined for their markets find no customers. As a result, factories have closed and workers have remained without work. And as if its bondage to the West were not sufficient, Yugoslavia has put its neck in the noose of Soviet and Comecon capital. Now self-administrative Yugoslavia is paying a high price for its open door policy. Its capitalist economy is dependent both on the West and on the East, which tighten the rope around Yugoslavia's neck as often as they want.

Many complaints are made now in

Belgrade about the catastrophic situation of the economy. But who is to blame for it? Why were so many debts incurred? This was done to keep up the decaying system of self-administration, to fulfil the ambitions of the Titoite bourgeoisie, to deceive the masses with the illusion of a «prosperity» created with alien money.

However, Yugoslavia is obliged to continue on its road of debts in the future, too. It will become ever more dependent on Western capital and on the Soviet market and oil. It has landed in a blind alley and is incapable of coming out of it. In order to receive a new loan the Yugoslavs have accepted stringent and, indeed, offensive conditions for a country that considers itself the Mecca of the uninvolved countries. The magnates of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and other Western banks and consortiums have imposed the condition that if the Yugoslav bank and government do not pay their debt 15 days before the term, then the laws of the capitalist jungle will come into force: the property of the Yugoslav state outside the country will be confiscated. The Belgrade newspaper «Politika» admits that this confiscation may involve the assets of Yugoslav embassies, Yugoslav military orders placed with foreign firms or Yugoslav merchant ships.

These confiscations would be done by a New York and London tribunal, whose decisions would be mandatory in Belgrade as well. All comment is superfluous. But what is admitted by the Yugoslav leaders themselves is that the future conditions of the Western banks may be even more stringent. The Yugoslav Secretary of Finance, Joze Florančić, has said: «These conditions are very hard». With the

road of debts the Yugoslav self-administration has taken it is no wonder that these conditions may become altogether enslaving tomorrow.» Planinć herself admits: «I can say that these agreements have no, I repeat, no guarantee in themselves.»

The essence of the measures envisaged in the «long-term program of economic stabilization» worked out by the so-called «Krajger Commission», which is presented as the magic wand that will save Yugoslavia from disaster, is based on conditions imposed by the Western banks. Their first conditions directly affect the decentralizing principle of self-administration. In order to ensure the repayment of their debts they consider the Central Yugoslav Bank, and not the banks of the republics and regions, as their only partner unlike what was done previously. On the other hand, they demand that a whole system of economic-financial control be imposed on Yugoslav enterprises, as well as a number of taxes, especially on the working people, which also imply changes in the political system of representation.

In an interview to the newspaper «Politika» Aleksandër Gerličkov admits that at the foundation of the programming there are all the economic notions and categories of capital, and goods production including the mechanism of the distribution of income. These categories of the capitalist economy have been operating long ago, but now they have acquired new force and increasingly affect the Yugoslav economy and its external relations. Capitalist commodity production will remain the main factor in the Yugoslav economy, which shows that it is a typically capitalist economy. In order to cover up these openly capitalist measures, Gerličkov resorts to the thesis that commodity production is a historical category. This is more than true. However, the Marxist study of the history of commodity production and the economic categories connected with it unequivocally shows that there is no reason for any commodity production to be considered identical with capitalist commodity production. In socialism it is done within rigorously defined and controlled limits and has not the same nature and class features

as in capitalism. It is not subject to capitalist profit, but to the meeting of the needs of the whole society. And socialism is built precisely to change the capitalist mode of commodity production.

The bankruptcy of the Yugoslav self-administrative economic system is not something unexpected. In a number of Works and articles Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out that self-administration is a capitalist system incapable of standing up on its feet without the props of international capital, and that it is destined to fail. The architects of this system — Tito, Kardelj Bakarić and others, have tried hard to «correct and perfect it». However no repair of it was successful, nor can it be, as the economic laws of capitalism are bound to do their work and lead the Yugoslav economy to spontaneity, competition, unemployment, dependence on foreign capital, bankruptcy. Likewise, Belgrade has no reason of rejoicing at the new credits. They may make breathing easier for a time, but it is clear that they cannot cure the patient. The process of crisis goes on in the Yugoslav capitalist economy and it cannot be stemmed either with debts or demagogy. They are the offspring of the capitalist order itself which is riddled with incurable ulcers.

«Just as they did with Tito at his last breath,» writes Comrade Enver Hoxha in his recent major work «The Titoites», «the imperialists and social-imperialists are doing their utmost to give the Yugoslav system a new lease of life, to keep it breathing, although this system cannot be cured. No blood transfusion, either from Washington, Moscow or whatever international bank or fund, can heal it. This is the logical end of all revisionist theory and practice. The imperialist and social-imperialist creditors take the money from their safes, not because they ache to help the peoples of Yugoslavia out of their misery, but because they want to protect their political and economic interests in Yugoslavia, to expand or consolidate the domains Tito has long ago sold them in return for the credits he has received from them. But if for a period of time it seemed as if Yugoslavia was to gain in this dangerous game, now

the time has come for Yugoslavia to put itself up for auction to the imperialists and social-imperialists. A debtor of the first order, shaken to its very foundations in all respects, with no clear perspective, without the necessary means and forces to find the road of salvation — such is the present-day Titoite self-administrative Yugoslavia.»

The anti-Marxist and pro-imperialist road it has set itself out on has brought Yugoslavia to the present condition. All the evils produced for decades by this anti-popular system weigh on the shoulders of the Yugoslav working class and people. For this policy they pay a high price — their submission to the savage twofold exploitation of the local international capital. «The bigbellied», as the member of the Assembly of the Voivodina Boro Stajkov publicly characterized the Titoite bourgeoisie, will make no sacrifice for the stabilization of the economy, only the poor, the unemployed, the workers and peasants, in a word, the broad masses of the working people, which now will have to work for both the local and foreign capitalists, will be obliged to tighten their belts.

This all-round economic bankruptcy of Yugoslavia shows the political and ideological failure of the whole system of Titoite self-administration which has been passed off as «the best example of a political and social order» for both big and small countries. This is what greatly worries the present leaders of the Yugoslav state and their patrons outside Yugoslavia. At the same time the attempts to stave off the inevitable catastrophe by taking new credits and loans also fully expose the claim that Yugoslavia is an «uninvolved» country. World imperialism, the banks and monopolies of the international bourgeoisie, never have given, nor will they give, Yugoslavia loans and credits without profit for themselves and without new economic and political concessions on her part. This makes Yugoslavia dependent on them not only economically but also politically. In these conditions Yugoslav «non-alignment» is only a disguise void of all content. Yugoslavia's boasts about its «non-alignment» are nothing other than a demagogical bluff.

THE ECONOMIC THEORY OF KARL MARX AND THE PRESENT CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

by **SELAUDIN KUCAJ** and **FATOS NANO**

The polarization and deep class division of present-day bourgeois society into hundreds of millions of proletarians and a handful of capitalists can no longer be covered up by the reformist demagogy about «the harmony of interests of deproletarianized capitalism».

IN THE WHOLE HISTORY OF MANKIND IT IS DIFFICULT TO FIND ANOTHER PERSON WHOSE IDEAS AND ACTIVITY HAVE HAD SUCH AN INFLUENCE ON THE PROCESS OF REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATION OF HUMAN SOCIETY AS KARL MARX.

Karl Marx is the founder of the scientific economic doctrine. His fundamental work, «Capital», is the synthesis of a titanic scientific work which combined in itself the profound and detailed study of facts, with many generalizations of the highest level, and through analysis of the capitalist mode of production and its laws of development, with the scientific prediction of the inevitable destruction of that mode of production. By analysing all the economic categories of capitalism in their dialectical development on a scientific basis, Marx discovered the specific economic law of motion of the capitalist mode of production and of bourgeois society, which is based on the production and appropriation of surplus value. As Engels pointed out, the discovery of surplus value threw light on a field where all

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were wandering in the dark and fell on the head of the bourgeoisie «like a bolt from the blue».

The all-sided analysis which Karl Marx made of capitalism from its basic economic cell, the commodity, to the reproduction of social capital and crises, proves that capitalism as a socio-economic order is riddled with antagonistic contradictions, and is historically limited. Marx's economic theory provided scientific proof of the necessity for and the inevitability of the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and of its victory. It armed the working class with a truly scientific understanding of the way to liberation from the wage slavery by smashing the capitalist system and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. To prove theoretically on a scientific basis the inevitability of the overthrow of a society which, at that time, was still in the ascendant and to argue the necessity for the orga-

nization of the proletariat to destroy it in practice, was an exceptionally bold revolutionary prediction of genius which defined the objective course of history a century in advance.

The main special feature of Marx's theory is that it develops ceaselessly, parallel with the development of the objective reality. Using Karl Marx's method in «Capital» as a basis, V. I. Lenin elaborated the doctrine on imperialism which arms the proletariat with the theory of the socialist revolution in the conditions of developed capitalism. Lenin proved scientifically that in the phase of imperialism, capitalism is in complete decay, that the antagonistic contradictions arising from its economic features become exacerbated to the maximum and that socialist revolutions and national liberation movements are inevitable.

Proceeding from the Marxist-Leninist methodology, the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have analysed the imperialism of our days and the general crisis which has swept the capitalist-revisionist world system and have

drawn important conclusions about present-day world development. The capitalist and revisionist world today is experiencing a period of grave economic and political crises of its structures and superstructures which this system has shown itself to be objectively incapable of overcoming. As Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 8th Congress of the PLA, «In all directions and aspects the present crisis proves that Marx's analysis of capital and Lenin's conclusions about imperialism remain not only correct but also the fundamental scientific basis for understanding the present social processes of the capitalist world and the tendencies of their development.»¹

1. THE CURRENT IMPORTANCE OF MARX'S THEORY ON CRISES AND THE PECULIARITIES OF THE PRESENT ECONOMIC CYCLE

Karl Marx was the creator of the scientific theory on economic crises in capitalism. He was the first to prove that the cyclical character of capitalist reproduction is linked with the operation of the fundamental contradiction, which is the economic basis and the main cause of crises. The fundamental contradiction, which expresses the ever increasing antagonism between the social character of production and the private form of appropriation, finds its expression in the contradictions between labour and capital, and between production and consumption, as well as in the organization of production on the enterprise's level and the anarchy of production on a social level. While describing crises as the mode of movement of capitalist production, Karl Marx pointed out that crises «are always only a temporary and violent solution of existing contradictions, the violent outbursts which temporarily re-establish the disturbed equilibrium.»²

The whole history of the development of capitalism proves that crises are an inevitable phenomenon of capitalism and that the destructiveness of their consequences increases parallel with the exacerbation of the fundamental contradiction.

