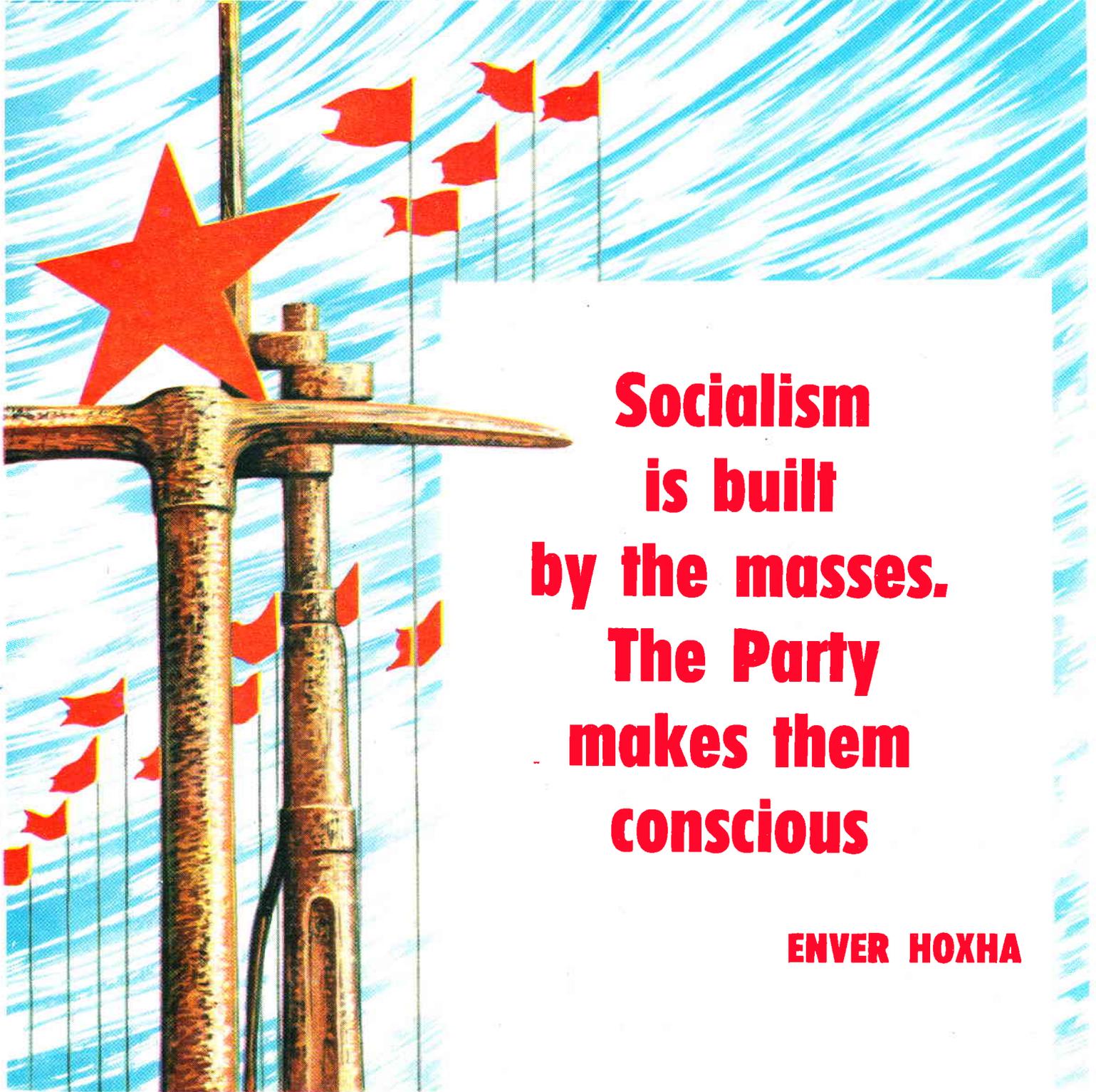


# Albania today

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**Socialism  
is built  
by the masses.  
The Party  
makes them  
conscious**

**ENVER HOXHA**

The liberation of the country and the establishment of the People's Power are the greatest historical victories of Albania's revolution. These events were the basis for the deep transformations which have been carried out in every aspect of life. All the citizens of the Republic consider the defence of these victories as a sacred duty

Photo: A group of youngsters doing military training





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# 29 YEARS OF SOCIALIST

by **PETRO DODE**

**On November 28 and 29 the Albanian people celebrated two memorable events: the 61st anniversary of the proclamation of national independence, and the 29th anniversary of the country's complete liberation from the fascist invaders and the local traitors. These are the greatest victories our people have achieved during their centuries-old history. The historical victory of November 29, 1944 set the Albanian people on the road to socialism and communism. This article deals with the great victories achieved by our people during the last 29 years in free and completely independent Albania**

THE HISTORY OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE IS FILLED WITH GLORIOUS AND HEROIC EVENTS. THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE HAVE WRITTEN THEIR HISTORY WITH BLOOD AND MADE COUNTLESS SACRIFICES IN THEIR CENTURIES OF STRUGGLE AGAINST MANY ENEMIES. BUT THE ENTIRE LONG ROAD THEY HAVE TRAVELLED, MARKED BY UNPRECEDENTED EFFORTS TO GAIN THEIR FREEDOM AND RIGHTS, FREE THEIR LAND, ACHIEVE SOCIAL EMANCIPATION AND BRING PROGRESS, AGAINST THE FOREIGN ARMIES WHICH HAVE OVERRUN OUR LAND THROUGH THE CENTURIES, AND AGAINST THE ANTIPOPULAR AND ANTINATIONAL REGIMES OF THE LOCAL EXPLOITING CLASSES, IS SUMMED UP IN THE GREAT VICTORIES OF NOVEMBER 28 AND 29.

The proclamation of independence on November 28, 1912, was the greatest historic victory since the time of the legendary battles of our national hero, Gjergj Kastrioti-Scanderbeg, against the Ottoman hordes. The hoisting of the flag in Vlora crowned the long efforts of our valiant and freedom-loving people, who never reconciled themselves to their slavery, who never bent their backs, but fought with sword and rifle, and with unmatched heroism and kept their honour and dignity intact. With the proclamation of independence, Albania, for the first time in five hundred years, emerged on the international scene as an independent and sovereign state. Our people recollect with honour and deep respect the many heroes that have arisen in the struggles for freedom, among whom a special place is held by the patriots of National Revival, who fought with both rifle and pen for the national awakening and the independence of our homeland.

But the victory achieved in 1912, despite the continuous wars and the blood shed by the people, was not stable. It was trampled on by the bargainings of the great powers, and was exploited at the people's expense by the feudals and bourgeoisie, who betrayed the lofty ideals of the fighters

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# ALBANIA

for National Revival. They left the country in poverty and misery, in darkness and ignorance, and sold it out once more to foreigners. Our people had to rise again and take up arms against the objectives and attempts of the imperialist powers and of the neighbouring chauvinists, to dismember and enslave Albania, as well as against the barbarous oppression and the traitorous policy of the local ruling classes, closely allied with the external enemies of the Fatherland. The heroic epic of Vlora in 1920, and the democratic-bourgeois revolution of 1924, are two of the memorable events clearly testifying to the unceasing efforts of the Albanian people in this period of their history.

The founding of the Communist Party of Albania on November 8, 1941 marked the decisive turning-point in the historic destiny of the Albanian people. From that time on, they would have leaders who had issued from the bosom of the working people and were connected with them like flesh to bone; they would have a militant headquarters enlightened by the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, with clear immediate and future objectives, with a political line, strategy and tactics scientifically worked out. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the age-old heroism of our people, inspired by new motives and with a deep social content, burst forth with unprecedented vigour.

Our party, founded, organized and led with ability and wisdom by the beloved leader of our party and people, comrade Enver Hoxha, has worked out and applied, at all stages and in all situations, a clear and correct Marxist-Leninist line in the interests of the people, the Fatherland and socialism.

From the time of its founding, the party, firmly guided by comrade Enver Hoxha, raised high the banner of the liberation struggle, gave form to the political unity of the people around the National Liberation Antifascist Front, organized the national liberation army, unleashed and led the general armed uprising and, exploiting the favourable external situation, created by the great antifascist war of the Soviet peoples and Stalin's Red Army, led the Albanian

people to the historical victory of November 29, 1944. Under the leadership of the party, for the first time in their history, our people were able to secure through struggle the complete, final liberation of their country from foreign domination and also to destroy utterly the power of the exploiting classes, and on its ruins to raise the people's power.

Our national liberation struggle is a classic confirmation of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that even a people small in number, fighting for a just cause, if led by a revolutionary vanguard, as our Party of Labour is, are able, through their struggle and relying mainly on their own forces, to win complete victory over their enemies, however mighty or powerful they may be.

On these memorable days we commemorate with respect and express our most profound gratitude to the 28,000 martyrs of the national liberation struggle who spilt their pure blood throughout our land, and we are mindful of their behest to make Albania flourish. Their lives and actions are a never-ending source of inspiration to us and to future generations, and spur us on to new heroic feats in the struggle for the complete construction of the socialist society and the defence of the victories we have achieved.

The victory of the people's revolution on November 29, 1944 marked the beginning of our unceasing march toward a better life, and the building of socialism in our country.

On the basis of the correct line of the party, and under its determined leadership, after the triumph of the people's revolution, great political, social and economic transformations were realized on the road to socialism. The people's power, as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, was consolidated throughout the country, all the efforts of internal and external enemies against our people were smashed and the victories achieved and the independence of the Fatherland were defended with determination. Within a short period, and in a revolutionary way, the remnants of feudalism were eliminated, the way was barred to foreign capital, the old capitalist relations of production were toppled, and socialist relations of production were established in all

fields. The way was thus cleared for the vigorous development of the economy and culture and for the construction of the socialist society.

