

# Albania today

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◀ IN THE PSR OF ALBANIA WOMAN HAS BECOME A GREAT FORCE WITHOUT WHOM SOCIALISM IS INCONCEIVABLE AND ITS CONSTRUCTION CANNOT GO AHEAD. THE ALBANIAN WOMAN CELEBRATED MARCH 8TH THIS YEAR IN THE REVOLUTIONARY ATMOSPHERE CREATED BY THE DECISIONS OF THE 8TH CONGRESS OF THE PLA AND IN A SPIRIT OF MOBILIZATION TO PUT THEM INTO PRACTICE IN ALL FIELDS OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION. IN THE PHOTO: FROM THE WORK IN ONE OF THE DEPARTMENTS OF THE KNITWEAR FACTORY IN KORÇA

*A student talking about the construction and functioning of an apparatus in one of the many laboratories of the University of Tirana*





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# EMANCIPATION EMANCIPATION OF THE WHO

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**THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA HAS STRESSED THAT «ONLY SOCIALISM IS IN A POSITION TO CREATE THE CONDITIONS FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF MAN AND HAS DONE SO.» THIS IS NO UTOPIA. OUR REVOLUTIONARY PRACTICE HAS PROVED THIS THOROUGHLY, MANY CENTURIES AND THOUSANDS OF YEARS HAVE GONE BY SINCE CLASS SOCIETIES EMERGED AND HISTORY HAS ALWAYS SHOWN THAT THEY ARE DIVIDED INTO OPPRESSORS AND OPPRESSED, THE RICH WHO ENJOY ALL THE BLESSINGS CREATED BY NATURE AND THE WORK OF MAN ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE POOR WHO ARE DEPRIVED OF ALL JOY, IF NOT OF THEIR LIVELIHOOD, ON THE OTHER. NO ONE ALTOGETHER CAN DENY THIS TRUTH. IF WE READ THE WORKS OF GREAT SOCIAL STUDENTS, THE NEWSPAPERS AND THE BULLETINS OF NEWS AGENCIES WHICH VOICE THE OPINIONS AND POLICIES OF THE STATES THEY DEPEND ON, AND OTHER MATERIALS ON THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF PEOPLE IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD, AS WELL AS THE INFORMATION MADE AVAILABLE BY THE UNO AND ITS INSTITUTIONS, WE SHALL SEE THAT EVERYTHING INDICATES THE POLARIZATION OF SOCIETY IN ALL THE COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD, APART FROM ALBANIA.**

Describing the general crisis which has swept the whole capitalist, revisionist and feudal-capitalist world, they are unable to cover up unemployment, inflation, rising costs of living and, as their consequence, the misery of those who have nothing but their hands to earn a living. In this situation it is a paradox to talk about emancipation, to talk about human rights and democracy, as the leaders of and the spokesmen for the bourgeois and revisionist societies do every day at parliamentary meetings, bilateral, regional and international conferences. The falseness of their demagogy is so glaring that even the most naive cannot fail to express their revolt when they see them-

**VITO KAPO** — *Member of the CC of the PLA, President of the General Council of the Women's Union of Albania*

selves jobless, homeless, struggling with skyrocketing prices and terrorized by police violence.

The contrary occurs in socialist Albania, in which such phenomena of the capitalist and revisionist world as crises, unemployment, inflation, rising costs of living, etc are alien. Albania is known all over the world for its stability and steadily rising political, economic and cultural level. In Albania there is remarkable unity of thought and action between the people and the Party of Labour of Albania, the principles of which shape the whole life of the country. The motto, «The Party does what the people want and the people do what the Party says», is a reality here.

Here everybody holds dear the Homeland, the Party and socialism and defends them with fanaticism. But to be able to defend them you must be aware of their indispensability, speak out courageously against all those who threaten them politically, ideologically, economically or militarily and be prepared to fight them. These characteristics guarantee that Albanian reality which is sanctioned in the Constitution of the PSR of Albania, according to which state power stems from the people and belongs to the people. The Albanian people are the masters of their state. Herein lies the secret of socialism which creates all the conditions and possibilities for the emancipation of all people; hence derives the directive of the 8th Congress of the PLA: «**The women of Albania and their organization, the Women's Union of Albania, must fight to uphold and further develop the spirit of emancipation amongst the mass of women themselves and in society as a whole.**»

Albania has entered the 38th year of its complete liberation. On the eve of Liberation, in November 1944, the leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, stressed at the 1st Congress of the WUA: «The Albanian anti-fascist woman will always have the support of the government and state in her march towards progress, just as the government and state will have the valuable assistance of the Albanian anti-fascist woman.»

These statements, which implied the creative implementation of Marxism-Leninism in the concrete conditions of our country, were not mere words and did not remain

# ON OF WOMAN - ON LE SOCIETY *by VITO KAPO*

*from conservative concepts which made the woman an inferior to the men, and raised the emancipation of all the society to a higher degree.*

a dead letter. They expressed the need for the development of the whole society. And this development was never considered one-sidedly. It called for an appropriate material-technical base, and for men capable of utilizing this base, of organizing it and ensuring its further development, enrichment and strengthening. In a state in which private property no longer exists, and only the social ownership of the means of production exists, in which not a handful of families, but the whole working class with the Party at its head, determine the future of the nation, there is no spontaneity in the development of this or that branch of the economy; only the economic laws of socialism are recognized and implemented there. Everything is done in conformity with the plans of the economic and cultural development of the country, keeping due proportions of development among the different branches of the economy, as well as within these branches themselves, defining work productivity, the distribution of material blessings, and combining the general interest with the personal interests and sticking to the principle: each according to his ability, to each according to his work.

In these conditions, socialism which struggles to achieve economic growth and cultural development and a constant improvement of well-being for the masses, which sees competition as an alien phenomenon, is interested in drawing all the able-bodied population into social productive labour and, in this respect, cannot fail to take account of the forces of women. In all circumstances, even in the most difficult situations of wartime, women have shown themselves to be up to and do their tasks competently, as well as to lead, organize and create.

The participation of the woman in productive labour, as a requirement of society, that is a duty, is at the same time her major right, a fundamental right which, after the proclamation of national independence and liberation from capitalist exploitation, guarantees her the economic, political, ideological and social independence. The independence of the woman enriches the country with new energies which lay dormant and were unutilized in the past, strengthens the socialist economy, enlivens political

and cultural life, frees men and women from stale concepts, inherited from the class society, on the role and place of woman, makes her an equal citizen to man at work, in society and the family.

The PLA calls on women today to uphold and further develop the spirit of emancipation amongst the mass of women themselves, and links it with the emancipation of society as a whole. The women and their organization — the WUA have faithfully followed the road mapped out by the PLA. They took part in the National Liberation War both on the front and in the back area, making an outstanding contribution to the liberation of the country. They participated in mass volunteer actions for the reconstruction of the Homeland, were outstanding in social activities for the implementation of major economic reforms and, later, diligent workers and cooperativists in our planned economy. Women constitute today 46 per cent of the working people in the PSR of Albania. On a whole, their participation in social productive work is considered a solved problem. The 4 per cent difference in the degree of occupation of men and women results from the composition of the population, as well as from the fact that men, although they begin work at the same age as women, go on a pension 5 years later.

We say that social productive work is a major factor for the all-round emancipation of women, as it calls for ability, experience, knowledge of and attachment to one's job, all-round mobilization of the physical and mental abilities to turn out the required amount of production according to indices of planned productivity, assortment and quality, and at the lowest cost possible. Making work a duty and a right for women, opened the door for them to enjoy all the other rights.

However, if in the past man worked outdoors (whenever he could find a job), the woman had no such opportunity. It has to accustom herself to social productive work. Therefore, the state took all the measures to achieve this by opening courses and schools, beginning with courses against illiteracy (in 1938, 94 per cent of women were illiterate), organizing courses for professions of the lower

categories, expanding the network of primary, middle and higher vocational schools. Today the ratio of boys and girls at school has been overthrown. Since 1952, 8-year schooling has been made compulsory for boys and girls. Girls account for 52 per cent of students in full-time secondary schools and 50 per cent in the University.

Work, technical-professional and political education have raised the authority of women; men and women have been freed from conservative concepts which made the woman an inferior being, good only to be a mother, a housewife and, at most, to carry out some traditional tasks of her sphere. This work emancipated the women, emancipated the men, and raised the emancipation of all the society to a higher degree. A broad system of educational institutions served to raise the general cultural level of the people, to create the conviction among them that they cannot go to socialism without knowledge. In the past explanatory work had to be done among the parents in order to convince them to allow their daughters to attend 8-year and secondary schools on state bursaries. Today 8-year schools are attended by everybody, boys and girls, middle schools by everyone who wishes to do so and girls compete with boys for good marks in order to win the right to attend higher school. The trend is towards the elimination of all distinctions between boys and girls, men and women, in the preparation of cadres and in the training of specialists and people with a sound culture.

The social productive labour and the education of women concur in strengthening socialist property, endowing our new man with new features. With the emancipation of the Albanian woman, the society was also emancipated and developed. But all the social productive activity, the general educational, cultural and technical-professional uplift and the grouping of people in the mass organizations — the Trade Unions, the Labour Youth Union of Albania, the Women's Union of Albania, besides their membership in the great organization of the Democratic Front of Albania, enlivened social life, enabled woman, just as man, to use her political rights — the right of speech, of vote, of assembly and the press more fully. Women now state their own opinions and talk competently about the development of the economy and culture at meetings of workers' collectives and political organizations, taking a lively part in the debate and discussion. Their word is listened to with great attention on all problems. From all debates and discussions, men and women reach joint conclusions about a better organization and management of production, a broader development of culture, work out methods which practice has proved to be more efficient to meet the demands of the present stage of development of the economy, culture, etc.

Frequently in the capitalist and revisionist world women's political opinions are disregarded altogether. Women

are supposed to hold opinions identical with those of their menfolk. This indicates that the working woman is considered incapable of having an opinion of her own on problems of vital importance for the defence of her and her husband's interests, as well as the interests of her social class as a whole, which the ruling cliques trample under foot. What occurs in our socialist country?

There are people who say that our approach to the different problems is always the same, that even at elections there is a 99.99 per cent conformity. And this, according to these people, expresses a lack of democracy. But we tell them that precisely in this unanimity our people find their strength, that it expresses the truly popular character of state power in our country. We are fully justified to say that with us exists the broadest democracy, because the policy of the PLA expresses the interests of the working people, of the working class and the Homeland to such an extent that no opportunity is left for anybody else to rise in defence of them. Opposition in this case would only be prejudicing the interests of the people, would represent only the oppressors and all those who want to sap the foundations of the sovereign and independent People's Socialist Republic of Albania. This opposition would have nothing in common with democracy, with the people, and would have much in common with their opponents against whom the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is a democracy for the broad masses and a dictatorship for those who betray the interests of the people and the Homeland, operates.

The achievements in the socio-political life emancipated woman, emancipated the society as a whole. There are many women activists working on a voluntary basis at people's councils, in the organizations of the Democratic Front, of the trade-unions, the youth and women. Many of them occupy leading posts. Today women account for 33 per cent of the deputies to the People's Assembly, 30.8 per cent of the members of the High Court of Justice, and 41 per cent of those elected to the leading organs of the mass organizations. Women make up about 30 per cent of the membership of the PLA, the leading staff of the country.

But while talking about women's achievements in productive labour and in socio-political life we never lose sight of the fact that woman is a mother, a regulating factor in family life and an educator of the new generation. How are these problems, which somebody represents as contradictions which influence the treatment of women and put them in a condition of inferiority, resolved and combined? In our country they are tackled through the harmonization of interests, that is the combination of the personal interest with the general interest, giving priority to the latter. Herein lies the distinction between our socialist system and the capitalist and revisionist system, a distinction which is based on the relations of pro-

duction, on the ownership of the means of production, on the system of distribution, as well as the whole superstructure that is built on this base.

The health and education of children are a major problem concerning society as a whole. Today we have over 2,499 crèches, of which 2,093 in the countryside, over 2,667 kindergartens, of which 2,001 in the countryside, and 725 maternity homes. Every village has its midwife and nurse and there is one doctor per 700 inhabitants. Prophylactic medicine has already made great progress.

The problems of family life are more and more becoming the responsibility of society as a whole. The question is about a better division of work among the members of the family which until yesterday came up against petty-bourgeois concepts of shying chores. Today society has a new approach to the solution of such problems. Of great importance is the fact that all the sectors which bear on the improvement of services for the family, according to the instruction of the 8th Congress of the PLA, combine to assist the family and the working women better and more quickly.

These successes clearly speak of the emancipation of woman and society as a whole. Woman, just as all the other working people, takes an equal part in the construction, strengthening and flourishing of socialist Albania, which creates the conditions and takes concrete measures for her complete emancipation. Here lies the difference between socialism, the society which is built according to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and the other societies, whatever their name, in which not the will of the masses, but that of the ruling minority is held to account. This proves that the character of the social system determines both the position of worker, peasant and intellectual and that of woman. Paradoxically enough, the representatives of various states meet at international forums, even at the United Nations Organization to decide on the implementation of some plans for the emancipation of women, of human rights and other such problems at a time when they do well know that nothing will be done for the emancipation of women and the alleviation of the misery of the people's masses as they themselves are not in the least interested in taking any step in this direction. The only thing they do is to vote some hand-outs. But the emancipation of women is not a question that can be solved by means of a few hand-outs, or through the «chivalrous» feelings of the «strong sex» towards the «weak sex», says Comrade Enver Hoxha, the leader of the Albanian people. Like the emancipation of the whole of mankind, it must become an indispensability if society as a whole is to be emancipated and develop. This is the road of socialist Albania.

With emancipated women, you have emancipated men, emancipated and well-educated children, sound families based only on the relations of love, mutual respect and

assistance of the couple, which is reflected in all the generations of the family. This ensures unity in the family and society as a whole.

This is the road on which the complete emancipation of woman and society as a whole is ensured in Albania. However, we are aware that the complete emancipation of woman, just as the economic and cultural development of our country, is achieved through a fierce class struggle for the elimination of all leftovers, traditions and customs emerging from the depth of centuries, in which woman is seen as an inferior being. This presupposes constant efforts to make women conscious of the need to combat all manifestations of atavistic feelings of submission to men in themselves, as well as all manifestations of atavistic feelings of domination in men. The struggle for the emancipation of woman goes through the struggle against the penetration, through various channels, of the bourgeois ideology into our country which is an island encircled by the capitalist and revisionist world; it goes through the struggle and efforts of the new woman to adapt herself to the situations and requirements of the new stage reached by our country, socialist Albania.

The 8th Congress of the PLA once more emphasized that **«The Party has fought and will go on fighting consistently for the implementation of its program for the complete emancipation of the Albanian woman, without whom socialism cannot be conceived or its construction carried forward.»**

To fulfil this program, the Party and the socialist state have worked out and approved the 7th Five-year Plan of the development of the economy and culture which envisages the all-round development of the productive forces and the relations of production. Its fulfilment presupposes a higher degree of emancipation of the Albanian women, as well as men. The 7th Five-year Plan calls on women and their organization to enhance their active role as builders of socialism. Keeping in mind the fundamental task of the 7th Five-year Plan, «...to guarantee and gradually raise the material well-being and the cultural level of the masses of the working people and to further strengthen the socialist order and the defence capacity of the Homeland,» every woman, like all the other working people, must be clear that the plan is built on scientific grounds, that it relies on a material-technical base and on people capable of fulfilling it, basing themselves fully on their own forces and possibilities. Therefore, while raising the efficiency of the economy and developing the technical-scientific revolution, we must deepen the socialist industrialization of the country, strengthen and intensify agriculture. All this calls for the constant raising of the consciousness of women, their total mobilization to get acquainted with the targets of the plan and carry it out in time, quantity, quality and cost. For this purpose women must be educated so as to be able not only to fulfil plans,

but also to lead, to organize production and culture and engage, side by side with men, more broadly in the technical-scientific revolution.

Socialist Albania is not a backward country based on extensive development, as some people try to make out. Quite the contrary, an intensive development is envisaged almost everywhere, of course without neglecting extensive development where there are possibilities for it. The fact that total industrial production in 1985, against 1980, will grow 36-38 per cent and agricultural production will increase 30-32 per cent, and that this increase will not be achieved only through new plants and factories that will be built or reconstructed in the years of the five-year plan, but also and especially through a rational utilization of the productive capacities (productivity growth accounts for 60 per cent of the increase of industrial production and 90 per cent of the increase of agricultural production), speaks of the intensive economic development which will ensure the progress of our country as a country with an advanced industry and agriculture. Raising productivity, efficiency and quality calls for more knowledge. The 8th Congress of the PLA drew the attention of society as a whole, and especially of women and their organization, that continuous efforts must be made to achieve complete equality of women with men as regards educational, cultural and technical-professional level, because even to this day there is a certain inequality between men and women in the field of education and culture.

The forms and methods of education, the concrete organizational and administrative measures taken so far and other measures that will be taken, according to the needs, by all the levers of the Party and the state organs in collaboration with the organizations of the masses, will create more free time for women and enable them to utilize it better for their education by attending schools and courses organized specially for them. Here important tasks devolve on all the state organs, all family members and, last not least, the women themselves.

A woman who marches in step with time, who lives with the internal and external situation and knows how to cope with the tasks deriving from them is in a better position to play her role as a mother and as a wife in the strengthening of the socialist family and the complexity of family relations, becomes ever more aware of the importance of her role, as the 8th Congress of the PLA stresses, «as an active builder of socialism, a staunch defender of the Homeland, a careful mother and educator of the younger generation».

Socialist society in new Albania tempers this type of woman. And this is achieved neither by mere decrees or plans, nor only by educational work and partial claims. Woman is emancipated when the struggle for her emancipation, despite its specific nature, is combined with the revolutionary struggle of the whole people united under the leadership and inspiration of the Marxist-Leninist party.



# THE RAISING OF PRODUCTIVITY OF LABOUR

by **HASAN BANJA**

*Not only the ceaseless raising of the productivity of labour, but also the full occupation of the active population are a characteristic and objective demand of our society*

**AS A RESULT OF THE DEEP-GOING REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE IN THE PROCESS OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE FIELD OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC RELATIONS, THE ECONOMY OF ALBANIA HAS BECOME A SYSTEM BASED ON THE SOCIALIST SOCIAL OWNERSHIP OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION, WHICH EXCLUDES THE EXPLOITATION OF MAN BY MAN, AND DEVELOPS ON THE BASIS OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE OBJECTIVE ECONOMIC LAWS OF SOCIALISM WHICH ARE EXPRESSED IN THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE STATE.**

**IN THE SOCIALIST ECONOMY OPERATES A DEFINITE SYSTEM OF ECONOMIC LAWS: THE SPECIFIC ECONOMIC LAWS OF SOCIALISM, A SET OF LAWS WHICH HAVE OPERATED IN SEVERAL PRE-SOCIALIST SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORDERS, BUT WHICH NOW ASSUME A NEW SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTENT BECAUSE THEY EXPRESS THE NEW, SOCIALIST, RELATIONS IN PRODUCTION AND FUNCTION WITHIN LIMITS CONTROLLABLE BY SOCIETY, AS WELL AS THE UNIVERSAL LAWS WHICH OPERATE IN ALL SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORDERS. IN THIS SYSTEM OF LAWS THE SPECIFIC ECONOMIC LAWS OF SOCIALISM OCCUPY THE MAIN PLACE. HOWEVER, ALONG WITH THEM, AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST ECONOMY IS PLAYED BY THE UNIVERSAL LAWS AND ESPECIALLY THE LAW OF THE RAISING OF THE PRODUCTIVITY OF SOCIAL LABOUR.**

A characteristic feature of socialism is that in this social order the raising of the productivity of labour is manifested in all its extent and depth: it is manifested in the form of its uninterrupted raising at planned rapid rates. In the capitalist economy the laws of the raising of the productivity of labour exist only as a tendency, with interruptions and zigzags, through antagonistic contradictions. In different socio-economic orders the final objective of the ope-

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ration of this law is different. Whereas in the pre-socialist orders divided into antagonistic classes the productivity of labour has been and is continuously used as a means to increase the degree of exploitation of the working man, in socialism it serves the socialist objective according to the revolutionary principle of self-reliance, the lowering of the cost of production and circulation, the increase of the material well-being and the raising of the cultural level of the working masses.

It is for these reasons that in all their activity for the development of the so-

cialist economy, the PLA and the socialist state have always been guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, according to which the productivity of labour is the main factor for the triumph of the new social order, because it expresses the most important, the qualitative aspect of the level of development of the forces of production, the direction and the organization of the socialist economy, the degree of participation and consciousness of the working people in the social production and in the distribution of its results, the degree of its economic effectiveness. Speaking of the great ideological, political and socio-economic importance which the unceasing raising of the productivity of labour has for the economy of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «...the constant increase of the productivity of labour, as the economic law of socialism, is a decisive factor for the increase of the rates of production, the lowering of costs, the increase of the socialist accumulation and the improvement of the material and cultural level of the working masses.»<sup>1</sup>

A distinguishing feature of this law in the Albanian economy is that the productivity of labour has been raised at high rates. In 1980, against 1950, it is estimated that the productivity of labour in industry has increased over threefold.

In the socialist economy the raising of the productivity of labour is conditioned by important social, natural, and technical-material factors. The social basis of the raising of the productivity of labour lies in the socialist relations of production, the new character of work in socialism, the higher degree of socialist consciousness of the working people. Socialism is the deed of the masses, it is built through the free and creative high productivity work of the working class and the other working masses. In our socialist society, work is not a strange element, isolated from the creative activity of the working people. It is not only a source of livelihood, but also a source of inspiration, joy and happiness for every working man. The place that every one occupies in our new society is determined by his participation in productive activity and other socially useful activities, by the contribution each makes to the development of society. The Albanian reality has vindicated the validity of Marx's words that in order to ensure the constant and rapid raising of the productivity of labour, it is necessary to bring about not only just technical changes, but first of all, a change in the social conditions of production, in the relations of production.

The socialist social ownership of the means of production, the activity of man in the productive work, the progress of science and technology, the ever more extensive application of their results in production, as well as the operation of the economic laws of socialism, have conditioned the rapid raising of the productivity of labour.

The man, with his work habits and with his experience of production, is part of the productive forces as a social being capable of creating and using the means of production and the objects of work with high productivity and effectiveness. Lenin has written that, «...the first productive force of all mankind is the worker, the working man.»<sup>2</sup> Without the useful productive activity of man, the technique and all the means of production in general, however perfected and developed they

may be, will always remain a dead stock. The development and improvement of the implements of labour has been done by man. Parallel with the improvement and development of the implements of labour man develops, his experience of production is enriched, the productivity of labour is raised and the amount of production of material values for the fulfilment of the ever growing needs of the population, the economy and the defence of the country, is increased.

### 1.

The importance and the range of operation of the economic law of the raising of the productivity of labour keeps increasing and extending alongside the development and strengthening of the economy on the road of the complete construction of socialism. This is connected with the fact that, in socialism, production develops at ever increasing rates, ever new sources of labour, ever new material and financial values enter the economic circulation, the intensive development of the economy grows in depth, its effectiveness, the concentration, specialization and cooperation and combination of production are raised to a higher degree, the socialist relations of production are ceaselessly perfected.

The directives of the 8th Congress of the Party for the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985) open up new, broader perspectives for the further development of the economy on the road of socialism. As Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out in the report delivered at the Congress, the fundamental task of the 7th Five-year Plan is: **«The general development of the economy, relying completely on our own forces, on the basis of deepening the socialist industrialization of the country, the strengthening and intensification of agriculture, raising the efficiency of the economy, the development of the technical-scientific revolution and perfecting the socialist relations of production, in order to guarantee and gradually raise the material well-being and the cultural level of the masses of the working people and to**

**further strengthen the socialist order and the defence capacity of the Homeland.»<sup>3</sup>**

In conformity with this fundamental task, the directives of the 8th Congress of the Party envisage that in 1985, against 1980, total social product should increase 34-36 per cent, total industrial production 36-38 per cent, total agricultural production (in the 7th Five-year Plan, against the 6th Five-year Plan, for the five years taken together), 30-32 per cent, national income 35-37 per cent, real income per head of population 8-10 per cent.

Estimated on the basis of these growth rates, social production, both industrial and agricultural, fundamental investments, etc will increase to very great proportions. It is estimated that the volume of the social product in the 7th Five-year Plan will be equal to the volume of the social product which was realized in the 4th and the 5th Five-year Plans taken together (for the years 1966-1975), whereas the volume of fundamental investments will be equal to that realized in the first four five-year plans taken together (in the years from 1951 to 1970).

In spite of high rates of population growth, the social product per head of population will increase 21 per cent, and national income 22 per cent.

For the attainment of these objectives in the field of the development of production and the enhancement of the effectiveness of the economy, a factor of very great importance is the raising of the productivity of labour. To achieve this, the directives envisage that, in general, the productivity of social labour should increase 12-14 per cent, and more particularly in industry 13-15 per cent, in construction 14-16 per cent. This will enable us to ensure nearly half the increase of the productivity of social work, 46-48 per cent of the increase of industrial production, 42-44 per cent of the increase of the volume of construction-assembly work, over 46 per cent of the increase of national income, etc from the raising of the productivity of labour.

As emerges from these data, the raising of the productivity of labour as-

sumes an exceptional importance in the 7th Five-year Plan. The tasks set for the large-scale investments, which guarantee the rapid rates of development of the economy, the opening of new jobs in town and countryside, which ensure the maintenance of the present level of well-being of the people and its further improvement, as well as the strengthening of the defence capacity of the Homeland, rely on this basis. On the attainment of the tasks of the 7th Five-year Plan for the raising of the productivity of labour depend, to a large extent, the stability of the economy, the increase of the purchasing power of the population and the possibility to meet it with the respective fund of consumption, the possibility to increase the volume of daily services for the population to expand their structure and improve their quality, to maintain the stability of the market and the monetary circulation. On the attainment of the tasks for raising the productivity of labour depends also the maintenance of the main proportions of the five-year plan and the opening of new perspectives for the future.

The fulfilment of the tasks which have been set in the field of the productivity of labour will be realized through the activation of all the technical, economic and social levers which must lead to the sparing use of the time socially necessary for production. In this direction, a special role is played by technical-scientific progress, the raising of the degree of utilization of equipment, which is directly connected with the extensive use of machinery. In his major work «Capital», Marx has written that machinery is the most powerful means for increasing work productivity, ie for reducing the time of work needed for the production of goods. To this end, in the 7th Five-year Plan it is envisaged that the material-technical base of socialism will be extended and its structure improved further. This is to be achieved through fundamental investments for the setting up of new projects, the reconstruction of the existing productive capacities, as well as the extension of the mechanization, chemization and electrification of work

processes. In the 7th Five-year Plan 45.6 per cent of the investment funds will go to the development of industry whereas 28.7 per cent to the development of agriculture. In this manner, the development of these two main branches of material production will need nearly 3/4 of the total volume of funds which will be used for financing the development of the economy and the social-cultural sectors. In the sector of industry priority will be given to investments for strengthening the energy base, increasing the extraction of oil and the extraction and enrichment of mineral ores, developing ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, the electric and chemical industries, etc. From the construction of new projects and from the extension and the reconstruction of the existing productive capacities, it is envisaged to ensure 40 per cent of the increase of the industrial production for the entire 7th Five-year Plan.

The development of industry, the increase of the production of fuels and work tools, the raising of the degree of mechanization of the various work processes, the perfecting of the technological processes, will ensure more than half of the planned target for the increase of the productivity of labour in this five-year plan.

In the present-day conditions of the development of the economy, with the development of the technical-scientific revolution with our own forces, and the numerical and the raising of the educational, cultural, technical and professional level of the working class, all the possibilities exist for linking the raising of the productivity of labour ever more closely with the progress of science and technology.

Good results have been recorded in the field of designing and building new projects, in the reconstruction of factories and plants under exploitation, in the setting up of complex technological lines with our own forces, in the field of mechanization, etc. Relying on our own forces it was possible, right in the first year of the 7th Five-year Plan, to build and commission many projects of the ferrous metallurgy such as a high furnace and coking plant, to design

twenty new mines and many new factories for the enrichment of iron-nickel ore, copper, coal, etc.

An extensive field for the raising of the productivity of labour remains the mechanization of the processes of work in industry, agriculture, construction, as well as in other branches of the economy in which many work processes are still carried out by hand. There are differences in the degree of mechanizations amongst the various branches of the economy and inside enterprises of the same branch, differences which are not conditioned by the nature of work and technological processes. The elimination of manual processes and the liquidation of the differences existing in the degree of mechanization within the same branch of the economy and production, as well as amongst various branches, is one of the main economic objectives of the 7th Five-year Plan. Achievement of it will positively influence the productivity of labour. Complex mechanization, which is being applied in chrome, copper, and iron-nickel mines, as well as improvement of the technology of extraction and application of more advanced methods of extraction are, no doubt, major achievements which must be promoted further in this five-year plan.

Fulfilment of these big tasks for raising the productivity of labour on the basis of advanced equipment and machinery has made it urgent for our mechanical industry to proceed at rapid rates towards increasing the production of machinery, equipment and other implements of labour. In 1985, as against 1980, mechanical industry will increase its production by 43-45 per cent, with the production of machinery and equipment increasing by 56-58 per cent, that is at higher rates than the increase of production of mechanical industry overall. On this basis, it will become possible for mechanical industry to really and effectively assist to raise the degree of mechanization of the main and auxiliary processes, so that in 1985 the degree of mechanization in the loading of chrome, copper, iron-nickel, and coal will be 90 per cent, against 65 per cent as it is today.

