

Albania today

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● For the strengthening of the leading role of the working class ● Right to pension — a victory for the cooperativist peasantry ● The Albanian cities and towns ● Peoples fight against colonialism and neocolonialism ● Albanian chronicle



On the initiative of the Institute of History,
the Institute of Linguistics and Literature
and the Institute of Monuments,
the first Conference on the Illyrians
will be held in Tirana
from September 15 to 20, 1972.

The central theme of the Conference will be:
«The Illyrians and the genesis of the Albanians».
The Conference will represent a synthesis of the results
achieved in the field of Illyrian studies in Albania.

The communications will treat archaeological
and historical problems
connected with the material and spiritual culture
and the political and social development
of the southern Illyrians
from the beginning of the formation of the Illyrian
ethnos up to the epoch of the early Middle Ages
when the Albanian nationality starts.

The Conference will be attended
by Albanian and foreign historians,
ethnographers and linguists.

The illustrations on the cover
are devoted to this memorable event.

Albania today

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**«In Our Country
The Working Class
Is In Power,
Leading Through
The Party
And The
Proletarian State
The Whole Life
Of The Country.
Its Leading
And Controlling
Role Is Decisive.
Without This Role
There Is No
Dictatorship
Of The Proletariat,
There Is No
Socialism».**

ENVER HOXHA

Continuing its revolutionary Marxist-Leninist traditions, our Party placed at the center of attention of the 6th Congress the question of reinforcing and raising to a new level the leading role of the working class and its vanguard party. This fundamental problem of vital importance was thoroughly thrashed out in the Congress, from the theoretical and

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For The Strengthening Of The Leading Role Of The Working Class And The Perfecting Of The Party- Class-Mass Relations

by **NEXHMIJE HOXHA**

practical aspect, and on a national and international scale.

I

WITHOUT THE LEADERSHIP OF THE WORKING CLASS AND OF ITS VANGUARD PARTY, THERE CAN BE NEITHER REVOLUTION NOR SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

The historic mission of the working class and the vanguard role of its party have been the main preoccupation of the classics

of Marxism-Leninism, and have constituted one of the principal subjects of their theoretical and practical activity. They were the first to discover and substantiate the creative role of the working class and its mission as grave-digger of capitalism and builder of the new communist society. Their whole theoretical work is permeated by the idea that under the new historical conditions of the birth and development of the capitalist society, a new leading class in society, the working class, forms and develops.

Based on this idea, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, worked out the whole strategy and tactics for the building of the communist society of the future in a way which would enable the working class to display in life its revolutionary, creative and leading abilities. Related to this are all their teachings and struggle, in both theory and practice, concerning the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution, the communist party as the leading, organizing and inspiring force of the working class, as well as the dictatorship of the prole-

tariat. Connected with this idea are all their demands for the destruction of the old state apparatus and the creation of a new apparatus, previously unknown, an apparatus and mechanism which would allow the working class to take an active part in the construction and management of the new classless society.

This question has underlain the all-out struggle which they have waged with dauntless persistence and consistency for a full century against the numerous bourgeois, pseudo-socialist, opportunist and revisionist currents within the Labour movement and outside it. At the present time, too, one of the key issues of the great polemics between Marxism-Leninism and the various bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and revisionist trends, is the question of the historic mission of the working class in our epoch, and of the leading role of its party.

This fundamental question has given rise to great distortions and speculations by the bourgeois ideologists, the modern revisionists and the other opponents of Marxism-Leninism, who are seeking to prove that the Marxist-Leninist teachings about the historic role of the working class, its hegemony in the revolution, and the proletarian party as its leading force, have allegedly lost their value in our time.

Seizing upon some new phenomena of present-day capitalism, such as the technico-scientific revolution, the wide expansion of state-monopoly capitalism, etc., the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists speak today of the «deproletarianization» of the capitalist society. They arrive at the reactionary conclusion that the working class has integrated itself into the capitalist system, and has ceased being a revolutionary force. They assign the role of shock force in the struggle against capitalism at one moment to students or intelligentsia and at another to the peasantry or other strata.

But the facts of contemporary life support the teachings of Marxism-Leninism about the working class and its decisive role in the revolution, confirming and reinforcing their correctness, while they refute the bourgeois and revisionist arguments.

There is no «deproletarianization» of the present-day capitalist society. On the contrary, the ranks of the working class are

being continually swollen by the petty-bourgeois strata of the city and the countryside; there is no integration into capitalism of the working class, which the Marxist-Leninists never confound with the corrupted stratum of the worker aristocracy and bureaucracy. On the contrary, the relations between labour and capital are today characterized by ever deepening opposition and confrontation caused by the unprecedented intensification of capitalist exploitation, the rising cost of living, chronic unemployment, the militarization of the economy, and the increase of bourgeois violence and political reaction in all fields. The irresistible growth of the wave of strikes and worker struggles which, especially in recent years, have shaken the foundations of the capitalist order and have made the bourgeoisie undergo one of the most critical periods of its history, is a living proof that the working class always remains the decisive force of the revolutionary movement for the overthrow of the system of capitalist slavery.

The bourgeois, revisionist, Trotskyist and other ideologists of the present time have also spearheaded their main attacks against the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the proletarian party and its relations with the working class. This is understandable, because the performance of its world historic mission by the working class is always connected with the leading role of its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party. On the correct relations between the working class and its party depends, on the one hand, the fate of the revolutionary movement and socialism and, on the other, the fate of the proletarian party itself.

The betrayal of the modern revisionists, the degeneration of many communist parties into reformist parties, their sabotage of the revolutionary movement and the restoration of capitalism in the countries ruled by the revisionists – all these factors have caused a great ideological disorientation and confusion on this vital question. All sorts of viewpoints have been spread, which claim that the theory of the vanguard party is an invention of Lenin's which allegedly distorts Marx's original idea about the relationship between the spontaneous labour movement and the political party of the proletariat; that the party conceived according to the Leninist concept is ne-

cessary only for countries where the proletariat is in a minority (thus advocating spontaneity in the labour movement of the developed capitalist countries), that the party must serve only as a coordinating instrument, but not as a leading body; that the struggle for socialism can be waged and can triumph even without a Marxist-Leninist proletarian party, under the direction of the other political parties and forces, of the trade unions, and so on. As far as the role and place of the proletarian party in the conditions of the socialist society is concerned the advocates of such theories say that the proletarian party must not run the socialist state and economy, otherwise it will be transformed into a bureaucratic apparatus, that the multi-party system must exist in the socialist society, the existence of a «socialist opposition» must be allowed, the alleged «Stalinist» thesis about the «single party» must be rejected, that the proletarian party is necessary only in the initial period, while later on it loses its proletarian character and becomes a «party of the whole people», etc. These viewpoints, widely circulated at the present time by the modern Yugoslav, Italian and Soviet revisionists, by the supporters of so-called «socialism with a human face», or by self-styled «leftist» groups and trends, are at variance with the entire historical experience up till now, and with the facts of present-day life, whereas the Marxist-Leninist teachings about the party fully retain their value.

The idea of the proletarian party is like a red thread running through the works of Marx and Engels, who continually stressed the necessity of the organizing of the working class as a political party in itself. Basing himself on their ideas, Lenin developed further the Marxist theory about the party. The world historic experience of the revolutionary movement of the working class confirms that their teachings are fully correct, that there has never been a situation where the working class has triumphed over the bourgeoisie and built socialism without its own Marxist-Leninist vanguard party. Historical experience shows that where the leadership of the proletarian party has been lacking, not only has no kind of transition to socialism been possible, but also the national liberation anti-imperialist revolution has remained at the half-way stage.

The bourgeoisie, by means of the so-called «consumer society», with the help of social-democracy which in many countries participates in the exercise of power in the interest of the bourgeoisie, by means of the yellow trade union, through the numerous possibilities created by state-monopoly capitalism, making broad use of parliamentary demagoguery, etc. strives to divert the working class from the road of revolution. More than ever under present-day conditions when the betrayal of the modern revisionists has caused great disorientation and confusion among its ranks, to deny the necessity for a vanguard proletarian party and to advocate spontaneity, as the various revisionist and «leftist» ideologists are doing, means leaving the working class disorganized and unarmed, perpetuating the rule of the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, today it is more necessary than ever to have a proletarian party of the Leninist type which makes the working class conscious of its interests, its role and strength, which transforms it «from a class in itself into a class for itself», which orientates, organizes and leads its practical struggle, etc. Neither can we speak of its various allies rallying around the working class, and of their leadership in the revolution, without the vanguard proletarian party. The degeneration of the proletarian party and the liquidation of its leading role in the socialist society is fraught with fatal consequences for the destiny of socialism. Where the working class party degenerates, the restoration of capitalism becomes inevitable. This is the great historical lesson that emerges from the revisionist tragedy which occurred in the Soviet Union and in some other countries. A particularly clear example of this is Yugoslavia where the speculations on «worker self-administration» and the undervaluation to the point of negation of the leading role of the party, led to the outburst of an irresistible wave of spontaneity and the restoration of capitalism, to the complete disintegration of the party, to its liberal and anarchist degeneration, to its transformation into a party of the social-democratic type, to the loss of the leading role of the working class, to its dismemberment and division, and to the general confusion existing in that country today.

Vlash Pritti — Industrial city (engraving)



Thus, the historical experience of our days, in total contrast to the revisionist teachings and practices, confirms that the working class cannot carry out its historic mission without its vanguard political party, that it exercises its leadership in the revolution and in socialist construction, above all, through its party as well as through the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat after it has seized power.

Both the historic mission of the working class in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the building of the socialist society, leading the working class, are quite clear to the Marxist-Leninists. The question is how to effectively ensure and exercise the leading role of the working class and how to preserve and continually strengthen the proletarian character of the party. For this there exists a great positive experience which must be borne in mind and further deepened and enriched. But, as is shown by the example of the failure of the second International and especially by the example of the revisionist degeneration of many communist parties at the present time, there also exists a negative experience from which lessons must be drawn.

This experience shows that in the socialist countries, where the proletarian party is in power, the danger of its revisionist degeneration and of the liquidation of the leading role of the working class mainly stems from ideological and political confusion, from the bureaucratization of the party and of its leading cadres, from their detachment from the class and the masses, from the sidetracking of the direct role of the masses in running the country, from placing the party above them, as occurred in the Soviet Union and in some countries of people's democracy where power was seized by the revisionists. Under these circumstances, in the name of the strengthening of the leading role of the party, conceived in a bureaucratic way, its leading organs and apparatuses, the cadres at all levels of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat were gradually opposed to the masses; the party and the cadres escaped the control of the class and the masses and began to degenerate. At present the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has retained nothing of its former proletarian character, not so much because of the fact that at its 22nd Congress it was

proclaimed a «party of the whole people» but especially because today it is an instrument at the service of the bureaucrat bourgeoisie against the vital interests of the working class and socialism. The Khrushchevite revisionists are striving in vain to manoeuvre by almost completely ignoring the abortive thesis of the «party of the whole people» and stating on every possible occasion that the working class allegedly continues to lead in the Soviet Union. This is done solely with a view to hoodwinking social opinion at home and abroad.

The right and left-wing opponents of Marxism-Leninism present the danger of the degeneration of the working class party when it comes to power, as a fatality which allegedly stems from the party's leading role in the socialist state. This is a flagrant invention. This danger does not stem at all from the nature and the leading function of the party in the socialist society. It arises only when a loophole is provided for the pressure of the external and internal bourgeois influences of the old society on the party.

The positive experience of our Party and of the other Marxist-Leninist parties clearly shows that it is fully possible to cope successfully with the danger of bureaucratic degeneration of the party and always keep pure its proletarian character, to strengthen and deepen the leading role of the working class in the process of the uninterrupted development of socialist revolution.

Our Party of Labour has been able to withstand the revisionist storm which infected and destroyed many great and powerful proletarian parties, to preserve intact its proletarian character and further promote unwaveringly the revolution and socialist construction in our country because, on the one hand, it has carried out a persistent struggle and has adopted effective measures for the continuous revolutionisation and strengthening of the party as the vanguard of the class and as the leader of all the popular masses, and, on the other hand, it has known how to build correct relations with the class and the masses, ensuring the necessary conditions for their direct participation in running the country and for the exercise of their direct control over everything and everybody.

The ideas of the Party and of comrade Enver Hoxha about the direct control of

the working class are a creative continuation of the Leninist ideas about this problem, ideas which have been forgotten and falsified by the revisionists. They are a further development and enrichment of these ideas concerning the place and role of the party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the function of the mass organisations under this system, as well as the activity, place and role of the working class and the masses in the functioning of the mechanism of the socialist society, which is realized and is improved through their direct participation in running the country, and through the direct control which they exercise. The activity of our Party and of the labouring masses in the implementation of direct control, for which little historical experience exists, is truly a creative contribution to the theory and practice of scientific socialism.

Under our present-day conditions, in compliance with the present stage of the development of the revolution in our country and bearing in mind the negative experience of what occurred in the Soviet Union and in some other countries, it is necessary to concentrate further on the following:

the uninterrupted perfection of the party-working class-mass relations; the continuous revolutionisation of the party; the uninterrupted increase of the direct participation of the working class and the masses in the questions of management and their direct control over everything; the further development and deepening of the democracy of the masses.

The 6th Congress of the PLA pointed out that «the general road of the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the entire socialist order, is the development of the democracy of the masses... Drawing the masses on as broad a scale as possible into the running of the country, has been and remains the unchanging line in the entire activity of our Party and of our proletarian State in the building of socialism. We consider this participation as the main direction of the deepening of socialist democracy in action».

The Party has also closely connected its own strengthening with this great revolutionary process and has made it dependent on it, on the dialectical and uninterrupted development of the democracy of the masses. The party is the vanguard detachment of the working class, but not

a detachment ruling over it; it is the supreme organisation of the working class, but not an organisation separated from the class. That is why our Party has fought and continues to fight any manifestation of bureaucratism and authoritarian spirit which hinders the strengthening of the tie with the masses, and impairs the mutual party-class-mass confidence; it consistently pursues the mass line; it creates conditions for the drawing in and training of the masses in running the country and its affairs. Our Party has accumulated a wealth of experience on the road of the revolutionisation of the party and of the drawing of the working class and of the other labouring masses into the affairs of management. This allows it to make very useful generalisations which serve to increasingly deepen the theory and practice of the full construction of the socialist society, as it marches through untrod paths.

II

THE STRENGTHENING OF THE LEADING ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE GROWTH OF THE DEMOCRACY OF THE MASSES REQUIRE THE CONTINUOUS PERFECTING OF THE PARTY-CLASS-MASS RELATIONS

Our Party, viewing the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a dynamic system, in the process of development, is continuously perfecting it by endeavouring to strengthen the leading role of the working class and to increase the direct participation of the working class and the masses in running the country, and their direct control over everything.

The extension of the participation of the working class in the affairs of management, the strengthening and improvement of the worker control, aim at raising to an ever higher level the leadership and responsibility of the working class as the leading force of the socialist society; they aim at increasing its active role in every field of life, at the same time securing the proletarian character and the strengthening of the party from every point of view as the vanguard of the class, no allowing the creation of even the smallest gap between the class and the proletarian party.

The two most recent Party Congresses, the plenary sessions of the Central Committee and comrade Enver Hoxha in his speeches have made very important generalisations about this.

In order to solve the new problems which life continually raises, it is imperative to reconsider, renew and enrich the former methods and forms of work and organization, to continually purge the activity of the party and state organs and apparatuses of their routine, and their conservatism, which hinder the implementation of the clear revolutionary decisions and directives of the party.

Many of the problems arising today with regard to the participation in the affairs of management and direct control of the working class and other working people could not be solved in the previous stages of the revolution. As was also pointed out at the 6th Congress of the Party, today a series of new objective and subjective conditions have been created which necessarily require a broader and deeper participation of the working class and labouring masses in the management and direct control of affairs. Comrade Enver Hoxha, at the 6th Congress of the Party and subsequently in his speech delivered in Mat, pointed out that the road for the further strengthening of the democracy of the masses, for the growth of the role of the working class and of all the working people in the whole life of the country, leads through the perfecting of the relations between the party, the working class and the masses; between the party, the state power and mass organisations.

On the basis of the directives of the 6th Congress of the PLA and the revolutionary experience in our country, I shall set forth below some of the problems that arise in connection with the perfecting of these relations.

The perfecting of the party-class-mass relations is aimed at ensuring the more active participation of the working class and the masses in working out the political line and the directives of the party and in checking their correctness in practice; it is aimed at increasing the ideological conviction of the working class and the broad masses in the correctness of the political line of the party and at raising to a higher level their mobilization in the implementation of its decisions and directives consequently, at strengthening the ties of the party

with the masses and the mutual confidence between them.

Our Party, fulfilling the role of the vanguard of the working class, of the leader and teacher of the masses, has never forgotten that it is the offspring of the class and of the other working masses, and their permanent pupil.

It has listened most attentively to the voice of the masses, it has continually consulted them on problems of decisive importance for the destinies of the country and the revolution. The consultation with the masses was extended in particular after the 5th Congress of the Party. The creative thought of the masses, expressed in the great popular debates and consultations for the working out of the fifth five-year plan, for the struggle against bureaucratism, for the further revolutionisation of the school, for the liquidation of the material bases of religion and for the struggle against religion in general, for the complete emancipation of woman, for the reconsideration of our legislation, etc., has played a very important role in working out and implementing the decisions and directives of the party on these capital problems of the complete building of the socialist society.

But this experience teaches us at the same time how to further extend and improve the consultation with the masses, how to make this a daily method of all the organisations and leading organs of the party, of all the communists so that the working class and the broad labouring masses themselves should also take part directly in working out the line, decisions and directives and in defining the policy. Forgetting or neglecting this aspect leads to the bureaucratization of the party and state and to their detachment from the masses.

The extension and perfecting of the drawing of the creative thought of the masses into the working out of decisions and directives necessarily requires that consultation with workers and the other labouring masses should take place regularly, it should become a method and habit of work of all the organisations and leading organs of the party, of all the communists, from the centre to the grassroots for every decision they have to adopt, for every important problem they have to examine and solve. In order to enable the masses

to have their say on these problems, it is necessary to set before them projects, theses, and guidelines, and also to provide them with sufficient time to think over and formulate their remarks and proposals.

The working out of decisions and directives together with the workers, with the cooperativists, and with the non-party intellectuals, increases the guarantee of their implementation, for the conviction is created in the consciousness of the masses that the decision or the directive is not exclusively the work of the organ or organisation of the party that has adopted it, but is also the work of the labouring people. In this way, the working people do not feel that they are merely implementing the decisions adopted by a minority, even if it be on behalf of the working class, but they feel at the same time that they are active participants in matters of leadership, creators of the political line of the party.

The contribution of the working class and of the other labouring masses to the working out of the political line of the party would be incomplete if it were limited only to the drawing in of their creative views for the working out of the decisions and directives. «We cannot proceed from the principle - comrade Enver Hoxha teaches - that the directives of the party, inasmuch as they are the result of all-out work done with the broad participation of the masses of the people, can all, without exception, be flawless, easily realizable and correct to implement. In no way can it be said that, since they are directives of the party, everything will be carried out blindly, without effort or struggle». (From the Mat speech: «The masses build socialism - the party makes them conscious»).

Such shortcomings could be repaired better and more quickly with the direct participation of the masses in checking the correctness of the directives and decisions during the work for their implementation. Such a verification of the correctness of the line and decisions is a law, a permanent requirement of the lively and dynamic development of socialist society. This presupposes that the workers and peasants should speak out with courage about every obstacle they run across, about everything, big or small, that does not work, that is not

correct, saying why it is not correct, and expressing their opinion also about how it could be improved.

Our party has a broad experience in informing social opinion. It has continually used information, explanation to the masses, as a powerful means to convince them of the correctness of its political line and to mobilize them in the revolutionary struggle. However, under the new conditions created in our country and with the great prospects opening to it on the road of the complete building of socialism, it becomes necessary for the information work to be further extended, and for the content of its forms and methods to be improved. In this respect, comrade Enver Hoxha says, a more active role should be played by the press «which has a duty to make the masses better acquainted with the situation and the problems, to strengthen criticism, and to become to a larger extent a forum for the lively thrashing out of opinions for reflecting and summing up the experience of the masses in socialist construction». Alongside the press, the other information institutions, particularly the radio and television, have an important role.

THE DIRECT CONTROL OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE LABOURING MASSES OVER THE ACTIVITY OF THE PARTY AND OF ALL THE COMMUNISTS IS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE FOR THE PERFECTING OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTY, THE CLASS AND THE MASSES

The importance of such a control has now been made clear by the Party and by comrade Enver Hoxha. Control only from above and the placing of the party, the state and the leading cadres outside the direct control of the working class and the labouring masses from below, is fraught with very grave consequences for the cause of socialism. Direct control by the masses and in the first place by the working class is an indispensable condition to safeguard the party and the socialist state against bureaucratism and revisionist degeneration.

There are still people who think that

as long as the party is leading, as long as it pursues a proletarian line, nobody has the right to exercise control over it, while the party has the right to control everything. There are communists who think that since the party is in power, they, as members of this party, can be allowed to do whatever they please, they can even trample underfoot the laws of the state and the rights of the people. Such communists, even when they give verbal acceptance to the working class control over the party, do not in practice allow the control by non-party people over the party organisation and the communists.

Without doubt such viewpoints and stands are entirely alien to us and must be resolutely fought.

But the most important thing is to struggle to create all the conditions for the effective and continuous exercise of direct control first and foremost by the working class over the party and the communists.

First, for this purpose it is necessary to use all ways and means to make the workers fully aware that it is their indisputable right to control the party, its organisations and leading bodies, for the party is an integral part of the class, to make all the working people aware that it is their indisputable right to control the activity and behaviour of the communists, since the communists are servants of the people; to make the masses deeply aware that without such a control, they cannot advance on the road of socialism.

Second, this raises the task of the basic organisations and leading organs of the party to encourage in every way criticism by the masses, the free and courageous expressing of views, and to severely condemn every attempt to stifle the voice of the masses, every effort of the bureaucrats to settle things without consulting the masses. It is particularly important to adopt an extremely attentive stand towards the criticism, remarks, proposals of the masses, towards the problems and conclusions of the worker control. The party teaches us that nothing raised by the masses, by the worker control, should remain unanswered and no proposal which is considered correct and applicable should



be ignored. Those who are trying to keep the remarks and proposals of the masses in closed drawers, those who drag out endlessly the solution of the collective proposals, should come under the fire of criticism, and the open judgement of the masses. «Wat the workers say, comrade Enver Hoxha stressed in Mat, must be carried out within the shortest possible time, for it is the control of the class; otherwise there is no class control, but only words».

Third, it is necessary for the party organisations to render account directly to the working collective, and not only to call others to account. There are various forms which can be used in rendering this account. The Central Committee and comrade Enver Hoxha have several times warned against the closed work which is often carried out by the party organisations in the work centres and in the countryside, allegedly to maintain «secrecy», but which in fact is a hang-over from the difficult times of the national liberation struggle and of the early postliberation years; it is the reflex of an old method of work which is no longer appropriate to the present-day stage of development of our society. One of the forms that has been used so far has been the invitation of non-party working people to open meetings of the organisation. The party grass-root organisations frequently work with the masses on the decisions of the party, but this is done mostly with the decisions of the Central Committee of the Party, while it has been practised less with the decisions of the party organisations of the districts, regions and work centres. It would be useful to employ more widely special meetings of the collective, where the organization reports on important economic, ideological, social and other problems which it considers most urgent and requiring the creative thought and mobilization of the working people, or where it makes self-criticism in those cases in which it has not performed its duty as leader in the appropriate work centre. This would greatly contribute to the growth of the role of the basic organisation of the party. It would be useful to give further encouragement to the working people to demand accounts from the basic organization and the leading organs of the party by means of flash

posters, as has been successfully done in recent times.