Total industrial production in 1973 as compared with 1960, has grown 3,4 time, total agricultural production 2,1 times, the volume of investment 3.6 times, turnover of goods 2.2 times, and volume of transport 2.6 times. Magnificent new projects such as the big metallurgical combine in Elbasan, the powerful hydropower station at Fierza, the plant for the deep processing of oil in Ballsh, etc., will be added to our socialist industry in the years to come. Relying on our own forces, a whole army of highly trained and medium-trained personnel for all branches have been trained quickly; in 1972 there were four times as many as in 1960. The wellbeing of the masses has risen steadily. The development of a mass health service and free medical care for all the working people, the abolition of every form of taxes and levies on the population, the electrification of all the villages, the increase of average life expectancy from 38 years before the war to about 69 years now: these are some significant indications. During the 1960-1972 period alone, the per capita consumption of some principal mass consumer goods and foodstuffs has increased by an average of 80%

The whole of our life refutes the hackneyed propaganda claims of the Soviet revisionists that allegedly the economy of our country without their so-called aid, is marking time. On the contrary, facts show that their hostile blockade on little but resolute socialist Albania, suffered a shameful defeat, faced with the iron determination of the Albanian people and of their glorious Party of Labour to build the complete socialist society according to the great principle of self-reliance, and with the internationalist aid and support of the fraternal Chinese people. The facts prove that it is not little Albania but the Soviet revisionist renegades who, in order to overcome economic difficulties and failures, have opened the doors of their country to American, Japanese, West German, French, Italian, British and other capitalist credits and investments.

The victories realized by our patriotic and industrious people are linked with the correct line and leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, which cherishes the cause of the people and of socialism. The Party and comrade Enver Hoxha are concerned in the entire glorious road we have traversed so far, and the great successes we have achieved. The powerful unity of the party and people makes our Fatherland invincible, and guarantees still greater victories in the future.

Many historic victories were achieved in our country after the liberation of the Fatherland and the triumph of the people's revolution, but the greatest victory we have won is the formation of the new man endowed with noble qualities and revolutionary concepts.

But we should not forget for a single moment that the formation of the new socialist man is a protracted and continuous process, which takes place through a fierce and uninterrupted class struggle against various remnants and

influences of the ideologies of exploiting societies, be they the patriarchal, feudal or petty-bourgeois orders of the past, or the bourgeois and revisionist societies of the present.

Our successes in constructing socialism, protecting the socialist order and defending our Fatherland and in the uninterrupted development of our revolution, depend, in the final account, on our success in this struggle.

The fourth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party attached special importance to the problem of the struggle against alien influences. Its decisions constitute a great, militant programme for the further ideological tempering and practical revolutionary activity of the party and the people, and are another powerful weapon to prevent the penetration of bourgeois and revisionist ideology in our country.

Our Party and people have always clearly realized that our external and internal enemies consider us to be a thorn in their flesh and that they cannot reconcile themselves with the existence of the People's Republic of Albania and the Marxist-Leninist policy of our heroic party which, with courage and an undaunted spirit of principle, has never hesitated to tell the truth and incessantly expose their diabolical policy and activity against our country, as well as against the peoples and progressive men and women throughout the world. This is why they never cease their hostile activity against our country. Today, ideological diversion is one of the principal methods the imperialist and revisionist enemies use against us.

We have responded and will respond to these efforts and tactics of our enemies by strengthening and steeling the unity of the entire people around the party, consolidating and improving the dictatorship of the proletariat, increasing our defence preparedness, working even harder on economic construction, according to the great principle of self-reliance, deepening our ideological struggle against alien manifestations and liberal stands towards them, sharpening our vigilance and Marxist-Leninist ideological partisanship in every sphere of mental life, and implementing, with the utmost consistency and without the least concession, the principled proletarian policy of the party at home and in the international arena.

Our entire people have wholeheartedly embraced these vital precepts of the party and comrade Enver Hoxha, and they have risen in a fierce struggle against liberal and conservative manifestations, attitudes and actions, against the concepts and remnants of alien ideologies, which hinder development and leave a loophole open for the penetration of bourgeois and revisionist ideology.

The correct and principled stand adopted by our country towards international events, have greatly increased the authority of the People's Republic of Albania in the eyes of the world's peoples. These stands have at the same time confirmed the correctness of the line and foreign policy consistently pursued by our Party and Government, which serves to strengthen the freedom and independence of our fatherland, the successful construction of socialism and the cause

of the revolution and liberation of the peoples all over the world.

The international situation, in spite of its zigzags, is characterized overall by the growth in the forces of the revolution and the peoples fighting for national liberation, and the increasing weight of all those who stand for democracy and progress.

For the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists, the outgoing year has been one of heavy and successive defeats both at home and abroad, in the political, ideological and economic fields.

But despite the defeats they have suffered, the imperialists and social imperialists have not given up their efforts to interfere in the internal affairs of other states, to use blackmail, and to threaten the peoples. The collaboration and rivalry of the two superpowers constitute today the greatest danger and threat to the freedom and independence of the peoples and to international security. The overt and secret agreements, not only economic and cultural, but also political and military, which have been reached between them, today pose the greatest danger, and are directed against the vital interests of the peoples. The expansionist and aggressive actions of the two superpowers can be seen everywhere.

Today there is no area or region of the world where the plots and intrigues of the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social imperialists are not manifest in one form or another. In Indochina and in the Middle East, in Chile and other countries, the peoples can trace the evil counterrevolutionary activity of Washington and Moscow, by resorting to the most diverse tactics, such as empty promises of aid and collaboration, or political, economic and military pressures, are doing their utmost to subjugate other peoples, so as to put their global strategy of world domination into practice.

The peoples can now clearly make out the sources of the events that occurred over the last two months. The fascist military coup in Chile, which resulted in the overthrow of president Allende's lawful government, was prepared by internal reaction, at the direct instigation of U.S. imperialism. The revolutionary and progressive forces in Chile suffered a heavy defeat, but this is temporary. There is no doubt that the Chilean people will know how best to mobilize their forces, fight against their enemies and win.

The tragic events in Chile once more showed how empty, and how dangerous for the fate of the revolution, are the revisionist theories about the peaceful road of transition to socialism etc., these aim at lulling the revolutionary consciousness of the proletariat and aid the forces of imperialism and reaction.

The attention of all the peoples of the world is now concentrated on the Middle East events, which are of great importance to this region and to all present international relations. The Arab armies, in their October fighting, displayed high courage and bravery, indicating that they are now able to face successfully the aggressive army of Israel. The myth created by Zionist and imperialist propaganda about

Israel's «lightning war» strategy, war and its ability to undertake aggression with impunity has been destroyed. The crossing of the Suez Canal by Egypt, the great resistance put up by the Syrians in the Golan and the mass destruction of Israel's modern armaments, are proof that the latter no longer holds superiority and the fighting initiative, as it was claiming up till now.

However, the greatest success was the Arab unity displayed during the recent fighting, which proved to be the most powerful weapon in the hands of the Arab nation. But this unity must be preserved and strengthened continually in struggle against the imperialists and all the other enemies who want to destroy and divide the Arab countries. We hope that the summit conference of the heads of Arab states in Algiers may produce new contribution toward strengthening this unity, and that its decisions may serve the mobilization of all the means and forces of the Arab people to carry the struggle through to the end, till all the occupied territories are liberated and the Palestinian problem has been solved once and for all.

The measures adopted by the Arab people in oil sales and prices shattered their enemies, particularly the United States of America.

The Arabs are in the right; they are fighting for their own lands, and for the Palestinians to recover their lost homeland, therefore they will win. Certainly, there are many obstacles and difficulties in their path, and many problems waiting to be solved. But the problems that have arisen from the Arab-Israeli conflict cannot be solved and have not been solved so far, by successive resolutions of the security Council, dictated by the two superpowers, which want to preserve the «no war, no peace» situation in the Middle East as long as possible.

Now the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists, with a view to preserving and perpetuating their political, economic and military interests in this area, and defending Israel, the watch-dog of the U.S. imperialists in the Middle East, are making great efforts to impose a sham peace on the Arab countries, and to tie their hands so that they cannot act and must remain in subjugation.

The People's Republic of Albania as always, is in solidarity with the just cause of the Arab people, it has supported and will support through to the end the struggle they are waging for the liberation of all the occupied territories and for the return of the Palestinian people to their homeland, which nothing on earth can deny them. The Albanian people wholeheartedly wish their Arab brothers well and are confident that, guided by their supreme national interests and waging a resolute struggle against all their declared and secret enemies, they will safely attain victory.

In Indochina the Cambodian people are successfully continuing their struggle against U.S. imperialism and the Pnom Penh puppets. Our Party and Government support this resolute struggle for the freedom and independence and the realisation of the inalienable rights of that country. The Cambodian people are successfully resisting the plots and

blackmail of U.S. imperialism, and the pressure and intrigues of the Soviet social imperialists. The People's Republic of Albania supports the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia and will fight for the restoration of its lawful rights in the United Nations Organisation.

In Vietnam, despite the armistice, U.S. imperialism and the Saigon administration are committing grave violations and numerous provocations. The Albanian people are in solidarity through to the end with the legendary war of their Vietnamese brothers in the South and North against U.S. imperialism and its Saigon tools and are convinced that the heroic people of Vietnam, raising high their militant spirit and revolutionary vigilance, will successfully face the numerous provocations of their enemies and will emerge victorious over them.