The bourgeois and revisionist ideolo-

gists have always made attempts to prove that capitalism can develop allegedly without crises and economic and social disturbances. It is characteristic of these ideologists that in periods of the temporary rise in the economy they have propagated the possibility of a «cycle without crises», «state regulation of the economy», etc. The fact that after the Second World War up to the beginning of the 70's there was no crisis in the capitalist countries with consequences as destructive as the crisis of the years 1929-1933, was used by them to proclaim that capitalism had entered a new period of development without conflicts and crises. However, the crises of the 70's and especially that of 1974-1975 turned the hopes of the bourgeois and revisionist economists to dust and ashes. They proved that Marx's theory about the inevitability of crises in capitalism and their increasing acuteness is more than valid.

In pointing out that, «there are no permanent crises», Karl Marx revealed their periodic character, which is linked with the reproduction of the fundamental capital. He pointed out the tendency to the shortening of economic cycles which depends on the level of the development of the productive forces. In the addition which Karl Marx made to volume 1 of «Capital» in the French publication, he pointed out, «Hitherto a cycle has covered 10 to 11 years. However, there is no reason for this period to remain unchanged. On the contrary, the operation of the laws of capital creates a basis to think that this period will alter and, little by little, will be reduced.»

This forecast by Karl Marx has stood the test of time. The more capitalism developed, the more the productive forces developed, the more frequently crises began to occur and with more destructive consequences. Thus, in the period since the Second World War, under the influence of a series of main factors, such as the militarization of the economy, the intervention of the capitalist state in the economy, the development of the technical-scientific revolution, the crisis of the colonial system, etc. the crises repeated themselves approximately every 3 to 4 years. Within the

economic cycle the extension of the phase of crisis and depression and a reduction of the phase of growth is observed. Indeed, the crises of the 70's show that in many capitalist economies the economy fell into the state of crisis when the first signs of the phase of growth had only just begun to appear or had still not begun.

Basing themselves on the Marx's theory about economic crises, which also includes the true scientific methodology for the study of the economic cycle in various stages of the development of capitalism, our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have drawn important conclusions about the peculiarities of the present crisis and its economic and social consequences. At the 8th Congress of the PLA Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that, «The present crisis has proved that irrespective of the external forms it might assume during its development, the bourgeois system cannot ensure an harmonious growth of the economy, cannot ensure work and food for all the working people, cannot avoid economic catastrophes, and the destruction of productive forces and the national wealth created through the sweat and blood of the working people.»³

The fall of rates of production, the non-utilization of productive capacities, the marked rise in prices, the mass unemployment, the high level of chronic inflation, and the great, constant deficits in the balance of foreign trade, in the balance of payments, etc. are indications of crisis which are found in all capitalist and revisionist countries. The crisis has gripped the main branches of the economy such as metallurgy, the energy industry, oil and its by-products, transport, building, production of machinery, etc. The crisis of the years 1974-1975 which was deeper and had more serious consequences to the capitalist economy, included virtually all the imperialist and revisionist countries as well as the developing countries, assuming a world character. Thus, the synchronization of economic cycles manifests itself in a harsh but clear way, on a world scale. This phenomenon has added to the difficulties of manoeuvring the world market and has exacerbated the contradictions between imperial-

ist powers, as well as those between the imperialist powers and the developing countries.

Another peculiarity is that unlike the crisis of 1929-1933 when prices fell appreciably, in the present crises prices are going up continually. In the history of crises, in the crises of the years 1969-1970 the first inflationary rise in prices did not spread beyond the USA. In the crises of the years 1974-1975, however, this phenomenon became a distinctive feature including all countries. At the foundation of the combination of the economic crisis with the inflationary rise in prices which the bourgeois literature has called «stagnation», lies the high level of capitalist exploitation, the decline in rates of fundamental investments, the transformation of foreign relations into a sphere of deep contradictions, the profound disturbances of the system of the state monopoly «regulation» on a national and international scale, etc. On the other hand, there is another phenomenon emerging in the present crisis, that of the combination of mass unemployment with inflation. In the crises before the Second World War, unemployment increased in periods of crises of over-production and decreased in the phases of revival and growth. Now the army of the unemployed has not been reduced in the period of revival after the crisis, but has increased overall.

The present crisis shows that not only is the mechanism of state monopoly «regulation» of the economy incapable of averting crises, but it has been transformed into an additional factor increasing the economic difficulties. As Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 8th Congress of the PLA, time has proved that «the intervention of the monopoly state and capitalist programming are unable to eliminate competition, to ensure the full employment of the population and to eliminate the obstacles to extended social reproduction.»⁴

In the conditions of state monopoly capitalism the bourgeois state, by defending the interests of the monopolies, increases the private capitalist appropriation and makes the fundamental contradictions of capitalism even more acute. This is because all

the «regulatory measures» which the bourgeois state takes have a class character and carry within themselves the economic and social antagonisms.

For example, in the present conditions, along with the efforts they make to forcibly suppress the strikes and the political demonstrations of the working masses the bourgeois states intervene, on behalf of monopoly interests, in the relations between labour and capital, freezing the nominal wages of workers, at a time when inflation and prices are mounting rapidly. Such measures, which reduce the real incomes of the workers, cannot fail to become factors leading to the deepening of economic crises. From its very class nature, state monopoly capitalism is powerless against economic crises, because it expresses and defends the interests of capitalist private property which is the source of all evils, hence of crises. The genius of Karl Marx lies in the fact that, a century ago, while analysing the trends of development of capitalism he pointed out that, «In a number of spheres it leads to establishment of monopoly and seeks the intervention of the state to this end.»⁵ At the present time state monopoly capitalism has become one of the special features of contemporary capitalism. By increasing the state military consumption and the non-productive expenditure for the maintenance of a bureaucratic and police apparatus to extraordinary proportions, state monopoly capitalism has further intensified the process of the decay of the imperialism of our days.

Vying with one another for spheres of influence and markets, the imperialist states and, especially American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, are ceaselessly increasing their expenditure for arms production.

As Karl Marx pointed out by encouraging the increase of social production allocated to arms production, the militarization of the economy removes large material and human resources from the sphere of production. By absorbing a large part of production in the branches devoted to war, the military expenditure has created difficulties for extended reproduction, intensifying the disproportionate development and the crises, in general. At

the present time the militarization of the economy is one of the main factors of the budget deficits, inflation, and rise in prices in all phases of the economic cycle.

The bourgeois-revisionist ideologists hoped that the technical-scientific revolution would make possible the development of capitalism without disturbances and crises. However, it has not saved the bourgeois-revisionist world from crises, but on the contrary, has made them even more acute and more frequent. In fact, in the process of the economic cycle the technical-scientific revolution has had a contradictory character. Thus, the introduction of advanced technology in the process of production, on the one hand, has had an influence on the temporary enlivenment of the economy, on temporarily increasing the market demand, but on the other hand, by serving as a factor encouraging the acceleration of the moral consumption of fundamental capital, for the birth of new branches of the economy, and for mass bankruptcies in the branches with more backward technology, it has brought about the growth of unemployment to large proportions. At the present time the technical-scientific revolution has further exacerbated the contradictions of capitalist reproduction and, especially that between production and consumption, making the crisis even more acute. As Karl Marx pointed out, «In this way, every element which opposes the renewal of crises of the old type conceals in itself the embryo of a much deeper crisis in the future.»⁶

2. THE WORLD CHARACTER OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS AND THE EXACERBATION OF CONTRADICTIONS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

The present economic crisis has gripped both the developed imperialist and revisionist countries and the undeveloped countries. The world character of the present crisis is conditioned by the further increase of the concentration of production and capital on an international scale, by the extension of the activity of multinational companies, and the increase of their weight in world production,

by the crisis of the system of neo-colonialism, the crisis of the international currency system, etc. The influence of all these factors has been to interlock the economic cycles of various countries closely with one another. Consequently, the economic and financial crises which have affected the USA have also had grave results for the other capitalist countries.

As is known, after the Second World War the ratio of forces in the capitalist world altered in favour of American imperialism. The British Empire declined and its position in the world market was gradually weakened. France emerged from the War with its positions greatly shaken, while Germany and Italy, defeated in the War, lost any possibility of competing in the world market. By means of blocs and alliances, the USA harnessed the countries of Western Europe and Japan to its policy. With the passage of time, however, after the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Japan, rebuilt their economies, they began to compete for markets and spheres of influence.

Speaking about this problem at the 8th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that, «Today the political and economic power of the United States of America is declining compared with that of Western Europe. The competition from the Common Market and Japan has become a very powerful and threatening.»⁷ The proportion of American production in total capitalist world production began to decline, its gold reserves were reduced appreciably, and the deficits in its balance of trade, balance of payments, etc. increased markedly.

As the capitalist country with the greatest economic and military potential, the USA tries in various ways to saddle its allies with part of its difficulties. Thus, to meet the great deficits in the balance of payments, American imperialism employed the inflationary issuing of the dollar in international currency and banking relations. As a result, the capitalist and the revisionist world was seized by the financial crisis and massive currency speculations. The pouring of dollars into the channels of international circulation served as a main

impulse to inflation on a world scale and the rise in prices. The fact is that in practice, the dollar crisis struck not the USA but mainly its trading partners. The fall in the exchange rate of dollar improved the positions of American exporters. On the other hand, the rise in the currencies of their competitors led to the relative and absolute rise in prices for the commodities of these competitors. Apart from this, a fall in the exchange rate of the dollar meant a real devaluation of the foreign debts and obligations of the USA.