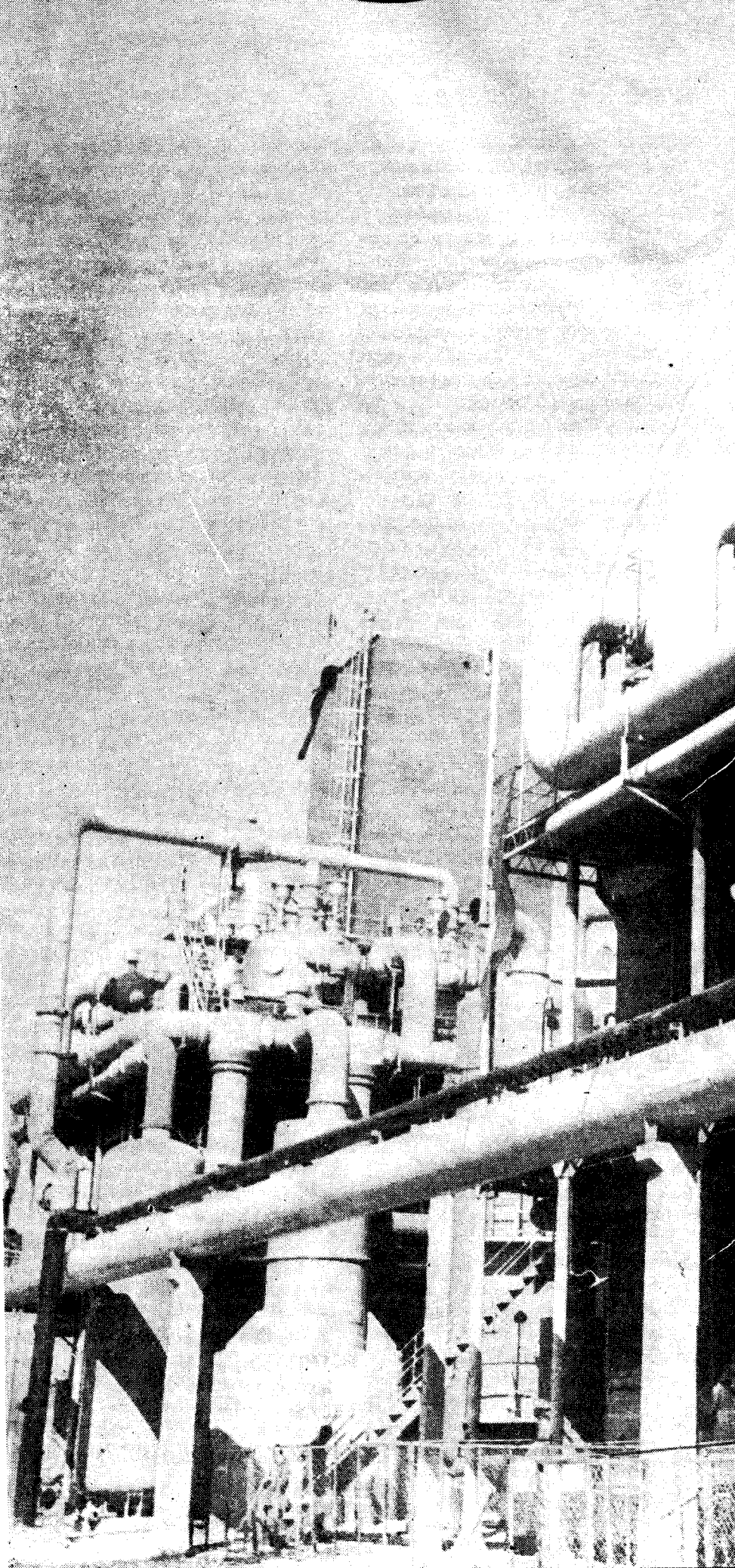
The problems of the socialist organization of work, the improvement of work norms, the strengthening of working discipline, will assume even greater importance in raising labour productivity during the 7th Five-year Plan. It is foreseen that nearly half the planned increase of the productivity of labour will be ensured through better organization of work. The importance of work organization in raising labour productivity becomes very great because achievement of the final objective in this case does not require supplementary investments.

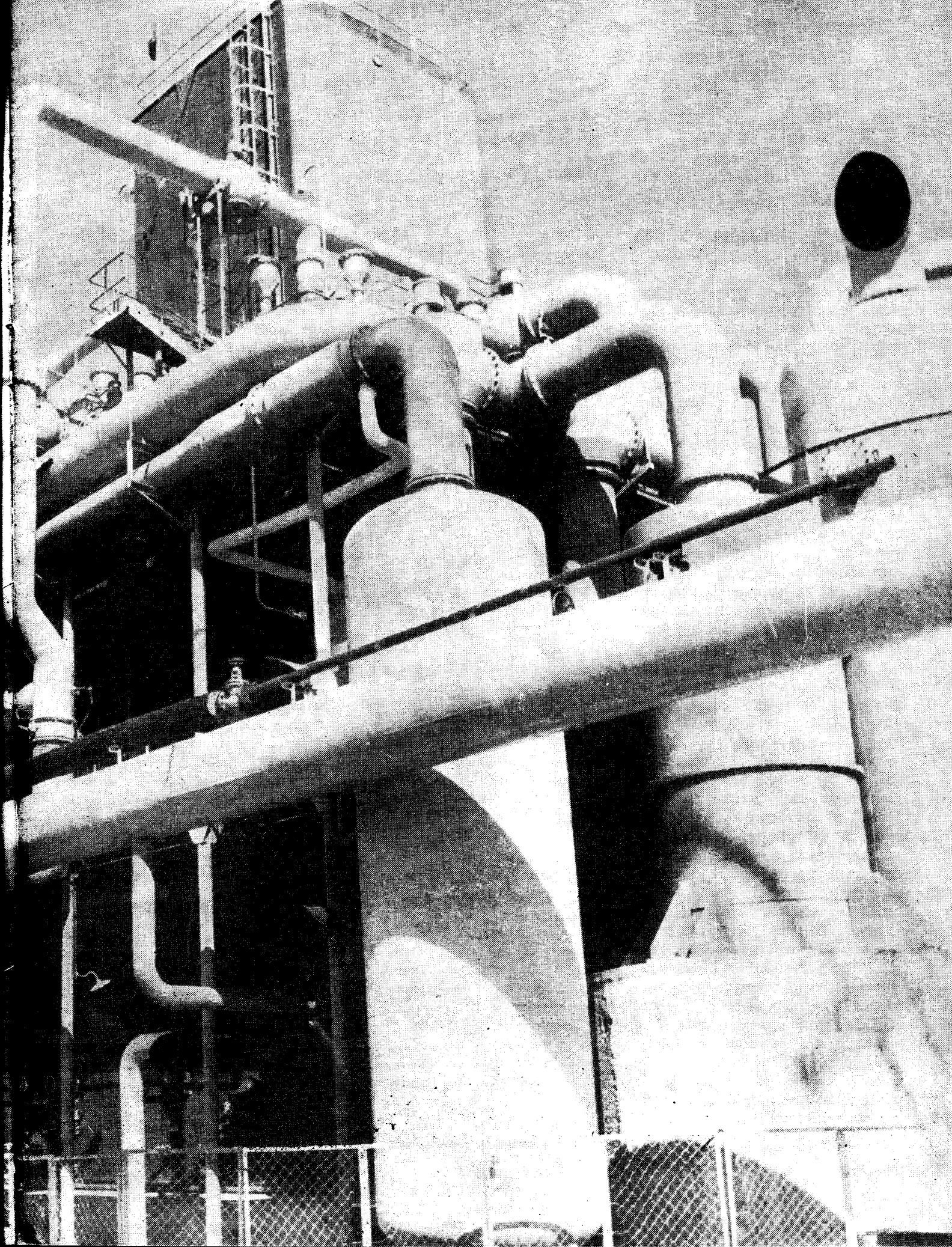
With the socialist industrialization of the country, with the introduction of the achievements of modern science, technique, and technology, into the processes of production, with the raising of the educational and technical-professional level of the working class and the improvement of the work of the economic organs, norming methods have also been improved and enriched going from the lower degree of experimental and later statistical norming, to the higher degree of technical norming.

In the 7th Five-year Plan, along with the extension of normed work to include 90 per cent of the total number of working people of the country, greater attention will be paid to improving the level of norming, so that most of the workers should work according to technical norms, so that experimental and statistical norms should gradually be replaced with technical norms. Surveys carried out in the mechanical industry, light industry and wood-processing industry, have shown that every one per cent increase in the time of work done by technical norms corresponds to an increase in productivity from 0.5 per cent to one per cent. Technical norms should be fixed on the basis of the progressive mean index, which, in itself, contains the best experience accumulated in a given process of work.

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*Partial view of the deep oil processing plant, Ballsh.*





The problem of improving work norms in socialism has a very great socio-economic significance. It is connected with the saving of not only live labour, but also of materialized labour, therefore it is directly connected with individual and social productivity, with the level of the expenditure society must make for the production of goods. By means of work norms, in a conscious and active manner, the socialist state uses the levers of the plan to regulate both the measure of the socially necessary work and the amount of remuneration for the work of every worker in conformity with the requirements of the law of distribution according to work done, its quantity and quality.

Man remains the decisive factor in the deepening of the technical-scientific revolution, in the increase of production, in the improvement of its structure and quality, as well as in the fulfilment of the plan for the raising of the productivity of labour. In Albania today the working class and the peasantry have completely changed their physiognomy. They are two allied classes, which have political power in their hands, they are the owners of the means of production and, under the leadership of the Party, run the economy and social production. In the years of the people's state power, the working class and the cooperativist peasantry have constantly raised their educational and professional level. Today more than 57 per cent of our working people have 8-year and secondary schooling and 32 per cent of them have gone through secondary and higher vocational schools. In the countryside, 52.3 per cent of the cooperativists have 8-year and secondary schooling. The qualification of the working people assumes a great importance if we bear in mind that the overwhelming part of fundamental investments and constructions will be completed in this five-year plan, which will ensure the commissioning of 80 per cent of the fundamental funds, and that the number of workers and cooperativists will increase by nearly 20 per cent against the present situation.

## 2.

Nor only the ceaseless raising of the productivity of labour but also the full occupation of the active population are a characteristic and objective demand of our society. An all-time close connection has existed between these factors of socio-economic development. They have been treated and combined as two permanent roads for the development of the extended socialist reproduction at rapid rates, for the increase of the social product, for the introduction of the natural assets of the country into economic circulation, for the raising of the well-being of the people and the strengthening of the defence capacity of the Homeland.

Albania is outstanding for its rapid demographic growth. High rates of population growth is due to a birth-rate and a continuously decreasing death-rate in demographic picture in Albania.

Compared with the situation before the Liberation of the country, the Albanian population has increased very rapidly. In 1980, as against 1938, it has increased 2.6 times, at an average annual rate of 2.57 per cent. The population of Albania today is 2.7 million, and by 1985 it is envisaged to rise to about 3 million, and at its present and foreseeable growth rate in 2000 it will reach 4 million. The density of population in 1990 will be 119 inhabitants per square kilometre, against 93 inhabitants per square kilometre which it is today, and in the year 2000 it will rise to about 140 inhabitants per square kilometre. The growth of our population is explained with a high birth-rate, as well as a low death-rate per 1,000 inhabitants. The average life expectancy in socialist Albania has reached 69.2 years, against 38.3 years in the period before Liberation. Another important thing is that the average age of the Albanian population today is 25.7 years. The fact that people under 15 years of age constitute 36 per cent of the population is proof of its dynamic development, which will be preserved in the future, too.

In Albania there is no room for such negative social phenomena as is the progressive aging of the population, a phenomenon which deeply affects de-

mographic and national processes, and which is noticed in many countries of Europe. Uncertainty about the future, rising costs of living and other phenomena of this kind in these countries, have reduced the birth-rate to the minimum, which results in the very slow increase of the population. The reduced number of new families and the increased tendency to childless marriages, because of the difficulties which the broad working masses in these countries have to cope with in bringing up their children, is ample explanation to the crisis of the family which exists in the bourgeois society. This largely explains the aging population of these countries.

The rapid growth of the population in the PSR of Albania is accompanied with notable changes of its structure. In the composition of the population of the country, the incidence of the population of the working age-group is relatively large. Today about 54 per cent of the total population is made up of the working age-group. The maintenance of a high birth-rate, along with the growing average life expectancy, is accompanied with the constant increase of the human resources. This continuously gives rise to important problems connected with finding jobs for the new work forces which are continuously created in our country. On the other hand, bearing in mind the fact that the population is not only the main factor of production, but also the main consumer of material goods, the economy is faced with important demands both for the occupation of the active population and the increase of production at rapid rates. As the experience has shown so far, these problems have been solved and will be solved in a correct manner, taking into consideration all the complex factors of the socio-economic development in the near and the distant future. It is estimated that during the 30 years of the period of the past six five-year plans, beginning from the year 1950, total social product has increased 3.2 times, national income 2.7 times, total industrial production 4.6 times and twice as rapidly as the growth of the population. In the 6th Five-year Plan (1976-1980), in

spite of the anti-Marxist, anti-Albanian and sabotage activities of the Chinese revisionist leadership, total social product increased about 25 per cent and industrial production more than 34 per cent, at an average rate of 2-3 times higher than the growth of the population. The increase of the national income, etc at rates higher than the growth of the population will be maintained in the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985), too. The amount of the social product per head of the population in the 7th Five-year Plan will increase 21 per cent, against 12 per cent of its increase during the 6th Five-year Plan, while national income will increase 35-38 per cent, and income per head of the population 22 per cent.

The rapid demographic development in Albania has always been accompanied with the solution of a great social problem, the full employment of the active population. In 1980, against 1938, the number of employed people of the working age increased 28.3 times, whereas in the agricultural cooperatives, when the complete collectivization of agriculture was completed even in the remote mountain regions of the country, the number of cooperativists increased 37.2 per cent compared with 1967. As a result of this on an average 2-3 persons in each family of 4-5 members have an occupation. This is a great success of the socialist economic policy of our Party and socialist state.

Socialist Albania not only freed the work from any relations of oppression and exploitation, but also proclaimed and guaranteed work as the right of every citizen. The experience of socialist Albania shows that only in the conditions of socialism it is possible to give a correct and relatively rapid solution to the problem of employment, for the present and the perspective, to liquidate unemployment. In Albania unemployment and emigration of the work force, which are typical of many countries, have been wiped out.

Unemployment, which even in the most developed capitalist countries affects 7-12 per cent of the active population, the fluctuation of the work force and its emigration, the denial of work,

the most elementary right of man, are incurable ills of and a grave indictment against the capitalist order, which can never cure itself of them. Along with the swelling of the army of the unemployed, the bulk of which are young people, in the capitalist order there is the widespread phenomenon of the emigration of the work force in the form of the export-import of a specific commodity — labour power. Today, the number of the emigrant workers in a number of capitalist countries makes up 7 per cent of their active population. Besides emigration, the capitalist countries are faced with the very acute problem of the mechanical movement of the work force from the countryside to the city, which has brought about the desolation of the countryside, its abandonment, with all the ensuing negative socio-economic consequences.

The Albanian socialist economy, which develops at relatively high rates, relies and will continue to rely powerfully in the future, too, on its own work resources, as a distinguishing feature of the policy of carrying out fully in practice the revolutionary principle of relying on our own forces. It is estimated that in the 7th Five-year Plan the sources of active work force will increase by about 210,000 on a national scale. These forces will be occupied, first of all, in the material production and in other useful social activities.

In the 7th Five-year Plan, as never before, the PLA and the socialist state will take all the measures to ensure that new fronts of work are opened wherever there are new forces of work.

This, however, depends largely on the distribution of the natural assets of the country and on the attainment of the objectives and directions of the economic policy of the PLA for the priority development of the extraction and processing industry, heavy and light, of electric, mining and other industries. This necessarily entails the planned distribution of part of the new work forces from one region to another, especially in the northern zones of the country, in which during the current five-year plan and in the future, the extracting branches of industry, the enrichment and

processing of minerals, the power industry, etc will assume great development.

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In the improved methodology of planning, the socialist economy, the productivity of labour and its indices are amply and comprehensively dealt with. Of special importance is the fact that the productivity of labour is considered the direct index and not the calculating index of the plan, as it was considered before.

Special attention is also paid to the combination of the criterion of the management of the economy according to each economic branch which will ensure a more rational co-ordination of the present and future plan of the development of the economy with the sources of work on a national and district scale, with the development of the productive forces and their territorial distribution, the co-ordination of the development of the economy and social production with the sources of active work according to regional peculiarities, the structure of new work places, the cultural and technical-professional level and the age of the work force. More attention is attached to a more correct planning and distribution of the sources of work between the productive and the non-productive sphere, between the increase of the social product and the productivity of labour, giving priority to the productive sphere and the increase of the productivity of labour.

The construction of socialism in the 7th Five-year Plan relying completely on our own forces, without receiving credits or economic aid from abroad, will be another important evidence of the mobilization and rational utilization of the sources of work, of the material and financial values which our society can continuously create and utilize in its irresistible march on the road of the complete construction of socialism.

1 E. Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 20, pp. 179-180, Alb. ed.

2 V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 29, p. 403, Alb. ed.

3 E. Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, Tirana 1981*, p. 14, Eng. ed.

# PEOPLING THE COUNTRY AND EXTENDING THE WORK TO THE WHOLE TERRITORY

by **HARILLA PAPAJORGJI**

*The practice of the development of a many-branched economy in town and countryside has created the possibility for the entire territory of the PSR of Albania to be populated evenly and for both the urban and rural population to develop and grow. This is the distinguishing feature of the socialist development of Albania*

**THE PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND THE COUNTRYSIDE OCCUPIED A CENTRAL PLACE AMONG THE MAJOR AND IMPORTANT PROBLEMS TO WHICH THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA HAS HAD TO GIVE SOLUTION AFTER THE LIBERATION OF THE COUNTRY AND UPON SETTING OUT ON THE ROAD OF SOCIALISM.**

**THE PROCESS OF SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRYSIDE DEMANDED THAT THE CONCRETE CONDITIONS OF ALBANIA, AS A VERY BACKWARD AGRARIAN COUNTRY WITH A RELATIVELY LIMITED AGRICULTURAL AREA AND PREDOMINATING MOUNTAINOUS TERRAIN, WITH STARK BACKWARDNESS IN THE TECHNICAL AND CULTURAL FIELDS INHERITED FROM THE PAST, AND IN THE CONDITIONS OF A COMPLETE IMPERIALIST-REVISIONIST ENCIRCLEMENT, SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION. IN THESE CONDITIONS, COMRADE ENVER HOXHA POINTED OUT AT THE 8TH CONGRESS OF THE PLA, «...THE PARTY HAD TO SOLVE TWO PROBLEMS SIMULTANEOUSLY: BOTH THE SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF THE COUNTRYSIDE AND THE ALL-ROUND DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE. AGRICULTURE HAD TO BE IN A POSITION TO FEED THE RURAL POPULATION AND TO MAKE ITS GREAT CONTRIBUTION TO THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF THE COUNTRY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY. ACHIEVEMENT OF THESE FUNDAMENTAL TASKS REQUIRED NOT ANY KIND OF DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE, BUT PRECISELY ITS SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT ON THE BASIS OF MODERN, LARGE-SCALE PRODUCTION CLOSELY LINKED WITH ALL THE OTHER BRANCHES AND SECTORS OF THE ECONOMY.»<sup>1</sup>**

The problem of peopling the countryside is connected with the development and proportional distribution of the forces of production, with the advance of education and culture, with the raising of the material well-being, and with the all-round development of the country, hand in hand with the development of demographic processes and socialist construction.

The objective the Albanian Party and state have always followed to keep the countryside constantly populated and its population steadily increasing, just as the town population, is realized in a cons-

scious and planned manner. The Party has treated this problem not merely in its economic aspect but, in the first place, in its political, social and strategic aspects, which have great importance. The road followed shows at the same time the superiority of the socialist order over the capitalist order.

## **1. THE ROAD FOLLOWED BY THE PLA TO KEEP THE COUNTRYSIDE POPULATED AND INCREASE THE NUMBER OF WORKERS IN ITS TERRITORY**

In keeping the countryside populated, the PLA has proceeded from a number of reasons. This is connected with the concrete historical conditions of Alba-

nia after its liberation and the establishment of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the conditions of an agrarian and extremely backward country from the economic and social viewpoint, the overwhelming majority of the population was engaged in agriculture and 85 per cent of it lived in the countryside. This fact had to be taken into consideration with the setting out of the country on the road of socialism and the organization of the entire economy on a socialist basis. Basing itself on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and applying them in the conditions of our country, the Party built the program for the development of the productive forces, for the construction of the material-technical base of socialism, a program which it has constantly perfected, along with the revolutionary formations, in the field of the socialist relations of production.

From the outset the Party was clear that the socialist industrialization of the country must be closely linked up with the socialist construction in the countryside. This development was an absolute prerequisite for the construction of socialism. J. V. Stalin stressed that, «the problem of the construction of socialism is the problem of the organization of the national economy on a whole, the problem of the correct combination of industry with agriculture... Socialist society is a society of production and consumption by the working people of industry and agriculture. In this context, if industry fails to link up with agriculture, which provides the raw materials and food and absorbs industrial production, if industry and

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# SIDE WORKING CLASS PEASANTRY OF ALBANIA

agriculture fail to combine in farming one whole link in the national economy, no kind of socialism will result from it».<sup>2</sup>

The application of this Marxist-Leninist thesis in life, in the conditions of Albania, called for such a development that the priority high-rate expansion of industry be adapted to the development rate of agriculture so as to ensure the strengthening of the economic links and exchanges between town and countryside, to achieve the harmonization of the priority fundamental investments and construction in industry with the investments in agriculture, as well as a correct ratio between them, to regulate in a planned manner the mechanical migration of the work force for the needs of industry and the other branches of the economy from the countryside to the town, and vice-versa, in order to harmonize the expansion of the market, the uplift to the standard of living and the development of education, and all the branches and sectors of the national economy and culture in town and countryside.

On its road for the socialist industrialization of the country, the Party rejected the practice of developing industry and the related branches only in the town, but worked to ensure that they developed in the countryside, too. Otherwise, the work force would irrationally be drawn from the countryside to the town, which, in the conditions of our country, would have brought about the ruin of agriculture.

In Albania the extension of agricultural land in the plains is limited and, no matter how much the productivity of crops is raised, it cannot cope with the growing needs for food products of an increasing population, or with the increasing needs of the light and food industries and those of export. Much of the land suitable for the development of agriculture, livestock-farming and fruit-growing is found in the hilly and mountainous regions of the country. Therefore, its cultivation represents im-

portant source for the increase of agricultural and livestock production. «For our country,» Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed, «the important thing is to ensure that the mountainous zones are not depopulated, because all the possibilities exist to make life there better and more prosperous.»<sup>3</sup>

Albania is a country rich in mineral deposits, energy resources, forests and many other assets, which, in most cases, are situated in zones where both industry and agriculture can be developed. This raises the need for these zones to be kept well populated and for the people living there to be occupied with industry and agriculture.

The existence of mineral deposits and other resources in the territory of the countryside has resulted in the development of the mining industry there, and the emergence of new work centres and small towns, with part of the work force, especially men, taking up such pursuits as mining, and the rest of the family engaging in agriculture or other activities in the village.

Along with the development of industry in the town, the Party has seen to it that industry is gradually introduced into the countryside, by opening new mines and setting up construction enterprises, factories for upgrading and smelting minerals, developing the oil industry, setting up saw-mills and wood-working combines, shops and sections for the industrialization of some agricultural, livestock and other products. It is very convenient for industry and agriculture to exist in close proximity of place, for state enterprises and agricultural cooperatives to be situated on the same territory and the working class to live together with the cooperativist peasantry.

The policy of maintaining a high level of population in the countryside is connected with all the transformations and improvements which have been made in the development of the productive forces, not only in agriculture but also in industry and other non-

agricultural activities, always following the correct and sound course of giving priority to agricultural and livestock production in the countryside and developing and assisting the spread of education, culture and the socialist way of life there. So, the countryside and its population grow and develop steadily, coming ever closer to the town in the way of life.

In the future, too, the majority of the population will continue to live and work in the countryside. This is connected with the orientation of the Party that the country needs not only a developed industry but also an advanced agriculture, and that for our economy to be strong and independent, it must stand on both feet: both on industry and agriculture. The advance and development of agriculture is indissolubly linked with the harmonized development of the entire economy, with the consolidation of the independence of the country and the construction and defence of socialism. In the conditions of the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement, of the mounting economic, political and ideological hostile pressure on Albania, this question assumes extremely great importance.

Even in the conditions when the productivity of labour in agricultural production increases steadily, it is neither correct nor profitable to allow the countryside to be drained of its forces. Agriculture represents a very broad work front. Its intensive and multi-branched development, the opening up and putting under cultivation of new land call for ever new work forces, regardless of the degree of mechanization. Besides agriculture which is and will remain the main front of activity in the countryside, the development of the other economic and socio-cultural sectors, which is connected with the fulfilment of the needs of the economy in the countryside, also demands new work forces.

The Party constantly sees to it that agriculture is not underrated in the

countryside, especially in the hilly and mountainous regions, where there are many mines and saw-mills and the incomes of the population are secured, to a large extent, from the work of the people employed in the state enterprises.

The practice of the development of a many-branched economy in town and countryside has created the possibility for the entire territory of the PSR of Albania to be populated evenly and for both the urban and rural population to develop and grow. This is the distinguishing feature of the socialist development of Albania where, as we pointed out, industry and other activities connected with the existence of the state property, have spread all over the country, to its remotest corners. Hence the conclusion that, in our country, the criterion of development cannot be determined only on the basis of the ratio between the population living in the town and the population living in the countryside, and this for many good reasons.

Although the bulk of its population lives in the countryside Albania marches steadily on the road of its transformation from an agricultural-industrial country into an industrial-agricultural one. This is borne out by a number of indices such as the rapid growth of industrial production, the ratio of industrial production to agricultural production, the place the means of production occupy in relation to the total volume of industrial production, the production per capita, the energy resources, etc. Worth noting is also the fact that part of industrial production is turned out in the rural areas of the country. This is also seen in the increasing number of workers engaged in industry and other branches of production, which exist not only in town but also in the countryside, which increases their weight in the social-class structure of our society, regardless of the fact that the ratio between the urban and the rural population of the country remains unaltered or shows only slight changes. So, while in the 10 years of the period 1969-1979 the proportion of the working class in the structure of society increased 7 per cent (from 35 per cent in 1969 to 42 per cent in 1979), the urban population increased only 1.5 per cent (from 32.0 to 33.5 per cent) during the same period. On this basis, in the future the proportion of the working class in the social structure will change more rapidly than the ratio of increase between the rural population and the urban population. In this

way, the social structure of our country will be further improved in favour of the working class, because the number of the workers of industry and other branches and sectors will increase not only in the towns, but also in the countryside, and at rapid rates, too.

This process of numerical increase of the working class will be favoured, in the future, by the further and constant improvement of the socialist relations of ownership, the gradual transition of the group property to the property of the entire people in the agricultural cooperatives. Of course, this process will lead to the further narrowing of the essential distinctions between town and countryside. At the same time, this change in the socialist countryside will have an influence in boosting the socialist attitude towards work and in introducing the socialist way of life into

the countryside more extensively.

In the capitalist and revisionist countries there is much self-praise about the increasing the urban population and the decreasing rural production, ie the agricultural workers, which, according to them, means the increase of the number of industrial workers. By this they try to create the deceptive impression that industry in their countries develops at high rates and consequently the mechanization of agriculture is also stepped up. But the reality is different. The depopulation of the countryside and the agrarian crisis, as part of the deep economic crisis in the capitalist countries, is fraught with grave consequences for the broad masses of the people, is a grave ulcer everywhere in the capitalist-revisionist world today.

The correct policy pursued in Albania is borne out to the full by the latest census of the population.

Population	In thousands		Structure in per cent	
	1969	1979	1969	1979
- In town	666.6	866.6	32	33.5
- In countryside	1.401.6	1.732.9	68	66.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>2.067.2</b>	<b>2.590.5</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

The rural population today is greater than the total population in 1960 (both rural and urban). In 1960 our country had 1.607 thousand inhabitants, whereas in 1980 the countryside had 1.750 thousand inhabitants.

The increase of the population in the countryside and of the work force in agriculture is made on the basis of the unceasing intensification of agricultural production, the extension of mechanization, and the introduction of the new achievements of science and technology. Certainly problems exist in this respect, but they can be solved on the basis of a better harmonization of mechanization and other agrotechnical measures with the process of intensification of agriculture, the maintenance of a stable population in the countryside and the increase of the new work forces in agriculture.

A great role in the development of agriculture and the countryside is played by the financial and investment policy of the Party and the socialist state in Albania. The state has made large investments for the development of agriculture. Similarly, a number of economic, financial and social measures have played an important role in the development of the countryside in general, and its hilly-mountainous zones in particular. The extension of the sys-

tem of pensions and other social security facilities to the countryside is another very important measure for raising the standards of living of its population, which has prevented a rural exodus. The consistent implementation of the correct agrarian policy of the Party has always served the strengthening of the links and healthy socialist relations between the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, between town and countryside.

The problem of development of the countryside is regarded not merely as bearing on the development of agriculture and the forces of production, but as an all-round development of the socialist road. Our countryside today has hundreds of secondary schools, mainly of the vocational type, especially for agriculture, apart from the system of compulsory 8-year education; the number of homes and hearths of culture has increased; it has more than 4,000 trade units of different kind and 3,500 health institutions. The electrification of all the villages of Albania has enabled the increased introduction of electrical appliances, radio and TV sets, in their life. In 1980 all the agricultural cooperatives of the country had 22,000 people working as builders, tailors, cobblers, carpenters, electricians, etc.

In order to maintain the population of the countryside at the required level, we follow a policy which has great political, social and practical importance, according to which people working in the work centres set up in the rural areas continue to live, together with their families, in the village. This has a positive influence, because it introduces the spirit of the working class in the village, enables the rapid development and effective utilization of our natural assets with the work force available in the zones near the sources of minerals, timber, energy, etc, as well as maintains and increases the work force needed by agriculture from the members of their families.