Besides the basic organisations, it will be necessary for the district and regional party committees, also, to communicate more directly with the masses and render account to them. The Central Committee of the Party frequently practises such a method by publishing and distributing its reports, decisions and directives, comrade Enver Hoxha's speeches and those of the other party leaders or by directly addressing the masses through letters and other forms which have left a deep impression on the working people and have inspired them in their work.

Fourth, it is essential, as was pointed out at the 6th Congress of the Party, that the masses should be constantly informed of the activity of the grass-root organizations and of the leading organs of the party. Without being informed in detail of the decisions and directives they adopt and of their activity in general, the workers have no way of judging the affairs of the leadership, they cannot contribute by their creative thinking to the working out of the political line, they cannot demand account from the party organs and organizations, and they cannot exercise their control over the party.

The working class control over the party certainly cannot be understood as though this control were exercised only over the external activity of the organisations and organs of the party but it is exercised over many other questions which are connected with their internal life, without violating the principles and norms of the party constitution, without violating the rules of the internal life of the party organisations.

The basic organisation of the party in a work centre is not only a representative of the party but also a representative of the working class, it is also a representative of the working collective of the work centre concerned, which has brought it forth from its ranks in order to lead it. From this point of view it is not correct that the basic organisation, as occurs in some cases, should be responsible only to the party committee and not feel itself dependent on the collective or, even worse, place itself above the collective. This brings numerous dangers, and paves the way to the bureaucratization of the party and

to its detachment from the masses. Therefore, it is necessary for such stands to be determinedly fought and corrected.

In what directions can the class control be exercised over the inner life of the party?

One of the internal problems of vital importance to the party is the question of the admission of new members. The experience of the party shows that this issue can proceed on a correct road only with the active participation of the working class and of the other non-party working people. The workers have a duty to see that the most loyal and the most capable fighters for the defence of the class interests, and of socialism, should enter the party. Therefore, to act correctly in the case of every new member we must obtain the preliminary opinion of the labouring masses of the centres where the candidate works, and of the circle of the working people where he lives. In this way the mandate for admission to the party is also given to the new communist by the working people. Only in this way can we ensure that people who join the party are truly worthy of representing the interests of the working class, and enjoy the confidence of the masses.

Through this participation the working class will see to it in the first place, that the party directive on the constant reinforcement of its worker composition as one of the indispensable conditions for the preservation of its proletarian character, is carried out. It is known that great progress has been made in this respect. The 6th Congress of the Party reported that now the workers occupy the first place in the social composition of the party with 36.41 per cent of the total number of the communists. The growth of the worker composition of the leading bodies of the party has been even greater. Today 55 per cent of the members of the district party committee, and 85 per cent of the members of the basic party organisations in enterprises, are workers in situation and origin, or have themselves been previously workers. This is an important victory.

However, a worker majority does not always automatically ensure the proletarian character of the party. Our party has preserved its proletarian character even under the conditions in which its worker composition for known objective

reason, was very small. It has filled this vacuum with the proletarian education of the communists. By contrast, in the CPSU and in a number of other communist parties the comparatively high percentage of workers lost its significance under the conditions of the lack of proletarian tempering of the communists, and the revisionist ideological and political degeneration of the leadership of these parties.

Therefore, our party has continually stressed that the working class, while paying attention to the increase of the proletarian composition of its party, is dutybound to ensure that this is accompanied without fail by the proletarian ideological tempering of the communists, in combination with revolutionary action. Continuous attention should be paid to ensure that the communists are active, in their overwhelming majority, on the advanced front of socialist construction, directly in production, occupy the most difficult posts and provide an example everywhere. This would also contribute to the better extension of the basic party organisations and to a more correct distribution of the communists.

Another aspect of the internal life of the party, in which it can often be useful to seek to draw in effectively and on a wide scale the opinion of the working people, and in the first place of the working class, is the question examined in the organisations or leading bodies of the party concerning disputes, violations of unity and coteries in some basic organisations, the activity, the attitude and behaviour of the communists, their raising to responsible posts, their decorations, mistakes and punishments. Whenever the working people have been consulted on these questions correct evaluations have been made and correct decisions have been adopted. On some other occasions, mistakes have been allowed, and it has then been necessary to overrule the respective decisions by the intervention of the supreme leading organs of the party.

The extension and continual improvement of the participation of the working masses in the examination and solution of such internal questions of the party will reinforce the twoway control to which all the communists must be subject, and will contribute to the constant revolutionization of the organisations and members of the party.

The perfecting of the party-cadres-mass relations aims to increase the active participation of the working class and of the broad strata of the working people in the continuous proletarian training and tempering of the party and non-party cadres, in the avoidance of their bureaucratization, in the strengthening of mutual confidence between the masses and the cadres, and consequently also between the masses and the party and the state.

The bitter experience of the Soviet Union has clearly shown where the bureaucratic relations between the cadres and the masses, the separation of the cadres from the masses, their removal from the control of the masses, the submission of the masses to the cadres, lead. The creation of privileged strata of the cadres in the Soviet Union turned them into real bourgeois rulers, and this became one of the main causes of the destruction of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the restoration of capitalism.

Our party has forcefully fought against the bureaucratization of the cadres, against manifestations of formalism and officialism in their relations with the masses, it has fought and continues to fight against any manifestation of arrogance and complacency that may appear in some cadres of the party or of the people's power. It has adopted a series of very important measures in order to establish and maintain correct relations between the cadres and the masses. Such wellknown measures include the narrowing of wage differentials through the reduction of high wages, the participation of cadres in production, their transfer, the abolition of army ranks, etc.

However it must not be thought that everything has been solved in our country and that there are no problems.

The perfecting of relations between the party, the cadres and the masses implies among other things the improvement of the double dependence of the cadres: from above - on the leading organs; from below - on the workers and peasants, on the masses of the people; in other words a correct combination is required between centralism and democracy in the entire policy of the cadres, between the party leadership and the mass line in this policy.

Of great importance for the realization of this principle is the extension of the

practice of the selection of cadres by the working masses and the extension of the right of the working people to revoke employees who lose the confidence of the masses.

Of course, the extension of the rights of the labouring masses for the appointment and dismissal of the cadres or employees cannot be the same for the nominated cadres and those elected by the masses, in accordance with the Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania and the statutes of various organizations, nor can this deprive the party of the right of leadership in the policy of the cadres, as in every field of national life.

The right of election and revocation of functionaries was described by Marx and Engels as one of the main distinctive features of the socialist state. The establishment of such a right is one of the most essential measures adopted by the Paris Commune in order to prevent the representatives and employees of the working class from being transformed into its rulers.

The party continually advises that the masses should be consulted about every cadre who is appointed. The party has stressed and continues to emphasize forcefully that the working people must have their say even about the cadres who are appointed from above. This question was again raised by comrade Enver Hoxha at the Plenum of the Party Committee of the Mat district, where he said: "The decision (on the appointment of the director) must be adopted after having previously consulted the workers, after having previously obtained their approval of the candidate, they should be encouraged to get up and speak in front of everybody about all they know, and also give their opinion about whether a given candidate should or should not be the director... When the overwhelming majority has given its opinion about this person, then the decision is taken by vote. And only after this should the competent organ examine the proposal". In these words we find the correct solution of the harmonious combination of the organs of the party leadership with the participation of the masses in the question of the appointment of cadres.

The Central Committee long ago gave directives about the election of certain categories of cadres. (The 6th Plenum of

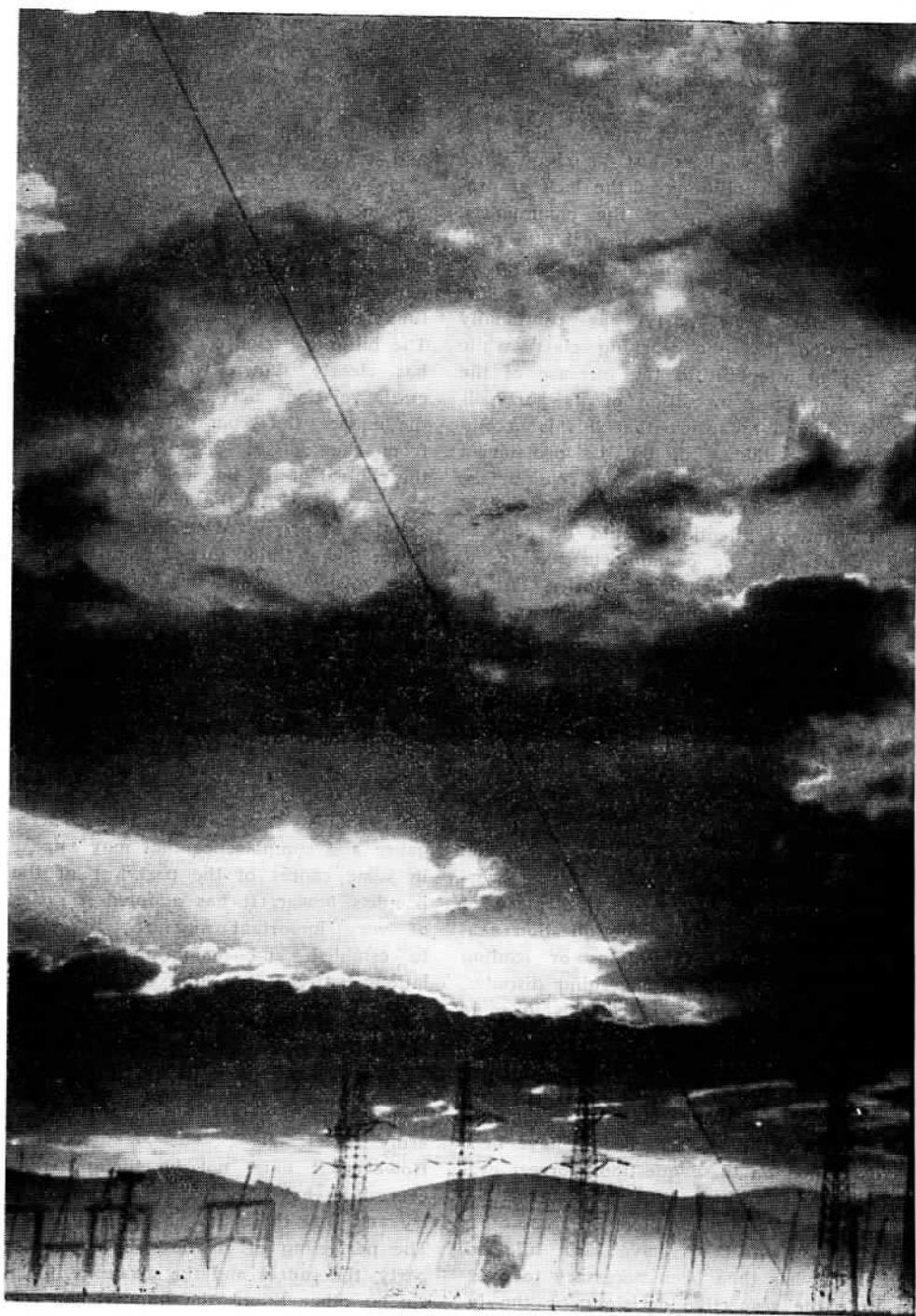
the CC of the PLA of September 1968, the 10th Plenum of the CC of the PLA of June 1970). The practice of recent times has enriched the experience of drawing on the opinion of the masses in the placing of elected or appointed cadres.

It remains to carry on, and at the same time gradually extend and continually improve, the practice of electing and revoking the cadres.

It is particularly important to combat formalism in the procedure of elections to the organs of the people's power, to create all the conditions for a real discussion of the candidates and for the revoking of all those who do not perform the task entrusted to them by the people.

The exercise of the right of revocation is directly connected with the rendering of account by the cadres before the masses. So far certain methods of rendering account by the cadres have been practised but it is necessary for them to be re-examined and perfected in such a way that nobody escapes the control of the workers and peasants, and the judgement of the masses. The discussions taking place following comrade Enver Hoxha's speech in Mat are clearly showing that it is not sufficient for the cadres to render account at ordinary meetings of the party and of the mass organisations or at official meetings, but that it is also necessary to organize special meetings for rendering account, meetings which should be held periodically. The essential thing is, as comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out in Mat, «to create for the masses the possibility of giving their opinion as to how they are served and supplied, how they are treated, what they think of this or that person, pass judgment on their chiefs if they are wrong, up to the point of saying whether or not they should be kept in their jobs, to dismiss them when they continue to make mistakes and do not correct themselves. «Everything done by the leadership - he continued - should be judged by the masses as to its correctness, and it should be responsible to them».

We are thus proceeding on the road of the teachings of Lenin who said: «The masses must have the right to elect their responsible leaders. The masses must have the right to replace them, the masses must have the right to know now

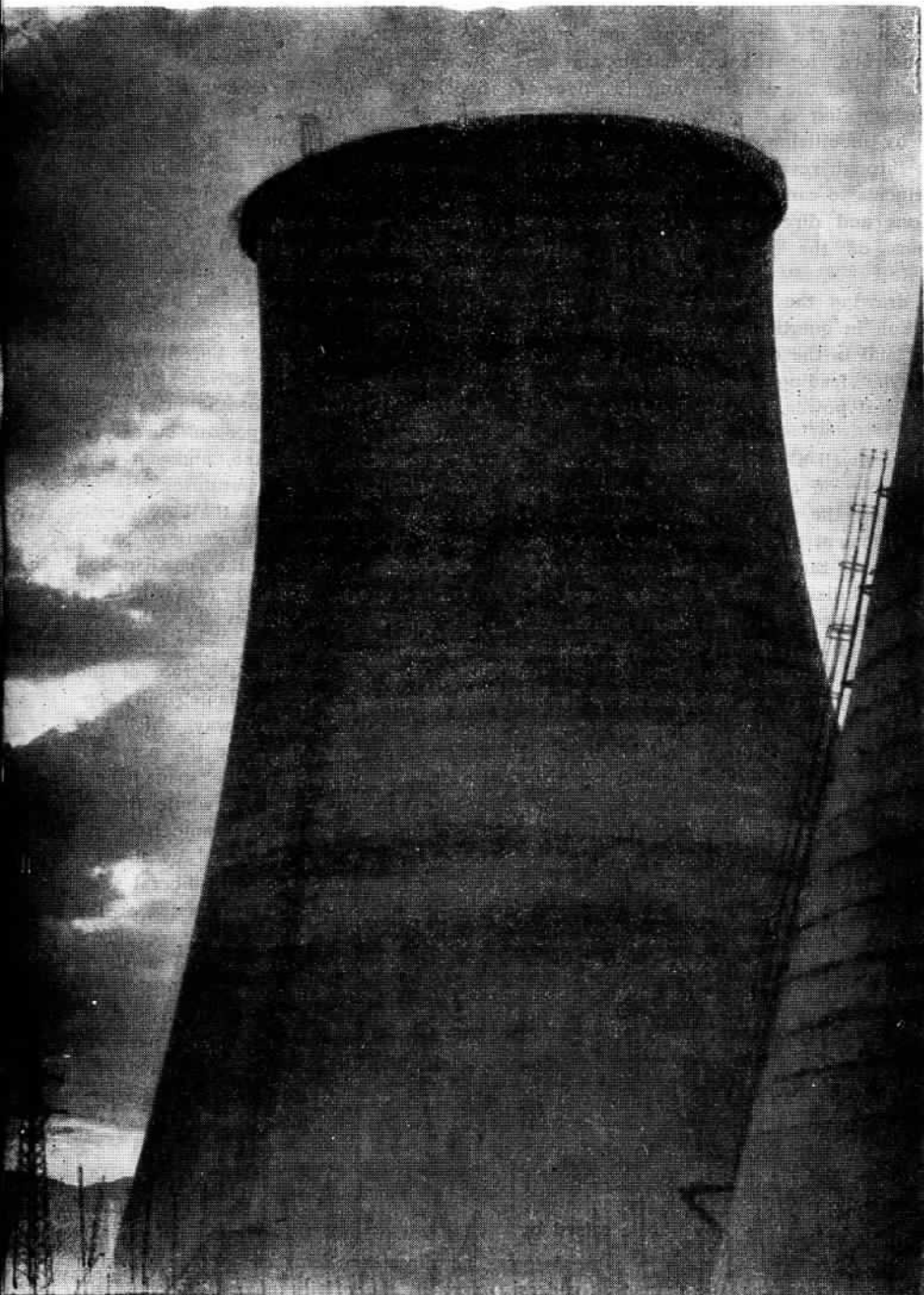


to control every step, even the smallest step in their activity» (Works, vol. 27, p. 233-234).

The systematic and periodical rendering of account by the cadres before the masses does not mean that men and women

should remain continually at meetings, that the directors and other responsible cadres should weaken the feeling of responsibility to the supreme organs and also to the masses, that they should not act on their own initiative justifying

Industrial panorama from Fieri



themselves by saying that the masses should be consulted on everything. If we were to act in this way we would have another aspect of bureaucratism. It is therefore essential to prevent any misunderstanding and harmful consequen-

ce that might follow from such a misinterpretation. The rendering of account by the cadres before the masses does not mean in any way a negation of the leading functions, but struggle against bureaucratism, against careerism and

servility; it does not mean anarchy, but the strengthening of proletarian discipline, of order and of the personal responsibility of the cadres.

Another factor which is of importance for the perfecting of the relations between the party, the cadres and the masses is the better regulation of the relationship of the communist and non-party cadres. As pointed out by comrade Enver Hoxha in Mat, in many cases this relationship has not been correct. The disproportions in this relationship, the filling up rightly or wrongly of the organs and apparatuses of the State, of the economy and of the mass organisations with communists, lead to the distortion of the party-masses relations, create a gap between the communists and the non-party working people, increase the inclinations of the career-seeking elements to worm their way into the party, thinking thus to occupy «a cosy corner», and weaken the party's struggle against manifestations of bureaucratism.

The introduction of a larger number of non-party cadres, especially from the ranks of the workers, into the leading organs and apparatuses of the state, of the economy, of the mass organisations, etc., at the centre and the grassroots, as recommended by comrade Enver Hoxha has great principled importance, for it preserves and continually strengthens the mutual confidence between the people and the party. In this respect, it is important to have a correct and broad understanding of the concept of the leading role of the party. The leading role of the party in a work or production centre or in the state and social organisations does not depend only on the number of communists; it is realized in the first place through the ideological and political line of the party, through the directives and decisions on the basis of which the entire political, economic and social activity of the country develops, and which have been embraced by all the labouring masses. Moreover, it is not realized only by the communists who work in the party organs nor only by the communists working in administrative management but by all the communists who work and live where the masses are.

In conclusion I would like to say a few words about the role of the social organisations in drawing the masses into the running of the country.

As is known, the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat also includes the mass organisations. As links in this system, the mass organisations, parallel with their organizing and educative functions, also have governing functions, which differ from the functions of the state legislative and executive organs.

Unlike the leading activity of the state organs, the mass organisations draw directly into running the country the groups and social strata they include in their ranks, practising the democracy of the masses.

Each of the mass organisations has a series of specific duties in conformity with the group or stratum which it embraces, whereas all of them, without exception, have in common the proletarian policy of the working class party in their organizing and in their whole activity. Thus, they do not and cannot have objectives other than those of the party which leads them.

On the question of the position and role of the mass organisations under the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, our Party has fought and continues to fight on two fronts. It has rejected, as alien and anti-Marxist, the teachings of the revisionists on the "independence" of the mass organisations from the proletarian party, which lead to the elimination of the working class leadership in these organisations.

At the same time, our Party has fought the one-sided concepts of the role of the mass organisations, which see them only as instruments of centralism, only as levers or conveyor belts to take the party line to the masses, but not as important links of socialist democracy, as forums of the masses themselves for the expression of views, for the development of independent creative action and for the exercise of their direct control, in compliance with the supreme interests of the masses themselves and of the working class, for the building of the communist society.

The mass organisations play their role in the implementation of the party policy and consequently in the realisation of working class leadership:

- through their work for the elucidation

and proletarian ideopolitical education of the social groups and strata concerned, for the explanation and publicizing of the decisions and directives of the working class party;

- by mobilizing these groups and strata through revolutionary actions and movements to carry out in practice the decisions and directives of the leading organs of the party and the socialist state;

- drawing the masses into direct participation in questions of running the country and in the direct control of the work of the leading organs and cadres of political power, of the economy and culture.

If we dwell a little on the last point, on the role of the social organisations in drawing the masses into the affairs of management and direct control, this does not mean that the explanatory educative and mobilizing works is less important, but because on this last point there are today more pressing problems linked with the growth of the role and responsibility of the working class in leading society, with the further extension and enlivening of the participation of the entire people in the socialist construction and in the defense of the country.

The social organisations, on the basis of the tasks that have been sanctioned in their statutes and according to the directives of the Party and the instructions of comrade Enver Hoxha, must always strive to make the masses fully conscious and draw them into the running of the country, train them in running the affairs of political power, of the management of the economy, education and culture, and must require the leading organs and cadres in these fields to render account before the masses. To exercise these functions the mass organisations should not baulk at any hurdle raised by bureaucracy.

The leading organs, the managing cadres and the basic organisations of the party have a duty to delve deeper into the problems of the social organisations, to educate and encourage the social organisations in the effective exercise of their governing functions, to make greater and more systematic demand of them, and help them in surmounting any obstacle they come across, but without keeping them under their tutelage, without curbing their initiative and without becom-

ing a hindrance in the independent action of these organisations, which is indispensable.

Special care must be shown so that the governing functions of the social organisations are not concentrated mainly in the hands of leaders and apparatuses, but are exercised most extensively and directly by the masses, through their appropriate basic organisations. The leading organs and the apparatuses of the social organisations play an organizing, instructive role in this, implementing the decisions and views of the masses. It is necessary to further enliven and democratize the inner life of the mass organisations, for the danger of bureaucratism threatens them, too, and not only the state organs and apparatuses.

As to the extent to which the bureaucratization of the social organisations has a detrimental effect on the participation of the masses in ruling, we see this in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries.

Our way of increasing the role of the mass organisations is diametrically opposed to the revisionist way which closes to the working people the possibility of participating in the management of the economy and the whole life of the country. It is at the same time opposed to the way advocated by the various leftist tendencies and liberal revisionists, who deprive the masses of the possibility of uniting their revolutionary forces and energies into a single current under the leadership of the working class and of its truly revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist vanguard party, to overthrow the oppressive bourgeois order and build a new order - socialism and communism.¹⁾

* * *

The direct participation of the working class in the affairs of management will keep increasing the more our socialist society advances towards communism, the more the political, ideological, educational and technical training of the class and of the people in general is raised, and the more our Party of Labour inspires, directs and organizes this revolutionary process.

Our revolutionary experience of the leading role of the working class and of the active participation of the masses

in running the country and in socialist construction, under the leadership of the party, is constantly being enriched. The revolutionary initiatives, actions and movements which are continually taking place in our country and are inspired and organized by the party, provide a great factual and concrete material, on the basis of which we can make generalisations and draw valuable conclusions for the theory and practice of the development of the society towards complete socialism and communism.

The ardent discussions which burst forth among the workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, students, etc. after the 6th Congress of the PLA as well as after comrade Enver Hoxha's speech in Mat, the critical remarks, creative views, the jud-

gement by the masses of the work of the party organisation, of the leading cadres and other employees have given a rich experience which must be studied carefully in order to draw conclusions and adopt concrete measures for the continual application on a wider scale of the democracy of masses.

This revolutionary upsurge of our working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the whole of our people, face us, the workers of social sciences, and the organs of the party, of the state, the economy etc., with the task of delving still deeper into the study of this experience, of the new objective phenomena and tendencies of the development of our socialist society, so that the social sciences may more effectively help the prac-

tice of the full construction of socialism in Albania.