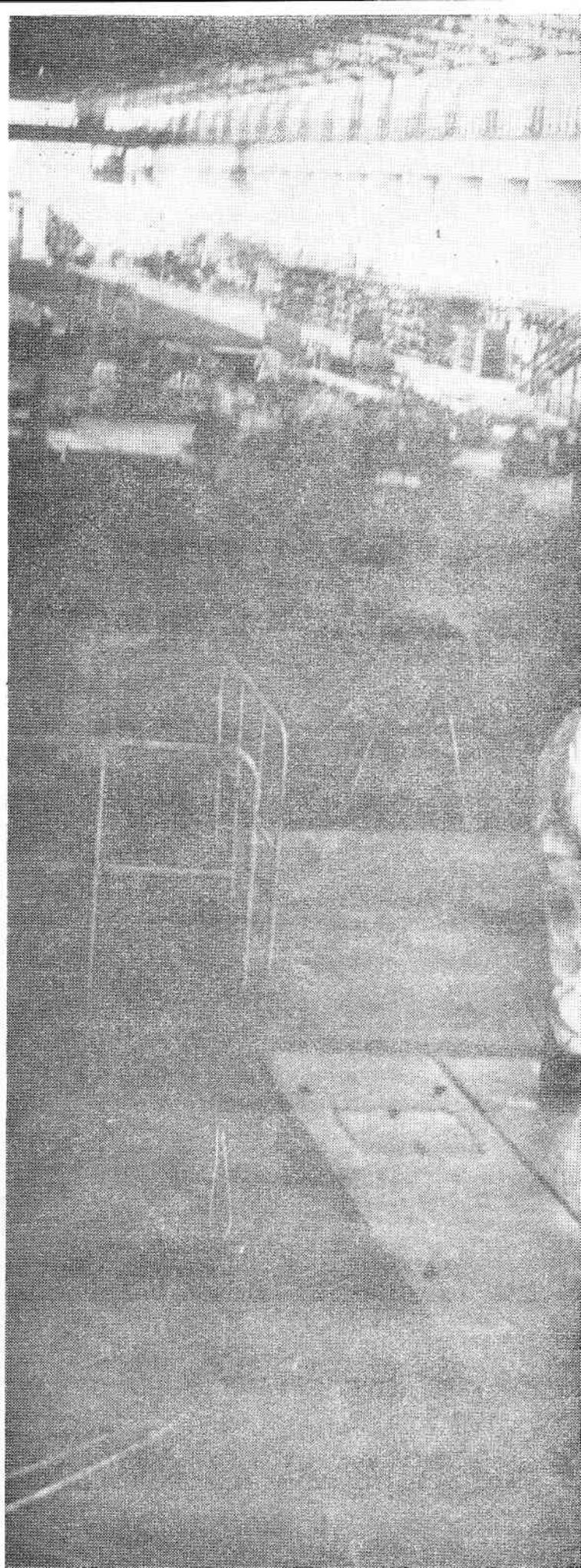
An increasingly more important role in the international arena is being played by the People's Republic of China, whose authority and prestige are growing with every passing day. It is a reliable bulwark for the peaceloving forces of the world, and the peoples fighting for their national liberation, and provides a powerful backing for the revolution.

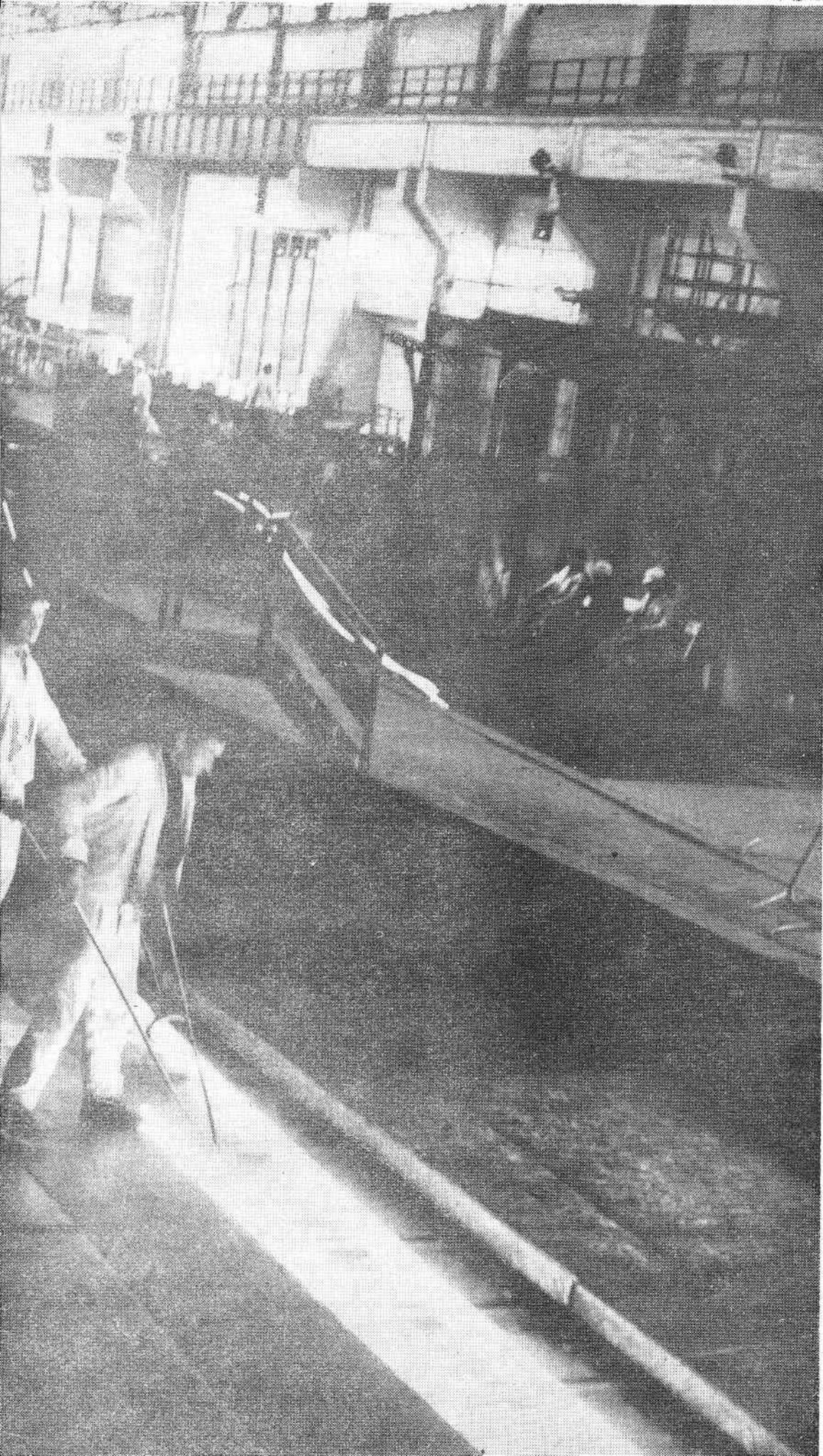
We are linked with great people's China by an unbreakable friendship, based on the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This friendship has been forged by our two great leaders, comrades Enver Hoxha and Mao Tse tung, in the crucible of our common struggle against our common enemies, the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet social imperialists and their lackeys. Just like the fraternal collaboration and internationalist unity between our two peoples and parties, this friendship will be preserved and increasingly steeled by our party and people.

We rejoice over the victories achieved by the Chinese people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and its great Marxist-Leninist Chairman, Mao Tse tung, which we consider as our own victories. The 10th Congress of the Communist Party of China opened to the people and the People's Republic of China brilliant prospects of development on the road of socialism; it smashed the traitorous Lin Piao clique and strengthened still more the party and the People's Republic of China.

The Albanian people and the Chinese people will continue to march together, and will fight shoulder to shoulder for the same ideals and against the same enemies, certain that in this way they serve not only the cause of the successful construction of socialism in their countries, but also the cause of the revolution and the liberation of the peoples throughout the world.

In these joyous, festive days, when we look back over the glorious road traversed by our people, we take pride in the victories achieved, we take pride in our Fatherland, which stands firm like a rock of granite, we take pride in our heroic party and our beloved leader comrade Enver Hoxha, who have led and continue to lead us, with ability and forethought, from victory to victory. Let the precepts of the party and of comrade Enver Hoxha, inspire us always to accomplish our tasks to the best of our ability!





The metallurgical combine in Elbasan is one of the greatest projects of the 5th five-year plan. Sections of this combine have been ended and have been already put into operation. A snapshot of the rolled metal section

**In the whole thirty years it has worked to build socialism, the PLA has relied on the precepts of Marxism-Leninism, which pay great attention to economic relations as well as to the economic laws and categories which express them. On this basis, by 1967 in Albania, the problem of socio-economic transformations was fully solved, and since then the economic order has been represented by complete socialist ownership of the means of production in its two forms, state and cooperativist ownership. Now in Albania, people are working for the complete construction of socialist society and the creation of the basis of communist society. At this stage stress is being laid on the steady improvement of the relations of production. The article sets out the course followed by the PLA to reach this goal**

**UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY AND COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, IN THE LAST 30 YEARS OF FREE AND INDEPENDENT LIFE, THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE HAVE BEEN STRUGGLING AND WORKING, WITH CONSTANT VIGOUR, TO PUSH ON WITH THE REVOLUTION AND SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN ALL FIELDS, UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF THE IMPERIALIST-REVISIONIST ENCIRCLEMENT. IN THIS GREAT REVOLUTIONIZING PROCESS, THE STRUGGLE FOR THE TOTAL ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW SOCIALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION, AND TO IMPROVE THEM CONSTANTLY, IS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT.**

In order to give a general, clear idea of the ground covered and the victories achieved in relations of production, it is necessary to mention briefly some fundamental theses of Marxism-Leninism on this essential question.

The founders of scientific communism made a profound analysis of human society, especially in its capitalist form. They did not confine themselves solely to examining ideas about society, but they went further, distinguishing, as V.I. Lenin wrote «the economic area from

other areas of social life, distinguishing the relations of production, from all other social relations, as the fundamental, basic relations, which determine all the rest». (V.I. Lenin, Works, Vol. I. p. 143.)