It is of interest to note that the number of workers residing in the village has increased at rates somewhat higher than the total number of workers. This has brought about an increase in the proportion of the workers living in the village.

The distribution of the workers residing in the rural areas according to the branches of the economy and the districts, shows great variations. In given sectors of the economy workers residing in the rural areas constitute the majority of the workers. Thus, for instance, they account for 56.1 per cent of the workers in the mines, or 60 per cent of the workers in the sector of the oil industry, and almost all the workers of the saw-mills and forest enterprises. In given districts, such as Mirdita, nearly 3/4 of the peasant families have one or two people employed in state enterprises. The situation is about the same in the other mountainous districts of the country, the North and the Eastern regions of Central Albania. Even in those regions where the proportion of the workers residing in the rural areas seems small (due to the great number of workers in the whole region), their numbers are still considerable.

This practice has had a positive effect in the improvement of the social-class composition of the family in the countryside.

During the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985), due to the needs of the economy in some districts, the practice of increasing the number of workers residing in rural areas will be continued, whereas in other districts efforts will be directed towards finding occupation for all the new work forces that the town creates, while at the same time reducing the drawing of workers from the village, even those who will reside continue to reside in the village to the minimum acceptable.

In the present conditions, when agriculture needs work forces and the development of the mineral extraction and processing industry and the timber industry, the reserves of which lie mainly in the mountainous zones, will increase the demand for work force, the Party has instructed that, in order to avoid hampering the rapid development of agriculture in the mountainous zones, the mechanical movement of the population from the countryside to the town must be avoided. Wherever necessary, in the zones rich in natural assets and poor in work force, the problem of drawing part of the work force from the rural area, without changing their residence in the village, may arise, just as the problem of moving the work force from the plain area or the towns to these zones may also be considered.

The correctness of the demographic policy in the countryside is seen in the data on the increase of agricultural and livestock production, as well as in the figures on the annual incomes of the cooperativist families from their work in the cooperative, even in the conditions when the population and the work force there have increased at relatively high rates. So, if the rural population increased twice against the pre-Liberation period, agricultural and livestock production increased five fold. Thus, agricultural production develops more rapidly than the increase of the population which results in the uninterrupted growth of agricultural production per capita of both the town and and country population. This is seen in the fact that agricultural production per unit of arable land has increased 1.7 times against the figures of 1960, and per agricultural worker 1.6 times. The real per capita income of the population in general, in town and countryside, has shown a constant yearly increase. The real per capita income of the peasantry (the comparison is made between five-year periods) has increased 10-20 per cent. This trend is borne out by more data for longer periods. Thus, the annual income from the work in the cooperative per head of cooperativist family increased 39.3 per cent in 1979, against 1965, on a Republic scale. Hence, with the continuous consolidation of the collective property, the incomes of the cooperativists have risen constantly. On an average, every cooperativist family ensures 68 per cent of its incomes from the work in the cooperative and 32 per cent from the work in the state enterprises.

The constant and general uplift of the

well-being of the people has been ensured mainly on this road, that is from the increase of the real incomes in the countryside. Without prejudicing the standard of living of the town population, indeed, by raising it higher, the policy of the Party in this field is to give priority to raising the standard of living in the countryside.

The directives of the 8th Congress of the Party for the economic and cultural development of the country in the period 1981-1985, in particular those connected with the development of agriculture and the countryside, will lead to the all-round development of life in the countryside and the increase of its population. A nearly 134 thousand strong work force is envisaged to go to the agricultural cooperatives and state farms.

On the basis of the intensification of agriculture, first of all, through opening up an additional 25 thousand ha of new land, expanding livestock-farming and fruit-growing, strengthening the mechanical base of agriculture and better harmonizing the factors which are responsible for the increase of agricultural and livestock production in the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985), against the 6th Five-year Plan, agricultural production will increase 30-32 per cent, or nearly 3 times more rapidly than the growth-rate of the population in town and countryside. The real per capita income of the population will increase 8-10 per cent in 1985, against 1980, with more rapid rates of increase for the countryside.

The carrying out of tasks in agriculture will be achieved, unlike the previous five-year plans, from intensification. In this context, the measures which will be taken to intensify production in the more fertile lowlands of the country, which account for more than 100 thousand hectares in the plains and the coastal zone, within a 10-year period, are of special importance. By working out a program for these and other steps, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 8th Congress of the Party, «...The Party will continue to devote great attention in the future to the development and strengthening of the cooperatives in the hilly and mountainous zones. A large part of the population of the country lives in these zones which include a considerable area of the arable land. The speeding up of intensification of agriculture in the plains will provide the state with greater material and financial possibilities to make investments and give greater assistance to the hilly and mountainous zones.»<sup>4</sup>

The steps which will be taken during the 7th Five-year Plan and in the future in the field of further improving the socialist relations of production in the countryside and further developing and extending the educational, cultural, health and communal services, etc will have a positive influence on maintaining population in the countryside at a satisfactory level.

The combination of the development of industry with that of agriculture, the more extensive development of such industries as mineral extraction and the exploitation of new minerals including phosphorites, quartzites, dolomites, bauxites, etc in the rural areas, the setting up of agricultural and livestock complexes, etc will further activate life in the countryside, the combination of industry with agriculture.

The implementation of the directives of the 8th Congress of the Party for the 7th Five-year Plan of the development of the economy and culture in the period 1981-1985 will play a very positive role in the development of the population in the countryside, both in the plains and in the hilly-mountainous zones.

The development of the productive forces of agriculture in a more or less uniform manner for the whole territory of the country is intended to better serve the final aim of narrowing the essential distinctions between town and countryside.

## 2. SOME QUESTIONS OF THE MECHANICAL MOVEMENT OF THE POPULATION

The questions bearing on the mechanical movement of the population from the countryside to the town require special attention. These processes, which result from the development of the productive forces and the society itself, in turn, have their influence on the development of the economy and the population. V. I. Lenin has written: «The big industry, which works with machinery, necessarily creates a moving population... The movement of the workers from one region to another, from one extremity of the country to another, becomes a necessity.»<sup>5</sup>

The working class in Albania has, to a large extent, come from the peasantry. The same is true of the population of the newly created towns and work centres. In this process the dynamic of the movement of the population has led to the combination of industry with agriculture, to the strengthening of the

links between the town with the countryside, as well as among the zones and regions of the country.

In the context of the mechanical movement of the population the need arises for a more profound study and analysis of the combination of the development of the productive forces and the distribution of the natural assets in the different zones, with the present and perspective increase of the work force. In the Northern regions, for instance, the discovery of new natural resources calls for increasing numbers of workers in the mines and the factories which have been set up and will continue to be set up for the processing of minerals, saw mills, construction, etc. However the fact remains that the cooperatives of the zones have a great shortage of hands, especially men. Therefore, in order to give solution to this problem, the mechanization of work in the mines, construction, and in the agricultural cooperatives themselves must be given priority. Likewise, we must prevent able-bodied people from leaving the mountainous zones. The practice of sending to the northern regions of the country part of the new work force for a definite time, or accommodating and occupying them permanently there, must be seen as a possible alternative.

Naturally, shifting the work force and the population from one place to another, from the town to the countryside and from one work centre to another, as practice has shown, is not easy to achieve. It is connected with a number of economic and psychological problems, housing, pay, conditions of work and social-cultural life. However, in the interest of the harmonious development of agriculture and industry we must take steps for the creation of the necessary conditions in these directions, which would facilitate a more organized and planned movement of a part of the work force. Speaking about these questions at the 8th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha underlined: «Naturally, the Party and the state will strive to open up new jobs wherever there are people, however, this depends, to a large extent, on the distribution of the natural resources and riches. Therefore, some of the new work force will have to work wherever the country needs them and wherever more jobs are available. This process must be supported better through the development of urban centres, the development of transport, the improvement of working conditions and through adjustments to the pay system to encourage people to

take jobs in the remote zones or under difficult working conditions, too.»<sup>6</sup>

In the conditions of the existence of the people's state power we have gained a good experience in setting up large-scale agricultural economies, mainly state farms, in the land reclaimed from the draining of marshes, the terracing of hills, etc. Almost one third of the arable land of the state farms has resulted from the draining of marshes and on it today thousands of people live and work, like in Maliq of Korça, Hoxhara of Fier, Velipoja of Shkodra, Thumana of Kruja, Spitalla of Durrës, etc. New inhabited centres which have a great perspective of growing larger are Ksamil in the district of Saranda, Kruma and Has in the district of Kukës, as well as many formerly depopulated villages, etc. During the 7th Five-year Plan a good part of the work force employed in agriculture is planned to work in the new sectors of the state farms, which will increase their density of population.

In this context, there are some problems of urbanization. The question is of combating some manifestations of «town-mania» which lead to the mechanical movement of the population and the artificial growth of some towns, or the tendency of describing them as towns proper and, proceeding from this, of demanding that their entire population should find occupation in industry and in the service at all costs, neglecting the state farms or the agricultural cooperatives.

These and other problems connected with the present and perspective development of the towns are the competence of the socialist town-planning, which, amongst other things, is fully in a position to deal with the distribution in space and territory of the forces of production and their occupation in a planned manner. Great work has been done until today and the program worked out by the Party for town and village systematization, as well as other related problems, have changed the face of our entire country, of our towns and villages.

The process of socialist urbanization of the country, as a natural and objectively necessary phenomenon, assists and will even more assist in the future, in bringing the rural population still closer to the urban population, the peasantry to the working class, this being one of the important roads for the solution of the problems connected with the further narrowing and ultimate liquidation of the essential distinctions between town and countryside.

### 3. THE HARMONIOUS DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES AND THE EXTENSION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN ALL THE COUNTRY

Consistent in its policy of socialist industrialization of the country, the PLA has seen to it that the productive forces and the working class develop and are distributed rationally throughout the country. This policy has constantly aimed at the harmonious development of all the districts, at overcoming the stark backwardness of the past, both of the whole country and some particular regions and zones, at improving and further raising of the standard of living of the working masses and strengthening the economic potential and the defence capacity of the Homeland.

The presence of the working class everywhere has been considered and continues to be considered as the condition indispensable for infusing the working class spirit into every cell of society, for educating working people with the qualities of the working class, and realizing and strengthening the leading role of the working class more and more everyday in the whole process of the socialist construction. The rapid development of the productive forces in all the districts and regions enables the mobilization of all the reserves of manpower in an organized manner.

Albania inherited from the past not only an extremely low level of development of the productive forces but also their very unequal territorial distribution. As a result of the uneven and spontaneous development of the productive forces, in 1938 only six districts of the country accounted for 80 per cent of all the industrial workers, but of only 40 per cent of the total population of the country. On the other hand, the six most backward districts had only 0.8 per cent of the industrial workers, at a time when they accounted for over 13 per cent of the population of the country.

The people's state power has carefully considered the problems of the proportionate distribution of the productive forces. The rapid development of the economy in all its branches is accompanied with a correct territorial distribution of the productive forces and the working class. The economic map of our country shows new towns, newly discovered mineral deposits, new industrial plants and other economic and socio-cultural centres. All this construction has been done according to correct

criteria and on the basis of economic profitability.

This development has served to overcome the great technical-economic backwardness inherited from the past, to eliminate the marked disproportions formerly existing in the field of the development of the economy in the different districts of the country, and to ensure a more uniform distribution of the productive forces and the working class in all the districts.

In this process, the links amongst the different districts and regions of the country have been strengthened, many new mineral deposits have entered the sphere of productive activity and industry, agriculture and all the other branches of the economy have developed.

This is a concrete expression of the superiority of the territorial distribution of the productive forces and the working class through the planned development of the people's economy. Speaking about this superiority, Engels said: «Only a society which is in a position to establish a harmonious combination between the productive forces on the basis of a general single plan, allows industry to extend all over the country, in the way which suits better its own development and its maintenance and the development of the other elements of production.»<sup>7</sup>

Nevertheless, distinctions still exist amongst different regions in the number of workers against the population, as well as in the level of development of the different branches of the economy.

Changes are bound to occur in the future development of the productive forces, and especially in the future distribution of industry and the working class in the different regions. This is an important and difficult social-economic problem. Its final and radical solution cannot be reached either in one or in five years, it will take a relatively longer time to be solved. However, experience shows that the problem of the territorial distribution of the productive forces, of the co-ordination of the branches of the economy, especially of industry and agriculture, calls for continuous attention on our part.

The setting up of industrial enterprises working on minerals, timber and construction materials, or of such workshops as process agricultural and livestock products, etc close to the sources of primary materials, is a positive experience. But this does not necessarily imply that such enterprises must be set up everywhere. They are set up there

where the conditions and the possibilities exist, where the size of the project and the quantity of production allows for the technical equipment and specialization for this purpose, and responds to the demands of raising the productivity of labour and the quantity of production.

A study of the structure of the population according to age-groups shows that a higher degree of concentration of the urban population in the bigger towns is accompanied with an increased proportion of the working age-group, which raises, time and again, the problem of occupation for the work force. Therefore, all the possibilities exist for these regions to develop their economy in such a way as to ensure full employment for the new work force emerging from the natural increase of the population. Thus, the problem of the development of industry in the larger centres and regions will not be solved only through the mechanical movement of the work force from the other districts.

Likewise, there is room for a more harmonious cooperation, in compatibility with the concrete conditions of every district, among industrial branches based on agricultural primary materials and of industry with agriculture. According to the territorial distribution of industry, the industrial branches which work on agricultural primary materials should be placed as close as possible to the sources of primary materials.

The historic decisions of the 8th Congress of the Party and the work to put them into practice give further assistance in the solution of the problem of maintaining present levels of population in the countryside, of achieving a correct distribution of the working class throughout the territory of the country.

1 Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, p. 28, Eng. ed.

2 J. V. Stalin, *Works*, vol. 7, p. 202, Alb. ed.

3 Enver Hoxha, «*The Correct Policy of the Party and the Heroic Work of the People Bring Prosperity and Progress Even to Our Mountainous Zones*,» Tirana 1970, p. 41, Alb. ed.

4 Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, p. 58, Eng. ed.

5 V. I. Lenin, *Works*, vol. 3, pp. 647-648, Alb. ed.

6 Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, p. 58, Eng. ed.

7 F. Engels, «*Anti-Dühring*», Tirana 1977, pp. 339-340, Alb. ed.

# WELL-BEING AND ITS CONTINUOUS IN THE PSRA *by PAL*

*In the development of production and in all the other social activities, the PLA has had in the centre of its attention the working man, the fulfilment of his material and cultural needs*

**THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA HAS SEEN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRODUCTION IN UNITY WITH THE STRENGTHENING OF THE SOCIALIST SOCIAL ORDER, THE FULFILMENT OF THE MATERIAL AND CULTURAL NEEDS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE, THEIR COMMUNIST EDUCATION, THE WELL-BEING OF THE ENTIRE PEOPLE, THE STRENGTHENING OF THE INDEPENDENCE AND DEFENCE CAPACITY OF THE HOMELAND, COLLECTIVE AND PERSONAL PROBLEMS, THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CITY AND THE PROGRESS OF THE COUNTRYSIDE.**

**IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRODUCTION AND IN ALL THE OTHER SOCIAL ACTIVITIES, THE PLA HAS HAD IN THE CENTRE OF ITS ATTENTION THE WORKING MAN, THE FULFILMENT OF HIS MATERIAL AND CULTURAL NEEDS. WELL-BEING MEANS THE BEST POSSIBLE AND EVER MORE COMPLETE FULFILMENT OF ALL THE MATERIAL AND CULTURAL NEEDS OF ALL THE MEMBERS OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY IN ANY PERIOD. IN SOCIALISM WELL-BEING HAS NOT ONLY AN ECONOMIC MEANING, BUT ALSO A PROFOUND POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE. THE CONCEPT OF WELL-BEING IS A QUESTION OF CLASS WORLD OUTLOOK. IT STEMS FROM THE MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY AND THE REVOLUTIONARY PRACTICE OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM.**

On these bases, the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha have worked out and developed the revolutionary concept of well-being in socialism. The well-being of the people is connected with and conditioned by the entire process of the construction of socialist society and the real possibilities which the development of the economy creates. The construction of socialism and the unceasing uplift of the material and cultural level of the working people are seen as one single question.

In socialist society well-being is meant for all the people and is raised continuously. Socialism does not tolerate great differences in the level and way of life between the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the intelligentsia. This social order is aimed at the creation of real prosperity and

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happiness for all the members of society.

In our socialist society the well-being of every member of the society cannot be imagined apart from the well-being of the entire people. In connection with this, Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed: «The bourgeois and revisionist concept of life putting money, unrestrained amusement, a life of luxury and ease, comfort and personal well-being above everything, is alien to our people. The catastrophic consequences of such a way of thinking are apparent in the countries where the revisionists hold sway. The way of life in these countries, which is almost identical with that of the Western capitalist countries, is characterized by political degeneration, moral decay, hankering after money and material gain, selfishness and unrestrained individualism, it is a way of life in the bourgeois fa-

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shion, riddled by gangsterism and hoodliganism.»<sup>1</sup> The fulfilment, in the first place, of the most essential needs, which determine the level and way of life of the people in general, is an absolute demand for the raising of well-being. In this context, the aim of the socialist society is to provide for the fulfilment of the more urgent and more massive demands of the population, and not to cater to petty-bourgeois whims. These demands are fulfilled in an all-round manner, not only for today but also for the future. The harmonized fulfilment of the material and cultural demands on the basis of personal and social requirements and the continuous increase of these same demands on a broad social basis, help strengthen the feeling of collectivism and the socialist way of life.

At any given time the well-being is determined by a number of factors. However, two fundamental categories of factors, political and economic factors, are the most important among them.

The state power and the character of the ownership of the means of production determine, at the same time, the respective material and cultural situation of the working masses. The material situation and the mode and way of realizing it have a class content. Precisely for this reason it is important that in analyzing and determining the standard of living of the working masses we must proceed, first of all, from the political factors, ie we must see which class wields political power. In capitalist society there are antagonistic

classes with opposed political and economic interests: the class of the capitalists, which wields political power and owns the means of production, and the proletariat and the other working masses which are divested of political power and the ownership of the means of production and which are exploited by the bourgeoisie. The governments of these countries carry out an economic and financial policy which complies fully with the interests of the ruling class. Experience has shown that bourgeois governments faithfully carry out the will of the bourgeoisie, creating all the possibilities and facilities for it to exploit the working class and the broad working masses. For this purpose, they do not hesitate to resort to state authority and violence in order to crush any attempt on the part of the proletariat and the working masses to improve their conditions of living. Obviously, when political power is in the hands of the bourgeoisie, there can be no talk about the well-being for the working masses or about its raising.

In order to ensure suitable living conditions and continually raise the material and cultural level of the working masses it is absolutely necessary to establish the political power of the working class — the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a fundamental factor which plays a decisive role in the creation of well-being for the entire working people. The liquidation of the capitalist private ownership of the means of production results, subsequently, in the abolition of the bour-

geois right of appropriation of the largest part of the national income. The liquidation of capitalist ownership, and on this basis, the liquidation of the capitalist order itself, lead to important fundamental changes: the liquidation of privileges for the minority of the former ruling classes, and the gradual but steady improvement of the living and working conditions of the people, the raising of the material and cultural level of the entire society.

The establishment of the political power of the working class and of the social ownership of the means of production creates the possibility for the final product of the work to be utilized in the general interests of society. As a result of the creation of the political conditions, the creation of the economic conditions — the establishment of the social ownership of the means of production, also becomes possible. In these conditions, the working masses are interested in increasing the production of material goods, in the rapid growth of the forces of production, because all this directly bears on the boosting of the interests of the producers themselves. Here the level of well-being depends on the maturity of the socialist relations of production, the degree of participation of the working people in socially useful work, the level of productivity of labour, the need for the strengthening of the defence capacity of the country, the indices connected with the utilization of the social fund of consumption (education, culture, health, housing, demography, etc).

A correct understanding of these factors, which ensure and determine the well-being of the masses, is an indispensable condition for a correct Marxist-Leninist understanding of well-being in socialism. «The objective of the Party is to make the life of the people as happy as possible, to ensure a general uplift of their well-being. But it is important for everybody to understand that for these objectives to be attained the principal factor has been and remains the all-round mobilization of people in town and countryside to increase socialist production, to raise the productivity of labour, guided by our revolutionary principle that, before making claims on society, one must contribute the maximum.»<sup>2</sup> Comrade Enver Hoxha has said.

The level of the material well-being of the working masses and the rates of its increase have been defined correctly for every period, within the possibilities and in the conditions of our country, in the directives of the economic and social development. Total so-

cial product and national income in the PSR of Albania have grown at rapid rates. The 8th Congress of the PLA instructed that for the attainment of the objective in the field of well-being, work and efforts must be concentrated, in the first place, on the fulfilment of the tasks of increasing production and raising its effectiveness in industry, agriculture and other branches of material production. Special attention is paid to knowing and implementing the laws and demands which govern production and distribution, and the circulation of goods and money in socialism.

Any extension of social production in socialism, in which a correct distribution exists, leads to the uplift of the well-being of the working masses, which, in turn, is expressed in improved indices of well-being. In this manner, in Albania the rates of growth of the social product are three-four times higher than the rates of increase of the population. The following data support this affirmation.

Year	Increase (in times)	
	of total social production	of population
1950	1	1
1960	2	1.3
1970	6.7	1.76
1975	9.1	2
1980	11.4	2.2

The same can be said about the national income, which in the 7th Five-year Plan will increase 35-37 per cent. This is 3-4 times in excess of the increase of the population. The volume and distribution of the national income in Albania into the accumulation fund and the fund of consumption serve ever better the development of the forces of production at rapid rates and the fulfilment of the growing material and cultural needs of the entire society, as well as a more correct harmonization of the present interests with those of the perspective. For this purpose, the accumulation fund will increase at rates higher than the fund of consumption.

The norm of accumulation during the 7th Five-year Plan (1980-1985) is en-

visaged to increase by 31-33 per cent. The accumulation fund in this five-year plan is to develop proportionately with the fund of consumption, ensuring the continuous uplift of the well-being for the present and the perspective, since, at the same time it ensures the increase of the fund of consumption. In this manner, the increase of the accumulation fund, which goes to the increase of the social production, constitutes the material basis for the fulfilment of the ever growing needs of the people. In the years of the people's state power, the fund of consumption has increased continuously and parallel with the increase of the accumulation fund.

The fund of consumption has in-

creased at higher rates than the increase of the population, which has directly influenced the increase of the real income per capita. All over the period of the construction of socialism in Albania, as a result of the continuous increase in the number of people employed, constant price reductions, the total abolition of taxes, which has made Albania the only tax-free country in the world, the institution of the system of pensions for the working people of town and countryside, all these things have helped radically improve the material and cultural situation of the working people of town and countryside. In this manner, in 1985 against 1980, the real income per capita of the population will increase 8-10 per cent, whereas in the countryside its increase rate will be over twice as high as in the town.

One of the main ways for the systematic uplift of the level of well-being of the working masses, as the PLA sees it, is the occupation in socially useful work of the entire able-bodied population. In the PSR of Albania not only there is no unemployment and economic emigration, but on the contrary, the dynamic development of the forces of production and of the social and cultural activities call for ever new work forces. All the new work forces which will emerge during the period 1981-1985 and which constitute about 8 per cent of the entire population, will be employed, in the first place, in the sectors of production. In every family of five people in Albania, two or three members are employed. This is the road that ensures the increase of social production and the real income per capita.

Albania has a stable economy which knows no crises, inflation, unemployment, etc. In spite of the situation which has been created in the world as a result of the economic-financial crisis which has swept all the capitalist-revisionist countries, in our country supplies for the population have not been affected at all, on the contrary, have been improved. The retail trade goods turnover during the 6th Five-year Plan (1976-1980) increased



about 20 per cent. In 1985, against 1980, the retail trade goods turnover will increase 22-24 per cent.

Changes are noticed in the improvement of the structure of goods. By ever better fulfilling the needs of the population for food-stuffs, always within the possibilities existing in the given conditions, the needs for industrial articles have also been fulfilled at growing rates. In this manner, industrial articles account for about 40 per cent of the total retail trade goods turnover, and this figure keeps increasing from one year to another. With the development of the economy during the period 1981-1985, the material well-being and the cultural level of the population will be guaranteed and further raised, at a time when the capitalist and the revisionist countries are struggling with unemployment, inflation, price rises, etc which hit the standard of living of the working people.

It is important to underline that the standard of living of the working masses in the PSR of Albania is closely connected with the very important measures which the PLA has taken in order to assist the working people through a system of socio-cultural institutions and services. In socialist society a number of material and cultural needs of the working people are fulfilled by the social fund of consumption. With the development of the productive forces and the continuous improvement of the socialist relations of production, the increase rate of the fund of social consumption has gone up parallel with the increase of the fund of individual consumption. In this manner, in the 6th Five-year Plan (1976-1980) the fund of social consumption increased 20 per cent, whereas in the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985) it is envisaged to increase still more.

The increase of the fund of social consumption, in comparison with the increase in the fund of individual consumption, has led to the increase of the proportion of the fund of social consumption against total social consumption. This fund accounted for about 14.3 per cent of the entire fund of consumption during the years 1971-

1975 and to 15.2 per cent during the years 1976-1980. The fund of social consumption is distributed according to the needs, gratuitously, and not according to the amount of work done. Here we have to do with an element of the communist distribution.

The increase in the fund of social consumption causes the well-being of the population to increase in a sound Marxist-Leninist way and the spirit of collectivity for the fulfilment of these personal needs, which can be ensured on a collective basis, to be strengthened. Expenditure from the fund of social consumption is very large in our country; it is an expression not only of the

economic potential of the country, which grows steadily, but also of the superiority of the socialist order over the capitalist and the revisionist order.

In connection with this, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out: «Only the socialist order completely frees the workers from that continuous anxiety and the difficulties they encounter in meeting their needs for education, culture, and health services in the capitalist countries.»<sup>3</sup>

The increase of the funds of social consumption can be seen in the following table about the expenditure of the state budget for social-cultural measures.

*in per cent*

	1950	1960	1970	1975	1980
<b>Social-cultural measures</b>	15.1	23.7	24.5	22.7	24.2

The continuous increase of the amount of expenditure for social-cultural measures, which account for about one fourth of the total expenditure of the state budget, at more rapid rates than the increase of the population, has brought about that the average gain of every family from the fund of social consumption has increased every year. Thus, in 1980 every family has profited about 4,000 leks from the fund of social consumption.

In the future, as a result of the correct policy pursued by the PLA for the continuous increase of the well-being, the fund of social consumption will be further increased, with the consequence that average gain from it for every family will be greater.

The opposite is happening in the capitalist and revisionist countries, where expenditure from the state budget for social purposes is falling steadily. So,

according to reports in the American press, in 1982 budgetary funds for social measures are envisaged to go down by more than 40 billion dollars.

One of the most important successes achieved in the PSR of Albania during the years of the people's state power is the raising of the educational and cultural level of the broad working masses. With the measures taken by the Party the situation in education changed radically. In our country today the 8-year school is compulsory. Various schools of the 8-year system of education, general secondary schools and vocational schools of various profiles, as well as many higher schools, have been set up both in town and countryside. In this manner, as a result of the growing mass character of education, the number of pupils and students has increased considerably. This increase is reflected in the following table:

	1950	1960	1970	1980
<b>Pupils and students (in 1,000)</b>	177.9	311.5	661.2	731
<b>Per 1,000 inhabitants</b>	146	194	310	274
<b>One in how many people goes to school</b>	7	5	3	3.6

In 1985, against 1980, the number of full-time secondary school students will increase 46 per cent, and the number of full-time higher school students 24 per cent.

The transformations in the field of culture and the arts which have played an important role in the formation of the new man in the communist world outlook, could not even be imagined in the past. The number of houses and hearths of culture, libraries, museums, etc has greatly increased, as well as the circulation of books, newspapers, periodicals, etc.

One of the indices of increased well-being has always been the strengthening of the health services. The strengthening of the health services has been the special concern of the PLA. The results achieved push into insignificance all that has been done in the period before Liberation, when even the means to cure diseases did not exist, when illness was a real disaster and when medication and medical care cost so much that they were beyond the reach

of ordinary people. Today the health service in Albania is free of charge for all. The opposite occurs in the capitalist and revisionist countries, where doctor's fees are becoming ever more of a heavy burden for the working masses, where charges for medical consultations, treatment and hospitalization, prices of medicines, etc keep rising at staggering rates. Thus, for instance, in the USA during the last two decades charges for medical treatment have gone up 3.5 times, and hospitalization costs have increased 6.4 times. The situation is similar in the other capitalist countries. In recent times prices for medicines went up 9 per cent in Italy, and 25 per cent in Great Britain, and in West Germany they have gone up 125 per cent in the last ten years.

The health service in Albania has been extended all over the country, both in town and countryside, and it keeps developing and improving every year. This is borne out by the following data:

The number of mother and child care

	1938	1950	1960	1970	1980
1. Number of physicians and dentists	122	149	477	1,808	4,476
2. Number of inhabitants per one physician	8,527	8,156	3,360	1,180	597
3. Number of institutions with beds	11	69	134	375	764
4. Number of beds per 1,000 inhabitants	10	44	54	70	70

institutions has increased and the services which they perform have greatly improved.

With the raising of the level of the health service and the general uplift of the standard of living of the working masses the demographic indices of our country have improved, too. Our coun-

try has a steady population growth, and a population structure in which the younger age-groups are predominant, ie an active and young population. We have a relatively high birth-rate and a death-rate that has fallen well below the level prior to the liberation of the country. The average life expectancy,

from 38 years it was in 1938, has gone up to 69 years now.

For the improvement and raising of the material and cultural level of the working masses great work has been done by the communal services and housing construction. Communal services have been extended both in town and countryside. The villages of the country are electrified and linked with the telephone network. Improvement of the living conditions of the population has been and remains the main concern of the policy of the PLA in the field of well-being. Today about 80 per cent of the population lives in houses built in the years of the people's state power. During the 7th Five-year Plan, over 80,000 new apartments and houses to accommodate about 400,000 people, ie 1/7th of the present population of the country, will be built.