1) *It is known that a field of great principled and practical importance is that of party-working class relations with the dictatorship of the proletariat (as a state). I did not dwell on this aspect of the problem, inasmuch as more detailed studies and broader discussions will take place on this question during the drafting of the new Constitution of our People's Republic. This does no mean that the reports and communications to be delivered at this conference will not touch on directions and practices of the exercise of the working class control over the state administrative, economic and social apparatuses.*

Right To Pension - A Victory For The Cooperativist Peasantry

**The Establishment Of Pensions
In The Countryside Will Exert a Great
Influence On Forming And Strengthening
Socialist Concepts About The Very
Life In The Countryside**

by TEODOR STERJO

*TEODOR STERJO - Economist, head of section at the Institute of Economic Studies
under the Council of Ministers of the PR of Albania.*

The Party of Labour of Albania, as in all the questions of socialist construction, has also worked out and implemented a correct revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line in the direction of the socialist transformation of the countryside. Acting in this way, the Party continues to respond properly to the tasks of the socialist revolution, the interests of the development of the countryside and, in general, of the entire national economy and culture. In every stage of the development of the Albanian countryside, our Party of Labour has set the main political and economic tasks and, with unmatched skill and ability, continues to lead the cooperativist labouring masses for their successful implementation.

The new relations of production established in the socialist countryside have resulted in radical changes in the world outlook of the peasantry, in the emergence of new thoughts and concepts, in the growth of confidence in the superiority of the socialist system of work and collective property. The peasantry continues to be interested in further socialization of the means of production within the framework of group ownership, in a greater development of the indivisible fund which ensures the further improvement of the relations of production in a revolutionary way parallel with the raising of its material and cultural standards.

In this whole process, the conscientious work of the working peasantry, its mobilization and determination to build the new socialist life in the countryside, constitute the basis of the growth of social production and wellbeing in the countryside. But here we also have the other inseparable aspect of the problem which is of great importance - that of the allout aid the socialist state has given and continues to give to the countryside, the management of the countryside by the socialist state. In this framework, our workers' and peasants State has gradually adopted a series of measures in the direction of the economic and social development of the countryside, such as the measures for the development of education and culture, for the development of the health service, trade, transport, and community services, which continue to play a very positive role in raising living standards in the countryside.

It must be borne in mind that prior to the establishment of the people's power the peasantry lived in complete poverty, under the most savage oppression and exploitation; illiteracy reigned everywhere; malaria and other diseases were raging. Within less than three decades the Albanian countryside underwent radical transformations, and assumed an impetuous and quick development. Today, the new socialist life is flourishing in the countryside. Not only are the social and cultural projects new and well-equipped, but the homes of the cooperativists are in general well built and newly furnished, in the same way as in the city. Electric light, the light of the Party, today illumines our socialist countryside. Parallel with this, the motor road network in the countryside is expanding and improving; the telephone network is also extending, radios have spread on a mass scale and now television sets are also being introduced. Health, social-cultural and service institutions are widespread. Every village has its own 8-grade school and many of them also have middle schools. Under these conditions and at this level of development of the countryside, our Party of Labour, with its revolutionary clarity and farsightedness, adopted another very important measure – that of establishing pensions for the cooperativist peasantry too. Some time ago, some economically strong agricultural cooperatives, on their own initiative and with their own funds, had established old age pensions, though in an embryonic form. The Party of Labour of Albania highly appraised these initiatives as positive and of a deep ideological, economic and social content. As far back as at its 5th Congress the Party hailed these initiatives and pointed out the great principles in the agricultural cooperatives, adhering to the revolutionary principle of self-reliance. After the 5th Congress of the PLA these initiatives were broadened, extending to more agricultural cooperatives, but always in the framework of the economic power of each cooperative and with different criteria; thus, in a decentralized way.

Under these circumstances the establishment of various pensions in a centralized manner in all the country's agricultural cooperatives became an imperative necessity. This is a measure stemming

from the socialist order itself, which is directly connected with the wellbeing of the cooperativist peasantry, with the further strengthening of its alliance with the working class, a measure aimed at and resulting in the narrowing of the differences between the countryside and the towns. In conformity with this, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the RP of Albania approved the decree on the establishment of pensions in the countryside, and the Council of Ministers of the PR of Albania issued concrete instructions for the implementation of the decree which came into force on July 1, 1972.

How was the adoption of such a measure, with large proportions and extending to a large population made possible? The road followed by the Party necessarily leads to the realisation of the supreme aim – increasingly better fulfilment of the material and cultural needs of the labouring masses. The correct policy pursued by the Party in the all-out development of our socialist countryside has resulted in the extension and strengthening of the collective economy, in the increase of the incomes of the cooperativists, in the guaranteeing of extended socialist reproduction in agriculture and the continual improvement of the material and cultural standards of the peasantry. Parallel with this, the forms of socialist organisation of work and production, have been further improved which in turn contributes to the further increase of production. Thus, under the conditions in which the agricultural cooperatives have been economically and organisationally strengthened and agricultural production has increased in considerable proportions, when the incomes of the cooperativists are stable and when the number of elderly men and women eligible for pensions has increased, the establishment of pensions in a centralized way in the entire cooperativist countryside became a necessity and the Party and the Government gave the best and most timely solution to this problem.

What are the characteristic features of the law on the extension of pensions to the cooperativist peasantry?

Pensions are established in the cooperativist countryside relying first and foremost on one's own efforts. This is done through the redistribution of the consumer funds of the agricultural cooperatives

themselves, without affecting extended reproduction, the level of incomes per head per work day, and without hindering the gradual transition to guaranteed wages. – Redistribution is carried out between the incomes of the lowland and the hilly and mountainous areas, strengthening the solidarity and mutual aid between the cooperativist peasants.

– In conformity with the criteria established for the working people who are employed by the State, we have envisaged the gradual transition, with the gaining of experience and the further economic and organisational strengthening of the agricultural cooperatives, to more developed forms, in more favourable conditions for the members of agricultural cooperatives, up to an equality and unification of the criteria which are applied today with regard to the workers.

– In the way pensions have been established for the cooperativist peasantry, they constitute an economic security for the livelihood of the member of the agricultural cooperative, which is based on the evaluation of the work and contribution made by each person to the building of socialist society.

– Under the law on pensions for the countryside the cooperativists receive old age pension, invalidity pensions and family pensions.

According to the law, in order to be eligible for an old age pension, two conditions are specified: age and length of service in the cooperative or in other jobs which the law considers equal. This age is 65 years for men and 55 years for women. Thus, the age for men is 5 years higher than the age stipulated by the law on pensions for factory and office workers. Certainly, this age difference will be temporary which is justified both by the need for manpower in the countryside at present, and by the possibilities for men in the countryside to work up to this age. In this aspect the law favours women, and this is fully correct. For a full pension the length of service required is 25 years for men and 20 years for women, whereas for a half pension only half this length of service is required. As an exception, and with a view to helping those cooperatives created after 1965 which are mainly in mountainous areas, the decree reduces the length of service required for half pension to 10 years

for men and 8 years for women. Taking into account the special features of work time in agricultural cooperatives, the law establishes the annual rate of work days for men at 280 work days and for women at 230 work days.

Our patriotic peasantry were an important base of the national liberation struggle. They took up arms en masse in the struggle against the foreign invaders and local traitors, they shared their daily bread with the liberation forces and their homes became bases and lodgings for the valiant partisans. Thus, the period of participation in the national liberation struggle is counted in the length of service of every cooperativist, as is the period of obligatory military service, periods of temporary disablement over 30 days, pregnancy and child birth leave and any period of disability of the first and second categories.

The old age pension is calculated at the rate of 50 per cent of the average income of the cooperative member during 5 years in succession, within the last 10 years of his work, of course remaining within the minimum and maximum bounds envisaged by law.

Disability pensions are available to cooperativists who have completely lost the ability to work, and these are divided into the first category accounting for 60 per cent of previous income and the second group at 50 percent of the previous income of the cooperativist. When disability has been caused by an accident at work or occupational illness length of service is not a requirement whereas on other occasions the law takes into account age and length of service, envisaging differentiations in the rate of allowance.

- The family pension is available to family members unable to work and who have been dependent on a deceased member of the agricultural cooperative or pensioner. Members of a family can receive a family pension if the person supporting them dies while a worker in the cooperative or if he is eligible for a disability pension. The law names all those who are eligible for family pensions, such as children, grand children adopted and other children under the age of 15 years or up to the age of 25 years if still attending school without a scholarship, or even older if they have become unfit for work before reaching this age, parents, adoptive pa-

rents, spouse, step-mother and step-father, grandfather, grandmother, etc., of course at the ages stipulated by law and as long as no other person is obliged to support them. A child receives a family pension when one parent dies even when the other parent is employed or receives a pension.

The family pension, when received by only one family member amounts to 30 per cent of the monthly income realized during the last three years of work to 40 per cent when received by two family members and to 50 per cent for three and more members. Here, too, the law envisages maximum and minimum limits. The law stipulates that in the case of a person being eligible for two types of pension, the person concerned chooses which pension he will receive.

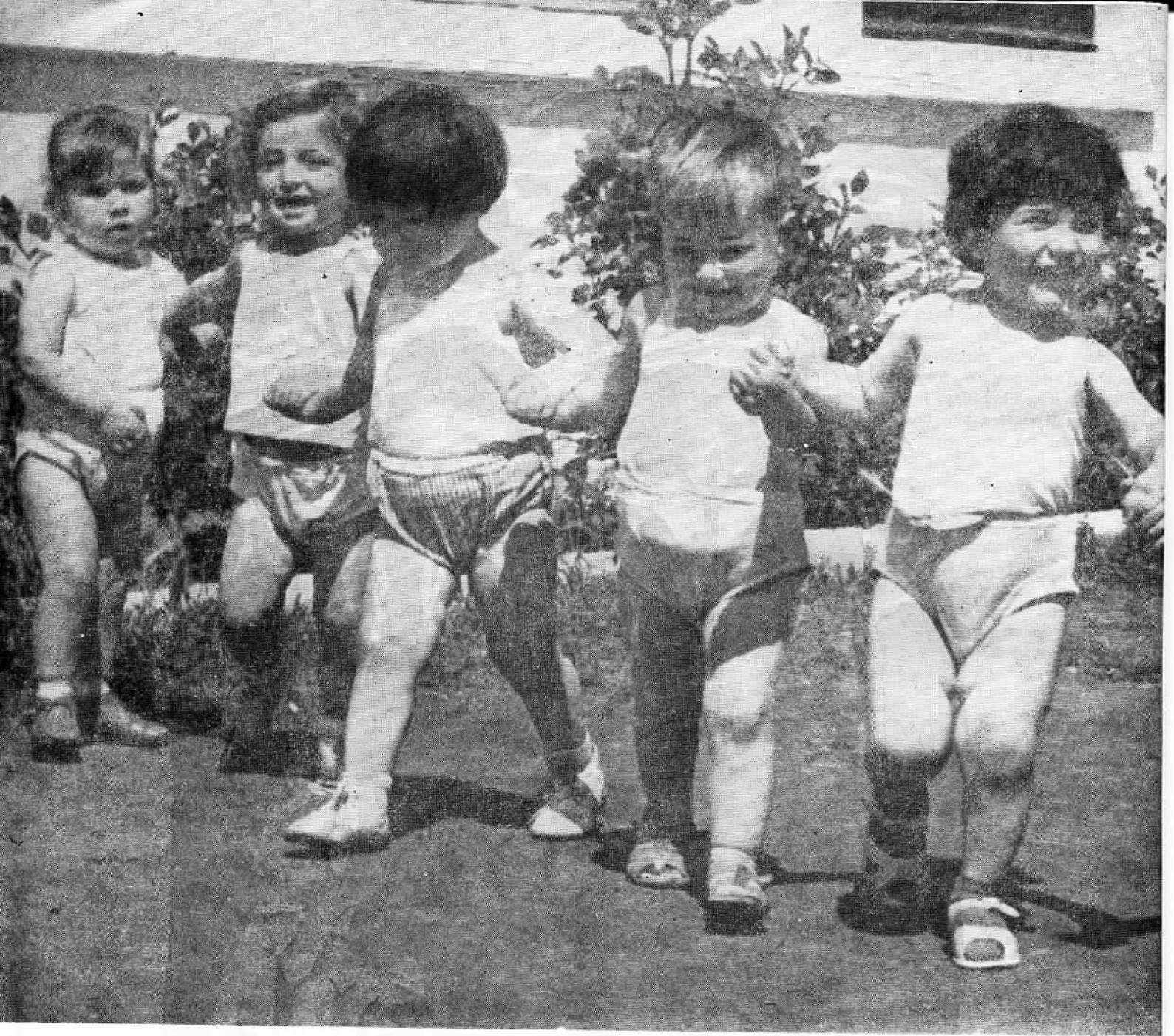
It is obvious that the criteria on which various pensions are calculated for the cooperativist peasantry are quite advanced ones and have been established under more favourable conditions than the original criteria applied to factory and office workers. At the beginning the age for men was 65 years and for women 60 years and the rate of compensation was 33-50 per cent. In a subsequent period the sum increased to 50-60 percent and later, to the current rate of 70 percent.

The decree on the establishment of pensions in the countryside is of great ideological, political and socio-economic importance. The establishment of pensions in the countryside will exert a great influence on the formation and strengthening of new concepts about life in the countryside because, from the viewpoint of the development of the relations of production, the cooperativist village is raised to a higher level, coming gradually nearer to that of the city. This measure will without fail lead to the further strengthening of the alliance of the working class and labouring peasantry. Thus, from the ideological viewpoint, this measure will bring about a further rise of the material and cultural level of the cooperativists, the consolidation of the families and family relations in the countryside. Consequently, the cooperativist will be more attached to his work and life in the countryside, will increase his participation in work and will work with greater revolutionary optimism in order to proceed with more

rapid strides on the road of the modernisation of extended socialist production. This measure will contribute still further to the improvement of the material living conditions of the cooperativists. Henceforth every cooperativist will enjoy the fruit of his work not only when he is young and able-bodied, but also when he becomes disable due to illness or old age. Thanks to his work, the cooperativist will be guaranteed the necessary material means even after becoming unable to work.

The establishment of pensions in the countryside in a centralized manner, with the aid of the State, as well as the unification of the criteria for these pensions and aid on the part of the agricultural cooperatives themselves, constitute another important stride in the all-out development of our socialist countryside and in the gradual narrowing of the essential differences between the countryside and the towns. In the future, with the creation of the conditions and the accumulation of experience we shall move towards the establishment of a complete social security system in the countryside, in its full complexity.

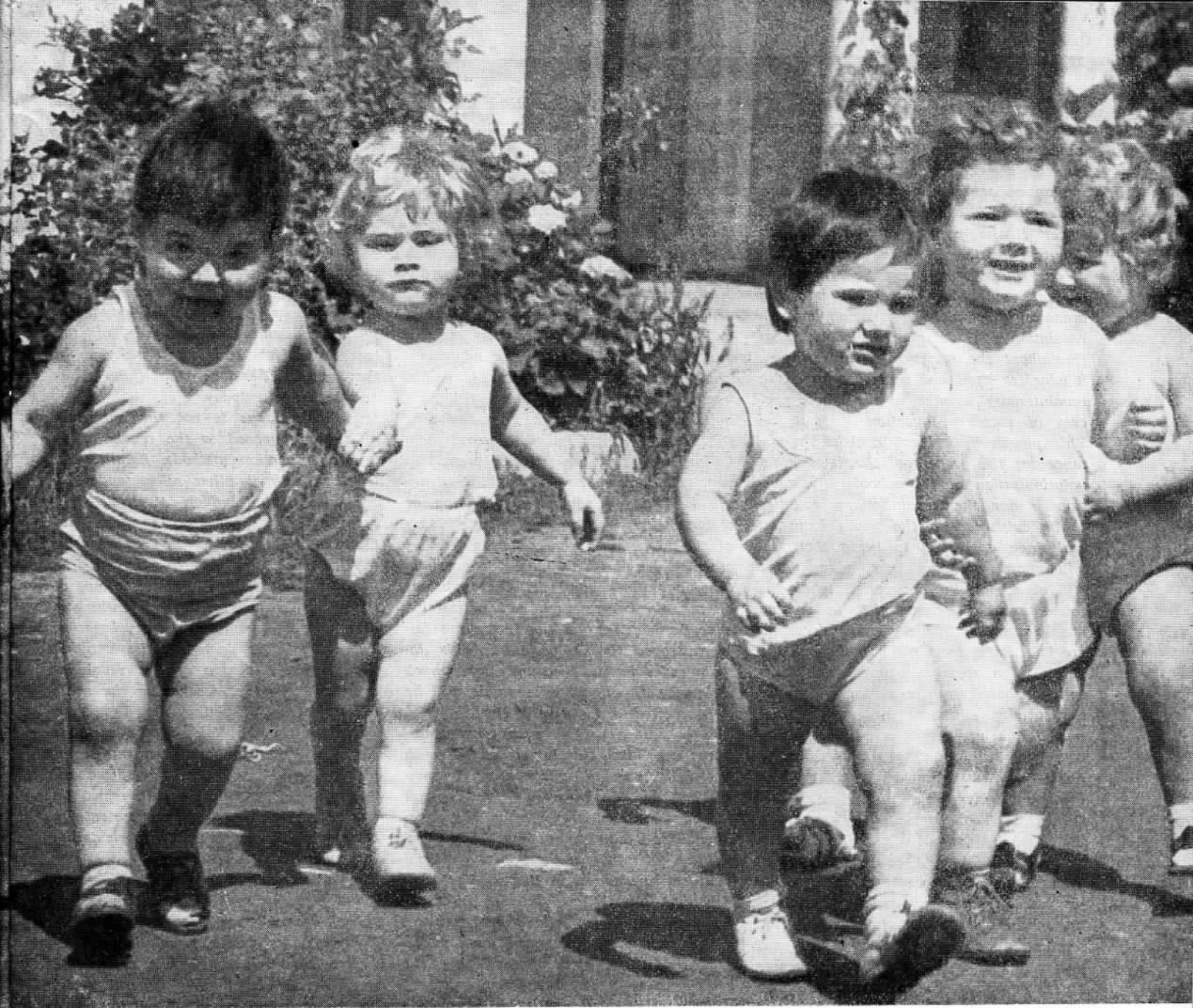




Children in Albania grow up healthy and happy

Revolutionisation Of Teach

**The Youth Of A Socialist Country
Must And Can, From The School Benches,
Grow Active And Independent, Courageous And
Unhesitating, And Having Initiative**



ching Methods In School

by **HAMIT BEQJA**

I

In the framework of the deepening of the socialist revolution in Albania, in all fields of national life, including our socialist school, people are actively dis-

cussing and working for the revolutionisation of teaching methods in school. What dictates and determines this problem?

The all-out revolutionisation of the country's life involves all classes and sections

of our socialist society. This is strongly felt especially by youth, as an active social force vitally interested in the consolidation and deepening of all our socialist gains, in fighting everything stale and backward that hinder its revolution-

nary impetus, and in smashing every alien bourgeois and revisionist influence aimed at curbing this revolutionary impetus and corroding the healthy formation of our youth.

Under these conditions, as comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 6th Congress of the PLA, the entire youth of our country, including the school and student youth, has come out into the arena of ideological class struggle as a revolutionizing, driving and shock force throughout the society. In this struggle it educates itself and serves as an active revolutionary ferment in the whole process of socialist education.

This phenomenon is of decisive importance for the process of the further revolutionisation of the school. The question is for the revolutionary qualities to be cultivated in the youth from an early age, for them to bring their revolutionary energies into play while still at school, in that period when the foundations of communist upbringing and education of the rising generation are laid. Right from the school-room, the youth of a socialist country, which is fully included in the various links of the socialist education system, can and must grow up active and independent, courageous, unhesitating and with initiative. These qualities, if not developed from an early age, if suppressed and curbed at school, have difficulty in bursting forth impetuously and freely later, in broad social life.

This makes the importance of the process of the further revolutionisation of the school and of the whole complex of teaching and education methods still more evident. Still more obvious become the importance of the revolutionisation of educational work in the original and narrow meaning of the term and of the entire educational activity carried out by the school and the family, the educational institutions and social organisations, and which is also realized through the influence of broad social opinion.

2

Against whom is the revolutionisation of education methods directed? Who hinders this process?

This problem is not only a pedagogical one. In the first place it is a broad social problem of a marked ideopolitical character.

The pedagogical conservatism and traditionalism which are observable in education methods not only in the family, but also at school and in society, are in the first place a heritage of the remnants of social conservatism, conservative customs, and the old patriarchal education, characteristic of a backward country which did not even go through the stage of developed capitalism, which had a marked petty-bourgeois character and embarked on the road of socialist development without being able to get rid of many institutions and traditions of the old feudo-bourgeois world. The all-out socialist revolution, the creation of new socialist relations, the realisation of the ideological and cultural revolution and its penetration into the family, the struggle for the all round emancipation of woman and youth, the disintegration of the patriarchal family and a host of other profound revolutionary transformations have hit heavily at the traditions of the old conservative and patriarchal education, but as yet they have not fully destroyed them. The old in this domain cedes its positions only with much resistance, therefore the struggle will be a protracted and difficult one.

The conservative and patriarchal traditions are also closely connected with the influences of pedagogical bureaucratism, of officialism in teacher-pupil relations and of formalism in the development of educational work. The influence of the authoritarian official bourgeois pedagogy in the pre-liberation Albanian school was strong. After liberation our school underwent perceptible revolutionary transformations in this field, too, also appropriating the positive experience of the Soviet school of the period prior to the usurpation of state power by the revisionists. However, as is known, the Soviet school was unable to free itself from the influence of the intellectualism and bureaucratism of bourgeois pedagogy. At that time, too, it was suffering from the division of the process of education from revolutionary practice. Thus, our new school too, to a certain extent, was unable to escape these influences.

But we cannot view pedagogical bureaucratism and officialism as detached from the influences of bureaucratism in the entire state and social life. The revolutionisation of educational methods can only be carried out successfully on the

general ground of the struggle against bureaucratism, of the application of the mass line and of socialist democracy in action in the entire life of our society.

As a result of the interaction of all these phenomena of a social, political, ideological and pedagogical character in educational work with the youth within and outside the school, there are still manifestations of tutelage, of bureaucracy and pedantry on the part of the teachers which curb the initiative of the youth. Therefore, the fight it is on the agenda today.

But this tutelage is not the only manifestation opposed to the revolutionisation of education methods. Parallel and together with it other alien tendencies are also acting which at first sight seem opposed. They are the manifestations of indifferentism and spontaneity in the work for the education of the younger generation, manifestations of liberalism as well as various influences of a bourgeois and revisionist character. These tendencies aim at disorientating the youth, at suppressing its revolutionary spirit and at weakening the spirit of proletarian discipline.

Therefore, in the field of the methods of the education of youth too, our struggle is being waged in two directions - against conservative and bureaucratic traditionalism, and against present-day bourgeois and revisionist disorientating influences.

The adoption and consolidation of revolutionary methods of education in our school are also conditioned by the difficulties of its growth. Revolutionary educational methods can by no means be viewed only from their general social and ideopolitical aspect. They are based on modern psychology and pedagogy, on modern science in general. Therefore, it is necessary for teachers, pedagogues and all educators to master modern teaching and education methods. However, under our conditions of an exceptionally impetuous quantitative development of people's education at all its levels, its relative qualitative backwardness manifests itself in the still low degree of qualification of the educational personnel and in the weaknesses and shortcomings of teaching and education methods. Thus, the ideopolitical aspect of the problem is also closely interconnected with the professional one.