This is one of the scientific discoveries of Marxism which has historic importance. It is for this reason that in the economic policy of our party and socialist state, economic relations as well as the economic laws and categories which express them objectively have

always been seen as vital and are treated with great attention, in the light of the precepts of Marxist-Leninist theory.

In conformity with this, within a comparatively short period of time in Albania, transformations of a deeply revolutionary nature took place in relations of production. The revolutionary experience of our country, and the results achieved, have further enriched the theory of Marxism-Leninism, introducing those particular, specific aspects which peculiarities of our past national economic and social development occasioned.

Although the classic originators of Marxism-Leninism formed the theory of scientific socialism, relying on the detailed analysis of the developed capitalist countries, and proved on this basis the historic inevitability of the disappearance of capitalism, they also stated that pa-

by **HASAN BANJA**

# **PROBLEMS OF IMPROVING RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION IN THE SOCIALIST ECONOMY**

parallel with the formation of the general laws of the transition from capitalism to socialism, some specific conditions in individual countries must also be kept in mind.

The proletarian revolution is essentially distinguished from bourgeois revolutions because, in bourgeois revolutions, the task of the popular masses was to eliminate feudalism, anarchy, and the medieval social structure. The bourgeoisie takes political power into its own hands, thereby adapting the superstructure to the economic base it created under feudalism. The bourgeoisie does not implement radical reforms, because feudalism and capitalism are modes of production of one and the same type, based on private ownership of the means of production and the exploitation of man by man.

The socialist revolution poses a different problem. The socialist mode of production cannot emerge spontaneously in the bosom of the old social order, where only some material conditions and opportunities can be created. However, in our country, the capitalist social order, which constituted a definite epoch for many countries, was still in its initial stage of development.

Therefore, in order to create the socialist mode of production, a whole historic period is needed which, as Marx and Lenin have explained, can only be the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

In its narrow meaning, the period of transition begins with the seizure of political power by the working class and ends with the building of the economic base of socialism. In the broad meaning

of the word, the transition period ends only with the construction of the communist society. In the economic field, the objectives of the period of transition are reached by solving two fundamental problems: first, the socio-economic transformation of the country on a socialist basis, and second, the construction of the material-technical base of socialism, with a view to carrying out the technical revolution.

1.

The first milestone of the period of transition in our country was reached

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successfully. The sixties have gone down in our country's history as the years in which the construction of the economic base of socialism was concluded. By 1960 the problem of revolutionary socio-economic transformation was over in general, and by 1967 it was completely solved.

The socialist economic order is now represented by complete socialist ownership of the means of production in its two forms – state and cooperativist. The relations of ownership of the means of production are those which now determine the development of all the economic and social aspects and component elements of the new order. They set the tone for relations of distribution, exchange and consumption.

The current fundamental characteristic of our socio-economic order is that it develops on its own basis.

The revolutionary transformations in relations of production, as well as the work we must now do to improve them further, are viewed in close connection with the productive forces. In this respect, the party has been guided by some fundamental considerations, in the first place by the sociological law that the development of the productive forces must comply with the character of the relations of production; and by the Marxist-Leninist thesis that although the development of the productive forces is a vital necessity, they alone are not revisionists, who have adopted the «theory of the productive forces» put forward by the leaders of the second International, Kautsky, Bayer, etc.

Stating the need to improve the new socialist relations of production in coordination with the development of the productive forces, our Party and socialist state are also mindful of the fact that in the first stage of socialist construction in our country, the new socialist relations of production were created without waiting until the construction on an adequate material-technical base was complete. As a consequence, socialist relations of production not only were based on the level of productive forces inherited from the past, from the semi-feudal and semi-colonial order, but also, for some time, they kept the stamp of that former stage. It is a characteristic of socialist construction in Albania that the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production did not appear in its classic form, where

the productive forces reach a high level of production and come into conflict with constricted relations of production. However, as the social expression, of the productive forces, the relations of production come into contradiction with and hinder the development of the productive forces; which form their material base even when these are at a relatively low level. Just this phenomenon could be observed in our country.

Therefore, improving the relations of production and the co-ordinated, continual development of the productive forces, constitute two aspects of the same basic task. Any theory which considers the development of the productive forces and the technical scientific revolution as «independent» social processes and sees the relations of production as purely the external manifestation of the development of the productive forces is alien to Marxism-Leninism. Both the productive forces and the relations of production develop objectively, not subjectively. The proportions and directions of their development cannot be determined by what men want to happen.

Any detachment of the relations of production from the material conditions and possibilities of the society, from the level of development which the productive forces have reached, leads to arbitrary, subjectivist actions.

It is for these reasons that after the economic base of socialism had been successfully built, improving the relations of production and rapidly developing the productive forces are the most acute problems which must be solved at this new stage of the complete construction of socialist society, which our country is now going through. «This stage – as comrade Enver Hoxha has said – has brought forth a series of new problems, such as the complete construction of the material and technical basis of socialism, the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the struggle against the danger of bureaucracy, the development of the technical-scientific revolution, workers' control and many other things». (Enver Hoxha: Brochure: «Study Marxist-Leninist theory in close connection with revolutionary practice», page 51).

## 2.

The complete construction of socialism is connected with the solution of a se-

ries of problems which affect both the material and the spiritual development of our society. The question is how the new socialist social order can best be strengthened and developed further, towards its complete form, in its economic base as well as in its political, ideological, juridical and ethical superstructure, etc.

All the aspects of socialist relation of production, — relations in ownership of the means of production, distribution, exchange and consumption — must be improved, but this is not merely a technical, production-oriented task, as the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists, sociologists and economists are trying to make out, concentrating their entire attention on «adapting» the relations of production to the development of the productive forces.

As distinct from this view, the Marxist-Leninist thesis sees the problem not as one of overcoming the economic and social consequences of the development of the productive forces and the technical-scientific revolution, but of giving them, right from the beginning, a socialist content.

The economic relations of socialism are characterized by some major features: they emerge, are perfected and develop at all stages of extended socialist reproduction — in the process of production, distribution, exchange and consumption, giving priority to production. They have a social character, include the inter-action between classes and men, and are material, not in the physical sense, but because they exist objectively.

Although the type of socialist relations established in our country has not changed in essence in the process of the struggle to build socialism, important changes have occurred within them. They have now become more mature, they are broader, and they exert a greater influence on the general ideological, political and socio-economic development of our country.

Thus, for this theoretical and historical reason, and under the influence of various ideological, political and socio-economic factors, the socialist relations of production are in a process of continuous development and improvement.

The economic structure of our socialist order is characterized by transitional situations, the building of socialism and elimination of the «stains» inherited from the old order, and socialism's gradual

transformation into the communist society. Neither the «stains» inherited from the old feudal-bourgeois order, nor the features of the new socialist order, are found in socialism in its pure state. However they are characteristically found, woven together, in the process of continual transformation.

In compliance with this, the task of improving relations of production is internationally designed, first, to combat alien manifestations, the «stains» of the past in the consciousness of men and in the relations between them so as to close all the possible loopholes by which alien capitalist-revisionist influences may penetrate; second, to strengthen the socialist character of the new relations of production, their special aspects and component elements; third, to clarify development, paving the way for positive tendencies and making preparations for the future, thus laying the foundations for the communist society.

From the **ideological and political aspect**, improving the socialist relations of production is the principal condition for preserving the great historic revolutionary victories that have been reached so far in socialist construction here, opening the way for the complete construction of socialist society, and ensuring the revolutionary ideological and political education of the labouring masses with the high qualities of proletarian morality, so as to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. From the **social** aspect the perfecting of socialist relations of production is the basis for strengthening the alliance between the working class and cooperativist peasantry, and the correct harmonization of interests in a socialist society, always giving priority to collective and longterm interests, without neglecting immediate and individual interests. From the **economic** aspect improving socialist relations of production makes it easier to develop the productive forces, and is an important factor in the allround development of the material and spiritual life of socialist society, in production and other social activities.

Improving the socialist relations of production with regard to these aspects, is a process which has an active influence on the superstructure of our society. Relations of the superstructure are social relations. But they differ from economic relations, because they do not emerge in the process of production, and are not directly connected with the development

of the productive forces. In their formation they necessarily pass through the consciousness of men. Although relations of the superstructure have a special character and constitute the subjective factor in the development of our society, they are closely connected with the relations of production in a reciprocal process of cooperation.

The development of the superstructure, just like the development of the productive forces, cannot solve the problem of improving economic relations in the socialist society. For this purpose it is necessary to bear in mind the requirements of the objective economic laws and categories of socialism. Without this, it is not possible to guarantee that tasks will be successfully carried out or that the scientific level of all economic work will be raised.

### 3.

The relations of production appear first in ownership of the means of production. The nature and character of the relations of ownership determine the nature and content of all other economic relations.

Marx and Engels wrote in the «Manifesto of the Communist Party» that ownership is the fundamental question of the worker's movement.

Today, capitalist ownership of the means of production is the basis of the exploitation of wage labour, and the appropriation of the results of work, which is the source of capitalist accumulation.

Since it is the predominant, determining area of relations of production, ownership of the means of production is the focus of the theory of scientific socialism, in struggle against the apologists of capitalism, who proclaim that bourgeois property is sacred and eternal, as well as against the revisionists who, through the measures they have implemented, have eliminated social ownership, turning the means of production at the start into the property of individual collectives, which are under «self-administration», or else changing socialist property into state capitalist property of a special type.

In this vital question of principle, our party has adopted a correct Marxist-Leninist stand. After the successful realization of revolutionary transformations in

«Irrigation» black and white by Pandi Mele



relations of ownership, through the nationalisation of foreign and local capital and the socialist collectivization of former small producers, socialist ownership is now being constantly strengthened and extended, and becoming more mature.

