

Albania today

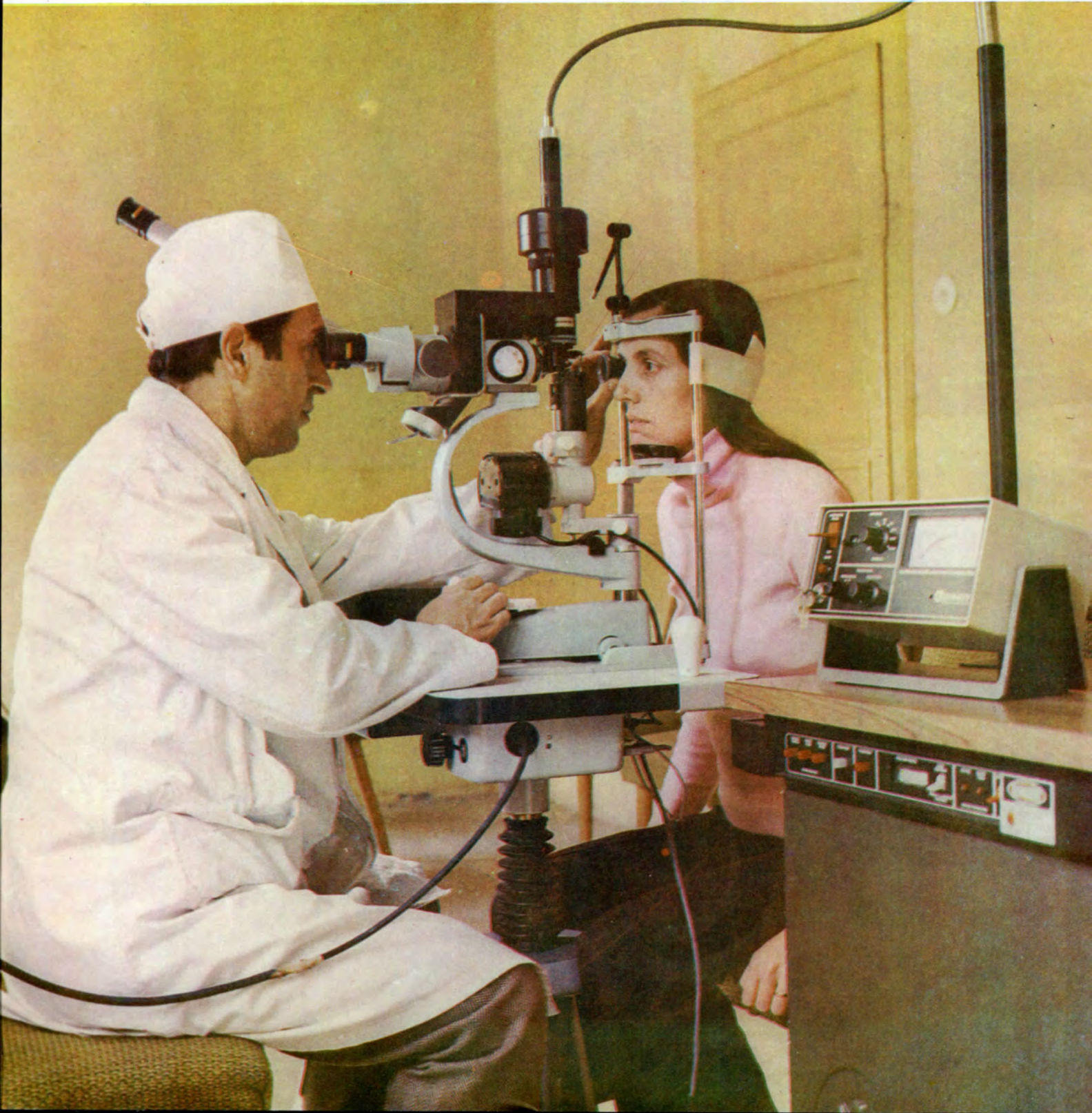
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◀ **SELF-RELIANCE** (oil) — Pandi Mele

*Ever more modern appliances
are put at the disposal of our medical institutions.*



Albania today



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THE 4th SESSION OF OF THE PEOPLE



The Presidium of the 4th Session of the 10th Legislature of the People's Assembly

The 4th session of the 10th legislature of the People's Assembly was held from 26 to 27 December 1983.

Its proceedings were attended by guests, advanced workers and cooperativists, working people of departments and institutions, representatives of mass organizations, cadres of the organs of the state and the economy.

The deputies and the guests broke out into powerful applause to greet the coming into the hall of the beloved leader of the Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, the president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Çarçani, and other leaders of the Party and state.

This session of the People's Assembly held its proceedings according to the following agenda:

- 1. Report of the Council of Ministers «On the fulfilment of the plan of state budget for 1983 and the draft plan of the development of the people's economy and culture and the state draft-budget for 1984»;*
- 2. Draft on the state plan of the development of the economy and culture of the PSR of Albania for 1984;*
- 3. Draft on the state budget for 1984;*
- 4. Draft on the requests, complaints, suggestions and proposals by the citizens;*
- 5. Decrees issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly.*

The minister of Finances, Comrade Qirjako Mihali, presented, on behalf of the Council of Ministers, the report «On the fulfilment of the state plan and budget for 1983 and the draft-plan of the development of the people's economy and culture and the draft state budget for 1984», after which the session discussed the report.

At the end of the contributions to the discussion of the report the deputies endorsed the Law on the state plan of

THE 10th LEGISLATURE OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY



Assembly. Comrade Qirjako Mihali, Minister of Finances, delivering his report.

the development of the economy and culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania for 1984 and the Law on the state budget for 1984, unanimously in principle and article by article.

The floor was given to Comrade Besnik Bekteshi, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, who, on behalf of the Council of Ministers, presented the draft on the requests, complaints, suggestions and proposals by the citizens. The importance of this draft-law, he said among other things, is determined by the contents of the problem it treats, which has a marked political, ideological, social and juridicial character. It is closely connected with the continuous strengthening of the socialist juridical order, the extension and deepening of proletarian democracy, which guarantees the broad participation of the working people in the governing of the country and defends the freedoms and rights of citizens, harmonizing personal interests with the general interests.

The right of the citizens to put forward demands, complaints, suggestions and proposals on personal, social and state matters, which stems from our Constitution, said Comrade Besnik Bekteshi further in his speech, is not just a legitimate expression, but above all, it is a real guarantee which finds its realization in our daily life.

The deputies unanimously approved the Law on requests, complaints, suggestions and proposals of the citizens, in principle, article by article and as a whole.

Then, the secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Sihat Tozaj, presented the report on the decrees issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly, which were endorsed as a whole and one by one by the deputies.

The chairman of the presidency of the People's Assembly, Comrade Pali Miska, held the closing speech.

With this the 4th session of the 10th legislature of the People's Assembly ended its work with success.

ON THE FULFILMENT AND BUDGET AND ON THE DRAFT AND BUDGET

*From the report
QIRJAKO MIHALI, Minister of Finance*

THIS YEAR THAT IS COMING TO ITS END, THE WORKING CLASS, THE COOPERATIVIST PEASANTRY AND THE WORKING PEOPLE OF THE COUNTRY, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY WITH COMRADE ENVER HOXHA AT THE HEAD, HAVE CARRIED OUT THE CORRECT MARXIST-LENINIST LINE AND POLICY OF THE PARTY WITH DETERMINATION, FURTHER STEPPED UP THEIR STRUGGLE TO PUT INTO PRACTICE THE TASKS OF THE 8TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY AND SCORED A SERIES OF NEW SUCCESSES IN ALL FIELDS OF THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL LIFE AND IN THE STRENGTHENING OF THE DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY, WITH A HIGH REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT.

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE YEAR 1983 IN THE OVERALL ADVANCE OF THE COUNTRY ON THE ROAD OF THE CONSTRUCTION AND DEFENCE OF SOCIALISM WERE REALIZED IN THE CONDITIONS OF THE SAVAGE IMPERIALIST-REVISIONIST ENCIRCLEMENT AND BLOCKADE. AT THE SAME TIME, IN 1983 WE HAVE HAD TO COPE ALSO WITH THE DIFFICULTIES THAT WERE CREATED AS A RESULT OF TWO YEARS OF DROUGHT.

The overcoming of these difficulties with success is a great victory which speaks of and once again confirms the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist economic line and policy which the Party has always applied, the vitality and stability of our socialist economy in all the grave and difficult situations that have been created for us.

Comrade deputies, allow me to present to this session of the People's Assembly, on behalf of the Council of Ministers, the main achievements in the fulfilment of the economic plan and the state budget of 1983, the tasks of the draft of the state plan and budget for 1984, and some directions in which the Council of Ministers and the state and economic organs will focus their attention in particular in their work.

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During 1983 the socialist reproduction of the country assumed still greater proportions. The material-technical base of industry, agriculture and of all the other branches of the economy and culture was further strengthened on the basis of the further increase of the social product, on the realization of the national income and investments on proportions greater than those of the

year 1982. The standard of living of the working masses was raised still higher and steps were taken towards the further narrowing of distinctions between town and countryside.

Despite the deficits that were created in the production of electric power by the hydro-power plants and the difficulties resulting therefrom, the total industrial production of 1983 has shown a growth. Production in some important branches and products of industry increased at very rapid rates, e.g., in the coal industry - 8.4 per cent, copper industry - 7.9 per cent, the production of steels - 29 per cent, engineering industry - 3 per cent, the production of wood and paper - 3.3 per cent, light industry - 6.4 per cent, food-processing industry - 4 per cent, etc.

The achievements in agriculture during this year are much greater than those of any other year of the five-year plan. Overall agricultural production is expected to be about 9 per cent greater than that of 1982. Perceptible increases were made in wheat, sun-flower, fruits and olive in which the planned tasks were overfulfilled. From all the acreage sown with wheat this year we took in 31 quintals per hectare, which is the highest yield ever taken in our country. During this year the production

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*delivered by Comrade
aces, on behalf of the Council of Ministers*

of sugar-beet, potato, beans, vegetables, milk, eggs, etc. was greater than that of last year.

The volume of investments made for the development of the economy and culture was 4 billion and 875 million leks, or 4 per cent greater than in 1982. During this year constructions were placed better in the service of production and other social activities. A number of socio-cultural and productive projects have come into production. High rates have characterized the work at the «Enver Hoxha» hydro-power plant of Koman and on many other projects. This year the state built 10 500 apartments, which fulfilled the tasks for the last three years of the five-year plan taken together.

The dynamic development and the stability of our economy, the lowering of costs and the increase of effectiveness, have further strengthened the finances and the currency circulation of the country. Relying on our own financial and valutary sources, the state budget ensured a continuity in financing all the development of the economy, culture, education, health and the defence of the country.

The living conditions of the working people were further improved in 1983 on the basis of the development of production and the sectors of socio-cultural activities. The real per capita income of the population increased over 4 per cent, while the purchasing power of the people and the circulation of retail trade goods nearly 6 per cent. Communal services were further extended, especially in the countryside. Further steps forward were made in the development of education, culture and health services.

In the implementation of the directives of the 8th Congress of the Party, the measures were adopted to perfect the relations of production. The agricultural cooperatives of the zone with priority intensification have been treated on the same terms as the higher-type

cooperatives. With the setting up of the state farm of Plasa and Greçallia began the process of the transformation of the stronger higher-type cooperatives into state farms. The concentration and specialization of agricultural crops has been further improved mainly in the zone with priority intensification.

On the basis of the tasks set by the Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the state and economic organs at the base and the centre perfected and revolutionized the method of direction, which was concretized in the implementation of the measures for the strengthening of the savings regime everywhere, as never before.

The 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, assessing the achievements of 1983 in all fields of life, stressed that the overall balance of the struggle, efforts and achievements of the working people is positive and encouraging.

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The tasks for 1984 envisage high rates of the enlarged socialist reproduction and the development of the various branches of material production, in the first place, of industry and agriculture. These targets constitute an indispensability which stems from the needs of the advancement of the economy relying completely on our own forces and the existing possibilities. The targets that will be achieved in the development of the economy and culture are balanced and completely guaranteed on the material, financial, valutary base and investments. But the creation and utilization of the latter have been calculated and planned on the basis of the increase, on a higher rate, of the effectiveness of production and the implementation of a strong regime of frugality everywhere and for everything. The tasks of the develop-

ment of the economy and culture in 1984 are connected with the maintaining and further raising of the material and cultural level of the people, while at the same time, deepening the process of narrowing distinctions between countryside and town.

In industry: total industrial production is envisaged to increase 8.5 per cent against the expected fulfilment of 1983. This increase of production, in general, will be expected from the complex development of the power industry and, in the first place, of the oil industry, the introduction into economic circulation of still greater quantities of mineral sources and the further improvement of the structure of the heavy processing industries. In this manner the role of industry of the production of means of production, as the main factor to guarantee and carry forward all the other tasks in the field of the economy, will be further strengthened.

In order to attain the targets set to the oil industry, on the basis of the tasks raised at the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, investments and valutory expenditure will be greater than those allocated in the forecasts of the five-year plan for the year 1984. With this it is envisaged to step up the rates for the intensification of the oil-bearing fields under exploitation and the zones still unprospected for, as well as to raise the degree of guarantee for the attainment of the targets of the uninterrupted strengthening of the industrial reserves of oil and gas, which are indispensable for the perspective development of the economy.

On the basis of the orientations and teachings of the Party for the ceaseless extension and strengthening of the energy base of the country the tasks set for the extraction of coal are greater than those envisaged in the five-year plan; thus coal production is to increase by 15.5 per cent against 1983.

The electric power production will also increase against the same year. The construction of the «Enver Hoxha» hydro-power plant will proceed at higher rates so as to hasten the coming into production of two of its turbines by the year 1985.

The introduction into economic circulation of greater amounts of different mineral ores constitutes another target of great importance in the draft plan of 1984. The possibilities that have been created permit the stepping up of the rates of extraction of the valuable chromium ore, the copper ore and some other mineral ores, above the tasks of the five-year plan. On this basis, during 1984 the ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy will increase their production of steels, copper wires, etc.

The chemical industry, too, will develop further during 1984. The level of production of chemical fertilizers is envisaged to rise above the tasks of the five-year plan; this target is to be achieved mainly through a better exploitation of the existing productive capacities.

Along with the strengthening of heavy industry, special care will be devoted as always, during 1984, also to the high-rate development of the light and food-processing industries. The volume of the production of consumer goods is envisaged to be increased 6.4 per cent against 1983. Further steps ahead will be taken in order to fulfil the needs of the people regarding the structure of goods, as well as to secure the complete industrialization of the agricultural and livestock products.

In the draft plan proposed here, the Council of Ministers, on the basis of the orientations of the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, envisages major targets for the development of agriculture. The overall agricultural production is envisaged to increase over 14 per cent against 1983. This is an arduous duty, if we bear in mind that during 1983 agricultural production achieved a perceptible growth against 1982, but it is completely possible to be attained and based on scientific argument.

The fundamental task for field crops remains the production of bread grain, which is envisaged to increase about 7.3 per cent against 1983. Thus, wheat yields in the plains zone will be 42 quintals per hectare and in the hilly-mountainous zone 26 quintals per hectare, whereas maize yields will be 58 quintals per hectare in the plains and 33 quintals per hectare in the hilly-mountainous zone.

But, as the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party pointed out, besides the bread grain production, the needs of the economy and the people raise also the primary task of making a more thorough assessment and adopting measures for the more rapid increase of production of all other field crops, especially industrial crops. On the basis of the draft plan the production of cotton in 1984 will be 11.4 per cent greater than in 1983, sugar-beet about 14 per cent, sun-flower over 11 per cent, etc. mainly from the increase of yields per hectare.

The draft plan of 1984 sets great objectives to all the working people of agriculture for the development of livestock-farming at higher rates. The production of meat is envisaged to increase over 17 per cent, milk 15 per cent and eggs 21 per cent against 1983.

These targets call for a more persistent, better directed and organized work in order to develop livestock-farming as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, on two main lines: the numerical increase and the increase of yields per head of animals.

On the basis of the instructions the Party has given, the development and intensification of the plains zone during 1984 will be seen in the same light as the all-round development of the hilly-mountainous zone. To this end, the measures to raise the yields of agricultural crops and productive animals will be further intensified through the better application of the advanced experience and with greater care for the realization of investments.

The draft plan of 1984 envisages separate tasks for the development of transports in conformity with the needs of the economy for goods circulation. Priority is given to the development of the rail transport, which is envisaged to increase 10 per cent, against 4.8 per cent which is the increase of the total volume of transport. In this manner the part of the rail transport in the total transport under the Ministry of Communications will be 49 per cent against 45 per cent which is the task of the plan for 1984. The rail transport will be strengthened with the building of the Bajza-Han i Hotit-Border railroad and with the construction and completion, till the end of the year, of the Fier-Vlora line. While working for the intensification of the rail transport, care will be devoted also to the development and better exploitation of the other kinds of transport, such as the motor-road and sea transport.

In 1984 investments will continue to be one of the main pillars of the plan and of the new perspectives of development in the years to come. The bulk of investments will go for the development of the productive sphere. About 77 per cent of the state investments will be utilized only in industry and agriculture.

Still greater concentration of funds are envisaged for the construction of new projects. Constructions will be made on 284 projects, of which 156 will come into production within 1984.

In industry new mines will be built and some coal, chromium, copper, quartz, and other mines will be extended, work will be completed on the extension of the copper upgrading plant and on the new copper enrichment plant of Mirdita, on the extension of the factory of fine stuffs and velvets in Tirana, on the extension of the «Sicle and Hammer» knitwear combine in Korça and of the textile mill of Shkodra, on some factories for the production of sauces, for the preservation

and processing of olive, fruits, etc. in different regions of the country.

In agriculture, a number of irrigation projects will be built and put under exploitation in all the regions of the country, with which the irrigation capacity will be increased by an additional 9 000 hectares; work will be completed in the extension, reconstruction or building of 6 poultry-raising complexes for meat and egg production, two cattle-raising complexes, two turkey-raising complexes, one pig-raising complex, and three factories for the processing of feeds for animals.

The same may be said about the other branches of the economy and for the socio-cultural sphere.

With the development of material production and with the financial sources, which are envisaged to be increased during 1984, a new step forward will be taken towards the improvement of the material well-being of the people and the further development of the education, culture, health service, sciences, etc. The real per capita income of the population is envisaged to increase 3.7 per cent against 1983, of which in the countryside 4.9 per cent, the circulation of goods for cash 6.2 per cent, and services and repairs for the people 13.6 per cent.

According to the draft under examination the state will build about 10 500 apartments, whereas the population, mainly the peasant one, will be supplied with more building materials to build houses with their own money during 1984.

In the field of education, the tasks for 1984 comply with the directives for the 7th Five-year Plan for raising the level and quality of training students and pupils. Their number in all categories of schools is envisaged to reach to 726 thousand people.

The indices for health service in general remain those set in the five-year plan. Improvement of quality of services will continue to be the main task for the Ministry of Health and its depending organs.

The high-rate development of industry, agriculture, etc. create the possibilities for the supplies for our export and the import of goods needed by the economy to be increased.

State budget income is envisaged to grow by 9.5 per cent against 1983. The basis for its increase are the increase of production and, especially, the lowering of costs, of which 70 per cent of the increase of the net income of enterprises is expected. Expenditure for financing the economy will occupy 55.3 per cent of all the expenditure of state budget, socio-cultural measures will occupy 26.2 per cent of them and the build-up of the defence capacity of the country — 11 per cent.



In view of the main tasks of the draft of the economic plan and state budget for the year 1983, the Council of Ministers, in conformity with the orientations of the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, has envisaged the measures that will be taken for perfecting the socialist relations of production, especially for the further improvement of the relations of exchange between town and countryside, for achieving the tasks of the zone of priority intensification, for deepening the measures towards strengthening the cooperatives of a livestock-raising direction, etc. Likewise, great work will be carried out in 1984 especially in order to complete a series of complex socio-economic studies, which will serve as the basis for the leading organs of the Party and state to draft outlines of the 8th Five-year Plan.

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The major tasks envisaged under the draft of the state plan and budget for 1984, the year of the 40th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution, have decisive importance for the entire five-year plan.

The management of our socialist system of the economy with fruitfulness and frugality has been and remains one of its unalterable features.

In 1984 intensive work will be carried out in order to implement the measures for the frugal utilization of electric energy and fuels.

The 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party instructed that the lowering of costs of production in constructions and everywhere else be conceived in a more comprehensive manner and realized as one of the important pillars of the plan.

The carrying out of the tasks of the state plan and budget for 1984 is closely connected with the realization and carrying out of the tasks for the increase of the productivity of labour. Next year the increase of the productivity of labour will account for more than 52 per cent of the increase of the social product.

A special target of the draft plan of 1984 is the solution of the problem of finding occupation for the active work force connecting this also with the major tasks that emerge about the increase of the productivity of labour. Next year about 27 thousand work places will



*In the first row:
Comrades Enver Hoxha, Ramiz Alia and Adil Çarçani*



be created in the state sector of the economy and culture. The state and economic organs must work better to occupy these forces with work.

The Party has continuously instructed that the key to the solution of the problems connected with the intensification and increase of the effectiveness of the economy is the ceaseless development and deepening of the technical-scientific revolution, the application of work and technical discipline. The implementation of the new achievements of science and technology is not just a question of desire, but a necessity for the fulfilment of our plans in quantity, quality, in time and according to forecast expenditure. Today the possibilities for the implementation of the new achievements of science and technology are greater than ever until now.

The tasks envisaged in this draft plan have been entirely based on our own forces, on the great capacities and possibilities of our economy to increase its proportions. Fulfilment of these tasks on all fronts is directly linked with the strengthening of the defence capacity of the Homeland still further, making it an insuperable barrier to any aggressor.

Our people are building socialism with confidence at a time when the imperialist-revisionist world is in the grip of a grave economic, political and social crisis. Our gains please the friends of socialist Albania anywhere in the world and displease its enemies. The leaders of Belgrade, through various slanders and inventions which have been further intensified recently, strive to darken our successes and to discredit socialist Albania, in order to cover up the difficult situation that exists in Yugoslavia and especially the political and economic persecution of the Kosovars and all the Albanians who live in Yugoslavia.

By presenting the draft of the state plan and budget of the next year for examination and approval, the Council of Ministers is fully confident that the working masses of the whole country, led by the Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, conscious of the situations in which we build and defend socialism, will multiply their efforts, mobilization and drive at work, in order to go to the 40th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the popular revolution proud of their achievements and turn into a reality all the tasks the Party and the plan of the year 1984 have set to them.

The deputies approve unanimously the law on the state plan for the development of the economy and culture of the PSRA in 1984.



CONCERN FOR THE

*The setting
up of a unified
prophylactic*

*treatment and educational system d
on a whole series of laws, dec
constantly improving and*

by AJLI ALUSHANI

THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA HAS WORKED OUT A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM OF MEDICAL CARE WHICH HAS ITS MAIN DIRECTIONS, ITS SCIENTIFIC BASES OF ORGANIZATION AND ITS CONCRETE MEASURES FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE CONDITIONS OF LIVING AND THE PROTECTION OF THE HEALTH OF THE PEOPLE.

AS IN OTHER FIELDS, IN THAT OF PUBLIC HEALTH, TOO, BEFORE LIBERATION ALBANIA WAS THE MOST BACKWARD COUNTRY OF EUROPE, WITH ONLY A FEW HEALTH INSTITUTIONS IN THE MORE IMPORTANT TOWNS, WITH HALF OF ITS POPULATION SUFFERING FROM MALARIA, WITH INFECTIOUS DISEASES AND ESPECIALLY SYPHILISIS, TUBERCULOSIS, TYPHOID, ETC. WORKING HAVOC, WITH ONE DOCTOR PER ABOUT 10 000 INHABITANTS AND WITH VERY EXPENSIVE MEDICINES.

Along with the great work for the healing of the wounds of the war and the reconstruction of the country, urgent measures were taken for the elimination of infectious diseases, for the training of medical cadres and the organization of a network of sanitary-epidemiological institutions on scientific bases. The number of health institutions increased from one five-year plan to the other, the foundations were laid of mother and child-care, the health service in the countryside was extended and strengthened, a considerable number of medical cadres were trained and the prophylactic aspect of our health service deepened. Protecting the health of the people today there are medical institutions, outpatient clinics and hospitals which are found even in the remotest corners of the country, with 5 294 cadres and specialists (one doctor per 743 inhabitants). At present there is no unified village without one or several doctors and stomatologists.

AJLI ALUSHANI — Minister of Health

The measures taken for the equipment of the medical institutions with modern treatment means, laboratories, etc., as well as for the specialization and further qualification of the medical personnel have enabled our medical science to rely on its forces for the solution of diagnostic and treatment problems and employ modern methods and means such as electronic scanning, scin tillographic exploration, roentgendiagnosics, roentgentelevision, etc.

In the Capital there are many specialized medical institutions such as clinics equipped with the most up-to-date apparatus and means. Medical service in the hospitals of the districts is being raised to an ever higher level and, with the measures that are being taken, they are being turned into important centres for treatment as well as for medical research and qualification. Medical institutions in the districts provide today many specialized services which did not exist in the past in such fields as peditry,

HEALTH OF MAN

*ected by the State and based
ons and regulations has resulted in the health of our people
ir life expectancy uninterruptedly rising.*

surgery, obstetrics and gynecology, hygiene and epidemiology, otiatry, oculistics, neuro-psychiatry, laboratory analyses, etc. In the larger districts function some specialized services of a narrower profile such as cardiology, gastro-enterology, endocrinology, haematology, professional diseases, neonatology-prematurance, anesthetics, reanimation, orthopedics, traumatology, etc.

Good results have been achieved especially in the extension and qualitative improvement of outpatient medical aid. Polyclinics of different specialities have been set up in cities and quarters, and sanitary centres or outpatient clinics function in every work and production centre, unified village and in many school or pre-school institutions. They play an important role in giving first medical aid to adults and children, in carrying out prophylactic measures against various diseases, in detecting, treating and following up the more common ailments such as cardiovascular, professional, pneumophthisiatic, oncological, endocrinous, and infectious diseases. Every citizen of our country pays an average of three visits a year to these polyclinics, which give him the necessary medical aid and advice.