House-rents, though they are the lowest in the world, have never gone up and will never do so. A monthly house-rent in Albania is equal to 1-1.5 workday's pay of a worker.

The continuous improvement and ceaseless raising of the level of well-being prove once again the correctness of the revolutionary policy and activity of the PLA and our socialist state in this field. As a result, the level of well-being goes up steadily in all its indices. This healthy situation creates a feeling of security about the future and opens new perspectives for the further raising of the level of well-being for our working masses.

1 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 5th Congress of the PLA, p. 142, Alb. ed.

2 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 78, Eng. ed.

3 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, p. 94, Eng. ed.

# THE PROCESS OF STRENGTHENING THE SOCIALIST PSYCHOLOGY OF PROPERTY AND WORK

*by* **RAQI MADHI**

*The setting up of the economic base of socialism created the objective conditions for radical transformations in the social psychology and for making the socialist psychology of work and property the psychology of all the classes and strata of our society*

**THE MATERIAL FACTORS PLAY A DECISIVE ROLE IN THE FORMATION OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. THE MARXIST-LENINIST THESIS ON THE DEPENDENCE OF SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS ON SOCIAL BEING PROVIDES THE THEORETICAL EXPLANATION OF THIS PHENOMENON. «THE MODE OF PRODUCTION OF MATERIAL LIFE,» SAYS MARX, «CONDITIONS THE SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND SPIRITUAL PROCESS OF LIFE IN GENERAL,»<sup>1</sup> WHILE V.I. LENIN POINTS OUT THAT THE CONCLUSION OF DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM «ON THE DEPENDENCE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF IDEAS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THINGS IS THE ONLY ONE WHICH CONCORDS WITH SCIENTIFIC PSYCHOLOGY.»<sup>2</sup>**

As all forms of social consciousness, social psychology, too, is conditioned by the relations of production. However, in social psychology economic factors have immediate and direct bearing on the ideological formation. Any operation of material factors leaves its imprim on the state of mind of classes, strata and individuals. This operation takes place objectively, regardless of the will of man.

Always adhering to the thesis that material factors play the main role in the formation of social psychology, the concept according to which the

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subjective factor cannot influence the process of formation of social psychology, is unacceptable. On the contrary, the subjective factor not only influences the formation of social psychology, but also operates quite extensively in this field. It operates either directly, in a conscious manner, or indirectly, in an unconscious manner. The whole educational, ideological and cultural activity is a conscious activity and is exercised directly on the minds and feelings of men to form a particular world outlook and social psychology in them. However, the subjective factor is responsible for the

formation of social psychology through the economic, political, and administrative activity, too. Every economic, political or administrative measure has its consequences in the state of mind of people to whom it is directed, but changes in social psychology are not the primary goal of these measures.

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The process of the creation of the new socialist psychology is not instantaneous. It changes along with political, economic and socio-ideological changes. Every stage of the socialist revolution leaves its imprint on the social psychology of the working masses, weakens and eliminates some of its features and peculiarities, forms and consolidates new features and peculiarities.

The National Liberation War of the Albanian people led by the Commu-

nist Party of Albania (today the Party of Labour of Albania) was a staggering blow at the petty-bourgeois psychology, political indifference and individualism. **During this period the political and spiritual premises were prepared for deep-going changes in the psychology of the working masses in general, and in their concepts of property and work in particular.**

**The triumph of the revolution and the establishment of the people's power sped up and deepened the process of transformation which had already begun and created, first, the socio-political base and, later, the economic base, for the formation of the new concepts of property and work.** An important and decisive factor for the formation of this new psychology became the all-round activity of the Party of Labour of Albania to prepare the masses politically and ideologically for the tasks of the new stage of development, to convince them and to make them aware of the difficulties of the construction of socialism they were to embark upon.

Immediately after the liberation of Albania the vigour and creativeness of the working masses exploded in the new field of economic construction. Although the necessary economic base for the formation of the socialist concepts of property and work still had not been formed, the new and more general features of the new psychology of the people's masses emerged in the atmosphere of work for the reconstruction of the country. An extremely progressive element, **voluntarism, work without remuneration,** was formed in the psychology of property and work. While preserving the traditions of the National Liberation War and its lofty fighting spirit, the psychology of self-denial and determination to overcome any obstacle to the construction of the new Albania, was inculcated deeper and strengthened. Thousands of working people from the city and the countryside took part in the detachments, brigades and battalions of voluntary work which were set up immediately after Liberation all over the country. They contributed in the building of thousands of kilometres of roads and bridges, in draining many marshes and setting up

important irrigation works in the countryside.

Along with voluntarism, another element of the psychology of the Albanian workers and peasants regarding work — **solidarity, assistance for the comrade, for the neighbour, for the collective and the class,** was raised to a higher degree. Over a short time, part of the factories, mines and electric stations were reconstructed and commissioned, many of the houses destroyed and burned down during the war, especially in the countryside, were rebuilt, families without able-bodied members and draught animals were assisted to till their lands and gather the crop.

**Voluntarism and solidarity,** as advanced elements in the consciousness of the masses, constituted the basis of **the new relations of collaboration and discipline at work.** In this sense, they had **extraordinary importance,** in as much as they marked a victory over petty-bourgeois egoism and other negative manifestations of the psychology of the working people, which were fostered in the conditions of the exploitative orders, and announced the formation of new concepts of property and work. Speaking about the importance of voluntary labour without remuneration, V. I. Lenin emphasized that «this is the beginning of a more difficult, more important, more deep-going and more decisive revolution than that which overthrew the bourgeoisie, for it marks the victory over routine, disintegration, and petty-bourgeois egoism in our ranks, over such habits as the accursed capitalism has left in legacy to the worker and peasant. When **this** victory is consolidated, then and only then a new social discipline, socialist discipline, will be created, and only then any possibility of a return to capitalism will be eliminated and communism will become truly invincible.»<sup>3</sup>

How is the emergence of more advanced elements of the psychology of property and work explained prior to the setting up of the economic base of socialism? What conditioned this emergence? The factors which constituted the source and ground of these elements are different — political and social, economic and ideological. Al-

though **economic relations constitutes the main base for the emergence of these elements,** in the formation of the psychology of property and work **the political awareness that the people had come to power, that they had become the masters of the country became the mainstay of this process.** For the first time our people had won genuine independence. Albania was completely their own. But for them to enjoy it in a lasting manner, they had to defend and strengthen it. Therefore, they were ready to make new and great sacrifices for the strengthening and prosperity of Albania. In these conditions a new state of mind, a new concept about their own interests and their future was created among the working masses.

**In the situation created immediately after Liberation, the general interests, those of the Homeland and its future gained a new dimension, growing closer to the working masses than the personal interests, so they were able to overcome the psychology which fosters selfishness and petty-bourgeois interests.**

Before Liberation people lived in misery. Poverty weighed on the small proprietor, too. The fulfilment of the aspirations of the Albanian people to a better life, to radical transformations in their economic situation, was directly linked with the people's revolution and with the construction of a new Albania. Therefore, the working masses saw with greatest clarity that their closest and first interests were the interests of the Homeland — its defence and the reconstruction of the country. That is why the general interests gained priority, that the voluntary unpaid work became a general and massive phenomenon — a characteristic feature of the time.

**The measures of an economic character which were taken in the years 1944-1945, built up the trust of the people that they were masters of the country and extended the social base for the consolidation of the elements of the new psychology.**

**A decisive role in the formation of these new elements of social psychology was played by the educational and ideo-political work of the Party, its all-round activity to resolve the**

major and complex political and economic problems together with the masses. «The struggle for the reconstruction, just as sacred as the previous struggle (the National Liberation War – note of the author),» Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized on May 1, 1946, «could not be carried through to victory and continued without the participation of the working masses of Albania.»<sup>4</sup> Along with ensuring the participation of the working masses in the reconstruction of the country, the Party saw to it that the masses play an active role in the limitation of the capitalist elements, in defeating the wrecking and sabotage activity of the enemy and wreckers in the field of the economy. An important role in stepping up the activity and enhancing the role of the working class was played by the law on the establishment of state control on production and its distribution in the capitalist enterprises which were not nationalized yet. It ensured the active and direct participation of the workers in the organization of production and management of enterprises. The working masses took part in controlling prices and waged a stern struggle against speculation and black marketing. This gave great assistance in the implementation of the law on war profits for the local merchants and industrialists.

The direct participation of the masses in fulfilling these important tasks strengthened even more their awareness of being master of their country, built up their confidence that the future was in their hands.

In periods of turns, deep-going changes take place in the social psychology of the different classes and strata. A similar phenomenon also occurred with the psychology of our working masses immediately after Liberation. However these changes, no matter how deep-going, did not bring about a complete overthrow of the old psychology and did not mark the instant transformation of social psychology into socialist psychology. They marked only the beginning of this overthrow. **The formation of socialist psychology and property and work constitutes a relatively lasting process which relies on the transformations of**

the relations of production in the first place.

**The transformation of the relations of production constitutes a new stage in the process of the development and transformation of the social psychology of property and work.** The creation of the socialist ownership of the means of production provided the necessary material base for the creation of the new social psychology. However, the formation of the socialist social psychology of property and work still does not constitute an instant act; it is a gradual process. The rates and peculiarities of the transformation of the social psychology into a socialist psychology were conditioned by the rates and peculiarities of the socio-economic transformations. The main role in this process was played by the character and the depth of transformation in the relations of production, by the degree of socialization and the peculiarities of property in city and country.

In the city, two main roads have been followed for the transformation of the relations of production; first, through nationalization, namely the immediate expropriation of the exploiting classes and the transformation of the principal means of production into property of the entire people; and second, through cooperation of handicraftsmen. The first road was relatively easy and took a short time. At the end of 1946 the principal means of production in the city were transformed into social property. At that time, the state sector accounted for 87 per cent of the total volume of industrial production. Towards the end of 1947 the production of the private capitalist industry was quite non-existent. For the first time our working class became master of the means of production. Not only did the concept of the worker about property change radically, but his concept about work changed just as radically, too. Work was no longer a means of exploitation, it was no longer a drudgery. It was no longer a means for the worker and his family to secure a livelihood, but a means which ensured the constant improvement of his well-being and of society as a whole. Work was not a matter of submission and humiliation, but a great

honour and major social duty on which the future of the class and society, as well as the defence and strengthening of the Homeland depended. This reality was instilled deep into the consciousness of the working class causing its psychology to be transformed radically. The transformation of the psychology of work was not a negation of the positive habits and traditions of work inherited by the worker. The good tradition of work would be preserved and strengthened, assuming a new content under the new conditions in conformity with the change in the character of property and work.

Along the working class another category of working people, the craftsmen, also carried on their activity as city producers. Unlike the working class, they owned their means of production. Although they had a developed sense of the love of work, because they depended on it to meet their economic requirement, petty-bourgeois psychology was typical of them. The road for their transformation was longer and more difficult. The transformation of the small producers of the city into socialist working people and the transformation of their psychology of property and work into a socialist psychology was achieved through cooperation. But this process was not carried out easily. Their former position as owners, the limited character of the cooperativist ownership, as group ownership, and the forms of distribution in the cooperative resulted in the petty-bourgeois psychology persisting among them for a longer time and exercising its influence even after they became part of the working class. Even after joining the cooperative, the craftsmen continued to consider work mainly a means to meet their personal needs. The process of raising him to the awareness that work is a duty was more difficult than in the case of the working class. This was not achieved instantly, but through the whole process of the transformation of the cooperativist property into property of all the people.

The process of the transformation of the psychology of the peasant also took a long time. The peasant's psychology of property and work was influenced by his twofold nature: he was both

worker and owner, both oppressed and exploited, as well as producer of goods for the market.

However, the political changes that had taken place in our country were a powerful factor which caused a profound shake-up in the individualism of the peasant. Now he regarded his interests in a broader context. The National Liberation War and its victories had convinced the peasant that his future was linked with the socio-economic transformations that would be carried out under the leadership of the Party in Albania.

The conviction of the peasantry that its interests were directly linked with the strengthening and construction of new Albania was expressed in its active participation in liquidating the consequences of the war devastations and in coming to the assistance of the country at a time when there were shortages of agricultural and animal products and the country was threatened with starvation. This conviction was still more built up by the first measures of an economic character to the advantage of the working peasant and especially the Land Reform. These measures, at the same time strengthened the position of the peasant as an owner. For the first time in his life the peasant felt like a true master of his land. That is why a contradictory process was taking place in his social psychology of property and work. On the one hand, the old feeling of distrust of the peasant towards the state and ruling class was dealt a heavy blow, while the trust in the Party and the people's power was strengthened, the people's masses came closer to and felt themselves more united with the working class, love for work and the sense of duty towards the Homeland rose to a higher level. On the other hand, however, the small proprietor stand, which kept alive and fostered the petty-bourgeois psychology, still lingered. The change of the political awareness, on the one hand, and the strengthening of his positions as a proprietor, on the other, encouraged contradictory concepts in the peasants, brought about a split in his psychology. This kind of the peasants' psychology made itself felt during the whole process of collectivization, however, the deep-going political and social trans-

formations had paved the way and had become an important factor for a further change in the world outlook of the peasant.

The collectivization of agriculture, which was the main road for the spiritual transformation of the peasantry, was carried out as an extremely complex economic and ideological process, as an all-round class struggle for the creation of the feeling of collectiveness and the socialist psychology of property and work. «The transition from one form of living, thinking, organization and concepts to another,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «cannot be done instantly, without hesitations, without second thoughts.»<sup>5</sup> The concept of the peasant who «idealized his own individual efforts and those of his family and did not take into proper consideration the strength of the community, the strength of the collective...»,<sup>6</sup> had to be broken in the first place. Although the peasant loved work, it was difficult to cultivate in him the concept of work as a social duty as long as he could not conceive it apart from private property. The concept of the peasant, according to which individual property was the only means of livelihood, had to be done away with. These concepts were not equally strongly rooted in all the sections of the peasantry and in all the regions of the country. Everything was conditioned by the strength of the links of the peasant with the land. The changes in the psychology of the peasant depended on his feeling of property. Even after the Land Reform gave them their land, the formerly landless peasants broke more easily from private property and had less difficulty in accepting the road of collectivization. The case of the peasants who formerly had little land was more or less similar. Whereas the middle peasant and the peasant of the mountain regions, among whom individualism, connected with the private ownership of the land (although their plots were quite small) was more deeply rooted, had some difficulty in parting with the land and submit themselves to a new, unknown form of property and work organization. The Party took account of this fact and did not handle the problem in the same manner in all the areas and regions of the

country. The collectivization was carried out not as an instant process, but as a gradual process which, among other things, was based on the mentality and ideological level of the peasant masses. This is one of the reasons why the mass collectivization was carried out at a later stage in the mountain regions. However, there was another element, which made itself felt in the peasant psychology in these areas and accelerated the process of collectivization. It was connected with the industrial development of the country which led to the increase of the working class with workers from the countryside. Hand in hand with this the influence of the working class psychology on the peasant began to grow. Because of various socio-economic circumstances, part of the young workers continued to live in the countryside. Though young in age, they carried the spirit of the working class psychology to the countryside, which influenced the strengthening of the feeling of collectivity. But the main factor which linked the peasants of the mountain regions with collectivization was their trust in the Party.

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The change of the relations of production in the city and countryside and the setting up of the socialist sector of production caused important changes in the relations of the classes and their psychology. **However, since the small-goods producer also continued to exist for a certain time together with the socialist property, the petty-bourgeois psychology would continue to exercise its influence not only on the small producer, but also on the other producers.** The spread of the socialist social psychology of property and work among all the classes and strata of society and its different degrees of extension depend largely on the extension and maturity of the socialist relations of production.

The greatest success in the transformation of the psychology of work and property into a socialist psychology of the broad working masses was achieved with the mass collectivization and cooperation in 1956. On the eve of this great change, in October 1955 the small

goods producers, including the small private merchants, accounted for 71.3 per cent of the whole population occupied with work. Despite the many important socialist transformations made at this first stage, our country remained for a relatively long time a country where the petty-bourgeois sections made up the majority of the population. As a consequence, the petty-bourgeois psychology of property and work continued to prevail in the greater part of the population.

Apart from the class composition of the population and the existence of different sectors of the economy, there were also other factors which preserved or fostered the petty-bourgeois psychology. Among them an important role was played by the influence of ancient traditions and old customs, an influence which extended even to the working class which, in its majority, was of worker or craftsman origin. The influence of old customs, although the working class was emancipated and transformed into the ruling class, continued to be felt. The influence of the old customs in the preservation of the petty-bourgeois psychology was closely linked, among other things, with the fact that before Liberation our working class was not yet formed as an industrial proletariat. After Liberation it was gradually transformed into an industrial working class, but it was young and as such its composition was heterogeneous, consisting mainly of people who came from the countryside and from the stratum of the craftsmen.

The formation of the socialist psychology of property and work among the working class would not take place immediately and spontaneously, but would be accompanied with an all-round ideological struggle against old leftovers and customs. Nevertheless, with the working class this process would develop more rapidly and with less difficulty than with the other classes and strata.

The struggle for the transformation of the psychology of the cooperated craftsmen would take more time. The fact that even after their joining the cooperative the means of production and the level of technique remained unchanged and that hand work continued to occupy the main place, resulted in the preservation among the cooperated

craftsmen, and especially the masters, of many elements of the old artisan-petty-bourgeois psychology. The concept of the proletarian discipline at work was more difficult to implant among the craftsmen. Absenteeism continued to be considered as something normal, the same as if they were in their own shops. There was a conservative stand towards the young workers and a certain dose of hesitation to teach them the trade; the concept persisted that the trade could not be learned immediately, without going through a relatively long period of apprenticeship. The older masters were in no position to understand the need for the qualification of the new generation, they continued to see the perspective development of the economy in the narrow prism of their personal interests. There was conservatism in the collective organization of work and its mechanization, etc. They had more confidence in individual and manual work. The artisan concept of the mode of production and management lingered for a long time, and its traces crop up even to this day.

The Land Reform and the collectivization of agriculture were great and decisive changes which determined the scope of transformations in the psychology of the peasant. But the low level of development of the productive forces in the countryside, the low educational and cultural level of the peasants and the leftovers of the feudal relations could not fail to influence their psychology, and they could not be wiped away immediately, regardless of the deep-going socio-economic transformations.

Backward concepts about the organization of work and technical progress had also to be overcome in the countryside. At first, the peasant responded negatively to the use of the tractor, threshing-machines and chemical fertilizers. His low cultural and educational level explains his reluctance to the use of new developments. However, the all-round work of the Party, the creation of the big cooperativist property and his own experience of production convinced the peasants of the contrary.

The preservation and influence of petty-bourgeois psychology to a greater or lesser degree and for a relatively longer time in the countryside was link-

ed with the fact that the collectivization of agriculture was not carried out immediately. From the setting up of the first agricultural cooperative to 1956, when the orientation of the mass collectivization of agriculture was issued, ten years went by and it took about 15 years for the collectivization of agriculture on a whole in 1960 and more than 20 years for the complete collectivization in 1967. The gradual extension of collectivization constantly weakened and narrowed the sphere of the operation of petty-bourgeois psychology.

After the collectivization of agriculture, the cooperativist plot also became a source and ground for manifestation of petty-bourgeois psychology. In the conditions of our socio-economic development and at the existing level of development of the forces of production in the countryside, the cooperativist plot, as a necessity, would exist all along the process of collectivization. It was not private property, but a temporary means to meet the needs of the cooperativists' family as long as the cooperative was in no position to provide for all their needs. But being a source of income and since this is individually appropriated, it carries vestiges of the private ownership. So, by its very nature, the cooperativist plot has a contradictory character; it is a complementary part of the collective property and opposed to it. In this sense the cooperativist plot at times is an infringement of the socialist psychology of work and property.

Taking account of the dual nature of the cooperativist plot, the Party has seen to it that it be considered as an auxiliary economy of a temporary character. Along with the expansion and strengthening of the collective economy and the increase of income from it, the Party has taken due measures for the gradual restriction and limitation of the cooperativists' plot.

The Party has not based its work for the gradual restriction of the cooperativists' plot on arbitrariness, but on the degree of development of the consciousness and psychology of the cooperativist masses. When the socio-economic conditions had matured and the socialist convictions in the consciousness of the peasantry had reached a higher level, the Party took the relevant measures to strengthen the socialist cha-

racter of property and work organization in the countryside.

**While the transformation of the psychology of work and property is connected with the fundamental transformation of the relations of production, its strengthening and consolidation is linked with the uninterrupted development of the forces of production and with the perfecting of the relations of production, with all-round leading, organizing and educating work of the Party and its levers.**

In 1979, as against 1938, total industrial production increased 121.6 fold, total agricultural production — about 5 fold, investments — about 280 times and state construction 146 fold, at a time when the population has grown only 2.5 fold. The very much higher rates of development of the economy compared with the growth-rate of the population indicate a radical and incomparable change in the standard of living of the working masses and in their cultural and educational condition. In 1979, as against 1938, our country had over 116 times as many working people with higher education. In 1979 it had one doctor per 636 inhabitants, as against one doctor per 8,527 inhabitants in 1938. In 1978 the average expectation of life increased to 69 years, as against 38 years in 1938, with an increase of 31 years.

These radical changes in the economic and cultural development of our country were accompanied with the constant strengthening and consolidation of the social psychology of property and work of the working masses. By now these masses were deeply convinced of the superiority of the socialist order, of the socialist property and collective work. Apart from this, these changes show that the transformations in the social psychology play an active and important role in the socio-economic development.

**The setting up of the economic base of socialism created the objective conditions for radical transformations in the social psychology and for making the socialist psychology of work and property the psychology of all the classes and strata of our society.** The all-round and proportional development of the economy also assisted to make the socialist psychology the common psychology of all the working masses. The

narrowing of the economic and cultural distinctions among the different regions and zones of that country, the restriction of distinctions between the two principal branches of the economy drove the classes and workers of the different regions even closer together.

If in the past some regions of the North were mainly backward agricultural regions, in the years of the people's state power industry, especially mining and geology, developed more rapidly there. In 1979, as against 1950, total industrial production increased 119.1 fold in the Mat district, 108 fold in the Kruja district, 96.8 fold in the Tropoja district, 67.2 fold in the Lezha district, 52.5 fold in the Kukës district, at a time when in the Durrës, Korça and Vlora districts it increased 14.6, 16.6 and 17.5 respectively. This development brought about changes in the ratio of classes. The working class emerged, grew and developed in the former backward regions. Along with the development of industry and the growth of the working class, the population of the towns also increased and new industrial towns emerged. These changes, in turn, produced a series of transformations in the relations among the various zones of the country and in the psychology of their population. The regional and zonal isolation, which was a characteristic of the past and created different mentalities, was overcome. Due to the proportionate development and strengthening of the relations among various zones, the positive peculiarities of working people of the zone spread to the working people of other zones, the common psychological elements of different regions and sectors were further cultivated.

The rapid growth of the working class and the new industrial towns exercised a powerful influence on the change of composition of the peasant population. The concepts of work in agriculture and industry also changed, which is further proof of the common character of the socialist social psychology. In 1938 the population of the countryside accounted for 84.6 per cent of the total population of the country, whereas in 1979 it accounted for 64.7 per cent of it. In the capitalist countries the development of industry is accompanied with the abandonment and ruin of the countryside. There the

change in the socio-economic position of the countryside has caused a change in the concept of work in agriculture, which is not preferred, if not despised altogether. This did not occur in our country. As though the development of industry drew a large work force from the countryside, it did not lead to abandonment of the countryside. The all-round development of agriculture prevented the drain of the countryside, did not allow opposite concepts about work in industry and work in agriculture to be formed. Work in agriculture was not denigrated, on the contrary. There are various reasons for it. First, this is largely due to the Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party of Labour of Albania for the development of the countryside in general, and agriculture in particular. The orientation of the Party for the development of the northern regions could not result in the abandonment of agriculture, on the contrary it brought about its development and modernization. Total agricultural production in 1979 rose 3.5-7 fold in the Northern regions. The regulation of relations between city and country was not left to spontaneity, but was directed by the Party in a conscious manner. Remaining loyal to Lenin's teaching that «the struggle for bread is a struggle for socialism» and the principle of self-reliance, our Party made the question of agriculture a question of the whole people. Not only did it not encourage the abandonment of the countryside, but on the contrary it encouraged and organized the sending of a fresh work force to the countryside. The Party has not allowed the creation of disproportions both in the composition and proportions of the population, and in the income and standard of living between the city and the countryside. It has followed a policy of gradual closing the gap between town and countryside and of a rapid rise in the standard of living of the countryside by introducing the way of life of the town into the countryside. In these conditions, the economic and social base which generates opposing concepts and mentalities about social work in town and countryside, in industry and agriculture, was liquidated.

The all-round and proportionate development of the forces of production



while bringing the different regions of the country and branches of the economy closer together, also enriched the mentality of collectives and individuals with new revolutionary qualities and features. The many new branches of industry that have been set up in our country, have created new categories of working people, thus adding to the variety of manifestations of the social psychology, and raised its degree of maturity. The new mode of the organization of work in the cooperative, the many-crop development of agriculture and its mechanization have resulted in the psychology of the working people of the countryside acquiring new dimensions and features of a collective society, and their expression in many forms.

The creation of a common social psychology and the narrowing of psychological differences among classes, strata and social groups, which resulted from the narrowing of economic, cultural and spiritual differences among the various zones and branches of the economy, did not lead to the disappearance of all distinctions in the social psychology in regard to the different aspects and the degree of development and deepening of its socialist content. The more general features and content of the social psychology are reflected and expressed in different forms and degrees of maturity and depth among the various classes and strata, collectives and individuals. This is conditioned by the degree of maturity of the relations of production, the level of development of the forces of production and the degree of organization of production. However, it depends largely on the role and activity of the subjective factor.

As a result of the operation of these factors, the socialist psychology of work and property grew and strengthened itself more rapidly among the working class than among the cooperativist peasantry.

The common features of the socialist psychology of work and property manifest themselves differently among the different sexes and ages. The feeling of property is weaker among young people, as they have never been direct property owners, and as a result the influence of the petty-bourgeois psychology among them was overcome more quickly, and this not only in the city,

but also in the countryside. Apart from the achievements in the political and economic fields, the psychology of property and work amongst the youth was also changed by the shattering blows dealt at the patriarchal relations in the family and the transformation of family relations into an independent social and economic force. Along with the major social-economic transformations, the mass labour actions of the youth on a national scale for the building of roads, railways, hydro-power stations, etc played an important role in this process. These actions became a method of work for the construction of the country, and schools of education. In the process of these actions the links of the young people with the collective property and the general interest became stronger.

Important changes were made especially among the youth of the countryside. They began to play a particular role in the economic and social life. Young people were quicker to set out on the road of collectivization and influenced the process of transformation of the social psychology of work and property of the peasant to a considerable degree.

Another interesting process has occurred in the transformation of woman's psychology of work and property. Experience has shown that the psychology of woman has undergone more rapid and radical changes than man's has done. The woman who went eagerly to work in state enterprises and artisan cooperatives, began immediately to distinguish herself by her work of high quality and productivity, by her sense of duty, discipline and correctness at work. Likewise country women accepted more quickly the idea of collectivization than their menfolk. How is this phenomenon explained? What are the causes of it? This phenomenon is explained by political and economic, ideological and social causes.

It is a fact that woman has always been an important work force. She has played the main role in the organization of the family, as a production unit, and shouldered a heavy burden in it. However, in the conditions of the socio-economic development of our country before Liberation, the woman played her economic role mainly within the family. Although she did hard

back-breaking work, she was closely linked with the property and work of the family, for she knew that the existence of the family and the life of her children depended on them. In these conditions she developed a psychology of work somewhat different from that of man's. Men who were subject to direct exploitation considered work from the standpoint of the oppressed who seeks to get rid of its heavy burden and tries to shirk it as much as possible. In the conditions of feudal and capitalist exploitation, «the desire to avoid exploitation, be it only through deception, to shirk work, to escape its drudgery, be it only for one moment, to snatch at least a piece of bread by all means and at any cost in order not to escape the threat of hunger for themselves and their loved ones,»<sup>7</sup> inevitably grew in them. The women, who carried out their economic activity within the family, developed a different psychology of work, they loved what they did and did it conscientiously, because any attempt at shirking and deception would weigh on the life of their families for which they sacrificed everything.

This psychology of work historically created among housewives as a tradition became an important factor which linked them immediately and unreservedly with the work in factories and fields. Women were quick in realizing the direct link between work for themselves and work for society.

Along with tradition, the social factor is also largely responsible for strengthening woman's new psychology of work. The woman, who under the leadership of the Party won a new position in society, strove to ensure that political emancipation should strengthen social emancipation. Work outside the family was a decisive condition for social emancipation. Work in the factory, at the school or in the field became a necessity for her. This made the Albanian woman love social work and carry it out with a high sense of duty. Another convincing and very significant evidence of this is the stand of the peasant woman towards collectivization. The woman, at times much more than man, was linked through many threads with family property. If this change in her psychology is judged only from this fact, it must be admitted that woman ought to have been more con-

servative in the defence of private property and put up a greater opposition to the collectivization of agriculture, especially after the Land Reform, which made the peasant the true owner of the land. However, this did not occur, the woman was more ready than man to set out on the road of collectivization. This occurred because women, due to their social position, were more open than men to the operation of social factors. Women wanted to be liberated from the heavy burden of house chores, from the conservatism and patriarchalism of family relations. They were aware that work in the cooperative would bring about changes in their socialist status, too. It would enable them to break through the patriarchal encirclement of the family, to come out into society, to win equality with men in the work relations as well.