In strengthening and developing socialist ownership and increasing its range, capital investments and construction are important, as is the technical and scientific revolution. The fifth five-year plan (1971-1975), on the basis of the directives approved by the 6th Congress of the PLA, contains considerably increased finance for developing the economy. A total of about 16.5 billion leks, will be invested which is 70-75 per cent more than the investments made during the first, second and third five-year plans taken together. In the structure of investments, two main trends clearly emerge: the specific weight of investments in the productive sectors, has been increased, along with the investments designed to develop industry.

Such large funds, set aside to develop and strengthen socialist ownership, will improve and modernize its structure, increase concentrated specialization and cooperation, and promote the social division of labour, bringing new resources into economic circulation.

In this way, state property, as property of the entire people, with its high degree of socialization and economic efficiency, will further increase its leading role in the whole system of the socialist economy. Since it has so much weight and plays so large a role, and because it expresses the most general, long-term interests, it not only develops in itself, but also promotes group ownership in the countryside.

In Albania, the relations of ownership in the countryside will be improved by pursuing these main lines: First, by strengthening existing group ownership, and intensifying it; Second, by uniting some group-owned properties, which are then owned jointly, that is by raising the degree of socialization, within the frame-

work of collective ownership; third, by bringing group ownership closer to ownership by the entire people, creating, as an effective intermediate form, agricultural cooperatives of the higher type in the most fertile lowland areas of the country; and, fourth, by means of direct transition, in cases where it is absolutely necessary, from group ownership to ownership by the entire people, on the basis of complete agreement by the peasantry, of their own free will, and the economic possibilities which the socialist state provides.

All these ways of improving the relations of socialist ownership in the countryside are interconnected and will be realized gradually step by step, as an organized, conscientiously directed process, depending on whether the conditions are ripe, and dividing it into two stages: the gradual quantitative and qualitative merger of group properties into large units, and merging cooperativist ownership into ownership by the entire people, which is the eventual aim for the future. It is important that these two stages should be seen as the natural road of development for cooperativist ownership to take.

Another important factor in improving relations of ownership is an increasing degree of socialization in social production through concentration, specialization and cooperation. A general feature of our economic development is the constantly increasing degree to which production is socialized and the social division of labour grows deeper. But despite this, there is still room for these processes to continue in our economy.

4.

In the framework of socialist relations of production the relations of distribution are quite important. Here general social interests are interwoven with the interests of the collectives and individuals. The relations between them are relations between the general and the particular or individual, between the complete and the partial. There is a community of economic interests, but they are not identical; on the contrary, they are relatively independent.

Briefly, the relations of distribution are grouped first into relations governing the distribution of the means of production and the labour force in the people's economy; second, in relations governing

the distribution of incomes and consumer goods for personal use.

Relations of distribution of the product are rather sensitive and the improvement of other aspects of socialist relations of production depends to a great extent on correctly solving them, together with any contradictions which consequently arise. In the final analysis, these relations find concrete expression in the way national income is used and in how it is divided into accumulation and consumption funds; also in how the consumption fund is divided for personal and social consumption.

By far the greater part of the needs of the working people are met from the personal consumption fund, which finds concentrated expression in wages for work done. Under socialism, wages have continued to play their important role in economic motivation of work and just distribution of the results. The Party strictly implements the Marxist-Leninist scientific criteria on wages. Our wages system has been constructed in such a way to make distinctions between jobs, so that heavy work is paid more than easy work; work which is carried out under difficult conditions is paid more than work under normal conditions; work which requires a higher degree of qualification is paid more than less qualified work; and work done in the major branches and sectors of the economy in general is paid more than work done in other branches and sectors.

In compliance with these principles and criteria, our wages system has been built so that pay is differentiated, without allowing great differences in living standards between various groups of working people and yet, without falling into petty-bourgeois leveling.

The role of the social consumption fund too has grown steadily this helping to increase the real incomes of the working people. During the decade from 1961 to 1970, the consumption fund as a whole increased by 60 per cent, and the social consumption fund by 98 per cent. Thus the tendency is that within the consumption fund as a whole the social consumption fund grows faster. This has made it possible for society to fulfill the needs of the working people for a free education and medical service, increased social security, old age and family pensions, and other social assistance. Today, expenditure in the social and cultural field accounts for more than one quarter of all state expenditure.

5.

In improving socialist relations of production exchange relations in productive activity and economic management are also important.

Here there is a series of problems which, in our country, are solved by methods diametrically opposed to bourgeois-revisionist "theories" and practices.

Our socialist economy has been organized and is managed consciously, on the basis of the principle of democratic socialism and the unified and general state plan. Spontaneity and capitalist anarchy, revisionist stagnation and self-administration, are alien to it. Concepts and views that have nothing in common with scientific socialism are also alien to it, for example, the concept of "market socialism", which refutes centralized and planned management of the economy, gives complete independence to enterprises, and proclaims spontaneity to be the regulator of socialist production.

Here our party adopts a correct stand; it does not underrate, but at the same time does not overrate or absolutize the role of the market, the law of supply and demand, and the law of value in general.

In this framework we have solved and steadily strengthened economic ties for the exchange of productive activity between the countryside and the town, between agriculture and industry, as well as within them. The measures recently carried out to improve the stocks and supply system, the price system, etc., had this aim. They led to the complete abolition of the procurement system in those products in which it was still used and of payment in kind and, to the establishment of unified state purchase prices according to area; these have greatly contributed to the increase of agricultural and livestock production.

\* \* \*

Improving socialist relations of production has broad and complicated effects on socio-economic activity in the country. This is a dynamic process which constantly develops. Implementing correct relations of production in the light of Marxist-Leninist precepts and in close connection with the productive forces, will accelerate the complete construction of the socialist society and the creation of the basis for the communist society.

# **THE PEOPLE EXPRESS THE GREAT CREATIVE TALENT**

During the month of October the national folklore festival was held in Gjirokastra, hundreds of groups, folk singers and dancers from 26 districts of the country, took part.

They presented at the festival many folk songs and dances and 217 different costumes which represented the rich folklore of the Albanian people.

The festival was also attended by Party and State leaders as well as representatives of the Kossovo Albanians and the Arbëresh of Italy.

Also present were folklore specialists from foreign countries





**Comrade Enver Hoxha  
and other Party and State leaders  
complimenting the representatives  
of more than  
1.300 participants in the national  
folkloristic festival which was  
successfully held in  
Gjirokastra in October this year**

**THE 1973 NATIONAL FOLKLORE FESTIVAL IS A MANGNIFICENT DEMONSTRATION OF THE GROWING ENERGIES, SPIRITUAL FORCES AND TALENTS OF OUR PEOPLE.**

For the Albanian people, their culture, along with armed struggle, has always been one of the fundamental means they have used to resist upheavals and escape annihilation. They have sung their songs of joy and of mourning for centuries. In the epoch of the party, the song of the people was raised to new heights, and their lamentations ended once and for all. Our party and our socialist order provided plenty of time and opportunity for preserving and evaluating the immortal glories of folk art and encouraged it to flourish and grow in conformity with allround developments here and with new demands of the time. Comrade Enver Hoxha said, when he met representatives of the groups participating in this year's festival «He who does not understand folk art, or the feelings expressed by the people in song, in music, in their won-

Hundreds of groups of singers and dancers from all parts of Albania participated in the national folkloristic festival of Gjirokastra. Among the 1.300 participants there were men and women of all ages. Very much welcomed was the dance of 3 generations executed by the folkloristic groups of the Peshkopia region



derful art, does not understand the people».

The art of the people, as shown at its best in this festival, is lively and militant. It does not belong in museums and archives, but in actual life. The new socialist, patriotic and revolutionary content, the sharp political eye and the immediate answer to the problems of the times, are put forward in simple, sincere vigorous art; the heroism and wisdom of the people are expressed in poetry, melody and countless dances, fully displaying the great educative power, and relevance of the people's art. This whole praiseworthy undertaking exemplified the precepts of the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, and of comrade Enver Hoxha's speeches, concerning the

preservation, use, enrichment and development of folklore.

The range of themes, stature, and high level of artistic and executive skill, were all displayed clearly and forcefully. The poetry and haunting music combined with rhythmic, energetic dancing, brilliant colours and rich embroidery, to give a living description of our history; thus showing folk art's power to present events and affairs, and the fine talent of thousands of folk singers, dancers and musicians. The people are the greatest poet, composer, choreographer and teacher of all time. Their songs and dances give rise to strong emotions and thoughts, sometimes vigorous and lively, sometimes quiet and meditative. This golden store of so many different, harmonious me-



odies is an education in itself, an endless wealth, particularly for writers, artists, and composers. Relying on it and using it with care, will give Albanian art a characteristic flavour and outline, rhythm and fire.

There were some particularly wholesome features which stood out, indicating rich spiritual qualities full of vitality. What we heard and saw, with all its artistic power, its variety of form and rhythm, uncovered for us the deep world, full of music epic tales and lyrical song, of a people possessing enormous creative and intellectual potential.

The polyphonic songs, in particular, executed so well and with such feeling by the popular masters, are distinguished for their clarity, their extraordinary

harmonies and development and for their exact, diverse rhythms which, harmonized into one, create powerful, lively vignettes of the life of the people, and need no external effects.

The festival enriched our folklore with a series of verses in which the people show their mastery over words, and their poetic ability, in their contest programmes, the districts, presented a carefully chosen selection of the most typical aspects of both new and traditional folklore. It was these epic songs that evoked the glorious past of our people – the echo of the wars against the Turks in Scanderbeg's time, the armed resistance of the peasant masses to tanzimat, the glorious episode of the national liberation struggle, etc. Some interesting lyric re-

presented profound emotions such as the course of love, socially oriented verses which showed the pain and protest evoked by the social evils of the time, such as forced emigration, Turkish conscription etc, and ritual elements and practices in pastoral and agricultural life. The great emotions of the people, their boundless love for the party, for socialism and for the new life, resounded strongly.