At the beginning of the 80's the chronic rise of prices and the devaluation of paper currencies gave rise to a new problem for capitalism, the high cost of credit, that is, the increase in the rates of interest on money capital. The clearest expression of this is the so-called policy of dear money, which the Reagan administration is applying in the present. In 1981 bank interest rates in the USA were raised to 20 per cent. This policy has created many problems in the world market and has made emergence from crisis more difficult.

In his work «Capital» Marx pointed out that the increase in the interest rate is a law-governed reaction of the credit system on the basis of the sharpening of contradictions in capitalist reproduction. «In crisis periods», pointed out Karl Marx, «the demand for loan capital and along with that the percentage of interest reach their maximum.»⁸ He explained also that the rise in the interest rate leads to improvement in the balance of payments, and in the exchange rate of the currency for the countries which use it.

According to statistical data, the capital exported to the USA in 1979 amounted to 52.7 billion dollars, in 1980 to 54.8 billion, while in 1981 to 69.1 billion dollars. This tendency for capital to flow into the USA, which is becoming more marked, has led to demand for the American currency, increasing its exchange rate. In 1982 the exchange rate of the dollar rose 35 per cent, in comparison with 1980, intensifying the instability of the exchange rates of other imperialist countries. As a counter to this, the banks of Western Europe and Japan

sold 122 billion dollars on the currency markets during the years 1981-1982 to stop the rise of the exchange rate of the dollar and have also raised the interest rates in their own countries. The big rise in interest rates, accompanied with the attraction of capital in the USA, has left the countries of Western Europe short of the financial means which could have been used for the reconstruction of branches of the economy which are now in depression. On the other hand, the American policy of increasing interest rates has hit the competitive ability of other capitalist and revisionist countries. Since 55 per cent of the exchanges on the world market are done in American dollars, the rise in exchange rates has led to dearer raw materials for the states of Western Europe. This applies not only to American goods, but also to many raw materials including oil. Consequently, in recent years obvious changes have been seen in the state of the balance of payments of the USA and the countries of Western Europe. The improvement of the balance of payments of the USA has come about to a considerable degree on the basis of the worsening of the economic position of the majority of West-European countries in the world market.

The policy of «high interest rates» which the United States pursues has made the inter-imperialist contradictions even more acute. First of all, the contradictions between American imperialism, on the one hand, and the European countries and Japan, on the other hand, have become exacerbated. By raising interest rates the USA has hindered productive investments, prolonging the period of crisis on a world scale.

On the capitalist world market, the contradictions between the imperialist powers and the undeveloped countries over the production and use of raw materials have become more acute. At the foundation of the problem of natural resources in capitalism at the present time lies the contradiction between the overall rise in the demand of raw materials and food products, on the one hand, and the socio-economic conditions of their use within the context of the capitalist mode of production, on the other hand. In the

conditions of capitalism today, this contradiction is expressed in the form of relative over-production or of shortages of raw materials and food products.

The multi-national oil companies have played a special role in the outbreak of the energy crisis. Holding dominant positions, both in oil extraction and in the processing and sale of oil by-products in different regions of the world, they have been able to exert a decisive influence on world prices, on the volume of oil extracted, and the directions in which it is exported.

The big monopolies, the multi-national companies and the imperialist and revisionist states hoped that the developing countries, rich in resources of raw materials and energy, would submit to their domination for ever, but as the events of recent years have proved, those countries have risen against the imperialist and revisionist dictate, and forms of neo-colonialist domination. At the 8th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «The big imperialist and capitalist powers are now unable to completely dominate the sources of raw materials and to dictate their prices. The producing countries, which have woken up and are defending their interests, which are seeking development, want to make investments in industry, agriculture and other sectors of their national economy, are resisting the pressure for low prices for oil and raw materials.»⁹

To raise the rate and total of their profits the monopolies, the multi-national companies, have increased the prices for finished industrial products, justifying this with the rise in prices for raw materials and fuels from developing countries. However, if the rates of increase in prices for raw materials are compared with those for finished industrial products, it turns out that the latter are much higher. The developing countries are facing a stern fight with the imperialist powers for a fair position in the sphere of international relations, including the field of setting prices for raw materials.

At the beginning of 80's, too, the tendency has been for finished in-

dustrial products to rise in price continually. The mounting inflation on the developed capitalist countries, which are also the main exporters of industrial equipment to the world market, has had and will continue to have an influence towards increasing the costs of production. In order to unload this burden on to others. The monopolies have raised and will continue to raise prices on the world market. This cannot fail to impel the undeveloped countries, which are the main importers of industrial equipment, to take counter-measures.

In these conditions, during the next 10 years the influence of the crisis over the increasingly acute problems of energy, raw materials and food-stuffs, as a result of monopoly domination and the use of them, will create an even more unstable situation fraught with many unforeseen disturbances in the world capitalist market. Operating together with the currency and financial crisis and inflation, this will intensify the general instability of the world capitalist system and lead to its further decay, to new destruction of productive forces and the general sharpening of contradictions.

3. THE PRESENT CRISIS — AN EXPRESSION OF THE COMPLETE DECAY OF THE WORLD CAPITALIST SYSTEM

Marx's economic theory condemned capitalism as a system of wage slavery. On the basis of the antagonistic contradictions of bourgeois society, it revealed that the exploitation, unemployment and poverty of the masses and crises are inseparable accompaniments of capitalism which can be eliminated only by overthrowing this mode of production «Thus, from day to day, it becomes ever more clear that the relations of production in the context of which the movement of the bourgeoisie is created, do not have a single, simple character but a double character,» points out Marx, «that in the framework of those same relations in which wealth is produced, poverty is produced, too; that in the framework of those relations in which the development of productive forces

takes place, oppressive forces are developed, too, that these relations create the bourgeois wealth... while forming a proletariat which constantly increases.»¹⁰

The present crisis proves more than ever the correctness and force of Marx's ideas that the bourgeois system is incapable of ensuring harmonious growth of the economy. It cannot avoid economic catastrophes, the destruction of productive forces and the national wealth, created with the blood and sweat of the working masses, etc. Capitalism has become an obstacle in the way of the further development of mankind, and the deep ulcers of its economic and social decay, which are quite obvious, are evidence of this. The chronic non-utilization of productive capacities in many branches of the economy, the unprecedented increase in the ranks of the reserve army of industry, the grave consequences of inflation on the standard of living of the working masses, the continual reduction of their real wages, the relentless deepening of the absolute and relative impoverishment, the misery and ignorance in which hundreds of millions of working people live in the world today, etc., are serious problems of present-day bourgeois society.

Karl Marx showed that the iron laws of capitalist exploitation bind the worker in the chains of capital «more firmly than the hammer of Hephaestus chained Prometheus to the rock.» «Consequently, the accumulation of wealth at one pole, is at the same time the accumulation of poverty, heart-breaking toil, slavery, ignorance, anger and moral degradation, at the other pole.»¹¹ The ultimate cause of all economic crises is always the poverty and insufficient consumption of the working masses, which capital restricts to the minimum of means of existence. Bourgeois statistics show that while the average real wages in the USA at the end of the Second World War covered 80 per cent of the essential minimum livelihood, at present this level is only a little over 60 per cent. In the years 1974-1975 real wages in that country were reduced from 9.5 per cent. As a result, while there are more than 30 million people who live below the official

poverty line in that country which represents the main metropolis of the capitalist-revisionist world, in the rest of this world of oppression and exploitation, in the dependent and backward countries, there are more than 1.5 billion people who suffer from chronic hunger and epidemic diseases, while more than 700 million people are illiterate.

Contrary to the preachings of bourgeois and revisionist ideologists, old and new, Marx and Marxism-Leninism do not see the causes of the deep social ulcers of capitalist decay in the «eternal laws» of nature, and in its «limited fertility», but in the economic and class contradictions and antagonisms of capitalism. The polarization and deep class division of present-day bourgeois society into hundreds of millions of proletarians and a handful of capitalists can no longer be covered up by the reformist demagoguery about «the harmony of interests of deproletarianized capitalism». In the 50's the proportion of age workers in the population of developed capitalist countries was less than 70 per cent, whereas today it amounts to 85 per cent, and on this basis, the contradiction between labour and capital which is fundamental in present-day bourgeois society, has become more acute than ever.

In the present crisis the model of the «consumer society» received a heavy blow and was unmasked along with the economic theories of modern capitalism which inspired a series of revisionist countries in their economic reforms. The economies of the Soviet Union and other revisionist countries are characterized by falling rates of production, non-utilization of productive capacities, mounting inflation, prices, unemployment, etc. On this basis, the standard of living in those countries has deteriorated and the class contradictions have become exacerbated. The events in Poland, Yugoslavia, and elsewhere, exemplify this.

Present-day bourgeois society has caused an unprecedented decline in all moral values, a decline which is taking place in the context of the ideological crisis of capitalism. As Karl Marx pointed out, in revealing the capitalist decay in this field, too, «the

spontaneous development of... culture leaves nothing but a desert behind.» This can be seen clearly in the present crisis of the bourgeois superstructures, in which the all-round intensification of reaction and the boundless development of political, moral, and physical corruption are causing degeneration, desperation, and confusion in all fields of life.

Marx showed that the growth of capitalism objectively created the material premises for its destruction as well as the social force — the proletariat — capable of executing the sentence of history upon this exploiting order, «with which the pre-history of mankind closes». He showed that along with the increase of the exploitation of the proletariat and the other working masses, which makes the yoke of capital even heavier, the revolt, organization and the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie mount, the elements of revolutionary outbursts are multiplied, and the revolutionary crisis is intensified. Every new crisis brings the destruction of the capitalist mode of production nearer.