By Government decision a system of detection and dispensarization has been set up and the state organs keep in constant touch with its work. This system has been turned into a

permanent method of work of our health institutions and cadres in city and country to check up on the state of health of the working people and, on this basis, work out the necessary prophylactic, scientific and organizational measures.

The measures recently taken by the Government for the further intensification of the struggle against cancer and tuberculosis and their free of charge treatment and dispensarization, in outpatient clinics and hospitals, will bring it about that in the year 2000 there will be only individual cases of tuberculosis while cancer cases will be detected and treated in their earlier stages. In this manner, like syphilis, malaria, diphtheria and poliomyelitis, the time will come for many other diseases to disappear or to become extremely rare, with the consequent great decrease of the degree of invalidity or mortality caused by them. The setting up of a unified prophylactic, treatment and educational system directed by the State and based on a whole series of laws, decisions and regulations has resulted in the health of our people constantly improving and their life expectancy uninterruptedly raising.

The achievements in the field of the protection of people's health are also a result of the great work carried out by cadres of the health service, of both medium and higher training. The State pays great attention to their training and qualifi-

cation. By the end of 1985 we will have one doctor per every 700 inhabitants, dentists excluded. The training of the medical cadres is done according to the needs of the medical service both in city and country. About 42 per cent of the students of high medical schools and above 60 per cent of the students of middle medical schools are of country origin, which makes it possible for them to be distributed according to the needs of the town and countryside, equally the same.

At present qualification and specialization of the medical cadres is the main task. During the years 1970-1983 1557 medical cadres of high training such as general practitioners, stomatologists, farmacists and others have attended 2-3 year courses of qualification run at the clinics of the Faculty of Medicine or the other prophylactic-medical institutions of the Capital. Special attention is paid to qualification of medical cadres working in the countryside; they attend courses of different terms and programs organized once in 3-5 years by the health institutions of the districts.

With the existing degree of qualification of our medical cadres there are more and more cases of subtle diagnoses and successful treatment of grave ailments. Our surgeons in Tirana perform highly specialized operations in the heart, brain and other organs.

The socialist system of health service has created a new type of health worker free from all links of material interest with the patient and commercial competition in the exercise of his profession. Our health workers are characterized by socialist humanism. With a high sense of duty, they work for the healing of people and, in the first place, the prevention of disease and the raising of the sanitary education of the masses.

Mother and child care occupies a particular place in the protection of people's health. As early as the First Congress of the PLA in 1948, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: «We attach great importance to the health of mother and child, because on them depends the future of our people.» Today there is a broad network of prophylactic and medical institutions for mother and child which extend to the remotest corners of the Republic and comprise a great number of pediatric and obstetric hospitals and wards, specialized medical services for newborn babies, thousands of consultoria for mother and child and many creches and kindergartens. Every village sanitary centre or zonal hospital has a delivery room of 3-4 beds. Every village has its outpatient clinic with a consultorium for mother and child with one or two obstetrician nurses. Practically all births take place with medical assistance. A great deal has been done to raise the sanitary education through consultoria for mother and child and other means. There are consultoria for women in every town quarter and village. While in 1938 consultoria did not exist, in 1960 they were 160 and in 1980 2 452. The number of creches has grown from one year to the other, and today there are more than 2 500 of them. They contribute not only to the proper physical and mental development of chil-

dren, but also enable women to take an active part in the economic, social and cultural life of the country. There are also special creches for pathological children.

Our legislation takes mother and child under special protection. Mothers have a right to 170 days of paid leave before and after childbirth. This creates favourable conditions for the health not only of the child, but also of its mother.

With the mainly prophylactic direction of the medical service for mother and child as well as for the entire population, demographic indices have greatly improved. Infant morbidity has declined greatly and infant mortality in 1982 was 9.3 per cent lower than in 1931. As a result of the constant raising of the well-being of the people and the improvement of their health conditions, Albania today occupies first place in Europe in regard to the birth-rate and the natural growth of the population. Before Liberation our country had 1,100 thousand inhabitants and the average life expectancy did not exceed 38 years. In the years 1980-1981 the average life expectancy was 69,5 years (67 for males and 72 for females). During the years of the people's power Albania's population has increased more than 2.5 times and in the end of this five-year period it is envisaged to reach the figure of 3 million.

In the field of the protection of people's health the Party of Labour of Albania has always considered prophylaxy as the main means for the prevention of diseases. The socialist order is in a position to carry out this important state and social measure effectively, in a planned manner and on a large scale with the financial means allotted by the State for the extension of the medical service for everybody and the creation

of good hygienic and sanitary conditions.

By means of special laws our people's power has ensured the working people the right to work, rest, free of charge medical care, means of livelihood in case of illness or loss of the ability for work. Special measures have been taken for safety at work, the protection of the environment against pollution and appropriate conditions of housing. These laws and measures reflect the mainly prophylactic orientation of our health service and create the possibilities for its practical realization. The well-being of the people cannot be separated from the measures taken by the State which are aimed at ensuring all the necessary conditions for the protection of the health of the people.

In this context important results have been reached in the hygienization of the country, the immunization of the population against infectious diseases, the detection and treatment of diseases, especially those of a more massive character; more care has been displayed for the protection of the environment against pollution and the general level of sanitary culture has been raised. In the centres of work and production, especially in the industrial zones, special medical services have been created which, apart from their routine work in outpatient clinics, keep in close contact with the organs working in the fields of prophylaxy. Special studies are being carried out on the influence of chemical, physical and biological agents and environmental conditions in general and in particular, according to sectors or places of work. On the basis of the results of these studies new norms are worked out and measures taken to prevent these agents from harming the health of the people.

Working conditions are under constant control by means of laboratory analyses so as to ensure the rigorous implementation of the norms of hygiene and sanitation. According to jobs, especially in the industrial zones, periodical controls of workers' health are carried out so as to detect in time any symptom of professional disease. Those working in jobs or work processes which pose a threat to their health have a right to supplementary food, longer leave, reduced hours of work, antidotes, earlier pensioning and other facilities.

A broad prophylactic work has been carried out for the protection of the health of mother and child, a number of vaccines are used to protect children against infectious diseases, pregnant women are given special vitamins, extensive sanitary propaganda is conducted for the food rearing of children and a number of measures are taken against rachitis and dystrophy. Large-scale campaigns are carried out for the detection of diseases such as those of the cardiovascular and digestive apparatus, skeleton deformities, endocrinous and gynecological diseases. Dispensaries systematically follow up patients and their re-habilitation. All the districts have bacteriological laboratories which, along with their routine work, check up on possible carriers of infectious diseases.

Scientific studies and researches are carried out not only to further perfect methods of diagnosis and treatment, but also to improve hygiene and combat infectious diseases. Institutions specialized in the field of prophylaxy, such as the Institute of Hygiene and Epidemiology in Tirana and the laboratories of the Centre of Hygiene and Epidemiology in the districts, have carried out a number of studies on the protection of the environment against pollution, professional

diseases, the physical and chemical properties of drinking water, the structure of infectious diseases, the extension of range and the improvement of quality of immunobiological preparates, the physical development of children, the nutrition structure of the population, etc. On the basis of the results of these studies and the ensuing of a higher degree of knowledge of problems of hygiene and epidemiology, more effective measures of a prophylactic character are taken.

During this five-year plan (1981-1985) more research work has been carried out for the detection and prevention of infectious diseases, the number of prophylactic measures has already trebled, the range of immunobiological preparates has widened, a section of lyophilization of vaccines and serums has been set up, the quality of their production has been improved, the number of specialized cadres in the field of hygiene and epidemiology has grown.

Perceptible improvements have been made in the hygienic-sanitary conditions of workers, cooperativists, students, collectives of boarding houses, creches and kindergartens, and in the external and esternal housing conditions of people.

Our citizen sees the great care of our state for the health of man also in such measures as the free of charge hospitalization and treatment in medical institutions, the constant improvement of the health service, the extension of the work of outpatient clinics and the free of charge laboratory analyses, medicines given at reduced prices outside medical institutions or free of charge for children up to 12 months of age. On April 1983 another decision of the Council of Ministers of the PSRA entered into force, which provided for another reduction of retail prices for 137 locally produced or im-

ported medicines, from which the population profits 17 million leks a year. Price cuts for a number of medicines reach up to 50 per cent, while medicines used for medical treatment at home against tuberculosis and sitostatics are given free of charge. At the existing prices a complete riphadin treatment cycle against tuberculosis costs 657 leks, while a leukan treatment cycle costs 420 leks. Hence for all these preparates are given free of charge to the patients.

The state farmaceutical service extends to the remotest corners of the Homeland so as to be as closely available to the working masses as possible. As against 78 small private farmacies our country had before Liberation, there are today 433 state-run farmacies. As against 35 farmacists in 1945, our country has today about 700 farmacists graduated from the State University of Tirana, without mentioning a still larger number of assistant-farmacists.

Our farmaceutical industry has been created from scratch and is constantly expanding, making a valuable contribution to meeting the needs of the population for medicines. It is increasing the utilization of the natural resources of the country while at the same time processing imported primary materials by means of advanced technologies.

Our people have a good tradition in the field of medicine which is held in high consideration and made the most of. The methods of popular medicine have enabled our people in the past to meet to a certain degree their needs at a time when the health service was very backward or very costly. Popular medicine constitutes a treasury which is being collected, studied and propagandized. For this purpose the Popular Medicine Research Institute has been set up. It has put many popular treatment me-

thods on scientific bases and follows up their practical application in many health institutions.

Our medical science has advanced, too. The scientific workers and specialists in medicine have carried out a number of studies of theoretical and practical value in the field of prophylaxy, hygiene, diagnostics and treatment, while always giving priority to studies in the field of prophylaxy.

The workers of the Institute of Hygiene and Epidemiology of Tirana have, in collaboration with specialists of other health institutions, carried out studies on the incidence of various diseases throughout the country, on the factors causing them and the ways for their elimination. Studies have been carried out and good results achieved in the experimentation and local production of a number of vaccines like those against measles, diphtheria, pertussis, etc. which, being produced on a mass scale and given free of charge, have resulted in Albania's having for some years now no outbreak of these diseases. At the same time preventive measures have been taken and applied with scientific rigorosity to protect Albania from the spread of such diseases as cholera, plague, typhoid,

etc. which have intermittently occurred in many countries of the world.

Studies have been carried out and continue on a number of the more frequent diseases like those of the heart, blood circulation and cancer. Particular attention has been paid to the constant reduction of infant mortality, as well as to studies on the physiology of work. Through a scientific study of the work in the various sectors of the economy, especially in the mines, chemical factories, etc. and as a result of measures of technical safety professional diseases are no more a problem in Albania and cases of temporary inability for work are in constant decline.

Interesting are the studies about the effective use of mineral, cold or thermal, waters in which Albania is particularly rich. They are finding ever broader application in thermal stations as well as in the family, through their industrialization.

The studies carried out in the field of hygiene have contributed to the protection of the environment against pollution and the solving of a number of problems emerging from the intensive development of industry. As a result of the studies carried out and the measures taken in this field,

socialist Albania has the least polluted natural environment in Europe.

The methods of modern medicine are increasingly being used in the field of diagnostics and treatment of diseases. With the specialists and the modern means the Albanian health institutions dispose today, new possibilities are created for the rapid and precise diagnosis of diseases and successes achieved in their treatment, including the application of heart surgery. The road is open towards a narrower specialization of services in medical institutions, making it possible also for some suburb hospitals to perform specialized services such as surgery, etc.

Albania has a population growth 3.5 times the annual average of the European countries, while the death-rate per 1000 inhabitants is 37 per cent lower than the average death-rate of the countries of Europe. During the forty years of the people's power the average life expectancy of the population has risen by about 9.5 months each year. A new healthy generation full of vitality is growing up to make Albania the country with the youngest population in Europe, a guarantee for the rapid and constant strengthening of its labour force and defence potential.

THE PLA ON THE TREATMENT AND CORRECT SOLUTION OF CONTRADICTIONS IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

by ISMAIL LLESHI

Various fundamental problems of the question of contradictions in socialist society have assumed particular importance in the process of the struggle that is waged between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, because different variants of modern revisionism capitalize on the question of contradictions in socialism

IN ALL ITS REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA HAS CONSISTENTLY UPHELD THE SCIENTIFIC MARXIST-LENINIST THESIS THAT CONTRADICTIONS EXIST EVERYWHERE AND IN EVERY FIELD OF SOCIAL ACTIVITY, IN THE SPHERE OF MATERIAL PRODUCTION AND IN THE SPIRITUAL SPHERE, THAT THE DIALECTICAL LAW OF DEVELOPMENT THROUGH THE STRUGGLE OF OPPOSITES, AS A UNIVERSAL LAW, OPERATES IN SOCIETY, ALSO THAT HERE, TOO, WITHOUT STRUGGLE FOR THE OVERCOMING OF CONTRADICTIONS NO DEVELOPMENT IS POSSIBLE.

This happens also in socialist society where advance is not realized as something ideal and self-understood, but occurs in a revolutionary way because it is based on the struggle of opposites, contradictions, whose treatment and correct solution promotes its further development. Therefore, the

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PLA, as Comrade Enver Hoxha says, has always known, as one of the main tasks of its ideological work «...to make perfectly clear the character of contradictions in socialist society and the ways for their correct solution.»¹

The scientific conception and treatment of the problem of contradictions in socialist society has great importance in the working out of a prin-

cipled political line, in the building of a scientific strategy and in the definition of correct tactical stands. Likewise, various fundamental problems of the question of contradictions in socialist society assume particular importance in the process of the struggle that is waged between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, because different variants of modern revisionism capitalize on the question of contradictions in socialism.

In the theoretical thinking of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha on the problem of contradictions in socialism, stands out the determined defence of the legacy of the classics of Marxism-Leninism in this field in consistent struggle to expose all revisionist

distortions and falsifications. It is a synthesis of the rich experience of the work of the Party in the treatment and correct solution of different traditions emerging in the process of the revolution and socialist construction in Albania, a synthesis which makes a valuable contribution to the further development of the Marxist-Leninist theory on contradictions in such essential questions as the place of antagonistic contradictions in socialism, the importance of recognizing and correctly treating antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions, the methods of their solution, etc.

1. THE PLACE AND ROLE OF ANTAGONISTIC CONTRADICTIONS IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

In analysing the history of the development of society, the classics of Marxism-Leninism stress that it is the result of the inter-action of innumerable forces which clash with each other because of different interests, aims and desires. They indicate that whether the interests of people, classes and social forces are in opposition to each other or not, this does not depend on their desires, but on deeper, objective, factors, among which the main and decisive place is occupied by the character of people's relationship to the means of production. So, in the conditions of the private ownership of the means of production, interests, and especially the fundamental interests of different classes and social forces, clash with each other, because private property divides people and classes, counterposes their interests and aims. Hence, antagonistic contradictions are found in all societies built on the basis of private ownership, characterize these societies and are typical of them.

In socialism, with the elimination of private ownership and the establishment of socialist relations of production, a major qualitative transformation is carried out and the ex-

ploiting classes disappear as such. In these new conditions, a number of important problems of principle emerge which have to do with the place antagonistic contradictions occupy in socialist society, with the fields and directions of their expression, the role they play, etc.

The Marxist-Leninist theoretical thinking of our Party has produced many arguments to the effect that in socialist society, despite the elimination of private property and exploiting classes, there are still factors and causes which condition the existence of antagonistic contradictions along with non-antagonistic contradictions. In the conditions of socialist society, the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha deal with antagonistic contradictions as stemming from the existence of the former exploiting classes or their leftovers; from the possible emergence of new bourgeois elements in socialism, also, as a result of the degeneration of some people and their going over to anti-popular and anti-socialist positions; from the existence of the external enemy, imperialism, revisionism and the whole reaction (the contradiction of socialism with them is an expression of the contradiction between two classes with diametrically opposed interests — the working class and the bourgeoisie); from the existence of different forms and manifestations of alien, old or new, ideologies.

From this scientific thesis on the existence of antagonistic contradictions in socialist society important conclusions emerge for the practical activity, among which two are the main ones.

The first and the more important conclusion is recognition of the class struggle in socialism as an objective phenomenon, and acceptance of the necessity of the development of the class struggle to resolve antagonistic contradictions. Linking the process of the class struggle with the existence of antagonistic contradictions in socialism, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: «...even in this new society, classes, that is, the working class and working

peasantry which are closely allied to each other will exist for a very long time, but there will also be remnants of the overthrown and expropriated classes. During this entire period, these remnants, as well as elements which degenerate and oppose the construction of socialism, will try to regain their lost power. Hence, under socialism, too, stern class struggle will exist.»²

The second conclusion has to do with the importance of recognizing antagonistic contradictions as an objective phenomenon in order to correctly understand the process of development of socialist society. This is a complex process which comes up against various difficulties. These difficulties must be recognized, it must be known how they have emerged and what is their influence on the advance of socialist society so as to see how and why they must be overcome. Part of these difficulties is the result of the hostile activity of those forces which have fundamental interests diametrically opposed to the interests of socialism. We may mention the difficulties that the all-round imperialist-revisionist encirclement have caused the process of socialist construction. The process of socialist construction has come up against difficulties also because of the activity of the internal enemy, both the old one, the former exploiting classes and their leftovers, and the new one. Provided their source is known, these difficulties are overcome by proper means and in appropriate ways. The Khrushchevite revisionist claim that antagonistic contradictions exist only in the period of the construction of the economic base of socialism, while after that period there are no longer contradictions of this type, an idea which expresses the essence of the Khrushchevite approach to the problem of contradictions in socialism. The only argument given by the Khrushchevite revisionists to show that there are no antagonistic contradictions in socialist society is the disappearance of antagonistic classes. The experience of socialist construction in Albania has fully

proved that with the disappearance of the exploiting classes, people who made up these classes do not disappear but continue to exist as leftovers of the former exploiting classes which, as Comrade Enver Hoxha says, although «...defeated politically, ideologically, militarily and economically, never renounce the hope of seizing state power again and re-establishing the bourgeois state.»³ Their essential interests are in complete opposition to the interests of the people, revolution and socialism, so contradictions in this field are profoundly antagonistic.

With their negation of antagonistic contradictions in socialism, the Khrushchevite revisionists pursue particular aims. They use this, in the first place, as a «basic argument» to deny the class struggle in socialism and to cover up the true reality of the revisionist countries in which a fierce class struggle is waged between the proletariat and the new bourgeoisie that rules in those countries. Exposing the revisionists' claims in denying the existence of antagonistic contradictions and the class struggle in socialism, the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha have consistently adhered to the thesis that in socialist society «...in which the feudal and bourgeois classes have been defeated politically and economically as such and in which a merciless war is waged on the leftovers of their ideology, the antagonistic classes have disappeared (but this must not, of course, be interpreted that the class struggle is no longer waged against elements of the expropriated classes and those who degenerate, against alien leftovers and manifestations which stem from the old class society, from the capitalist and imperialist states that encircle us and exercise their pressure on us every day and every hour, from the spread of modern revisionism which tries to destroy socialism.»⁴

There are revisionist trends which accept the existence of antagonistic contradictions in socialism, but link them with the existence of the bourgeoisie as a class also after the so-

cialist transformations in the field of ownership. Mao Zedong claimed that, for the first time in the history of the development of Marxism-Leninism, he had allegedly discovered that there would still be contradictions, classes and class struggle even after the complete socialist transformation of the character of ownership of the means of production, because of the existence of two opposed classes — the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.⁵

All this opportunist argumentation is based on the thesis that even after the construction of the economic base of socialism, opposed classes continue to exist. That after the completion of the construction of the economic base of socialism there will still be classes, this is a thesis formulated by the classics of Marxism-Leninism. For the Marxist-Leninist theory, the working class and the cooperativist peasantry are two classes, but two friendly classes, liberated from oppression and exploitation. Stalin wrote in 1936 that, with the establishment of socialist ownership and the socialist relations of production, the old class structure of society changes radically, the exploiting classes disappear and society is made up of two friendly classes, the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, as well as the people's intelligentsia as a particular stratum of society.

The Chinese revisionists have discovered nothing new when they claim that with the completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production classes continue to exist. The «new thing» is their statement that even after the construction of the economic base of socialism there are still opposed classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha have long ago refuted these revisionist theses and exposed their opportunist, anti-Marxist character as a flagrant distortion of the Leninist definition of classes.

The important is not only to accept the existence of antagonistic contradictions in socialism, but also to de-

fine their extension, fields and directions of expression.

As is known, non-antagonistic contradictions have a broad and varied extension in socialism. As Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, «...they exist in great variety, in diverse forms, and in different countries and times.»⁶ Non-antagonistic contradictions emerge in the relations between the two friendly classes, the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, within each of these classes and within different groups and strata of society. However, in this, so to say, quantitative aspect, antagonistic contradictions have not the richness and variety which characterizes non-antagonistic contradictions. However, from this the conclusion cannot be drawn that antagonistic contradictions have grown narrower in scope and in the directions of their expression. In analysing this problem, the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha say that one must not be confused by the variety of the forms of expression of the two types of contradictions, because there are also differences in the fields and directions of their expression, just as one must not mistake the problem of the extension of antagonistic contradictions for the problem of the role they play in this or that field in the different stages of the development of the revolution and socialist construction. Otherwise this may lead to theoretical errors with negative consequences for the practical activity, to an erroneous conception of the character of the concrete contradictions and to an artificial narrowing of the circle of antagonistic contradictions. The view that antagonistic contradictions are allegedly concentrated in the ideological or, mainly, in the political field lead precisely to such conclusions. So the view that antagonistic contradictions in socialism are concentrated mainly in the ideological field restricts the ratio of antagonistic forces to this sphere alone, thereby negating the fierce struggle that is waged between the forces of socialism and its enemies in the political, economic and other fields. The

scientific analysis of the reality of the development of the class struggle in socialism has led the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha to the conclusion that «...the enemy wages its struggle in all directions. It combats us in the ideology, in the economy and in politics»,⁷ which shows that antagonistic contradictions cannot be reduced to a particular field, but that they exist in all the main fields. Antagonistic, just as non-antagonistic contradictions, no matter how broad their extension in all the main fields, are not permanent. They must and can be overcome, resolved, and in this way society advances. The class struggle waged by the working masses under the leadership of the Party to do away with any leftover of the capitalist society, to carry the socialist revolution forward to its final victory, achieves the constant solution of the different antagonistic contradictions until, with the disappearance of classes in communism and its complete triumph, there will be no more contradictions of a class character. The same will happen with the non-antagonistic contradictions of socialist society. New contradictions will emerge in the solution of these or those concrete problems. This is how the progressive development of society is realized towards communism which will bring about the disappearance of the causes which engender these contradictions.

Mao Zedong's view that even after ten thousand years there will still be contradictions and struggle in the meaning of class struggle and even revolution⁸ is anti-scientific from top to bottom. Here the question is not about contradictions as a source of advance, because such contradictions will always exist in human society, but about class contradictions as long as the class struggle is supposed to exist even after ten thousand years. Logically it ensues that the two types of contradictions which exist in socialism will occur permanently. The ten-thousand year term is only a convention to indicate a very distant future. It expresses for the Chinese re-

visionists the time limitlessness of the existence of class contradictions. So they are presented as eternal in human society. These views are in complete opposition to the Marxist-Leninist conception of the two types of contradictions. Their existence is linked with the interests of different classes and social forces, interests which manifest themselves in different forms. Hence, it is evident that in the future classless communist society there will be no basis for class contradictions and class struggle. Contradictions will continue to exist, but will no longer be antagonistic or non-antagonistic class contradictions. Actually, with their views the Chinese revisionists cunningly spread the illusion that the titanic struggle waged by the proletariat for the triumph of the socialist revolution and the construction of the socialist society would be in vain if socialist society is torn by in principle unsurmountable contradictions. Comrade Enver Hoxha has described the presentation of the contradictions of socialist society as unsurmountable to be typical of bourgeois-revisionist conceptions.

The correct scientific conception and explanation of the place of antagonistic contradictions in socialist society is closely linked with another important problem, that of their role. For this problem to be resolved, the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha point out that the relationship between antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions in socialist society must be taken well account of. Antagonistic contradictions cannot be placed on the same plane as non-antagonistic contradictions when the question is about their relationship in the socialist order.

Socialist society, in which private ownership and the exploiting classes have been done away with, is not characterized by the antagonism of fundamental class interests which characterize capitalism as a particular order and, in this meaning, Lenin points out that in socialism this antagonism disappears. Antagonistic contradictions are not in the nature of

socialism which is not characterized by such factors as give birth to contradictions of this kind. They do not stem from the essence of socialist relations of production, which are relations of collaboration and mutual assistance between two friendly classes, the working class and the cooperativist peasantry. Because of their very character antagonistic contradictions are alien to socialism. Socialism has inherited these contradictions from the old society, as a result of its leftovers which live on in socialism and the external pressure of the capitalist and revisionist world. As an order, socialism is characterized by non-antagonistic contradictions. If this essential distinction between antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions in socialism is not made, then that which characterizes socialism as a qualitatively new order cannot be understood. However, the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have made it clear that from this no such conclusion should be reached as to overrate one type of contradictions and underrate the other type, the question of the role the two types of contradictions play must be dealt with and solved in close connection with the concrete objective conditions of the existence of these contradictions, with the fundamental objectives the development of the revolution and the socialist construction sets itself and with the principal problems that emerge in this process. By so conceiving this question, the Marxist-Leninist theoretical thinking of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have come to the conclusion that both non-antagonistic and antagonistic contradictions have their important place in socialism. Describing the place of antagonistic contradictions in socialism, Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «We must always bear in mind that we are in the period of transition from capitalism to communism. This means that during this period capitalism and socialism are locked in irreconcilable struggle. And this struggle continues over the whole transitional period whose duration is unknown, although it is known that it will be a long one. Nobody must think that with us this

struggle has been won once and for all times.⁶⁹

The fierce class struggle that develops between socialism and capitalism represents in itself the consistent and determined struggle of the working class and all the other working masses under the leadership of the Party to defend and constantly strengthen people's power, to develop the productive forces and to perfect the socialist relations of production, to raise the well-being of the working masses, to steel the defence capacity of the socialist Homeland and make it invincible, to educate the new man with a scientific world outlook and a revolutionary character. All this is a fierce struggle against the aims and the repeated attempts of world reaction at overthrowing people's power and restoring the rule of the bourgeoisie and revisionism, at bringing the country under the all-round bondage of imperialism, revisionism and reaction, at plundering its great wealth, at oppressing and ruthlessly exploiting the working masses, at spreading their decadent ideology to poison the consciousness of people, at occupying the country militarily and turning it into a true colony. In essence, the process of socialist construction is closely linked with the struggle of the forces of socialism with these reactionary forces over questions of cardinal importance, hence, antagonistic contradictions cannot be underrated.