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Along with the social-economic changes, **a very important role in the formation and strengthening of the new social psychology was played by ideological, cultural and political factors.**

The activity of the Party of Labour of Albania for the formation of the social psychology among the working masses is broad and all-sided, the great socio-economic changes which have played the principal role in the formation of the new social psychology, have been carried out under the leadership of the Party. And the Party has not allowed this important process to be left to spontaneity. It has directed and led it through all the stages of the revolution so that the objective factors exercise the greatest positive influence possible. In the formation of the new man the Party has attached particular importance to the ideological and cultural revolution. With a view to forming a new world outlook among our working masses, the ideological and cultural revolution has had a powerful influence on the formation and strengthening of social psychology.

The all-round ideological and cultural activity of the Party has become an additional decisive factor, besides the material factor, for the socialist transformation of social psychology. With the shattering blow dealt at the

leftovers of the old psychology, the Party cleared the road for the development of the new psychology. The all-round educational and cultural development of the working masses has played a special role in this direction.

The more the ideological and cultural revolution grows in depth, the more powerful becomes the influence of ideological and cultural factors on the formation and strengthening of socialist psychology and its particular elements. Not only has it supported and accompanied the process of transformation of the social psychology into a socialist psychology, but it has also directed and accelerated this process.

The ideological and cultural revolution, the frontal battle against all leftovers from the alien ideology and the influences of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, which reached a new pitch and depth after the construction of the economic base of socialism, gave powerful assistance to the work for cleansing the social psychology of property and work from a great part of the leftovers from the petty-bourgeois psychology and gave a new meaning and new dimensions to its main features. The great revolutionary battles to put general interest above personal interest, the drive against religion and backward customs, the movement for the emancipation of woman and the revolutionization of the school perceptibly raised the degree of maturity of the socialist social psychology.

Apart from the ideological and cultural revolution, an important role in the strengthening and consolidation of the new social psychology was played by political factors, and in particular by the international position of socialist Albania. These factors acquire new strength in periods of change, at the most important moments of development which determine the essence of a people and a nation.

There have been many such moments in the recent history of our socialist nation and each of them has been transformed into a factor of incalculable value for the consolidation of the social psychology, for its maturity and enrichment with new elements. The Liberation of the country and the establishment of the people's power created, even when a socialist economic base was lacking, the conviction among the peo-

ple that they were the masters of the country and that its defence and prosperity depended on them. The open and direct battle with the Yugoslav, Soviet and Chinese revisionists built up this conviction of our people, giving it an increased mass character. The struggle against the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement strengthened the unity of the people around the Party even more. In the face of the great and innumerable difficulties created by the enemy, the self-awareness and the maturity of the socialist social psychology of the working masses was raised to a higher degree, the more advanced elements of this psychology were transformed from individual elements into massive elements with an extremely broader field of action. At these moments social psychology operated as a fully necessary phenomenon, as an expression of self-awareness. It expressed itself in the high sense of responsibility, in the increased mobilization, in the outbreak of the energy and creativeness of the masses to cope with any task with their own forces, to build socialism even without outside assistance, in the conditions of the savage political encirclement and economic blockade.

**After the establishment of the socialist relations of production in all the sectors of the economy, both in town and countryside, the socialist psychology of property and work becomes the predominant psychology.** Nevertheless, the leftovers from the bourgeois psychology did not disappear for good. The stability of the socialist social psychology and its degree of maturity depend, in the first place, on the degree of maturity of the relations of production and the forces of production.

Socialism constitutes the bases of the emergence and development of the new psychology. However, socialism in itself is a transitory period from the exploitative capitalist society to the classless socialist society, to communism. This period has its peculiarities which are bound to leave their imprint also on social psychology. Speaking about the nature and content of the socialist society, Marx pointed out: «The question here is not of a communist society which develops on its own bases, but, on the contrary, of a society which grows from the capitalist society and

which, therefore, still retains the traces of the old society from which it has emerged from every viewpoint — economic, moral and intellectual.»<sup>8</sup>

Hence, in a society which still preserves the traces of the old society, which cannot be fully free from the traditions of capitalism, an altogether pure psychology of work and property cannot be thought of.

The struggle for the consolidation of the socialist psychology and the raising of its degree of maturity remains an important task of the Party over the whole period of transition from capitalism to communism, along with the task of the formation of the new, communist man.

The fulfilment of the tasks of the 8th Congress of the PLA for the all-round development of the productive forces, for the further improvement of the socialist relations of production, for raising culture, education and science to a higher level, will directly influence the strengthening of the socialist social

psychology of property and work among the working masses. But the Party has not waited and is not waiting for the change of the material factors to influence the consciousness of the working masses by themselves. «Socialist convictions and a socialist consciousness created in the process of practice,» the Congress pointed out, «are insufficient to find one's bearings in any situation, to have a profound understanding of the policy of the Party, to act always with a clear aim.» Attainment of the tasks of the 8th Congress of the Party calls for a very high level and all-round mobilization of the working masses. In this connection, the activity of the Party and its levers becomes very important for implanting deeper convictions among the working masses, for raising their consciousness, for further strengthening the socialist social psychology of property and work. Therefore, along the other major tasks for the socialist construction, the 8th Congress of the Party attached very

great importance to the constant deepening of the struggle against the leftovers from the petty-bourgeois psychology, for the consolidation of the socialist social psychology, for the formation of the new man. «The all-round education of the new man,» Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the Congress, «has been and remains a fundamental question of the activity of the Party to carry the construction of the socialist society always forward.»<sup>9</sup>

- 1 K. Marx «*Criticism of the Political Economy*», Tirana 1977, p. 11. Alb. ed.
- 2 V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 1, p. 145, Alb. ed.
- 3 V.I. Lenin, *Ibid.*, vol. 29, pp. 455-456, Alb. ed.
- 4 E. Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 3, p. 335, Alb. ed.
- 5 E. Hoxha, «*Reports and Speeches 1967-1968*», p. 61, Alb. ed.
- 6 E. Hoxha, *Ibid.*
- 7 V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 26, p. 455, Alb. ed.
- 8 K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Works*, vol. 2, p. 14, Alb. ed.
- 9 E. Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, p. 105, Eng. ed.

# NATIONAL CULTURE AND ITS CONTENT

by **ZIJA XHOLI**

**SPEAKING TO THE 8TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY, COMRADE ENVER HOXHA POINTED OUT: «OUR SOCIALIST LIFE GIVES OUR CULTURE, LITERATURE AND ARTS MORE VIGOUR, MORE DYNAMISM AND FRESHNESS, ENRICHING THEM IN CONTENT AND FORM.»<sup>1</sup>**

**CULTURE, AS A SOCIAL PHENOMENON, CONSTITUTES ONE OF THE DISTINGUISHING FEATURES OF HUMAN SOCIETY BECAUSE IT IS CONNECTED WITH THE ENTIRE PROCESS OF MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL ACTIVITY AND ALL SOCIAL ACTIVITIES OF MAN. FROM ITS EMERGENCE AND IN THE COURSE OF ITS DEVELOPMENT CULTURE IS SUBJECT TO THE GENERAL LAWS OF SOCIETY. BEING PART OF THE SUPERSTRUCTURE, IT NECESSARILY REFLECTS THE MATERIAL CONDITIONS OF SOCIAL LIFE AND RESPONDS TO THEIR DEMANDS, THOUGH NOT AUTOMATICALLY OR AS A PASSIVE PRODUCT OF THEM. ON THE CONTRARY, FROM ITS EMERGENCE IT BECOMES A VERY ACTIVE ELEMENT, WHICH ACCOMPANIES ALL SORTS OF ACTIVITIES OF MAN AND INFLUENCES, TO AN EVER GREATER EXTENT, HIS LIFE. CULTURE PLAYS AN IMPORTANT EDUCATIVE, POLITICAL-IDEOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL ROLE AND IS PARTICULARLY SUSCEPTIBLE TO THE LAW OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE.**

The reactionary ruling classes of the exploiting orders, from the slave-owning and feudal down to the bourgeois order, have tried in flagrant opposition to the working masses to make the entire cultural activity and creation subservient to the interests of their own class, in order to justify their class oppression, exploitation and antagonism.

Despite these aims and efforts of the exploiting classes, the culture created in every country has not always served these aims. This is due to the fact that, like in all other spheres of ideology, in the field of culture, too, there are two main opposed trends which stand for diametrically opposed interests, that of the exploiting class and that of the working masses. The first trend is reactionary, whereas the second is progressive. In order to further their interests, all the exploiting classes have used reactionary trend in the field of culture, while casting into oblivion the progressive trend, in an effort to belittle and destroy it.

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thinker of the 18th century, Jean Jacques Rousseau, to mention only one case.

Certainly, the roots of the evil should be sought not in culture, as Rousseau believed, but in another more important factor, in the exploiting and backward economic relations, which at given moments becomes a hindrance to the forward march of society and a source of exploitation, oppression and all the other ills of the exploiting order. It is natural that culture should influence the life of society and that the kind of this influence should depend on the class character of society. However, the point should be made clear that negative, degenerating and destructive influences on society should not be blamed on all the culture as a whole, but only on part of it, the reactionary part which is created and used in the interests of the exploiting and regressive classes. Therefore, the problem is posed differently from the way Rousseau raised it in his time. Hence, for the sake of social progress we cannot reject the whole of our cultural heritage indiscriminately, but only that part of it which serves the reactionary ruling classes, and creates a new, progressive, culture instead, a culture which pushes society forward. This was fairly clear to the French illuminists of the 18th century, who with their works and activity criticized and rejected religious obscurantism, as the ideology of the feudal reactionary class, and at the same time created the new bourgeois ideology which, in that period, became the main support for a new and more progressive science and art, one which mobilized and inspired the people, the «third state», in the struggle against the feudal order.

The struggle going on between these two trends is an expression of the class struggle waged in the field of culture, in the past and present alike, in all the bourgeois-revisionist countries.

The reactionary role of the part of culture which expresses the interests of the exploiting classes becomes a great encumbrance and inhibition to social development, precisely at crucial moments of social changes, when the conditions for the destruction of the old social order and for the transition to a new, higher, social order have matured. This inhibiting role becomes so evident, at times, that progressive thinkers, in their desire to rid society of this obstacle, have gone so far as to call for total rejection of all the cultural heritage of mankind and even to declare that cultural progress has nothing in common with the good of society, that the development of sciences and art is fatal to society and brings about only the corruption and degeneration of mankind. A similar paradox was expressed by the outstanding French

*The present analysis will be limited to only one question, that of the close connection existing between the socialist content and the national form of the new culture, and within this context will also treat the stand of the new socialist culture towards the national culture of the past*

The outstanding men of the Albanian Renaissance, who worked and created many progressive and revolutionary values of long-standing for the culture of our people, had a thorough understanding of the great role of progressive culture in the social emancipation of the nation. In this manner, the national Albanian culture of the period of the Albanian Renaissance, further enriched by the men of our Renaissance and expressed in the Albanian language and in the national spirit, served the purpose of arousing and inspiring the entire people in their efforts for the fulfilment of their aspirations to freedom, independence and social justice.

The progressive culture of any people assumes even greater significance in the conditions of the development of the socialist revolution and in the process of the construction of socialism. Indeed, its role in the conditions of the construction of socialism is by far greater than in the past. Only in the conditions of the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat can the culture of any people develop freely and rapidly and its achievements in all fields and walks of life be utilized for the benefit of the entire society.

As on many questions of social life, on the questions of culture and its relation with the revolution, too, the ideologists of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists cause much confusion with their utterly anti-scientific and reactionary views. For scores of years now, the ideologists of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists resort to the technical-scientific revolution in their efforts to negate the need for the socialist re-

volution, and in an openly distorted and counter-revolutionary way of reasoning try to prove that allegedly in the present conditions of the rapid development of science and technology, there is no need for the socialist revolution whose tasks can be carried out merely and simply by the technical-scientific revolution. This theorization is utterly anti-scientific and in flagrant contrast to the reality which shows the opposite. It shows that the technical-scientific revolution in the bourgeois-revisionist countries has failed to solve any of the problems plaguing this system of oppression and exploitation. On the contrary, as is only natural in the conditions of the domination of the private property, it has aggravated and made them worse. Any new invention, any application of science and modern technology in the capitalist enterprises not only is not to the advantage of the workers, but, on the contrary, leads ineluctably to the intensification of their exploitation, their mass unemployment, the worsening of their economic situation and the increase of profit for the capitalist owners. The development of science and technology cannot prevent the operation of or alter the objective laws of social development. Like in the time when the classics of Marxism-Leninism discovered them, today again the laws of the revolution and of the revolutionary transformation of society continue to operate with absolute rigorosity. The only road to the liberation of the working masses from oppression and exploitation today is the road of the socialist revolution and of the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Once the dictatorship of

the proletariat is established and the society sets out decisively on the road of socialism as it did in Albania, then realizations in all fields of culture, including the technical-scientific revolution, go to benefit the working people, then the technical-scientific revolution becomes an indispensable organic part of the progress of the country.

The «theory» which makes the role of the technical-scientific revolution in society absolute, which substitutes the successes in the development of science and culture for the socialist revolution, is part of the bourgeois reformist «theories» which, in order to perpetuate the capitalist order, claim that the true progress of society cannot be achieved through the political and social revolution, but only through culture, through moral perfection and cultural development. An original exponent of this contemporary «theory» is the German-American philosopher Herbert Marcuse. The present society, Herbert Marcuse tries to make out, has allegedly succeeded in overcoming its internal contradictions, in reconciling the proletariat to itself and ruling out in practice the need for the socialist revolution! In the present conditions, he hastily concludes, there is nothing other left but to put the stress on the subjective factor, the development of consciousness, the creation of a new subject. The future society created by this new subject will be, in the opinion of Marcuse, a society in which man will be free from work, in which love and other instincts will find complete fulfilment without any restraint, life will be fancyful and a mere pay, and in which art — the production of imagination, will play a

primary role in the life of man and in his emancipation. These extravagant reasonings are devoid of any foundation and intended to produce a false picture of the present-day capitalist society and to distort the historical perspective of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the working masses.

The «theories» of Marcuse, like those of his bourgeois revisionist colleagues, are castles in Spain and none of them has resisted the test of reality. History has followed and continues to follow not the road Marcuse indicated, but the road Marx predicted and proved with argument. As Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed in his work «Imperialism and the Revolution» and proved with many facts from the situation in the world today, the proletariat has been and remains the decisive force for revolutionary change and socialist transformations, while the socialist revolution through violence remains the main road for the overthrow of capitalism and the construction of the new society.

Although life has not proved the «theories» of Marcuse, he has many acolytes, who directly or indirectly endeavour to keep them alive. Completely steeped in bourgeois reformism, they continue to concoct new arguments and to propagate new «theories» to defend capitalism and to deny the need for the political revolution. This same role has been taken up today by the so-called «new philosophers» in France. They are participants or witnesses of the events of May 1968 in France. Like the former, they too pretend that allegedly they sum up the historical experience of contemporary world events and prescribe their remedies to heal the ills of society and save mankind. However, despite their great clamours, they too do not go further ahead than the notorious anti-proletarian and counter-revolutionary theses of the revisionists and the previous reformists. The «new philosophers» do not even try to conceal their negation of the socialist revolution, which emerges clearly from all their reasoning. They proclaim world-wide that they «will never be the leaders and the enlighteners

of the peoples, will never be in the 'service of the insurgents'.»<sup>2</sup>

They place culture on the same plane as the state and ascribe to both of them the same role — a role of oppression and reaction. Foucault, one of the «new philosophers», uses the following words to indicate the close connection between the state and culture, and their common reactionary role, «State power is invariably connected with knowledge, and knowledge, inversely, with state power: it is insufficient to say that state power needs this or that discovery, this or that form of knowledge. It is the exercise of power which creates the primary material for knowledge which gathers and uses information...»<sup>3</sup> The «new philosophers» carry through to the end the idea of the common role of the state and culture as factors of oppression, reaching a conclusion which is utterly opportunist in its essence, that just as any state, all culture should be negated, a clean sweep should be made of all existing culture. The appeal for the «cultural revolution» has become something ordinary in the works of the «new philosophers».

The bourgeois and revisionist ideologists and politicians often play with words, frequently they have in mind something entirely different from what they say in the terms they use. The revisionists, in China for example, spoke of the «cultural revolution» only to cover another reality which had to do with a fierce political struggle between the different revisionist clans over supremacy and power in China.

The «new philosophers» in France, too, speak of a «cultural revolution», but in their mouths this slogan has entirely different meaning and objective, indeed, quite the opposite of what it means in the revolutionary theory and practice of the proletariat. With their «cultural revolution» the «new philosophers» displace the centre to pass off the reactionary trend in field of politics to the field of culture, thus making the question of social progress a mere question of culture. Apart from this, in their imagination the «cultural revolution» is the result of the total liquidation of the old culture, of all the culture created by man-

kind, and the starting of the entire process from the beginning. In fact, in the conditions of the preservation of the capitalist order, with their call for a «cultural revolution» they want to divert the proletariat and the working masses from the only road of liberation, to stop them from destroying the power of the bourgeoisie and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat which is achieved only through the political revolution. In addition to this, by wanting to liquidate all the culture created to this day they want to liquidate the great achievement of the human mind, Marxism-Leninism, with the aim of dispossessing the proletariat of their patrimony, the science which inspires them in their difficult struggle, which shows them the sure road to victory.

These «new philosophers» also have a distorted idea of the very process of the creation of the new culture. The new culture, or the «anti-culture», as they term it, which will lead mankind towards progress, cannot be created by liquidating the entire culture created by mankind. The genuine new culture, as Lenin pointed out, is the continuation and the critical selection of all the most valuable realizations made by mankind in centuries of its development.

As for the name «new philosophers», which is used by some to designate a number of writers and journalists in France, or which they themselves use to designate themselves, it is not difficult to see that these «philosophers» are not quite as new as they claim to be. This is clearly seen in the ideas they maintain and in the stands they take in their works. Their ideas of the creation of the new culture or «anti-culture» do not differ much from those of the supporters of the «proletarian culture» in the Soviet Russia, who sought to create an entirely new culture, without any connection with the previous culture created by mankind, and over which they were criticized by Lenin as anti-Marxists and counter-revolutionaries. If this problem is seen from a broader angle, with their boisterous claim that «Marx is dead»,<sup>4</sup> with their attempts at refuting Marxism, they prove to be even more regressive than the former and

just as much destined to go down the drain in following the same course as all the ideologists of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists, who, from the day when Marxism came to light, have tried in vain to oppose and negate it.

The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the setting out of society on the road of socialism and communism, raises all the problems of culture and its role in society in a new light and with greater strength. Like all the fields of social life, in the field of culture, too, the socialist revolution marks a radical change which is realized in several directions: a) in the content of culture and in the rates of its development; b) in its assimilation; c) in its role. As for its content, in the new conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism culture finds its source of inspiration in the interests of the proletariat, which coincide with those of all the working masses. With the transition to socialism, culture is enriched and develops at very much more rapid rates than ever before, and assumes an entirely new and profoundly socialist content, always preserving and developing its national character. As regards its creation and assimilation, culture is transformed into patrimony of the masses, assumes a popular character, is created by the broad working masses and is entirely in their hands. And lastly, as regards its social role, it is no longer in the service of the interests of the exploiting classes, as was the case of part of the old culture, which justified the oppression and exploitation of the people, but serves as a very powerful means for the irresistible progress of society towards socialism and communism. In socialist society culture acquires all its value, responding to its true destination, thus becoming not only a field in which the creative capacity of man is expressed, but also playing a notable role in the ideological education of the working people in imbuing them with a socialist consciousness and with a new stand towards work, property and society. It makes the life of the working people more beautiful and pleasant, inspires and mobilizes them for great deeds in the service of socialism.

All the three directions, in which the radical change of the new culture of socialist society is expressed and realized, have their own characteristics and their own problems as well. The present analysis will be limited to only one question, that of the close connection existing between the socialist content and the national form of the new culture, and within this context, it will also treat the stand of the new socialist culture towards the national culture of the past.

The proletarian class partisanship, the socialist content and the permeation of socialist culture by the Marxist-Leninist ideology, these constitute the first fundamental demand the Party makes to every man working in the field of the development of the socialist culture. Any literary and artistic work, any element of culture must be inspired by the interests of the working class and assist in the realization of these interests. Hence it becomes evident that in these directions the new culture which is created in socialist society is different from, indeed is in total antagonism with, that part of the previous culture which served the exploiting and reactionary classes. Therefore, in the course of its creation it negates the negative, reactionary part of the former culture. Probably more evidently and obviously than in any other social phenomenon, in the process of its birth is felt the operation of the materialist dialectics, is applied its demand that the rising new is not a total negation of the old which, though negated, is not indiscriminately rejected in all its previous development only in its aspects and elements which hamper the process of development which means the preservation and adoption of those good and progressive aspects and elements of the old which assist progress. This is the dialectics which has guided the Party of Labour of Albania in its policy and practice over many years of work for the creation of the new socialist culture. Our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have instructed and proved that the culture of socialist society, no matter how new and revolutionary it be, must rely on the sounder and more progressive elements of the former culture created over the centuries by our people. «In our ef-

forts for the dissemination of culture amongst the masses.» Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed, «we considered all those sound, progressive and democratic traditions and spiritual values which our people had created in the centuries... However, the cultural legacy of the past alone could not satisfy the demands of the builders of a socialist society. It had to be complemented and raised higher through the development of a new popular culture.»<sup>5</sup> The close relationship of the revolutionary socialist content with the popular spirit and the national form constitutes the basic feature of the new socialist culture, the foundation stone of its development.

The demand of basing the development of the new socialist culture on the sound cultural patrimony of the past and giving it a distinctly national physiognomy does not stem from morbid nostalgia, or from a desire of exclusiveness and self-isolation. On the contrary, this demand is connected with many important and deep-going reasons of a cultural character, but more especially of an ideological and political character. While stressing that «the imperialist bourgeoisie has always tried to disparage or altogether liquidate the cultural traditions of the smaller peoples, the national spirit of their art and culture», and that «this is one of the roads for the realization of its cultural aggression and subordination of the peoples.»<sup>6</sup> Comrade Enver Hoxha raised the task that «in these conditions the struggle for the preservation of the national physiognomy of art, of the cultural wealth of our people, becomes even more imperative for us.»<sup>7</sup>

The great and decisive importance of the national patrimony and tradition to socialist culture is also connected with the fact that this culture can advance and develop only by relying on the national language of its own people. The national language is one of the principal elements which gives socialist culture its distinguishing national form. However, language alone is insufficient to give socialist culture its national character. This it receives from the mentality, the psychical formation, traditions, customs and the special distinctive characteristics of a people created and developed in the

centuries. In this manner, the national character, as an essential feature of culture, is indissolubly linked with its socialist content, forms a unity with it.

A literary and artistic work satisfies the requirements of the Party of Labour of Albania and the people when its heroes and the events described in it are seen and analyzed not only from the standpoint of the Marxist-Leninist proletarian ideology, but also when this analysis takes into consideration the mentality and patriotic feelings of the Albanian formed in the centuries of his existence and efforts for freedom, self-assertions and social justice. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «Our art of a socialist and revolutionary content has its own national stamp, expresses the consciousness of our people in the great historic moments we are living. This art is preferred by the masses and is a spiritual nourishment for them.»<sup>8</sup> Therefore it is important that the artists, the writers, the men of culture know and are imbued with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, just as it is important that they have a thorough knowledge of the people, of their history, of their struggle, and a correct idea of the national cultural tradition.

The national character of art and culture is a complicated element, on which is felt the influence of all social processes, all the class relations which have brought about the emergence and consolidation of the nation. The nation, as is known, does not emerge from nowhere and unexpectedly. It is the continuation and consolidation of the ethnos and, later, of the nationality, which exists even in the conditions of feudalism. The processes which accelerate and condition the formation of the nation are those connected with the development of capitalism, therefore the classes created on its basis are just those which emerge from this process — the bourgeoisie and the proletariat together with the peasantry and the other working masses. As we stressed in the foregoing, as long as antagonistic classes and the exploitation of man by man exist, two opposite and antagonistic trends will always continue to exist, namely the progressive trend and

the reactionary trend, in the spiritual formation of the nation, and in its culture. The progressive trend has always voiced the interests of the broad working masses, whereas the reactionary trend has always voiced the interests of the exploiting reactionary classes. This antagonism was in Lenin's mind when he said that in the bourgeois order and in the national culture there are two cultures, in all traditions there are two traditions: one which is connected with the landowner and bourgeois reactionary ruling classes and another which is linked with the exploited working class and masses.

The reactionary ruling classes try to pass off the reactionary trend in culture as the only national culture, try to strengthen the idea of the existence of a national culture outside classes. They go the whole length to ensure that this kind of culture remains the dominant culture in society. On the other hand, their stand towards the progressive trend, which in fact constitutes the genuine national culture of all people, is scornful and restricted, and whenever this culture is directed openly against the existing exploitative order and inspires the masses to its overthrow, they strike up another attitude, this time aggressive and destructive. In the period of the tsarist rule, the Russian reactionaries, for instance, described loyalty to the Tzar, faith in God and reverence for the Church to be elements of the tradition of the Russian nation, of its national psychical character and formation. The German reactionaries and nazis described the «purity of Arian blood», the exclusiveness of the German nation, its superiority over all other nations, to be the distinctive feature of the tradition of all the German nation, of its psychical character and formation. The representatives of the reactionary camp in Albania, like Koliqi and Fishta, considered patriarchalism and the Albanian's loyalty to everything old and outdated to be the distinctive feature of the Albanian nation.

Nevertheless, despite the efforts of the reactionary exploiting classes, and especially the imperialist bourgeoisie, to describe the progressive trend in the culture of the peoples, especially the smaller and colonial peoples, as a

superseded phase of their development, they never succeeded in liquidating this progressive trend in their culture, which constitutes the real national ground of the culture of all the peoples. The working masses of all countries, as the creators and carriers of this progressive culture have always fought to preserve and develop it, because they are aware that without this culture all possibility of their existence as a nation is out of the question. These lofty motives have had a decisive influence on the existence of the Albanian people all along their centuries-old history. They preserved, kept alive and developed their progressive national culture although their country was successively occupied by the Romans, Byzantines, the Slavs, the Ottomans the Italian-German fascists. Today the Albanian population of Kosova and the other Albanian territories of Yugoslavia are putting up a staunch resistance for the preservation of their sound national progressive culture and traditions, which the Great-Serb chauvinists threaten with liquidation.

The Party of Labour of Albania preserved, developed and enriched this centuries-old national culture of the Albanian people, gave it a new, socialist content and placed it in the service of the socialist construction of the country.

It is interesting to note that in the national culture of the Albanian people, and not only in their folklore, as well as in what their various artists and writers created individually, the non-progressive and reactionary elements are scarce. This is a typical phenomenon of the national culture of the Albanian people which sets it apart from the culture of many other peoples, in which the influence of religious obscurantism and the mediaeval parasitic spirit are strikingly apparent. Comrade Enver Hoxha shows this typical and original phenomenon in the national culture of the Albanian people and discloses the deep causes of it, which stems from the fact that our culture of the past has been closely connected with the people, who «during the centuries have always been guided by their progressive aspirations to freedom, have fought for self-defence in just struggles against the oppressors,



well as against the predatory imperialist ideologies of the foreigners».<sup>9</sup> During their history the Albanians have never exploited or otherwise oppressed any other people. Nor have they ever attacked or occupied the land of any other people. Such being the historical circumstances of their existence, from the hearts and minds of our people could emerge only the patriotic ideas about their own country and feelings of fraternal friendship for the other peoples. The artistic and philosophic writings of the best Albanian writers of the past, from Barletius to the brothers Naim and Sami Frashëri, from Çajupi and Asdreni to Noli and Migjeni, together with the entire artistic creativeness of our people, speak of this original feature of our national culture and the psychical formation of our people in the past. These outstanding writers enrich the national culture of the Albanian people with so many progressive works because they expressed the sufferings and problems of the people, treated major themes bearing on the life of the nation and its future, and this they did not from the class standpoint of the landowners, but from the standpoint of the people, of their just struggle, and their revolutionary aspirations to freedom.

Another problem which emerges in the analysis of culture and cultural tradition, a problem of great theoretical and practical importance, is the connection and interaction between the national character and form of culture and its popular spirit. National form and popular spirit, these are two features of culture existing in close connection with each other. The more profound the popular spirit of culture and the more pronounced its democratic spirit, ie the higher the degree of participation of the masses in the creation and development of culture, the stronger is its national physiognomy, because in this manner it expresses the interests, the consciousness and the state of mind of the majority of the nation.

Regardless of the fact that the connection between these two features of culture is quite close and evident, in the exploiting orders in general, there exists quite a number of obstacles to its complete realization. This is due

to the reactionary ideology of the ruling class, the imperialist bourgeoisie, whose interests, being in opposition to those of the working masses, cannot tolerate a comprehensive mass development of culture by the masses themselves. On the contrary, the imperialist bourgeoisie serves the masses a standardized kind of culture which is in contrast with the aspirations of the masses and is intended to keep them under the yoke of capital. This is why the working masses in the bourgeois-revisionist countries today are more and more boycotting or simply deserting cinemas and theatres, exhibitions and libraries, even the TV screen, in which pseudo-art and pseudo-culture, with hardly distinguishable popular or even national features, predominate.

The setting out of an entire people on the road of socialist construction, their adoption of a way of life and social organization along socialist lines, brings about qualitative transformations in their culture as well. With the liquidation of the political power of the bourgeoisie and private property, with the liquidation of the exploiting classes and the exploitation of man by man, the socialist society creates new and extremely favourable conditions and premises for all-round qualitative development of culture in breadth and depth. At this stage the national culture purges itself of the reactionary trend which expresses the interests of the exploiting classes. All the remaining part, the progressive part, of culture is preserved, enriched and further developed in close connection with the new culture created in the course of the socialist construction, and serving the cause of socialism.

In this manner, in the socialist society, in which the exploiting classes have been liquidated and the power is in the hands of the working class in alliance with the labouring peasantry, all cultural activities, all the cultural treasury is placed in the service of all the working masses. Hence, culture which has now a proletarian content is at the same time culture of the entire people and socialist proletarian content and its popular spirit are realized in an entirely national form.