Mariana Eski - Elsa (linoleum)

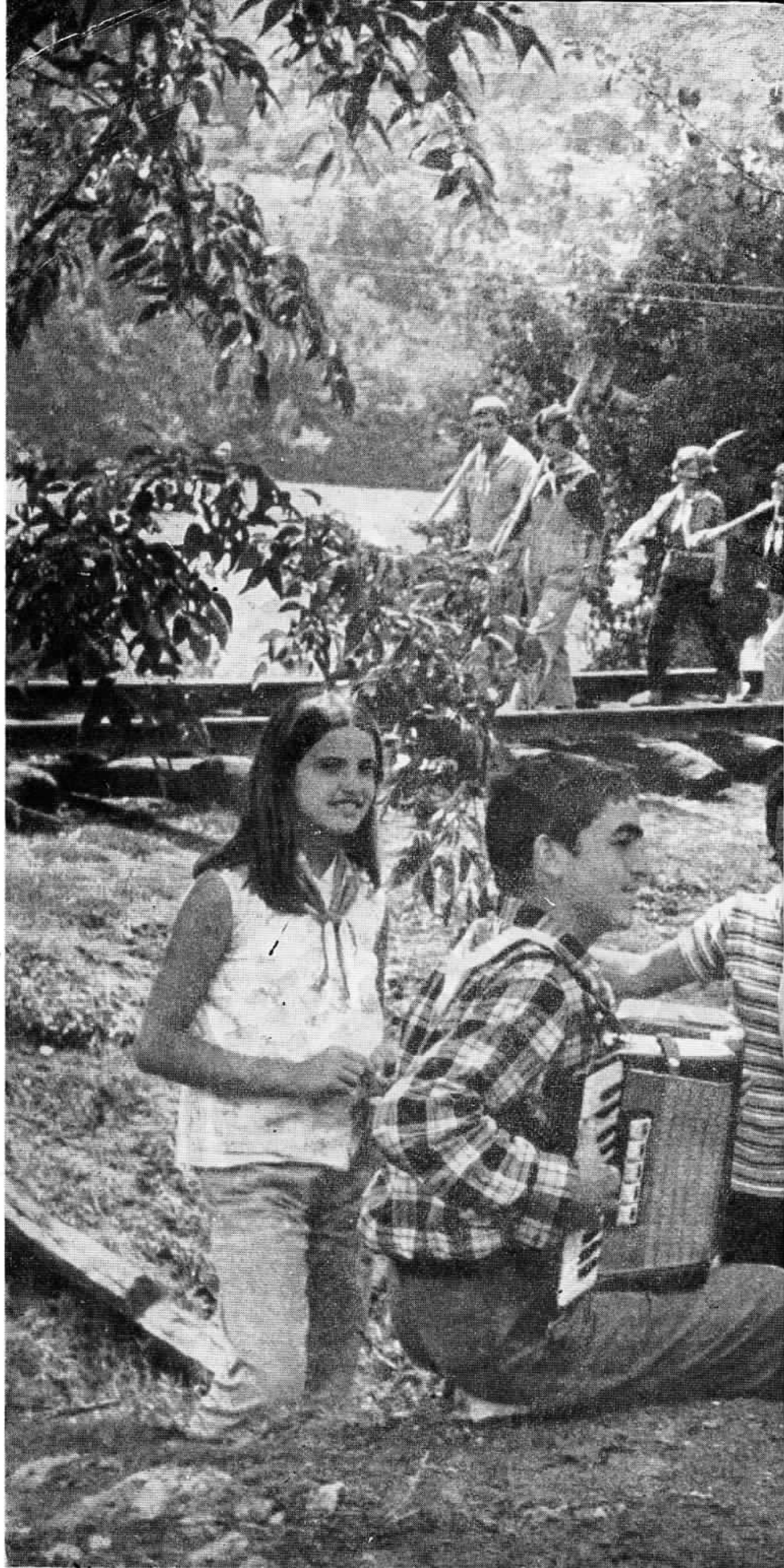
In what directions are we actually fighting today within and outside the school to carry forward the process of the revolutionisation of the methods of educating the school and student youth?

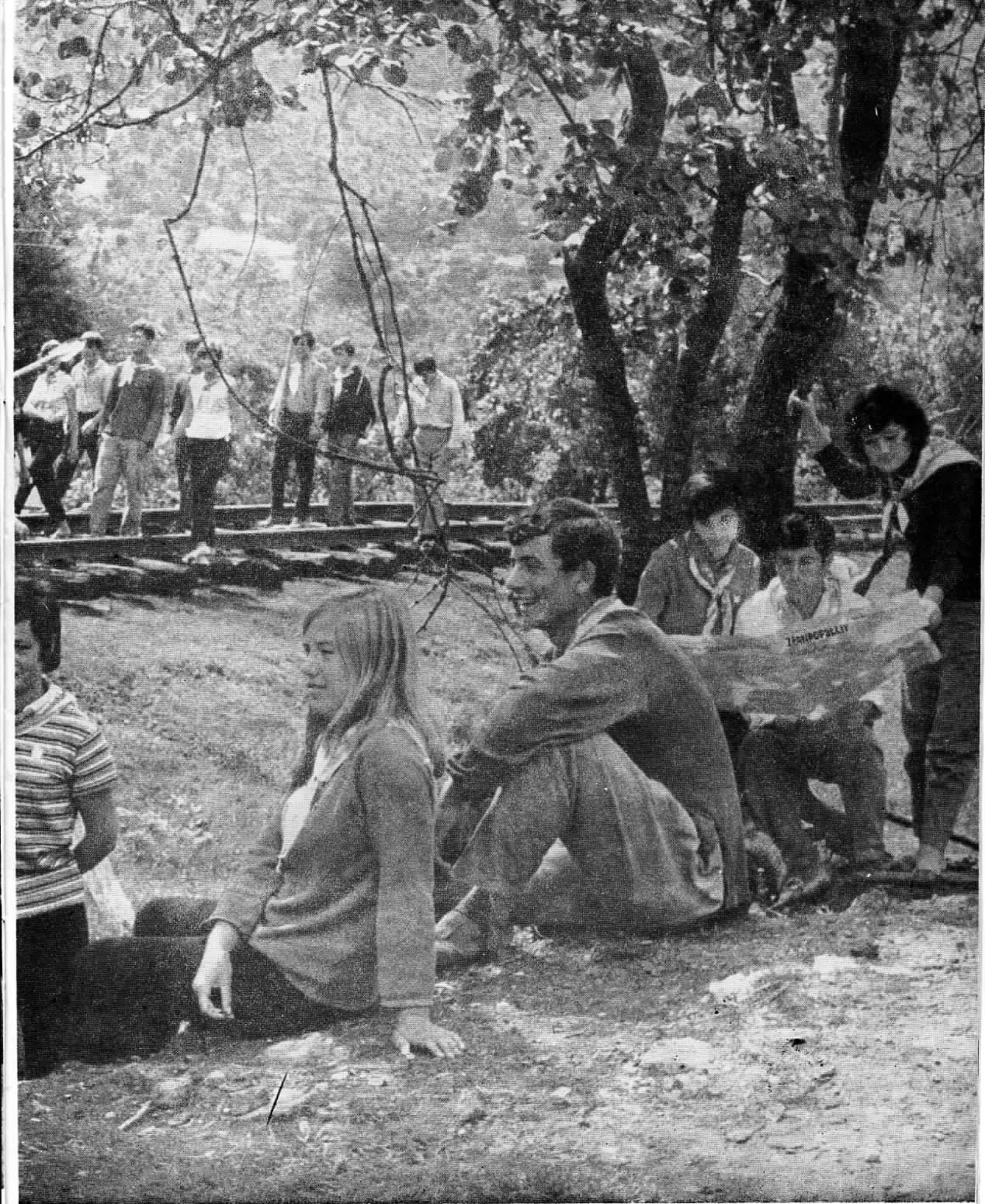
This process is realized through the transformation of the whole complex of teaching and education methods, through their further improvement and all-out revolutionisation, in struggle against intellectualism and pedantry, against the separation of education from life and revolutionary practice, against pedagogical formalism and bureaucratism, and against passivity on the part of the pupils in the process of teaching and education, relinquishing those mechanical and obsolete methods which suppress their personality, and using more active and lively methods. But these changes can only be successfully realized on the ground of the all-out revolutionisation of the school; especially of the content of its teaching and educative work, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist ideological axis, of the permeation of all the teaching disciplines and educational activities by the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

A premise for this is the organisation of teaching-educational work on the basis of the unity of the lesson, productive work and physical and military education, which is consistently realized particularly, in the middle and higher schools. On this basis, the teaching and education process is not confined within the school walls. Active education methods dictated by life and revolutionary practice are used. Alongside the parents and teachers, the workers and peasants, production specialists, military men and so on also have a direct role as educators.

The increasingly broader and more active participation of the pupils and students in political and social life and in the ideological actions of the times also serves this purpose. It is precisely this participation which turns the school and student youth out into the arena of the class and ideological struggle as a revo-

Students, young voluntary builders of the railway, at rest





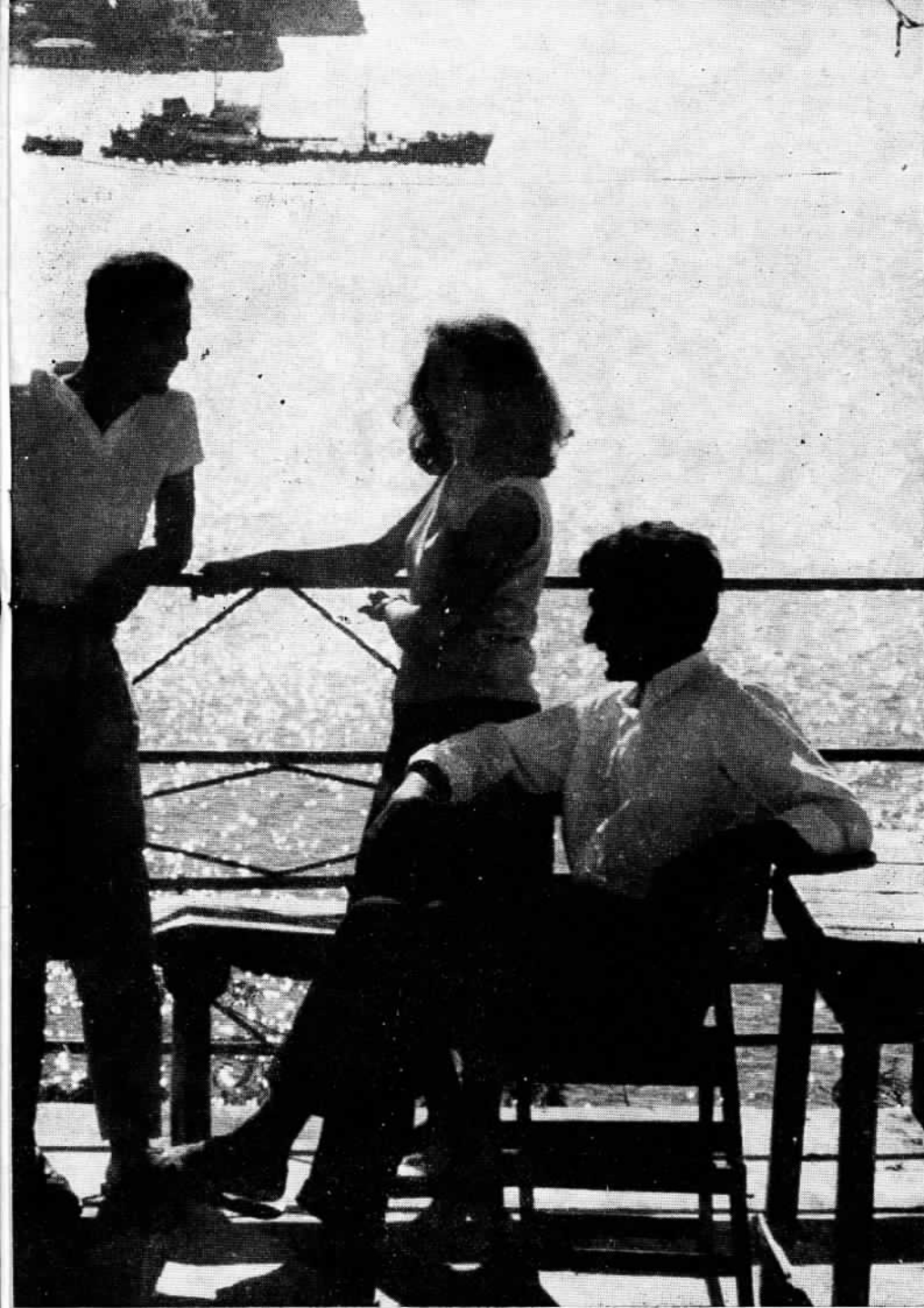


lutionizing shock force on the scale of the entire society. This has been proved particularly through the ideological actions carried out in struggle against religious prejudices and backward customs,

for the emancipation of the young women and against various bourgeois and revisionist influences. In this spirit, ideological action against manifestations and remnants of petty-bourgeois ideology

and psychology is being successfully carried out at present. This whole struggle greatly enhances the personality of the school and student youth and creates the premises to relinquish pedagogical tu-

Workers enjoying the sunset at the Uji i Ftohtë rest home in Vlora.



authoritarianism in teacher-pupils relations. Due to the reasons analyzed above, in our school, too, the teacher was regarded without questions as infallible and beyond reproach. This creates soil for the establishment of a mechanical discipline at school and a formal external, authority of the teacher, it paved the way for technocratism, it hindered the implementation of the mass line at school, suppressed the personality of the pupils and students and their political and social organisations, and did not create possibilities for democratic debates and methods in solving school problems.

Now we are striving to overcome this bureaucratic routine. The pupils and students, jointly with the teachers, actively discuss all the problems of school life, make suggestions and remarks, and even criticism. For this purpose, in addition to meetings, they make extensive use of flash posters.

In these ways we are also accumulating new theoretical and practical experience in the field of the revolutionisation of education methods. The content and methods of socialist revolutionary pedagogy are thus being enriched.

telage over it, and conservative and bureaucratic methods of education. This struggle greatly animates the youth and young pioneer organisations in schools in particular, adding to their personality and

influence and helping them to eliminate formalism and bureaucratism.

Important transformations in education methods are also being brought about by the struggle against officialism and

HAMID BEQJA - profesor, specialist in problems of pedagogy and psychology.

Folklore Science In Albania

**Certain Problems Of Albanian Folklore
About Its Enrichment And Evolution During
The National Liberation Struggle And The Period
Of Socialist Construction**

by prof. ZIHNI SAKO

Our people, known as undaunted fighter for the defence of their fatherland and freedom, are also a great and genial creator of a very rich culture. With their abilities, they have expressed themselves, in high art and profound thinking, about all the spheres of life.

Through mythological narratives and poems about the heroes and muses, rites and songs of spring time and new year, about stock-raising and agricultural work, through all sorts of songs and dances, rhapsodies about heroes, family and so-

ZIHNI SAKO, writer, professor, Director of the Institute of folklore, winner of the Republic's prize for the corpus of Albanian folklore.

VELO 61



Meks Velo – Folk song in south (Tush)

cial ballads, the countless historical legends and songs, with their social and family lyricism, proverbs and tales, they have drawn the great picture of their history, of their desires and efforts for the most cherished things – fatherland, freedom and life. By their polyphonic songs, flute and lahutë melodies they have accompanied the most various events of their life and history, their work and uninterrupted struggle against oppression, for social justice, to get rid of the chains of slavery, of backwardness and ignorance.

With his folklore creations the Albanian has sung his lofty virtues, his joys, he has complained about his troubles, has nourished hatred against his enemies, has hit the vices. Also under the most unfavourable conditions of the antipopular regimes and foreign invaders, our people, although left in darkness, were able to create a colossal artistic treasure. Only a people with a great spiritual world and with a high artistic taste could create epicolyrical rhapsodies as the one about «Gjergj Elez Alia», or about the marriage of Halil,

the ballad about «Halil Garria», legends like those expressing the epoch of the national hero – Scanderbeg, or the songs about the 1920 Vlora battle and about the events of years of 1939-1944, about the Vigu heroes, the hero Kajan Karafili, the first shock Brigade, Mali Pipa, and, in the years of socialist construction, the songs about comrade Enver Hoxha's speech at the Peace Conference, at the Moscow Conference for the exposure of Khrushchevism, for the exposure of the Warsaw Treaty, etc.

of Rajca, the Dibra dances, the dances of the Tropoya girls, the wedding dance of Gjirokastra, the partisan dance. Outstanding patriots and passionate well-wishers, in spite of the difficult conditions in which our country was, as well before as during its independence period, by their researches made a valuable contribution both to the amassing of folklore creations and to their publication.

The movement for research and the publication of our folklore took shape as a political and cultural phenomenon in



vel
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Maks Velo – Folk dance of north (Tush)

Our people have created an as much rich popular music with an amazing diversity, the thrivings of which are countless. The polyphonic music of the South, the folk instrument melodies, the homophonic melodies of the North constitute an invaluable treasure which shows that only a people with fine feelings can create such beauties and dynamic rythms such as those of the Gorarçe dance, of Osman Taka, of the Cham dances, of the Shishtavec dances, those of the women

the conditions of the growth of the national movement, at the beginnings of the XIX century, in the early period of National Revival. It was guided by well defined national aims and was presented as a local positive phenomenon which expanded in the long run. Proceeding mainly from linguistic interests there were also foreign albanologists who engaged in the collection, publication and study of the folklore creations of our people.

But in the folklore of the years before and after the proclamation of independence a series of restrictions also strikes one's eye. Within it one runs across tendencies, however limited, in viewing the folklore creativeness outside of the class positions and social environments and historical conditions giving rise to it, etc. The research work in the field of folklore before the triumph of the people's revolution was in general of an amateur spontaneous character, it was not scientifically well organized.

The Albanian folklore, as a real scientific discipline, was set up and developed in the fold of the albanological sciences mainly after the liberation. The Party and the people's regime showed a special care since the early post-liberation years for the development of the studies in the field of folklore and for the organization of the research work for a better acquaintance with and the use of folklore in service of the creation and flourishing of the new socialist culture.

Our folklore engaged in the reorganisation, in the first stage, of the folklore research work on scientific bases, which made it possible to set up, as far back as in the year 1960, the archives of Albanian folklore with a very rich fund of oral, musical and choreographic creations.

Another success of our folklore are its numerous publications. In the years 1951-1958 there were realized mainly anthological publications, in which there were applied new ideological and scientific principles and criteria. In the sixties the systematic publication of the treasures of oral literature, folk musical and choreographic creations began.

The national liberation struggle was an historical event which marked the greatest turning-point in the life of our people because it brought them to power and paved the way to socialist construction.

The masses that participated in the national liberation struggle brought with them their folklore heritage, but they created also the new folklore song. The new partisan folk songs which expressed the ideals of the national liberation struggle were widely spread everywhere. A new content penetrated in them, although the folk songs continued the «local» tradition of the poetical, musical and choreographic creations called «rural», the traditional and innovating elements were interlaced. Another form of the revolutionary folk songs was the «urban» song created by partisan authors and composers, which was approaching the folk song mainly with its literary content rather than with the musical element. At this time, parallel with the folk art there was developed with the partisan units also the individual and collective amateur art. The revolutionary «city» songs and the amateur art positively influenced the elevation of the level of esthetic tastes of the popular masses.

But the evolution and the ideo-esthetic enrichment of the popular song as determined by a series of factors among which it is worth mentioning the important movement of the population from the village to the city, from one region to another, from the agricultural and highland areas to the industrial and lowland areas, the creation of new industrial centres and new cities, the narrowing of regional differences and the extension of cultural and artistic communication on a national scale, etc., which played a positive role in the strengthening of the unity of progressive culture. But the most important and decisive factor has been the socialist

revolutionary transformations. The socialist industrialization of the country, the collectivization of the countryside, the construction of the economic bases of socialism and the liquidation of the exploiting classes, the cultural and ideological revolution, the increase of the material and cultural wellbeing of the labouring masses of the city and the village, the narrowing of the essential differences between the city and the countryside, etc., have been essential factors which could not fail to leave deep traces in the whole oral, musical and choreographic literary creativeness of the people. The most important phenomenon in the process of the evolution of the folk song is the ever more powerful development of a new innovating content, which is consolidating its positions on the folklore heritage.

But, while the revolutionary ideology with the new folklore creations energetically operates in replacing the old content, in the direction of the form the problem appears more complicated because the form evolves slowly, it reposes on the strength of the many-century long national tradition. The positive folklore tradition came also in the period of socialist construction in an active manner jointly with the songs of the national liberation struggle. In this way, the traditional song with its forms continues to live also in the folklore of the socialist epoch.

The processes that influence the enrichment and evolution of folklore have existed also in the past. But the changes that have taken place in our folklore in the course of the national liberation struggle and which are occurring during socialist construction, are deeper than ever. They show that the popular source, continuing its existence, is adapting itself to the new socialist social order. In the development of folklore after liberation one sees that, alongside the traditional epic songs, the songs of the epoch of the national liberation struggle, the songs of the epoch of socialist construction began to predominate; but even in these songs traditions appears to be powerful.

In conceiving this phenomenon our folklore proceeds from the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha who has pointed out that «Innovation must never be equalized with the negation of tradition», that «it is a mistake to conceive innovation as a fight against tradition».

At the present time the bearers and creators of folklore have grown both ideologically and from the viewpoint of general culture, they have become more conscious of their creative artistic activity, contributing more actively to the selection of the folklore heritage regarding its content and form. The majority of them were born in the years 1930-1950, that is they grew and were formed during the period of the struggle for the building of socialism. This generation, educated by the Party during the national liberation struggle, plays the main role in the development of the new folklore while this evolution is impossible to be understood without also the contribution of the older generation which has lived the epoch of people's revolution.

Being enriched with new ideas, our folklore worked out also a whole system of artistic expressive means which give a great artistic value to present-day folklore, which have formed within it a special artistic style. This new style is seen as well in the form of presenting reality as in the execution of melodies and dances. Thus, for instance, within

the folklore song of the national liberation struggle there were renovated convenient stylistic means, more beautiful, to express the new type of patriotism: «Onward courageous men, fight for Albania, till we gain freedom and liquidate slavery, for the peasants and workers».

In the period of socialist construction the Fatherland is for the popular rhapsodist a «star in the world», a «hydropower station», that «emits rays». These poetic figurations, the figurative epithets of «star» and «hydropower station» for the notion of «fatherland» express the new political and ideological meaning and, without being hostile to tradition, they are adapted to this new meaning of Fatherland.

The diversity of themes has given to the popular creation a very great poetic and artistic treasure by which it is responding with dignity to the objective reality our people have created and are creating with every passing day. The internal world of the bearers and creators of the popular song, filled with optimistic and enthusiastic impressions, is nurtured no more by individualism but by the joy of life and of the common, collective work. The poetry of the new songs with a politico-social content has been dictated by the joy of the socialist life, by the revolutionary romanticism and the firm belief of the people in a brighter future. A new image of the beauty of the woman has been crystallized in the new lyricism which does not sing to the woman as it did once, to the romantic «girl friend» on pasture-ground, but to the woman marching in equality with the man in all the fields of social life. In this lyricism we are given a heroic picture of her activity («Both in work and in struggle. We see her hand everywhere.»); she is called a «companion», who gives birth to and brings up sons and daughters for the «new world».

The heroes of the songs of the national liberation struggle are presented with great simplicity, without burdened decorations.

The new folklore is distinguished by its typical generalizing force, by its vital veracity, its ideological tendentiousness. New artistic expressions of popular poetry have developed in accordance with the new ideas. Such is the meaning of the tendency of the evolution and extension of the refrains. The refrain of the known song «Hail Party» of the group of men of Ehzit, Zagoria, and of the group of the women of Tragjas, Vlora, has given both to the text and melody a force responding to the content it treats of. The mixed dances, which have now assumed a mass character, have increased the diversity of melodic and rhythmic figures, they have harmoniously interlaced the data of their physical particularities with their common feelings and ideals.