It is more than a century since the capitalist mode of production became predominant on a world scale. Likewise, however, for more than a century the proletariat has become a class in itself and has taken to the barricades of the sternest class struggle in human history, the struggle against the bourgeoisie and the system of wage slavery. Today the class struggle of the proletariat as a «class for itself» and the other working masses has assumed unprecedented proportions and a wide range of forms in one of the period most critical for the capitalist system. During the 70's more than half a million people took part in strike and political demonstrations in the capitalist world and their struggle was directed especially against consequences of the economic crisis which the bourgeoisie loads on to the backs of the workers. In face of the increasingly acute class struggle, the monopoly bourgeoisie has thrown off all disguise in most of the capitalist countries, where there are mounting demands for «strong» government, denying the working people those few rights which they have

won at the cost of bloodshed. Evidence of this can be seen in the fascist regimes and dictatorships which have been established or are knocking on the doors of many countries of the world. Military putsches, terrorism and political anarchism have increased with the encouragement of the ruling bourgeois governments which are trying to contain the mounting class struggle. All this system in a chaotic state of decay is kept on its feet through the violence of the army and the countless police, armed to the teeth, to suppress any kind of resistance which goes beyond the bounds of «bourgeois democracy».

As Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 8th Congress of the PLA, «World capital is making great efforts to escape the crisis, to protect itself from the people's liberation struggles and from the revolution, this terrible iron grip which has it by the throat and is strangling it. But escape is impossible because it is the capitalist system itself which creates this political economic and ideological crisis and which fuels them and intensifies them to the highest degree. In order to emerge from the chaos which capitalism creates, to escape once and for all from capitalist oppression and exploitation, the neo-colonialist yoke of foreigners and the domination of reaction, there is no other course apart from the revolution, the overthrow of imperialism and capitalism.»¹²

1 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 181, Eng. ed.

2 Karl Marx, «Capital», vol. 3, book 1, p. 329, Alb. ed.

3 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 199, Eng. ed.

4 Idem. p. 179.

5 Karl Marx, «Capital», vol. 3, book 2, p. 146, Alb. ed.

6 Idem. p. 214.

7 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 182, Eng. ed.

8 Karl Marx, «Capital», vol. 3, book 2, p. 245, Alb. ed.

9 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 182, Eng. ed.

10 Karl Marx, «The Poverty of Philosophy», p. 160, Alb. ed.

11 Karl Marx, «Capital», vol. 1, book 3, p. 119, Alb. ed.

12 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, pp. 194-195, Eng. ed.

REVISIONISM SPELLS DISRUPTION OF UNITY *by LULZIM ÇOTA*

Chauvinism and nationalism, the defence of the interests of the bourgeoisie of the country, is the fundamental cause of the division, disintegration and decay, of the revisionist parties

DISAGREEMENTS AND QUARRELS AMONGST THE REVISIONISTS HAVE FLARED UP WITH NEW FURY, THE CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN THE REVISIONIST PARTIES OF THE EAST AND THE WEST HAVE DEEPENED, THEIR RANKS ARE SAPPED FROM WITHIN BY FACTIONS. «WHEN OUR PARTY BEGAN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST KHRUSHCHEVITE REVISIONISM, THE COMMUNIST PARTIES WHICH MADE COMMON CAUSE WITH KHRUSHCHEV LOOKED, MORE OR LESS, LIKE A UNITED BLOC, WITH A SINGLE LINE, WHICH WAS THAT OF THE 20th CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION. TODAY, HOWEVER, 20 YEARS LATER, THEY ARE SPLIT AND DIVIDED INTO MANY TRENDS AND FACTIONS, ARE FIGHTING AND CLASHING WITH ONE ANOTHER AND HAVE BEEN OVERWHELMED BY BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM AND SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC OPPORTUNISM.

THESE FORMER COMMUNIST PARTIES HAVE BEEN TRANSFORMED EITHER INTO GENUINE PARTIES OF THE NEW BOURGEOISIE RULING IN THE COUNTRIES WHERE THE REVISIONISTS ARE IN POWER, OR INTO COMPONENT PARTS OF THE STRUCTURES OF THE BOURGEOIS STATE, AS IN THE OLD CAPITALIST COUNTRIES. THE CRISIS OF MODERN REVISIONISM IS A DIRECT EXPRESSION OF THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM AND THE BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY, IN GENERAL.»¹

ANTI-MARXIST POLEMIC BETWEEN THE EUROCOMMUNISTS AND THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS

The whole history of the birth and development of revisionism, whether the old one – Bernsteinism and Kautskyism, or the modern one, has shown continually that revisionism can never ensure that unity of thought which only Marxism-Leninism, the ideology of the working class, is in a position to achieve.

LULZIM ÇOTA – Publicist

subsidies to the revisionist parties of the capitalist countries.

In the mid 70's, parallel with the preparations for and the conclusion of the Helsinki Conference of «European Security» and at a time when the Soviet-American counter-revolutionary détente seemed, for some time, to be on the «fair» way of success, the Soviet revisionists, after great efforts and with many difficulties, organized the anti-Marxist Conference of Berlin, which was described, at that time, as the model of «democratic» collaboration amongst the European revisionist parties of the East and the West. It was said, among other things, that «the quarrels and misunderstandings had been overcome». However, the truth was quite different. The Declaration of Berlin, in fact, marks a higher stage of the crystallization of the already formed revisionist trends, the marking out of their definite political and ideological physiognomies, a stage in which each of them was trying to gain primacy in the revisioning of Marxism-Leninism. The Soviet revisionists, in their endeavours to preserve the formal unity inside the revisionist mob, were forced to make a series of concessions to the Eurocommunists and the Titoites. They

complied half-heartedly to a number of Eurocommunist theses, such as the «national specific roads to socialism» and Eurocommunist models which were the opposite of Brezhnev's «mature socialism».

In the present time the disagreements amongst the revisionist parties, the spirit of factions and groupism, are on the order of the day. In fact, the whole of the revisionist camp is in disarray. The various detachments of modern revisionism have been divided into hostile groups of rivals each trying to defend and propagate its own variant of «national Marxism» and its own «specific road to socialism». Each revisionist party labours to capture superior positions in the ranks of world revisionism, and to eater the graces of the bourgeois opinion.

Contradictions and disagreements, division and disintegration, within the revisionist camp is connected with the fact that the revisionist parties do not represent the interests of the working class, which are one and the same for all the working people of the world, but the interests of the old and new bourgeoisie of the capitalist and revisionist countries. Chauvinism and nationalism, the defence of the interests of the bourgeoisie of the country, is the fundamental cause of the division, disintegration and decay in the revisionist parties. In this sense, the contradictions amidst the revisionist parties are antagonistic contradictions, just as those amidst the capitalist and imperialist countries are antagonistic contradictions.

Political developments in Europe and in the world, the exacerbation of inter-imperialist contradictions, especially the exacerbation of the rivalry between the two superpowers for markets and spheres of influence, have caused the inter-revisionist disagreements over various international questions and, especially, over the so-called models of socialism, to come out openly. The occupation of Afghanistan by Soviet social-imperialism and the events in Poland have hastened the

process of the exposure of the deep gap that divides the various revisionist parties, especially the Eurocommunist parties, from the parties of the pro-Soviet bloc. The proclamation of the state of war in Poland forced Marchais, Berlinguer and Carrillo to betray their direct and indirect links with the bourgeoisie of their countries and with the superpowers. Berlinguer and Carrillo adopted a stand in the interests of big Italian and Spanish capital and the American capital, with which they are bound by numerous links. Whereas Marchais, who has become notorious for his pro-Moscow stands, justified and expressed himself in favour of the proclamation of the state of war by the revisionist group of Warsaw with the support of the Soviets. Consequently, these events fanned up the flames of the polemic among the revisionists, in which the Italians and the Spanish, on the one hand, and the Soviets, on the other, level mutual accusations against one another of «revisionism», of «slipping away from the positions of Marxism-Leninism».

These events served to further deepen the division which exists for a long time now in the midst of the Soviet revisionists, on the one hand, and the Italian and Spanish revisionists, on the other hand. Disagreements and quarrels have existed before, and the gap between both sides has grown continuously deeper and more glaring. But they had never reached the degree of exacerbation they have reached now. Their division is out in the open.

From December 1981 until today the Italian revisionists and their paper «L'Unità» blame the situation in Poland on Moscow and its role. Berlinguer makes a fierce attack on the «Soviet model of socialism», calling it an abortive attempt. «The proclamation of the state of war in Poland,» declares Berlinguer, «shows that the model of socialism of East Europe has failed.» The attacks of the Italian revisionists on the Brezhnevite model of socialism were especially fierce in

the document published prior to the last congress of the Italian revisionist party. The document says: «We consider we have exhausted (as we said in December 1981 and in January 1982) the historical experience of socialism which was dictated by the political, state and ideological model practised in the Soviet Union.» And further on, speaking about the crisis in Poland and in the East-European countries, it says: «There is talk about a crisis which, as the facts show, either is solved through deep-going reforms of the system, or ends up in a process of degeneration and traumatic and tragic defeats,» as in Poland («L'Unità», November 28, 1982, p. 14). In the report to the last congress of the Italian revisionist party, Berlinguer levelled much the same accusations pointing out that, «The debate prior to the congress showed that the part of the document of the Central Committee on the situation in the so-called countries of real socialism, including the formulation about the exhaustion of the Soviet model («L'Unità», March 3, 1983, p. 6), has been received with general approval.»

The Soviet revisionists, for their part, accuse the Italian revisionists for slipping into the positions of «revisionism», that the Italian Communist Party with its stands «denigrates the interests of peace and socialism». What Moscow understands with the «third road to socialism» is a certain middle course between «the revolutionary course (read: the Soviet revisionist course) and the reformist course» («Komunist», No. 4, 1982).