Today our music is steadily broadening its socio-political character, and growing in line with the popular tradition, it is being enriched, in the new historic conditions, not only with the repercussion of the great events of the times, but also with the strengthening of its ideological content, which gives it a new content and force. This is logi-

cal, since it corresponds to the continuous growth of the aesthetic consciousness of the masses. The songs of the festival brought home the spirit of the young builders of socialism at work, and their vigilant defence of the victories achieved with blood and sweat, with struggle and toil. In their conception and treatment of their problems in art, under the new conditions, the people make use of the great artistic experience behind them. The qualities basic to traditional folklore, such as simplicity, frankness, profundity, clarity, and an emotive, communicative power, have been built into the poetic content of these songs. Their central ideas have a unity of expression and metaphor

which blend into one organic whole, and they are enlivened with figures of speech, epithets, and so on, drawn from traditional poetry.

We must point out here some new departures in Albanian folklore which are designed to give fresh life to old themes, and bring in contemporary ideas about traditional elements, the cycle of love, weddings, emigration, etc., thus enriching them and introducing a new and original note to the general theme of the festival.

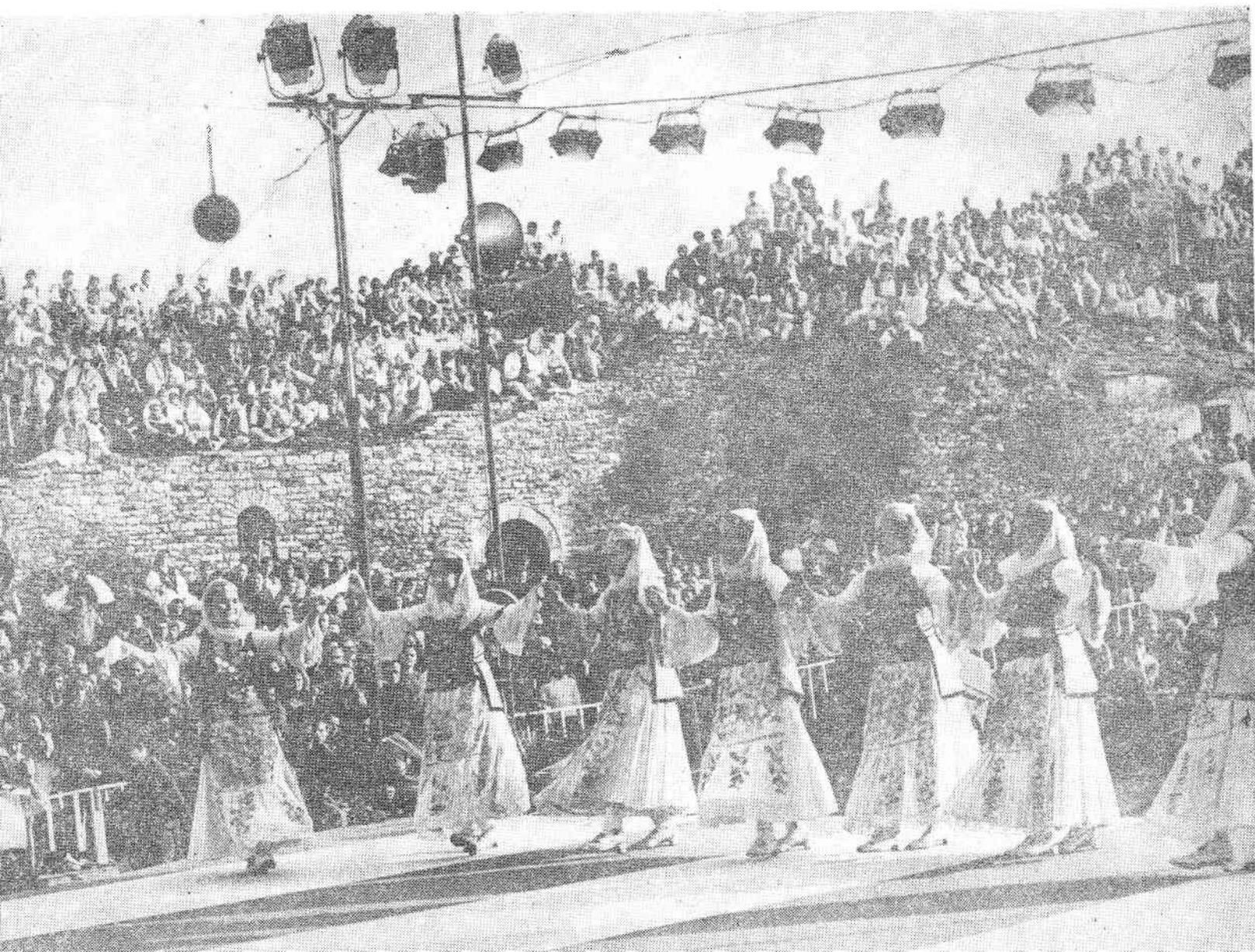
The sharp weapon of popular satire made itself felt too. The texts of the festival songs further consolidated the outlines of Albanian folksongs today, its

socio-political character, its epic force and its lyricism.

And what about the dances, our amazing dances? They once again showed that they are high points in our popular art. In the more than one hundred dances which were performed, an astonishing agility and variety of movement were evident, which, over all, created an image of struggle, work, joys and sorrows of the great movement towards the future.

The dances kept their own local originality, and this could be seen not only in the performance itself, but also in the way they were put together and conceived aesthetically. One essential feature was that all the regional dances were

In the precious treasure of people's culture costumes present the national specific feature in a very original way. One of the folkloristic groups of Gjirokastra distinguished by its beautiful costumes with the harmony of forms and a wealth of colours and motives



linked by one common national culture, and were thus distinctively Albanian.

The dances presented at this festival covered a wide range, from epic and lyric themes to dances based on work, humorous, and mimetic dances. As well as the epic dances for men, here and there were some for women too, embodying psychological elements. On the other hand, lyricism had found its way into some of the men's dances and this doubtless provides new features for students of Albanian folkdancing, in all its variety.

The dances based on wedding ceremonies showed the positive way in which weddings have been entirely freed from backward customs and enriched in a natural way, with socialist elements. The dances had thus acquired new features which made them more beautiful, lively, and invigorating, giving rise to fresh emotions.

A series of new elements caught the eye. They were particularly obvious in the new way choreographic motifs and figures were conceived, in the case of singing dances, these were conditioned by the texts of the accompanying songs. Above all, the interpretation was of a very high level giving the impression that we were watching real virtuous artists with long stage experience.

But the effect of the dances and songs would be reduced if the beauty of our national costumes were missing. What harmony there was in the whole wealth of colour displayed! The costumes presented specific national features in a most original way. Many have preserved a series of characteristics similar to the ancient Illyrian costumes such as those of the *tirq* type\*), the *fustanellas*, light shoes made of strips of leather, bell-bottom jackets, sashes, etc. Besides the aesthetic pleasure, they give the value of these costumes consists in their great practicality, designed to fit the conditions in which the peasant worked and lived. In the men's costumes, black and white predominate. This simplicity was set off by the multi-coloured waistcoats, sashes and caps and by the free and proud stance of those wearing them. The women's costumes were like an endless symphony of forms, colours and embroidery, and each costume was more beautiful than the last.

This festival was broad and varied, but all its elements were connected by a common, clear line revealing the unity of our popular and national culture. The

festival showed that under the conditions of socialism, when the people have taken their destiny into their own hands, folklore, too, has become massively, popular. The 1,370 participants represented a whole army of people handing down our traditions and adding to them: cooperativists, workers, students, soldiers... there are endless treasures to be found among our people, in their ardent hearts and enlightened minds, and this material welcomes a wide range of ideological and aesthetic studies. It is important to examine the old themes and the new, so that we can discover the qualitative growth of the Albanian consciousness and character, in all its social and historical complexity. The recognized values, styles and means of expression, the regional and national features in this festival, should be closely examined not only by those who study folklore, but by all those concerned with Albanological studies.

The Albanian heritage of folklore is treasure trove which can yield a great deal of evidence about its genesis among our forefathers, the Illyrians. It can also shed light on many complicated problems in the field of Balkan and European folklore, which cannot be correctly and fully solved without some knowledge of Albanian folklore. European folklore specialists can learn a lot from Albanian folklore, in the course of its evolution and enrichment, and in the construction of a socialist culture, which has folklore art for an inexhaustible source of inspiration.

The art of the people fills Albanians with the courage to keep forging ahead. In it they find themselves, their past and future. This wonderful festival was a powerful endorsement of the proverbial words about this immortal art: "Our people have eaten bread and salt in the past, but their plates were finely carved. Their feeling for beauty and their fine aesthetic taste are evident everywhere, in the music, the fantastic costumes, the dances, in the writings of the national revival fighters or in the brilliant rebel and partisan songs. In short, the artistic genius of our people is seen wherever you look wherever you pause."

A still greater future lies in store for this great art.

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\*) i.e. with trousers similar to jodhpurs, but with fuller tops.

# FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY

## «IT IS OUR FACTORY»

*Some phenomena of our daily life might seem negligible or peculiar to a foreigner. One of them is described in this short article by our contributor Mitro Çela, who is a journalist and economist. To us, the phenomena we encounter every day, throughout the country, are neither negligible nor peculiar: They show that the working class is master in this country, and that it is directly concerned not only with increasing but also with improving production, and with finding ways to increase and over-haul the means of production, in conformity with the demands of socialist construction.*

When it comes to writing about the successes achieved by a working collective, and when you can see for yourself that their toil and sweat have not been in vain, you feel the joy that they have felt although you are not a direct member of that collective; and, every one of their successes is yours too. It is really our success, because the new socialist life has created new attitudes towards work, and given people new motives.