These are some ideoartistic features of the new folklore appearing in the process of its development and reflecting the new conditions in which the labouring masses live in our socialist country. The evolution of our new folklore is a direct denial of those reactionary theoretical concepts which call folklore an artistic activity of only «ignorant» people, of the «illiterate» and primitive and backward persons, of the peoples of «low breeds»; it is a flat denial of those viewpoints prophesying the complete disappearance of any kind of popular collective creativeness. In the process of the development of society it occurs that some kinds of various genres disappear.

In this process the fate of some genres in the present conditions in the future, too, will be different. Thus, while the popular songs, especially the one with a politico-social content and some kinds of popular creations such as anecdotes, proverbs, riddles, dances of work, are extensively developing today, some of the kinds of tales, legends, elegies for economic and military emigration, especially the rituals, cannot develop, for they can by no means conform with the people's interests in the conditions created with socialist construction. Likewise, within the genre, too, new groupings spring up and old ones disappear. But the historic facts show that as genres, with their characteristics and particularities they remain, and in the long run they are transformed, they evaluate, undergo qualitative changes. Anyway, our practice shows that the folklore artistic creativeness continues. There is no doubt that, unlike the capitalist order which has shown a strong hostility towards every form of activating the labouring masses in the artistic creativeness, our socialist social order, which has opened an unlimited field for the blossoming of the creative talent of the people, favours also the development of the collective artistic creativeness, just as it favours the socialist cultivated art.

Industrialization and collectivization, the spreading of culture and progress created suitable conditions for the thriving of the creative abilities of the masses, whose talent is manifested with an amazing force not only in the field of production but also in art. For these reasons, and especially the reliance on the Marxist-Leninist principles of the Party, and of comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, due to the care of the Party and the people's power in the scientific evaluation of this activity of ideo-artistic social importance, our folklore has registered not only a thematic but also an artistic flourishing from the viewpoint of styles and expressive means, which are included both in oral creations and in songs and melodies, in dances and their figurative forms. Therefore, folklore is in position to express and mirror, in its own popular artistic ways, life, feelings, thoughts and aspirations, work in all the fields of socialist construction, in a word the epoch of our prosperous days.

Alongside the cultivated arts and the amateur artistic movement, folklore constitutes an important part of our socialist artistic culture, indeed not only of the peasantry but also of the workers. Rhapsodists of worker situation, such as Xhelal Daka and others, have created the beautiful songs about factories, metallurgists, hydropower stations, etc. The nihilistic stands towards folklore which are expressions of reactionary ideological concepts can do nothing else but suppress the national spirit of art and pave the way to cosmopolitanism.

Under the present conditions of our country, when the cultivated arts and the mass amateur movement are thriving and vigorously developing, we notice many influences on our folklore bringing about new artistic forms which were non-existent in the past. Despite this, our folklore remains always a collective creative activity and a special part with particular features of the general culture of our society. The local festivals, on a district and national scale, have become a great support for the development of our new folklore. The partisan festivities of the groups, battalions, brigades; the festivities on occasion of the setting up of agri-



Also the women of Mirdita highland learn

cultural cooperatives, the heroic youth actions, are important popular manifestations, effective factors for the renovation of traditional folklore and the development of the new one. The positive role of these forms is shown especially by the great national festival of October 16, 1968 which took place

in Gjirokastra and which marked an extraordinary growth of the popular collective creation. The facts of our days convincingly show that in the fold of our culture, the folklore remains a lively collective activity, of great vitality.



The Albanian Cities And Towns

The Albanians
Have Blazed Their Trail
In Centuries, Sword In Hand,
To Defend Their Villages,
Cities And Lives

OSMAN ALLKJA, publicist

History acquaints us with numerous developments in Albania. If these developments today are for the major part broadly documented in the museums and in written records of ancient and modern history, this again has its own reason: Albania has lived through the centuries sword in hand, to defend her villages, cities and her life.

HISTORY AND TIME

*The map of present-day Albania is dotted with ancient and modern cities. About the ancient cities, history has spoken: they were built by men to defend themselves and to produce. The new cities are unknown to history and geography textbooks published 20 years ago. They are present-day creations, with their faces turned towards*the future.*

Aerial view of the Durrës port



...History takes us far back to the VII century B. C. where we find brief and meaningful information.

"...Dyrrach, Apollonia and Butrirot became large cities with a dense population... They were defended by fine, strong walls of chiselled stone. The walls of Apollonia were 4 km. long and surrounded an area of 130 hectares. Dyrrach and Apollonia came to have a population of 40.000-50.000, while Butrirot about 10.000. The source of the fifth and subsequent centuries show that Dyrrach, Apollonia and Butrirot boasted numerous workshops". (History of Albania, part 1, pages 59-61).

But the question of how far back the roots of our cities go still preoccupies historians, geographers, sociologists and economists, and especially architects, archaeologists and albanologists, many of whom agree that it is possible that under the Albanian ground there may be many more ancient cities than we know. Then, without losing time let us talk with our reader about the present-day Albanian cities which are as ancient as they are new. So new, in fact, that a person who has not been in a certain town, big or small, for even five years, asks: "Where am I?!". This question is asked by many foreign friends who visit us for the second or third time. And they are moved by the artistic features of the cities of the country of eagles which never tire the visitor.

Our architects have tasks which are as difficult as they are delicate: to safeguard with loving care these ancient and original features, while meeting the demands of the time, the rate of impetuous development of the country's socio-economic life, the socialist modernization of the living conditions of our working people.

INNOVATION AND TRADITION

In our country, as everywhere, many types of cities exist. And, of course, each one of them has its own individual features, its uniqueness. Despite this we can divide them roughly into the following groups:

First: Durrës, Vlora, Kruja, Lezha, Shkodra, Berat, Elbasan and Tirana which have valuable historical monuments. Durrës, for instance has its ancient theatre and fortress and the most renowned archaeological museum in the Mediterranean and the Balkans, Shkodra and Berat are distinguished by their very ancient fortresses, almost equal in size to those known in the Mediterranean basin, especially in the Roman period.

Second: Towns preserving traces of ancient history but which today continue to interest mainly tourists and archaeologists. Such towns are Pojan, Butrint, Selca, Petrela, and Voskopoja.

Third: Museum-cities such as Berat, Gjirokastra and Kruja. In these cities the historical traces of their construction are preserved in the main even today. In these cities the monuments determine the architectonic features of the city. Berat and Gjirokastra alone boast 60 monuments.

And finally, there are the towns which sprang up in the years of the people's power: Such are "Bajram Curri", Laç, Maliq, Cërrik, Shijak, Orikuum, Bilisht and Shkurt. Forty-one

out of the 60 towns shown on the Albanian map have built since the liberation of Albania.

Despite this, while safeguarding the precious historical and architectonic values as well as the archaeological riches, in the former ancient cities, the hand of new Albania has been laid on the cities. She is radically renovating the ancient cities, and building the new by interweaving tradition with innovation, where the tone is given by the architectonic monuments of the epoch of socialist construction.

Albania is an extremely mountainous country in Europe with an average altitude of 700 m. above sea-level, with a water-accumulating area almost twice its area, with 3/7 of its territory covered with forests and bounded by two seas - the Adriatic and Ionian. Consequently, it is also characterized by climatic variations. These originalities in nature, plus the work of man the innovator are greatly changing Albania's appearance. The clearest indication of this is the development of modern city construction.

A few facts:

In 28 years, since liberation, the city population of Albania has quadrupled.

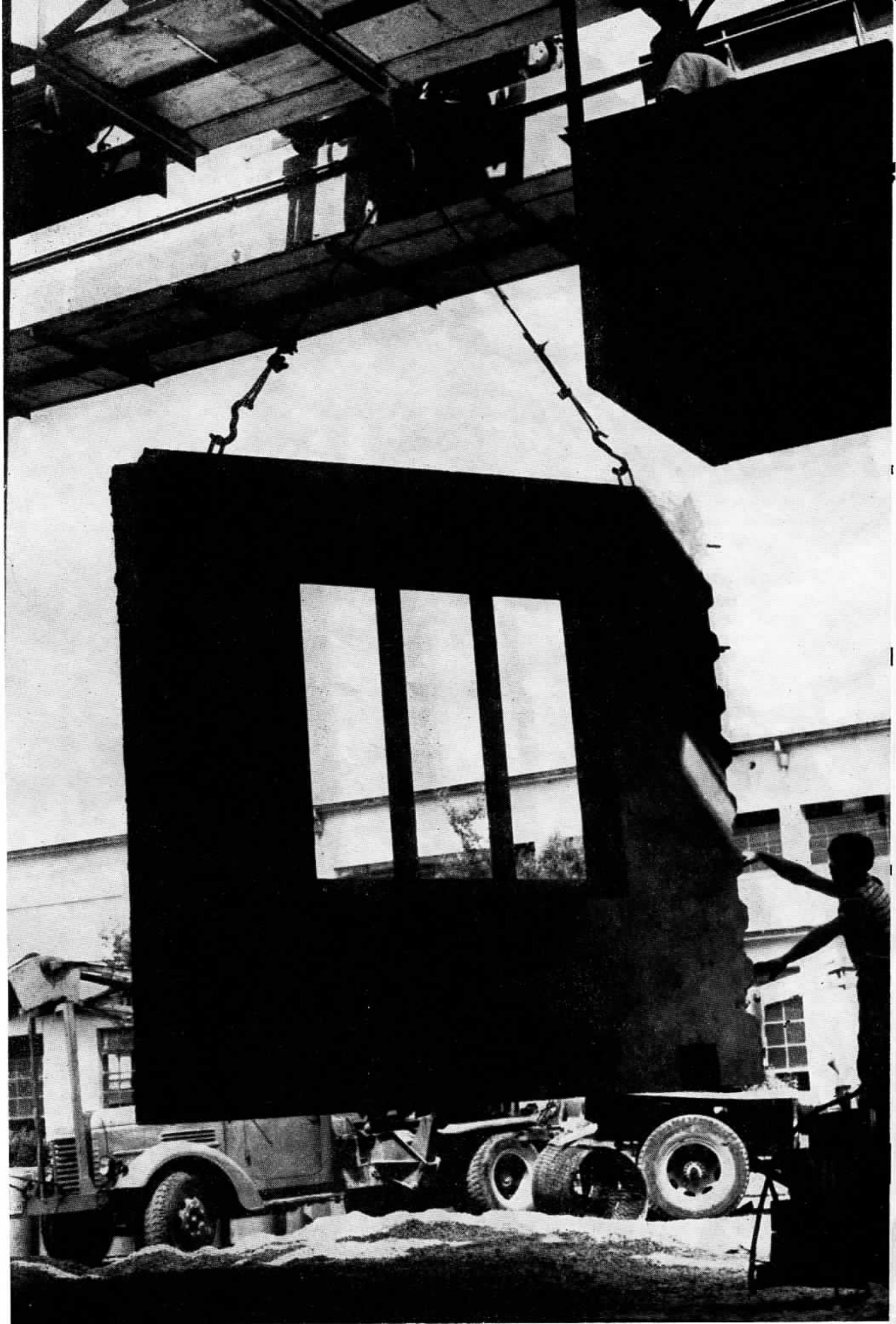
At that time there was no power industry in our country and the first high tension pole was imported in 1951. Today Albania has the densest electrical network per unit of territory in Europe and electric power is no longer a "privilege" of the city because every village, farm and inhabited production centre of the country is supplied with electric power. Our country ranks among those countries in the world which are setting up great hydropower dams, such as that at Fierza on the Drini River.

At that time Albania did not have a single kilometre of railway; today the railway lines run through almost through the whole lowland area, through central Albania linking the capital with the country's other most developed cities, such as Laç, Fier, Elbasan and Durrës. After linking Elbasan with Librazhd the construction of the railway is continuing from Librazhd to Prenjas. These development rates have also given a boost to the construction of the cities.

NEW CITIES

On coming out of the ancient museum of Durrës and casting a glance at the city, one forgets that the guide was explaining a little while before: "This city was founded in the year 627 B. C.". Everything has remained underground and a new city breathes before the visitor - a city with dwelling houses and social projects, with its sea port and railway station, with its magnificent beach along the Adriatic coast. A similar experience occurs in Vlora, Korça, Elbasan, Tirana, Shkodra, Lezha and Kruja. Then, is it not right to say that in Albania there are "only new cities, cities of the socialist

Prefabricated parts for dwelling houses at the "Josif Pashko" building construction combine





Tirane
Majllo



Maks Velo – An old house in Tirana (tempera)
– An old house in Berat

epoch? Yes. And rightly so. We say this "yes" without hesitation, for we know that we do not wrong to the archaeologists, historians, geographers and sociologists. The values of tradition have either been made a special part of the city by restoring them or have been re-expressed by adapting them to the new city construction. This confirms what has been done in the post-liberation years.

Our new cities in the context of the distribution of the productive forces have different characteristics: Tirana reminds us of all-round developed industry; Fier, Patos, Stalin-City, Cërrik - the oil and nitrate fertilizer industry, Laç - superphosphate and pyrometallurgy; Bulqiza - chromium, Ulza - the hydropower stations on the Mati River, Prenjas - the iron-nickel mine (ranking among the large ones in the world), Shkodra, Kukës, Rubik - the copper industry; Berat - textiles.

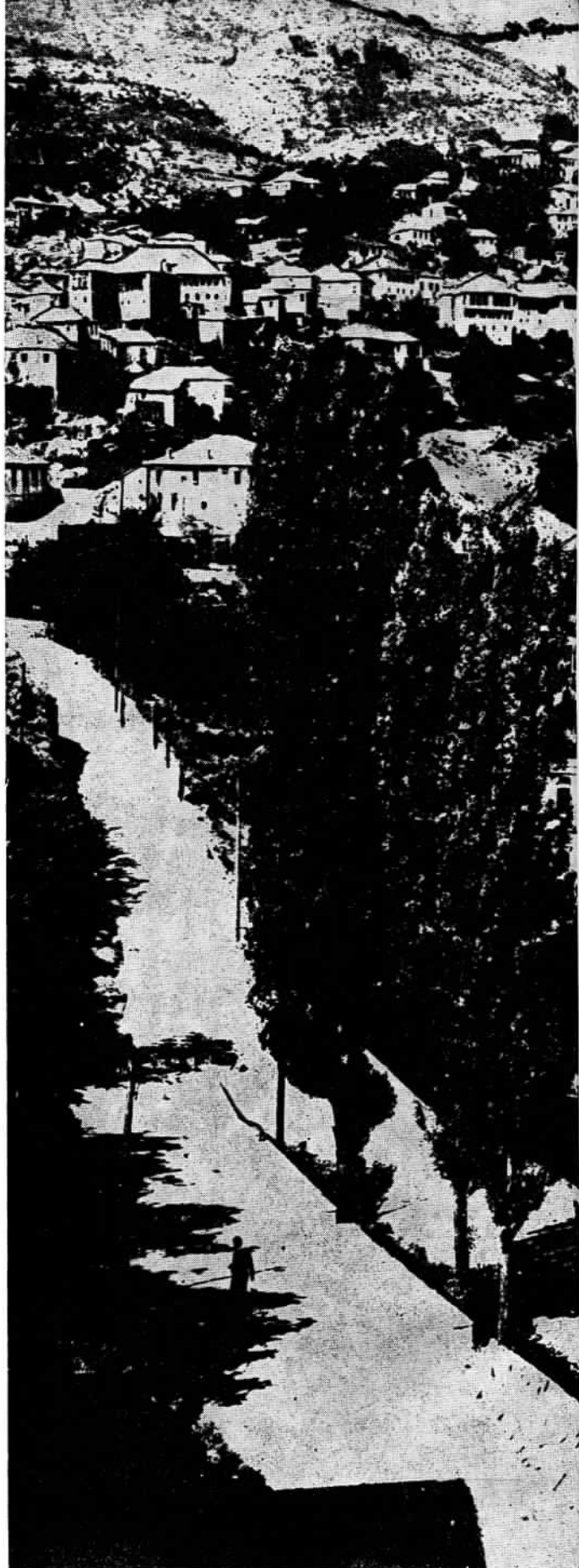
There are still other characteristics: Pogradec, a city on the shores of lake Ochrid, among the most beautiful in the Balkans - invites us to the holiday villas; Durrës - famous for its beach on the Adriatic coast, Saranda, the «capital» of our riviera, the town of the Ionian coast where the subtropical climate begins. At the opposite end of the country, Bajram Curri - here the Albanian alps rise like a crown over the city which has a great future for sports and alpine winter holiday places.

We take the road to Vlora: construction is extending towards the coast line and finally most of the city will overlook the sea. The appearance of this ancient city is undergoing the most striking evolution and it is being transferred into a new centre on the coast, with a view to becoming entirely a coastal city. The following fact is sufficient: In a near future this city will have 350 hectares of parks within the city blocks and along the coast, or over 35 square metres per capita of its population.

From the viewpoint of other conveniences - such as protection against industrial waste (smoke, dust and other refuse), the drinking-water supply, cultural recreation centres in the city and its outskirts, urban transport and lighting telecommunication, radio and television network, the Albanian cities are worthy to be called modern and nothing hinders their advance on the road of further technico-scientific development. The fact that the cities, like the whole social life, develop in a planned way considerably facilitates this development, and accelerates it. Almost all our cities have their camps and holiday homes, and tourism is entering more widely into the life of their inhabitants.

And what is essential is that the people are building for themselves, they work in freedom and enjoy the new life continually improving it. Our house rents are very symbolic, accounting for not more than 1,5-3 per cent of the expenditure of every family. With us there has been created the state economy of dwelling houses, in which the lodging fund constantly grows in quantity and quality, providing the necessary conveniences for cultured socialist living.

The builders of cities and towns in our country are also currently engaged in two problems: alongside the gifts the country possesses to find out ways to use, through the method of industrialization, as many new building materials as possible which are more valuable from the architectonic and economic view-point. Secondly, while developing the reinfor-



ced concrete industry, to find out other possibilities to speed up construction and lower the weight per unit of constructed area. They have already laid the foundations and are proceeding on this road, especially in the industrial construction sector. They are now aiming to do this with dwelling houses. In the volume and qualities of prefabrication, Albania is keeping up with countries with still earlier traditions.

Rates

It is known that the rate of urban construction work is advanced by the general economic-social development itself. As many appartments as were built in the Capital, Tirana, during the years 1945-1970, will be built in the cities of our country during the current five-year plan (1971-1975). With the transformation of the city of Elbasan into a base of the ferrous metallurgy industry, the city itself will double its population and will increase its expansion almost seven-fold; the development of the oil industry and the transition to deep processing are giving rise to another entirely new city on the map of the country. . . And so we could continue counting. But it is better if we stop here in order to make another trip through Albania in 1975 to see the complete balance sheet of the five-year plan which the Albanians are carrying out.



The city-museum of Gjirokastra

One of the most characteristic features of the present time of the capitalist countries is the sharpening of class contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the increase and intensification of the revolutionary struggle of the working class and of the broad labouring masses against capitalist oppression and exploitation, against the antipopular and aggressive policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Characterizing this situation comrade Enver Hoxha, in his report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, pointed out: «We are today witnesses to the great class clashes between the working people and capital and its power. The class struggle of the proletariat and of the other exploited social strata has assumed such proportions, both as regards the number of participants and its sharpness, that the present-day period can be compared with the most critical periods through which the bourgeoisie of the capitalist countries has passed».

THERE ARE NO ZONES OF «CLASS PEACE», BUT ZONES OF THE AGGRAVATION OF CLASS STRUGGLE

In these recent years the market of the developed capitalist countries has been filled with numerous publications devoted to the «theoretical» problems of the classes and of the class struggle. By tens are now counted the «schools» of the bourgeois and reformist sociology which are engaged in these problems. This intensive anti-communist activity in the imperialist countries has at its disposal all the organs of the press and propaganda, special institutions and various means: press, radio, television, film, school, church – in a word, the whole big industry of the imperialist propaganda.

Underlying this industry are the efforts of the imperialist bourgeoisie to discre-

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Class Struggle Is An Actual And Inevitable Fact In Every Development

There Are No Areas Of «Class Peace», But Areas Of Intensification Of The Class Struggle

dit, weaken or limit as much as possible the extension of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism to the broad labouring masses, to convince them that the capitalist system, under the present-day conditions, is «suitable» to everybody, as well to the capitalists as also to the working people, so as to distract them from the class and revolutionary struggle against capitalist oppression and exploitation. To realize these aims, parallel with revolutionary violence, the imperialist bourgeoisie broadly resorts also to the method of distorting the present-day capitalist reality. The falsification of reality is the distinctive feature of the bourgeois propaganda. The bourgeois and reformist sociologists have specialized in and claim so much distinction to demagoguery in distorting the present-day capitalist reality that by their writings and «theories» frequently arouse doubts also in their own partisans who view a little more realistically the present-day situation of the capitalist system which, in Lenin's words, «has become the most

reactionary obstacle in the social development».

One of the most favourite variants of the bourgeois and reformist propaganda is the assertion that in the developed capitalist countries the present-day capitalist society is being «deproletarianized», that «classes have disappeared» or «are disappearing» and that along with this there has «disappeared and is being disappeared also the class struggle» between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, that the zones of «class peace» are extending. As we see, the bourgeois and reformist ideologists are seeking to present their wishful thinking as reality. Facts are obdurate and if we refer to them we clearly see the falseness and demagogy of the bourgeois and reformist propaganda. These facts show that the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is expanding, it is becoming fiercer and more complicated, that there are no zones of «class peace» but zones of the sharpening of the class struggle.

inevitable Developed Capitalist Country

by **THANAS LECI**

An important indicator of the sharpening of the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the capitalist countries is the extension and strengthening of the strike movement of the working class and of the other laboring masses. The general upsurge of this movement today is greater than in the previous stages of the development of the labour movement. Thus, while during the 20-year long period (1919-1939) the strike movement included 74 million working people, in the 1945-1960 period the figure reached 150 million persons, whereas during the 1960-1970 decade 360 million working people took part in the strike movement. The number of workers participating in strikes grows from year to year. For example, while during the year 1970 the number of workers participating in strikes stood at 64 million persons, in the year 1971 the figure rose to about 70 million.

It follows from the analyses that the major part of the strikes have taken place

in countries with a more developed capitalist economy as in the United States of America, Britain, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, etc. Thus, in France in the year 1968 there took place the strike of 10 million working people. A similar strike, in which part was taken by nearly 10 million persons, took place in Japan in the spring of 1969. In April last year a general strike took place in Italy with the participation of about 11 million working people. In Britain, during the first two months of the current year 300,000 miners went on strike. This strike gravely shook the country's economic and political life, so that the British bourgeoisie was compelled to proclaim the state of emergency in the country. Also in the United States of America which is presented by the apologetists of imperialism as a society of «social peace» and as «classless and without class struggle», the class conflicts, antagonism between labour and capital, between the proletariat and the imperialist bourgeoisie, are growing and

sharpening. According to official statistics, which in fact are minimized, during the first 7 months alone of the past year there were held in the United States 4,580 strikes in which part was taken by 3 million workers, whereas during the first three months of the current year there took place 1,100 strikes with the participation of 400,000 workers. The class struggle is expanding and intensifying also in other developed capitalist countries as in Holland, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, etc., which are presented by the bourgeois and reformist propaganda as zones of «class peace». All these facts best of all testify to the correctness of the conclusion reached by the 6th Congress of the PLA that «Also in those countries which were presented by the bourgeois propaganda as zones of everlasting «class peace» fierce battles are taking place between labour and capital. Here, too, the myth of social-democratic prattles about «social evolution» for the creation of general wellbeing under the capitalist system has been smashed to smithereens.»