Carrillo maintained the same stand as Berlinguer on the events in Poland and the «Soviet model of socialism», with the difference that the former did not involve himself completely in the polemic, because of the great division inside his own party, in which a strong pro-Soviet current operates.

In their propaganda against the revolution and socialism, the bourgeoisie and its tools, all the revisionists with-

out exception (including the Chinese revisionists), try to attach the socialist label to the capitalist order which has been established long ago in the Soviet Union and in the other East-European countries. They do this for ulterior motives. Pursuing their hostile aims against the revolution and socialism, the Italian and the Spanish revisionists treat the period of Stalin of the construction of socialism and the period of the restoration of capitalism under Khrushchev and Brezhnev on an equal footing. These two Eurocommunist parties represent the invasion of Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan, the events in Poland, the major set-backs and the deep crisis which is eroding the capitalist economy of the Soviet Union and the other East-European countries, as an unequivocal indication of the fact that the construction of socialism there has failed. They take the opportunity from this situation to declare, as the Spanish revisionists did, that «not a single communist country exists in the world today.» Whereas Berlinguer pushes the point still further. Declaring that the «process which began with the Bolshevik revolution in 1917 has come to an end, he openly opposes the Leninist definition of our epoch as the epoch of the destruction of imperialism and the triumph of the proletarian revolution. But these revisionists cannot wipe out that glorious historic period of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union in the time of Lenin and Stalin and in many other former socialist countries, and the entire process of the construction of socialism with success in Albania, with one stroke of the pen.

The Italian revisionists, followed closely by the Spanish revisionists, tried to exploit the events in Poland in order to steal a step on Moscow in order to emerge as leaders of the revisionist parties, to place themselves at the head of all the other opportunists on a European scale. On this occasion, Berlinguer openly proclaimed his ambition and haste to replace the Kremlin as first fiddle in

the betrayal of the interests of the proletariat, saying that «The Italian Communist Party must become the locomotive of a European movement in which the progressive and social-democratic parties should participate.» Carrillo, who wanted this role for himself, proposed the creation of a «new international which will be a very elastic organization of the communist, socialist and other parties, and which will go beyond Eurocommunism.»

Unlike the Italian revisionist party and the Spanish party, the French revisionist party maintains a different attitude and is more privileged in its relations with Moscow. Unlike Berlinguer and Carrillo, Marchais not only has not condemned, but, on the contrary, has defended and continues to defend the invasion of Afghanistan, the situation in Poland and the aggressive policy of the Soviet social-imperialists in their rivalry with the American imperialists. Indeed, Moscow is using Marchais in the role of the intermediary, as its roving ambassador in order to improve its relations with China. If this is true, this fully explains the declaration he made in autumn of the last year in Beijing, in which speaking in the name of the Soviet revisionists, he said that «the Soviet Union recognizes China as a socialist country».

This attitude and the intimate relations of Marchais with Moscow have their reasons. They are explained away with the existence of some material links, which the French revisionists want to preserve, because they are lucrative, as well as some underlying reasons. The French revisionist party, as the tool of the French bourgeoisie it is, wants to defend, in the first place, the interests of this bourgeoisie. It is known that the French bourgeoisie is interested to maintain good regular relations with the countries of the East and to increase its expansion in their direction in order to regain its important role in world policies, and to consolidate its special position within the Atlantic Alliance.

Beside this, within the framework of the policy of equilibrium in Europe, at a time when the West-German bourgeoisie has created stable links with the East-European countries, the French bourgeoisie is keenly interested in preserving its old traditional links with the East. Hence, it can hardly find a better and more reliable channel of communication and of regular links than the French revisionist party. On the other hand, pursuing its own class interests, the French bourgeoisie wants to discredit communism before the eyes of the proletariat at home. Therefore, a «communist» party which has close links with the suppressor of the freedoms and the independence of the peoples, such as Soviet social-imperialism has become, suits their aim.

The collaboration of the French revisionists with Moscow has caused the disruption of the accord which existed between the three major Eurocommunist parties. Recently we observe a reduction of the contacts between the head of the French revisionist party, on the one hand, and the heads of the Italian and Spanish revisionist parties, on the other hand. The last meeting between Marchais and Berlinguer in Paris brought out into the open the disagreements over the question of Afghanistan and Poland. Indeed, they are divided even in the question of what the Eurocommunists offer the European proletariat with their «third road» to socialism. At the present stage, the «third road» consists of the «socialism» in French colours, «socialism» in Italian colours and «socialism» in Spanish colours. Berlinguer boasts that he has found the Italian model of socialism («the democratic alternative»). Whereas the French revisionists, according to the resolution of the 24th Congress of their party, have developed the idea of socialism in French colours. The Spanish revisionists, too, for their part, strive to excel the Eurocommunists.

A complete rupture of the Eurocommunist parties is not to the liking

of the leaders of the Kremlin. They do everything in their power to maintain these parties under their unserved influence. Therefore, faced with this situation they are compelled to make partial tactical concessions, to declare from time to time that they are inclined to end the polemics and continue the course of collaboration as before, accepting that each party has the right to be independent. Nevertheless, parallel with tactical concessions, Moscow does not overlook the slightest possibility of undermining them, using rubles and agents in the ranks of the Eurocommunist parties. As experience of recent years has shown, whenever the unprincipled polemics between Moscow, on the one hand, and the Italian and the Spanish revisionists, on the other, has built up, the rubles and agents within the Eurocommunist parties have fully justified themselves. Pro-Soviet factions not only have cropped up, but also have been organized within them right up to the highest levels of the leaderships of these parties. They are outspoken in their demands for the revisioning of the line of the leading group of the party up to cessation from its main trunk. This is happening in the most blatant manner in the Spanish revisionist party, in the Italian revisionist party, etc.

QUARRELS AND FACTIONS IN THE RANKS OF THE EUROCOMMUNISTS

Complete departure from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, ideological and political degeneration of the Eurocommunist parties, was bound to lead in an inevitable manner to their organizational disruption and degeneration, to the disruption of the formal unity which existed in them. These parties use much the same methods, organizational forms and orientations as the bourgeois parties. Renouncing every principle of the Marxist philo-

sophy, these parties admit in their ranks anyone at all, regardless of his philosophical, religious and other convictions and views, so long as their programs are accepted. Berlinguer stresses: «Registration in the communist party is conditional not on the basis of ideological unity, but on the basis of unity round its political program» («L'Unità», January 22, 1982; Berlinguer's interview on the 60th anniversary of the founding of the ICP). This platform is, no doubt, the cause for the swelling of this party with all sort of elements with different economic interests, political convictions, and views, elements who may be anything but not communists. The same counter-revolutionary process which Lenin forecast 80 years ago in his work, «One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward», in which he says, «Opportunism in program is connected in a natural manner with opportunism in tactics and with opportunism in organizational matters,»² is taking place in these parties.

The situation is gravest and crisis deepest in the Spanish revisionist party. This is for definite reasons. Carrillo, this revisionist with the gloves off in the service of the bourgeoisie and reaction, using his position at the top of the Spanish revisionists for 22 years, lined the Spanish revisionist party up in the forefront of the struggle organized by the international bourgeoisie and reaction against the revolution and socialism. The Spanish revisionist party renounced the republican traditions, accepting the monarchy and the king as the arbiter in the political struggle between the Spanish political parties and the bourgeoisie of the country, and accepted the system of the parliamentary monarchy for Spain. Apart from this Carrillo accepted that the main institutions of the Franco regime, such as the army, the police, the courts, etc., continue as before their great influence on the new administration, without making important reforms in them (see: «International Affairs», no. 4, year 1979, p. 581). At the 9th Con-

gress of the Spanish revisionists, Carrillo's proposal to change the Leninist name of the Party was accepted. This move was described as a factor «which opens the road to internal democracy». The next step Carrillo was to take was the opening of the doors of the party to any opportunist, pro-American, pro-Soviet and other element. For the sake of democracy in the Party, Carrillo allowed the creation of various factions and groups which, with the passage of time, assumed crystallized organizational forms. At a meeting held on the eve of the 10th Congress of the Spanish revisionists, it was decided to include in the Constitution of the Party «the right of organized trends to exist within the party». This is the reason why this party is eroded from within by the struggle between the three powerful factions: pro-Soviet, revivalist, and Eurocommunist factions.

The preventive measures of Carrillo and his leading group, such as expulsions from the party or compromises, have done nothing in the way of stopping the division and deep crisis. The political developments only served to give a fresh breath to the pro-Soviet and the revivalist trends within the party. At its congress, the revisionist party of the province of Cataloña, the biggest in number, demanded «the complete revisioning of the line of the Communist Party (read. revisionist) of Spain in this transitory period and its departure from the Eurocommunist direction». The intellectuals within this revisionist party, for their part, demanded «the further democratization of the party». The 10th Congress of the Spanish revisionists, held in July 1981, was clear evidence that the breach that was opened in Cataloña not only could not be filled, but became the signal for further disintegration. Almost one third of the Congress disagreed with the Carrillo's report. This large-scale discord with the policy of Carrillo was faithfully reflected in the ranks of the revisionist parties of the

region of the Basques, in Andalusia, Ballicia, Valencia, etc. As a counter to the demands of the factions in these provinces, Carrillo resorted to the hard line, expelling the heads of factions from the party, though they were legal and in the spirit of the Constitution of the party. As a result, the struggle between groups and factions within the Spanish revisionist party has grown worse and deeper. In the period October-December 1981, a number of the party organizations and committees of Madrid, in the provinces of Valladolid, Salamanca, Galicia, Andalusia, the Balear and Alecante Islands, were disbanded. The factional struggle at the Extraordinary Congress of the revisionist party of the Basque province led to its division into two parts, one of which decided to break away altogether from the party of Carrillo, and endorsed the decision for its merger with another political party of the Basque national bourgeoisie. Neither the anathemas, nor the many expulsions, with which Carrillo proceeded in this province could stop the crisis of the party which he leads. Only five months elapsed from the cessation of the revisionist party of the Basque province, when the same process was repeated in that of the province of Cataloña, which finally was split into two parts: a pro-Moscow group which rejected (not from principled positions) the Eurocommunist political line of Carrillo, and another group which is comprised of two factions: one Eurocommunist faction which is pro-Carrillo, and the faction that supports the revival of Eurocommunism.