The documents of the Party and the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha not only provide scientific arguments about the place of antagonistic contradictions in socialism, but also emphasize the importance of the definition of the fundamental antagonistic contradictions in the period of the transition from capitalism to communism, or in its different stages, as an indispensable condition for working out a correct political line and applying it consistently.

Proceeding from a concrete analysis of the objective conditions of the development of the revolution and socialist construction and bearing in mind

the main directions of development of the class struggle, the Party has reached the conclusion that the fundamental antagonistic contradiction during the whole period of transition from capitalism to communism is the contradiction between socialism which has won and marches forward towards its complete triumph, and capitalism which, although defeated, tries to regain its lost power. The fundamental antagonistic contradiction between socialism and capitalism, in the different stages of the development of the revolution and the class struggle, has its own forms and is resolved by the means related to it. So the experience of the revolution and the class struggle in Albania shows that the fundamental antagonistic contradiction in the political field was that of the people with the occupier and the exploiting classes which made common cause with it, and was resolved with the liberation of the country and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat; in the economic field, it was the contradiction of the new socialist relations of production with the feudal-bourgeois relations and was resolved with the construction of the economic base of socialism both in city and countryside; in the ideological field, it is the contradiction between the proletarian ideology and the bourgeois ideology whose solution marks the complete triumph of the communist ideology and morality over the bourgeois ideology and morality, and the all-round communist education of the working masses.

Among the various forms in which the contradiction between socialism and capitalism expresses itself in the different fields there is an inner organic connection and order which is the reflection of the laws of development of the revolution and socialist construction and which must always be taken into consideration to single out the concrete fundamental antagonistic contradiction in this or that stage. So the laws of development of the revolution itself bring out first as the fundamental contradiction the con-

tradiction in the economic field without whose solution one cannot proceed with the solution of other contradictions. After the working class, under the leadership of its party, takes over political power, the new state power must rely on its own economic base and so the fundamental contradiction of this stage is the contradiction in the economic field; and following its solution the contradiction in the ideological field assumes particular importance. With the solution of each of these fundamental contradictions in their different stages, the gradual solution of the fundamental antagonistic contradiction between socialism and capitalism is realized.

The Party has made it clear that with the triumph of the socialist revolution in this or that field, for example, in the political and economic field, the relative fundamental antagonistic contradictions are resolved. They are resolved as such, as fundamental contradictions, but this does not mean that there are no more antagonistic contradictions in those fields. Antagonistic contradictions continue to exist in all these fields, which, among other things, also conditions the development of the class struggle on a broad front and in all its main directions: political, economic and ideological.

The fundamental contradictions of the different stages have not only their organic order, but also their interaction, as clearly seen in the conclusion of the PLA to the effect that, as long as the fundamental contradiction has not been resolved also in the ideological field, the fundamental contradictions in the political and economic fields cannot be considered fully and definitively resolved, either. Only by considering the fundamental contradictions in the concrete forms of their expression and in their interaction can the tasks of each stage of the revolution and socialist construction be defined, as well as the main enemy against which the struggle should be spearheaded, and the motor forces and the allies in this process.

A correct conception of the fundamental contradiction in the period of transition to communism, as a contradiction between socialism and capitalism, has great importance. It manifests itself in the work and efforts of the working masses under the leadership of the Party for the triumph of socialism and in the struggle against the possibility of this revolutionary process being interrupted by diverse hostile factors, or degenerating in the restoration of capitalism, as has happened in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries. Hence, the struggle between socialism and capitalism is in essence the struggle of socialism to preclude this possibility which all the internal and external enemies wish and try to bring about: This possibility exists in all fields — political, economic, ideological and military, hence, regardless of the solution of this or that fundamental contradiction in this or that stage of the revolution and socialist construction, antagonistic contradictions interlaced with each other continue to exist in all fields during the whole transitional period. As a consequence, the class struggle does not develop only in one field, but in several fields at the same time.

2. ON THE CORRECT TREATMENT OF THE TWO TYPES OF CONTRADICTIONS IN SOCIALISM

Because of the place they occupy and the role they play, antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions call for particular attention and careful treatment. The correct treatment of contradictions in socialist society implies, in the first place, the definition of their character, whether they are antagonistic or non-antagonistic, and hence the drawing of a clear-cut demarcation line between the warring forces.

From Marxist-Leninist sciences as well as from the experience of the socialist revolution in Albania and the

course of history in the different countries of the world results that the drawing of a clear-cut demarcation line between the people and the enemy is a complex and difficult, though necessary, task which calls for profound maturity. Likewise, at some moments of the history of this or that country, such as in the conditions of a war for national liberation, when the democratic and anti-imperialist tasks assume particular importance in the development of the revolution the proletariat may ally itself with that part of the bourgeoisie which is not a blind weapon of foreign capital and which is interested in the independent development of the country, but always placing it under its leadership. Even in those socio-historical conditions, the contradiction between the proletariat and the other working masses, on one hand, and that part of the bourgeoisie, on the other, continues to be a contradiction of an antagonistic character, but in the concrete circumstances and conditions, it may not be the main antagonistic contradiction. However, this depends also on the stand that this part of the bourgeoisie itself maintains. Summing up the experience of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out that in the conditions of that time «...the internal class contradictions had passed to a second plane and the external contradiction, that between the Albanian people who were fighting for their freedom, independence and sovereignty, and the Italian and German occupiers who had occupied their country, had become the main one.»¹⁰ Therefore the Party aimed at winning as many forces as possible over to the side of the Anti-fascist War. «It... tried and did everything so as not to allow the transformation of its contradictions with the Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti into the main antagonistic contradictions.»¹¹ Nevertheless, the exploiting classes and the traitor organizations that were created under their aegis considered the Communist Party and the National Liberation

Front as their main enemy and tried to destroy them by means of armed war, uniting in one front with the occupiers. They themselves transformed their contradictions with the Communist Party and the National Liberation Front, in which the broad masses of the Albanian people were united, into the main antagonistic contradictions. Hence, the Party and the National Liberation Front fought and destroyed these traitor organizations of the exploiting classes as tools of the foreign occupiers and, with their victory, not only liberated the country from the foreign occupiers, but also overthrew the main exploiting classes of the country and divested them of political power.

With the triumph of the revolution, the proletariat topples the bourgeoisie from power and expropriates it. In the conditions of socialism in all situations and circumstances, the interests of the bourgeoisie as a class come nowhere near to the interests of the people. These are henceforth the aspects of the relations between them, two forces diametrically opposed to each other, and the contradiction between them is a fundamental antagonistic contradiction.

With such a Marxist-Leninist conception of these important questions, the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have exposed the «theorizings» of Mao Zedong Thought which were intended to deny the absolute necessity of a clear-cut definition of the character of contradictions in socialism. According to Mao Zedong Thought, in socialism exists the possibility for the proletariat to enter into alliance, agreement and collaboration with the bourgeoisie so as to make it a participant in its work and a fellow traveller on its course of socialist construction, because the bourgeoisie itself is supposed to be interested in this, because it is supposed to have a dual character — being an exploiter and worker at the same time. Hence, according to Mao Zedong Thought, the contradictions with the bourgeoisie are not the main antagonistic contradic-

tions, but an interlacing of antagonistic contradictions with non-antagonistic contradictions which cannot be differentiated and cannot exist without each other. By means of this eclectic treatment of contradictions Mao Zedong Thought, in essence, intends to treat the contradictions between the working class and the bourgeoisie as a non-antagonistic contradiction, which the Chinese revisionists have used and continue to use as a theoretical disguise of their opportunist line of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and of the development of capitalism in China. The Marxist-Leninist theory and the experience of the construction of scientific socialism prove that there is no such thing as the dual character of the bourgeoisie, which is always and only a reactionary force which, although defeated, never for a moment renounces the hope of re-assuming power. As a consequence, also the contradiction with the bourgeoisie or its leftovers is profoundly and only antagonistic.

The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have described any confusion of the two types of contradictions as not only inconsistent theoretically, but also very harmful practically, because by so doing the correct and consistent development of the class struggle is distorted and the moral-political unity of the people around the Party weakened. In everyday life and struggle for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland, Comrade Enver Hoxha instructs that «...a clear distinction must be made of the contradictions between us and the enemies and the contradiction in the bosom of the people, without confusing the people with the enemy, because otherwise the cause of the unity would be gravely harmed and the links of the Party with the masses weakened.»¹²

The correct and consistent development of the class struggle calls for a clear definition of the main hostile forces and enemies that must be fought, full knowledge of the moments and peculiarities that characterize them, for the working out of as ap-

propriate as possible methods for waging the class struggle and many other factors theoretically analysed by the classics of Marxism-Leninism and proved in the experience of the revolution and the construction of socialism in Albania.

However, the correct and consistent development of the class struggle calls for a principled stand, without sliding either into opportunism or sectarianism. Both of them are different forms of opportunism, one weakening or altogether ceasing the class struggle, and the other stirring it up or exacerbating it artificially. They represent an erroneous conception and development of the class struggle, which is fraught with very dangerous consequences for the revolution and the socialist construction. The Party of Labour of Albania has waged a constant struggle against them throughout its existence. Comrade Enver Hoxha explains the waverings of an opportunistic and sectarian character in the development of the class struggle with «...failure to correctly understand the character of the two types of contradictions that exist in our society...»¹³ and emphasizes that «any mixing up of these two types of contradictions leads to either opportunist or sectarian mistakes.»¹⁴

Another important moment of the treatment of contradictions is the definition of their degree of development. The classics of Marxism-Leninism did not consider contradictions as given once and for all times or frozen in a given form. Contradictions undergo a whole process, they emerge, develop and, if work is not done for their solution, may become complicated and exacerbated. Stressing this idea, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, «...Lenin teaches us and the great experience of our Party has proved it that great divergences emerge from small misunderstandings,»¹⁵ and further on continues, «Lenin says that any divergence, no matter how unimportant, may become politically dangerous if there is the possibility of its degenerating into a split.»¹⁶ Hence, contradictions

have not the same degree of maturity or exacerbation not only compared with each other, but also in themselves. Hence, it is important to know the degree of development of contradictions, because this influences the definition of the measures to be taken and the ways to be followed for their solution. «...with us,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «as is known, there are also cases when those who have committed slight crimes are not thrown instantly into prison, indeed they are not even expelled from their jobs. First, these people are only admonished, then they are sternly criticized and taught how to behave themselves, and so on. Only when they do not mend their ways are sterner measures taken towards them. So, a whole education work is done to save these people. Only when after all this work they make light of all admonishments and continue to abuse the generosity of the working class, this is obliged to take the measures envisaged by the law, by dismissing them from work or even putting them in jail so that the criminals are amended by coercive measures.»¹⁷ However, such a differentiated stand is also built on the basis of the degree of maturity of the given contradiction, because one stand is maintained to him who errs for this time and quite another stand is maintained towards him who, as our people has it, «has filled the cup to overflowing». In other words, there are different degrees in the development of contradictions and, consequently, there are different stands towards them.

3. ON THE METHOD OF THE SOLUTION OF CONTRADICTIONS IN THE SOCIALIST SOCIETY

The problem of the methods of the solution of contradictions occupies an important place in the Marxist-Leninist theory on contradictions. In de-

fence and as a development of the ideas of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and, in general of the experience of the revolution and socialist construction in our country, this problem is analysed in detail in the theoretical thinking of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions have their own place in the rapid development characteristic of socialist society, and this demands that contradictions should be known, dealt with properly and solved correctly. Comrade Enver Hoxha describes the tendency to cover up contradictions as profoundly wrong, considering it a subjectivist stand which denies their objective character and does not take account of the important role they play, if properly dealt with and correctly solved, in the advance of socialist society. Contradictions must be uncovered and overcome courageously. However, the process of the overcoming, that is, the solution of contradictions is not spontaneous. Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «...it should cross nobody's mind that their overcoming comes of itself.»¹⁸ On the contrary, in arguing that the solution of contradictions calls for broad work, Comrade Enver Hoxha says that «Marxism-Leninism and the experience of our socialist construction clearly indicate that their correct, sound and revolutionary solution demands that they should necessarily be studied and dealt with in a scientific, profound and all-round manner...».

Contradictions are resolved when the proper methods, means and forms are employed for this purpose. How these methods can be found and which are the principal methods employed for the solution of contradictions in socialist society? In this question, too, emerges the valuable contribution of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha in the defence and development of the theoretical legacy of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

As a starting-point for the finding and application of as correct and efficient methods as possible for the so-

lution of contradictions, some important criteria should be paid proper attention to.

A multiplicity of solution methods corresponds to the broad variety of the expression of contradictions, however the method, form or way that will be applied in the solution of contradictions depends on the character of the contradictions, whether they are antagonistic or non-antagonistic, in the first place. Stressing this idea, Comrade Enver Hoxha says that it is necessary, first, «...to discover and recognize the contradictions and then, on this basis, to take measures to solve them in due time, in proper ways and by appropriate means, as Lenin and Stalin teach us.»¹⁹ «The Party and our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «in judging people make a clear distinction between those who are linked with the people and who in the process of work make mistakes without hostile intentions, and those who have lost all connection with the working class or who, without having done this, have degenerated and harm the socialist Homeland with their actions. Methods of conviction and education are applied toward the former, while the dictatorship of the proletariat makes itself felt in all its justness and severity towards the latter.»²⁰ Otherwise, if the methods for the solution of contradictions are employed without knowing the character of contradictions, the two types of contradictions may be confused. The application of coercive measures there where conviction and education should be used, artificially exacerbates non-antagonistic contradictions, which may transform them into antagonistic contradictions. Likewise, the use of debate and discussion in the solution of antagonistic contradictions with the enemy leads to a soft, liberal and opportunist stand towards it.

The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha consider the finding, working out and application of as effective methods as possible for the solution of contradictions as closely linked with the

process of the correct and consistent development of the class struggle. «Outside the class struggle and without the class struggle,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «neither the overcoming of contradictions nor the strengthening of unity can be conceived.»²¹ The profound and scientific Marxist-Leninist conception and the correct and consistent waging of the class struggle in all fields dictate, in turn, the methods for the correct solution of the different contradictions in socialist society. Being objectively fierce, the process of the class struggle has its own dynamics, its ups and downs which, as the Party points out, are linked with the concrete questions over which the struggle is waged or with the particular moments of these questions, with the concrete conditions of the development of the struggle and with other objective and subjective factors. The working out and application of the appropriate methods for the solution of contradictions is impossible without knowing this dynamics of the development of the class struggle which, if ignored, may lead to opportunist and sectarian stands.

In working out and applying the proper methods for the solution of contradictions it must be kept in mind that, as there is a great variety of them, they should be differentiated into methods employed for the solution of mainly antagonistic contradictions and into methods for the solution of non-antagonistic contradictions. In the question of the solution of antagonistic contradictions in socialism, the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have consistently adhered to the teachings of the classics of Marxism-Leninism to the effect that the method of violence must be used in the first place for this purpose. Lenin instructed that, in its stand towards hostile forces, the dictatorship of the proletariat must not be like soft dough, but like iron because «this dictatorship presupposes the application of stern and merciless, quick and resolute violence to break the resistance of the exploiters, the capitalists, landlords and their henchmen. Who does

not understand this is not a revolutionary...»²² In his political diary «Reflections on China», Comrade Enver Hoxha, exposing the opportunist stands of the Chinese revisionists towards the class enemy, points out that «the struggle against the class enemy must be merciless, not on paper and in words, but by facts and actions,»²³ and that «the heads of the enemies should be broken not only with words, with wall-papers, but also with bullets.»²⁴ This has been and remains the unchanged stand of the Party of Labour of Albania towards the internal or external enemy in the solution of the antagonistic contradictions with it, and represents one of the fundamental factors which have ensured the successful realization of the objectives of the Party for the triumph of the revolution and its uninterrupted development.

The Chinese revisionists maintain a profoundly opportunist and anti-Marxist stand in this question. According to them, the method of discussion, criticism and unity, of education and re-education which, as Mao Zedong Thought claims, brings the counter-revolutionaries of all hues round to not only not to oppose the revolution any longer, but also to unite with it, should be applied in the solution of the contradictions with the enemy. The Marxist-Leninist theory and the experience of the class struggle correctly and consistently waged, as the Party of Labour of Albania has always done, shows that, far from accepting the revolution, the counter-revolutionaries of all hues never abandon their nature or renounce their aims as counter-revolutionaries.

The PLA has constantly stressed the necessity of the use of violence in general as a means for the solution of antagonistic contradictions, while explaining that this violence is concretely expressed in various forms and degrees which are connected with the resistance of the enemy and the social threat they pose. Thus, as the experience of the waging of the class struggle in Albania shows, the Party and the people's power have sternly

fought, even to their physical liquidation, all those new and old enemies who have committed grave crimes against the people, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist society. However, the Party does not extend this form of violence to its whole stand towards the exploiting classes or the remnants of these classes. There are among them who, dependent on the degree of the crime they have committed and the threat they pose to society, are not sentenced, but kept under strict control and surveillance. The stand is different towards those who have committed no crime themselves «...the Party puts them to work like all the others so as to educate and save them through work.»²⁵ Comrade Enver Hoxha considers as an element of the implementation of the line of the Party «...the efforts that are being made for the education and transformation of the elements of the classes that have lost power and the sons and daughters of these classes in particular. The Party works for these young men and women to become good workers, too, to cleanse their consciousness and recreate in them the man of our society...»²⁶

In the efforts that are being made for the re-education through work of the elements of the exploiting classes, the Party teaches that two fundamental questions, which have great importance for them as correct as possible understanding and implementation of its line in this direction, must always be kept in mind. First, the efforts for re-education through work of the elements of the former exploiting classes presuppose a differentiated stand in many aspects and especially between the parents and their children who, as Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, «...must not be treated as their parents but considered according to each case...»²⁷ Second, always, even when efforts are done for the re-education through work of the elements of the former exploiting classes, the highest vigilance is needed so that these elements of the former exploiting classes do not assume posts of the people's power

without going through very great tests and making very great sacrifices so as to prove that they have become worthy members of socialist society. However, the highest vigilance must be displayed especially to detect and nip in the bud any attempt on their part to seize power again and to restore the bourgeois rule, which is the constant dream of the reactionary forces.

The need for the solution of non-antagonistic contradictions has also led the Party to the finding and use of different methods and means for this purpose. The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have constantly considered the detection and solution of non-antagonistic contradictions in socialist society as an important, complex and many-sided problem which is resolved in the process of the development of the class struggle. It is a big problem for the very place these contradictions occupy and the role they play in socialist society. This process of solution is very complex because of the nature of this type of contradictions as contradictions emerging between social forces which have fundamental common interests and which cannot and should not be separated from each other, regardless of the fact that there are moments in which their second or third-rate interests do not coincide. However, the solution of non-antagonistic contradictions is also a many-sided process, because both their extension and nature create the possibility of working out and employing various means, forms, ways and methods for their solution.

In the documents of the Party and in the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha are emphasized some of the main ways and forms for the solution of non-antagonistic contradictions in the bosom of the working masses, with the method of conviction occupying a particular place. These contradictions emerge when among different people, men and women of the people and socialism, views, concepts or customs which are alien to the socialist ideology, morality and psychology, mani-

test themselves. Contradictions in this sphere are very complex both in regard to their origin, the way and manner they emerge, and the forms of their expression, which calls for the working out and implementation of appropriate methods to achieve their solution.

Eradicating alien leftovers from the consciousness of people of socialist society calls for the operation of many factors, among which the main and the most effective one is clarifying education work. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that the cleansing of people's consciousness is not done by laws and decrees. «These are of assistance,» says he, «lay down norms, but it is only political work, ideological work, conviction, patience, wisdom, and honesty that eliminate leftovers.»²⁸

In the theoretical thinking of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha the conclusion is reached that the use of the method of conviction in the solution of non-antagonistic contradictions is valuable and effective if it is employed with Marxist-Leninist maturity within some well-defined limits. First, the use of the method of con-

viction depends on the character of the contradiction. If the contradiction evolves in its character and turns from a non-antagonistic contradiction into an antagonistic contradiction, this should be followed with the appropriate change in the methods of the solution of contradictions. Second, the use of the method of conviction is not the «golden key» to the solution of all problems. Comrade Enver Hoxha has many times stressed the idea that the method of conviction and education is not an absolute one, because there are cases, times and places when the solution of contradictions calls for the finding and employment of other forms and ways as well.

Along with the method of conviction, in the rich experience of the Party in the solution of non-antagonistic contradictions there is the method of criticism and self-criticism, which in its content is closely linked with it. Correctly employed, this method leads to the detection of negative sides in stands and views and eventually to their elimination, which means the solution of non-antagonistic contradictions.

In the analysis of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha of the criteria which serve as a starting-point for the finding and use of as correct and effective as possible methods for the solution of contradictions, the importance of conceiving, treating and implementing these methods, not isolated and separated from, but in close connection and inter-action with each other, has been particularly emphasized. «In life,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «problems are resolved through a complex of political and economic, educational and cultural, organizational and administrative measures.»²⁹

The experience of the PLA in the treatment and solution of contradictions in socialist Albania and the exposure of the opportunist views of the modern revisionists in this field constitutes a valuable contribution to the defence and further development of the Marxist-Leninist theory. The consistent implementation of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on contradictions and the class struggle in socialism has been and remains a fundamental condition for the successful construction of socialism in Albania.

1 E. Hoxha, *Report to the 5th Congress of the PLA*, p. 129, 2nd Alb. ed.
 2 E. Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», p. 255, Alb. ed.
 3 E. Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1978-1979», p. 59, Alb. ed.
 4 E. Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 27, pp. 137-138, Alb. ed.
 5 See «Peking Review» no. 18/1977, p. 26; no. 19/1977, p. 18.
 6 E. Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1976-1977», p. 372, Alb. ed.
 7 E. Hoxha, *Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA*, p. 136, Alb. ed.
 8 See «Peking Review», no. 17/1977, p. 26.
 9 E. Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1974-1975», pp. 201-202, Alb. ed.

10 E. Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1967-1968», p. 160, Alb. ed.
 11 *Ibidem*, p. 154.
 12 E. Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1967-1968», p. 182, Alb. ed.
 13 E. Hoxha, *Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA*, p. 138, Alb. ed.
 14 E. Hoxha, *Report to the 5th Congress of the PLA*, p. 138, 3rd Alb. ed.
 15 E. Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1974-1975» p. 135, Alb. ed.
 16 *Ibidem* p. 186.
 17 E. Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1970-1971», p. 42, Alb. ed.
 18 E. Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1969-1970», p. 341, Alb. ed.
 19 *Ibidem*, p. 341.

20 E. Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1978-1980», p. 183, Alb. ed.
 21 E. Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1964-1968», p. 182, Alb. ed.
 22 V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 29, p. 430, Alb. ed.
 23 E. Hoxha, «Reflections on China», vol. 1, p. 325, Alb. ed.
 24 *Ibidem*, p. 331.
 25 E. Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1978-1979», p. 59, Alb. ed.
 26 *Ibidem* p. 60.
 27 E. Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 27, p. 49, Alb. ed.
 28 E. Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1967-1968», pp. 78-79, Alb. ed.
 29 E. Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1972-1973», p. 382, Alb. ed.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL CULTURE IS A VITAL PROBLEM, AN IMPERATIVE FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF EVERY COUNTRY

Speech of the head of the delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Prof. SOFOKLI LAZRI, at the 22nd General Conference of the UNESCO

MISTER PRESIDENT,

ALLOW ME TO EXPRESS, ON BEHALF OF THE DELEGATION OF THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA, MY WISHES FOR YOUR ELECTION TO THE HIGH FUNCTION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THIS CONFERENCE. I TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE OCCASION TO GREET THE GENERAL DIRECTOR OF UNESCO, MISTER AMADU MBOU, AND EXPRESS MY WISHES FOR HIS ACTIVITY FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE ADVANCE OF EDUCATION, CULTURE AND SCIENCE.

The inclusion in the agenda of this session of the Assembly of the UNESCO of the problems of colonialism and racism, the arms race, the world economic order, the need for cultural and scientific collaboration on the basis of equality and mutual interest, is opportune and their discussion may result valuable. But for the discussion to be truly fruitful and help in some way in the solution of

Speech held at the sitting of November 3, 1983.

problems, it must be sincere, principled and open. Otherwise, it may create the illusion that something is being done when nothing is done, may arouse vain hopes when the situation continues to remain unchanged, or even has deteriorated.

Therefore, proceeding from this principle and from the sincere wish to really serve the cause of strengthening peace, friendship and harmony among the peoples, the delegation of the

People's Socialist Republic of Albania will speak openly about the aforementioned problems and give its independent judgement.

The present session is convened in a grave, complex and very explosive international situation. There is a constant threat not only to the freedom and independence of this country or that, but also to peace and security, in general. In many regions of the world tension has risen, conflicts have increased, and between some countries they have deteriorated into armed clashes.

The responsibility for this situation falls on the superpowers, on their expansionist and hegemony-seeking strategy, on their policy of dictate to

and interference in the internal affairs of the others, on the effort to plunder the wealth of different countries, on the great ambitions to impose their own way of life on the other peoples.