The development of the working class strike movement, as one of the forms of its class struggle against the capitalist rule and exploitation is of great importance for the education of the working class with the feeling of solidarity of its ranks and of hatred against the capitalist order. The strikes teach the workers how to think of the working class struggle against the capitalist oppressive and exploiting order. They are a «school of struggle», in which the workers learn how to fight against their enemies for the liberation of the entire people and of all the working men and women from the yoke of capital. But conceiving the strike struggle only from this aspect is one side of the problem. The other inseparable side of this problem is, as Lenin stressed, that «we must say that strikes are, as said above, a «school of struggle» and not the struggle itself; strikes are only a means of struggle, only a form of the labour movement. The workers can and must pass over, in all the countries, from separate strikes to the struggle of the whole working class for the liberation of all the working people»

(V.I. Lenin, Works, Albanian edition, vol. 4, p. 365).

But although the main tendency is the extension, deepening and sharpening of the class contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the working class struggle does not develop, and cannot develop, everywhere and always in upsurge, only in rise, but it blazes the trail of history with zigzags, with ups and downs, with offensives and temporary withdrawals. This is an objective law of the development of social revolution which stems from the fact that revolution comes across various obstacles and difficulties raised to it by the imperialist bourgeoisie, the modern revisionists and various opportunists. V. I. Lenin has said that «He that «accepts» the revolution of the proletariat only «on condition» that it develops easily and without obstacles, that a common action of the proletarians of various countries be reached at once, that guarantees be previously given that there will be no defeats, that the road of the revolution be broad, free and straight, that there should be no need from time to time, while marching towards victory, to sustain heavy sacrifices», «to remain in the surrounded fortress» or pass through the narrowest, insurmountable, winding and dangerous pathways, he is not a revolutionary, he has not emancipated himself from the pedantism of the bourgeois intelligentsia, in reality he will get ever deeper into the camp of the counterrevolutionary bourgeoisie» (V. I. Lenin, Works, Albanian edition, vol. 28, p. 60).

THE RISE OF THE WORKING CLASS IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM COMES FROM VARIOUS FACTORS

The bourgeois and reformist ideologists advocate that today the working class struggle is being encouraged by the communists, that allegedly in the present-day conditions the economic interests of the working class and the other working people in the industrial capitalist countries have been fulfilled and therefore there «have disappeared also the objective conditions» of the class struggle. Speculating on the new phenomena of present-day capitalism, especially on the

consequences of the development of the state-monopoly capitalism and of the technico-scientific revolution, they extensively preach among other things the theory of «people's capitalism», of the «society of mass consumption and of general well-being», of the «integration of the working class in capitalism», etc. By means of these «theories» the bourgeois and reformist ideologists are seeking to present the changes in the technology of capitalist production, which come about from the development of the technico-scientific revolution, as changes of the character of the capitalist relations of production, as changes of the class nature of the present-day bourgeois society; they seek to conceal the class and reactionary character of the present-day capitalist state, as a dictatorship of the monopoly bourgeoisie that oppresses and exploits the working class and the other labouring masses.

But how does the truth stand? The facts about the extension and deepening of the strike class struggle we mentioned above show that in the developed capitalist countries, too, the struggle of the working class cannot die out and disappear because it is not dependent either on the propaganda or on the will of the imperialist bourgeoisie, of the reformists and revisionists. This struggle is caused by the objective conditions of oppression and exploitation which inherent in the capitalist system itself, it is caused by various economic, social and political factors.

It is true that the present-day proletariat in the developed capitalist countries is not the one of the 19th century and of the beginning of the 20th century. The technico-scientific revolution, through the development of the productive forces and the growth of the total national production, has given to the bourgeoisie a broader field of manoeuvring in the direction of the fulfilment of some economic demands of the working people. In the consumption by the working people in the developed capitalist countries we notice today, for example, an increase of the expenditures for the purchase of goods of a long-range use, such as radios, TV sets, refrigerators, washing machines, pieces of furniture, individual transport means. There has been extended also the assortment of traditional foodstuffs and clothing. These phenomena are explained by the development of the productive

forces, the increase of production which leads also to the increase of demands. On the other side, and this is the most important thing, the gains of the workers, fulfilling some economic and social needs, have come about, above all, as a result of the class struggle of the proletariat and not as an expression of the philanthropic feelings of the bourgeoisie to share the blessings of the economic development with the proletariat.

The monopoly bourgeoisie, which possesses all the means of production, has consumption, too, in its hands. It manipulates it to its liking and never proceeds from the aim of fulfilling all the demands and needs of the labouring masses, but from the interest of drawing as large profits as possible. And however much this production may grow, it does not lead to a «general well-being». «The working class, — comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 6th Congress of the Party, — in spite of the changes the present-day capitalist world has undergone is deprived of any kind of ownership over the means of production, of its management, organisation and aim. The so-called «consumer society» has not been created to fulfill the needs of the working people, but to intensify their exploitation and to increase the profits of the capitalists.»

Today, in spite of the development of the technico-scientific revolution and the increase of production, the old wounds of the capitalist system such as poverty, misery, inflation, the rise of prices, the extension of the gap between the great intensification of work, the disappearance of many traditional professions, the economic crises and the deepening of the polarization of the capitalist society have further aggravated. It is precisely these wounds of the capitalist system which give a new impulse to the intensification of the class struggle in every developed capitalist country. Particularly great proportions have assumed such permanent wounds of the capitalist system such as unemployment and the increase of the living cost. It follows from the statistics that in a series of capitalist countries unemployment has assumed so chronic and mass character that even the bourgeois economists cannot consider it as a cyclic phenomenon of a temporary character. In Britain there are 1.250.000 unemployed, in Canada more than 600.000. Italy counts at present 1.300.000 officially registered

unemployed. Whereas in Sweden, although the Swedish official organs intentionally minimize the figure, there are about 400.000 unemployed.

In the main country of the capitalist world, the United States of America, the number of unemployed reaches today the colossal figure of 5.500.000 persons. This figure represents 6,2 per cent of the active population. The U.S. bourgeois press itself is compelled to admit the mass character of unemployment in the USA. Thus, the bourgeois review «Newsweek» admitted a few weeks ago that now unemployment in the USA among men was 4.4 per cent, among women 5.8 per cent, among black people 10 per cent, while among youth up to the age of 20 years it was 17,5 per cent, whereas 800.000 persons were jobless because their profession was no more needed. On the other side, the U.S. press ever more frequently stresses pessimism in connection with the healing of this grave wound of the American society. The review «Newsweek» wrote that «...unemployment is the most important economic problem with which the United States of America will be faced during this year of presidential elections», that «... the microbe of unemployment is stable and the disease caused by it has affected the entire country like a grave epidemics of flue». To the difficulties of unemployment is added also the uninterrupted increase of the living cost. In Britain, for example, from September 1970 to September 1971 the living cost grew by 10,1 per cent, in Holland 7,6 per cent, Japan 7 per cent, the Federal Republic of Germany 5,4 per cent, France from May last year up till may this year the living cost grew 8,1 per cent, whereas the Italian press points out that during the last two years alone the living cost grew by 10 per cent. Likewise, it must be pointed out that in every developed capitalist country one notices the process of intensification of the exploitation of the working people through the maximum increase of labour productivity. As a result of this policy broad masses of industrial proletariat, in comparison with the quantity of the material values which they were producing formerly, receive today less than several years ago. Thus, in the year 1965 the labour productivity of a worker in Italy grew by 13 per cent while his real wage increased only by 2 per cent. From the year 1963 till the year 1966 the

Italian working people, through their class struggle, could achieve a wage increase by 8,2 per cent at a time when their labour productivity grew by 21 per cent. Still greater is the difference between labour productivity and wages in other developed capitalist countries.

Another means of intensification of the oppression and exploitation of the working people is that of consolidating the anti-worker laws, of the efforts to freeze the wages of the factory and office workers, to guarantee to the monopolies unlimited rights to secure maximum profits. Thus, in the United States of America, by the emergency measures and the so-called «new economic policy», the Nixon Administration froze the wages of the workers for 90 days. This mass offensive on the American working class inflicted on the working people a loss of 500.000.000 dollars, while the profits of the 537 largest corporations of the country, in the third quarter alone of the year 1971 grew by 11,6 per cent more than during the corresponding period of the previous year. These processes assumed last year a mass character and a new development also due to the fact that the capitalist world was gripped by a grave monetary crisis. And the monopoly bourgeoisie on the verge of crises or gripped by them is seeking to shift their burden on the shoulders of the broad working masses.

Finally, today even very much developed capitalist countries, the United States of America included, are not in position to cope with the urgent and great problems of poverty, lodging, medical service, etc., which are quite grave problems for the working people and seriously worry the labouring masses. The U.S. government itself has admitted that some 50 million Americans are poor. Out of them, 30 million persons «have been infected by terrible poverty». Here it is not a question only of black people and other coloured working people. Out of these 30 million the two-thirds are white. About 8 million men, women and children are so poor that they are compelled to live on the slamm alms of the so-called «charity funds» or «aid programme».

These facts best of all testify to what comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 6th Congress of the Party; that «The workers of France, Italy, Britain and America have gone on strikes, they have come out in the streets and occupy factories not

because they take pleasure in that, but because their living is grave, because the capitalist machine suppresses them, turns them into sheer instruments, it dulls them».

The rise of the working class and the other labouring masses in the struggle against capitalist oppression and exploitation comes also from political and social factors, from the antipopular and aggressive policy of the bourgeois ruling circles, from the increase of the fascist danger, from the elimination or limitation of national sovereignty and independence, from the loss or threats against democratic freedoms and rights, etc. Precisely for these reasons the struggle of the working class in the developed capitalist countries is deepening its character with every passing year. The very capitalist system as a whole is becoming the target of this struggle.

SOME DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF THE PRESENT-DAY STRUGGLE OF THE WORKING CLASS

The analysis of the struggle of the working class in the developed capitalist countries, especially beginning from the year 1967, shows a series of distinctive features of this struggle, of which the most principal ones are the following: First, it is becoming more massive because the number of the workers taking part in it is growing from year to year. And this shows that in the developed capitalist countries there is an increased hatred, a truly revolutionary hatred against the bourgeois system. The extension and deepening of this struggle cannot fail to lead also to the creation of such a shaking situation for the bourgeoisie as it occurred for example in France in the year 1968 when the general strike of 10 million working people, was proclaimed. This strike gravely shook the whole economic and political life of the country. Second, another distinctive feature of the present-day struggle of the working class is the extension of its social makeup. Parallel with the bulk of the workers, an active part is being taken in this struggle by various sections of the bourgeois society, such as employees, students, teachers, small producers, merchants and

craftsmen. These middle strata are ever more mobilizing themselves in the struggle against exploitation, plundering and violence on the part of the monopoly bourgeoisie and the bourgeois state.

Third, the main distinctive feature of the present-day class struggle of the proletariat is its coming out of the framework of the purely economic demands, for a wage increase, for better living conditions, and the increase of the specific weight of the struggle of a political character. This finds its expression also in the fact that in this struggle demands of social-political character are coming to the forefront. Thus, for instance, there is an ever greater increase in the demands of the working class and of the labouring masses in general for real equality, for respect for human dignity, against racial discrimination, for the guarantee and extension of the democratic freedoms and rights, for the education and development of the children of working people, against the decadent system of the bourgeois school, etc. At the same time the workers of the developed capitalist countries, in one form or another, have arisen against the aggressive policy of the governments of these countries, against the anti-labour laws and the fascist methods of violence. Thus, in the United States of America, Britain, France, etc., a broad development has been assumed by the struggle of the working people against the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism in Indochina under the slogan "U.S. imperialist aggressors, get away from Indochina". In Italy broad proportions has assumed the struggle of the working people against the revival of fascism. In Britain the workers have arisen against the "Law on industrial relations" which is aimed at juridically curbing and paralysing the struggle of the workers for their rights. In some other countries, as for instance in France, in these recent years there was extended the struggle for the occupation of the factories and big capitalist enterprises.

Fourth, likewise another important feature of the present-day class struggle is the growth of the revolutionary consciousness of the working people who participate in this struggle, their gradual and ever greater detachment not only from the influence of the continuous and all-out pressure of the bourgeois ideology, but also from the influence of

the social-democratic and revisionist influence. And this shows the ever better understanding on the part of the working people of that great truth of Marxism-Leninism that the road towards the liquidation of the capitalist oppression and exploitation passes only through the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, through the overthrow of the latter by means of the proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The upsurge of the present-day strike struggle of the working class and of the other labouring masses in the capitalist countries, the transition from strikes of economic character to those of political character as well as the increase of the specific weight of the latter, testify to the correctness and actuality of the Marxist-Leninist theory on the class and the class struggle in the present-day bourgeois society; they testify to the unusefulness, falsity and fraud of the propaganda of the imperialist, reformist and revisionist bourgeoisie.

Finally, the growth and intensification of the revolutionary struggle of the working class in the developed capitalist countries, especially in the present-day conditions of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, has greatly extended also the possibilities for the establishment of a stable alliance between the working class and peasantry, which is the main social force capable of overthrowing the bourgeoisie. The modern revisionists are seeking to negate the great importance of the alliance of the working class and peasantry, under the pretext that peasantry does not play any special role, especially in the developed capitalist countries, that allegedly the revolutionary possibilities and energies of the peasantry of these countries have greatly diminished or have been exhausted and, consequently, it is not necessary to work and fight for the establishment and the consolidation of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, and instead of it they bring to the forefront the alliance of the working class and the intelligentsia. In reality, by these "theories" and practices they aim at detaching from the working class its closest and most determined ally in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the capitalist society.

The most convincing argument to refute the "theories" of the revisionists is life itself, the development of the struggle of the broad labouring masses of the peasantry and of the agricultural proletariat in the developed capitalist countries themselves. Active actions in defence of their economic, social and political rights, against the reaction and arbitrariness of the governments, against the occupation of the lands of the peasants for military bases, against the policy of aggression — these are some of the main directions of the struggle of the peasantry in the developed capitalist countries. A distinctive feature of this struggle is the ever greater interlacing of the struggle of the peasantry against the feudal left-overs and the semi-feudal exploitation with the anti-monopoly struggle.

Peasantry, however, is not the sole ally of the proletariat in the latter's class struggle. Under the present-day conditions, too, possible allies of the proletariat in the class struggle are also the middle strata, the bourgeoisie of the city, which are oppressed, exploited and plundered by monopoly capitalism. Such are the craftsmen, little merchants, the majority of employees, and the intelligentsia, the students. "The petty-bourgeoisie, — Karl Marx has said, — will become a component part of all the coming social revolutions". The historic experience, accumulated by the revolutionary movement of the past, has confirmed also today the correctness of this appraisal of the middle strata in the class struggle. In this struggle the masses of the student youth and various strata of the intelligentsia have claimed distinction in these recent years.

But as well the labouring peasantry as also the middle strata of the city can cast aside the oppression by the monopoly capital and achieve their social emancipation only in alliance with the working class and under its leadership. This stems from the fact that the working class is the only class which has nothing to lose from the revolutionary class struggle for the transformation of the oppressive and exploiting capitalist order; consequently, it is more interested than any other class or social stratum in overthrowing the old exploiting relations of production, in the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and social emancipation of the working people.

«Leninist» Phraseology Cannot Camouflage Anti-Leninism

The president of the FSR of Yugoslavia and chairman of the CL of Yugoslavia has been several times in the Soviet Union in these recent years, just as the Kremlin rulers have often visited Yugoslavia. But the visit made by J. B. Tito to the Soviet Union at the beginning of the current month is distinct from the others. This visit was utilized as well by the hosts as by the guest to intensify their demagogy about Leninism, socialism, internationalism, etc.

And this has its own reasons. As well the Kremlin leaders, due to the shocks caused in the minds of the Soviet people by the day to day violation of the socialist ideals and practices, the destruction of the principles of proletarian internationalism and the passage to social-imperialism, as also the Yugoslav leaders, due to the great economic difficulties, to the disintegration of the party and the increase of national disputes, stand in need of tightening up their masks, of using the name of Lenin and communism to hoodwink the peoples, to conceal their true countenance of revisionists and renegades to the revolution.

For the Soviet chieftains the visit of a «high communist personality» was also

a well calculated and quite suitable occasion which provided them the possibility to return to the communist phraseology which was cast aside during the Soviet-U.S. summit meetings. They needed a somewhat solemn motive so that they could turn from the big fuss about the «responsibilities of the two great powers for the safeguard of peace», of the «joint efforts for the extinguishing of the hotbeds of war», of the «moderation of small countries so as not to cause nuclear conflicts» to the day to day demagogy and speculations on «Lenin», the «October Revolution», the «communist movement», «Marxism-Leninism», etc.

Precisely this last aspect, at least from the external viewpoint, dominated the whole programme of the stay of the chairman of the CL of Yugoslavia in the Soviet Union. Brezhnev, Podgorny and the other members of the Soviet leading group who took part in welcoming and seeing off Tito, greatly inflated the communist phraseology and self-praises about their loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, Lenin, proletarian internationalism, etc. At the same time they were unsparing of praise also with regard to Tito. All this reached its apogee with

the solemn ceremony at which the Order of Lenin was handed over to him in one of the large halls of the Kremlin. Unrestrained in his dithyrambs, Podgorny described Tito as «an outstanding personality of the international communist and workers movement», «participant in the October Revolution» and, without fail, a «supporter of the consolidation of peace and of the development of international collaboration». That Brezhnev, Kosygin and all their friends might raise Tito to the skies, as their spiritual father, this is but natural and understandable. He is the founder of modern revisionism and by his already known opportunist theses he paved the way for the Soviet Khrushchevians to the out and out treachery towards Marxism-Leninism. But to say that the Soviet people, too, and indeed the whole world, know Tito as a «Leninist», as Podgorny states, this is not only a lack of seriousness but also a shameless misuse of the name, honour and dignity of a great people as the Soviet people are. How many times, since the seizure of power by the Khrushchevians and until now, has Tito been proclaimed by them a saint and then excommunicated, how many times has he been raised on pedestal and overthrown, how many times has he been raised in triumph and then de-deified! When should the Soviet people trust their leaders, at the time when after the 20th Congress they called Tito a «Leninist» or when they called him an «anti-Marxist» after the Hungarian events, at the time when Khrushchev was

ousted and Brezhnev described Tito as a «dear comrade», or during the intervention in Czechoslovakia when they included him in the ranks of the «counterrevolutionary forces»?

The Soviet revisionists and the Yugoslav ones profane Lenin and Leninism every day, but this neither hurts their conscience nor makes them feel ashamed. The speculations on the communist phraseology are in their blood and they do not worry if they become ridiculous before the eyes of the world. «Lenin's teachings, Tito declared in the name of his Soviet colleagues, too, have become ours for ever, they guide us, they serve as a source of inspiration for all the present-day builders of socialist society, who fight for freedom, independence and for the rights to decide their destinies.»

But Tito and Brezhnev are so far from Lenin and his teachings that no demagoguery can fill the wide gap separating them from Marxism-Leninism.

As a reward for the «Marxist-Leninist certificates» given to him in Moscow and of which he was actually in need, Tito, on his part, did not spare himself to give to the Soviet leaders precisely what they needed at this moment when they are plotting with the Americans – the approval and a kind of advertising of their foreign policy which Brezhnev had the brazenness to call «socialist, of the class and internationalist». It seems as if, just as a matter of form, the Yugoslav president justified the «peaceful» global policy of the Soviet Union. To create paci-

fist illusions about the present-day Soviet expansionist policy not only helps the Soviet propaganda in distracting attention from the adventurous plans of the Kremlin rulers, but also endangers the very freedom, independence and sovereignty of one's country. «The Soviet Union», Brezhnev told his Yugoslav guests, «is willing to develop in an all-round way its relations with Yugoslavia on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist principles and proletarian internationalism». Can the peoples of Yugoslavia believe in such demagogues? Have perhaps the Soviet leaders failed to repeat the same tune even when they have directly threatened Yugoslavia with military aggression, with pressure on her borders, with interferences in her home affairs, etc.? Didn't they speak perhaps about «equality among the socialist states» when they ordered their tanks to march on Prague or when their military divisions in Hungary, Bulgaria and other countries were ordered to strengthen the occupation and to be ready for other «pohodes»?

This truth is known to everybody, it is known also to the Yugoslav leaders. The real «principles» which the Soviet revisionists apply with regard to small countries are the old czarist principles of hegemony and great-Russian chauvinism. Their policy has been and remains one and the same: a complete and incontestable domination over the countries and peoples they have placed under their heel, uninterrupted efforts to occupy and subjugate new nations and expanses.

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Peoples Fight Against Colonialism And Neocolonialism

by **PASKAL MILO**, *publicist*

The wave of the liberation struggle that has swept over the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America is aimed at liberating the oppressed peoples from the enslaving chains of colonialism, neocolonialism and reaction. The revolutionary heroic struggle being waged by these peoples for their freedom and independence, for their national and social liberation, despite the superiority of imperialism in armaments and its fiendish intrigues, despite the betrayal of the Soviet modern revisionists, is invincible. With its policy of violence and slavery, imperialism has landed in the fire-ring of the revolutions and national-liberation struggles, the flames of which will for certain burn the colonialist and neocolonialist rule.

CLASSICAL COLONIALISM ON THE WANE

The powerful blows received by the imperialist colonial system during more than half a century under the influence of the great October Socialist Revolution and the victory of the Chinese revolution, led to the general crisis of colonialism, which sharpened to a maximum the economic and political contradictions between the colonial and dependent countries on the one hand, and imperialism on the other. The flames of the national liberation war which swept over Asia, Africa and Latin America against the colonial rule brought about as a result the winning of freedom and national independence of many countries on these continents. In this way, at the present time alone there are in Asia and Africa over 80 independent countries which at one time were suffering under the colonial yoke. The sixties registered an important turning-point in the oppressed peoples' struggles against the savage colonial rule.

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The year 1960 has gone down in history as «the year of Africa». Also nowadays the oppressed peoples in all parts of the African continent are carrying out a fierce struggle against the old colonialists. Thus, for instance, in Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique this struggle has long since assumed its highest form, that of the people's armed struggle against the age-old colonial rule of Portugal. In spite of the terroristic fascist measures of the Portuguese colonialists, the aid and support given to Lisbon by the aggressive NATO bloc and particularly by U.S. imperialism, the peoples of these three countries are reaping one victory after another. The patriotic forces of Mozambique, after seven years of armed struggle, control one-fourth of the country's territory. During the year 1971, under the leadership of the Liberation Front of Mozambique (FRELIMO) the Mozambique patriots carried out about 500 military operations against the enemy, they liberated some 300 «strategic hamlets» and have extended the armed struggle also to the southern bank of Zambezi River. In Angola the patriotic liberation forces, after 11 years of resolute struggle, have liberated a territory with a population of over 1 million inhabitants. The people's liberation movement of Angola (MPLA), spread to more than one-third of the country, has inflicted considerable casualties on the Portuguese colonialists. The patriotic forces of Guinea (Bissau), successfully carrying out the people's war, after 9 years of fierce struggle, have liberated about two-thirds of the country.

In armed struggle against the wanton colonial exploitation and racial discrimination have risen also the populations of Namibia (South-West Africa), Zimbabwe and Azania, being convinced that the road of salvation from oppression and exploitation passes through the barrel of the gun and not through the U.N. endless and «salutary» resolutions. The manoeuvres of the imperialist powers to preserve

the old colonial rule and the racist regime in these countries are seen also in such efforts as the Anglo-Rhodesian agreement of November 1971. But the peoples of these countries, and particularly the Zimbabwe people, have rejected with contempt this colonial agreement and have risen, arms in hand, against the racist regime of the Salisbury white colonists.

Also the peoples of the occupied Arabian Gulf have risen against the century-long savage domination fighting against the British colonialists. Irrespective of the manoeuvres of British imperialism to preserve its rule in this oil rich area and of strategic importance, the peoples of Dofar, Oman and the other peoples of the Persian Gulf are determined to march on the road of armed struggle until they win their freedom and national independence. An expression of this determination to fight for national liberation is also the creation in December last year of the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf as a result of the merger of the People's Front for the liberation of the occupied Arabian Gulf with the National Democratic Front for the liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf.