This organic connection between the socialist content, national physiognomy

and popular spirit of the new culture in the socialist society is created thanks through the carrying out of the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Party.

In this connection another question arises: What does the new socialist culture take from previous national culture and in what manner?

When we say that the new socialist culture relies on previous national culture, the question is only about its progressive part which expresses the deepest feelings, aspirations, and interests of the people.

The Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha shed new light not only on the question of the powerful support which the new socialist culture should seek in the progressive national culture of the past, but also on the assessment of the cultural patrimony of our nation and its characteristics. In opposition to the negative or disparaging stands of the internal and external enemies towards the progressive national culture of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out that the Albanian people have a rich national culture, that with their transition to socialism this treasury has been enriched and further developed, that their socialist culture was not a gift from abroad, but the natural continuation of the great spiritual wealth of the Albanian people, created in the centuries and handed down from generation to generation. «How correct has been the line of our Party», writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, «for the preservation of the great wealth of our people and Homeland, of that great spiritual wealth which has supported the very existence of our nation through storm and stress. How correctly have our Party and the men of our popular art and culture fought to eradicate the evil weeds which smothered this flourishing garden and to bring it to the light of day, and on its basis, following in the footsteps of a beautiful tradition, created its natural continuation, the culture of a socialist country based powerfully on the national soil and sources and preserving its fine form and adding to the beauty of its content, gave it a socialist revolutionary content. They developed its revolutionary content, because this revolutionary content did not descend from heaven, nor was

it brought in suitcases from abroad, but was inherited from our ancestors»<sup>10</sup> (underlining ours — Ed.).

Evidence of the sound values of the Albanian national culture, of its patriotic and popular spirit are the works of the writers and thinkers of the Albanian people, especially those created by the outstanding personalities of the National Renaissance and National Independence. However, the progressive national culture, the popular tradition, is not found only in the works of cultivated arts and culture. It is much broader and richer. It comprises, as its important component part, the art, the songs and dances, and the whole folklore of our people. Comrade Enver Hoxha, speaking of folklore as part of the national culture, teaches that it should not be reduced to some songs and dances, but must be seen in a more comprehensive manner, in all its varied wealth. Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: «Folklore is very broad, as broad as the life of the people. Folklore is the song, the lahuta, the pipe, the drum, the Labëria song, the Myzeqe song, the Devoll song, the Dibra song, the Shkodra song, etc. On the other hand, folklore should not be separated from folk verses, and tales, wedding and mourning ceremonies or from the multi-coloured folk costumes of various patterns, or from the folk handicraft in national taste, just as it should not be separated from the canons, written and unwritten laws of our people, etc, etc.»<sup>11</sup>

The wealth, artistic strength and originality of the folklore of the Albanian people has its own strong reasons which stem from the circumstances of their existence, from the historical conditions in which they had to live, work and fight. The extremely hard conditions of the Roman, Byzantine and, especially, Ottoman occupation, when our people were subjected to a ruthless campaign of assimilation and Islamization and was threatened with liquidation of their national identity, made the setting up and work of the Albanian schools and cultural institutions very difficult. The occupiers impeded the development and cultivation of written Albanian by all imaginable means. However, these difficulties did not discourage the Albanians, did not

narrow their mind. They continued to exist in full possession of their feelings, and their creative faculties, indeed in a degree never seen before, struggling with the events and difficulties through which their national existence developed. And whatever they could not put down in writing they expressed in their songs, verses, tales, and wise sayings, which going from mouth to mouth, became the patrimony of the whole people. They expressed their artistic talent in their dances, costumes, and handicrafts. By means of their original and creative folklore our people were in a position to maintain their fighting and cultural traditions alive in the centuries, to display their abilities and to affirm themselves in the field of artistic creativeness.

With its progressive, patriotic and popular values the national culture of the past, expressed in the works of our artists and writers, as well as in folklore, had great importance in the historical moment when it was created. Thanks to the solicitude of the Party of Labour of Albania for keeping these values alive and further enriching them, this culture continues to preserve its educational, patriotic and fighting qualities to this day, it is an inseparable part of the life and struggle of the present generation which builds socialism. The best works of our writers of the past preserve their instructive and educational values to our days, while folk songs, dances and costumes continue to be heard and seen with pleasure and interests and add the national pride of the man of our socialist society.

The progressive national culture of the past, the artistic creativeness of the people preserve incalculable values today, amongst other things, also in another sense, in it that it has become a source of inspiration, both in content and form, for the artists and writers of socialist realism. Outstanding writers and artists of socialist realism in Albania have achieved success not only because they have placed the great themes of our people in the centre of their creative activity, but also because their creations have a clear national physiognomy, have preserved everything beautiful and valuable which the Albanian people have contributed

to the literature and the arts. The socialist content, closely connected with the national form and the popular spirit, have enabled our socialist culture to acquire those original features which easily distinguishes it from the cultures of the other peoples. Its original features, the values it adds to the world progressive culture and its high level of achievement have caused our socialist culture to spread beyond the borders of our Homeland, to arouse the interest and win the sympathy of many readers and spectators abroad. In connection with the great value of our national patrimony and the demand that our writers and artists should draw their inspiration from the creativeness, work and aspirations of the people, Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out: «If you detach yourselves from this soil you do not serve your people, and the other peoples have no reason to value you since you bring nothing new to the common treasury of world progressive art.»<sup>12</sup>

A correct stand towards the national culture of the past and the healthy popular tradition, the efforts to give the arts and literature of socialist realism a clear national physiognomy, belong to problems broader than these of mere artistic creativeness; they are acute political problems. By preserving and developing all the healthy and progressive elements of the national culture of the past and of the popular tradition the artists and writers of socialist society create the art the people need, enhance their pride in the cultural and artistic values of the nation, assist the Party in the communist education of the masses, in preparing them to cope with the imperialist-revisionist ideological aggression.

Like the national language, the best and most progressive features of national culture may be considered the identity marks of a nation. They are closely connected with its very existence. Therefore, the working class and the other working masses, together with their revolutionary representatives, try at all costs to preserve and further develop their finest national traditions. Of this, however, the aggressors, the imperialists and the revisionists, the chauvinists of every hue, are well

aware. It is common knowledge that the resistance of the peoples is conquered more easily and rapidly when their faith in their own forces and their own values is broken, that the peoples can be reduced not only by the force of arms but also by means of cultural aggression, through the degeneration of the progressive and revolutionary content of their sound culture and its replacement with the regressive imperialist culture and ideology. The slogans about the internationalization of culture and the arts, the free circulation of ideas and cultures, the accusations of «nationalism» and «narrowness» the imperialists, revisionists and chauvinists hurl at those who preserve their popular culture and their sound national tradition, have no other aim but to snuff out everything of value the peoples have contributed through their culture and art, and impose the anti-popular decadent culture on them.

In carrying out their Great-Russian policy to the detriment of the peoples and populations of the Soviet Union, the Soviet revisionists have raised the negation of the tradition and national culture of the different republics of the Soviet Union to principle. They have publicly declared that «the development of the culture of the peoples of the Soviet Union cannot be achieved with the 'preservation' of this and that element of a given culture under the banner of its originality. This would lead to narrow nationalism, to 'national provincialism'». <sup>13</sup> Essentially similar are the aims of the Serb chauvinists in Yugoslavia, who call the aspirations and efforts of the Albanian population in Kosova and other regions of Yugoslavia to preserve and develop the treasury of their nation, their national language and patriotic traditions, «outdated romantic nationalism and reprehensible chauvinism.»

These claims of the present-day chauvinists and revisionists are in flagrant opposition to the Marxist teachings of Lenin and Stalin on the national question. The Party of Labour of Albania has exposed and rejected the revisionist distortions over this question and followed a clear-cut Marxist-Leninist line in the theory and practice of the creation and development of socialist art and literature in our country,

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, «The bourgeois and revisionist ideology assaults us from all quarters. Our enemies, the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, would like to see us weighing things on 'golden scales', engaged in academic dispute and letting the wolf into our fold. But we shall close the door to the wolf and put a bullet into its head. Let them call us savages, because the drum and the bag-pipe are played on our stage, or because we have given pride of place to dances of men in wide breeches and woollen caps. For us the important thing is to defend the Homeland, to defend the people, Marxism-Leninism and socialism. And these we defend when we defend everything which is national in form and socialist in content.» <sup>14</sup>

In the ideological struggle, too, as in all the other fields of the class struggle, the external front is co-ordinated with the internal front and form one single front. In working out a correct Marxist-Leninist policy in connection with the attitude of the new, socialist culture towards the national culture of the past, in carrying out the ideological and cultural revolution, our Party has had to wage a stern ideological struggle against the revisionists and the enemies of the Party within the country. All the deviators and traitors have scorned the progressive national culture of the past and the healthy traditions of the Albanian people, have tried to divorce the new, socialist culture from the previous culture of the Albanian people, in order to make them accept the decadent bourgeois-revisionist culture. This anti-socialist and anti-national stand was more manifest in the view and stands of the enemies of the Party Fadil Paçrami and Todi Lubonja. Revealing and exposing their anti-Party activity in the field of culture, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: «These elements have placed themselves in opposition to the brilliant past of our people, to their ardent patriotism in every period of their history. They denied and hated the ancient culture of our people and their splendid progressive customs, they denied and hated their songs, their music, their folklore, describing them as 'the gangrene' of the music they sought to introduce into our socialist country. They were cos-

mopolitans of the most degenerate kind.» <sup>15</sup>

The 37 years of socialist construction in Albania have been years of a great and persistent work of the Party for the creation of a new socialist culture, for the socialist education and the cultural and ideological formation of the youth and all the working masses. This process has been carried out together with the constant discovery and re-assessment and enrichment of all the progressive qualities of our national culture of the past, of the progressive traditions and customs of our people. The most important events in the history of our people, the most outstanding personalities of their history and culture, their centuries-old experience expressed in their language, their songs, their dances, their wise sayings and their customs, all this has been made the object of study and research, has entered the golden fund of the present socialist culture and the spiritual wealth of the Albanian people. And this not in a passive manner, as a mere testimony of the past, but in an active manner, as a creativeness which arouses aesthetic pleasure in the readers and spectators even today, assists their patriotic, cultural and artistic education and formation, and inspires the artists and writers in the composition and writing of their new works.

The practice of the cultural revolution in Albania proves that socialist culture cannot make progress and develop on the road without relying on, without critically assessing and adopting the soundest and most progressive elements of the national culture of the past, the popular tradition, while on the other hand, this tradition is valued, preserved and given new life in the conditions of the socialist cultural revolution.

If our socialist culture has reached its degree of development of today, if with its values it has gone beyond the boundaries of our Homeland and has been well received by the peoples of the other countries, this is due to the fact that our men of culture, artists and writers, inspired and guided by the Marxist-Leninist ideological and aesthetic orientations of the Party of Labour of Albania and by the teachings

of Comrade Enver Hoxha, have always placed the great and important themes from the life of the people in the centre of their creativeness, execution and in-

terpretation have treated them in keeping with the national tradition and popular spirit, always preserving the socialist content pure and sound. Pro-

ceeding on this road our socialist culture will flourish still more and enrich itself with still more beautiful and powerful works.

1 Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, p. 135, Eng. ed.

2 H. Bernard Lévy, «Le barbarie au visage humain», p. 211.

3 Foucault, «Microphysique du pouvoir», p. 38.

4. The «new philosopher» Jeane Marie Benoist published under this title a

book full of anti-revolutionary considerations, in 1970.

5 Enver Hoxha, «On Literature and Arts», p. 309, Alb. ed.

6 Enver Hoxha, *Ibid.*, p. p.391-392.

7. Enver Hoxha, *Ibid.*, p. 392.

8. Enver Hoxha, *Ibid.*, p. 384.

9. Enver Hoxha, *Ibid.*, p. 131.

10. Enver Hoxha, *Ibid.*, p. 466.

11. Enver Hoxha, *Ibid.*, p. 217.

12. Enver Hoxha, *Ibid.*, p. 495.

13 *Voprosi filozofi*, No. 8, 1976, p. 19.

14. Enver Hoxha, «On Literature and Arts», p. 230, Alb. ed.

15 Enver Hoxha, *Ibid.*, p. p. 465-466.

# THE PROBLEM OF SOCIALISM AT THE CENTRE OF THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE GOING ON IN THE WORLD TODAY

by **SERVET PËLLUMBI**

*Only Marxism-Leninism, as an expression of the vital interests of the working class, interests which coincide with the objective direction and development of human society, provides a truly scientific conception of socialism and the general laws which must be applied for its triumph*

**IT IS VERY SIGNIFICANT THAT SOCIALIST ALBANIA IS FORGING AHEAD ON THE SOCIALIST ROAD IN THE CONDITIONS OF AN ALL-ROUND IMPERIALIST-REVISIONIST PRESSURE AND ENCIRCLEMENT AND PROVING THE SUPERIORITY AND VITALITY OF THIS ORDER WITH ITS WORK AND ACHIEVEMENTS. ALBANIA'S EXAMPLE HAS PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE IN THE PRESENT CONDITIONS WHEN A FIERCE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE IS GOING ON OVER THE PROBLEM OF SOCIALISM ON AN INTERNATIONAL SCALE, WHEN HUGE FORCES OF IMPERIALISM AND SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM, MANY IDEOLOGICAL TRENDS SUCH AS SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY, MODERN REVISIONISM AND ALL ITS RAMIFICATIONS — NEO-TROTSKYISM, ANARCHISM AND ALL KIND OF «LEFT» GROUPINGS, TERRORISTS, ETC HAVE RISEN AND PITCHED THEMSELVES INTO BATTLE AGAINST IT IN THEORY AND PRACTICE.**

Although in their rivalry and polemics all these forces and trends try to emphasize what drives them apart from one another, they are driven together by the same counter-revolutionary strategy when it comes to fight Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism. And it cannot be otherwise because socialism is in irreconcilable struggle with capitalism and the whole world reaction, because the ideas of true so-

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cialism have been and remain a great inspiring and mobilizing force for the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the masses of the peoples all over the world.

Therefore international bourgeoisie and modern revisionism have stepped up their ideological aggression and their efforts to distort the true socialist ideals, to divert the masses from the revolutionary struggle for the triumph of these ideals.

The past has examples in plenty of

the open attack and slanders against socialism, by calling it at times a «totalitarian and anti-democratic» regime and at times an «abortive experiment» which must be deleted from the political dictionary. However, nowadays in order to stem the natural impulse of mankind towards socialism, there is an ever more prevailing tendency to play on the term socialism and to replace the idea of true socialism with that of pseudo-socialism. So they present all the variants of revisionism in power, and the capitalist society restored in their countries as socialism, real and developed and modern. A socialism of «different colours», which can be achieved on the democratic and pluralist road, is the talk of the day in political parties and forces which take part in the structures of the bourgeois states. Socialism is also talked about by some political forces which are in search of a way out, but which are prevented by their petty-bourgeois ideological concepts and men-

tality from seeing the true values of the genuine scientific socialism.

In these conditions, as Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 8th Congress of the Party, «Clarity on this question, the establishment of a clear-cut dividing line between genuine socialism and pseudo-socialism, is of capital importance to waging the struggle of the working class and working masses successfully.»<sup>1</sup>

The establishment of such a dividing line requires, among other things, that both the preachings of the revisionists about the «many» «new» roads which they have supposedly found for the transition to socialism without the revolution and the Marxist-Leninist theory, as well as the speculations of the bourgeois propaganda which, on the one hand, calls the revisionist betrayal a failure of socialism, and on the other, in order to discredit true socialism, continues to describe the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Poland, China and other countries which in reality have nothing socialist or communist, as «socialist» or «communist» countries, should be rejected.

On both these planes, the bourgeois propaganda meets the revisionist propaganda in stirring up ideological confusion, with a view to denigrate the theory and practice of scientific socialism, to diverting the working class and the other working masses from the road of the revolution and blunder them into dark labyrinths and corners carrying such «pluralist» names as «historical compromise» or the Italian road to socialism, «democracy to the end» or the Spanish road to socialism, «democratic socialism» or the social-democratic road, «socialism in national colours» or the French road, «the village encircles the city» or the Chinese road, etc which are nothing other than ideological tools in the fight against the revolution and socialism.

**«PLURALISM» OF ROADS  
TO SOCIALISM  
MEANS RENUNCIATION  
OF MARXISM-LENINISM AND  
THE REVOLUTION**

The founders of the communist world outlook, Marx and Engels, after a study of the objective laws of the development of human society, discovered

the general laws of its revolutionary transformation. They proved with scientific argument that the movement of history objectively leads to the inevitable doom of the capitalist mode of production and the just as inevitable triumph of the new society, the communist society, the first phase of which is socialism. This transition, Marx and Engels argued, does not occur of itself, is not realized in the quiet and through reforms, but through revolution, the violent overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie, the destruction to its foundations of that superstructure which stands guard of the capitalist relations of production and through the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat instead, which is absolutely necessary for the realization of the socialist transformation at the base and superstructure.

These true and well-known laws which underlie scientific socialism and which belong to the proletariat and all the genuine Marxist-Leninists as their common legacy, have no «museum value», as the revisionists try to make out. Their value is great, permanent and ever valid. Precisely this truth frightens the revisionists and makes them fight it savagely. The truthfulness and power of the laws and ideas of scientific socialism have resisted the test of time, have been proved by the Communards and by the bolsheviks led by Lenin and Stalin, and they are being proved by the example of socialist Albania — a truly socialist country where the dictatorship of the proletariat has remained always strong and invincible and the principles of scientific socialism have found their full application in all fields, and finally they are being proved by the world revolutionary process of our times.

True, in the present conditions, the development of the revolutionary process has its peculiarities, which stem from some changes that have occurred in the world, such as the liquidation of the colonial system and its gradual replacement by neo-colonialism, the development of the technical-scientific revolution, the expansion of state monopoly capitalism and the multi-national companies, etc. But all these changes cannot prejudice the laws and ideas of the scientific socialism of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, or deprive them of their actuality, because they

are the only road to socialism. The changes that have taken place in the world have not altered in the least the nature of capitalism, of capitalist property and the rule of the bourgeoisie, have not bridged the gap between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, but, on the contrary have widened it, have raised the oppression and exploitation of the working people to an even higher degree. Therefore, it is completely groundless to declare, as the revisionists do, that the epoch of revolutions is allegedly over and that the specifics of the present epoch allegedly call for «new» roads and laws, different from those discovered by the classics of Marxism-Leninism.

The peculiarity and originality of a moment or country cannot annul the revolution and its laws, the hegemonic role of the proletariat and its communist party, the need for breaking the military-bureaucratic machine of the bourgeois state and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, which are absolutely necessary to substitute new relations for the old capitalist relations of production. Hence, today there is no question of finding «new roads» of renouncing the already tested road, but «of knowing», as Lenin teaches us, «of implementing the general and fundamental principles of communism in compliance with the originality of the relations between classes and parties, in compliance with the originality of the objective development towards communism, an originality which exists in every country and which we must know how to study, to imagine.»<sup>2</sup>

The road to socialism has its own objective logic and laws, regardless of the national peculiarities and different forms it may assume in different countries, in changing international situations, which Marxist-Leninist always assess and take account of. For their part, the revisionists regard these forms and peculiarities from a diametrically opposite angle and use them to pit the form against the content, the specific against the general, to deny the value of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and its internationalist content. But this is tantamount to renouncing the revolution and socialism.

Only Marxism-Leninism, as an expression of the vital interests of the working class, interests which coincide with the objective direction and deve-

lopment of human society, provides a truly scientific conception of socialism and the general laws which must be applied for its triumph. This has also been fully borne out by the historic experience of Albania. The arming of the Party of Labour of Albania with the general fundamental principles of communism and its consistency and resolve to implement them in a creative manner in the concrete conditions of our country and in the complicated international circumstances, have been of decisive importance for the constant forward march of the revolution and socialist construction in Albania from one victory to another.

There has been no lack of concrete national peculiarities either in Albania's period of people's revolution, or its period of socialist construction, and its successful advancement today. In 1939 Albania, an already backward country with a small working class, was occupied by fascism. These and other peculiarities doubtlessly were expressed in the originality of the forms of struggle, the combination of the national liberation struggle with a deep-going popular revolution, of partisan warfare with urban warfare, of the organization of the people in the political army of the revolution with the setting up of the national liberation councils as first elements of the future state power.

Similarly, after Liberation and the establishment, in the end of 1944, of the people's democracy as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the whole process of socialist transformations which was carried out everywhere in Albania, in town and countryside, was accompanied with a number of original solutions, of original forms of action intended to cope with particular difficulties, etc. However, the Party of Labour of Albania did not make these peculiarities a fetish, never saw them as premises to proclaim a specific road, an «Albanian road» to socialism. On the contrary, it has striven for a thorough understanding of the international significance of Marxism-Leninism, against restricting the value of its principles within the national bounds and peculiarities.

The Party of Labour of Albania has always upheld the thesis that the peculiar, the specific, is a concrete expression of the general, therefore the

peculiar, the specific must neither negate what is principal, essential, general and common for all countries in the development of the revolution and the construction of socialism nor counter-pose itself to it. There are not and can be no «national», «specific» laws of socialism, as claimed by the Yugoslav, Eurocommunist, Chinese and other revisionists. The inevitable triumph of socialism and not «the existence of many national roads to socialism» is the objective law.

From their metaphysical positions, the modern revisionists, as the anti-Marxists they are, intentionally raise into a law the circumstances in which these laws operate in order to be able subsequently to deny them. According to this logic which smells very much of neo-Kantism, since today there is a «great variety» of unrepeatably social-historical circumstances, there must necessarily be «a variety of roads to socialism», and allegedly it is impossible to talk about general laws and principles. As a consequence, according to them, the principles of the socialism of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have been transformed into valueless schemas, «theories of yesterday», and the more their «socialism» frees itself and drives apart from them, the stronger it becomes, the more «innovative» and «attractive» it grows.

It is clear that such «innovations» and «pluralism» undermine socialism, which, as proved by experience, neither can triumph or be built and defended without a clear orientation based on the scientific theory of socialism, and without the leadership of a strong communist party which remains loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The revolution can be carried out provided it leads to the establishment of a strong dictatorship of the proletariat and has a clear socialist perspective, which only a scientific theory like Marxism-Leninism can give, otherwise it deviates, and all the struggle and sacrifices are wasted. History has many examples of a bitter experience which prove this.

During the Second World War the peoples of Yugoslavia rose in the national liberation struggle and shed their blood for the liberation of their country and the triumph of the revolution. But the fact that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia did not

fully possess the features of a true communist party and, after the war, degenerated completely into a revisionist party, explains why socialism in Yugoslavia was undermined and the country was put on the capitalist road. To cover up their complete departure from the principles of scientific socialism, the Yugoslav Titoites unfurled the banner of «specific socialism» which, as is known, was advertized by unrestrained bourgeois propaganda, while at the same time being lavishly financed by imperialism which saw in this kind of «socialism» a very valuable ally in its struggle to bring about the degeneration of true socialism and to undermine the revolution.

China is a similar case. The fact that at the head of the Chinese revolution there was one party which, despite its communist name never was such, for it considered the principles of Marxism-Leninism to be «schemas borrowed from overseas» and had an eclectic conglomerate of petty-bourgeois, pragmatic and revisionist views which assumed the name of «Mao Tsetung thought» as its ideological base, prevented the Chinese revolution from developing into a socialist revolution and China from setting out on the road of true socialism, although it used, as it continues to do to this day, the disguise of a Chinese «original socialism».

The variant of the Eurocommunists is not happier, either. They declare openly that they have allegedly found a «third road» to go over to «socialism», which is based «on the political analysis of the de-Stalinized Marxism» («The British Journal of Sociology», no 3, 1979, p. 268). According to them, the peculiarities of the West-European countries today allegedly allow the transition to socialism only through the development of bourgeois «pluralist» democracy, without the need for the class struggle, the revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that this socialism, in which power will belong to all the classes and different forms of the economy, socialist and capitalist, socialized property and private initiative, imperialist capital and multi-national companies, political and ideological pluralism, will co-exist, will be a «democratic» and «humane» socialism. However, it is evident that to arrive at this «demo-

cratic» socialism, which, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, will be no other than the present refurbished capitalist society, the Eurocommunists must get rid of scientific socialism and the principles of Marxism-Leninism as «unsuitable» and a «stumbling block». Hence, they proclaim openly that they have finally abandoned them in the name of «ideological pluralism». That is why the word «Eurocommunism», under which a specific European communism is meant, has already become synonym for departure from Marxism-Leninism, the negation of the general laws of the proletarian revolution and of the construction of socialist society.

From the analysis of the «new alternatives» which the different revisionists present as a counter-weight to the growing influence of the ideas of true socialism, emerges the baselessness of their claim that it is they who keep account of the new and particular and open new horizons to the movement towards communism. The facts and their stands show that they consider these peculiarities apart from their general connections and regard each country as a unique case in order to deny the possibility of the application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism to different countries and to justify the revision of these principles. At the same time, as the anti-Marxists devoid of all principles they are, they do not hesitate to proclaim their «inventions» and «roads» as models for the others. Thus, the Soviet revisionists declare that their «developed socialism» allegedly has a universal character and must sooner or later be followed by the others. The Yugoslav revisionists declare that it is they that have allegedly blazed the trail to «true socialism» since their «self-administrative democracy» has allegedly become an «urgent necessity of our epoch». For their part, the Eurocommunists claim that they alone are working out a «new strategy» for the achievement of «democratic socialism», for which a new International conceived as a «very elastic» organization is allegedly required. For their part, the Chinese revisionists advertize their «socialism» and the road towards it — «the village encircles the town», as the model for the whole third world.

Facts show that the modern revisionists are not in the least concerned about finding «many roads» for the establishment and «creative development of socialism, but about preventing at all costs its triumph, their only concern is to perpetuate capitalism, to revise and reject scientific socialism. This is what the international bourgeoisie demands from them. And in the competition of the modern revisionists for primacy in the «creative interpretation» of socialism, which sometimes is silent and sometimes clamorous, a competition which is a reflection of the contradictions and rivalries of the bourgeoisie of the different countries, they have brought into their ideological battle all kind of reformist, revisionist and pluralist concepts with which they aim always at the same thing: to invalidate the fundamental laws and principles of Marxism-Leninism — the revolution through violence, the hegemony of the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist party, the dictatorship of the proletariat, etc which constitute the main premises for the transition from capitalism to socialism.

However, regardless of the efforts and propaganda noise of the bourgeoisie and revisionists, both the social and political demagogy of capitalism and the falseness of the many «original» roads the modern revisionists claim to have discovered for the transition to socialism without the revolution, is being revealed and exposed more and more with each passing day on the terrain of the class struggle, in the everyday clashes between the working class and the bourgeoisie.

#### **THE MANY VARIANTS OF SOCIALISM -- A NEGATION OF TRUE SOCIALISM**

In its attempts to denigrate socialism as a social order, and its historic values which are standing out ever more against the background of the deep crisis which has the capitalist and revisionist world in its grip, the international bourgeoisie has always striven to distort the socialist ideals and to sling mud at true socialism as much as it can, to create a wrong idea of it, presenting it in the most sinister pos-

sible colours. For this purpose the imperialist bourgeoisie and its propaganda, directly seconded by all the variants of modern revisionism, has for a long time now been directing its assaults not only against the principles of scientific socialism formulated by the classics of Marxism-Leninism, but also against the practice of the construction of genuine socialism. For this purpose it also has recourse to the tactic of «distancing itself» from the revisionist countries, presenting them as «socialist» and «communist» countries and the negative phenomena which characterize the process of their capitalist evolution as signs of the decay and bankruptcy of socialism.

The international bourgeoisie and reaction went the whole length and were lavish with its praise to encourage the revisionists, when the opportunity presented itself, on their road for the liquidation of the victories of socialism and the restoration of capitalism in the countries in which they had seized state power. Nevertheless, when the capitalist takeover in the Soviet Union became a real and undisputable fact, the international bourgeoisie and reaction, also availing themselves of the demagogy of the revisionists' pretensions that they are building socialism and communism, still continue to call these countries «communist» and «socialist». Why do they do this? They do this with the ulterior aim of being able to continue their denigrating propaganda against socialism, and finally say, «If you want to know what socialism is like, look at Poland plunged in debt, with a totalitarian military regime which is unable to feed its own peoples, look at the Soviet Union which has occupied Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan and oppresses its own people, look at China with its great backwardness and the struggle for power that is continuing there, look at Yugoslavia plunged in debt, with chronic unemployment, inflation, and international strife» etc.

For their part, seeing that their strategic aims in the struggle against socialism coincide with those of imperialism, in order to cover up their betrayal, the modern revisionists have given wide circulation to and are advertizing a number of anti-Marxist concepts. One such concept is that of the many models of socialism, one for each



country, and especially, totally different from the socialism of which Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin had spoken and for which they fought. Each of the modern revisionists claims that his own pseudo-socialism is the best, the most democratic», while sticking the labels «bureaucratic», «Stalinist», and a «trauma» in the development of socialism on true socialism. However, like in so many other questions, in this one too, the modern revisionists are not original at all. Their revisionist predecessors, too, used to oppose different variants of pseudo-socialism to true socialism.

In their time Marx and Engels came up against pluralist concepts on socialism. They revealed the reactionary and pseudo-socialist content of «feudal socialism», of «petty-bourgeois socialism», of «bourgeois socialism», etc and exposed them as «parlour doctrines» which not only left intact the interests and positions of the bourgeoisie, but, on the contrary, defended them.

Bernstein, Kautsky, the «Austrian Marxists», the Trotskyites and social-democracy also came out with new variants of «socialism». K. Renner, one of the best known representatives of «Austrian Marxism», wrote in 1946 that «In the polemics with the representatives of the Third International, about 20 years ago, I put it (the theory of «national communism» — note of the author) down in this way: 'Every country has its own Marxism.'» And continued: «Today I can add that not only every country, but also every epoch has its own Marxism, which now is expressed in the different forms of socialism.»