The result of this aggressive course is the Middle East, is the tragedy of the Palestinian people and the ravages in Lebanon, is Afghanistan and Nicaragua, is the barbarous aggression of the USA against Grenada which should be stopped at once, is that barbarous oppression which various dictatorial cliques, subsidized and propped up by this superpower or that, exert on their peoples. The result of this course is the poverty, the oppression and the suffocating atmosphere which exists in many countries, is that stagnation or slow development which characterizes many states, is that jungle of laws, norms and practices in the international economic, financial and monetary relations which have been created by imperialism in order to secure its exploitation and domination of the peoples.

The economic crisis, with its destructive effect and grave consequences, not only for the present but also for the future, is continuing almost everywhere at present. The causes of the crisis are many, but the fundamental one is also the continued colonialist and neo-colonialist plunder by the big capitalist powers, is the economic system of international relations created by these powers. The most brutal, but at the same time the simplest and most classical expression of this policy is that colossal debt which the poor countries have incurred to the monopolies and governments of the big capitalist countries, is that terrible plunder in the form of interest rates, annuities, etc. which drain the economy of the receiving countries and go to fill the safes in the banks of the United States of America and Western Europe.

Not less barbarous and inhuman is the plunder conducted through the arms trade, the great business of the superpowers and some big industrialized countries. The arms race, which these powers encourage by fanning up feuds, animosities and conflicts between different countries, exerting

pressure and threats, blackmail and different provocations of the most scabrous kind, is the best expression of the aggressive and exploitative essence and nature of the imperialist system.

The peoples have never reconciled themselves to this situation created by imperialism and big international capital and will never do so. The fact is that the struggle of the peoples to defend freedom and sovereignty, to develop their economy and culture normally and unhampered, avoid war and secure peace, the struggle to defend their rights and riches is mounting. The Albanian people greet and support this resistance with firm conviction in its victory.

Much is said and debated at present about the need for the establishment of a new economic order, in which many people see an opportunity to establish order and justice in the international economic relations, a key to the solution of the problems of nourishment and industrialization of the developing countries, the modernization of the productive structures, education, etc.

The changing of the nature of the existing international economic relations, just as the elimination of the privileged positions of the imperialists and neo-colonialists in many countries, is an imperative need. But how can this change be brought about? We think that propaganda, moralizing, prayers and preaching will change nothing. What the imperialists and the big monopoly owners heed least of all is words. The right road, in our opinion, goes through the struggle of the peoples to defend their political and economic rights, to the letter, to oppose neo-colonialist plunder with determination, to take control and govern, in a sovereign manner, their national wealth, to ban the operation of foreign capital of any form on the national territory of each country. Only the really independent countries are capable of compelling the big powers into equal exchanges of mutual benefit.

A real aggression is undertaken by the imperialist powers against the peoples and nations in the field of culture, education, science, etc. at pre-

sent. In a special manner this aggression, which is expressed through the efforts to impose cosmopolitan philosophies, through the commercialization of literary-artistic activities, etc., is aimed against the historical, national cultures, the specific and original psychological formation of the peoples, in a word, against all those powerful spiritual barriers which impede the superpowers from securing their economic expansion and political hegemonization.

Big capitalist business produces an extraordinary large amount of films, books, TV broadcasts, exhibitions, etc., which preach violence and robbery, alcoholism and the use of drugs, nihilism and dissipation, the moral deprivation of man and decline of virtues, and which have flooded many countries. This is not culture, but is anti-culture. It is a kind of drug which brings back dirty money and nothing else.

We in Albania have not accepted and will never accept this kind of culture which imperialism exports.

Our country is for cultural and scientific exchanges with the other countries, especially with its neighbours, on the basis of mutual advantage and non-interference, without discrimination and without prejudice. These exchanges, which we practice and are continuously enlarging with many states, serve the people to acquaint themselves with the best values created by them and strengthen friendship among them. We have always highly appreciated the achievements of the progressive culture of the other countries from ancient times until today, considering them as the property and treasury of all mankind.

There is much talk, and many speakers rightly pointed out, that the cultural and scientific collaboration on the basis of equality and mutual interest constitutes an important factor for the strengthening of peace, friendship and harmony among the peoples. But, if this is possible among states, so much more it should be possible and done among various nations which history has brought to live within the borders of the one state. Their common interests demand that the values

of their national culture, the wealth of their spiritual creativeness, should be exchanged and mutually respected. Besides this, exchanges in this field create a suitable atmosphere for normal coexistence, directly help establish relations of equality among the citizens, regarding both their rights and their duties.

Unfortunately, however, we observe that there are countries in which education in the mother tongue and the cultural development of the relatively small nationalities is not permitted, they are discriminated against or even persecuted. Such a policy, which a greater nation pursues towards the smaller nations in the field of education and culture, the efforts for the cultural assimilation of the latter by means of violence, are in opposition to the rights of the peoples and the international law, therefore, they must be condemned.

As our centuries-old experience shows our small people faced up with success the storms of times not only because of their fighting and insurgent spirit, but also the strength of their culture. By preserving their culture they have preserved their own identity as a people and a nation.

Therefore, the problem of the development of culture in our country has been considered as a vital problem, an imperative for the defence of freedom and independence and a condition for the construction of socialism. No fundamental problem, as was the organization and consolidation of the new state, the industrialization of the country and modernization of agriculture, the problems of education for the masses and the emancipation of the woman, could have been tackled with success without raising the educational and cultural level of the masses. Right in the first days after Liberation the leader of our people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, said: «The country needs more bread, but it also needs more culture and education. This culture and this education should not become only a valueless ornament, but must serve the general interest, in order to produce more and better, to raise the standard of living of our country. We need a culture which makes the peo-

ple more capable at work and production, and this culture and education must be made the property of the broad working masses.»

On this basis and guided by these principles, our new culture has developed as a culture which helps safeguard the freedom won and the independent development, a culture which enables the man and helps him become a citizen who loves his own people and country, who loves and respects other peoples, who admires everything progressive, democratic and human in the world.

A deep-going revolution has been carried out in the field of culture and education in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The results in all fields are great, but allow me to point out one of its aspects, which expresses in a synthesized manner that transformation which has been carried out and which shows the road followed by a small country, which, because of foreign occupation, had a low level of education, development of technique, spread of culture among the masses. At the end of 1944 in Albania 85 per cent of the population was illiterate, those who had middle schooling could be counted in the fingers of one hand, whereas higher schooling was out of question. Today, in a population of about 2 800 000 inhabitants there are 55 thousand cadres with higher training and 230 thousand working people with medium training. Hundreds of cultural and scientific institutions carry out their activity in various fields of education, science and artistic creativeness.

About 1 700 people finish their higher studies each year, whereas the agricultural faculties train 1 200 cadres a year.

The creation of a large army of people's intelligentsia, equipped with the advanced knowledge of the time, is one of the major successes of our people. It is known that no country that wants its economic development to be independent of foreigners, can achieve anything without training its own cadres. It is these cadres trained at home who design and execute the construction of factories, power plants, ports, railways, who manage industrial and agricultural production, who work

in the field of science and art and in all other sectors.

In countries like Albania the problems of education and culture assume special acuteness in the countryside, in particular, where the bulk of the population lives. The raising of the educational and cultural level of the countryside is a fundamental condition for the advancement of the whole country.

In the field of education, our countryside is in complete equality with the city. In the countryside today not only all children are included in the 8-year schools, but a very large part of the peasant youth attends directly the secondary schools. Meanwhile, the existence of a special system of part-time schools helps large contingents of peasant youths attend this category of school.

The emancipation of the woman has been considered in our country as another essential condition for the creation of a free and cultured social life. We have proceeded from the principle that culture cannot develop and spread if women are not included in its activities. Without liquidating the social and cultural backwardness of the women, without freeing them from household slavery, there can be no advance either in the field of economy and society, or in the field of culture. The Albanian woman today has become emancipated from every point of view. I shall not mention here the fact that women participate equally with men in production and that they are paid equally with them, but only the fact that our legislation not only makes no distinctions for them, but on the contrary, defends them and has created many facilitating conditions for child caring, health services, pensions, etc. The educational and cultural level of the Albanian woman, her emancipation, is seen also in the fact that more than half of the students who attend our higher schools today are girls.

The Albanian delegation will not desist from making its modest contribution to the work of this session of the General Conference of the UNESCO and to join its efforts to those of the delegations of peace- and freedom-loving countries.

SOME FEATURES OF THE ALBANIAN

Albanian writers have always asked themselves: does the content of their works respond to the tasks the country is solving, the economic, social, ideological and political tasks our socialist state has to cope with? That is why they have not allowed themselves to be attracted by petty ordinary themes, but by the great theme of the revolution and the building of the new society

THE NOVEL EMERGED RATHER LATE ON THE HORIZON OF THE ALBANIAN LITERATURE. WHEN THE ALBANIAN WRITERS BEGAN TO WRITE NOVELS IN THEIR MOTHER TONGUE, THIS GENRE OF LITERATURE HAD EMERGED AND REACHED ITS COMPLETE MATURITY CENTURIES AGO IN EUROPE. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EUROPEAN NOVEL, WITH ITS PEAKS IN FRANCE, BRITAIN, RUSSIA AND OTHER COUNTRIES, COULD NOT GO UNNOTICED BY THE ALBANIAN WRITERS OF OUR NATIONAL RENAISSANCE, BECAUSE THEY WERE CULTURED PEOPLE WITH BROAD INTERESTS. BUT AT THAT TIME, IN THE 19th CENTURY, THE NOVEL COULD NOT BE WRITTEN IN ALBANIA, BECAUSE THE ALBANIAN LANGUAGE STILL HAD NOT ITS OWN ALPHABET; THE ILLITERATE PEOPLE WERE LANGUISHING UNDER THE YOKE OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE, THE MEN OF LETTERS HAD TO SOLVE MORE IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS CONCERNING THE AWAKENING OF THE NATIONAL AWARENESS BY MEANS OF POLITICAL AND TEACHING PAMPHLETS, POEMS AND ARTICLES, ASSEMBLIES AND OPEN AGITATION, ORGANIZATION AND DIRECTION OF THE PATRIOTIC MOVEMENT, WITH PLEASANT READERS FOR THE PUPILS, AND SO ON.

It is true that, at that time, the gap left by the lack of the novel was filled to some extent by the poems and poetry which were composed in the form of a long narrative with a fable and characters. The poet De Rada, for example, published the long poem, «The Songs of Milosao» in 1863, which may be called the first novel in verse of the Albanian literature. Nevertheless, we still cannot speak of the novel in the true sense of the word. At that time in place of the novel we had narratives about the popular fighters, legends about extraordinary events and supernatural heroes, rhapsodies about the valiant knights and the songs to heroes. Just as we today have the radio novel, at that time they had the long stories of their grandfathers and grandmothers, which were transmitted by word of mouth. Our grandmother and grandfathers were George Sand and Dumas. This was the cradle in which the future Albanian novel was rocked, though not on paper, a novel which, even when it was born, would always retain a tinge of the strange narrative of our grandmothers and grandfathers.

The history of the Albanian novel
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Writers and Artists' League of Albania*

has some specific phenomena which it would be of interest to mark out. The theme of our history was treated by European novelists even before Albanian writers took it up. In the 16th century the Italian Antonio Posenti was attracted by the figure of Skanderbeg and wrote his novel «Terror of the Turks» in 1548. Later, in 1644, the French writers Y. Chevreau wrote «Scanderbeg», just as his contemporary I. Chevier did in 1732 writing the novel «Scanderbeg or the Adventures of the Albanian Prince». The figure of Skanderbeg and later that of Ali Pasha of Tepelena attracted the attention of many European writers of the 19th century, of whom we may mention the Englishman G. Lowell who wrote «The Captain of the Jenissaries», the Italian A. Gioconda («Scanderbeg»), the Pole T. Jeszi «About Life» and many others. Our men of culture, who had been formed in schools abroad, or who lived in emigration, were glad that the European writers found an inspiration in the Albanian history and life and used the Albanian material to write novels and stories, but, at the same time, they could not but be sorry that they could not do themselves what the foreigners were doing. At this point, another important phenomenon in the history of our novel occurred. At the

N NOVEL

by DRITËRO AGOLLI

time when the Albanian theme was cultivated by foreign writers, the Albanian writers began to write their novels in foreign languages, on the local material of their own country. Without doubt, these novels are the fruit of the labour of beginners, but they are important for our culture. The first novel of this kind was that written by Sami Frashëri, «Telat's Love for Fitnet», published in Turkish in 1872, for which he based himself on the works of Göte, Hugo and Larmartine, who, as he admits: «sang to true love, truth, freedom and humanity instead of religious fanaticism». However, the most valuable work written by the Albanian writers in a foreign language is Pashko Vasa's «Bardha of Temal», written in French and published in Paris in 1890 under the pen-name of Albanus Albano. The novel reflects aspects of the Albanian life in the past century through the vicissitudes of two young lovers at the time of the Ottoman rule. The writer emphasizes the pride and valiance of the Albanians, their customs and noble virtues, without overlooking the serious social ulcers such as the blood feud, fanaticism, religious strife and the deplorable state of the Albanian women.

It is true that the novels written in a foreign tongue by our writers could have no great response among the readers abroad and were read at a relatively late time in Albania. Nevertheless, they prepared the ground for the emergence of the true Albanian novel. At the beginning of the 20th century, when short-story writers began to appear and some books by foreign writers were translated, the first novels in the Albanian language were published. The year 1913 saw the publication of the novel of Ndoc Nikaj, «Betrothed from the Cradle or Ulqin Captured» and «Shkodra Besieged». Before he turned to the novel, the writer had published some historical studies written in a narrative vein. Since 1902 he had published the books

«The History of Albania» and «The History of Turkey». In 1914 Zef Hapri published the historical novel, «The Traitor's Rifle», and in the period 1909-1919 Foqion Postoli published «For the Defence of the Homeland» and «The Flower of Souvenir».

The first novels in Albanian were, thus, written in the second decade of our century, in the period 1913-1920, which is the time of our national independence. It was a period charged with dramatic tension and full of heroic events, in which the destiny of Albania was decided. Albania, which had just won its independence and was liberated from the five hundred-year old yoke of the Ottoman Empire, became the token of barter for the big imperialist powers and was in danger of being partitioned by its neighbours, Serbia, Greece and Italy. The reactionary governments of the neighbouring countries, aided and abetted by the imperialist states, and incited by a savage traditional chauvinism, swooped on the Albanian territories, committing unexampled atrocities. In these turbulent times which stench of blood, which were full of threats to and dangers for the national existence, the true popular patriotism and heroic spirit stood out in full splendour. Precisely in this period the first Albanian novelists emerged in the arena of the Albanian literature. Therefore, they placed in the centre of their novels the spirit of patriotism and the Albanian drama of the time, the theme of the defence of the land and honour, the theme of the enhancement of the national awareness. The first steps of our novel were taken right in the ashes and ambers of the burned down houses, in the devastated fields and ruined villages. The first novels may lack some of the perfection and lustre which come from mastery and style, they lack psychological insight, spiritual struggle and meditation, but they are full of the pathos and total involvement in the patriotic movement, which is the main

characteristic of these novel. We pointed out this because the patriotic movement set the tone to the political struggle, the life of the country, culture, literature and the whole superstructure. In Europe the novel is the creation of the bourgeoisie, of that new class which wanted transformations in the social life, which wanted new forms in art. The novel of that time in Europe reflected the social life, analysed the society and centered on the personality of the man. In various manners and forms it reflected the class struggle of that time. Whereas our novel, which developed in its own specific conditions, could not make the analysis of society, but reflected only the patriotic movement of the time and the clash of the democratic and progressive sections of the population with the foreign occupiers. Our novel would tackle social problems and study the personality of the man at a much later period, in the 30's of this century, with the generation of new novelists such as Haki Stërmilli with his novel «If I Were a Boy», and Sterjo Spasse with «Why?». They tried to reflect the difficulties of the man against the background of the obscurantist regime of Ahmet Zog, the suppression and curb on the personality of the man and, especially, of the Albanian woman. Poetry and the short story were working on same lines at that time.

Despite the efforts of our progressive writers, our novel remained almost at the initial phase. It marked only little progress and its forms were naive. It was perfected as a genre after the National Liberation War in the conditions of the new socialist society. It was raised to higher levels by such novelists as Sterjo Spasse, Jakov Xoxa, Fatmir Gjata, Ali Abdihoxha, and later by writers of the younger generation such as Ismail Kadare, Dhimitër Xhuvani, Sabri Godo, Teodor Laço, Skënder Drini and others. The novels of these writers

who are well-known in our country, treat the themes of the socialist revolution and the past of our people, the new social life and its problems, the man and his personality. The new novels reveal the national life through the clash of views, the world outlook and ideas of the characters, in conformity with the aims of the author and his social and aesthetic ideal. The success of the novel of Ismail Kadare, «The Great Winter», lies precisely in the strength of ideas and views, the new psychology and morality of the characters and in the manner in which the problem is raised and solved: Will the communist ideals and progress win in a complicated situation? The answer is in the affirmative, but the road is long. The dialectic of the morality and psychology of the central character, Besnik, speaks of the difficulty and complexity of the situation, the turbid situations and clarity, the dilemma and the resolve which lead him to conquer his own weaknesses for the sake of the great cause. This dialectical clash of the ideas in complex situations is not realized through a simple narrative. The narrator is something different from the true novelist. The former narrates the feats of his heroes, the foolish acts of the stupid, the stratagems of the cunning. Whereas the novelist uses the narrative in order to reveal something else, to reveal the history of man in the given conditions of society.

Characteristic of our novel are high-tensioned events full of contrasts and ups and downs like the barbarian hordes which swept the country and were routed, which temporarily won and then lost; events like the patriots' bands or the partisan detachments in the gorges and valleys of the country; events like the craggy mountains and the narrow plains of Albania. The plot of our novel is frequently interrupted and its characters wait impatiently for time to end. It is like the Albanian landscape with little scape for endless voyages. It is no landscape for the characters travelling for months on end across steppes and deserts. In our landscape all travel comes up against a mountain. And there are inns and innkeepers, there are inviting café-keepers and malissoris.

So the measure of time itself is changeable. Days are short. Nights are long, with conversations and talks. Days invite to shorter journeys. Nights, with their stories and narrations, make journeys longer. Take our novels and draw a diagram of time and space in them and you will see how characters describe distances and how long days and nights last. This is due to such national peculiarities as hospitality, loyalty and respect for guests. And guests need conversation not during the day, but during the night. Take the novels «The Awakening» by S. Spasse and «The General of the Dead Army» by I. Kadare and you will find there what I am saying in these few lines. And this stems not only from the peculiarity of space in our country, but also from the culture of its people. In the night, the heroes of our legends fall into profound thoughts about their tomorrow's travels. As a foreign critic says, the reins, the stirrup, the harness and the horse itself are made ready during the night. In the night the hero also falls into meditations. Perhaps more than in the literature of other countries, this aspect is better preserved in our literature, especially in the prose, but also in poetry. Why? Because industrialization has not spoilt tradition, because respect for tradition continues to be great in our country. Socialism itself has taught us to honour tradition. Socialism considers tradition as the basis on which innovations strike root. We are nearer to legends than many other peoples. We preserve them, for otherwise great dangers, which are known to all, would be threatening us. And this has had an influence on all our literature, especially, the novel.

In our novel live all the forms of the narrative: the narrative manner, the narrative-meditative manner and the manner of the interrupted narrative. And here lies the originality of our novel. I say this that, while expressing itself in all these forms, it is a rich, not monotonous, novel. Our novel has revived the classical forms of the novel with the new ideas and thoughts of the time. Its forms sound new because of their great social thoughts. At times they are fresher than vain formalist ex-

periments. Our novel has set out on the road of its revival and perfecting, of finding new forms for expressing new ideas. Apparently today it is drawing ever more closer to musical works, with sounds and echoes, with distances and contiguities. It is like a polyphony. In our present-day novel man never descends to the level of things. Man is the master of things and objects, so the novelist does not number things and objects as the symphony does. If he did so he would make the hero the slave of things. The modern novel is the concentrated history of one or several heroes. Being a history, every character is a type and an individual at the same time. The hero of the traditional novel goes through many external adventures. The hero of the modern novel sees these adventures take place more in the consciousness or thoughts of the character. The more time goes by the more autobiographical the novel becomes, because the writer lives himself intensely with the life of society, lives among the people. The more the time goes by the more the author and the hero resemble each other. Why? Because the author does feel no great difference of social position from the character he represents. The author does not speak «ex-cathedra».

Being the characters the masters of things and not their slaves or their contemplative observers has had an influence not only on the plot, but also on the time it develops, the time of narration. Time in the traditional novel is measured by hours, by the calendar, while the modern novel introduces this time, these calendar hours into the consciousness from which it takes them out again. So, the modern novel does not leave time out of the consciousness, does not leave it only in things. That is why in our modern novel time is not reflected always on one line. We say so because every character has his own time, his own biography, and biography does not develop outside time.

As I dwelt on the problems of space, time and narration as well as on some aspects of the changes of structure the novel has undergone, I want to add also something about some

other elements of the enrichment of the expressive means of the novel.

A peculiarity of our novelist is that he is more and more accentuating his irony towards negative phenomena. This makes the novel more lively and more intelligent while at the same time strengthening its dialectics. Such a peculiarity is a sign of intelligent people, of intelligent characters who do not feel themselves satisfied with everything a milieu or time gives them, because, along the major social advance, there are still inhibitive phenomena. We see this ironical stand in the prose of I. Kadare, T. Laço, F. Gjata, Jakov Xoxa, K. Kosta and others.

On the other hand, the language of the novel has become livelier and subtler, with strange surprises, at times in the form of oddities. The surprise interventions like those of the old woman Nica in «The General of the Dead Army» or of some characters of F. Gjata's novels not only make the language of the novel more dynamic, but also step up the evolution of events and break the monotony.

Now let us deal with the dynamization of events. The novel cannot live a full and true life without, what I might call, the spring which pushes action ahead and, together with it, thought, too. If the spring of the novel slackens, the reader is bored and

reading time seems to him longer. But, speaking in figurative term, this spring does not consist in the subject which lies at the foundation of the novel. This spring is the dialectics of the author's thoughts, it makes itself felt in their clash and opposition, in original assertions and negations. The boring and unreadable novels resemble the watches which lag behind because their springs have slackened.

I tried to express some opinions about the Albanian novel. Of course, our novel is faced with many problems which have to do with its content and form, its structure and language. In its process of development it affects ever broader spheres of society and people's destinies, revealing ever new or less treated aspects of the life of our people. The construction of socialism in Albania has enriched the spiritual life of people and produced a new man, a man of advanced and lofty social ideals. This man is being reflected ever more fully in our novel. And this is due to the method of socialist realism.

Our writer never forgets that the conditions of living created by a society exercise a powerful influence on people's ideas, morality, and passions, just as economic and cultural achievements or the rights a social order secures the individual. This influence is expressed in the novel itself,

which if followed step by step, enables you to recreate the history of society, to single out the main lines of its development, to imagine the ethics, tastes and behaviour of people, to discover their psychology and world outlook.

Albanian writers have always asked themselves: does the content of their works respond to the tasks the country is solving, the economic, social, ideological and political tasks our socialist state has to cope with? That is why they have not allowed themselves to be attracted by petty ordinary themes, but by the great theme of the revolution and the building of the new society. Proceeding from these lofty aims they have continued to make broad summings-up of the National Liberation War, of the past and present history of our country and treated monumental tableaux worthy of the epoch of socialism. At the same time they have introduced new themes, uncultivated so far, into the horizon of art, such as those of work and the joy of work in which the possibilities, abilities and high moral qualities of man are revealed. So, there are many broad tableaux of the struggle and work of our people which have remained artistic documents of the years when they were written and enjoy great popularity among all the Albanian readers.

MARX'S PHILOSOPHY AND THE TECHNICAL-SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION AT THE PRESENT

by **KRISTAQ ANGJELI**

The influence of the technical-scientific revolution in capitalist society has been to raise the level of the social character of production and its antagonism with the capitalist form of appropriation. It has exacerbated and deepened the general crisis of imperialism, added to the unemployment, raised the level of capitalist exploitation, in this way influencing the preparation of the objective and subjective factors for the proletarian revolution, but it can never replace the proletarian revolution.

KARL MARX WAS A GREAT SCIENTIST. HE MADE ORIGINAL DISCOVERIES IN ALL FIELDS OF SCIENCE HE STUDIED, BUT THE GREATEST CHANGE AND THE MOST PROFOUND REVOLUTION WHICH HE BROUGHT ABOUT WITH THE CREATION OF THE NEW PHILOSOPHY OF THE PROLETARIAT IS BEYOND COMPARISON WITH ANY OTHER DISCOVERY IN THE WHOLE HISTORY OF HUMAN THOUGHT AND SCIENCE.

MARX VALUED SCIENCE HIGHLY AS A REVOLUTIONARY FORCE, BECAUSE IT HAS ALWAYS SERVED MANKIND TO INCREASE ITS POWER OVER NATURE AND HAS SERVED AS A KEEN WEAPON IN THE STRUGGLE WITH THE IDEOLOGY OF THE REACTIONARY CLASSES OF SOCIETY IN STERN BATTLES WITH THE MYSTICISM AND IDEALISM WHICH THEY HAVE PROPAGATED. THE TRUTH REVEALED BY SCIENCE HAS SERVED AS A POWERFUL SUPPORT FOR THE BIRTH AND CONSOLIDATION OF MATERIALISM. THE STRUGGLE WHICH SCIENCE HAS WAGED SINCE ITS INFANCY WITH THE RELIGIOUS MYSTICISM OF THE MIDDLE AGES, THE STERN CLASHES OF THE MATERIALIST CONCLUSIONS WHICH DERIVE FROM MODERN SCIENTIFIC DISCOVERIES, WITH THE PHILOSOPHICAL IDEALISM, WHICH IS THE WORLD OUTLOOK OF THE REACTIONARY CLASSES AND GROWS LIKE A PARASITE ON THE HEALTHY BODY OF THE HUMAN KNOWLEDGE, ARE RECOGNIZED HISTORICAL FACTS. SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE HAS ALWAYS SERVED THE EMANCIPATION OF THE ENERGIES OF THE MASSES AND THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES OF SOCIETY, HAS OPENED THE PERSPECTIVE TO THEM AND AROUSED THEIR FAITH IN THE FUTURE.