Let us start with two simple news items from the daily events in the life of the country.

First: A new section, for rubberized plastic goods, has begun production at the «Stalin» textile combine. The section

was set up by the workers of the mechanical branch themselves. The high quality machinery installed in this section was built by the central workshop collective of this combine.

Second: The mechanical study and design Institute has ended its study on making compressed metal blocks out of steel, pigiron and nonferrous metalchips, and in cooperation with the Computing Center of the State University of Tirana, the work on the rational cutting of aluminum and rolled metal. It has also finished the plan for the construction of the mechanical plant to produce spare parts for the textile industry. These studies and projects are now being realized.

Similarly laconic but joyful reports are an everyday occurrence. . . . The «Stalin» textile combine. The surroundings are attractive and bright with flowers. On the modern machines, the skilful hands of the Tirana girls weave textiles, and go happily about their work. Here we find the heroine of socialist labour, Vita Konomi. You see her wherever the work is most difficult, or where the youthful vigour of the young textile workers is flagging. «We got together, and held a discussion. The factory is ours, and the production is ours, but the machines had become obsolete. So we decided that by our own efforts and without interrupting production, we would reconstruct it..»

The workers at the Nr. 2 weaving mill remember the factory as it was before its reconstruction very well. Old machines, of many different types from various countries and made by different firms. They were worn out, like an old horse which has pulled a cart through the streets for many years, and has now reached the end of its useful life. This worried the workers, since the vigorous development of the economy in general, and the textile industry in particular, required a radical change in technical production and improvement in quality. The economy demanded more yarn, but production instead of increasing, was steadily falling due to the deterioration of the machinery. A considerable quantity of the yarn, because of its bad quality, was returned by the consumer.

There were two ways to solve this situation; First, to invest in the construction of a new factory, and second, to reconstruct the existing factory without suspending production. Reconstruction would increase productive capacity faster because the investment required is smaller, the period needed to get the machinery into operation is much shorter than when a new factory is built, and existing investment is combined with new investment.

Thus, the second way of reconstruction was chosen. How was the work carried out? To start with, a central group of staff which directed all the work, including design, estimates, machine assembly, the cleaning system, etc., was created. The staff members were a mixed lot: engineers, technologists, mechanics, textile workers, vanguard workers, the most capable innovators and rationalizers. They chose to do work by concentrating all their forces, and this method was successfully used at all stages. They were supported, first of all by the Party organisation, and the vanguard communists. All the members of social organisations - women, youth, trade unions were mobilized.

An important element in the success of the reconstruction work was the fact that variants were used in designing it, and in all, 8 different designs were made, then the best variant was chosen. During the construction work the rationalizing spirit of the working class and its power to break with old, traditional concepts, stood out once more. Previously, when spinning mills were constructed, we had always followed the principle of separating the yarn sections from one another, but this was holding up the installation

of new, larger, machines. At the beginning there was a certain hesitation on the part of some specialists, but new ideas triumphed in the end, and the two sections were housed in the same section, contrary to the old practice.

There were many difficulties: lack of experience in assembling machines coming to our country for the first time, adapting some old machines to new technology, no experience in building a structure over 100 metres long, difficulties in producing spare parts, lack of transport and cranes to install the machines; over 1.000 cubic metres of concrete were needed to construct the foundations; there were plenty of mistakes. And all this was being done, with our own resources without asking for any foreign specialists or even for construction workers.

It is a major achievement that, during the reconstruction period (which lasted a year) production did not decline but showed a marked increase. To put it into figures: Before reconstruction, daily production of yarn was 2-2.5 tons, and while reconstruction was under way, it grew to 4.3 tons daily. At present 6,5 tons are produced.

The successful conclusion of reconstruction has brought about unprecedented development of the technical production and greatly improved production quality. Labour productivity in operating the machinery has doubled. Thus, at the machines producing Nr. 40 yarn, a woman worker once operated 425 spindles, but today she operates 830 spindles. Yarn is produced to world standards. Over 96 per cent of the production is first quality, there

are no complaints from consumers, and the range has doubled. All this has opened up a great future in yarn exports.

The manager of the factory; Osman Biba, who was also the leader of the group directing the work, told us that since the reconstruction was accomplished by the workers themselves, it gave them the opportunity to master the technology of production very quickly. This is also shown by the fact that we have managed to utilize the working capacity of the factory fully to produce the goods which the contract stipulates.

The machines are new, and the technology is powerful and complicated. This is why, parallel with reconstruction, the grassroots party organisation and the factory management brought up the question of the workers' qualifications. A number of qualification courses were set up, and the engineering-staff planned the textbooks. As a result, a good part of the workers are now operating their machines most skilfully. Some distinguished operators are Anife Hoshafi, Lule Preza, Marinathi Çaçi, Dhimitrulla Roshi, along with many others. Plans for the future are to increase production of first quality yarn by 2 per cent, and to produce 24 tons of yarn over and above the production plan. . .

The designers too realize that their work did not end with the conclusion of reconstruction. Their job now is to repair some of the old machines and use them in a new factory to produce cotton wool, with a capacity of 100 tons. And they will surely do it.

Mitro ÇELA, journalist

## THE 1973 ARCHAEOLOGICAL SEASON

A year ago, at the first Convention of Illyrian Studies, Albanian archaeologists summed up their research work so far and discussed many important problems with their colleagues. The convention set the archaeologists new tasks which will promote scientific knowledge and enrich it with new achievements. The archaeologists began this job in the archaeological season of 1973.

The 1973 archaeological season had 17 excavation sites. Working at these sites along with the archaeologists were teachers of history, topographers, restorers, architects, painters, anthropologists and many students from the faculties of history and engineering. On prehistoric and ancient sites they excavated an area of over 3,000 square metres; at tomb sites they opened over

# FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY

200 graves; and in some fortresses, where life went on without interruption from antiquity to the Middle Ages, the excavation work went down deep, following the cultural strata and the limits of habitation in various epochs. The 1973 archaeological excavations shed light on both known and unknown aspects of prehistoric, ancient and medieval civilizations; they also gave rise to theories which will be discussed further after the campaigns of coming years.

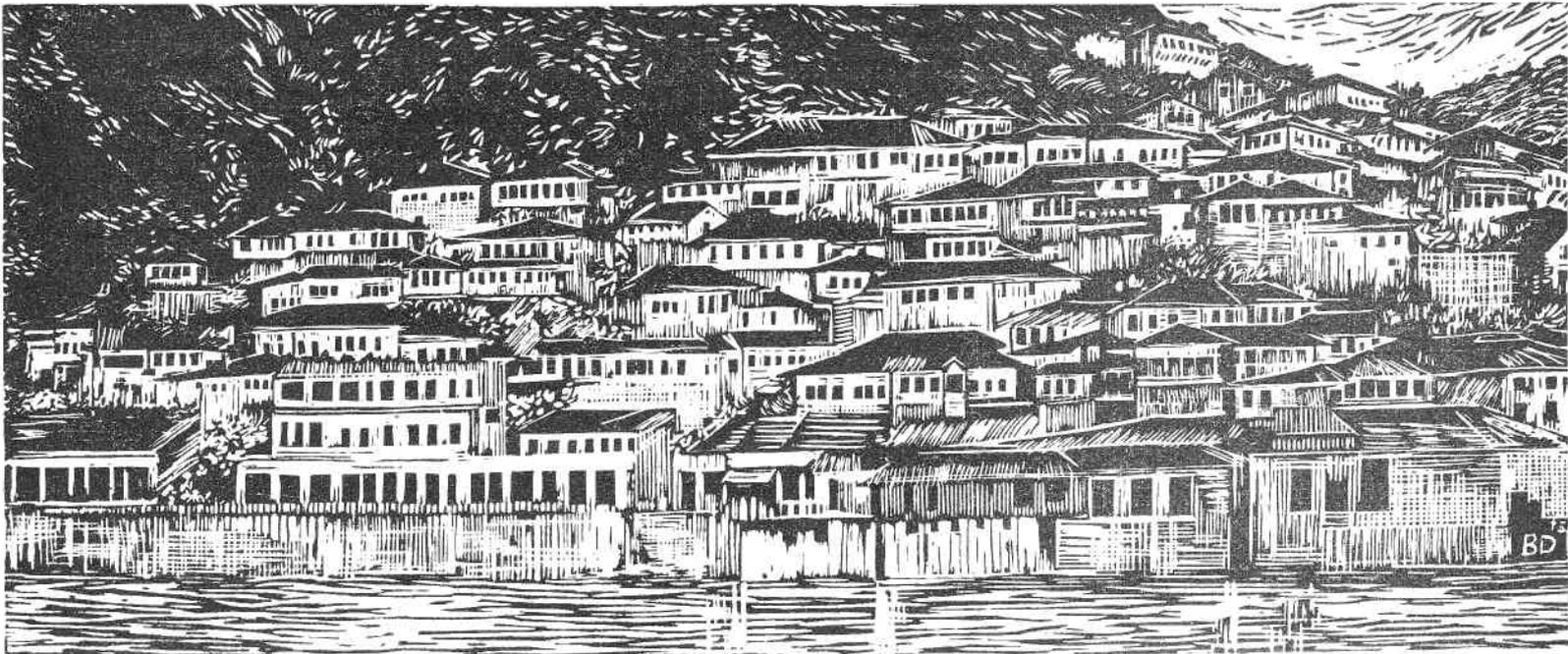
In prehistory, South-East Albania and the Korça basin in particular, is becoming an area of great scientific interest. The prehistoric discoveries in this basin are increasingly drawing the attention of those studying the prehistory of the neighbouring areas, Macedonia and Thessaly. For the time being, the number of prehistoric sites which have been excavated and studied is comparatively small. But the informative investigations and minor discoveries are leading the archaeologists to remains of other prehistoric sites which are very promising. It is necessary to point out that in South-East Albania, the neolithic epoch, its culture, and various stages of its development, are becoming clearer after every excavation campaign. The abundance of archaeological material has provided the opportunity to follow the autochthonous development of prehistoric culture in the Korça basin, and to define the character of cultural ties either with neighbouring regions such as Thessaly or with distant regions like the eastern Adriatic coast. These data were obtained during the excavation work carried out in the Dunavaec dwelling place of the middle neolithic epoch. Here too, the earliest palafitte (hut on piles) in the Balkan was discovered. The findings include fourlegged ritons (cult utensils) and anthropomorphic clay image, fine works of primitive art. In the dwelling place at Maliq archaeological findings proved the autochthonous origin and evolution of the culture of the late neolithic period, and its connections with the later, copper age.