The modern revisionists try to carry this anti-Marxist legacy further and to back it up with «argument». For this purpose they invoke concepts of such bourgeois sociologists as Parsons, Hyrvich and others, according to whom Marx had expressed the view that history has to show many feudal societies and many capitalist societies and hence, the existence of many socialist societies is fully justified.

This point of view is utterly baseless and runs counter to the whole theory of Marx. According to Marxism, the socio-economic order is determined by its economic base, by its mode of production of material blessings and by the

class which controls the principal means of production and wields political power. Proceeding from this scientific criterion we can speak about differences in the level of development of different countries, about the peculiarities of this or that social order in different countries. And Marx has shown rare perspicacity in discovering these peculiarities. But it is absurd to say that Marx has mentioned the existence of many feudal societies, many capitalist societies and that as a consequence, it is Marxist to say that there are also many socialist societies. Such a way of presenting the question is utterly erroneous and altogether un-Marxist.

Marxism-Leninism sees socialism as the first phase of communist society which, regardless of the peculiarities and varieties the different countries may have in their level of development, has essentially the same nature and is subordinated to the same general laws. The contrary is ruled out as long as the replacement of capitalism by socialism is, in its essence, a process which calls for the liquidation of the exploiting classes, the socialist transformation of the relations of production and all the other fields of social life along socialist lines, the consistent development of the class struggle and the carrying out a deep-going revolution in the field of ideology and culture. No matter how many the national peculiarities in the forms and rates of the realization of these tasks, they cannot invalidate the general laws and can never be the source of distinctions of principle between the socialism of one country and the socialism of another country, and as a consequence, allow the existence of different and even opposed socialist societies. In flagrant contrast with the dialectic of true socialism, which is the same in its essence wherever it triumphs, the revisionists, as the anti-Marxist sophists they are, absolutize the peculiarities and the degree of development of the countries which they call socialist in order to attack and refute the general laws of socialism.

The revisionist thesis of «the many variants of socialism» is groundless not only from the Marxist-Leninist theoretical standpoint. It is a hoax also from the practical standpoint, because their

«socialism» in reality has nothing in common with true socialism. Its confrontation with the theory and practice of true socialism fully reveals this.

In the economic field, a truly socialist country is characterized by the existence of the social ownership of the means of production, the relations of mutual assistance and cooperation among the working people, the liquidation of exploitation of man by man, the distribution according to the principle «each according to his work, to each according to his capabilities», the proportionate and planned development of the economy, its centralized organization and management by the socialist state on the basis of the requirements of the objective economic laws of socialism, etc.

In the socio-political field, the truly socialist order relies on the unity of the people, on a political system of broad democracy, which is realized through the many social organisms and organizations of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat under the undivided leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party in all links and in all fields. The spiritual life in true socialism coincides and corresponds more and more with the economic base of socialism. As in all the other fields, the revolutionary spirit of the principles of Marxism-Leninism imbues everything in this field, too.

Such a picture of true socialism is given by Albania, a true socialist country which develops uninterruptedly, which has no foreign debts and forges ahead relying only on its own forces, without any aid or credit from abroad, a country which knows no crises, unemployment, inflation, price rises, terrorism, moral corruption, which has no marked differentials in salaries and wages, in the standard of living, etc. This is by no means an accident. It is due to the fact that in Albania «the development of the economy and culture, the organization and leadership of the Party and state, the formation and tempering of the new man are done on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism.»<sup>3</sup>

A totally different picture exists in the revisionist countries. The Yugoslav «self-administrative socialism», the «developed socialism» of the Soviet revisionists, the «Chinese socialism» and

others, which are presented as variants of socialism, in fact are nothing other but variants of pseudo-socialism. In the economy of these countries, regardless of some peculiarities of each of them, the capitalist relations of production and the exploitation of the working people prevail.

So in Yugoslavia, under the cover of the «self-administrative» ownership by the workers' collective, private property in its classical forms or in the form of the republican economic monopoly is defended, and everyone, as an individual, as a group or as a republic tries to enrich himself as much as possible at the cost of the other. In Yugoslavia the leaders are entitled to salaries which are up to 20 times as high as workers' wages and to bonuses amounting to 24 times their yearly salaries.

Although the socialist disguises coached in Leninist phraseology are formally preserved in the Soviet Union, more than in any other country, it is not hard to see that the means of production are in fact state capitalist or collective capitalist property, as long as they are utilized in the interest of the new bourgeois class in power which appropriates the surplus value, the unpaid work of workers and peasants, in the form of high salaries, bonuses and innumerable privileges. Thus, the ratio between the wages of workers and the salaries of the bureaucratic and technocratic administrators, reckoned on the basis of nominal pay, is 1:10, but if the whole system of bonuses is taken into account, this ratio is even higher, so much so that it is hard to tell this from pay differentials existing between workers and bourgeois administrators in the Western countries.

In China these things are even more flagrant, because the Chinese leaders, prompted by their pragmatic interests to link up with American imperialism and world reaction as quickly as pos-

sible and urged by the struggle for power, were forced to erase even the deceptive impression created about the Chinese society as a society in which some features of scientific socialism were preserved. The Chinese leaders gave the green lights to the development of the capitalist economy, opened the doors to foreign capital, explicitly recognized all the privileges to the former capitalists and landowners and only in 1979 paid over 660 million dollars for their rehabilitation and as interest rates for their capital.

Hence, proceeding from the economic base, from the system of economic relations prevailing in the revisionist countries it comes out clearly that they have nothing in common with true socialism. Topical of these countries are such phenomena as falling production rates, unemployment, mounting inflation, galloping price rises, foreign debts, deteriorating standards of living of the working masses, and other manifestations of the crisis which has swept all the countries of the capitalist world.

The picture becomes even clearer if we consider the field of political organization and spiritual life which characterizes the Yugoslav «self-administrative» socialism, the Soviet «developed socialism», the «Chinese socialism», the «democratic socialism» the Eurocommunists want to realize, etc. In all these variants of pseudo-socialism there is no place for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the leadership of the communist party, for the principles of Marxism-Leninism, for the true moral and political unity of the people, etc. At their foundations lie deep class conflicts and antagonisms, national strife, the savage oppression of the working people, a grave all-round economic, political and moral crisis.

The whole internal and external policy of the self-styled socialist countries, the expansionist policy of the Soviet Union and China, the savage chauvinist oppression of the working people, and

in particular of the Albanians living in their own territories in Yugoslavia, by the Titoites, are fresh evidence against the «socialist» claims of the countries that follow such a policy.

The resolute and principled struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties and the capitalist reality of the revisionist countries themselves, the crises and contradictions eroding these countries, are tearing down their socialist and communist masks. Clear evidence of what lies in store for the revisionist countries are the events in Poland. Which comes next to Poland? «The process of class differentiation is seething,» Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 8th Congress of the Party, «and class conflicts are building up rapidly in all the revisionist countries. The Soviet Union makes no exception in this direction, although outwardly it looks as the most stable among them. The wounds which the restoration of capitalism has opened can be healed only with the overthrow of revisionism and the re-establishment of socialism.»<sup>4</sup>

Confrontation with the pseudo-socialisms of the modern revisionists and with what is happening in their countries strengthens even more the conviction that there can be only one true socialism and such is only the scientific socialism of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the application of which we find in the rich experience of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union of the time of Lenin and Stalin, and in Albania where the new society is being built and advancing as a result of the creative implementation of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

1 E. Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, p. 215, Eng. ed.

2 V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, vol. 3, p. 559, Alb. ed.

3 E. Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, p. 106, Eng. ed.

4 *Ibid.* p. 248, Eng. ed.

# NEO-COLONIALIST EXPANSION OF SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM

by **FATOS NANO**

*The emergence of Soviet social-imperialism, with ever more independent actions, typical of a superpower which fights for world domination in the world capitalist economy, at a time when the ambitions and plans of the Chinese social-imperialists to become a superpower, as well as the ambitions and plans of the other imperialist powers, are added to the rivalry and struggle between the superpowers for spheres of influence, is a reality fraught with many dangers to the freedom and independence of the peoples all over the world.*

**THE AGGRESSIVE EXPANSIONIST ACTIVITY OF THE SOVIET UNION HAS MADE IT ONE OF THE NEO-COLONIALIST SUPERPOWERS, ONE OF THE GREATEST EXPORTERS OF CAPITAL IN OUR TIME. THE CAPITAL OF THE SOVIET MONOPOLY STATE HAS LONG BEEN FLOWING THROUGH THE CHANNELS WHICH INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CAPITAL UTILIZES FOR THE ENSLAVEMENT OF THE PEOPLES. SOVIET CAPITAL HAS INTEGRATED WITH INTERNATIONAL CAPITAL THROUGH SETTING UP INDIVIDUAL AND JOINT ORGANISMS OF EXPANSION IN THE WORLD ECONOMY, AND THE UNDEVELOPED COUNTRIES, IN PARTICULAR. IN THIS CONTEXT SOVIET FINANCIAL CAPITAL HAS CREATED ITS OWN ROUTES OF FLOW, ITS OWN SPHERES OF INFLUENCE, MERGING WITH THE CAPITAL OF THE COMPRADORE BOURGEOISIE OF THE COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE FALLEN UNDER MOSCOW'S INFLUENCE OR DOMINATION.**

In an effort to motivate this economic expansion from their positions, the Soviet revisionists have also constructed their proper theoretical platform of the «internationalization of the Soviet economy».

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## **1. THE «GLOBAL ECONOMY» AND THE GLOBAL INTERESTS OF SOVIET SOCIAL - IMPERIALISM**

As the material and economic premises which determine the status of an imperialist superpower gradually build

up, as the necessary capital for its expansion and emergence beyond the framework of the «socialist community», especially in the beginning of the 70's, is accumulated, the problems of the «internationalization of the Soviet economy», of its «switching over to the foreign markets, etc», are being ever more openly and forcefully included in the agenda of the aggressive foreign economic policy of the Soviet Union. In the Soviet revisionist press, in the official political and economic opinion of the Soviet state open talk about a broader participation of the Soviet Union in the «international division of work», about the encouragement of the processes of economic integration of the undeveloped countries into the «socialist community» through contesting the monopoly positions of the old imperialist powers from the positions of a new superpower, has been circulat-

ing for a long time now. And in a more global context, there is talk of the need for a more complete and profitable integration of the Soviet Union in the world capitalist economy, international trade, the sharing of profits among the multi-national monopolies of the East and West on the world auction, where the wealth of the peoples is plundered and changes hands. The 8th Congress of the PLA stressed that, «In order to attain its expansionist, neo-colonialist objectives, Soviet social-imperialism has created a theory according to which no country can liberate and defend itself from imperialism and develop in an independent way without Soviet aid and tutelage. It misuses the slogan of «internationalist aid» in order to undertake aggressions and to plunder the wealth of other countries...»<sup>1</sup>

The fundamental concept underlying this social-imperialist platform is that of an «interdependent and unified world economy». In many theorizings of the Soviet revisionists we find the pattern of the union of heterogenous countries in a global economic conglomerate built regardless of any class criteria and social analyses, based on much the same geo-political and economic criteria on which «Mao Tsetung thought» unites and divides different countries into «three worlds». In this context, the second basic concept of this social-imperialist platform, ie of the differentiated political and economic evaluation of the undeveloped countries and of their position relative to the world market, also comes out in a conspicuous manner.

It is worthwhile dwelling for a moment on these basic concepts of the platform of neo-colonialist economic expansion of Soviet social-imperialism. As a continuation of the concept of the «interdependent and unified world economy», and seeing this a «reality created by the present-day technical-scientific revolution», the Soviet revisionists highlight the extremely acute character of some «global problems» of this economy, which bear on the «vital interests» of every state and can be solved only in the framework of a new system of «tripartite relationship» — the Soviet Union, the West, the «third world» («ME i MO», No. 3, 1979. «ME i MO» No. 3, 1977). These «global problems», which Brezhnev put forward from the revisionist tribune of the 25th Congress of the CPSU connecting them in a demagogical manner, with the «aid for the development» of the poorer countries, with the deficits in raw materials and fuels, with the problems of ensuring the natural resources for economic

growth, with the stabilization of world markets and prices, with the pollution of the environment, with the sea-bed reserves, with the exploitation of space, etc underlie the foundations of the central idea of the division of the world into big and small, all grappling with the «objective need» of the undeveloped countries for «aid» by the industrialized countries. In essence, the «global problems» are raised only to boost the global interests of world imperialism in ensuring new markets and spheres of investment, in the plunder of the natural assets of other peoples, in enforcing the neo-colonialist laws on world trade, etc in which Soviet social-imperialism demands its share as a superpower. This is revealed by the Kremlin chiefs when they claim that «the future of international economic relations depends greatly on the participation of the Soviet Union in them» («L'avenir des relations économiques internationales», Paris 1971, p. 119).

The global interests of Soviet social-imperialism «in the utilization of the advantages of the international division of work» become even more clear in the light of the second basic concept of its platform of neo-colonial expansion. The question is about making a differentiated political and economic assessment of the undeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America from utterly pragmatic positions. It must be stressed right at the beginning that all the advances made by the Kremlin to attract the undeveloped countries into its orbit are worded in a certain doses of deceptive rhetoric and demagogy about «imperialist exploitation», the «exemplary stand» of the Soviet Union towards them, their «economic emancipation and independence from imperialism» by means of the «internationalist aid of the socialist countries» in the framework of a so-called new structure of international economic relations. This demagogy, which the Kremlin propaganda tries to palm off as «application of the Leninist teachings on the alliance and complete identity of interests between the first socialist state and the oppressed peoples» («Mezhdunarodnaya Zhiznj», No 6, 1979, p. 34), is nothing other but a political and diplomatic card on which the Kremlin plays heavily in order to penetrate into the new states of the former colonies and to mask the true oppressive, exploitative and predatory nature of the typically neo-colonialist relations the Soviet metropolis has built with its «natural allies» in the undeveloped countries.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out: «The revisionist Soviet Union tries to

open the way to realizing its expansionist and neo-colonialist plans, by presenting itself as a country which is pursuing a Leninist and internationalist policy, as an ally, friend and defender of the new national states, the undeveloped countries, etc, The Soviet revisionists preach that, by linking up with the Soviet Union and the so-called socialist community, which they proclaim as 'the main motive force of world development today', these countries can advance successfully on the road of freedom and independence, even of socialism. This is why they have concocted the theories of the non-capitalist road of development', countries of 'socialist orientation', etc».<sup>2</sup>

At the foundation of the differentiated assessment of the undeveloped countries and the whole activity of Soviet social-imperialism in this field, lies the strategic aim of making the newly emerged countries «break away from the exploiting Western metropolises» and bringing them into the orbit of the new and expanding Soviet metropolis.

The Kremlin measures the degree of «socialist orientation», as a criterion, by the «benevolence» the various regimes of these countries display towards the Soviet Union and their «hostility» towards the West. To this criterion the Soviet propaganda also adds more pragmatic economic criteria, such as the peculiarities of the development of productive forces, the degree of the development of state and private forms in the structure of their economy, the degree and type of links with the world economy, etc. Under these «criteria», the undeveloped countries are divided in several groups. This division serves the Kremlin to work out differentiated tactics for the economic and political penetration of these countries within the strategic framework of its unrestrained neo-colonialist expansion into the world capitalist economy in rivalry and, at the same time, partnership with the West.

It is a fact that the Soviet Union, with its finance capital in the «countries of socialist orientation», aims to achieve control of the state sectors of the economy, after establishing its political or military domination over the cliques of the national bourgeoisie in power.

On the other hand, the Kremlin takes more cautious steps towards the «conservative and reactionary» countries, the regimes of which are under the political control of the West, reducing to the minimum possible the use of phrases «critical» of the «despicable» role of the Western monopolies in the economy of these countries, and emphasizing the «interdependence» of

these countries on the industrialized countries of the East and West, in the context of a «triangular system» of the international division of labour. At the centre of this system the Kremlin places itself and the «socialist community», as well as the privileged and advantageous relations they have with the developed capitalist countries. The above-named countries, according to the Kremlin, must achieve equality and find their place «in the new, equal and democratic order» of international economic relations in the general context of «mutual advantage» and also taking account of the interests of the «industrialized countries» and of the «mutual interdependence» with them.

These concepts show that Soviet social-imperialism implements the same strategy as world imperialism towards the undeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, takes co-ordinated neo-colonialist joint actions with it in the framework of the so-called «unified and interdependent world economy», with emphasis on making maximum profit for itself from the relations with these countries which are the main object of the bargainings between the superpowers. According to this stage-management of «international cooperation», worked out in the chancelleries of Moscow and Washington, the developed capitalist countries are supposed to invest capital and technology in the economy of the Soviet Union and the other Comecon member countries, while the latter, with their backward technology, must in return have their share in the bargains which the imperialist powers strike at the cost of the peoples of the backward countries.

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This is the strategic platform of Soviet social-imperialism for the extension of its modern colonial empire on a global scale. It is built from top to bottom in line with the neo-colonialist logic of the time, so that economic, political, ideological or cultural aggression precedes military aggression or makes it superfluous, thus achieving the same enslaving results.

Soviet social-imperialism, which ranks among the biggest neo-colonialist exploiters of the peoples, has made its own the treatment of the «sub-continent» of Asia, Africa and Latin America, as a global sphere for the extension of the interests and for the all-round activities of «the big» and «the rich» to the assistance of «the poor». The only relationship the capitalist and revision-

ist powers want to build and perpetuate with these countries is that of subjection and exploitation of the latter. The «booty» has been divided, but a revision of it is always on the order of the day, and step by step, systematically and persistently, the Soviet superpower levels put obstacles and opens new paths to occupying the place «belonging» to it in the great imperialist partnership, a place becoming its rank as a great imperialist power.

## 2. TRADE EXPANSION: PREPARING THE GROUND

Soviet social-imperialism utilizes the traditional links of the international exchange of commodities as the first channels to ensure the emergence of its monopoly organisms into the world economy, their presence in the main commodities exchanges. Through the export of raw materials and fuels to the world markets, the Soviet Union prepared the ground for its presence in the world capitalist economy as a great producer of minerals and energy. Later, through these same channels, the Soviet Union dumped the markets of the developing countries, producers of raw materials, with its industrial goods, its technology and equipment for the extraction and processing of minerals and the production of energy. Besides this, it began the export of its money and productive capital to the backward countries. And as a compensation, the return ways, the channels of export of raw materials and food from all the continents to the Soviet metropolis, began to function.

The Soviet financial capital, now integrated into the world capitalist economy, is more and more working from positions of strength to gain the «vital spheres» of influence which allegedly belong to it as a superpower. The first pressures of this order on the part of Soviet social-imperialism made themselves felt on the international markets, especially in the ways of the circulation of goods with the undeveloped countries only to extend later to the field of the export of capital and the exploitation of the natural and human resources of these countries. According to the structure of the commodity exchange, the bulk of the Soviet export consists of technology (more than 30 per cent), with broad consumer goods, raw materials and fuels, etc coming next, while food-stuffs of the colonial type and raw materials and fuels which, taken together, account for more than 85 per cent of the total import balance. As the

official revisionist information has it, more than half of the Soviet imports from these countries consist of payment of credits and economic «aid». The annual total trade surplus of the Comecon from its goods exchanges with the undeveloped countries is in excess of 5 billion dollars. Of course the «lion's share» of the trade profits goes to the boss of the «community» in accordance with its monopoly of foreign trade.

The trade expansion of the Soviet Union to the world capitalist economy includes the economy of some developed countries of Western and Northern Europe, offering to their markets oil, gas, timber, coal, equipment for nuclear stations, metallurgy, etc. Thus, for example, the countries of Northern Europe (Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway) account for 15.5 per cent of the Soviet trade with the West, which is equal to about 5 billion dollars. The huge supplies of Soviet oil, gas and its by-products to Western Europe is worth noting. At present the Soviet Union earns about 40 per cent of its foreign currency through the export of one million barrels of oil per day to the West, with Italy being its main importer. Without doubt these channels of huge supplies of Soviet raw materials and energy to the West are so construed as to enable the Soviet Union to repay the loans and capital invested by the Western monopolies for the activation of these branches of the Soviet economy.

## 3. THE ORGANISMS OF IMPERIALIST-REVISIONIST PARTNERSHIP ON WORLD MARKETS

The first hybrids of the graft of the Soviet capital on the Western capital on world markets appeared towards the end of the sixties in the form of trade, transport and fishing joint companies. They were supposed to carry out the distribution and treatment of the Soviet exports both in the West and the undeveloped countries. In fact the real functions with which the Soviet state monopoly capital had charged these international organisms in their operations abroad had to do with ensuring its own presence on the actual terrain of the inter-imperialist struggle for markets, with the exploration and control of definite sectors of world markets, etc. In this process these hybrid imperialist-revisionist organisms assumed the functions of international monopolies, and as such they cannot be conceived outside the context of an economic re-

division of the world, outside the attempts of imperialism and social-imperialism to monopolize, in accordance with the new ratio of forces, the whole world trade under the domination of the integrated financial oligarchies of the East and the West.

According to authorized revisionist sources, more than five hundred such imperialist-revisionist hybrids — «auxiliary companies and joint ventures» exist today in the developed capitalist countries and in the developing countries. Soviet propaganda considers these organisms «a widespread form of collaboration in the development of which the leading role is gradually going over to the Soviet Union». A hundred such hybrids, of which 25 belong directly to the Soviet Union, operate in 26 countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The rest, which Moscow controls through the Comecon banks, operate on the capital of the other countries of the «community».

The facts speak of a complete integration of Soviet social-imperialism into this great inter-imperialist partnership for the neo-colonialist exploitation of the peoples of the undeveloped countries. This Soviet participation is realized either directly or through the Comecon structures which have been adapted to the expansionist designs of the Soviet patron.

Apart from this, Soviet social-imperialism ensures its expansion to the undeveloped countries by more direct forms, outside the framework and structure of the Comecon. This becomes clear from the extension of the individual ventures of the Soviet monopolies and their joint ventures with Western monopolies in the undeveloped countries. Indeed, the setting up of joint companies in third countries has already become one of the main clauses of the agreement of Soviet-West inter-state collaboration, as is proved by the «long-term economic cooperation», a document signed by the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany in 1978. Many joint ventures of this order, such as for example the enterprises for the construction of a bitumen pipe-line in Nigeria with Soviet capital in collaboration with an Anglo-American asphalt company, that for the construction of a textile factory in Afghanistan by Tjehmash Eksport (a Soviet enterprise) and some West-German firms, the joint venture of Energomash Eksport with the American monopoly Babcock and Wilcox to build a factory of thermogenerators in Argentina, the Soviet-Western joint ventures in the Indonesian bauxite mines, the bargainings for the oil

supply of Cuba from Venezuela through the transport of Venezuelan oil to its West-European consumers by means of Soviet tankers, etc are already functioning.

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This is the range and scope of the great imperialist-revisionist partnership for the perpetuation of neo-colonialism and the joint exploitation of the whole world. The Leninist theory on imperialism teaches that the international monopoly unions which are set up between the imperialist and social-imperialist powers have their struggle for the redivision of the spheres of influence at their foundation, they do not in the least tone down the competition and rivalry between them or lead to «permanent agreements either», because the redivision is always done from positions of strength and proceeding from the changing ratio of forces, which capitalism itself makes even more precarious. The emergence of Soviet social-imperialism, with ever more independent actions, typical of a superpower which fights for world domination in the world capitalist economy at a time when the ambitions and plans of the Chinese social-imperialists to become a superpower, as well as the ambitions and plans of the other imperialist powers are added, to the rivalry and struggle between the superpowers for spheres of influence is becoming ever fiercer, is a reality fraught with many dangers to the freedom and independence of the peoples all over the world.

#### 4. THE EXPORT OF SOVIET CAPITAL TO THE UNDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

The policy of the Soviet Union towards the so-called third world has by now assumed all the fundamental features which characterize imperialism today. As such, it cannot be conceived outside the context of the direct export of Soviet capital, capital which has already created independent channels of flow and its own spheres of influence in the process of the inter-imperialist wrangle for the redivision of the markets in the undeveloped countries. The basic channel of the direct flow of Soviet finance capital to the backward countries is its export in the form of «aid» and enslaving credits, in the context of «long-term agreements of economic

and technical cooperation» and of «treaties of friendship and collaboration» which the Kremlin has signed with pro-Soviet regimes.

From the mid-fifties the Khrushchevites built an enslaving «program of economic aid» to the countries and states which had just liberated themselves from the yoke of old colonialism. The strategic aim of this neo-colonialist venture was to detach the newly created states from «the exploitative links with the Western metropolises» and draw them into the orbit of the newly merging Soviet metropolis. The faithful adepts of Khrushchevism without Khrushchev worked out in more details this program of «internationalist aid», adapting it better to the needs and productive capacities of the «socialist community», to the economic deficits and surpluses of the Soviet Union. In this process it became evident that their so-called new structure of international economic relations is sheer demagogy. Through this new structure they want to create an economic position to suit the appetite of the Soviet superpower in the redivision of the world with the other imperialist powers.

As a result of this «internationalist aid», the Soviet Union has built a neo-colonialist network of economic relations with 90 undeveloped countries, with 66 of which (22 in Asia, 34 in Africa, 10 in Latin America) it has concluded state agreements of the order of treaties. In this context it develops the export of its money capital and productive capital in the form of credits and technology, of the construction and technical equipment of a great number of projects in these countries according to the needs of the Soviet metropolis.

For these purposes in the period 1960-1977 the volume of capital export in the context of «technical and economic aid» of Soviet social-imperialism for the developing countries increased 6.2 times, and concretely — 5.2 times in Asia, 8.3 times in Africa and 5.1 times in Latin America.

The Soviet sources pass in silence global value indices of the export of Soviet capital to these countries, for this would compromise their demagogical attempts to differentiate their «internationalist» activity from the «neo-colonialist» activity of the Western metropolises in the undeveloped countries, a demagogy which cannot cover up this reality, which has the same exploiting and plundering character. Nevertheless, from indirect or partial indices we can form an idea of the real dimensions of this «aid». The total sum of the loan-capital invested on a long-term basis by

the Comecon in the undeveloped countries from the beginning of the fifties until today is in excess of 15 billion rubles, or more than 23 billion dollars. Other facts prove that apart from the global control of the Soviet boss on the activity of the Comecon, the Soviet finance capital is the greatest shareholder of these neo-colonialist enterprises, as well as of other branches of the «community» in the backward countries, too. It ensures for itself the lion's share in the division of rents, dividends and profits through the control of packet of stocks of the «community». Thus, the banks of Soviet social-imperialism operating abroad, have financed 300 credit operations in 70 undeveloped countries.

Boasting that the projects built on Soviet «aid» «have laid the foundations of the state industry in dozens of countries», that «they are bastions of the struggle for their economic independence against all the forms of neo-colonialist exploitation», the Kremlin propaganda betrays the true enslaving aims of this «aid» when it sets as a condition for its granting «the linking of the productive capacities created with the assistance of the socialist countries, through productive exchanges and cooperation with them, with the system of the international socialist division of labour» (TASS, Moscow, 18.6.1980; «Kommunist», No. 14, 1976, p. 121).

Doubtlessly, the social-imperialist policy of «internationalist aid» to the undeveloped countries is built on the readiness of this or that country to open its doors to the penetration of Soviet influence and to enter itself under the umbrella of the Kremlin, so as to avoid the danger of investments of other

foreign capital and to guarantee permanent sources of super-profits.

In order to detach as many countries and territories as possible from the sphere of Western influence and to attract them into their orbit, the Moscow revisionists, as Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, «...according to the occasion and circumstances, they also try to corrupt and bribe the ruling cliques of the undeveloped countries, offer enslaving economic 'aid' in order to get a foothold in these countries, stir up armed conflicts among different cliques, siding with one or the other, organize plots and puteshes to bring pro-Soviet regimes to power...»<sup>3</sup>

The Soviet social-imperialist have the labels of «specific socialism» ready for all occasions to stick to the new spheres of influence they manage to ensure in this way. Once these countries hitch themselves to the chariot of the expansionist policy of the Kremlin they are proclaimed as having «embarked on the non-capitalist road of development», as countries of «socialist orientation», appliers of «new and original intermediary forms of the movement towards socialism», «the most active forces of world social advance and world policy», etc.

However, the game of the big is a «gamble», as Lenin said in the beginning of our century. The fortunes of the Soviet social-imperialists are inconstant: they have successes but they also have their failures. In keeping with this, the list of the countries of «socialist orientation», of the «non-capitalist road», etc is subject to permanent corrections in Moscow. «This hegemonist and neo-colonialist policy which the revisionist Soviet Union is pursuing,» says Com-

rade Enver Hoxha, «clashes, as it is bound to do, with the policy which the United States of America is pursuing and China too, has set out on. This is a clash of interests among imperialists in their struggle for the revision of the world.»<sup>4</sup>

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The Khrushchevite revisionists soon revealed their anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary features. By now the peoples have seen that the Soviet Union has been transformed into an imperialist superpower vying with American imperialism for world domination, that together with it, it has become another great enemy of the revolution, socialism and the peoples of the world.

The imperialist and social-imperialist forces at present active in the world, «on the one hand struggle together against the revolution and the freedom of the peoples, and on the other hand, clash and fight for markets, spheres of influence, hegemony.»<sup>5</sup> But the attempts of the imperialist, and social-imperialists to establish their domination over the peoples are not going smoothly. The ground is slipping from under their feet and nothing can save them from the ruthless vengeance of the proletariat and the peoples.

1. *Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 246, Eng. ed.*
2. *Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», p. 37, Eng. ed.*
3. *Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», p. 37, Eng. ed.*
4. *Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», p. 37-38, Eng. ed.*
5. *Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», p. 20, Eng. ed.*

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## **CENTRES FOR THE TRAINING OF THE MURDERERS OF THE PEOPLES OF LATIN AMERICA**

*«ZËRI I RINISË» — organ of the CC of the Labour Youth Union of Albania*

In their war plans the strategists of the Pentagon give great importance to various schools specialized in the training of «cadres», most of them young-people, as agents, terrorists and experts in counter-revolution, in the service of American imperialism.