All these defeats compelled Carrillo to abandon his false optimism about the temporary nature of the crisis in his party. «We considered ourselves to be a unified, homogenous party with good discipline, whereas today it is abundantly clear that it is not so», Carrillo was forced to admit in his analysis after the electoral defeat.

The group at the top of the Spanish revisionist party has been and,

of course, still is interested in controlling the division and crisis in the ranks of the party. The question is how? Therefore, they sought and found someone, on whom to lay all the blame for the shortcomings and weaknesses, for the mistakes made during the election campaigns and others. And this was none other than Santiago Carrillo, the head of the Spanish revisionists. In November last year Carrillo, the crowned Pope of Eurocommunism, was forced to resign. The new head of the party, Iglesias, has launched a campaign for the reorganization of the party, for the regroupment of the forces, for the admission of all those who had been expelled by Carrillo into the party.

A more or less similar picture of ideological, political, organizational crisis is noticed in the Italian revisionist party, in which the abandonment of the proletarian ideology and the opening of the doors of the party to anyone indiscriminately, has led to the creation of various groups with different tendencies. The Constitution of the Italian revisionist party stipulates that «all people above 18 years old who, regardless of race, philosophical views and religious beliefs, accept the political program of the party, pledge to work for its realization and militate in one of its organizations, are admitted into the party.» Hence, this party is so deep in opportunist waters that it admits into its ranks anyone at all, regardless of his philosophical views, a thing which accounts for the creation of different factions from the base to the top leadership of the party.

The last two years show that a powerful pro-Soviet faction has formed right in the secretariat of this party. Thus, for example, in the Plenum of the CC of this party held in October 1981, top leaders came up against the Berlinguer's evaluations of the international situation and the causes of the international crisis. They demanded that a pro-Soviet stand be maintained in the rivalry between the two superpowers. After the inter-revisionist polemic between

Berlinguer and Moscow chiefs in February 1982, the pro-Soviet faction published its own press organ, the political periodical «Interstampa», the aim of which, as the newspaper of the revisionists, «L'Unità», which is under Berlinguer's control, admits, was the creation of «organizations in support of the pro-Soviet faction» all over Italy. Speaking about the events in Poland, Cossutta, the head of the pro-Soviet faction, said to the Plenum of the CC of October 1982 that Berlinguer's line lacks «clarity» on the political plane. In the last congress of the party he repeated his criticism regarding the ideological disagreements between the Italian Communist Party and Moscow, stressing that «the communists of Italy owe a debt to the Soviet mode».

In order to lighten the impact of the crisis which has the Italian revisionist party in its grip, Berlinguer is pursuing a double policy: dictate and expulsions, coupled with concessions and tactical changes in the strategy of the «historical compromise». Almost two years ago, in November 1980, he proclaimed the «new strategy of the party in the struggle for socialism», which, according to him, will comply with the wishes and tendencies both of the Right and of the Left within the party. Berlinguer did not hesitate to present this «new strategy», «the democratic alternative», as «an important urgent change in the life of the country», one which will allegedly «save» the party and Italy from the crisis that is smothering them. This «democratic alternative» received confirmation in the last congress of the Italian revisionists.

However, nothing, not even the «democratic alternative», can save the revisionist party of Berlinguer from the ideological, political and organizational crisis, which is growing deeper. Therefore, despite his stand of seemingly firm opposition to the pro-Soviet faction, in his efforts to defend his party from suffering the same consequences as its Spanish counterpart, Berlinguer cannot totally disregard the in-

terests of this faction. This also explains the fact that after a round of «fierce» polemic with Moscow, Berlinguer received and had a cordial talk with the representative of the Moscow revisionists, Zagladin, who is in charge of the inter-party relations in the Central Committee of the Soviet revisionist party.

The group spirit is eroding the French revisionist party, too. With the penetration of all sorts of people with a variety of class interests and philosophical views in the ranks of the party, the emergence and development of various trends, which in the majority of cases refuse obedience to the orientations of the Central Committee has become a reality today.

The elements of «crucial importance» in the party, as Marchais called the intellectuals in the 23rd Congress of his party, were the first to group themselves into different directions since 1977 when the communists broke off with the socialists. Many of them, seeing no perspective for their political career outside the alliance with the socialists, began to oppose the home and foreign policy of Marchais, indeed some dropped out of the party altogether. A wave of departure and expulsions from the party spread in the end of 1980 and continued right up to the presidential elections of 1981 (April-May), when a great number of intellectuals, most of whom were historians, philosophers, journalists, artists and writers, etc. refused to sign the call of the party to support the candidature of Marchais in the presidential elections. A strong wave of expulsions followed thereupon in the ranks of the French revisionist

party, especially in the end of 1981, which is considered the greatest ever carried out in the last 20 years. A large membership was expelled because of having set up organizational structures parallel with the party, published their own bulletins and periodicals which were distributed in thousands of copies among the members of these factionist organizations. Apart from this, rank-and-file party members have dropped out of the party in great numbers during the recent years.

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The development inside the revisionist camp hitherto are irrefutable evidence that this camp is in complete disarray.

The only thing these revisionist parties have in common is their struggle to undermine the revolution and socialism and to lend a new lease of life to the capitalist system.

But this activity which is directed against the interests of the proletariat and the other exploited masses of city and countryside has exposed them before the public. «The most important thing is that the Eurocommunist parties have lost much of the influence they had among the masses, and this can be seen in the defeats which they consider their main battlefield»,³ stressed Comrade Enver Hoxha. Thus, for instance, in the last elections in Italy and in France, the number of electors who voted for the party of Berlinguer and of Marchais

was respectively 1.5 million and 1 million less than in the previous elections. Whereas the Spanish revisionist party lost about 50 per cent of its votes against the previous elections.

Besides expulsions ordered from above, a large number of members deserted the party. From the reports of the foreign press, from 1977 to day, the Spanish revisionist party has lost half of its membership. The Italian revisionist leaders are very much worried about this phenomenon. From 1976 to day about 200 thousand of its members have left the party, and only last year more than 40 thousand others dropped out of membership.

In order to escape total defeat, various sections of modern revisionism are trying to reorganize themselves. The reestablishment of connections between the French and the Chinese revisionists, or the steps taken by the French revisionists to bring about a conciliation between the Soviets and the Chinese, as well as the recent contacts between the Italian revisionists and the Soviet revisionists, etc. are part of these efforts. But whatever unity they may achieve among them, it will be only temporary, because modern revisionism can never create that steel unity which only Marxism-Leninism, the scientific ideology of the working class, is in a position to achieve.

1 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, pp. 225-226, Eng. ed.

2 V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, vol. 1, Tiranë 1973, p. 514, Alb. ed.

3 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, pp. 258-259, Eng. ed.

press review

THE FIRST CONGRESS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRITAIN (M-L)

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

A communique dated June 4, 1983 says that the 1st Congress of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Britain (M-L) has successfully ended its proceedings.

According to the communique, the Congress discussed the current situation in Britain, the deep and all-round crisis of capitalism which has affected the whole life of the country and weighs heavy on the shoulders of the broad people's masses, the policy of the bourgeoisie for the fascization of the life of the country, the militarization of the economy and the preparation of imperialist war.

The Congress reaffirmed once more the unshaken confidence of the Party that the future belongs to the working class and scientific socialism. It emphasized that only the working class can save society from the all-round crisis of the capitalist system, avert the threat of war and fascism, liberate all those oppressed and exploited by monopoly capital, defend freedom and independence. The Congress reaffirmed that the main strategic task of the proletariat and its Party is the preparation of the subjective conditions for the revolution to overthrow the

rule of the bourgeoisie, to seize political power and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, to carry out the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society into a socialist society. The Congress pointed out that the revolution is not only an objective inevitability, but also a necessity of our time to avert the threat of a new destructive imperialist war and the increasing menace of fascism.

The Congress stressed that in the present stage the main task is to raise the consciousness of the working class and all the oppressed and exploited by capital, to organize and mobilize them in one revolutionary current against imperialism, the bourgeoisie and reaction.

The Congress set tasks for the strengthening of the links of the Party with the workers and the broad masses of the people, for the further enhancement of the militant vanguard role of the Party, the strengthening of the revolutionary organizations of the masses of workers, youth and women.

On the ideological plane, the Congress analysed the different trends of modern revisionism and opportunism,

both those operating in Britain and in the world, stressing the need for the deepening and extension of the struggle against them as a component part of the struggle against imperialism. It reaffirmed that modern revisionism and opportunism are the political reserve of the bourgeoisie, its agents to deceive the working class and split its movement and to prevent the proletariat and its allies from the realization of their strategic aims.

The Congress also discussed the turbulent and tense international situation in which both the factors of a new catastrophic war and the possibilities of the revolution are becoming ever more evident. It reaffirmed that the two superpowers, American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, are the most dangerous enemies of the proletariat and peoples of the world and pose the main threat of an imperialist war, and pointed out that the Party also condemns all the other imperialist and social-imperialist powers and resolutely supports the workers and the broad people's masses of all countries that fight for their rights, for national and social emancipation. The

press review

Congress resolutely condemned the colonial, reactionary and aggressive imperialist policy of the British bourgeoisie and, in particular, reaffirmed the determined support of the Party for the heroic struggle of the Irish people for independence and the re-unification of their country, as well as for putting an end to British colonial rule in Northern Ireland; it also voiced support for the right of the people of Argentina to put an end to the British colonial occupation of the Malvinas. The Congress condemned the betrayal by the British bourgeoisie of the national rights of the British people to American imperialism.