The historical conditions in the middle of the last century placed before scientific theoretical thinking the task

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that the world as a whole must be conceived according to its real content and the adequate image of it must inspire the proletariat, the most revolutionary class in history, to the heroic struggle for the true and com-

plete emancipation of society. By discovering these laws Karl Marx arrived at the conclusion that «the head of this emancipation is philosophy, the proletariat its heart».

1. KARL MARX ON THE DIALECTICAL INTERACTION OF SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY

Marx and Engels proved that in the process of their development the individual sciences are based on a given ideological outlook. «Let the scientists say what they like, philosophy dominates them,»¹ wrote Engels. From this stand-point Marx and Engels criticized the absurd pretensions of positivist philosophy about the alleged «absolute independence» of individual sciences from philosophy, and that allegedly «every science itself is philosophy». They advanced beyond positivism just as they had earlier advanced beyond the other extreme — the so-called «philosophy of nature,» which considered philosophy as «the science of sciences.»

D THE DEVELOPMENT HNICAL-SCIENTIFIC SENT TIME

It was not idle curiosity which inspired Marx to follow the successes in the field of natural sciences carefully and step by step. This interest on his part was linked with a very important question — with the transformation of philosophy into a true science. For this the limitations of the existing philosophy had to be overcome and, in the first place, idealism had to be criticized because, in Marx's words, it reduces the world to abstract logical categories, seeks the essence of nature outside nature and the essence of man outside man, and seeks the object of philosophy where it does not lie — outside the real world. It was necessary to go beyond the idealist dialectical methods of Hegel and criticize the metaphysics and mechanism of the early materialism. «Hitherto,» writes Marx in the German-French annual in 1844, «the philosophers had the solution to all mysteries on their desk and the foolish and uninitiated had only to open their mouths to imbibe the tasty morsels of absolute science ready cooked. Genuine philosophy,» said Marx, «cannot and must not be an absolute science which claims to solve all the mysteries, but must be a science in the series of other sciences.»

Marx and Engels appreciated the development of sciences and the great discoveries in science as one of these motive forces which advance materialist philosophical thinking and which impel this thinking to rise towards a higher and more consistent form, towards dialectical materialism.

Basing himself on the new discoveries of the natural sciences, Marx

and Engels dealt with matter, motion, space, time and many other problems from the dialectical materialist stand-point and were able to rise above' the inevitable limitations of natural scientific knowledge of that time. It is an undeniable fact that not only at the time when our classics lived, but also later, to this very day, the development of natural sciences is further living evidence which is brilliantly confirming the dialectical materialist views of Marx and Engels about the world. Such conclusions of the Marxist philosophy as those about the inexhaustibility of the atom in depth and breadth and matter in general, the concept of infinity as a process which contains qualitative leaps, and of movement as the mode of existence of matter, find confirmation today in the development of modern natural sciences. The natural sciences today confirm once again the universal character of the law of opposites, of the law of the reciprocal transition of quantitative changes into qualitative changes, of the law of the negation of the negation, of categories of materialist dialectics, of the fundamental principles of the theory of cognition, etc. worked out by Marx and Engels. This development of the sciences has shown that they are consistently following a dialectical materialist course. That is why «...we clarify materialism and dialectics through the development and progress of sciences,»² says Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The great merit of the founders of our philosophy is that they proved with theoretical argument the unity of this philosophy with the natural sciences and realized it in practice

in their own scientific activity. Proceeding from the universal principles of dialectical materialism, they made a philosophical synthesis of the achievements of natural sciences with the aim of elaborating the dialectical materialist picture of the world and disclosing the dialectics of nature. In his works, Engels devoted great attention to the philosophical synthesis of the achievements of physics, chemistry, biology and other natural sciences. While Marx displayed special interest in the philosophical problems of mathematics, not to mention that concern they both displayed to sum up, synthesize and draw scientific conclusions from the development of political, economic and social life. For this reason, points out Comrade Enver Hoxha, «...the work of Marx is the summation of science, the quintessence of science, it is the profound elaboration of human thinking and activity through the centuries...»³

Marx and Engels analysed the development of natural sciences up to that time in the light of materialist dialectics and summed up and correctly interpreted the results which they brought. Thus, the classification which they made of the main forms of movement, and in conformity with this, their classification of natural sciences and their definition in broad outline on the basis of the Marxist methodology of the correct road of development of these sciences, are well-known. No less important is the treatment and solution by Marx and Engels of a series of specific problems in the field of these sciences which the limitations of the prevailing world outlook had led into an impasse as,

for example, the problem of two masses in mechanical motion, the essence of electricity, the essence of life, the concept about labour, etc.

The great classics assisted the development of natural sciences, also, by smashing the «shackles» of idealist interpretations of discoveries in the field of these sciences. Thus, with scientific argument they exposed such openly fideistic conclusions as the so-called «theory of the thermal death of the universe», or the alleged existence of «the world of spirits in the fourth dimension», «physiological idealism» and «social Darwinism», which extended the laws which operate in the world of animals to human society. They showed that mechanical materialism left such gaps in which reactionary idealist ideas were easily introduced.

Through their work Marx and Engels gave a resolute reply to all those who attempted to «base themselves» on the natural sciences for the purpose of «refuting dialectical materialism». In this connection they proved that the natural sciences did not negate dialectical materialism, but on the contrary, completely confirmed it. Moreover, they showed that the results of the natural sciences could be understood correctly and summed up theoretically only on the basis of materialist dialectics. They showed that all efforts which were made to stretch the sciences of nature to fit the procrustian bed of idealism and metaphysics, had a definite class content. Applying the principle of partisanship, they discovered the direct connection between philosophical reaction in the ranks of naturalists and politics and the class struggle, demonstrating which were the social forces whose interests were served not merely by openly preaching obscurantism and idealism, but also by the slightest deviation from dialecti-

cal materialism. In this connection Karl Marx writes, «The absolute interest of the ruling classes requires the perpetuation of absurdity. After all, why are the wordy sycophants paid? To boast in science with things about which... generally, it is impermissible even to think?»⁴

In our days, too, the unity of materialist philosophy with the natural sciences is essential and very useful. The theory of dialectical materialism cannot be developed fruitfully, without being based on the achievements of physics, chemistry and biology, just as the naturalist scientists are unable to synthesize the process and results of the rapid development of science correctly from the theoretical standpoint if they are not guided in their world outlook by the philosophy of dialectical materialism. «Without a sound philosophical backing, neither the natural sciences nor materialism can cope with the struggle against the pressure which the bourgeois ideas and outlook exert,» wrote Lenin. «This pressure can be withstood successfully when you are a conscious partisan of that philosophy which Karl Marx created.»

Whereas the Marxist philosophy has achieved a close connection with scientific thinking, present-day bourgeois philosophy has proclaimed its open hostility to it. And it could not be otherwise. A positive or negative stand towards science is determined by the stand towards the truth. Present-day bourgeois philosophy is trying in refined ways to distort the true dialectical materialist significance of the contemporary scientific material. Many bourgeois philosophers are quite uninhibited in their efforts to reinforce their views with the baggage of science, indeed, they do not hesitate «to modernize» these views with new data from scientific knowledge. They make great efforts

to ensure that new discoveries are interpreted in the spirit of idealism, regardless of whether it presents itself in «realist», «naturalist» or other forms. All trends vigorously propagate agnosticism. This ancient ghost, which has long been out of date, is employed against the healthy development of modern sciences, but is nothing but an expression of the fear and distrust of those social forces which see no future for themselves. Today agnosticism goes much further than that of Kant, to the denial of the existence of the external world and the transformation of scientific laws into a bunch of voluntarist opinions. Irrationalism and intuitivism have gone openly on the offensive against the materialist conclusions which emerged from the development of sciences. Fearing the revolutionary content of modern sciences bourgeois philosophy wants to divide the «spheres of influence» with science through neo-positivist compromises, which advocate the separation of sciences from philosophy, leaving sciences in a blind ally, at the mercy of idealism. There are many bourgeois philosophers who, in order to strip science and philosophy of their true values, try to transform them into mythology and to make mythology the foundation of science and philosophy. The chorus of screams from the abyss of present-day idealist philosophy in utter cacophony yells: the discoveries of modern sciences must not be taken into consideration for the philosophical interpretation of the world! Science needs no kind of philosophy. Its close allies, religious mysticism and spiritualism, are «celebrating» the age of unification with bourgeois philosophic thinking and drawing it more deeply into the mire of anti-science. In such a situation the philosophical revolution of Marx which, amongst other

things, ensured the close alliance of dialectical materialist philosophy with the development of individual natural and social sciences, becomes even more important.

Karl Marx regarded science as a weapon of theoretical knowledge which precedes social development. In his work «Critique of Political Economy», he writes, «Unlike the other architects, science... erects several stories of a building, still without having laid its foundations.»⁵ Like every other science, the Marxist philosophy has many examples of such foresight in the field of natural sciences. For instance, the prediction of Marx and Engels that the future development of natural sciences would concentrate mainly on the creation and development of intermediary disciplines has now become a reality in today's cybernetics, bionics, informatics, biophysics, etc. Likewise, Engels's forecast that physics would fall into a crisis if it continued to think metaphysically during the solution of its problems became a reality at the beginning of our century. The development of modern physics has proved the idea advanced by the classics that infinity in the structural organization of the matter, of space and time, must be conceived in the spirit of a gradual quantitative process which includes qualitative leaps at given nodal points, etc.

Like cognition and practice, the development of sciences is ceaseless, too. More and more each day man is discovering the secrets and laws of nature. This development has not threatened and cannot threaten, let alone overturn, the fundamental theses of dialectical and historical materialism. On the contrary, their quality is enriched and deepened. Any claim to the contrary, by old or fashionable philosophical currents, about these problems has fallen to the

ground. It is a deception with definite class aims in order to open the doors to idealism and fideism and to throw mud at the philosophy of Marx, which is perpetually new.

In our days, reaction has mobilized all its most sinister forces and has gone on the attack against the whole scientific philosophy of the proletariat which Karl Marx created. A great deal is being said and written about it. Marx's works are being studied and interpreted in the universities, colleges, academies, and seminaries of the capitalist countries including those of the Catholic Church. All this is being done to falsify and distort the philosophy of Marxism, to adapt it to the interests of the bourgeoisie. Such fashionable trends as pragmatism, existentialism, freudism, structuralism or anthropologism, strive to devalue the Marx's philosophy and to find ways to unite and blend their idealist, irrationalist, and voluntarist views with the Marxist philosophy, with the aim of «breaking its rigid bounds» and making it acceptable to them. The current of existentialism describes Marx's philosophy as if it were still in its swaddling clothes and had just begun to develop. Therefore, it needs to be nurtured with existentialist ideas. First of all, however, continue the existentialists, historical materialism must be separated from dialectical materialism, because the latter, with its acceptance of objective reality and determinism, hinders precise knowledge of the social reality. For them, historical materialism assumes real value only if it is, according to them, amalgamated with existentialist anthropology. Meanwhile, neo-positivism regards Karl Marx's philosophy as a «metaphysical» doctrine which has brought nothing new to science since he «operates» with apriori truths, as his predecessors did.

Today the followers of pragmatism regard Marx's philosophy as a variant of their idealist philosophy, distorting the concept of practice as the unity of acting and transforming man with nature, by absolutizing its subjective factor. They oppose the methods of individual sciences to the materialist dialectical methods and make every effort to reject it allegedly as a remnant of Hegelian philosophy. The neo-Freudists consider it essential to supplement and amalgamate the ideas of Freud with those of Marx. The representatives of structuralism, anthropologism, etc. proceed on a similar course. There are also more than a few lackeys of the bourgeoisie equipped with diplomas, like the neo-Tomists, who treat the Marx's philosophy as a dogma, as mythology. It is in this arsenal of bourgeois philosophy that the philosophers of various revisionist currents find their ideological nutriment to revise the philosophical materialism of Marx. Among the revisionist philosophical currents of the Eurocommunists, whom Comrade Enver Hoxha calls revisionists «with the gloves off», it is fashionable to oppose one part of Marxism to other parts, to oppose Lenin to Marx, etc. By «digging» into the works of Marx and employing misrepresentations and sophisms, they want to prove that the «real» Marx, the «humanist» Marx, is the Marx of the early works and not of those works in which he advocates the class struggle, the historical mission of the proletariat, the necessity for the overthrow of capitalism and establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. There are many attempts to try to «prove» that Marx based all his doctrine on Hegel's philosophy, that he did not go beyond the bounds of that philosophy, and especially, the Hegelian idea of alienation. They transform Marx into a successor of

either Hegel or Feuerbach, in order to deny and reject that change he made in philosophical thinking.

In the second half of the 20th century, official Soviet revisionist philosophy, also, has gone on the attack against the Marx's doctrine. The Soviet revisionist philosophers, faithful to their cunning tactics, try to conceal the character of this attack to present it as a natural thing, which is in conformity with the creative character of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

The main objective of the attack which the Soviet revisionists make on dialectical historical materialism is to deny the universal character of its fundamental theses. Initially, they launched this attack on a few universal theses. According to them, the development of individual sciences, especially the development of the natural sciences, is allegedly raising the need for amendment of these now «obsolete» theses. In fact, the development of natural sciences, especially from the middle of this century, began to raise a series of acute problems in connection with the concept of velocity, space, time, physical reality etc. It turned out that new facts accumulated could not be explained in the framework of the existing natural-science concepts about cause, space, time, etc. which meant that now the latter had become absolute and had to be superseded and replaced with new concepts. But the process of dating and replacement affected only the physical, mathematical, etc. concepts, that is, the natural-science concepts about these problems, and not at all the respective dialectical materialist categories. By equating the philosophical concept with concrete natural-science concepts the Soviet revisionists try to carry over this process of «dating», artificially, to the field of philoso-

phical categories in order to «provide scientific backing» for their rejecting and revising of these categories. The thing that strikes the eye immediately when one reads revisionist philosophical literature is the open advocacy of the need which is allegedly imposed by the development of modern sciences and the demands of social practice to discuss and question a number of the fundamental theses of dialectical materialism. Soviet revisionist philosophy distorts the instructions given by V.I. Lenin, that for the achievement of the alliance of materialist philosophy with the natural sciences, materialist dialectics must be developed all-sidedly. The Soviet revisionists have set to work with unrestrained zest to carry out their so-called creative development of philosophy. The powerful weapon of dialectics, which Marx discovered through the study of nature, society and in particular, of political economy, and the awakening of the proletariat and the peoples and their going over to revolution, the Soviet revisionists have turned into a sterile, abstract, speculative and subjective theory, divorced from the objective dialectics of the natural and social reality. Amongst the Soviet revisionist philosophers there are some who say that the dialectics which Marx and Lenin could not create completely must be created on the basis of «contemporary science».

According to various Soviet revisionist philosophers the classics were allegedly unable to work out a series of fundamental problems of dialectical materialist philosophy, and these are being studied for the first time in the Soviet revisionist philosophy of today. Among these problems they describe the questions of the creation of the general theory of development as the more important constituent part and the essence of the dialectics; the

question of the elaboration of a complete general theory of cognition of dialectical materialism down to the question of the construction of dialectics as system. Such statements are in flagrant opposition to the historical truth, because the fact is that even Hegel's dialectics, despite its idealist essence, constitutes a synthesis of dialectical categories and laws, and Marx's dialectics, which marked a turning-point and a culmination in dialectical materialist thinking even more so.

This ever more hostile stand towards problems of Marx's philosophy, not to mention other things, brings out the real truth about the propaganda clamour which the Soviet revisionists have set up and which has become particularly loud now, in the context of the 100th anniversary of the death of Marx. They can use mountains of paper and rivers of ink, as they are doing, to express their loyalty to Marx's doctrine, but the diabolical aim of such an unrestrained propaganda is to put Marx in the museum, to present the colossal theoretical and practical work of this titan as simply a historical phenomenon which is allegedly outdated and without value today.

2. KARL MARX ON THE ROLE OF THE TECHNICAL-SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION IN THE LIFE OF SOCIETY

Following the development of technical and natural sciences attentively, Marx pointed out that this development could no longer take place except in the context of the technical-scientific revolution. He conceived this process as a necessary historical phenomenon at a given stage of the development of society. Science has al-

ways exerted an influence on the development of production and has been closely linked with it. But in the context of large-scale industry, the application of scientific discoveries becomes indispensable. «The principle of machine production, which seeks to solve the problems which arise in this way by means of the use of mechanics, chemistry, etc. in a word, the natural sciences, becomes the determining principle everywhere,»⁶ said Marx. Today large-scale industry has put a colossal amount of natural material under intensive technological processing. This has made extension of the spectrum of the problems dealt with by science indispensable, has brought the need for the birth of new scientific knowledge, and the discovery of the most profound laws of nature. The need to find new sources of energy, the necessity of replacing the strength of man with machinery and automation, also dictate these things. In his work «Capital», Marx gives a brilliant presentation also of those fundamental features which characterize the essence of the technical-scientific revolution. For Marx technical-scientific progress has the features of a revolution because it is not restricted to isolated spheres of material production, but has swept them into its maelstrom, both through applying it in the most varied fields of production which have been constantly extended and through the influence which these advances exert on one another. The transformations which occur in the context of technical-scientific progress are profoundly revolutionary. The old methods of production, the old technology, are overturned and replaced with the newest, most advanced ones. In this framework, new scientific knowledge emerges and constitutes a revolutionary development and advance, a qualitative leap of science itself. Thanks to

the progress of industry, pointed out Marx, the means of labour undergo continual revolutions, therefore they are not replaced with their previous forms, but with the revolutionized forms. For Marx this program has the character of a revolution in science and technique, also, from the standpoint of the greatly accelerated rates of qualitative changes which it brings about in production. Likewise, the participation of the masses in it gives the technical-scientific progress the dimensions of a true revolution in science and technique.

For Marx and Engels the technical-scientific revolution always has a profound philosophical content. It is a concrete manifestation of the close and inseparable dialectical connection between theory and practice. Another confirmation that theory serves practice, generalizes it and makes it conscious and opens the way to the future while developing itself in breadth and depth on the basis of the needs and requirements of the practice. Expressing this dialectical unity, Engels said, «If technique depends to a large degree on the level of science, science depends to a larger degree on the level and needs of technique. When a technical need arises for society, this drives science far forward than ten universities.»⁷ Today large-scale industry has revolutionized the links between science and practice in the context of the technical-scientific revolution. It has expanded the sphere of the practical application of scientific discoveries to very large proportions and has strengthened the arsenal of the technical means in the service of scientific knowledge, has combined the application of new scientific discoveries with the technological process of industrial production, while it has shortened the time required to turn a theoretical discovery into an applied practice, etc. In these condi-

tions the development of science and of productive practice is realized not only on the basis of a more extensive and profound dialectical interaction between them, but also with more accelerated rates. «Under the influence of science and technical-scientific process,» Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, «the material and intellectual potential of society increases and this, for its part, gives a fresh stimulus to the development of science.»⁸

Karl Marx made a scientific analysis of capitalist society. In this context, he reached the conclusion that «...the specific limit of capitalist production... is not at all an absolute form of the development of productive forces..., on the contrary, at a given moment, it comes into conflict with this development.»⁹ This scientific conclusion, amply supported by evidence in the brilliant work «Capital», remains completely valid to refute the preachings of bourgeois and revisionist ideologists who spread the idea that capitalism and the progress of science are allegedly «synonymous». In reality, in bourgeois and revisionist society the general crisis of capitalism cannot but inhibit the development of science and technique. The existence of monopolies, the economic crises, the militarization of the life of those countries and many other social factors, which are eroding the world of capital today, exert a direct influence, either to inhibit or to bring about a one-sided and contradictory development of science, technique and technology.

Marx pointed out that in capitalist society science and technique are an alienated social product. This he links, first of all, with the alienation of their content and social mission. Science and technique are social factors which give mankind a possibility to increase its domination over nature and steadily improve its life. In bour-

geois-revisionist society, however, science and technique operate within the laws of capitalist society, and therefore, are transformed into the opposite of their true nature. They serve the bourgeoisie to increase the level of capitalist exploitation and to oppress the masses and the peoples of the world. The growth of the absolute and relative impoverishment of the masses, the pronounced backwardness in their technical-scientific level, the transformation of the worker into a slave of the machine, the manufacturing of modern weapons for the mass extermination of people, the very rapid growth of unemployment, etc., are the social consequences which accompany the evolution of science and technique in the world of capital and which constitute concrete manifestations of their alienation.

There is a very contemporary ring to Marx's words about the role of science and technique in capitalist-revisionist society. He writes, «We see that the machines which have an astonishing power to reduce the toil of man and make it more fruitful, bring starvation and exhaustion. Almost as though by some evil spell the sources of wealth which have been discovered in recent times become sources of misery. It is as though the price of the achievements of technique is moral decline. Even the pure light of science seems as if it can bring no light except on the dark background of ignorance. This antagonism between modern industry and science, on the one hand, and the present misery and decline, on the other hand, this antagonism between the productive forces and the social relations of our epoch is an inevitable and indisputable concrete fact.»¹⁰ Marx pointed out that this antagonism is done away with only by the proletarian revolution and socialism.

Karl Marx produced scientific evidence to prove the necessity for the socialist revolution. He pointed out that a given new historical level of the development of the productive forces does not lead automatically to the creation of a new system of relations of production, does not give rise automatically to a socio-economic formation of a higher level. In this context the development of science and technique exerts an influence on the development of new productive forces, but cannot itself overturn the capitalist relations of production with which the interests of the exploiting classes are linked and which are defended by the bourgeois-revisionist state. This requires the violent proletarian revolution which smashes the old state machine and establishes the dictatorship of the proletariat. The influence of the technical-scientific revolution in capitalist society has been to raise the level of the social character of production and its antagonism with the capitalist form of appropriation. It has exacerbated and deepened the general crisis of imperialism, added to the unemployment, raised the level of capitalist exploitation, in this way influencing the preparation of the objective and subjective factors for the proletarian revolution, but it can never replace the proletarian revolution. The development of the technical-scientific revolution has never brought about and cannot bring about the overthrow of capitalist relations of production in any country, has not eliminated the capitalist exploitation and the ulcers of bourgeois society, let alone threaten the political domination of the bourgeoisie. Hence, the claims of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists about the alleged «replacement» of the proletarian revolution by technical-scientific progress, about the technical-scientific revolution which has

allegedly «overcome» the class antagonism of capitalist society, removed the proletariat from the stage of history, and «brought out» the intelligentsia in the key role, are quite unfounded. These so-called theories which are preached by a series of bourgeois philosophers and propagated by the Yugoslav, Soviet, and Eurocommunist revisionists who try to present them as «Marxists», have nothing in common with the theory of social revolution which Marx discovered. As Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, for Marxism-Leninism «...the technical-scientific revolution and the development of technocracy, linked with it, do not and cannot save capitalism or modern revisionism from their inevitable collapse and destruction. They (the bourgeoisie and the revisionists) cannot alter the objective laws of social development, first of all, the law of the class struggle and the revolution. The introduction of science and technique in production on an extensive scale, which the capitalist monopolies of the West and the new bourgeoisie of the revisionist countries are obliged to do on account of the internal and interstate savage competition, to ensure maximum profit does not smooth out the class economic contradictions in the least..., does not save it from ever more destructive and incurable crisis. On the contrary, it makes the contradictions and crises more acute..., and in the end, when the subjective factor is at the necessary level, leads to the triumphant socialist revolution.»¹¹

The development of the technical-scientific revolution in capitalist society is never an impartial development overriding class divisions. It is directed by the bourgeoisie and serves the oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and the working masses. Of course, in the conditions of

the development of the technical-scientific revolution the numbers of the intelligentsia have increased, but the numbers of the working class and the level of exploitation of that class by the capitalists have increased to even greater proportions. Therefore, this intelligentsia cannot replace the historic mission of the proletariat or play any new historical role. There are bourgeois ideologists who claim that the main motive force of society lies in a group of «humanitarian» scientists who will «direct» the technical-scientific revolution to «the benefit of mankind». But such views are utterly utopian and reactionary, because they ignore the fact that the means of production in bourgeois-revisionist society are in the hands of capitalists, that the universities and other scientific institutions are financed by the capitalist trusts and have no economic and political independence from them. Moreover, the top strata of the intelligentsia are very closely linked with the bourgeoisie from both the material and the ideological aspects.

The experience of our country demonstrates the opposite of what the bourgeoisie and the revisionists claim. It proves in practice what Marx demonstrated in theory, that it is the socialist revolution which opens the way to the ceaseless development and progress of science and technique and not vice-versa. In our country the

creation of large-scale modern production and the development of technical-scientific revolution are the work of the Party and socialism.

In the conditions of the existence of our socialist society and in the conditions of the existence of the capitalist-bourgeois society, the technical-scientific revolution today is taking place simultaneously in two diametrical opposite socio-economic formations and in this way, manifests in each of them completely opposite social class content. In regard to this, Comrade Enver Hoxha, defending and further developing Marx's teachings on the technical-scientific revolution, has pointed out that the technical-scientific revolution, like every genuine revolution «...is guided by politics, first of all.»¹² The ideological and political class content of the technical-scientific revolution which is taking place in our country has determined the rapid rates of its development, the directions and extent to which it is spread. Thus, the technical-scientific revolution in our country has influenced the development of the productive forces in that direction which has served the complete construction of socialist society on the basis of self-reliance. Its revolutionary class essence is manifested also in the social consequences it has brought to our country. They are expressed in the creation of modern

industry and the developed socialist agriculture, in the ceaseless rise of the well-being of the working masses the perfection of the socialist relations of production and the rise of the productivity of labour, in the narrowing of the main social distinctions, as well as in the scientific and technical and professional uplift of the working masses. In our country science and technique belong to the working masses and have been placed completely in their service.

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Today when we commemorate the 100th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx, we cannot but feel that profound respect and inspiration which the majestic and immortal revolutionary work of this revolutionary thinker of genius arouses.