These schools, academies and training centres, both in the USA and many other countries, especially Latin-American, have become notorious. One of the largest of these centres in the USA is the «Special Military Academy» which is situated in the woods of Georgia, near Atlanta. In this «academy» young people are taught the methods of organizing coups d'état, and especially of coping with demonstrators. Besides, there they learn assassination methods with modern fire arms, such as muffled guns, as well as the application of the most inhuman tortures. This training centre turns out hundreds of specialized «cadres» every year, who demonstrate their ability in the clashes with the broad working masses in the countries of Latin America.

An important centre specialized in the training of American agents for Latin America is the «American School» in

the Panama Canal Zone, which was opened in 1948. Since then, this school has trained more than 37,000 agents for the USA. It is interesting to note that this same school has trained the hangmen of the Chilean, Guatemalan and other Latin-American peoples, like Pinochet and others. This centre recruits youths from various countries of Latin America, who, besides acquiring military skills, are imbued with the counter-revolutionary and anti-popular ideology, with habits of aggressiveness, which makes them blind tools of the American policy for the submission of the Latin-American peoples. The schools which have been opened in Fort McLeman in the state of Alasca, in Porto-Rico, Uruguay, etc are not inferior in importance to these training centres. At the Fort McLeman school young people are trained in fighting in lethally polluted environment, and in Porto-Rico, besides military knowledge, they learn various kinds and methods of nazi-type tortures. After learning these «skills», they practise them on a broad scale amongst political prisoners. As is known, prison in the fascist ruled countries of Latin America, are filled with young opponents to the regime. It has been report-

ed that the Pentagon has already begun preparations for the training of a first contingent of 1,100 infantrymen and 500 officers from Salvador in the military bases of Fort-Bragg of North Carolina and Fort-Being of the state of Georgia. The Pentagon has made 15 million dollars available for this plan.

These facts show that American imperialism attaches special importance to the training of the youth in an aggressive spirit not only in the schools of the USA but also in the schools of the countries of Latin America. It is obvious that the main aim of these schools and centres is to defend at any cost the anti-popular regimes in the Latin-American countries, this being the only way for American imperialism to plunder them and ensure the continuation of its neo-colonialist policy. However, the powerful armed struggle in many Latin-American countries, such as Salvador, Guatemala, Colombia, etc as well as in other countries of the world, shows that there is no force which can curb the will of the peoples and the youth, or stamp out their aspiration towards national and social liberation, genuine freedom and democracy



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## IDEOLOGICAL AGGRESSION IN THE SERVICE OF IMPERIALIST HEGEMONY

*«Bashkimi» — organ of the Democratic Front of Albania*

Aggression and armed intervention, hand in hand with ideological aggression and subversion, have always had special weight in the counter-revolutionary strategic plans of imperialism and in the hegemony-seeking schemes of the superpowers. As the development of events has shown, ideological aggression and subversion have accompanied, and more often than not preceded military aggression. The international bourgeoisie knows only too well that in the present conditions, in which the proletariat and peoples have reached a new level of political and national awareness, no strategic objective, no hegemony, no counter-revolution can be carried out without diversion, without deception, without befogging people's minds and brainwashing them.

Billions upon billions of dollars and rubles are spent every year to advertize bourgeois and revisionist theories, to publicize the American or Soviet way of life, to give circulation to American or Soviet literature, information or films, all over the world. All this is intended for the multiple purpose of making the proletariat and the peoples acquiesce in meek submission to everything concocted by the American imperialists or Soviet social-im-

perialists, and live in an atmosphere of abject fear, of creating the idea of a «rich America» and of a «Soviet Union friend of the peoples», and finally of bringing them to absorb the decadent culture and art exported by the imperialists and social-imperialists and forget their own national art and culture.

The imperialists, the revisionists and reaction have embarked on an uninterrupted ideological aggression against socialist Albania, combining it with all forms of political, economic and military aggression. Never has the capitalist-revisionist world ceased its subversive propaganda against our country, against socialism and the ideals of Marxism-Leninism.

By employing considerable financial means, the American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists have succeeded in controlling the mass media of a great number of states, flooding the different countries with their literature, films and TV programs. According to the West-German newspaper «Frankfurter Rundschau», the American radio stations carry on a weekly total of 1818 hours of broadcasting in 45 foreign languages. The programs of the «Voice of America» are broadcast in 38 languages for more than 822 hours a week by more

than 500 radio stations all over the globe. The ideological aggression of American imperialism has assumed particularly large proportions in Latin America. More than 83 per cent of all the news published in Latin-American newspapers, half of the TV programs and most of the films shown in the countries of Latin America, come from the United States. The American monopolies and the CIA control most of the publishing houses of this continent, dictating to them what they should translate and publish from the American literature and how to advertise the American way of life.

The organizing of the «psychological war», diversion and espionage is the main tasks the American administration has set its Central Information Agency. According to reports from the foreign press, this agency spends over 2 billion dollars each year for purposes of subversive propaganda. A broad network of newspapers, magazines, news agencies and publishing houses for the spiritual enslavement of the peoples of Latin America, Africa and Asia is available for the plans and schemes of the CIA. Its press empire comprises more than 800 organizations.

A special state organ, «The International Communications Agency» (ICA), has been set

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up by US imperialism for the organization of subversive propaganda in other countries. This agency publishes 12 magazines in 22 languages and distributes more than 90 films abroad each year. It has its information centres, libraries and bookshops in more than 100 countries of the world. Only in the countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia, the CIA distributes about 5 million copies of propaganda books in 25 different languages each year. The publications and programs guided by the Pentagon play a great role in the American subversive propaganda, especially directed to the developing countries. In particular, «the Armed Forces Radio and Television Service» has over 400 radio and TV stations operating all over the world, surpassing even the «Voice of America». Everything indicates that, as Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out in the report to the 8th Congress of the Party, «Together with the export of capital, American imperialism has also exported its way of life, corruption and degeneration, the spirit of decadent cosmopolitanism and servile submission to foreigners.»

The Soviet social-imperialists, too, attach great importance to their means of propaganda and diversion. The mass media of Moscow carry out a large-scale deceptive propaganda in order to justify such social-imperialist theories as those of «limited sovereignty», «vital interests», etc in the name of which the Kremlin rulers take steps for aggressions and

military occupation of other countries. The means of Soviet propaganda present the Soviet intervention as «internationalist aid», as «support in the struggle against imperialism and aggression». Passing themselves off as «the allies of the peoples», and thereby infiltrating the anti-imperialist and liberation movements, the Soviet social-imperialists, as the great demagogues they are, have dumped the world with large amounts of propaganda materials which are often sold even cheaper than the local literature or even offered free of charge. A number of press organs translated into foreign languages, books by the millions dozens of films and special TV programs, are turned out every year for consumption in other countries. Likewise, each week radio Moscow broadcasts 2022 hours in 82 foreign languages.

The Soviet revisionists conduct ideological aggression on a large scale in the other revisionist countries. These countries, many of which are militarily occupied by the Soviet social-imperialists, are forced to absorb the whole propaganda arsenal Moscow offers them. Besides their political, military and economic pressure, the Soviet social-imperialists try to stamp out the national features and state identity of these countries, to liquidate the national awareness of their peoples in the name of the «socialist community».

The Chinese social-imperialists and the other former co-

lonial powers use the mass media for their neo-colonialist purposes. Under pressure of the armed struggle of the peoples of the former colonies the old colonial powers were forced to recognize their independence. But they did everything in their power to maintain their privileges, to continue the plunder of the different peoples and countries. Likewise, they do their utmost to keep the languages of the former metropolises, like France or Great Britain, etc as official languages of these countries, to ensure the predominance of their literature and press, to maintain their ideological and cultural influence and to hamper the development of national culture in the former colonies.

However, the proletariat and the peoples, whose national and revolutionary awareness is constantly growing, are waging a powerful revolutionary struggle against the continuing ideological aggression and subversion and the other forms of intervention of the imperialists and social-imperialists. Under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties, the revolutionary proletariat and the peoples are resolutely opposing the imperialist and revisionist propaganda, the spread of the American or Soviet way of life, degeneration and decadent cosmopolitanism, they are fighting for the development of their national art and culture, for the development of revolutionary and progressive thought. Learning from their own experience, the proletaria-

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riat and the peoples have become convinced that they cannot achieve their revolu-

tionary objectives, their true national and social emancipation without liberating them-

selves from the tentacles of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologies.

**INVOKING THE GHOSTS OF FASCISM**

«BASHKIMI»

In our days, when the political-social situation in the capitalist world is becoming more and more tense due to the deep economic and spiritual crisis and the mounting tide of the revolutionary movements of the oppressed masses, the imperialist bourgeoisie is trying to play the card of fascism as a means to pull itself free from the whirlpool which is sucking it to its doom. In various capitalist countries, fascism, organized into political and military parties and organizations, with the participation of old-time fascists and neo-fascists, has stepped up its propaganda activity and resorted to crime, murder and intimidation. The squares and streets of a great number of cities in the West, such as Washington, Madrid, London, Frankfurt, Rome, etc are witnessing a revival of the ghosts of fascism and nazism. The question is not about a few scores or hundreds of incorrigible «nostalgic and romantic» fascists of old, but of fascist groups and organizations of thousands of members and sympathizers who openly show their strength and intentions as in times past. In the USA,

the most active among the 100 self-styled national-socialist organizations is the American nazi party, without mentioning the numerous racist gangs of the Ku Klux Klan. In Japan 170 neo-fascist groups, in the FR of Germany 75 neo-fascist groups, are operating in complete liberty. The newspaper «Deutsche National Zeitung», of undisguised fascist orientation, is published in 120,000 copies. The more than 209 groups of fascist terrorists, which are active in Italy, include in their ranks more members and sympathizers than Mussolini had at the time of his «march on Rome». On their record there are scores of murders of a political character, thousands of kidnappings, acts of violence and hold-ups. In France, Great Britain, Spain, Belgium and Switzerland, many neo-fascist organizations carry peaceful names such as «The front of the Truth», «The Sports Society», etc, but the actual results of their activity can be seen in the mortuaries of the above-mentioned cities. The international network of fascism is organized on a broad scale. The fascist parties and

groups organize meetings, rallies, celebrate anniversaries, even hold international congresses.

In their safes these organizations deposit the large sums which flow to them from the dark channels of crime and political violence, from robbery and kidnappings, as well as from other secret channels which lead to the doors of trusts and banks, and the big monopoly capitalists. Their plots are master-minded by parties, which have their own representatives in the parliaments, while the bourgeois press and the endless debates in parliamentary commissions and subcommissions cannot find a solution to the question whether these parties are fascist.

To advertize themselves, the fascist parties and groups are publishing an increasing number of books by the ideologists of nazism, shooting films, while printing «Mein Kampf» again and again. Recently they have put into circulation many books, the titles of which are very significative, such as «History Exonerates Hitler!», «What Impelled Hitler to Unleash the War», «Germany's

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War of Genocide — Pure Invention!», «Not a Single Jew Has Been Put Into the Gas Chambers of Dachau», etc. At the kiosks and libraries they sell records with Hitler and Mussolini's speeches, albums with photographs from the life and activities of fascist chiefs, cassettes and records of fascist songs. Many publishers have signed contracts and already begun the publication of memoirs of former fascist generals and secret service chiefs.

A number of Western authors are coming out with the thesis that the revival of fascism is a historical necessity, dictated by the current grave crises, scandals and chaos in some capitalist countries, that «the strong hand» of fascism alone is in a position to restore law and order.

A wide campaign has begun in many countries of the capitalist world to make people forget the hell the period of the fascist rule was like, to

whitewash the sinister past, to erase the atrocities and massacres of the 40's from the memory of the peoples. The peoples, however, will always retain the crimes of fascism in their memory. They will never forget how it was born, who supported it and what calamities it caused. The peoples will never forget how they rose to their feet and liquidated the fascist plague. These truths have left an indelible imprint on the history of mankind.

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## AMERICAN ARITHMETICS OF WAR

«LUFTEËTARI» — organ of the Ministry of People's Defence of the PSRA

The strategists of American imperialism show their passion for figures not only in the ever increasing funds they have allocated for military purposes, but also in their military-strategic doctrines and conceptions. In a recent interview to «Wall Street Journal», the organ of big business, the chief of the Pentagon Weinberger expounded the new American conception of future wars. Not long before, the Americans predicted the waging of «one war and a half»: one large-scale war in the European arena and another war, on a minor scale, in another area: either in the Middle East, Far East or Central America. The American conception now is that of «two simultaneous wars», that is two full-scale wars at the

same time in two regions of the world. The transition from the idea of one war and a half to the idea of two wars is one of the basic developments of the military doctrine of the Reagan administration. Certainly, the escalation from one war and a half to two wars, apart from a mere numerical increase, also expresses the arithmetics of war which the American presidents in succession have always tried to apply with fanaticism. Reagan, with this new idea, makes a further contribution to the logic of the military strategy of the Wall Street monopolies.

In this new conception of two wars, which is basic to the American military strategy, we have to do with a further escalation towards new wars and military adventures. The

conclusion that the American doctrine increases the danger of war and brings it nearer, finds its expression in the conceptions which the theoreticians of American imperialism pass off as the last word of «modern» military science. This modern military science of American imperialism solidly foresees the outbreak and escalation of major wars on the part of the American war machine on several regions of the world at the same time. The ruling circles of American imperialism materialize these conceptions of war in the feverish rates and gigantic proportions of their armament and war preparations. At first sight, the increase from one and a half to two is merely an increase in figures, but when this is translated in the astro-

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conomic figures of the dollars that will be spent on war preparations, the aggressive character of these conceptions and of the whole American policy becomes clear. In the coming five years the military expenditure of American imperialism will reach 1,500 billion dollars, of which 180 billion dollars are officially allocated to the new nuclear program the Reagan administration proclaimed in spring last year. In the financial year 1981-1982 military expenditure will amount to 226.3 billion dollars. These figures are official but they do not include the colossal funds hidden behind the allocations of the American budget for «scientific» development and «technical research».

Without doubt, behind the new American conception of war is hidden the stepping up of the efforts of American imperialism to extend its economic, political and military hegemony all over the world. The chief of the Pentagon and the other American generals have made it clear that the possibility of America's waging a major war in two or more regions regards precisely those regions «where the major and vital interests of the United States are affected». To safeguard these «vital interests» or, to be more precise, the American domination, is the main purpose of the military conceptions, doctrines and strategy of American imperialism. All this is seen in the context

of a fierce rivalry for hegemony with Soviet social-imperialism which for its part has adopted the concept of a «military retaliation in any region of the globe».

The reactionary advance in the military conceptions of the imperialists shows the advance of the dangerous aggressive course of American imperialism. As Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out at the 8th Congress of the Party: «At present American imperialism has begun to apply a harsher, more aggressive and more adventurous line in foreign policy. It is relying more and more on military force. Reagan's new policy is clear evidence of this.»

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## THE SOVIET ECONOMY SWITCHES ON TO WAR LINES

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

The 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania defined the present world crisis as the crisis and failure of state monopoly capitalism and its superstructures. For its part the form of domination and exploitation of the working people established in the Soviet Union did not succeed in averting the sharp vacillations of its economy, the disorganization of its productive forces, the slump of its production, the lowering standards of living of its working masses — the ills

which the bourgeois society spawns.

One of the fundamental aspects of the decay, characteristic of the capitalist economy of the Soviet Union, is the acute antagonism between production and the parasitic non-productive consumption. The unbridled militarization of the economy and the entire life of the country, which Soviet social-imperialism has resorted to in order to realize its strategy of war and aggression, is the cause of great antagonistic

disproportions and a state of precarious equilibrium in all the links of the extended reproduction of this exploiting society. Addressing the 8th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out: «It is the strength of the Soviet army which dominates in the Soviet Union today. The stepped-up rate of militarization of the life of the country and the heavy burden of military expenditure, which has reached astronomical proportions and is shaking the Soviet economy

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more and more profoundly, distort its development and impoverish the people.» Difficulties and failures in the economy which has become the number-one problem in this country speaks volumes about its reality. The crisis is rampant both in the realization of major economic plans, such as those concerning the rates of growth and reproduction, and in the more common aspects of the daily supply of scores of millions of working people who are exploited in the Soviet town and countryside.

The basic index of the economy, its growth rate, has sunk almost immediately after the revisionist takeover. But things have gone from bad to worse, especially in the last 15 years — the years of Brezhnev rule, when the economy showed a steep and irremediable decline. Thus, for the five-year period 1976-1980, the average growth rate of the gross national product was 1.9 times less than in the period 1965-1970, the growth rate of industrial production — 1.8 times less, of agricultural production — 2.6 per cent less, of fundamental investments — 2.2 times less, employment — 1.8 times less, consumption per head of population — 3.1 times less, etc.

On the other hand, the Brezhnev clique boasts many «achievements» in the attainment of the strategic targets it set for the rapid build-up of the military potential of the country to the level of an imperialist superpower. In fact, the Soviet economy today has switched on to the war rails to the de-

triment of its future development. It gobbles up in a parasitic manner more than it produces and, becoming a non-productive economy, misuses the present and perspective sources of the extended reproduction of the economy.

The facts show that every year the military expenditure of the Soviet social-imperialists gobbles up over one third of the national income of the country, one third of the production of the metallurgical and machine building industries, one seventh of the energy resources of the country, with the sectors of the war industry employing one tenth of the active population, as well as the most skilled technical-scientific forces of the country. The military budget of the Kremlin accounts for 12-14 per cent of total national production. At a time when the latter can hardly show a 2-3 per cent yearly increase, military expenditure increases twice as fast, or 3-5 per cent a year. This is directly responsible for the decrease of investments in the sphere of production of material goods.

The consequences of this course make themselves felt in all their acuteness in the everyday life of the Soviet people. There are chronic shortages of items of primary necessity, an over-shrinking range of goods, increasing instability, which has brought about rising inflation, declared and undeclared price rises, the flourishing of the black market, speculation and embezzlement, and as a result the

deepening of the polarization of the society into antagonistic classes and the continuous impoverishment of the masses.

The facts show that the living of the Soviet workers is growing worse with each passing day. The Kremlin is compelled to admit from its own mouth, even officially, that failure to fulfil the plans has become a chronic ill which for many years now is affecting many branches of the production of consumer goods, especially agriculture. In these conditions, speaking to the last plenum of the CC of the Soviet revisionist party, Brezhnev said that «the question of food supplies is a central problem of the five-year plan (1981-1985), both on the economic and the political plane.» The capitalist reality in the Soviet Union shows that the Kremlin is seeking a way out of the crisis which has affected the vital sectors of the economy, in the further extension of the capitalist private sector of agriculture, trade services and handicrafts.

This means to leave the Soviet consumer at the mercy of the speculators, smugglers, black-marketeers, an evil the Soviet power of Lenin and Stalin had struck at its roots. However, today this set of exploiters in the capitalist Soviet Union controls half of the production of potatoes and fruits, one third of the production of eggs, meat, vegetables, etc, or altogether one fourth of the total agricultural production.

The discrepancy between this reality and the demagogic cla-

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mour raised by the revisionists, who claim that «the solicitude for man is the central concern of the material and spiritual development of the Soviet society», is glaring. The welfare of what man do they mean? Of course, the welfare of the new capitalists who are

riding roughshod over the Soviet people. As for the working masses, for the ordinary workingmen, the billions which are created through the exploitation of their blood and sweat, and which the new czars of the Kremlin turn into so many hundreds and thou-

sands of guns, missiles, satellites and submarines, into instruments of war, help them in no way at all. They do not defend the lives of the workingmen in the Soviet Union and in the world, on the contrary they only increase the threat to their lives.

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## **BLACKMAIL AND MILITARY FORCE — TYPICAL OF THE POLICY OF THE SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISTS**

«BASHKIMI»

The recent events in the international arena are more and more revealing the aggressive and warmongering features of the foreign policy of the social-imperialist Soviet Union. The Soviet-led military invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 showed that the use of military force by the Soviet Union had become a means of its policy to further its expansionist aims as it had occurred many a time with the United States. Since the Soviet policy has assumed an increasing militarist and aggressive character. Military interventions followed one another. After Czechoslovakia came Angola, Yemen, Ethiopia, where the Soviet Union has intervened by proxy. The Soviet military aggression against Afghanistan two years ago and the feverish attempts of the Soviet occupiers to stamp out the struggle of the Afghan people for freedom with iron

and steel once more showed clearly to the peoples of the world that the policy of the Soviet Union has assumed the same aggressive, warmongering and expansionist features as that of the United States.

Apart from open aggression, military blackmail has become today another permanent component of the Soviet foreign policy which Moscow uses to maintain and extend its own spheres of influence. This is clearly seen in the policy of the Soviet Union towards the countries of Eastern Europe, which Moscow considers its own estates. The frequent visits of Kulikov and other Soviet generals to these countries, as well as the ever so frequent military exercises which the Warsaw member countries carry out on Soviet instructions within and along the borders of Poland and in the other revisionist countries, border on

open military black-mail and the use of the language from positions of strength and dictate of Soviet social-imperialism towards its «allies» in order to establish order in them and to keep them in the status of provinces of the Russian empire.

Apart from its absolute rule in the so-called «socialist community», the Soviet Union seeks expansion all over the globe. It seeks military bases in foreign countries, especially in the Middle East and Africa, is setting up political and military alliances with other countries in order to use them as springboards for the extension of its domination over other peoples, in preparation for an eventual confrontation with American imperialism. The arrogance and aggressiveness of Soviet foreign policy is expressed in the fact that the Soviet Union considers these areas to fall wi-

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thin, the circle of its «vital interests», thus assuming the right of intervening and making the law in them. One fresh example in this direction is the declaration of the Soviet government on the Middle East in October last year, in which it says openly and arrogantly that «what is happening in the Middle East area affects the interests of the security of the Soviet Union».

In order to support this warmongering policy and carry out its designs for world domination, the Soviet Union, not unlike the United States, has embarked on a feverish armaments race and is constantly building

up and perfecting its military, especially nuclear arsenal. The militarized Soviet economy has been placed in the service of the aggressive plans of this imperialist superpower. The military expenditure of the Soviet Union today is over 150 billion rubles a year, and 12-14 per cent of the total national income of the Soviet Union goes to meet the needs of its war preparations. With their dreams of world domination the new czars of the Kremlin, like the bosses of the White House, have lost all sense of logic. Brezhnev in his recent speeches, just as «Pravda» in its successive articles, arrogantly

declares that «the Soviet Union will allow no other power to jeopardize the interests of its security», by which its spheres of influence are implied.

The whole aggressive activity of the Soviet Union for world domination and dictate is an indictment against the savage imperialist power which openly threatens the freedom and independence of the peoples. It shows once more that, as our Party points out, any illusion about the «friendship» and «peaceful policy» and «internationalist aid» of the Soviet Union is fraught with great dangers to the freedom and sovereignty of the peoples.

## DOCUMENTS OF MUTUAL ACCUSATIONS AND THE RIVALRY OF THE SUPERPOWERS

«LUFËTARI» — central organ of the Ministry of the People's Defence of the PSR of Albania

Only two months after the Pentagon published a booklet of some dozens of pages about «the threat of the Soviet military power in the world», the turn came for the Soviet specialists to reply to the challenge of the American experts. In a similar form and style, and worded in the same categorical terms, the Soviet magazine «Novoye Vremya» published a voluminous document about the American military power and the threat it poses to the peace in the world.

The publication of these documents in fast succession by Washington and Moscow is by

no means an accident, but it is done with definite aims. It constitutes a further escalation of the battle of words between the two sides and one of the aspects of the growing rivalry in the military field. Getting hysterical about the growth of the military power of its counterpart and listing an endless number of facts and figures about it, the USA, just as the Soviet Union, wants, in the first place, to justify its feverish armaments race and to conceal its continuous efforts to achieve military, political and economic superiority over its rival. The responsibility for

the armaments race rests with the capitalist system, with the same aggressive aims and parallel roads the superpowers are following in order to attain their objectives, to establish their hegemony and domination in the world. At the 8th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are contesting with one another, are competing and manoeuvring to carry out aggressions and occupy other countries.» This is the source of the headlong armaments race, in which both sides have lost their minds and



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logic. However, while they proceed hastily down this road, considering military strength the main means to achieve their political and military objectives, both the USA and the Soviet Union are afraid of each other. So they try to reach agreement and compromise, to hold endless talks and conferences to control the armaments race, to secure their monopoly of nuclear weapons and establish a balance of forces in their respective spheres of influence.

By putting increased emphasis on the build-up of military force of and threat from its rival, Moscow, just as Washington, wants to tighten the screws on their allies and vassals which they intimidate with the spectre of the arms race. Their final aim is to secure more political concessions from them, to strengthen their military presence and their regime of occupation in these countries. It is not without a purpose that both the Soviet and American publication appeared on the eve of the sessions of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, when the debate of the

Euro-missiles is continuing in Europe and when there are incessant frictions within these aggressive alliances over the question of the military expenditure Moscow and Washington have burdened their allies with.

On the other hand, by listing endless figures and facts about the nuclear power potential, the number of troops, submarines and modern fighter aircraft, at the disposal of either side, the superpowers try to create a psychosis of fatalism, submission and despair about the capability of the forces of the peoples to cope with American or Soviet military power. With this they want to tell the peoples of the sovereign countries that only the American or Soviet military umbrella is in a position to protect them from the inter-imperialist military rivalry.

The recent «encyclopaedic» publications of either Moscow or Washington on the military power of and threat from its rival, say nothing new, in spite of the efforts which are made to give them a «sensational» character. Contrary to the pur-

pose of their authors, they only serve as a means to further expose their plans and character as the most dangerous enemies of the freedom and independence of the peoples. What the peoples need is not long lists of the armaments and the number of soldiers which America and the Soviet Union have stationed in their many bases in this or that part of the world. They see for themselves the aggressive activity of the superpowers, their adventurous and warmongering course, their attempts to establish their dictate and domination all over the world. It is precisely this policy and this rivalry of the superpowers that make situations more complicated and more tense and further worsen international relations. In these circumstances, the peoples and the progressive and revolutionary forces in Europe and in the world face the task of raising their vigilance and stepping up their struggle for exposing and opposing the predatory and enslaving plans and schemes of the imperialist superpowers.

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## «VITAL INTERESTS» OR WORLD DOMINATION?

«BASHKIMI» — central organ of the Democratic Front of Albania

In order to justify their policy of expansion, the representatives of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are more and more fre-

quently using such terms as «vital interests», «areas of vital interest», etc. What do they mean by this?

According to those who issue

such statements the very existence of the United States or the Soviet Union is at stake whether or not they control this or that neuralgic point of

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the globe. Let us take the Middle East in particular. Both superpowers consider it a «vital area» because of its colossal oil deposits and its extremely favourable strategic position. Coming out with these «arguments», each of the superpowers arrogates to itself the right to put this area under its control. In fact, the true purpose of each of them is the realization of the insane dream of establishing its own domination and hegemony over the whole world. Under the pretext of defending these «vital interests» American imperialism launched itself with unexampled savagery on the peoples of Indochina. In the name of the same interests it intervened militarily in Guatemala in 1954 and in the Dominican Republic in 1964. Behind the military coup in Chile in 1973 is hidden the bloody hand of American imperialism. Today, too, in order to defend its «vital interests» in Central America, American imperialism assists the military junta in Salvador and fascist dictatorship elsewhere.

The Soviet Union set out on the road of defending its «vital interests» all over the globe through the «socialist community» and the «limited sovereignty» within it. In August 1968, when the Russian tanks rolled into Czechoslovakia, the Russians brought forward as justification for this action precisely the «vital interests of the community». But new times demanded new theories. Thus, the theory of the «fraternal assistance» for the coun-

tries threatened by imperialism emerged. At first, it was carried out through third parties in Angola, Yemen, Ethiopia, Eritrea. This «theory» underwent further development later. In December 1979, the Soviet Union itself, by means of tanks and soldiers, gave its «fraternal assistance» to neighbouring Afghanistan. Moscow has now assimilated well, even in form, the «theory» of «vital interests». A fresh example is the Soviet declaration of the necessity of the Soviet military presence in the Mediterranean, published in the magazine «Novoye Vremja», according to which, «the Mediterranean is not far away from the Soviet Union».

However, the question arises: Who takes real «vital interest» in this area? The United States, say the spokesmen for American imperialism. The Soviet Union, reply the spokesmen for Soviet social-imperialism. But both of them fail to mention that the question here is only about the interests of the American bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and of the Russian bourgeoisie, on the other.

The «vital interests» of the Soviet Union and the United States not only do not coincide with the interests of the peoples of these countries, but they are in flagrant opposition to them. It was not the bankers and other capitalists who were sent to defend the «vital interests» of the United States in Indochina, but the common Americans who were used as cannon fodder and were killed

in thousands there. The case is the same with the Soviet social-imperialists in Afghanistan where more than ten thousand Soviet soldiers were killed in these two years of occupation.

The superpowers try to ensure their «vital interests» by means of their military presence. Their military bases have proliferated all over the globe. Their fleets plough the seas and oceans. The war budgets have assumed monstrous proportions. And the common people have to pay the bill in hundreds of billions of dollars in taxes.

Everything shows that, as Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 8th Congress of the PLA, «the interests of the superpowers and the peoples do not coincide or meet at any time and on any case. For imperialism to live the peoples must be enslaved, for the peoples to be liberated, imperialism must be destroyed.» That is what the Iranian people did, who did not beg permission from the United States and did not worry whether its «vital interests» would be endangered when they rose in the revolution, toppled the Shah and drove out the foreign exploiters. The Salvadorian people and the other peoples of Latin America are following suit. The Afghan people are doing the same thing towards the Soviet occupiers. The aspirations of the peoples to freedom and independence can be realized only through resolute struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism.

*Folk costumes of Northern Albania*



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