The Congress expressed the resolute support of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Britain (M-L) for Albania, the only true socialist country in the world, and for the PLA, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head. In the Greeting of the Congress to the Central Committee of the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha, it is said, among other things, that the 1st Congress of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Britain (M-L) highly values the courageous struggle the PLA has carried out in defence of the cause of the proletariat and the revolution in Albania and in the world. The PLA, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the

head, is said in the Greeting, has continued with heroism and carried forward the revolution in Albania, coping with the attacks, savage blockade and intrigues of the imperialists and revisionists. It has waged a courageous struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism, against all trends of modern revisionism. The Congress made a high assessment of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, especially of «Imperialism and the Revolution», «With Stalin», «The Khrushchevites», «The Titoites», «Reflections on China», «Eurocommunism Is Anti-Communism», etc. which are a major contribution to the international Marxist-Leninist communist movement and a further enrichment of Marxism-Leninism.

The Revolutionary Communist Party of Britain (M-L) expressed its solidarity with and support for all the Marxist-Leninist parties in the world that fight for the liberation of their peoples. The Congress expressed itself for the further strengthening of relations of friendship will all the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties and of the unity of the communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Delegations of Marxist-Leninist parties from different

countries attended the proceedings of the Congress of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Britain (M-L), at which messages and telegrams of greetings from a number of Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations of other countries were read.

The Greeting of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, which was read at the Congress, expressed the solidarity of the communists and people of Socialist Albania with the struggle of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Britain (M-L) in defence of the vital interests and aspirations of the working class and the broad working masses of Britain against capitalist oppression and exploitation, for democratic rights and freedoms, for the triumph of the cause of the proletarian revolution and socialism in Britain, as well as with the correct stands of the British Marxist-Leninists in their struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism and modern revisionism.

On the occasion of the conclusion of the proceedings of the 1st Congress of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Britain (M-L), and the centenary of the death of Karl Marx, on June 4, 1983 an internationalist meeting was organized from which a message of greeting was sent to Comrade Enver Hoxha.

**press
review****REAGAN'S «PEACE DIPLOMACY»**

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

Speaking before American high officials and diplomats at a working meeting in the White House, Reagan expressed his «confidence in the creation of a more peaceful situation in the world. This confidence is based on the peace diplomacy the United States is engaged in for the solution of acute regional conflicts.»

Naturally, the question here is not about a new diplomatic conception or doctrine on the part of the head of American imperialism. Reagan's statement is another attempt to put a peace label on the ever more aggressive and venturesome foreign policy of the United States of America in the different regions of the world.

Central America is one of the hottest regions in which the everyday concrete activity of American imperialism gives the lie to the myth of the «peace diplomacy» the head of the White House claims to follow. According to the news agencies, Washington is preparing for direct intervention and open aggression, especially in Nicaragua. First, Washington gave the bloody regimes of Honduras, Guatemala and Salvador abundant aid in weapons and dollars and now it is training the mercenary Somoza troops in anti-guer-

rilla warfare in special American schools with American instructors who direct sabotage operations against Nicaragua. The CIA has worked out plans «for a radical change of the explosive situation in Central America». This is expressed, among other things, also in the setting up of a special commission for Central America headed by the former secretary of state, Kissinger, who, as is known, has been one of the chief architects of the overthrow of the legitimate Allende government in Chile in 1973. Everything shows that the USA is preparing to suppress with blood the struggle of the Salvadorian, Guatemalan and other Central-American peoples for freedom and independence and against tyrannical American oppression.

The fruits of Reagan's «peace diplomacy» are even more evident in the Middle East where, while the high emissaries of the White House and its special envoys are visiting one Arab country after the other, the Tell-Aviv fascists continue their criminal activities. The news agencies inform everyday about the great concentration of troops and material in the strategically important Beke Valley. Large units of the Israeli army, supported by

tanks and heavy artillery, are conducting large-scale military manoeuvres in this valley. In the meantime, parallel with the Zionist terror and genocide against the Arab population in the occupied territories, plans are being implemented for the colonization and Hebraization of these territories. These plans, said the Israeli minister for defence, «are important and priority tasks for the security of Israel». The policy of the Zionist state is being conducted on this platform with the encouragement and support of American imperialism. What is happening in the Middle East is a great tragedy which is a disgrace, not only for the Tell-Aviv fascists, but also for their Washington patrons. And the head of American imperialism calls all this «peace policy», regardless of the torrents of innocent Arab blood that is being shed for its implementation.

In Europe, the Reagan's «peace policy» finds its expression in Washington's feverish attempts for the extension of its military bases in Europe, as if it were American land. In Europe there are more than 200 American bases with about half a million troops which carry out regular military exercises at times together with the other

**press
review**

NATO forces and at times independently. Pentagon's military strategy envisages the further increase of its arsenal of conventional weapons and of its land, sea and air forces stationed in Europe. American «peace diplomacy» finds its expression in the political submission of the allies of the USA in Europe which has led to their approval of the stationing of medium-range nuclear missiles in their countries. A high official of the NATO headquarters in Brussels declared that «the

stationing of missiles will begin already, as it calls for some months of preparatory work.» The first phase of the stationing of 41 such missiles has already begun in Britain, Italy and the Federal Republic of Germany. In its fierce rivalry with Soviet social-imperialism for hegemony, American imperialism is ready to throw all the countries of Europe into the flames of a nuclear war. Sovereignty and the very existence of the European peo-

ples mean nothing to it. A dangerous activity is being carried out throughout Europe, while the White House releases news bulletins about its «peace policy».

In every region of the world, American imperialist diplomacy is resorting to the most barbarous, most savage and most criminal methods for the establishment of American domination. This reality cannot escape the vigilance of the peoples, Reagan's peace rhetoric cannot fool them.

EUROPE — A PREY TO THE SUPERPOWERS

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The superpowers try to justify their policy of atomic blackmail and, in general, of war preparations with the establishment and preservation of the «equilibrium». So, in an interview with the American journal «Newsweek», Pentagon's spokesmen pointed out that «in general, there is a military equilibrium everywhere in the world, with the exception of Europe, where this equilibrium is upset by the Soviet Union.» In the meantime, in a speech delivered on this problem in the Kremlin recently, the minister of defence of the Soviet Union, Ustinov, declared that «the

establishment of a military-strategic equilibrium is one of the more important results we are trying to arrive at and we will see to it that this equilibrium is not upset in the future.» So, as is seen, the ball is thrown from one court to the other. While all this is being said, the feverish armaments race, which is fraught with serious threats to peace and the fate of sovereign peoples and countries, continues on the continent.

The Pentagon intends to station 572 Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles in Europe until the end of this year. Of this total 108 Pershing 2 missiles will be stationed in West Germany, just as ma-

ny in Britain and the rest in the other NATO member countries. However, reservations and hesitation are apparent among the allies. «It is a vital necessity for us to strengthen the unity of our Atlantic alliance», say the heads of American imperialism, expressing their dissatisfaction with the stand of their allies. With unity Washington means the increase of its military potential in this region and the readiness of the NATO member countries to comply with any demand from the Pentagon. As always, American imperialism has the complete support of its «aircraft carrier» — Great Britain. Thus, for

**press
review**

example, the British Minister of State for Welfare and Foreign Affairs, Douglas Hard, says: «If we fail to take a decision about the strengthening of the NATO positions in Europe, then the split will be unavoidable, and it will be fatal.» The European partners of NATO must, according to this logic, either submit to the dictate and hegemonic ambitions of the United States or face the Russian threat, which hangs over them like Democle's sword. According to the heads of American imperialism, «the prosperity of the European countries cannot be conceived outside the prosperity of the United States, and vice-versa.» As a consequence, these countries cannot conduct an independent policy, and their interests are fatally linked with those of the USA. They must serve these interests even by al-

lowing themselves to get involved in eventual nuclear military adventures.

The Soviet Union, on the other hand, continues the stationing of the SS-20 missiles in its own country and in the countries of the so-called «socialist community».

«Of course, we cannot see with indifference the stationing of hundreds of American medium-range nuclear missiles close to the socialist community,» says Marshal Ustinov. He says that if American Cruise and Pershing 2 missiles are stationed in Europe, the Soviet Union «will retaliate in such a manner that the aggressor's sense of self-preservation will prevent him from undertaking an attack.» The world has seen the military aggressiveness and hegemonism of the new Kremlin czars in Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan and is seeing it today in the coun-

tries of the «socialist community». The Soviet dictate makes the law in these countries. About one third of the contingent of the SS-20 missiles planned for Europe are stationed in the countries of Eastern Europe.

The facts indicate that the superpowers have assigned a special role to Europe in their strategic plans for hegemony, that they are preparing for new aggressions and tragedies on this continent. In this context, along with the increase of stockpiles of nuclear missiles, American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and the respective aggressive blocs — NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, manipulated by them, are conducting regular military manoeuvres.

In rivalry with each other, the two superpowers are putting Europe under their iron grip and leading it to an eventual war.

■

MOSCOW LEFT THE «SISTER COUNTRIES» OF THE «SOCIALIST COMMUNITY» IN THE LURCH

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The Soviet newspapers like «Pravda» and other press organs reported on the successes that have been achieved in the construction of the so-called project of the century, the Trans-Siberian gas-pipe line, which is built especial-

ly for carrying Siberian gas to the countries of Western Europe like the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy, Spain, etc. Although this project is built with the material and financial contribution of a number of Euro-

pean countries of the Comecon and with participation of workers and specialists from these countries, the gas supply to them will not be increased.

The news about the strenuous efforts made in the So-

press review

viet Union to increase the supplies of fuel to the Western countries comes after many and repeated warnings and practical measures for the reduction of fuel to those which Moscow calls its sister countries. Thus, in the plenum of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union which was held some time ago, Andropov said that «essential changes will be made in the international division of labour» inside of the Comecon, «new steps will be taken for qualitative improvements.» All these steps and changes, about which so much talking is done, boil down to a common denominator, that is, the supplies of raw materials and fuels from the Soviet Union to the countries of the Comecon will be further reduced, their prices will go up to the level of capitalist markets.