The «citadels» of the mysteries of science fell before the titanic mind of Marx. With an unprecedented breadth and depth of thought, Marx successfully accomplished the mission with which the proletariat and history charged him and indicated the way to the overthrow of capitalism and the construction of socialist and communist society. «Marx fought, worked and thought for us,»¹³ said Comrade Enver Hoxha. He rose above the centuries and worked for the centuries.

1 F. Engels, «The Dialectics of Nature», Tirana 1973, Alb. ed.

2 Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1967-1968», p. 359, Alb. ed.

3 Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1967-1968», p. 92, Alb. ed.

4 K. Marx-F. Engels, Selected Works, vol. 2, Tirana 1975, p. 497, Alb. ed.

5 Karl Marx, «Critique of Political

Economy», Tirana 1977, p. 58, Alb. ed.

6 Karl Marx, «Capital», vol. 1, book 2, p. 206, Alb. ed.

7 K. Marx-F. Engels, Selected Works, vol. 2, p. 545, Alb. ed.

8 Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1980-1981», p. 171, Alb. ed.

9 Karl Marx, «Capital», vol. 3, book 1, p. 348, Alb. ed.

10 K. Marx-F. Engels, Selected Works, vol. 1, Tirana 1975, pp. 371-372, Alb. ed.

11 Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1969-1970», p. 144, Alb. ed.

12 Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1967-1968», p. 256, Alb. ed.

13 Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1967-1968», p. 92, Alb. ed.

POST-MODERNISM - A NEW EXPRESSION OF IN ESTHETICS AND ART

A gloomy atmosphere of crisis and decadence pervades all bourgeois-

RECENTLY THE BOURGEOIS AND REVISIONIST ESTHETICIANS ARE MORE AND MORE TALKING ABOUT THE CRYSTALLIZATION OF A NEW PHASE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERNIST THEORETICAL THINKING AND ARTISTIC PRACTICE. THEY HAVE EVEN FOUND A NEW NAME — POST-MODERNISM, FOR THIS PHASE WHICH IS BEING ADVERTISED AS AN EXPRESSION OF VITALITY AND INNOVATION WHICH ALLEGEDLY CARRIES FORWARD CONTEMPORARY ARTISTIC CULTURE.

POST-MODERNISM IS AMONG THE MANY NEW «ISMS» WHICH HAVE BEEN PUT IN CIRCULATION IN THE CAPITALIST AND REVISIONIST COUNTRIES IN THE RECENT 20-30 YEARS, TOGETHER WITH POP ART, KINETIC ART, CONCRETE POETRY, ALITERATURE, KIBERNETIC ART, THE THEATRE OF THE ABSURD, ELECTRONIC ART, BODY-ART, KITSCH ART, HYPER-REALISM, BOUNDLESS ART, THE ART OF THE GREAT NEGATION, ETC.

Among the many arguments that are being proposed to camouflage the symptoms of the crisis of the bourgeois-revisionist artistic culture one is that of the rapidity with which the new schools of modernism exercised their influence for two to three decades, their post-modernist variants do not live more than two to three years. However, the rapidity of their replacement is no sign of their «vitality» but, on the contrary, a sign of their creative sterility because they are unable to create genuine, significant and permanent values. They are unable to attract attention for long, go quickly bankrupt and leave the place to new fashions. Thus, the permanent metamorphosis of modernism and post-modernism is one of the major expression of the crisis which has bourgeois-revisionist art in its grip.

The bourgeois estheticians try to show that with the variants of post-modernism a broad road has been found for the development of art

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towards the future, with prospects as great as those of the time when art was discovered for the first time. In order not to lag behind the Western modernist estheticians, in their enthusiasm the Soviet revisionist estheticians are hastening to show the «achievements» of post-modernism. This is what the Soviet esthetician, O. E. Tuganova, writes in an article published in «Voprosy filosofii» this year: «There are many interesting and fruitful things in the principles and artistic means of post-modernism, things which stimulate thought and feeling»: «Post-modernism has stimulated the discussion about problems of art and culture, of the stand towards life and contributed in many directions to a more acute perception of the everyday reality.»

In order not to be misled by these clamorous advertisements it is important to give a clear answer to these questions: What does post-modernism represent? Is it an expression of «vitality» and «progress» in contemporary esthetic culture? As a matter of fact,

post-modernism, both as theoretical esthetic thinking and artistic practice, marks a further deepening of the crisis and decadent phenomena in contemporary bourgeois-revisionist esthetic culture.

A gloomy atmosphere of crisis and decadence pervades all bourgeois-revisionist esthetic thought and post-modernist practices. Nothing original emerges on the horizon of bourgeois-revisionist esthetic thought of our time. It comes out with less and less theoretical conceptions which would undertake a global examination of the key problems of esthetics. There is a prevalence of fragmentarism, one-sidedness, shallowness and essayistic descriptions and a marked lack of inner coherence and logical consistency. The poverty of thought is covered up with paradoxal and equivocal expressions, vulgar empiricism and pseudo-theoretical speculations.

Contemporary bourgeois-revisionist esthetic thought is less and less capable of building itself in the forms of a consist theoretical and metodological monism. The pluralism of concepts of bourgeois-revisionist esthetics is being used as a disguise to create the impress that it investigates art and esthetic phenomena in all their aspects and from all possible angles of view. Distortions of the truth are the main theoretical source of the motley doctrines of bourgeois-revisionist esthetics. Pluralism indicates, among other things, that bourgeois-revisionist esthetics lacks a fundamental scientific criterion for its study of esthetic phenomena, of art and its development.

DECADENTISM

ALFRED UÇI

Revisionist esthetic thought and post-modernist practices

Contemporary bourgeois-revisionist esthetics is involved in an all-out struggle against realism and revolutionary art; it has risen in defence of the ugliest variants of post-modernism. Its new post-modernist practices do not represent a manifestation of true vitality and innovation. They are all built on:

first, the exhumation of a number of decadent concepts and practices long ago forgotten and short-lived in their time. Thus, for example, many of the artistic variants of post-modernism rely on the decadent anarchic ideas and practices of Dadaism which in the twenties, due to its ultra-scandalous character, could not have broad extension. Nevertheless, many supporters of modernism cover up the impotence and creative sterility of its representatives by exhumating and imitating the decadent ideas and experience of Dadaism;

second, carrying the former variants of modernism to their extreme manifestations. Here post-modernism presents itself as an assembly of ultra-decadent artistic concepts and practices which carry the old variants of formalism and naturalism to their extreme consequences;

third, the abandonment of the objective laws of the esthetic assimilation of the reality, oscillating from a one-sided interpretation to the other or relying on the eclectic conciliation of extreme concepts. All this shows that post-modernism is only an expression of the profound crisis of bourgeois art and esthetics.

REALISM OR ANTI-REALISM?

In the recent decades the process of crystallization of post-modernism is being accompanied with clamorous calls for a transition to a «new realism»! These calls may surprise anyone who knows that the history of modernism is the history of its uninterrupted and irreconcilable struggle against realism. Every esthetic ideas and artistic practice of modernism was advertised as an overcoming of the «limitations» of realism, as a «victory» over it. This being so, in front of the calls of the post-modernists for a «new realism», one cannot help asking: Are we witnessing a true change in the anti-realist course of contemporary decadent bourgeois-revisionist esthetics and art? In fact both the theoretical esthetic platform and artistic practices show that we are confronted with new attempts to deepen the struggle against realism, although under a pseudo-realist disguise.

This deceptive tactic is not new, it was formerly used by the supporters of modernism, too. Although cubism was the most flagrant departure from the traditions of realist painting in the beginning of this century, many of its supporters tried to peddle it with talk about «a modern variant of realism». In the twenties and thirties, in order to prop up somewhat the shaky fortunes of modernism, its supporters came out again with a pseudo-realist label, that of **surrealism**, the representation of a world of horrible hallucinations and delirious dreams built on the basis of an irra-

tional world outlook, which considered the torbid impulses of the subconscious and instincts the source of creativeness. Indeed, to defend abstractionism, an ultra-formalist trend in painting, they came out with the theory of the «new reality» revealed by surrealism. In the name of «total realism» the road was paved for the emergence of one of the most disgraceful variants of naturalist modernism — «pop art».

In favour of post-modernism are also the «theoretical» manipulations of the revisionist estheticians of our time who are advertising «boundless» or «open realism». Their intention is to expand the concept of realism to such a degree as to include within it all the variants of modernism and post-modernism. Despite their zeal, the revisionist estheticians are not at all original, because prior to them there were bourgeois estheticians who attempted to level out the contrast and irreconcilability between realism and modernism and put together all schools, trends and currents of modern art under the label of a «new realism».

In our time the supporters of post-modernism, with their call for a «new realism», try only to deepen the anti-realist spirit in art. The only thing that distinguishes post-modernism from its modernist precursors is that it comprises and mixes up the manifestations of formalism and naturalism. The history of modernism shows that its variants have, in general, oscillated from the one extreme to the other and presented themselves either as

variants of formalism or as variants of naturalism. In the modernism of the past these two extremes were more or less apparent, whereas post-modernism, unable to bring out new original ideas, despite all its manipulating of the old anti-realist arguments of formalism and naturalism, produces only eclectic and arbitrary combinations, considering precisely the formalist-naturalist symbiosis a new step forward, indeed a kind of «super-realism» or «total realism».

The theoreticians of post-modernism leave no way open to their being misunderstood and identified with true realism. Every historical variant of realism (the realism of the epoch of the Renaissance or Critical Realism of the 19th century, Neo-realism of the 20th century or Socialist Realism) is, according to the theoreticians of post-modernism, fraught with irremediable short-comings. Part of these theoreticians combat realism, proceeding **from the positions of formalism**, charge it with the sins of naturalism, consider it a mere inventory of the manifestations of the reality, a simple figurative copy of things. According to them, if realism with its imitation of the reality could be tolerated before the invention of the camera, now that optical means have reached a high degree of perfection and can reproduce things with great precision, realism has definitively lost all value! For the further existence of art to be justified, according to the supporters of post-modernism, it must abandon the platform of «imitative realism» and become «Promethean creative realism» by adopting post-modernist forms which are «pure creations». The common characteristic of these forms is their complete departure from any reflection of the reality.

Another part of the supporters of post-modernism criticise realism **from the positions of naturalism**, accusing it of «subjectivism», «spiritualism», «illusionism», etc. According to them, realistic works are artificial subjective concoctions far from «global truth-

fulness»! They consider the realistic interpretation and assessment of the material from life as a «limitation» and «subjectivism» of realism. To avoid these pitfalls, realism must reproduce the reality without any comment or interpretation, avoiding any ideological involvement, merging itself with things. Art must be not only creation of «pure forms» but also creation of **real things**, and only in this way can it reach the so-called «hyper-realism». So by identifying art with the creation of «pure forms» and things, post-modernism combines the sins of ultra-formalism with those of ultra-naturalism in an eclectic and unprincipled manner.

One of the clearest expressions of this anti-esthetic «synthesis» is pop art whose creations do not claim to have any connection to or to be the reflection of the real world — they are «pure forms» with the attributes of the real material existence of things, although they distinguish themselves from ordinary things by their lack of practical utilitarian functions. Things in pop art «paintings» are not activated in their practical utilitarian functions and are freed from the «burden» of thought, feeling, emotion, intellect, reason and logic. They are merely things which have not existed before, a reality without illusions, reflections, figures, feelings or thoughts. Such junk as nails, tin cans, rusty iron, rags, wire, etc. are combined in such a manner as to form a new afunctional thing which is presented as «pure form» and a thing in itself, at the same time. On this road pop art becomes a means for the destruction of art, as well as for the destruction of useful things by atrophying their natural functions which justify their production and existence.

The supporters of post-modernism see in pop esthetics another attempt to overcome a shortcoming of abstractionism — its lack of **figurativeness**. According to them pop art has returned the painting the figurativeness it had lost through abstractionism: things have a concrete character and, on a

whole, a normal figurative look. However, it is known that the figurativeness of things is one thing, and the figurativeness of painting is quite another thing. In pop art figurativeness is not artistic and is used only as an optical illusion to pave the road for the objectivization of art. The esthetics of post-modernism insist that «originality» is achieved by denying the figurative arts their figurativeness and imposing figurativeness on non-figurative arts.

Hence, post-modernism has nothing in common with realism, because it represents a concentrate of all anti-realist trends of modernism in all their formalist and naturalist variants.

NEW HORIZONS OR OBJECTIVIZATION OF ART?

The supporters of post-modernism accuse the esthetics of realist classic art of narrowing and limiting the range of esthetic phenomena which deserve to be reflected in art, while post-modernism has allegedly opened up new horizons for art, giving it new visions of the world. According to them, the theoretical platform of post-modernism is more productive on the esthetic plane, because it excludes absolutely nothing that exists from the world of art, because it seeks and finds beauty everywhere and in everything without exception. «Why,» asks one of the supporters of pop art, «should you think that a hill is more beautiful than the gas pump? This comes about because you have grown into this convention, whereas I want to draw attention on the abstract qualities or banal things.» Another supporter of pop art, insisting on the same thesis, says: «Esthetic values may be found in everything, even in junk.» This tendency has assumed the name of concretism.

The charge levelled against realism of allegedly narrowing the sphere of esthetically assimilable phenomena is baseless in many directions. First of all, it is not true that realistic art

has looked for beauty and esthetic values in a very limited range of things and phenomena of the reality. It is known that in the art of every epoch the esthetic assimilation of the world is historically conditioned by life and social practice, by the socio-esthetic ideals of man. At every stage of its development society knows esthetically what it needs and what the concrete socio-esthetic ideal allows it to know. However, the masterpieces of progressive art are characterized precisely by the aim of discovering new esthetic values in the things and phenomena of the real world, in the uninterrupted flow of the life of men. The history of progressive art is the history of the broadening of the circle of things and phenomena with known esthetic qualities and values, is the history of the broadening of the phenomena esthetically assimilated by man. We have only to refer to a genre of painting like still life to be convinced that during the history of the development of painting the things and phenomena it has known and assimilated esthetically have increased greatly. This is characteristic especially of realistic art. Realism sets absolutely no limit to the things and phenomena of life that may be assimilated esthetically.

Marxist-Leninist esthetics accepts that progress in art manifests itself also in the further broadening of the circle of things and phenomena assimilated esthetically. In the future, art will discover beauty in many things and phenomena which have gone unnoticed up to now. From this, however, it does not at all ensue that realistic art and pop art are identical, on the contrary. Realism accepts beauty in many ordinary things and phenomena, but unlike pop art, it does not level out the qualitative distinctions between esthetic values and anti-values, between esthetic and anesthetic properties and values. A shortcoming of the pop art variants of post-modernism is not that they see beauty in many things and phenomena which have been unknown esthetically, but

that, under the slogan of «expanding the esthetic horizon», they level out the distinctions between esthetic values and anti-values and attribute positive esthetic values to all things and phenomena, indeed consider them genuine esthetic works. This thesis is not correct. There may be beauty in a bottle, a tin can, a cloth, but not any bottle, any tin can, any cloth is beautiful. There are many things in them which have no genuine esthetic value, indeed they may even be ugly.

There may be esthetic values even in tin cans, even in the packaging of food products, but the problem is: may we consider them works of art? May we equalize them with *Monna Lisa* or any other masterpiece of realistic art? Unfortunately, for post-modernism it levels out the distinctions between art and non-art, between artistic esthetic values and non-artistic esthetic values. By so doing post-modernism brings esthetic demands on art down to a minimum. And it is not accidental that minimalism is proclaimed as the fundamental and the more productive principle of post-modernist esthetics.

The esthetics of post-modernism puts art under the pressure of chance and prevents the artist from looking actively for beauty, forces him to capitulate before chance and the ugly phenomena of life. Explaining the chance method as the esthetic «base» of pop art variants, one of its representatives says: «I see suitcases in the hands of people, and that is enough for me to use the suitcase as a means for the creation of pop art sculptures.» So, under the slogan of the «discovery of new elements of beauty», pop art leaves the artist and his public at the mercy of chance. With their pseudo-theoretical arguments the pop art supporters cover up their inability to find beauty there where it really is, because this is not easy and, moreover, calls for talent. And the lack of talent cannot be made up for by a heap of rubbish.

The supporters of post-modernism are trying to extend the chance prin-

ciple to other spheres of art, too. This has prompted the emergence of the so-called «aleatoric music» (from the Latin *alea* which means die, dice). Its fundamental principle is that all the elements of music — sound and its pitch, duration, intensity etc., can be chosen and placed in time according to the results of the throwing of dice. The irregular distribution of colours in the so-called action-painting, a variant of abstractionism, is also subordinated to the chance principle.

The concretist platform of post-modernism is anti-esthetic because it deepens the line of the dehumanization of art. In quest of «new» esthetic values, the supporters of pop art seek beauty absolutely everywhere, with the exception of man! If the progressive classical realistic art focusses on man and his physical and spiritual beauty, post-modernism, on the contrary, excludes man from art and replaces him with «ordinary» things, with rubbish, with the concretist «ideal» of the objectivization of art.

The history of art shows that man has always been the favourite esthetic object for the great progressive artists. Even when they have devoted themselves to such genres as, for example, landscape painting or still nature, they always have found ways to express man's ideas and feelings through them. Had these genres not expressed the esthetic values and ideals of man, they would have been a mere inventory of lifeless things. Hence, the true painter never neglects man, even when he reflects things. The history of the advance of art is also the history of the extension of the presence of man in art, whereas post-modernism is a regressive tendency, because it seeks to eliminate man from art and replace him with lifeless things.

THE CULT OF THE UGLY

In general, classical esthetics puts the beautiful at the centre of the system of its categories and at the

foundation of its esthetic ideals. However, during the 20th century decadent concepts emerged which equalized the beautiful with the ugly on the esthetic plane and even called for the ugly to be put at the foundation of the esthetic ideal! These ideas became the source for the so-called «esthetics of the ugly», which is specialized in the esthetic discrediting of the beautiful and in the esthetizing of the ugly. It strives for the ugly, the base, the horrible, to replace the beautiful, the noble and the other positive esthetic values. Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «Under the cloak of an art which allegedly knows no social prejudice and ideological involvement, the cult of the empty content and the ugly form, of the base and the horrible is created. The main subjects and heroes of decadent modernist art are killers, whores, immorality, social pathology. Its banner is irrationalism, the liberation from «reason». Its ideal is the primitivism of the cave man.»¹

The Marxist-Leninist esthetics does not negate the right of art to reflect also the ugly and base aspects of the reality, but it is against the reactionary interpretation of the ugly by bourgeois decadent art, which proclaims it as the law of life, in general. In its treatment of the ugly, realistic art proceeds from progressive socio-esthetic ideals, criticizing the ugly and its social sources. This is the source of the successes of realistic art, of its strength and progressive role.

The esthetics of the ugly has raised ugliness to a principle which opposes the esthetic bases of art as an activity according to the laws of beauty. An adequate form, that is, an ugly one, must respond to the ugly content of art, according to the modernists. Contempt of the beautiful, as an indispensable aspect of any artistic work, is apparent not only in painting, but in all the other fields of bourgeois-revisionist art, which brings about the triumph of most vulgar tastes, the degradation of esthetic ideals and the explosion of an extreme modernism. It is not casual that many supporters

of post-modernism prefer antiquated and worn-out things to create their pseudo-artistic concoctions. And it is known that with the passing of time things lose not only their practical-utitarian functions, but also their «esthetic» brilliance, that is, become ugly.

The cult of the ugly is fostered also by the irrationalist world outlook which constitutes another side of the post-modernist bourgeois-revisionist esthetics. Many bourgeois and revisionist post-modernist estheticians preach that art is worn out by centuries of thought and truth which allegedly atrophy its specific essence; for art to regain its esthetic values, according to them, it must liberate itself from thought, reason, logic, must become irrational. Anything irrational, even absurd and unintelligible both in the sphere of content and in the sphere of form, can be justified with the theoretical platform of irrationalism.

In the post-war years the supporters of post-modernism made feverish attempts to conquer some spheres of art which had not been greatly affected by modernist influences. So, under the banner of irrationalism, the tradition theatre was attacked and the theatre of the absurd affirmed. In cinematography, an absurd symbolism was encouraged, compositional unity attacked, fragmentation and the disintegration of time favoured, the chronological connections between events and the normal flow of time combated and the retrospective used to give contemporary events an irrational and alogical character. That is how post-modernist cinematography was born.

One may ask why post-modernism should divert art from the beautiful and submit it to the cult of the ugly, the accidental, the anormal and the absurd. The answer is that in this manner post-modernism becomes a powerful means to distort the reality, to blur the perspective of history, to spread distorted ideas about life. In order to divert art from the reflection of the real problems and contradictions of our time, many post-modernist artists are in quest of some «perma-

nent», «unchangeable», «instinctive-biological» principles which they find in the «primitive archetypes» and which, according to them, in mysterious inexplicable ways affect both the ordinary life of people and historical events. Post-modernists are fond of myths with an as alogical, magic and horrifying content as possible. They highly value elements of an archaic pre-historical symbolism, the alogical magic, mystical and ritual expressions of ancient mythologies. They seize of everything mythological which congrues with their irrational pessimistic and mystical world outlook which alienates modern man from the scientific world outlook and takes him back to the beliefs and superstitions of primitive man. Post-modernism strives for the mythologization of life also by means of its ramifications, such as «mass art» and «kitsch art», which represent a whole industry of myths and illusions. This kind of art is among the main ideological means of the bourgeoisie for manipulating the consciousness of the masses, diverting their attention from the ulcers of the modern society and leading them to an illusory world of deceptive happiness.

PSEUDO-SCIENTIFIC SPECULATIONS

Pseudo-modernism is more and more manifesting its tendency to abandon all esthetic-artistic basis. This regressive phenomenon is justified with a number of pseudo-scientific speculations. Some variants of post-modernist esthetics do not proceed from experience in the sphere of art and esthetic phenomena, but from experience in other fields, the technical and natural sciences, in particular. This tendency is not casual but due to the fact that post-modernism rejects the laws of esthetic assimilation, neglects the specific character of the esthetic values of art. That is why it poses and tries to solve specific esthetic problems on the basis, not of esthetic experience, but of information from extra-artistic fields, the natural

and technical sciences, in particular. The question here is not that the achievements of modern sciences should not be applied in esthetics and art. Marxist-Leninist esthetics and the art of socialist realism does this very well. The question here is about a deliberate manipulation of information from modern sciences, which not only make esthetics parasitary, but also divert it from esthetic-artistic experience.

The experience of bourgeois-revisionist modernist esthetics is clear evidence of this tendency. As early as the beginning of the 20th century the first attempts were made to justify the early variants of modernism, such as cubism, futurism, constructivism, etc. in the name of «modern science», the theory of relativity, quantum mechanics, etc. In reality there was no direct or, at least, important connection between them. The geometrical distortions cubism brought in painting and the principle of simultaneity of futurism had nothing to do with the new principles confirmed through the theory of relativity and modern science. They indicated only that bourgeois art was rejecting the objective laws of the esthetical assimilation of the reality.

Post-modernist esthetics is deepening this speculation on information from the natural and technical sciences further. An example in this direction are its speculations on the theory of systems, cybernetics, the theory of information, statistical mathematics, etc. By rejecting esthetic experience, the bourgeois-revisionist esthetics is rebuilding itself on the basis of the new sciences. After the formulation of the theory of systems we see the emergence of «structuralist esthetics», after the creation of cybernetics we have «cybernetic esthetics», after the theory of information we have «information esthetics», after the theory of signs we have «semiotic esthetics», and so on.

This tendency which is advertised to be a «credit» to post-modernist esthetics, in fact, is an expression of its deepening crisis, which shows that bourgeois esthetics is no longer

in a position to affirm its independence as a separate **esthetic** theory and is being transformed into a parasitary appendage of other sciences. One of the supporters of this tendency, A. Moll, proclaimed openly that contemporary esthetics rejects the experience of art: «The study of musical messages from the positions of scientific esthetics cannot be based on the theory of music,» writes he. The estheticians and critics who support this tendency are giving up the traditional system of categories and notions of esthetics and art as sciences and replacing it with a terminology mechanically borrowed from the sphere of the natural and technical sciences: invariant, linear parametre, dynamic programming, algorithm, paradigm, etc. The mistake here does not lie merely in the use of scientific notions, but in the fact that they are applied mechanically in the sphere of art, without introducing esthetic experience into them, without taking account of the specific peculiarities of art.

The supporters of the borrowings from the technical and natural sciences go even further down this road — they negate the specific character of artistic creativeness, equalize it with ordinary technological and industrial processes, underevaluate the active role of the creative subject — the artist, leaving all creative initiative to modern technical means, machines, etc. Again, the error of this tendency of post-modernism does not consist in its attempts to apply instruments and apparatus, which represent inventions of modern science and technology, in creative artistic work. Some of them are being successfully utilized in realistic artistic cinematography, in the television, music, etc. The question here is that post-modernism absolutizes the role of these means, opposing and rejecting all traditional means. Besides, it aims to extend the use of these means to the field of art, although they produce no positive results but only hinder the development of its specific character. Particularly dangerous and harmful, however, are the

experiments of post-modernism with modern «technology» and instruments when they are deprived of all esthetic basis and aim, when they are made outside the limits of operation of the laws of the esthetic assimilation of the reality. Realistic art never has been conservative in the use of new material means in art, but its merit is that it has never over-evaluated them, subordinating them to its genuinely creative aims, to artistic talent and mastery, to the laws of the esthetic assimilation of the reality. Unlike realistic art, the artistic practices of post-modernism, such as, for example, concrete music, modernist cinematography, etc. misuse the technical means and cripple the specific character of art, subjecting it to sterile formalist experiments.

The absolutization of the role of technical means has reached such a degree that ever louder cries are being heard among the supporters of post-modernism to do away completely with the role of the artist as a creator for the sake of «total objectivity» and leave all artistic work to machines. The fullest expression of this tendency is the so-called **photorealism**. At the 8th International Congress of Esthetics the American esthetician, J. Hartner, called it an achievement «which enables art to render with complete precision chance things without the intermediary of the subjectivism of the artist» Photorealism, however, is only an exhumation of the naturalism of old which believed that the camera would give art its «total truth».