It is true that the oppressed peoples, by their national-liberation struggle, have achieved very important results fighting against the old colonial rule of imperialism. But exploiting such a fact, bourgeois and revisionist ideologists and historians, in order to turn the oppressed peoples away from the road of armed struggle for political independence, have declared that the process of «decolonization» has ended, that the national-liberation movements have concluded their mission and have reached all the aims, that the question of political independence has been solved and the economic, social and other problems have come to the forefront. The truth is different. Not only colonialism exists, but the old and new colonialists are striving to extend the sphere of

their domination also to other countries by resorting to various means and methods.

NEW ROADS FOR OLD AIMS

The events following the second world war showed that the old, «classical» colonialism which is based on open military violence and on the direct political and economic domination has failed. The efforts of the imperialist powers with the United States of America and Great Britain at the head to curb the impetus of the national-liberation movements suffered defeat and once more proved that the colonial powers could no more impose their will on the colonial and dependent countries. The deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, its impossibility to further dominate through the previous means and forms, the upsurge of the national-liberation movements, compelled imperialism to seek new roads for the preservation and ensurance of colonial exploitation. Under these conditions neocolonialism was born which, just as colonialism, has the same content differing only in form. The strategic aims of neocolonialism are the same as those of colonialism differing only in tactics. The essence of neocolonialism is nothing else but exploitation, plunder and domination in more cunning ways by means of indirect control over the countries formally independent. The change of the colonial political form in fact reflects the weakness of imperialism, which keeps increasing. The colonialists, being unable to prevent the colonial countries from winning their political independence, are striving to indirectly control and rule these countries. As a matter of fact, such a policy under the present-day conditions has been transformed into a principal method of the colonial policy of imperialism, new political, military, economic and ideological means have been invented. Thus, neocolonialism is an onslaught of imperialism in the political, economic and ideological fields against the newly independent countries to safeguard and extend its spheres of domination.

The roads, forms and means of establishment and exercise of neocolonialism have been and remain different. One of these, which was broadly used, was the obliged «recognition» of the independence of the colonial countries preserving their positions to a possible maximum. Neocolonialism, under the label of «mutual dependence», is striving to undermine, to liquidate the national sovereignty of the newly independent countries. Today, instead of the former colonial empires there exist the «communities» of the imperialist countries and of the ex-colonies, such as the «British Commonwealth of the Peoples», «The French Community», etc. There exists also the so-called «communism of socialist coun-

tries» under the aegis of the Soviet revisionists. In the major part of these countries belonging to these «communities» the positions of the colonialists have remained almost intact. In some of these countries the imperialist powers have also the foreign policy in their hands, they have military bases and control the armed forces, they control also the other spheres - economy, education, culture.

Another road of realization of neocolonialism is the creation of the aggressive military-political blocs uniting in them the powerful imperialist states and the former colonies, such as the SEATO, ANZUS and other aggressive blocs, under the guise of «joint defence». By their means the imperialists preserve their military-political control on the former colonial countries, they prop up the reactionary regimes, they use them for the suppression of the national liberation movements and draw them into their aggressive adventures.

A main practical weapon for the implementation of the plans of neocolonialism is also the so-called aid that the imperialist powers give to the former colonial countries. In fact the «aid» of the imperialist states given to the new developing countries has nothing in common with the real aid. The imperialist aids in practice clear the way for the foreign monopolies in their expansion and serve for political pressure on the newly independent countries. The imperialist capital has dominating positions in a series of countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In India in many state enterprises foreign capital has more than 50 per cent of the shares, whereas in Latin America U.S. imperialism used to control until recently 95 per cent of the production of copper, 64 per cent of the production of bauxites, 62 per cent of the iron material, etc. The United States of America has in its hands two-fifths of the turnover of foreign trade in developing countries as well as almost two-fifths of all the foreign investments in these countries. The plundering character of the so-called American aid is noticed also in the fact that the amounts of the «aid» can by no means be compared with the profits the U.S. monopolies draw from these countries. Thus, for instance, the United States has invested in Africa for 9 years in succession capitals of 4-5 billion dollars, while it has drawn 1 billion dollars profit annually.

In order to attain their aims of economic exploitation and political subjugation, the imperialist powers have resorted to all the means, beginning with pressure and ending with coups d'état and armed interventions. To illustrate this, suffice it to mention the fact that during the last decade about 30 coups d'état have taken place in Africa alone with the imperialist powers being involved in them. A characteristic feature of neocolonialism today is that the U.S. imperialists, the main supporters of colonial yoke, are at its head. Seeking to realize their counter-revolutionary global strategy of the domination of the world, the U.S. imperialists con-

tinually interfere, carry out armed aggressions in all those countries where this strategy is hindered or where the positions of imperialism in general and of the U.S.A., in particular, are endangered. The plots, the armed intervention, the carrying out of the coups d'état with the direct participation of the American agents in Libya, the P.R. of the Congo, Somalia, Guinea in Africa, in Cambodia and Thailand in Asia, in Brazil, Ecuador, Argentina, Honduras and Bolivia in Latin America bear the seal of U.S. imperialism. This is best confirmed today also by the aggressive war that the United States has unleashed in Vietnam and throughout Indochina, by the immeasurable support it is giving Israel in the Middle East and to all the reactionary forces everywhere in the world. «U.S. imperialism – comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 6th Congress of the PLA – cannot live without economic expansion, without political interferences and military aggressions, without oppressing and exploiting other peoples. Otherwise it dies, the road for revolts and revolutions opens».

PARTNERS AND RIVALS

Although neocolonialism as a new method of domination is often a joint undertaking of the imperialist powers, this by no means rules out the existence and sharpening of inter-imperialist contradictions to undermine each-other's positions in colonial countries. As a result of the expulsion of Britain, France, Holland and the other imperialist powers from their colonies, the United States of America began to fill up the «vacuum» and open new loopholes to penetrate into the colonial or independent countries. Today, although the United States has not had a colonial empire like Britain and France, in fact it has created it, not marked on the map, but invisible, compact and strengthened by its all-round political, economic and military penetration. But in its efforts to extend its domination in Asia, Africa and Latin America, U.S. imperialism comes across the rivalry of its imperialist partners, particularly of Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany, a rivalry which is becoming more and more troublesome to the U.S. monopolies. The capitals of these two revived imperialist powers are challenging the American ones from Indonesia up to Africa and Latin America. Precisely this conflict of interests has the tendency to turn into a fierce struggle for markets and spheres of influence in the future.

A new neocolonialist power that started to act by force in the years of 50-60 is also the Soviet Union. With the birth and development of Khrushchevian revisionism, with the collapse of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, the first country

of socialism which was formerly, was transformed into a chauvinistic and social-imperialist power. In its foreign relations the Soviet Union is applying all the known imperialist methods of blackmail and political, economic, military, ideological and demagogic-propagandistic penetration. The Soviet policy of penetration and expansion which is being realized in competition and collaboration with that of the United States of America, has all the characteristic features of present-day neocolonialism, especially in Africa. This is clearly seen in the efforts to replace classical colonialism with sophisticated methods of economic «aids», with percentages of shylocks as well as with raising numerous obstacles on the road of the national-liberation and anti-imperialist movements and their systematic sabotage. In the framework of the Soviet-U.S. «holy» alliance, the two imperialist superpowers have established their respective zones of influence in the world. The Soviet neocolonialists are reigning in their revisionist empire. To reach this aim they resort to all the means, beginning with the utilization of the Warsaw military treaty, the armed aggression in Czechoslovakia, military blackmail against other sovereign countries such as Yugoslavia, Rumania, Albania, and ending with the economic subjugation of many East European countries through the Economic Mutual Aid Council and various «aids».

Significant is the stand of the Soviet revisionists towards the liberation and democratic movement. Khrushchev's successors have sought to put out any revolutionary and anti-imperialist fire of the peoples wherever it has occurred. Practice itself has shown that essentially they are not supporters of the national-liberation movements of the peoples, but in collaboration with U.S. imperialism they undermine them. The Soviet revisionists are for years hindering the Vietnamese people's struggle against the aggression of U.S. imperialism and, through various pressures, they are seeking to force the Vietnamese people to their knee and make them accept the American dictate. Even if they support any anti-imperialist movement of the peoples, the Soviet revisionists do this for their ultimate annexionist and expansionist aims, to take root at the most convenient time in this or that zone. A clear example of this is the Middle East area where the Soviet revisionists exploiting the temporary weakness of the Arab people, feign to support their anti-imperialist struggle whereas in fact they prepare the ground for an all-round economic, political and military penetration of the two «superpowers».

Partnership and rivalry in the neocolonialist policy are a characteristic also of the relations between U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. Although the two imperialist superpowers have established by «plan» their spheres of influence, they have also contradictions between them. Otherwise one cannot explain the fact that although Latin America is a «zone of influence» of U.S. imperialism, the Soviet social-imperialists are trying to penetrate into that continent

or the Middle East area the events of which are a product of the imperialist revisionist collaboration and at the same time also an arena of contradictions of the two imperialist superpowers. Such a conclusion is reached if one bears in mind also the latest events on the Hindustan peninsula. Aggressive and expansionist India, grown as such under the care of Washington and Moscow, by her aggression against Pakistan and at the incitation and with the powerful support of the Soviet Union, fell into the embrace of the Soviet social-imperialists. This of course could not fail to rouse the indignation of the White House which threatened India with cutting off the "aids".

FUTURE BELONGS TO THE PEOPLES

The great teacher of the world proletariat V.I. Lenin has worked out the theory, strategy and tactics of the national-liberation movements and has indicated the road to the real victory of the peoples of the countries under the colonial yoke. Way back in his time witnessing the great upsurge of the national-liberation movements, he had forecast that "... the working masses, the peasants in colonial countries, though still backward, will play a much greater revolutionary role at the further stages of the world revolution". And this genial forecast of Lenin's is being confirmed by life, by the events which are taking place. Today Asia, Africa and Latin America constitute the weakest link of the world imperialist system and have turned from the rear-area of imperialism into fronts of the revolutionary liberation struggles of the peoples. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have resolutely engaged in the road of armed struggle against the rule of imperialism. In particular South-East Asia has changed into a fire zone. The Indochinese peoples' struggle against the aggression of U.S. imperialism is the clearest confirmation of the force and effectiveness of the people's armed struggle against the domination of imperialism. Irrespective of the extension of the aggression and political manoeuvres of the United States of America, the peoples of Indochina are determined to fight till complete victory, till the expulsion of U.S. imperialism and the liquidation of its lackeys in that area. The national-liberation movements which are successfully developing also in Thailand, Philippines, Malaya and Indonesia are shaking the dominating positions of Washington also in this area of Asia.

A component part of the liberation struggle against imperialism, reaction and zionism is also the struggle of the Palestinian patriots for the liberation of their usurped fatherland, Palestine. In spite of the great difficulties and the open and secret fight carried out by U.S. imperialism,

Soviet social-imperialism, Israeli zionism and the Arab reaction, the Palestinian people are resolutely struggling to return to their mother land.

The idea of the people's war is taking root in the minds of the broad sections of the population of the Latin American continent and is being materialized through concrete actions in the armed liberation movements against the domination of U.S. imperialism and the local reactionary oligarchies. In Latin America a marked polarization of forces is taking place today. The Latin American peoples are becoming more and more aware that their struggle against the savage domination of the local reactionary oligarchies can by no means be separated from the one against U.S. imperialism. The armed revolutionary movement has assumed broad proportions particularly in Colombia, Brazil, Venezuela, Guatemala, Argentina, Bolivia and other countries. The most organized and most powerful liberation movement on the Latin American continent is the one in Colombia, which is led by the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) against the domination of imperialism and local oligarchy. There exist in Latin America various forms of the national liberation movements which are in the process of the growth of organisation and management. Also in those countries where liberation armed movements have not broken out as yet, the Marxist-Leninist communist parties are working for the preparation of the ground for their development. Thus, for instance, the Brazilian Communist Party has laid down in its programme for the revolutionaries the task of organizing and carrying out people's war to overthrow the military dictatorship and to liberate Brazil from the yoke of U. S. imperialism.

U.S.-led world imperialism and Soviet-led revisionism have undertaken the despicable role of international gendarme to suppress the liberation movements of the peoples. But the current of the war of the peoples of the world against the domination of imperialism and revisionism is more powerful and the future belongs to it. Imperialism and revisionism not only are unable to suppress the liberation movements of the peoples but they cannot solve the national problems in their own countries either. Well-known is, for example, the North Irish people's struggle for real freedom and national independence against the colonial rule of British imperialism. It has assumed the features of a liberation struggle and is a fierce conflict between a people striving for freedom and the colonialists who deny it, exercise violence and terror. Likewise also in the revisionist countries, as in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc., as a result of the restoration of capitalism, there have appeared and continue to appear capitalist contradictions in the form of national conflicts between them or inside them. Today in the Soviet Union, in the first country where the national problem at Lenin's and Stalin's time met with a correct solution, the Kremlin chieftains

are realizing the chauvinistic great-Russian policy of the old czars with regard to the peoples of Central Asia, etc.

The new revolutionary situation that has arisen in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America has shaken the domination of imperialism from its foundations. The tide of the war against colonialism, neocolonialism and reaction has swept over the peoples of these continents that have risen to their feet to win and defend freedom and national independence. The aggression, fraud and violence of imperialism will never be able to subjugate the peoples and suppress their will to fight and win over imperialist oppression and exploitation. «The growth of the revolutionary forces and revolutionary upsurge in the world – comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 6th Congress of the P.L.A. – showed that, despite the great and feverish effort to turn back the wheel of history, imperialism and revisionism have not been and will never be able to change the general balance of forces which is more and more tipping on the side of the revolution. Historic initiative has definitely passed into the hands of the working class and the peoples. The road of the development of the present-day human society is opened and determined by the revolution». (Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, p. 13-14).

At the present epoch of the collapse of capitalism and the passage of the peoples on the road of socialism the national-liberation movements of the oppressed peoples, being spearheaded against the imperialist domination are a powerful trend which is merging more and more with the

revolutionary movement of the world proletariat. At the same time the peoples, the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, are ever more clearly seeing that to realize their lawful aspirations to freedom and national independence, they have to fight on two fronts through to the end with the same determination both against U.S.-led imperialism and Soviet-led modern revisionism. In as much as the national-liberation movements are directed against imperialism, they have in their struggle a reliable ally – the world proletariat. Only in alliance with it, the oppressed and dependent peoples will be able to put an end to the imperialist domination and engage in the road of independent national development. The birth of the new Marxist-Leninist parties, their organisational and ideological strengthening and the ensurance of the leading role in the national-liberation movements are main factors in the successful carrying out of the struggle of the oppressed peoples and their close connection with that of the international proletariat. The heretofore historic experience has shown that the imperialists never withdraw from the colonies by their own will, but only the armed struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples can drive them out of these countries. The oppressed peoples who enjoy the support of all the revolutionary democratic forces everywhere in the world, are convinced that only the liberation struggle against the domination of imperialism, social-imperialism and local reactionaries is the road to freedom and national independence.

Conference On Albanian Folklore

The first Albanian national folklore conference was held in Tirana on May 26 and 27 last. It was attended by workers and collaborators of the Institute of Folklore, musicologist composers, writers, folklore collectors, workers in the field of Albanological science of the State University of Tirana and other invitees.

This conference was attended also by some of the merited representatives of the Albanian folklore from Kossovo, Macedonia and Montenegro, including Prof. Mark Krasniqi, Anton Çeta, head of the folklore section of the Albanological Institute of Prishtina, Prof. Demush Shala, Lorenc Antoni, Islam Karanfli, Akil Koçi, Gjergj Hasanaj, Prof. Din Mehmeti and Bahri Brisku as well as Prof. Mihal Pop, director of the Institute of Folklore and Ethnography of Rumania and president of the International Association of Folklore and Ethnography, Dr. Blazho Ristovski, director of the Institute of Folklore of Macedonia, Voislav Jagoski, scientific worker of the same Institute, Madame Birle Traorup, musicologist

from Denmark, Dr. Rudolf Maria Brandt musicologist of the phonogramme Institute of the Academy of Sciences of Austria. At the sessions of this conference there were presented 36 communications prepared by workers and collaborators of the Institute of Folklore and by representatives of Albanian folklore from Kossovo, Macedonia, Montenegro. They treated of various problems concerning the genres of folklore.

The director of the Institute of Folklore Prof. Zihni Sako delivered the report: «Some problems of Albanian folklore and of the evolution of the folklore during the national liberation struggle and the period of socialist construction».

Among the communications delivered there were some that treated of the theme «About the new poetical political concept in the popular songs of the national liberation struggle and socialist construction», «About the connections of the revolutionary poetry of the national liberation struggle with the popular song», «About the influence of folklore on the present-day

Albanian poetry». Specialists in folklore problems treated of the themes about the «traditional system of the folklore genres and about its development in the folklore of the period of socialist construction», «About the popular song and the working class», «About some aspects of the development of folklore theatre until liberation» as well as «About the importance of the esthetic experience of folklore». At the conference attention was paid to the problems of folk music and choreography. Thus, there were presented communications about «Some features in the development of the new musical folklore», about «Some stylistic types of polyphonic folk songs of South Albania», about «The dynamic of folk songs, viewed in the light of tradition and actuality», «Some observations about the popular folklore dances of labour». At the first National Conference of Albanian Folklore there were presented some communications also by the representatives of the Kossovo folklore. The conference held its proceedings at a high scientific level.

Second National Conference Of Social Studies

chronicle

On June 5, in the meeting hall of the People's Assembly the second National Conference of Social Studies started its proceedings. The Conference was organized by the Institute of the Marxist-Leninist Studies under the C.C. of the P.L.A. in cooperation with the Institute of Economic Studies, the «Vladimir Ilych Lenin» Party school and the State University of Tirana.

The Conference was attended by workers of central, regional and grassroot institutions, scholars on social problems, etc.

Attending were also Party and State leaders. The Conference was presided over by Ramiz Alia, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA.

The directress of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies under the Central Committee of the PLA, Nexhmie Hoxha, delivered the report on the theme: «For the strengthening of the lea-

ding role of the working class and the perfecting of the party-class-masses relations».

At the plenary session there were presented also the following reports: «The growth of the role of the working class in the management of the economy – a fundamental factor for the forum of our socialist order», by Hasan Banjā, director of the Institute of economic studies; «The growth of the leading role of the working class in solving the tasks of socialist construction in the countryside», by Prof. Hekuran Mara, head of section in the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies under the Central Committee of the PLA, and «Creation and proletarian tempering of socialist intelligentsia» by prof. Bajram Abdiu, head of section in the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies under the Central Committee of the PLA. After the plenary sessions, the conference continued its proceedings in sections; in the sec-

tion for the problems of the perfecting of the party-class-mass relations where there were presented 11 communications. in the section for the problems of the working class leadership in economy there were presented 10 communications, in the section for the problems of the working class leadership in the socialist construction of the countryside there were presented 7 communications and in the section for the problems of the creation and proletarian tempering of socialist intelligentsia, where there were presented 8 communications.

On June 7 the second national conference of social studies ended its proceedings which were a contribution to the development of creative thought and the summing up of practice on the question of the increase of the leading and controlling role of the working class for the successful construction of socialist society.

Plenum Of The CC Of The PLA

chronicle

On the 19th and 20th of June 1972 there was convened, under the leadership of the First Secretary of the CC of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha, the 2nd Plenum of the CC of the PLA which heard the report of the Political Bureau of the PLA: «Mobilize ourselves with all our forces to systematically sum up the advanced experience on the agricultural production front», delivered by Piro Dodbiba, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and Minister of Agriculture.

The Plenum extensively discussed on the report and unanimously approved it. Likewise, the Plenum approved also the decision «On the creation of the Academy of Sciences of the People's Republic of Albania». The Plenum was addressed also by comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the CC of the PLA.

Decision Of The Second Plenum Of The Central Committee Of The PLA «On The Creation Of The Academy Of Sciences Of The P.R. Of Albania»

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania notices with special satisfaction that a broad scientific research activity is carried out in many branches of the national economy and culture. This is the fruit of the correct and farsighted policy of our Party which,

properly evaluating the importance of science and the great role it plays in the development of the economy and culture, not only has encouraged in all the ways the scientific research work, but has gradually taken all-round organisational, technical-material measures and mea-

asures for the training of cadres in order to create the necessary conditions for its extension.

Today, in our country, besides the Tirana State University, the higher Institute of Agriculture, the higher Institute of Arts and the pedagogical institutes,

chronicle

where alongside the educational process a broad scientific research work is carried out, are operating about 25 central institutes and stations carrying out research work and studies in the social, technical and natural sciences. In these important centers, as well as in hundreds of nuclei, technological and technical bureaus, circles and associations of scientific experimentation, some thousands of high cadres, specialists, technicians and advanced workers are engaged in scientific work in close connection with production and the masses. The results achieved so far in the field of scientific studies and researches are encouraging and in some fields they are of special value. The present stage of the economic and cultural development of our country requires a further extension and deepening of scientific studies, the rise to a higher level and the improvement of the method of management of the scientific work, the coordination and direction

of all the scientific activity on a national scale, so that the scientific and technical forces and means should be used in the most complete, rational and fruit-giving way, and that the training and qualification of the scientific cadres be placed on a sound basis.

Proceeding from the above considerations and in conformity with the instruction of the 6th Congress that measures should be taken «for a more coordinated and concentrated organisation and direction of all the scientific work and life on the Republic's scale, in compliance with the present possibilities and perspective tasks», the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, on the proposal of the Political Bureau, decided:

1. - To create the academy of sciences of the People's Republic of Albania as the most important centre of scientific research in this country.
2. - The Academy of Sciences of the People's Republic of Al-

bania must have as its fundamental task the development of the scientific research work and studies, based on scientific criteria and on the Marxist-Leninist methodology in those fields of science which are included in the institutes on its direct dependence; it must help in the coordination of the scientific research on the Republic's scale, set before the state organs important questions that have to do with the development of new branches of science and technology, with the introduction of new methods and technique in production and in scientific research, as well as questions which have to do with the fast and sound increase of the new scientific forces.

3. - Charge the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania with taking all the necessary organisational and material measures for the setting up and functioning as soon as possible of the academy of sciences of the People's Republic of Albania.

From The Proceedings Of The People's Assembly

chronicle

The 4th session of the 7th legislature of the People's Assembly held its proceedings on June 29-30.

Besides the deputies, the Party and State leaders, the session was attended also by workers from various production centers and institutions, representatives of mass organisations and other invitees.

Present were also heads and

functionaries of the diplomatic representations accredited to the People's Republic of Albania.

The People's Assembly held its proceedings in accordance with the following agenda:

1. - Draft-law on pensions for the members of agricultural co-operatives.

2. - Report on the situation of trade and measures for its further development.

3. - Report on the situation of health service and measures for its further improvement.

4. - On the decrees issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

After the examination of the questions and decrees according to the agenda, the supreme organ of the state power adopted the decisions concerned.

Through The Pages Of The Albanian Press

The newspaper «Bashkimi», central organ of the Democratic Front of Albania, carried on June 4 last an article entitled: «The Arab people will smash out the imperialist-revisionist plots and the Israeli aggressors». The article is devoted to the fifth anniversary of the aggression by Israel which, with the direct support of U.S. imperialism attacked the neighbour Arab countries in June 1967.

«The past five years, the article reads, have been replete with events in the Middle East. They have clearly exposed the hegemonistic objectives of the two «superpowers» in that region. U.S. imperialism has thrown off all masks and has come out with its real countenance as a savage enemy of the Arab people. It is openly nurturing Israel's expansionist ambitions assigned to her the role of the «whip» of the U.S. gendarme in the Middle East.