There is nothing new in this fresh step. Since 1974 the Soviet Union unilaterally violated all the contracts it had signed, by raising the prices of oil, gas, electric energy, and coal with which it supplies the other countries of the «community». In 1980, in a top-level meeting of the Comecon, the Soviet premier informed the other countries of the Comecon that they should not expect to receive the amount of oil they need and at the previous prices. The same thing was repeated in a meeting in 1981 when this problem was raised for discussion.

In recent years not only there is a failure to meet the demands of the Comecon member countries for Soviet fuels, on the production of which these countries have made material, monetary and human investments, but, what is worse, their supplies have been repeatedly cut down. According to information from the press organs of these countries, their needs for oil and gas have increased more than 20 per cent, whereas supplies have fallen. So, according to the data from the Soviet press the German Democratic Republic will receive 17 million tons of oil this year, which is two million tons less than in 1980. Czechoslovakia will get 2.5 million tons of oil less than last years. Less oil will be supplied to Hungary, Bulgaria and Poland. The press of these countries is outspoken about the shortage of energy which is the main cause of the present difficult situation of the economy which has no precedent in the post-war period.

Reduction of supplies means in no way that the pocketings of the Soviets for their oil will suffer any consequences. At the beginning of this year Moscow announced a 16-20 per cent rise of prices of oil it sells to the countries of the Comecon, which are already 9-10 times as high as in 1974. From this year's price rise of oil the Soviet

Union will secure a supplementary profit of 1.8 billion rubles from these countries. The same thing has occurred with the other energy materials. Apart from this Moscow demands that these countries should pay for a part of the Soviet oil in hard currency, which they are supposed to get from the capitalist markets.

The reduction of supplies of energy materials and the continuous raising of prices of them are explained by the Soviet propaganda with the raising of their production costs, with the difficulties and «objective reasons» which compel it to take such steps regardless of the fact that vassal countries have made colossal monetary investments in the Soviet energy industry. The Soviet chiefs have quite a different attitude in their relations with their Western partners, to whom the supplies of oil and gas have increased. According to reports of the Western press the Soviet Union «has markedly increased the export of oil to Western Europe», especially in recent months, and it is stated precisely that oil supplies have increased over 20 per cent.

So, at a time when the Soviet Union leaves its allies in the lurch and causes them heavy damage through failure to supply them with the necessary amounts of oil and other fuel and through raising prices of them, it colla-

**press
review**

borates with the big capital of the Western states and firms. The amounts of oil and gas exported to the latter is

increased and the prices reduced, thus competing and damaging the interests of other oil exporting countries.

The Soviet Union even built the gas-pipe line which will further increase the exports of gas.

■

WALL STREET GENEROSITY

«BASHKIMI»

The president of the United States, Ronald Reagan, asked the Senate to accord a sum of 14.5 billion dollars as aid to the other countries in the financial year 1983-1984. This decision is trumpeted as an expression of the altruistic spirit of the United States, which is always mindful of its obligations to its friends even in the conditions when it is deeply emerged in the crisis caused by the budgetary deficit which has reached a new record.

Aid? What does it stand for, to whom is it given, and why?

«This aid is an essential element of the American foreign policy,» explains the Secretary of the State Department, George Shultz. «The United States must defend its strategic interests without neglecting the development of their economy.» The fact is that from 1975 on, half of the increase of the national production of the USA is secured from the undeveloped countries which take up 40 per cent of the American exports.

This is what it really boils down to. Not aid to others, but manoeuvres to secure more fat profits for America, to milk dry the others. It is meant to open the doors still more widely to the American multi-national companies, to expand the network of the military bases of Uncle Sam. Not fortuitously Shultz admits that «the well-being of the American citizens is connected with that of the undeveloped countries.» When you reckon that for every dollar invested Wall Street gets back five dollars in profit, you are in a better position to understand the complete significance of this understatement of Shultz.

There is another still more significant information: 63 per cent of all the above-mentioned sum consists in «aid for security». In other words, it consists of purely military supplies and loans to facilitate the purchase of American military hardware by the receiving countries. It is given to the regimes of the countries in the key strategic zones which are friendly to-

wards the United States. Washington pours its dollars unsparingly into them in order to ensure its military presence there, to defend the oil-rich countries which are still manipulated by the American monopolies, to prop up and to dictate to the reactionary regimes, which are its tools. It is no accident that more than half of the American aid has been allotted to the Middle East. Israel alone will receive 2.5 billion dollars, part of which is to be given free of obligations. Obviously these billions of dollars have whetted the expansionist appetite of Israel and opened the road for the United States to increase its presence in the oil-bearing region.

So, this is the essence of the so-called aid which is so loudly publicized by Washington. State aid, bank loans, capital investments, the extension of the tentacles of the multi-national companies, all this is part of that unprecedented economic, military and political expansion which

**press
review**

American imperialism carries out in rivalry with the Soviet Union for world dictate. The United States of America pours out its dollars and armaments in order to prop up the regimes of oppression, such as those of Israel, the Philippines, Salvador, Honduras, South Korea, etc. In this way it seeks to contain the liberation, anti-dic-

tatorial and anti-imperialist movements of these countries, to prolong the domination and plunder of these countries.

The events in Iran and Nicaragua, the raising of the people's consciousness in the Middle East, in Central America, in South Africa, etc are a telling blow to American imperialism and all world

reaction. Hence, they are hastening to secure props for Begin, Marcos, or Foester and Co. to avoid their downfall. That is why Reagan increases the funds of so-called aid, which not only is the opposite of altruism, but is a most concrete expression of the consistent enslaving and predatory policy of American imperialism.

THE «GIANT» AT THE MERCY OF IMPORTS

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The Soviet Union is more and more turning its eyes to import in order to cope with its growing needs for grain and food products, in general. In this context, as the news agencies have it, American-Soviet talks were held in Moscow on a new long-term agreement on sales of American grain to the Soviet Union. Under this agreement the United States would export to that country 30 million tons of wheat, maize, rye, etc over a period of three years. It is foreseen that Soviet grain imports will reach about 35 million tons in the current year, that is, will account for half of the world grain trade.

The Soviets try to give a number of justifications for this state of things in an attempt to cover up the truth or at least to present it in a

light more favourable for them.

In order to justify the difficulties of Soviet agriculture and shortages of food products, the Soviet revisionists like to say that at present «the developed countries» like those of West Europe, Japan, Canada, Australia and New Zealand «take an active part in the world trade of food products», and that they have imported more than 18 billion dollars worth of agricultural products. However, this «argument» does not hold water. By so saying the Soviets only acknowledge the fact that their economy is governed according to the economic laws of the capitalist unharmonious development of the economy, the anarchy of production, etc.

Another «argument» of the Soviet revisionists is that the Soviet Union «does not want

to achieve autarky in agricultural production,» that is, active participation in the «international division of work in agriculture is an objective process.» This does not stand of its feet, either. Indeed, dealing with the above problem, the Soviet magazine «New Times» is forced to admit that «such a division of work cannot be to our liking. First, because in order to be able to import regenerable food-stuffs such as grain, meat, or butter, we must export non-regenerable products such as oil, natural gas, several precious metals, etc. Second, prices on the world market keep constantly changing. Prices both for (exported) power resources and (imported) cereals keep constantly changing. In both cases, as the practice from the mid-seventies to the begin-

**press
review**

ning of the eighties shows, there can be tensions in the trade balance. In fact, Soviet payments in hard currency for the import of cereals,» as admitted officially, «amount to many billions of rubles». It cannot possibly be conceived that such colossal sums are expanded only out of the desire of the Soviet Union to avoid autarky or take a more active part in the international division of work in agriculture. The truth is that the Soviets are obliged to reap what they have sown, they are paying a heavy price for allowing a grave situation to develop in their agriculture, which has put them at the mercy of American grain imports. That is why they try to confuse economic independence with «autarky», and economic dependence with the «international division of labour».

Soviet grain imports have trebled over the five recent years. As a consequence, the amounts of hard currency necessary to cope with these imports have also increased, and they are covered with the export of Soviet power resources, despite of the fact


that the Soviet economy and that of the «socialist community» is badly in need of them. The Soviet revisionists like to say that prices for cereals on the world market have trebled over this period, while prices for oil and natural gas have risen 7-8 fold over the last ten years. This explanation also shows that the Soviet economy is a typically capitalist economy which is subject not to the needs of the country and its people, but to the oscillations of the world capitalist market, of the law of offer and demand. It shows, moreover, that Soviet capital is being used more and more to ensure maximum profit, that the cult of profit stands above everything for the new Soviet bourgeoisie, that for the sake of profit it does not hesitate to place the Soviet peoples in a position of dependence in regard to their most vital demands. That is the situation the new Kremlin chiefs have landed the Soviet Union in.

The partners of the Soviets in the grain trade also have their explanations to give. Thus, for example, «Across

the Board», organ of the American business circles, writes recently that «the new grain deals between the United States and the Soviet Union show only that they need each other. These economic links also exercise an influence on the formation of a positive climate in Soviet-American relations». In return, the Soviet magazine «New Times» favourably assesses these words and stresses that «the idea is correct». This is the more so as, behind the grain deals, apart from other things, there are also the political interests of the two superpowers. This means that billions of rubles in hard currency are paid as guarantee or compensation for the agreements and bargaining of the «giants» at the cost of the freedom and independence of the peoples and sovereign countries, of their vital spiritual and material interests.

Thus, the Soviet-American grain trade flourishes on the black market of the superpowers and gravely affect the interests of the Soviet peoples themselves and those of the other peoples.

Cover: View of the Gjirokastra National Folklore Festival (6-12 of October 1983) which displayed the beauty and vitality of our folk art.





*Eight-year schooling is compulsory for all the children
of the PSRA above 6 years of age.*

Albania today