The «technicist» wing of post-modernist esthetics is, in essence, a refined form of the distortion of the relationship between art and technical-scientific development, is a one-sided and distorted interpretation of it. The esthetics of technicism distorts the role of modern technological progress in the development of art, misinterprets progress and the objective laws of artistic creativeness, stimulates and takes under its wing the technicist models of post-modernist art. It is

called on to cover up the true causes of decadent art in general, and, especially, of its technicist wing, presenting them as direct results of technical and scientific progress and of the utilization of the modern means of communication.

THE ANTI-ESTHETIC ESSENCE OF POST-MODERNISM

The struggle against beauty, the cult of the ugly, the objectivization of art, the «technicist» forms, etc. reaffirm the **anti-esthetic** platform of post-modernism.

Anti-esthetics has been put in circulation long ago. The first manifestations of anti-esthetic practices cropped up as early as the beginning of the 20th century. At that time, however, their anti-esthetic essence was not revealed openly. As a platform of modernism, anti-esthetics was relatively restrained and timid in its first steps. It continued to capitalize on the absolutization of this aspect or moment of esthetic-artistic assimilation, whereas now post-modernist estheticians come out openly in defence of a tendentious anti-esthetics, that is, in defence of the attempts to build the so-called «modern art» as a complete and open negation of the esthetic experience of art, the laws of esthetic assimilation and artistic creativeness. At the 9th International Congress of Esthetics (1980) the idea prevailed that an energetic and definitive transition must be made from **esthetics**, which is the summing up of classical art, to **anti-esthetics**, which would be the summing up of the experience of modernism and a support for the practices of post-modernism.

Anti-esthetics takes under its wing and theoretically justifies things which have nothing to do with art or esthetic values. Anti-esthetics is built outside the limits within which the criteria of art and esthetic values have a meaning. The discrediting of art, of its beauty, of its esthetic principles, the esthetization of banal anti-artistic

and anti-esthetic things are the main content of anti-esthetics. Now it proclaims cynically that all innovation is the result of the negation of art and its artistic laws. Anti-esthetics is intended to make art disgusting for the public so as to bring it round to accept all anti-esthetic manifestations.

What does modern bourgeois esthetics ask for one thing, action or situation, to be proclaimed art? Only the capacity of arousing the curiosity with its absurd, spectacular or scandalous properties, only the possibility to astonish and surprise the public. Provocative esthetics, this is the «last word» of bourgeois-revisionist esthetics which reduces art to a means of incomprehensible attractions. It encourages all sorts of experiments with words, sounds, colours, etc. to concoct new absurd things, regardless that there is no esthetic or artistic element in them: from them only one thing is required: to be surprising, provocative, absurd!

The estheticians of post-modernism try to establish a theoretical basis for their attempts to replace art with the most scandalous things. They have found this basis in the so-called «institutional theory», according to which anything created may be called art, if the public accepts it as such. According to the institutional theory, it is not objective esthetic values that raise a work to the level of art, but only social conventions. «The merits or component parts of a work of art», says the American esthetician T. Monroe, «do not consist in the object (that is, in the painting) as a physical object, but mostly in the stand of people towards it.» The work of art, according to this theory, must have only the capacity to surprise, which makes it a source of equivocations and suppositions. Competitions, criticism, advertisements, academies, theatres, publishing houses, exhibitions and other social institutions decide whether this or that creation is to be called a «work of art» or not. The institutional theory, by proclaiming the works of art to social institutions, takes

under its protection an anarchist explosion of capricious tastes in the sphere of art, justifies all the monstrosities of post-modernism, encourages arbitrariness and extravagance in artistic creativeness.

Modern bourgeois esthetics tries to blur the boundaries between art and non-art. This is presented as a great step forward towards the «democratization» of art, its drawing closer and even blending into the reality. But how is this blending achieved? What is the price paid for it? It is precisely the loss and destruction of art. Mental derangements, misunderstandings, absurdities and oddities are what count most in «anti-art». Anti-esthetics justifies the penetration into the field of artistic creativeness of not only people with little or no talent, but also of charlatans and crooks. It has long ago considered madmen and even animals as creators of art.

In the field of literature, anti-esthetics has come out with the anti-novel, the concrete poetry, the theatre of the absurd, etc. The anti-novel is built on the negation of all the main esthetic achievements of classical literature, and especially realistic literature. Characters are eliminated and their place is taken up by descriptions of things, lines, colours, volumes, reliefs, geometrical forms and scents. Anti-novels have no story or subject, which are replaced with fragments, dialogues and monologues of uncertain appertenance. They render the «psychical flow» through alogical fragments of stories, landscapes, descriptions of things, movements, mimicry. Under intricate forms of absurd words and monologues against a background of dreams and hallucinations, events are blurred and conflicts, taken out of their concrete socio-historical context, concealed or camouflaged.

Concrete poetry, being the culmination point of all modernist tendencies, marked the complete negation of poetic art. It no longer employs language in its normal and esthetic functions, as a means for the expressions of thoughts and feelings; it «liberates»

language from syntax and grammar and, under the slogan of the struggle against «verbal tyranny» gives up words and their meanings, uses simple articulated sounds to create «formal or acustic structures» and «new things»!

The theatre of the absurd cynically proclaims the absurd, the negation of the laws of logic as the fundamental principle of its existence. Alogicity pervades not only the «content» of the play, but also its form and gives the theatrical performance an absurd character, leading the spectator to the conclusion that the world is absurd, meaningless, irrational and that for art to be worthy of it, it must be absurd, too. The theatre of the absurd is the complete destruction of the play. It does away with all the logic of the flow of time, of life and history. And it is going further down on this road, «the theatre of the silence», which renounces even words and thoughts and presents vacuity, silence and nothingness as «main values». All this so-called theatre is reduced to the presentation of static extras shut up in themselves, of the deaf-mute, the blind, the paralysed, the crippled.

The representatives of anti-esthetics show special zeal in the deepening of

the process of destruction of art. Concrete music replaces musical language with ordinary noises. Body-art negates sculpture and its artistic figurativeness and replaces it with «live specimens», people who take the most absurd and dirtiest poses in exhibition halls or in nature. Lyrical erotic poetry is replaced with «live sex» or strip-tease. Instead of painting, pop art, which comprises all sorts of methods, creates physical-optical effects, optical illusions and irritating psycho-physiological ornaments. «Electronic» painting is made up of photos produced by means of electromagnetic illumination (magnified photos of structures of chemical elements, cells, etc.) and various rhythmical diagrams. The art of the impossible advertises such «masterpieces» as the opening and closing of a tomb, illusions of suicide, volutes of smoke from a motor, carvings of ice melting in front of the public, banners turning into wet rags, heaps of rubbish with a falling flag, etc.

Although the creators of «anti-art» present it as an expression of protest against «the modern civilization in crisis», objectively «anti-art» renders a great service to capitalism, because it channels the dissatisfaction with the bourgeois society into channels un-

harmful to it. It is not by chance that the American bourgeois sociologist, Ro-zak, speaking about the different forms of «anti-art», says that «they do not threaten the existing order and are tolerated because they are not linked with forms of real protest.»

Post-modernism is becoming ever more scandalous. There are no bounds to the degeneration of bourgeois-revisionist art. Its crisis situation is characterized by Comrade Enver Hoxha with these profound words: «The decadence and degeneration of bourgeois art and literature are terrible. They try to raise this degeneration to a model and symbol for the building of a new way of life which is nothing other but the offspring and faithful reflection of a decadent and degenerate life. With the degeneration of people's mind and souls, the bourgeoisie thinks that it has found a new means for the further oppression of people and the suppression of proletarian revolution.»²

1 Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1972-1973», pp. 320-321, Alb. ed.

2 Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1967-1968», p. 489, Alb. ed.

THE PROBLEMS CAN BE SOLVED WISDOM AND D

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THE PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE LCY DEVOTED TO THE ANALYSIS OF THE PRESENT SITUATION IN KOSOVA AND THE NEW MEASURES FOR THE «STABILIZATION OF THE SITUATION IN THE REGION» WAS CONVENED IN BELGRADE IN DECEMBER LAST YEAR.

AS DECLARED, THE PLENUM WAS TO BE CONVENED EARLIER, BUT PREPARATIONS FOR IT TOOK MORE THAN A YEAR, IF NOT MORE. THERE WERE MANY CAUSES FOR THIS DELAY, BUT THE MAIN ONE WAS THE SITUATION IN KOSOVA WHICH THE YUGOSLAV LEADERS WANTED TO PRESENT AS «STABILIZED», «CALM» AND EVEN «BRILLIANT». THEY WERE ANXIOUS TO SHOW THE YUGOSLAV AND WORLD OPINION THAT THEIR PUNITIVE, COERCIVE AND OPPRESSIVE MEASURES HAD BROUGHT ABOUT THE SUBMISSION OF KOSOVA.

However, the situation in Kosova remained unchanged, indeed it grew worse. As a result of the implementation of the program of measures adopted by the Central Committee of the LCY for Kosova in 1981, many other elements were added to the causes which led to the tragic events in Kosova three years ago. Not only was nothing done to attenuate the economic inequality, to recognize the democratic rights and the national character of the Albanians, but, on the contrary, the autonomy of Kosova was further curtailed in all fields, Albanian culture and education were subject to constant attacks, and Kosova was practically turned into a province in which the segregationist laws of

Great-Serb chauvinism are in force. Nevertheless the Great-Serb chauvinists never for a moment succeeded in suppressing the patriotic spirit of the Albanian population, their feeling of national dignity and their democratic spirit.

Judging by these results it can be said that the policy of strength in Kosova has failed and that the proceedings of the recent Plenum of the CC of the LCY are a confirmation of this failure. The fact that the Yugoslav leaders convened at the Plenum, despite the evident failure of their policy, decided that «the existing platform should in the future, too, remain, an obligatory basis for the activities of all the forces in Kosova,» shows that they are led not by objectiveness, but by passion, and that

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national hatred prevents them from looking realistically into the problems and find the correct ways for the normalization of the situation in Kosova.

The Plenum was transformed into a tribune of attacks against Kosova and of accusations against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. However, such attacks and accusations do not go down with Yugoslav opinion, or, even less, with world opinion. Now as in the past the situation in Kosova cannot be blamed on the Kosova people or on the «interference of Albania» which allegedly instigated them to demand recognition of their rights. They were aroused by the Great-Serb chauvinist policy followed towards them for a long time, they were incensed by inequality and economic poverty, they were indignant at the negation of their legitimate rights, the suppression of their nationality and anti-democratic violence.

Albania has never interfered in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, it has not meddled in them in any form and cannot be blamed in the least for the events in Kosova. Everybody, and especially the Kosova people and the leadership of Kosova, know that our collaboration with Kosova has been extremely correct. This is a truth which is borne out by the facts and so has

it been from the beginning. We see that some Yugoslav leaders have recognized this reality. For example, when events in Kosova were at their most acute stage, Dolanc was the first to declare that «the Albanian government does not stand behind them». Later the former president of the Presidency of the CC of the LCY, Mitja Ribičić, said that «the main source of nationalism was the alienation of the regional leadership from the working masses, not Enver Hoxha.» Also, the president of the Assembly of the SFRY, Raif Dizdarević, in his speech to the Assembly of Kosova said that «political awareness shows that what happened in Kosova was the result of mistakes made in the past.» Recently, Marković, the new president of the leadership of the CC of the LCY, although still insisting on «external, Albanian, influence» also says that «the decisive cause of the events in Kosova lies in our internal weaknesses and concessions».

Nevertheless, there were many contributors to the discussion in the Plenum, with Dobrivoje Vidić, the representative of Serbia, at the head, who tried to turn the attacks against Albania into the fundamental party and state policy of Yugoslavia. They called for escalating the propaganda

campaign and the diplomatic activities against our country.

Of course, nobody expects from the present Yugoslav leaders to change their policy towards Albania. The failures their policy in Kosova has suffered, the discredit Yugoslavia has fallen into in the international arena as a result of the intensification of its links with the superpowers and the services it renders them, make the Yugoslav leaders talk wildly and act irresponsibly.

The attacks against Albania and, in general, the anti-Albanian spirit that prevails in Yugoslavia today is intended precisely at covering up this reality and the chauvinist policy followed towards the Albanian population in Kosova and other region.

At the Plenum it was often repeated that allegedly the People's Socialist Republic of Albania does not want to have cultural relations with Yugoslavia. This is not true, just as it is not true that Albania's relations with Yugoslavia were limited only to Kosova. In reality, and this is well known, such relations existed also with Montenegro, Macedonia and, in some fields (exhibitions, participation in film festivals and various scientific activities), with Belgrade, Zagreb, etc. And these relations were not broken by us, but by

Belgrade. So, as a consequence, Belgrade is the only one to blame for the situation created. As far as Albania is concerned, even now it is ready to re-establish cultural relations not only with Kosova but also with all the other republics of Yugoslavia without exception on the basis of equality and with the agreement and approval of both sides.

The former leadership of Kosova was the special target of the attacks of the recent Plenum of the CC of the LCY. Everything that occurred in Kosova was blamed on it. We do not intend to defend the leadership of Kosova, either the old or the new one. Let the people of Kosova and the peoples of Yugoslavia judge its actions. However, for the sake of truth it must be said that, what is well known and borne out by documents, for everything it did the leadership of Kosova had the approval and encouragement of Tito. Then why the leadership of Kosova is the only accused, and not Tito as well?

In Marković's report to the Plenum as well as in some contributions to the discussion self-criticism was made «for remaining silent in 1968». The mentioning of this year, although indirectly, was a direct attack on Tito and his policy towards Kosova. It was precisely in 1968, after Ranković's policy of genocide towards the Albanians, that Tito received a delegation from Kosova and accepted their demands for the extension of the autonomy of Kosova, the opening of the University of Prishtina, the official acknowledgement of the use of two languages, the use of the Albanian flag, the extension of Albanian schools and publications and many other requests. It was precisely at that time that he agreed on and allowed the cultural collaboration with Albania. Had Tito seen nationalistic tendencies in these actions, he would certainly have cri-

ticized the leadership of Kosova, just as he did not fail to criticize, in those years, the Croatian and Serb nationalists.

The Serb leadership, which at that time did not have the courage to oppose Tito, now seems to try to take the revenge. But since Tito has died it clamps down on the Kosova leadership. Time will show whether this attack of the Serb leadership against Tito has to do only with the rights which the latter recognized to the Kosovars, or with the beginning of the revision of the whole of Tito's policy on which the Yugoslav Federative system is built. One thing, however, is clear right now: the apprehension of the Great-Serb centralist and unitarian tendencies, which have been transformed into an open policy of oppression and denationalization in Kosova, has begun to affect many people in the other Republics.

A very large-scale campaign has been raised in Yugoslavia today in the press and at all the state and party forums about the so-called problem of the departure of the Serb and Montenegrin element from Kosova. Does the problem exist as such? It may exist, but the causes are not those about which Belgrade is so vociferous.

The Albanians have always been for peace and friendship with their neighbours, Serbs and Montenegrins. Even in the most difficult times they have not been guided by chauvinist and nationalist feelings. They have never harassed anyone, and just as they have shown self-respect so have they proved to be respecting the others. The departure of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosova is not the result of the pressure on the part of the Albanians there, but the result of the difficult economic situation in Kosova, the gloomy prospects of its development. And above all it is the

result of the grave atmosphere, of those tensions and conflicts which the policy of violence and national oppression pursued by the Yugoslav leadership has created in Kosova.

At a time when so much noise is made about the departure of Serbs from Kosova, we cannot fail to point out the fact that much larger masses of Albanians have been leaving Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro and emigrating to Turkey, to West-European countries, to Australia, and even to Alaska, and elsewhere. Why does no one speak about them? Why is it not said that they, too, must be helped to return to Kosova? Are there Albanians in Slovenia, in Croatia, in Serbia? There are, and tens of thousands of them. But no one ever asks why they are forced to depart from Kosova, no one ever says that they, too, must be helped to return to their native place.

As far as we know, when the Serbs and the Montenegrins emigrate from Kosova, they, unlike the Albanians, remain in Yugoslavia and they are not discriminated against politically, economically and culturally as the Albanians are. It must also be said that the migration of population within Yugoslavia is a fairly widespread phenomenon, which has been and is considered to be something positive. It is obvious that all this noise about the departure of the Serbs and Montenegrins is the result of an «anti-Albanian predisposition», as the Yugoslav leaders like to sugar-coat the wave of Great-Serb chauvinism which is dashing against Kosova at present.

No one can deny the right of the leaders of Serbia and Montenegro to worry about the migration of their fellow-countrymen from Kosova. But why are the leaders of Kosova accused of paternalism when they show an interest in and want to know why the Albanians migrate from Macedonia

and Montenegro and why they are mistreated? In this case, too, it is obvious that the Great-Serbs do not have a clear conscience, because they measure different people with different yardsticks. In these conditions, what do the Yugoslav leaders imply with the words that the PSR of Albania has a right to interest itself in the Albanians who live in Yugoslavia?

The chiefs of Belgrade connect the migration of the Serbs and Montenegrins allegedly with a strategy of pressure on the part of the Albanians in order to achieve an «ethnically pure Kosova». The slogan of an «ethnically pure Kosova» is not concocted by the Albanians. It was invented by the Great-Serbs and expresses their colonialist mentality, their desires and strategy to secure their physical presence as guards of the Serbian empire in all the regions of Yugoslavia. Like the Slovenes, the Croatians, Bosnian and others, the Albanians, too, want that coexistence and true friendship exist among the peoples of Yugoslavia, but on terms of equality and understanding, not with one being the ruler and the other the ruled, one having privileges and the other being discriminated against, one living in affluence and the other dying in starvation.

The last plenum of the Yugoslavs has just glided over the economic situation of Kosova, which is very grave, and the problems of its development. And this seems a little strange at a time when, as a result of the grave crisis, the economic problems occupy the first place in the political life of Yugoslavia. But the fault of «omission» is not accidental. When the «Platform for Kosova» was approved in 1981, it was said that during the five-

year period 1981-1985 the economic development rate in Kosova would be 60 per cent higher than the average rate of Yugoslavia, that the problem of unemployment would be softened up, that the Republics and the region of Vojvodina would comply with and fulfil all their obligations towards Kosova, that the Federation would increase the amount of aid to it, etc. These promises were not kept. As the plenum said, and as the Yugoslav press puts it, the economic development rate in Kosova is not 60 per cent above the average rate of Yugoslavia, but 40 per cent lower than the average rate; unemployment increased from 60 000 at the end of 1981 to 100 000 at the end of 1983. As for the projects that were to be built with the help of the community, they remained projects on paper. On top of all this, Kosova is deep in debts. Only in the first six months of the last year Kosova paid 3 billion dinars in arrears of credits, at a time when all the annual accumulation of its economy is 2 billion 600 million dinars.

No one was taken to account for all this. No word was breathed about the «solidarity» which had been given so much publicity. Instead, the plenum recommended that Kosova should develop «on its own forces». In short, they abandoned it «to its own fate».

Seen as a whole, the decisions of the last plenum of the CC of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia were a dictate and a new coercion exercised on Kosova. It is true that the plenum spoke about Kosova, but Kosova itself, its own voice, its own wishes and thoughts were not heard. If people in Belgrade think that the Albanians of Yugoslavia are represented by such

«men» as Sinan Hasani and Hysen Ramadani, they are sadly mistaken. Their over-zealousness to sing hymns to Great-Serb chauvinism and to paint their own people black is so crying that it is difficult to believe in their «dignity».

The time that has elapsed from the events of the year 1981 in Kosova is sufficient to reflect objectively on their true causes. Likewise, the present situation in Kosova is a clear reflection of the fact that the measures adopted for the «normalization» of the situation have proved to be a complete failure.

Nevertheless, the Yugoslav leadership does not want to admit the gravity of the situation and continues insistently on the road of violence, national oppression and discrimination in Kosova. The decisions of the last plenum show that the Yugoslav leadership disillusioned the peoples of Yugoslavia who want the situation in Kosova to return to normal and the vengeful chauvinist actions that are taken there to cease. On the other hand, these decisions constitute a challenge to the broad public opinion in the world, which does not reconcile itself to the nationalist crimes that are committed against an innocent population, the trampling of the national and democratic rights of that population.

Life has shown that injustices are not defended by force, just as people cannot be convinced with words to say that black is white. The problem of Kosova can be solved only with wisdom and cool-headedness, in complete conformity with the interests of Kosova and all Yugoslavia, without seeking to gain superiority and privileges, and above all, without a nationalist and chauvinist predisposition.

THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE ANOTHER PEACE ILLUSION

The Albanian people have fought and continues to fight with all their forces to avert war and defend peace. And this they have done with deeds and not with words, as those who accuse us of the opposite do

THERE IS MUCH TALK ABOUT DISARMAMENT, EUROPEAN AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY TODAY, ESPECIALLY AFTER THE OPENING OF THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE. THE TALKING IS DONE BY BOTH THOSE WHO SINCERELY WANT PEACE AND THOSE WHO PREPARE AND STIR UP WAR. THERE IS GREAT CONFUSION AND DISORIENTATION. ON THIS ARE CAPITALIZING THE BIG AND PETTY ARMS MERCHANTS BUT MORE SO THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL STAFFS OF IMPERIALISM, THAT WANT TO CREATE A GENERAL ATMOSPHERE OF FATALISM AND SUBMISSIVENESS AMONG ALL THE COMMON PEOPLE IN THE WORLD.

Big and small, international and regional, bipartite and pluripartite, scientific and pedagogical meetings are held about peace and disarmament. In order not to go too far back in the post-war history of such meetings, let us take up that of Helsinki. This meeting took place under the great slogan of peace and security in Europe and was supposed to bring our continent back to «the golden times», to eliminate tensions and threats, to draw the states nearer to each other and make men brothers. After Helsinki, however, Europe was bristling with atomic weapons, the rivalry between the blocs increased, the Soviets invaded Afghanistan and the Americans intervened in the Middle East.

Socialist Albania harboured no illusions and did not go to Helsinki. It could not go to a conference which,

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as it turned out, could bring no good to peace.

Then, the Madrid Conference was convened to draw the balance of the results of the implementation of the decisions of the Helsinki Conference. And as the balance could be only negative, it turned into a noisy propaganda debate between the blocs of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty which blamed each other for the deterioration of the situation in Europe and in the world. The culprit was not found, but the situation did not improve either. The blackmail of either side on Europe increased. The military and political chains superpowers have put on most European states were redoubled, their sovereignty curtailed and their freedom of action limited even more. American and Soviet missiles have made Europe completely insecure. As was but natural in these

conditions, the anxiety of the popular masses of Europe was very great. They are seeing that their countries have been turned into hostages of the superpowers and that the American and Soviet missiles in Western and Eastern Europe are destined to the extermination of the Europeans. This has made their anger irresistible and tens of millions of people in all the European countries have risen in revolt and protest against the policy and strategy of the superpowers.

This was the situation in which the Stockholm Conference was convened. It was called together at the moment when the United States of America and the Soviet Union are in need of assistance in order to calm the masses of the European countries. The conference is intended to last two years, precisely the time Washington and Moscow need to complete the stationing of their new missiles in Europe.

At the same time the sessions of the Conference constitute a very convenient and favourable place for secret talks and bargainings between the superpowers and their allies, while nobody listens to the countries which are not members of their alliances. This is a fact, just as it is a fact

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that all this bargaining is done at the cost of the peoples of Europe.

The first phase of the Stockholm Conference, that of the foreign ministers, as the press called it, was revolved around the tête-à-tête talks between Schultz and Gromyko. The many correspondents who followed the proceedings of this phase pointed out that the other participants in the Conference were only present at the proceedings and their voices were hardly heard. The general opinion is that the opening proceedings of the Conference were intended only to pass off the new bargaining between the two superpowers as «normal» and «necessary» talks for the easing of tension.

In his speech at the Conference, Gromyko made a harsh attack on American policy. Schultz did the same on Soviet policy. However, after the torrent of mutual accusations and abuse which poured in the great hall of the modern palace of the Cultural Centre of Stockholm, the representatives of Moscow and Washington continued their talks behind the scenes. The naive were pleased that at the end of these secret talks Gromyko and Schultz smiled and shook hands with each other. They even considered this gesture a good omen for the future of peace.

As it did not go to Helsinki or Madrid, Albania did not go to Stockholm, either. Our non-participation in this Conference seems anachronistic or an attempt at originality to some who ridicule us with evil aims. Our position is not a pose, but a responsible stand

both towards the lofty interests of our Homeland and the interests of peace and security in the world. We do not go to Stockholm because we do not want to become accomplices in the dangerous game that is being played with the destinies of the peoples at a meeting which the superpowers are using to throw dust into peoples' eyes so as to prevent them from seeing the reality, to avert them from the road of resistance and opposition to the bellicose plans of the imperialist powers.

Albania has not called for border changes either before or after the Helsinki Conference and the innuendoes of the Yugoslavs to the effect that we did not take part in this Conference because we are allegedly for border changes do not hold water. Also the claims of certain Yugoslav or Bulgarian newspapermen that our country did not take part in the Stockholm Conference because allegedly it is not for peace are as baseless as they are ridiculous.

The Albanian people have fought and continues to fight with all their forces to avert war and defend peace. And this they have done with deeds and not with words, as those who accuse us of the opposite do.

The policy of socialist Albania is against imperialist war, against atomic weapons and the stationing of missiles in Europe, against the armaments race of the superpowers or anybody else. This policy of principle it has followed with persistence and implemented with determination. Consistent in its stand,

the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has exposed and continues to expose the bellicose plans and activities of the American imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists, and of the military blocs they lead.

We understand very well the good intentions of truly neutral states such as Sweden, Switzerland, Austria and Finland that are against imperialist war at a time when others indulge in demagogy or are in cahoots with their patrons.

We Albanians are with the peoples of the world that are against the armaments race and the stationing of missiles, we are with those who come out in the streets and voice their protest and indignation against the warmongers, we are with those who struggle resolutely to defend peace and international security. We join our voice to the voice of the peoples and not to the voice of those who hold fruitless speeches at meetings manipulated by the United States of America and the Soviet Union, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. The important for us is that our stand and activities comply with the desires and interests of the peoples. «They who trust the tragic illusionists,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «are free to go to the conferences of Vienna, Helsinki or any other place. Let them palaver with each other. For our part we are just as free not to go to those meetings and we do not go there. In those meetings and conferences we are not the only absent, but the peoples as well.»