After denouncing the arming of Israel by the United States of America and the anti-Arab plots known by the name of the «Rogers plan», the aims of Yaring and Sisko missions, as well as the so-called peaceful solution of the Middle East problem, the article continues:

«The events of the last five years have exposed likewise the imperialist objectives of the Soviet social-imperialists in the Middle East. Just as the U.S. imperialists and vying with them, the Soviet revisionists are

seeking to establish their political, economic and military rule in that region. But, unlike the U.S. imperialists, they carry the mask of the «friend» of the Arabs, in order to conceal their hostility towards them. For their own purposes, they are utilizing the present-day conjuncture in that area. They indeed are aiding Israel through the mass emigration of the Soviet jews».

The article further on says that the Middle East has become an object of bargainings between the two «superpowers», just as it appeared also from Nixon's recent meeting in Moscow with the Soviet revisionist clique.

After having pointed out that the Arab people and the Palestinian people are determined to fight through to the end for the driving out of the Israeli aggressors from the occupied Arab territories and for the realisation of their lawful national aspirations, the newspaper writes in conclusion:

«The Albanian people have always stood on the side of the fraternal Arab people; they have condemned with indignation the Israeli aggression of June 1967 and the imperialist-revisionist plots against the Arab people. «Our people, — comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 6th Congress of the PLA, — are traditional friends of the fraternal Arab people and are in full solidarity with their just cause; they have been and will always remain on their side».

Denouncing the new war crimes, on Nixon's order, against the Vietnamese people, the newspaper «Drita», organ of the Albanian Writers and Artists Union, carries in its June 4 issue an article under the title: «Nixon's crocodile tears». *The article reads: «It is said that Richard Nixon weeped. In Leningrad, while he was being told about the little girl Tanya who had described in her diary the death of her relatives during the blockade of the city by the Hitlerite hordes, he had his eyes damped.»*

After exposing this fiendish manoeuvre of war criminal Nixon, the article points out: «Crocodile tears, said those who heard him... Hangman tears, we add while writing these lines about the magnificent lunches and dinners, about the champagne drunk in the Kremlin and about the cordial embraces with this chief bandit. He that «weeped» for Leningrad Tanya is pouring down on Vietnam every day hundreds and thousands tons of bombs, killing and massacring hundreds and thousands of Tanynas, Nguyens or Manuelas».

On June 8 the newspaper «Bashkimi» devotes an article to the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin, pointing out that this agreement is in contrast with the interests of the German people and of peace and security in Europe. *The article says that the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique, for the sake of its in-*

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terests and its hegemonistic policy, has given one concession after another to the Bonn rulers which was proved also by the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin reached on August 23, 1971, signed on September 3 of the same year and legalized on June 3, 1972.

«Characteristic is the fact, the article stresses, that the agreement was concluded without consulting at all the German Democratic Republic, although it tramples under foot its interests and a series of rights sanctioned in the agreements and treaties between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic. Moreover, proceeding from the fact that the Soviet occupation forces are still in large numbers in the eastern part of Germany, the Moscow revisionist leaders compelled the rulers of the German Democratic Republic to begin talks and conclude a series of agreements, humiliating for them, with the Federal Republic of Germany. In this way, it became once more clear that the Soviet Union is now an occupation power in the German Democratic Republic, doing what it likes with the latter's vital interests.»

Further on the article stresses that the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin fulfills almost all the demands of the Bonn rulers and the other western powers; it officially recognizes the fact that the Federal Republic of Germany should represent West Berlin in the outside world.

and creates conditions to use it as a base for subversive and plotting activity.

Finally, dealing with the danger of militarism in West Germany, the article concludes: «The European peoples see with doubt and distrust the plots being hatched up so much carefully and secretly by the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and the German militarists, a part of which are the quadripartite agreement on Berlin, the bipartite agreement between the GDR on the one side and the Federal Republic of Germany and the West Berlin Senate on the other side, as well as the Bonn-Moscow, Bonn-Warsaw and other treaties.»

The newspaper «Zëri i Popullit», Organ of the Central Committee of the PLA, carried on June 10 the article entitled: «Humanism in word, cynicism and crimes in deed». This article comments on the broad series of the bilateral U.S.-Soviet agreements concluded during Nixon's visit to Moscow.

After exposing the imperialist-revisionist noise in advertising these agreements as allegedly peaceful and humanitarian, the article points out: «It is clear to everybody that these same hands that have signed these «humanitarian» agreements have signed also the orders to kill and subdue the Vietnamese people and the other peoples of Indochina, that signed the order to invade Czechoslovakia and

to suppress through chains and tanks the freedom and independence of the Czechoslovak people.

The article further says that various events reveal before the world the cynicism and criminal activity of the U.S. imperialist «humanists» and of their partners – the Kremlin imperialists, who supply arms to Israel, to the Indian reactionaries, the fascist Suharto clique and others to suppress the progressive forces of these countries which are fighting for real national liberation and social progress.

«The Soviet arms and tanks, the article says, were those that vomited fire against the Polish workers on the Baltic coast who rose in firm protest against the new Polish revisionist bourgeoisie and against the country's occupation by the Soviet social-imperialists».

To expose the «humanism» of the Nixon Administration and of the Kremlin rulers, the article quotes many examples showing that they have not spared their bullets even against their own peoples, against the strikers and demonstrators in the American and Soviet cities.

«However sophisticated their demagoguery may be, the article concludes, it is powerless to conceal the cynicism and criminal actions of the two international gendarmes – the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists. The interests of the freedom and independence of

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the peoples, of real security and peace, demand the further strengthening of the unity of the revolutionary, anti-imperialist and anti-revisionists forces, the intensification of the struggle of these forces to expose demagoguery and cynicism and to smash out the dangerous counter-revolutionary and aggressive plots of the two imperialist superpowers.

«Great and dangerous SALT fraud» is the title of an article published in the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» on June 13. This article exposes the treaty and agreement on the so-called limitation of the missile-nuclear strategic arms, known under the name of SALT and signed in Moscow by Nixon and Brezhnev. The article points out that these agreements aim at preserving the monopoly of the strategic arms of the two imperialist «superpowers», that they leave the way open for the continuation of the armaments race and that they are directed against the other peoples and countries which do not submit to the dictate of Washington and Moscow; they are directed especially against the People's Republic of China.

Then the article says that the nice words to advertise these agreements are nothing but a smokescreen. «Therefore, the minimum logical conclusion that the peoples draw, the article concludes, is to expose these documents as a great and dan-

gerous fraud, to enhance their vigilance towards the plots of the two imperialist superpowers, to intensify their struggle against the aggressive plans and acts of the two imperialist superpowers and strengthen with every passing day the defence of their countries, of their freedom and independence.»

Under the title: «Voices of witches» the newspaper «Bashkimi» of June 24 carries an article pointing out that the Greek regional newspaper «Takhydromos» appearing in Kavalla, published a writing entitled «Northern Epirus».

The article of the newspaper «Bashkimi» stresses that this has been a favourite theme of many Greek newspapers and, taken in its continuity, perhaps does not even deserve any attention. However, the moment chosen by the newspaper «Takhydromos» to once more stir in the garbage tin, urges us to say a few words.

Then the article of the newspaper «Bashkimi» points out the fact that in Albania, as well as in Greece, the public opinion welcomed the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries and considered this event as an act conforming with the desires of the two neighbour peoples and promoting collaboration and peace in the Balkans.

The newspaper further continues: «We have no objection

whatever to that someone should weep for the non-realisation of his foolish dreams. On the contrary, if there are of those who have not yet spent all their reserves of tears, let them shed those tears up to their last drop. We only want to remind the heralds in the pages of «Takhydromos» or of «Ipiritikon Mellon» that they are doing a useless job.»

After having pointed out that the megalomania and absurdity of the authors of the writings in these two Greek newspapers remind us of the speeches of the inglorious Tsaldaris, the article of the newspaper «Bashkimi» says: «The so-called «questions of Northern Epirus», an artificial «question» invented and then used as a scarecrow by the Greek chauvinist circles, has already been given the deserved rebuff. Who holds on to balloons does not fly far away.

The Albanian people and their Government have never interfered in Greece's internal affairs and have never violated her rights and interests. Our people demand the same thing from the peoples and governments of other countries.»

After pointing out that it would not be a bad thing if the chauvinists in the editorial boards of «Takhydromos» or «Ipiritikon Mellon» will not spend in vain their great zeal by dreaming about the occupation of other people's lands, but use it for some more useful thing on the

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territory of Greece, the article of the newspaper «Bashkimi» writes in conclusion: «The anti-Albania chauvinists crouched in the editorial office of some newspaper or in the mouldy cells of the abortive organisations, as well as all the voices of witches, will without fail suffer a complete fiasco».

«Religion - a bridge of imperialist-revisionist ideological ties», this is the title of an article published on June 25 in the newspaper «Drita». The article says that, under the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist collaboration, a special function has been assigned also to religion which has been included by both sides into their ideological arsenal and make wide use of it in their own class interests, according to the internal and external political conjunctures.

«The imperialist states and the Vatican - the greatest center of religious obscurantism, the bourgeois ideologists and theologians, the article says, have united in the struggle against the working class and Marxism-Leninism, against democracy and socialism, for the spiritual and economic enslavement and exploitation of the labouring masses.»

After pointing out that religion has now become a bridge of ideological ties between the imperialists and the modern revisionists, for it is masked with the slogan of the so-called

«struggle for peace» and because through it they speculate on the religious feeling of the believers, the article sets forth a series of concrete facts showing how the imperialists and the Khrushchevian revisionists collaborate in this respect.

«In the light of even these few things, the article writes in conclusion, one becomes aware of the importance and value assumed by Nixon's visit also to a Moscow church. It is not a purely touristic visit or one for the preservation of spiritual purity, but a political demonstration of the consideration and appraisal of the religious ideology as a bridge of connection and communication with the West, a link in the chain of imperialist-revisionist counterrevolutionary strategy.»

The newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» of July 2 carries an article entitled: «Even the new cruel acts will not save the U.S. aggressors from their defeat», severely condemning the savage air raids of the U.S. imperialists against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, against schools and hospitals as well as against canals and dikes in big rivers, as well as many irrigation works in the D.R. of Vietnam.

The article stresses that the cynicism of the U.S. imperialists goes to such extents that the House of representatives of the USA decided in June 27 not to establish any limitation in bom-

bing dikes in the D.R. of Vietnam, which could cause the flooding of North Viet Nam and the destruction of the crops of that country.

«Our people, educated by the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha with the spirit of proletarian internationalism, old and young, worker and cooperativist, employee and artist, school pupil, student and soldier, the article of «Zëri i Popullit» concludes, express their deep hatred and forcefully raise their voice of protest: «Hands off Viet Nam, U.S. imperialist murderers! We, as always, also in these difficult days, stand on the side of our heroic Vietnamese brothers and are confident that the Vietnamese people will transform their hatred into an unprecedented force in order to cope with the difficulties, to mobilize all their inexhaustible energies, to raise high still more powerfully their fist and rifle and to give the aggressors the deserved punishment».

Commenting on the proceedings of the 12th Congress of the socialist International which was held in the last days of June and which was attended by representatives of the social-democratic and socialist parties from 28 countries of the world, the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» carried on July 8 an article entitled: «Social democracy - a political detachment of the imperialist bourgeoisie». The article says that the socialist Inter-

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national of the present time is the heir and direct continuator of the «traitorous second International».

«On the counterrevolutionary front of the struggle to perpetuate the capitalist social order, the article points out, Khrushchevian revisionism has also ranked with social democracy. This is only natural, for both social democracy and revisionism are manifestations of the one and the same ideology – the bourgeois ideology. The common ideological basis of social democracy and revisionism has created also the circumstances for their complete merger not only in the ideopolitical field but also in the organisational one».

After pointing out the fact that the Italian revisionists at their 13th Congress openly announced their desire for a close collaboration with the socialists and the catholics, and that in the last days of June an agreement was reached by the socialist party and the French revisionists on drafting a joint government programme under which a series of new concessions are made to the bourgeoisie and to all the reactionary forces, the article stresses that the statements and resolutions approved at the recent Congress of the socialist International once more showed that social democracy at the present time is entirely in service of the imperialist and social-imperialist bourgeoisie.

«By its traitorous and splitting stand and role in the labour movement, present-day social democracy, just as in the past, the article of «Zëri i Popullit» concludes, renders an invaluable service to the imperialist bourgeoisie. Like all the reactionary and counterrevolutionary forces in the world, it works under the shadow of the two imperialist «superpowers» against the revolution and socialism. It is the duty of all the truly revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces not only to expose and fight the plans and criminal plots of the two imperialist «superpowers», but also their servants among the ranks of the working class – social democracy».

«Zëri i Popullit», in an editorial article published on July 25 under the title: «The expulsion of the Soviet military – a great victory of the Egyptian people», highly appraises the important measure adopted by the Egyptian Government in direction of the consolidation of the national sovereignty of its country. The article reads in part:

«The decision announced by President Sadat on the expulsion of the Soviet military advisers and experts from Egypt and on taking under control the Soviet military installations has been warmly greeted by the whole progressive and anti-imperialist world. The Egyptian people car-

ried out a just and courageous act which deserves all praises and support. They acted in full conformity with the principle of safeguarding national sovereignty, of defending freedom and independence, in compliance with their indisputable right to be the only master in their own country, to decide on their own destinies by themselves. There is no doubt that this measure will be positively reflected on the internal and international life of Egypt and of the other Arab countries.

The speech delivered by President Sadat at the meeting of the Central Committee of the Arab Socialist Union, where he announced this decision, revealed to the Arab people and to the entire world that the thing in which the Soviet leaders are interested in the Middle East is not the defence of the interests of the Arabs, but the creation of the conditions for the implementation of their «special strategy». And what the strategy of the Soviet social-imperialists is, this is now clear to everybody. They have assigned to themselves as an objective to settle themselves as deeply as possible in this important strategic area, to create there powerful economic, political and military bases and from there proceed to occupy Africa and Asia.

The expulsion of the Soviet military from Egypt is a heavy blow once more exposing before the eyes of the whole world

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the Soviet revisionist clique, its imperialist foreign policy, its aims and hopes to subjugate the peoples and to extend its zones of influence. It is a blow to its sham anti-imperialism, a taking off its pseudo-revolutionary and pseudo-internationalist masks.

Our Party, exposing the treachery of the Soviet revisionists, has long since shown that the present-day Soviet Union, not only has ceased being a socialist country, but it has been transformed into a social-imperialist country; not only it has ceased being a backing of the revolution and of the liberation struggles, but it has been transformed into a counterrevolutionary power, hostile to the freedom and independence of the peoples.

Precisely because it is such with regard to the small countries it does not know to maintain other relations than those of dictate and subjugation. While they give nothing, the revisionists ask others to sacrifice on the altar of the «alliance» even their supreme national interests. This is the way the Soviet leaders acted also with regard to the countries of Eastern Europe. They did not hesitate to lead their armies into Czechoslovakia and to threaten other countries with invasion. They make bargainings at the expense of the German Democratic Republic and unscrupulously betray the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people, etc.

Also their stand towards the Middle East has been dictated by their imperialist interests. For many years now the Soviet revisionists have made a great fuss about their alleged «desire» and «determination» to help the Arabs recover their territories occupied by Israel, to strengthen their freedom and political independence, to consolidate their economy, etc. But the time that elapsed brought to the fore their demagoguery and dirty game. They pay lip service to the settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict; in reality, however, just like the Americans, they do not stand for any kind of solution whatever. Brezhnev, Kosygin and the whole staff of the Kremlin desire that in the Middle East there should exist a permanent Israeli menace and a permanent weakness of the Arab people. Only in these conditions they have hoped and continue to hope that the Arabs would approach Moscow for aid and only in these conditions the latter could impose its dictate on them.»

The article continues: «Finally the Soviet leaders openly betrayed the Arab cause during the Nixon-Brezhnev talks. In Moscow the big two came out with a joint decision for the preservation of the status quo in the Middle East. This was a Soviet-U.S. dirty bargaining to the detriment of the Arabs, which meant that they wanted not only to preserve the «neither peace nor war» situation,

but to conserve for as long as possible also their political, military and economic presence in that area. The Moscow summit showed that the common Soviet-U.S. interests in the Middle East are more important and stand above rivalries and above the competition for influence and dominating positions.

The status quo which the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists have decided to preserve in the Middle East does not stem from their desire that the conflict be settled peacefully so as to avoid a bloodshed nor for fear of a confrontation between the United States of America and the Soviet Union. The «neither peace nor war» situation in the present conditions is the only way to ensure and justify their presence not only in the Middle East, but also in the Mediterranean. Even if war in the Middle East were one hundred times extinguished they would kindle it one hundred times. The United States did not accidentally or inadvertently incite the Arab-Israeli conflict to put an end to it now, just as the Soviet revisionists did not accidentally find themselves in the Middle East to depart from it now as soon as possible. The expulsion of the Soviet military from Egypt is an event which helps the peoples to once more nakedly see the perfidy of the treacherous Moscow clique and its obstinacy to hit and undermine in every way

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the revolutionary and liberation struggle.

Certainly, the Soviet revisionists will not remain with folded arms, they will manoeuvre and in fact, after the heavy blow they received in Egypt, are seeking to preserve a calm face before a bad game. They are striving to rescue what can be rescued, to gain time until they find some new way to return to their old positions. There is no doubt whatever that they will increase their intrigues and, as thus far, they will try to fish in troubled waters. But the Arab people who have revolutionary traditions and are known for their valiance and wisdom will for certain know how to carry through to the end their struggle against the Soviet social-imperialists and smash out their arrogance and perfidy.

In the same way the U.S. and other imperialists will surely,

they too, strive to take advantage of the situation that has arisen in the Middle East in order to "fill up the gaps" or to exert pressure on Egypt and the other Arab countries so that the Middle East conflict be settled through compromises and concessions to the detriment of their vital interests. The Arab people, however will never allow themselves to fall into these traps and they will know how to resist both the luring promises and the fiendish diplomatic manoeuvres. It is not for accepting another imperialism over their head that they are opposed to the Soviet tutelage and hate the intervention of the social-imperialists. They are fed up with the Rogers plans, with Sisko's proposals and Nixon's initiatives. Any "proposal" of the U.S. imperialists who supply Israel with super-modern arms and grant her billions of dollars, constitutes a

dangerous poison which quickly or slowly leads towards death.

That which the Arab people need most today is self-reliance, the strengthening of their militant unity which make up a sure guaranty to defeat the numerous and cunning enemies, to recover the occupied territories.

This does not mean that the Egyptian people, just as all the Arab people, in their struggle against the Zionist-imperialist aggression and the betrayal of the social-imperialists will be alone and isolated. On the contrary, the solidarity and support of the revolutionary and freedom-loving peoples for them are increasing with every passing day, the just cause of the Arab people is becoming more and more the cause of all the peoples. This is a great encouragement for the Arab people, an important factor to strengthen confidence in their final victory."

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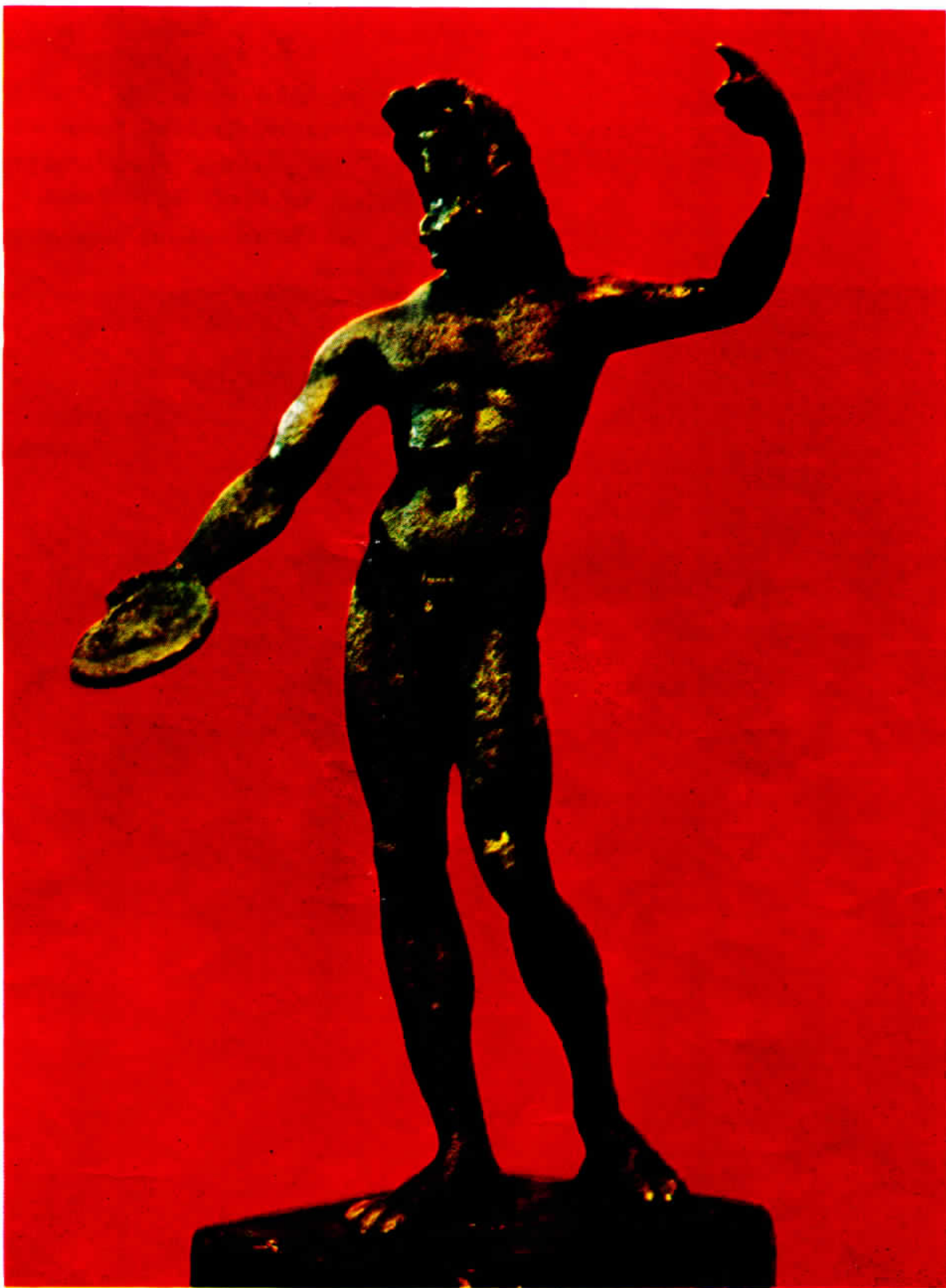
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1. The ruins of a dwelling-house with colonnades (IIInd century before our era) found during recent excavations in the ancient city of Antigonea, Gjirokastra district.
2. On the rocks of Gradishta of Lower Selca (Pogradec) there stood once a powerful Illyrian city. There were discovered a monumental grave of the IIIrd century before our era.
3. Illyrian helmet. Mati.
4. Bronze dagger and swords (Bronze Age) unearthed in the Mati, Vlora and Gjirokastra districts.
5. Entrance of the Fortress of Lezha.
6. Head of a young Illyrian. (Gramsh)
7. Poseidon (the mythical god of the sea), bronze figurine (IIInd century before our era). Antigonea.

This issue carries reproductions of recent works by the painters Maks Vello, Vlash Priti, Mariana Eski. These are drawings and engravings treating themes from the Albanian actual life and folklore.



Albania today

IN THE NEXT ISSUE:

- *The working class and socialist construction in the countryside, by Prof. Hekuran Mara.*
- *The present-day revolutionary movement and Trotzkyism, by Prof. Agim Popa.*
- *On the State social insurance in Albania, by Feti Gjilani.*

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