GRAVE THREATS AND SOVEREIGN OF EUROPEAN

Only resolute opposition to American imperialism and soviet social-imperialism, liquidation of military blocs and removal of atomic weapons and foreign troops can ensure peace in Europe

THE STATIONING OF NUCLEAR MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILES — THE AMERICAN CRUISE AND PERSHING 2 AND THE SOVIET SS-20, IN A NUMBER OF EUROPEAN COUNTRIES HAS FURTHER EXACERBATED THE ALREADY TENSE SITUATION ON THIS CONTINENT, AS A RESULT OF THE POLICY OF WAR AND DICTATE OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS AND THEIR MILITARY BLOCS. THE STATIONING OF THOSE MISSILES IN EUROPE REPRESENTS A FURTHER ESCALATION OF THE MILITARY, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC BLACKMAIL EXERCISED BY WASHINGTON AND MOSCOW FOR MANY YEARS NOW ON THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES THAT ARE CAUGHT IN THE GRIP OF NATO AND THE WARSAW TREATY AND THEIR ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL ORGANISM.

It is some years now that the word «Euromissiles» is being met with ever more frequently in the imperialist and social-imperialist political dictionary. For some years now Moscow and Washington threaten with the stationing of these missiles in the territories of European countries «in order to re-establish the military-strategical equilibrium» upset by the other side. However, after the December 1979 session of the NATO member countries, at which the concrete schedule of their stationing was worked out, the threat has become even more real. According to this schedule, the missiles will begin to be stationed from December 1983 if the Soviet-American talks at Geneva have not made progress until that time.

Right at the taking of this decision on the part of NATO, which linked the stationing of the missiles with the Soviet-American talks and the achievements of the so-called equilibrium of armaments, the arrogant position of the two superpowers was made clear. In this manner the linking of European security with the agreements or disagreements, the equilibrium or disequilibrium between the United States and the Soviet Union was legalized.

As was to be expected, the Soviet-American talks in Geneva made no

NAPOLEON ROSHI — publicist

progress, indeed after the 105th session they were interrupted and in Europe began the stationing of nuclear medium range missiles. By the end of last year the first missiles were stationed in the German Federal Republic and Britain and work was stepped up for their stationing in Comiso of Sicily. Immediately after that the Soviet Union declared that it was proceeding with the stationing of Soviet nuclear missiles SS-20 in the territories of the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia. In a statement made on November 24th, Yuri Andropov said that work for the stationing of these missiles was being stepped up. At the same time he added that the Soviet Union was taking measures to equip with such missiles the Soviet submarines roaming in the oceans around the United States. The head of the Soviet social-imperialism says that these decisions are being taken to re-establish the equilibrium between the two superpowers. And in order to give a peaceful tone to his words, he repeats the stale proposal of the Kremlin «to turn Europe into an area free of nuclear medium range, or tactical, weapons». The same was said on the same day by Ronald Reagan, when he expressed the «determination» of the United States of America «to continue in its efforts to totally eliminate the land-based medium range

TO THE SECURITY COUNTRIES

by **NAPOLEON ROSHI**

nuclear missiles.» So the heads of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism swear their great gods that they think only about disarmament and security in Europe and in the world, at a time when their policy of war and hegemony poses a grave threat to peace and security in the world.

The stationing in Europe of the American and Soviet nuclear missiles is among the more concrete expressions of the stepping up of the aggressive policy and activities of the imperialist superpowers, as well as of the revival of the various reactionary, fascist and war-mongering forces.

It is not by chance that in Europe new missiles are being stationed at a time when American imperialism occupies Grenada and is poised for aggression against Nicaragua, when the American warships and planes are bombarding the positions of the Lebanese and Syrian forces in Lebanon and when the Pentagon issues plans upon plans for the strengthening of the rapid intervention corps to carry out its aggressive aims in the neuralgic area of the Persian Gulf and elsewhere. The same is doing the Soviet social-imperialism which increased the number of its troops to suppress the people of Afghanistan and assembled a great number of warships in the Mediterranean and in the Persian Gulf, in the course of its rivalry with the United States for the penetration into the oil-rich area of the Middle East and the threatening of Europe. All these aggressive activities prove right what Comrade Enver Hoxha said at his November 12, 1982 meeting with the electors, namely, that «both in the United States of America and the Soviet Union the militarist and venturesome line is taking the upper-

hand in the foreign policy, a strategy of direct military intervention is being carried out as a means to ensure the political and economic expansion and hegemony in the world.» In this context the stationing in Europe of the new nuclear missiles is a component part of this venturesome militarist course, which is fraught with very dangerous consequences for peace on the European continent and in the world.

The stationing of new nuclear missiles (recently also Cruise missiles without nuclear warheads which can be used also with nuclear warheads) is more and more transforming Europe into a big arsenal of American and Soviet nuclear missiles, into a battlefield for the hegemonic interests of the two superpowers.

In this sinister tragedy which, with the complicity of the countries which accept the missiles, is being played behind the backs of the European peoples, the problems of sovereignty and security emerge with particular acuteness. Washington, Moscow and those statesmen of the European bourgeoisie who follow them, claim that these missiles are being stationed to guarantee the security of Europe, that the American troops are in Europe to defend it against a possible Soviet attack, while the revisionists of Eastern Europe claim that the Soviet troops are there to defend them against an eventual attack on the part of the United States. All of them come out in the role of those who are ready to make any sacrifice to save Europe.

«European security» Washington and Moscow talk so much about is for them only a means to keep the old continent under their control and cause it to sacrifice itself for their interests if a conflict breaks out bet-

ween the two superpowers. One of the best-known personalities of American imperialism, the former US Secretary of Defence Robert Macnamara, writes in the autumn 1983 issue of the journal «Foreign Affairs» that «European security» has always been in the centre of attention of the foreign policy of the United States of America and so will it apparently remain in the time to come. In no other region of the world, he writes, have the two superpowers stationed so many nuclear weapons. In no other region of the world have the military doctrines which envisage the employment of nuclear weapons such a broad field of application.» Macnamara also admits the fact that since the setting up of NATO the use of nuclear weapons was at the foundation of its military strategy.

The «security» the two superpowers want to bring Europe is to fire from Europe and over Europe their nuclear missiles when their interests call for this. The Europeans have still fresh in their memory the declaration President Reagan made two years ago that even if the two superpowers come to blows, it is not said that they will strike each other's territories. According to Reagan, the war can very well be waged on the territory of Europe. So the Europeans will be used as cannon fodder for the Soviet and American interests and the security of Europe will depend on the degree of harmony or disharmony between the two superpowers. Today when the rivalry and the belligerence of the superpowers is emerging more and more to the fore, they are manoeuvring so as to have the chestnuts drawn from the fire with the hands of others, the Europeans, in the concrete case.

To achieve these objectives the two

superpowers base themselves on the many political, military and economic chains they have bound Europe with. These chains, along with the illusions of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists about the «security» under the Soviet or American nuclear umbrella, make it easier for the superpowers to dictate their will.

The stationing of the new American and Soviet missiles increases even more the dependence on Washington and Moscow of the European countries that accept these missiles. Another 20,000 American troops are being sent to Western Europe to operate the Cruise missiles. The same applies to the American missiles Pershing-2 and the Soviet missiles SS-20. These American and Soviet militarymen will have their hands on the trigger and their staffs in Washington and Moscow will give the order for the launching of these missiles, of course, when it suits their interests, in utter disregard of the will of the country in which the missiles are stationed. Here we have to do in essence with a grave violation of the sovereignty of the European countries, as well as with the just as grave responsibility of the countries that accept the stationing of the missiles in their territories. With these actions they not only jeopardize the security and future of their own countries, but also endanger the countries which have not accepted the stationing of foreign missiles.

The past years have provided many proofs of the superpowers' utter disregard of the interests and will of the European countries. This has been expressed, among other things, also in the fact that in the talks and bargainings between Washington and Moscow decisions have been taken which have put the «allies» before accomplished facts. This has been apparent in the question of the utilization of military bases in the territory of their countries. The West-German, Italian, Spanish and other newspapers have frequently voiced their indignation at the utilization of American bases in those countries as spring-

boards for the aggressive activities of the American Army in other regions of the world. In 1973, during the Arab-Israeli conflict, American planes flying from their bases in West Germany and other European countries supplied Israel with the armaments it had lost in the first phase of the war. The same thing occurred during the events of Autumn 1983 when the Americans escalated their aggression against Lebanon.

The superpowers and those who follow them capitalize on the ardent desire of the peoples for peace and security. The peoples do not want the tragedy of the Second World War repeated in even more catastrophic proportions. However, the concern of the peoples has nothing in common with the peace propaganda of the heads of world imperialism. «I pray for the day to come when nuclear weapons will not exist in any country of the world,» declared Reagan on June 16, 1983. But must the world expect that nuclear weapons will be eliminated by the prayers of Reagan, the representative of the interests of the industrial-military establishment of the United States, who has doubled the military budget in less than three years of his rule?!

The peace propaganda of the heads of Soviet social-imperialism is of the same nature. «Only human common sense can and must save mankind from this great threat,» declared Yuri Andropov on November 24, 1983. «We call on those who are pushing the world on the course of an even more dangerous armaments race to give up their unrealizable dreams about achieving military superiority and imposing their will on the other peoples and states.» But who are Andropov's calls addressed to when it is known that it is the Soviet social-imperialists along with the American imperialists that are engaged in a frenzied armaments race and feverishly preparing to hurl the world into a new war for their hegemonic aims, of course, if they are allowed to do so.

The peoples do not expect security and peace to be achieved by means

of endless conferences on «disarmament», «European security», «mutual reduction of troops in Central Europe», «reduction of medium range missiles», «strategic weapons,» etc. etc. which are organized by American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. It is eleven years now that talks continue in Vienna between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty on a mutual reduction of troops in Central Europe. Hundreds of sessions have been held and the discussion has not ended even about the first point on the agenda: how many troops NATO and the Warsaw Treaty have stationed in Europe! While these endless talks are going on, the European continent is being turned more and more into an arsenal of American and Soviet weapons, and the number of divisions of the two blocs in Central Europe has increased further.

And what can be said about the successive conferences about European security in Helsinki, Belgrade and Madrid, or about the disarmament conference in Stockholm? What is their worth for European security when their organizers — the Soviets and Americans, are precisely those who threaten the security of Europe? What has brought the peoples the «Helsinki Charter» which was advertised with so much noise by the bourgeois and revisionist propaganda? What did the Madrid Conference achieve during more than two years when many months of Soviet and American backstage dealings were needed for a hollow communique «on familiar problems» to be eventually issued?

Socialist Albania has not accepted to take part in those conferences and has long ago exposed the demagogic aims of their organizers. Time showed that such conferences not only bring no good the cause of peace and security but, on the contrary, increase the threat of war. They are intended to keep the peoples under the illusion that something is being done while nothing is done and the two superpowers are building up their arsenals of missiles and nuclear weapons, in-

creasing their troops and strengthening their basis in Europe.

The sharpening of the rivalry between the superpowers and their blocs is more and more exposing these demagogical conferences. After the stationing of the Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles Moscow declared that it had decided to break the Geneva talks on the limitation of missiles and the START talks on the limitation of strategic weapons. Later the Soviets also walked out the Vienna conference on the reduction of troops in Central Europe. This break of talks represents the real situation in the relations between the two superpowers, a further exacerbation of the contradictions between them. Despite the suspension of these talks, the superpowers keep still open the bridges of their counter-revolutionary collaboration. Their secret diplomacy does not cease plotting against the peoples. It is not accidental that there is talk again about an eventual Soviet-American encounter, and at high level to that. According to their hegemonic logic, the world should pin its hopes on the meetings of the superpowers.

«American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism make great efforts to appear as two invincible superpowers,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 8th Congress of the PLA. «True, they have great military and economic potential, influence and interfere in the internal affairs of other peo-

ples and states, but to have weapons, to have dollars or rubles does not mean that you have invincible power. The imperialist superpowers must be appraised as they really are, neither underestimating nor overestimating them. They are powerful and ferocious, but they are also in decay, they are worm-eaten and degenerate, and their foundations are shaky.»¹

Any withdrawal before American imperialism or Soviet social-imperialism, before the myth of their invincibility, any illusion about the usefulness or profitability of the American or Soviet umbrella is fraught with great dangers for freedom, and the independence and sovereignty of the peoples and peace. The peoples of Europe have a bitter experience of the «security» guaranteed by the two superpowers, so they are raising their vigilance and fighting with ever greater determination to get rid of the stifling military, political, economic and financial presence of the United States and the Soviet Union on their continent. The stationing of American missiles at Greenham Common in Britain, at Comiso in Sicily or in West Germany was met with powerful demonstrations and fierce clashes with the forces of the police and the army. The British Minister of Defence Hesseltime, supported by Premier Margaret Thatcher, threatened in the House of Commons that all the protesters who entered the base of

Greenham Common, where the American Cruise missiles are stationed, would be fired upon. The British statesmen throw off all disguise of «democracy» and want to stem with bullets the mounting tide of demonstrations against the stationing of American missiles on British soil. As the Party of Labour of Albania says, only resolute opposition to American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, liquidation of military blocs and removal of atomic weapons and foreign troops can ensure peace in Europe.

The Albanian people love peace and want security. So they are always ready to defend their socialist gains, their freedom and the independence of their country. Socialist Albania has it sanctioned in its Constitution that no foreign troops can be stationed and no foreign bases can be allowed on Albanian soil, that Albania accepts no imperialist or social-imperialist loans or credits.

Our Party publicly declared that there will be no rapprochement or reconciliation either with American imperialism or Soviet social-imperialism which are the greatest enemies of the Albanian people and all the peoples of the world. The Albanian people resolutely oppose their hegemonic aims and ceaselessly expose their aggressive plans.

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, p. 194, Eng. ed.

press review

«SPECIALIZATION AND COOPERATION» AT THE EXPENSE OF OTHERS

«ZĚRI I POPULLIT» — organ of the CC of the PLA

At the last meeting of the prime ministers of the Comecon member countries, the Soviet prime minister, Tikhonov, declared that, at the present stage of complex integration the all-round intensification of specialization and cooperation on new bases should result in the more rapid «internationalization of production». The Soviet magazine «MEMO» admits that the «internationalization of social production is a law» which must be accompanied with the «internationalization of socialist reproduction». While the chiefs of Moscow preach that the creation of an international productive system inside the Comecon has an objective character, they want this system in order «to exercise a decisive influence on the national economic mechanisms», in short, to give it a suprastate character. Another Soviet magazine, «Mezhdunarodnaja zhiznj» advocates that the ownership of the means of production in individual countries should not be «restricted within national state borders». The Soviets want to ensure that the «General Scheme of the Specialization and Co-operation», which has been drafted with the other countries on the basis of a bilateral agreement, according to the model of the Soviet-Bulgarian scheme, which has been drafted before, is put into effect as soon as possible. The joint realization of

these schemes, they say, will create, in the perspective, the preliminary conditions for the formation of the international structure in the sphere of production and later in that of the unified structures of branches and industries, transport, etc., or on the basis of agricultural territories, until they finally reach the stage of the creation of the international industrial-agrarian complexes.

The Soviet revisionist insist that co-operation and specialization should be placed on new bases. Through this they aim at achieving two aims. On the one hand, they want to withdraw themselves from the obligations deriving from contract on the supplies of the Comecon member countries with primary materials and fuels of Soviet production, so as to sell them not on the basis of contracts, as they have done so far, but for hard currency. It is known that the member countries of the Comecon have made colossal investments in the development of the extracting industry of the Soviet Union, have participated with financial and material means and human forces in the building of the large industrial combines, oil and gas pipelines, in the mining industry, etc., in return for commodities and other products they need, on the basis of contracts. Now the Soviets disregard their obligations and are actually looking for new clients to sell

the products turned out precisely in those factories in which the Poles, East-Germans, Bulgarians and others pour their sweat. The facts show that during recent years the Soviet supplies of the member countries of the Comecon with oil, gas, coal, timber, iron mineral ores, etc., have fallen by 10-20 per cent annually, whereas the Soviet trade of these same commodities with the main capitalist countries has increased. Whereas the trend of prices is the opposite. The European countries of this community now can have the same amount of Soviet oil for about 10 times more commodities which they send to the Soviet market.

On the other hand, the aim of the Soviet Union in its program of deepening the specialization and co-operation is to achieve complete control of the socio-economic development and further strengthen political control of the other countries of the Comecon. Over 3,000 technical scientific organizations of the Comecon work on the basis of Soviet programs. Their number during the last ten years has increased threefold, and have conducted 16,000 different studies proposed by the Soviet side. The Soviet Union has established its control of those economic branches of the other countries of the Comecon in which it has special interests, in the first place, in the new

branches, such as electrotechnics, nuclear power, etc. The volume of supplies of special items on the basis of contracts increased from 330 million rubles in the year 1970, to 25 billion rubles in 1980, or about 76 times as much. During this five-year period alone, the Soviet Union will receive from the East-European countries equipment in terms of 60 billion rubles, consisting mainly of the technology of computational instruments with a value of 15 billion rubles.

In any case, whenever it invests capital in the other countries in the context of co-operation and specializa-

tion, the Soviet Union's aim is to make sure that the projects built are not of a complete cycle of production, that these projects depend partly or fully on the Soviet Union for fuels, primary materials, spare parts, or technical assistance. The oil refineries, for example, or the whole of the industry of the countries of the Comecon cannot work without Soviet oil, the steel industry without Soviet iron ores and coals. Many enterprises in the abovementioned countries are, in fact, filials of their Soviet counterparts. Scores of industrial combines and plants in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the

German Democratic Republic, Poland, etc. actually work for the car factories on the Kama River, or for the building of the gas pipelines and nuclear power plants in the Soviet territory.

The consequences of this policy are obvious. The present crisis in the revisionist countries, apart from other factors, is also due to the dictate and plunder by the Soviet Union, its policy of «co-ordination» of plans, of co-operation and specialization drafted in Moscow and imposed on the other countries through various mechanisms operating inside the organization of the Comecon.

IMPERIALIST-ZIONIST ANTI-ARAB CO-ORDINATION

«BASHKIMI»

The aggressive military activity of the imperialist-zionist alliance in Lebanon is becoming increasingly more feverish, which shows that this reactionary alliance is determined to achieve its anti-Arab objectives. American and Israeli warships are bombarding Lebanese towns and villages. The commander of the American naval fleet sailing off the shores of Lebanon has been ordered by the Department of Defence «to act as he sees it fit» against all those who hamper the American forces in the carrying out of their mission in Lebanon. The American marines have been put on

first degree alert. There are all the signs of a further escalation of the aggression of the American imperialists in Lebanon. US vice-president Bush declared openly that the presence of American troops in Lebanon «is absolutely necessary and their withdrawal is not envisaged.»

Meantime the American imperialists continue to coordinate their political and military activities with those of the Israeli zionists. As is already known, this reactionary anti-Arab alliance was given a fresh impulse by the recent visit of Israeli Premier Shamir to the United States. As a result of his

talks with the head of the American administration, President Reagan, and other American high officials, new strategic agreements were signed between the United States and Israel. The fact that the aggressive military activities of the United States and Israel are being stepped up in Lebanon clearly reveals the content of these new anti-Arab and anti-Palestinian agreements, as well as the arrogant determination of the imperialist-zionist alliance to carry through to the end their black work in Lebanon — to maintain the Israeli occupation in South Lebanon and put down all Palestinian

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resistance, to stamp down with sword and fire the just cause of the Palestinian people and their national aspirations. In the same declaration Bush said it openly: «The United States of America, which have strategical agreements signed with Israel, will

not allow it to be threatened militarily.»

More and more Arab countries are seeing the great threat of the new American-Israeli alliance. They are resolutely condemning the recent American-Israeli agree-

ments and exposing their anti-Arab and anti-Palestinian essence. In many Arab countries demonstrations were held to condemn these sinister agreements which are the prelude to new aggressions of the American imperialists and the Israeli zionists.

FRONT OF IMPERIALIST RIVALRIES

«BASHKIMI»

Northeastern Pacific, this is one of the regions in which the Soviet-American rivalry for military superiority is growing sharper. This is a region in which the two big rivals have set up their military bases and installations and round which their war plans develop.

This region, which the two superpowers are working from either side to gag with naval and air bases, is considered as a very hot spot in their plans for hegemony and expansion. Each for its own aims is working to make it one of the most important strategic points that serves their imperialist interests.

American imperialism has long ago considered the expanses of the Pacific as indisputable zones of its own sphere of influence, which the Soviet Union, of course, has contested against, because, the latter too, wants its share there. But at the present time Japan too has come out with its claims, Washington, however, cannot accept partners in the domination of this region, even if they are its own allies. It cannot reconcile itself to the claims of

the Japanese, but does not contradict them openly, either. Sometimes it even encourages Tokyo in its ambitions, while carefully working to steer them against the Soviet Union, so that the American hegemony-seeking interests there remain unprejudiced. When it eggs Japan on against the big Soviet rival, Washington calculates that in this manner it will have it to establish American domination in this region. In the context of this diabolical policy it strengthens not only its bases there, but also its alliances with Japan and South Korea, where, Reagan went on a tour of visits last year for a definite purpose. His declaration that this zone is vital to the future of the United States, his demand for a more active participation of Tokyo in the strategy of the USA in the region of Asia and the Pacific, the expression of the American determination to send fresh troops to this new front of the world, as the head of the White House declared, are testimony to the great store which Washington sets to this region.

For its part, the Soviet Union wants to dominate the Pacific. Hence it strives to break the encirclement, to split the military bloc that has been created in Asia alongside that which exists in Europe. To this end it has built up its arsenal of war in that region, while, on the other hand, it is trying to «mend» things with Japan and to add fuel to fire off contradictions between America and Japan, to outdo the American supremacy there, and even to secure dominating strategic positions for itself in case of an eventual war.

In these conditions, the region of the Pacific has become another front of collusion of their hegemonic interests. This is evident also in the «doctrine of horizontal escalation» of war adopted in Washington by the Reagan administration, which the American secretary of defence, Weinberger, proclaimed in May 1981, saying that if the Soviets attack the USA at one of its weakest points, the latter must be prepared to retaliate at similar points, exploiting the weaknesses of

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the Russian rival. This declaration is detailed concretely in the plans of the Pentagon in this manner: if the Soviets attack a sensitive spot of the interests of America, e.g., the oil-fields of the Middle East, America will hit them back in another region, just as sensitive for the Soviets, which now, in the opinion of the strategists of the Pentagon, is the northwestern Pacific region.

The American administration has increased its expen-

diture for the expansion and modernization of its military bases, for the further consolidation of its presence in this region. This region is under the constant surveillance of the American radar aircraft AVAKS, while the navy has been further strengthened with new units. The Soviet Union, too, for its part, has strengthened the military potential there with about 2,000 aircraft, 85 warships and 125 submarines.

In this manner, the Soviet-

American arms race in the northwestern part of the Pacific is becoming ever more serious and the situation is growing very tense. Here, as in many other regions of the world, a nuclear war has become a very real threat. The Soviet-American rivalry for hegemony in this region constitutes a separate chapter in the efforts of the two superpowers for world domination, a source of imperialist wars, the victims of which will be the peoples.

THE TORN GARMENT OF THE SUPPRESSORS OF FREEDOM

«BASHKIMI»

The American mass media make a great fuss about «the defence of freedom» in order to justify the violently aggressive and venturesome line of Reagan's foreign policy. «The days of our weakness are gone,» the president of the USA boasted. «Our military forces are on the alert... to defend freedom in the world.»

The president of the United States talked about «the defence of freedom» at a time when, on his orders, the American marines had landed in Grenada and were pressing ahead with the invasion of this tiny island of the Caribbeans. What had done Grenada with its one hundred thousand inhabitants to two-hundred million strong America? The only «crime» of the Grenadines was that they wanted to live free, and had taken some measures to curb the activities of the American monopolies. To ensure

the monopolies' freedom of plunder in Grenada Reagan's soldiers killed, plundered, burned and dug mass graves in Grenada which resisted for almost two weeks to the invaders armed with the most sophisticated weapons.

Reagan claims to defend «freedom», and he does it with US dollars, soldiers, advisers, the CIA, the sea blockade and the six months long manoeuvres in Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua so that «United Fruit Company» and other US corporations continue to be second governments in the «Banana republics». To prevent the brave people of these countries from becoming the masters of their land, from winning the freedom and democracy they are fighting for, American imperialism is more and more escalating its aggression against Nicaragua, against the Salvadorian peo-

ple and all the other peoples of this region which seethes with antidictatorial and anti-American revolts.

Reagan pretends to be defending «freedom» and «peace» in Lebanon, too. That is why the greatest number of American naval ships since the Second World War is assembled off the Lebanese shores. The US marines landed in Lebanon more than a year ago to «pacify» the country. However, the American «pacifiers» are taking a direct part in the actions against the Lebanese forces while US cruisers, aircraft-carriers and planes are savagely bombarding the Druse and Syrian positions. The «pacifiers» who were supposed to be in Lebanon only temporarily are now working to make their presence permanent in this Arab country while, at the same time, justifying the occupation of South Lebanon by the Israeli forces.

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The «freedom» the heads of American imperialism seek to defend in the world is their freedom of plundering Arab oil in the future, too. So much so that they have threatened that they will occupy with force of arms the nevralgic Persian Gulf region. «Freedom» à la Reagan is the freedom to exercise the American dictate on the other NATO members. That

is why the Americans are quickly stationing their medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe. It is the freedom to make everywhere the law in rivalry (but also in counter-revolutionary partnership) with Soviet social-imperialism.

The peoples of the world despise this American «defence of freedom». They are against the «peace-loving»

and «freedom-defending» tutelage of Washington or Moscow. Life has proved the correctness of the conclusion of the PLA that the interests of the superpowers and the peoples in no case coincide or converge. For imperialism to exist, the peoples must be slaves, for the peoples to be liberated, imperialism must be destroyed.

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