For a long time now dots have been going down on the archaeological map of Albania to indicate grave sites, large and small. In general, they belong to an epoch when Illyrian culture had entered its highest stage of development. This fact makes the excavation work in these cemeteries of great importance to Illyrian studies, including the problem of ethnogenesis. In the summer of 1973, excavation work continued in the large

graveyard of Çinamaku in the Drini valley (Kukës area), in the Pazhoku graveyard (Elbasan area) and in the Barçi graveyard (Korcha area). In the Prodani graveyard (Kolonja area) only one tomb was excavated this year, while in Dukat (Vlorë area) the work at the graveyard was more in the nature of recovery. For the most part, the objects found in the graves, weapons, earthenware and ornaments, belong to the XIIth to the IX centuries B.C., which was a period of transition from the bronze age to the iron age. These discoveries strengthened the theories that had been formulated and substantiated earlier concerning the unity of Illyrian culture, a unity which is manifested in the architecture of the tombs, burial customs and construction and contents of the graves. Of course, there are also local features connected with the Illyrian population of separate ethnographic regions and showing contact with neighbours. Thus in the Dukati graveyard, weapons are prevalent, and this, in the opinion of the investigators, is an indication of the pastoral character of the people who used them. In the Barçi graveyard, a noticeable feature is the local painted ceramics, which have been correctly called «devollite» and which were widespread in neighbouring Macedonia. In these graveyards, as was previously discovered, there are objects which came from Mycenae in the south; in the western regions there are materials which show that contact was made with the Adriatic coast opposite.

In the Çinamaku graveyard in north-east Albania, in this year's campaign, the four excavated tombs belonged to the IVth to IIIrd centuries B.C., and the early centuries A.D. The objects discovered are entirely new in the culture of this graveyard, ceramics and ornaments showing visible cultural transformations, the existence of advanced handicrafts, and products of artistic value.

The ruins of Illyrian cities are being increasingly «extended» following intensive excavation work, and Illyrian urban culture is coming to light in its various aspects as the culture of a society in which slaveowning was established. But in many Illyrian cities, archaeological research is discovering indications of earlier habitation, and a pre-urban civilization. At the foot of the hill of the Illyrian town of Belësh, in Central Albania in the «city of the Parthians», the archaeologists came across the traces of an unfortified, inhabited site



«Partial view of the city of Berat» black and white by Bashkim Dizdari

where life continued without interruption from the bronze age to the end of the second of the iron age (about 2000 years), when as a result of the further development of Illyrian society, cities emerged as fortified centres and as handicraft and commercial centres. In ancient times, such cities existed in large numbers on Albanian soil of Gjirokastra (south-western Albania), work centred round the investigation and study of the fortifying system, and the layout of the ancient city. If you start from the acropolis and go down the slope of the hill, it is a long way to the surrounding wall, which is built with great skill. In one quarter of the city, outlines of the buildings and the streets near by have emerged. On the hill of the Illyrian town of Lissus (now Lezha, in Northern Albania) the surrounding walls, with their many gates, enclose this Illyrian city in central fortifications of the Hellenistic period built according to all the requirements of the military art of the time.

This year's archaeological excavations have given us new materials on which to base the layout of the Illyrian towns erected in the hinterland, and the large coastal cities of Dyrrah and Apollonia. In the ruins of the Illyrian town of Zgërdhesh, at the foot of the Albanian

castle of Kruja, where the archaeologists are looking for the city of the Albans mentioned in Ptolemy of Alexandria's geography, the excavations have uncovered monuments which prove that this city was an important residential center in the IVth to the IIInd centuries B.C. with advanced local handicraft production, and closely related to Dyrrah. A similar situation existed in the city of Dimal, at the back of Apollonia (in the Berat area), which is mentioned in ancient writings as an important city at the time of the Illyrian-Roman wars (IIIrd to IIInd centuries B.C.).

The newly begun excavations in the ruins of two other cities, Klos (Fier area) and Symizë (Korça area), are also of great interest.

In the Klos ruins, near Illyrian Bylis, which has long called archaeologists' attention to its imposing walls, the first excavation work has brought to light the remnants of a large building of a social character. On the high hill of Symizë, besides part of the beautiful surrounding wall, artifacts belonging to various historical periods have been discovered.

The important problem of Albanian-Illyrian continuity is connected with the excavations carried out at the castles of Pogradec (near the Ochrida Lake),

Kanina, near Vlora which is not very far from the Adriatic coast, and Berat. In this summer's campaign, we finished the first stage of the study of Pogradec castle. The preliminary conclusions drawn by the archaeologists from their many years work can be summed up as follows: The small dwelling centre of Pogradec, inhabited as far back as the Vth century B.C. by the Illyrian Dasarets, became citadel of strategic importance in the IVth century B.C., and its inhabitants engaged in fishing and farming. The Illyrian citadel lived through all the events in the surrounding region during the IIIrd and IIInd centuries B.C. The Illyrian-Macedonian-Roman wars ruined the walls of the Illyrian fortress, but the population remained. This residential centre was intensively alive in the late ancient period and the early Middle Ages, at the time of the weakened Roman-Byzantine empire, when the inhabitants of the surrounding area erected new defence walls and coped with the invasions of the «barbarians» who invaded the Balkan Peninsula.

The archaeological investigation in the citadels of Kanina and Berat is also discovering new aspects, previously unknown in these two Illyrian-Albanian cities. Besides the artifacts which extend from antiquity to the Middle Ages, in

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the fortresses of Kanina and Berat, the wall also provide valuable data from which to follow the development of life and the role they played in Albanian history.

One archaeological season, even though 17 excavation sites were worked on, is still too short to provide conclusive results or to solve the tasks set at the Convention. But we can say that Albanian archaeology, putting into practice the teachings of the Party, and strictly

applying Marxist-Leninist methodology in its research work, is scoring new successes every year. The fundamental problems of Illyrian and early Albanian history and culture are on the way to finding a solution. The dense mist which once shrouded them was pierced long ago, and the economic, social and cultural development of our predecessors, together with their place and role on the Balkan Peninsula, are becoming increasingly clearer.

Skënder ANAMALI, archaeologist

# THE HEROIC ALBANIAN SPIRIT IN WORLD MUSIC

*The heroic feats of the Albanians through the centuries have inspired many foreign writers and composers, who have devoted some of their finest works to these brave men.*

The national feeling of the Albanians and their love for their homeland have left a deep impression on many foreigners. Various opinions have been expressed by foreigners about this feeling and love, which is accompanied by a proverbial bravery. Their judgments and remarks agree about this characteristic feature (bravery), which even our oldest enemies have not denied. Volumes could be filled with the sayings of various authors, who appraised the heroic feats of the Albanians impartially. We need only mention the rich bibliography on Scanderbeg, who embodies, so to speak, the militant qualities of the Albanians.

Many foreign authors, have drawn inspiration from the heroic feats of the Albanians, particularly from the heroic resistance of our people against the invasion of the Ottomans. Scanderbeg's renown and glory go beyond the bound-

daries of time and space. The figure of this great strategist, victorious in battle, became the protagonist of a host of literary works in many European languages; it was carved in marble, cast in bronze, drawn and painted in many pictures, and can be found in various art-galleries around the world.

The heroic activity of this Albanian leader had many repercussions in music, too. As far back as the first half of the 18th century, Scanderbeg became a source of inspiration for two Italian operas and a French opera. The first opera about our national hero was composed by Antonio Vivaldi, with Antonio Salvi's libretto. It had its première in 1718. In the same year, its libretto was published with the title: «Scanderbeg - drama per musica da rappresentarsi in Firenze nell'estate dell'anno MDCC XVIII da Anton Maria Albizzini da S. Maria in Campo, con licenza de' superiori». On page 5 of the libretto, «Scanderbeg» by A. Salvi (to be found in the National Library of Rome) there is a note proving that the music for this piece was composed by Antonio Vivaldi, who achieved distinction among the Italian composers of the 18th century for his fine work.

The «Scanderbeg» opera was composed by Vivaldi during his most fruitful period. Its libretto (64 pages in sexto-decimo) was published immediately, while its music remained in manuscript form it is now at the National Library of Turin, where it lay in oblivion for a considerable time.

The libretto by Antonio Salvi, who was a physician, has no historical veracity, nor does it excel poetically. But while not particularly valuable from the artistic or dramatic angle, this libretto is of great value from another viewpoint. It is important because, in the history of music, it is among the first librettos which discarded ancient mythological subjects for the sake of historical themes, presented, of course, in conformity with the fundamental principles of baroque aesthetics. Thus, at this turningpoint in opera subjects, our national hero was chosen as protagonist from among the most outstanding figures in world history.

Antonio Vivaldi's «Scanderbeg» opera has three acts divided into 38 parts. The first act includes 14 parts, whereas the second and third acts have 12 parts each. The division of the acts into scenes is determined by the entry and exit of the characters, who, at that time, were presented as having the world outlook of the 18th century, irrespective of the actual period being described. The «bel canto» trend exerted great influence on the aesthetics of melodrama in the seventeen hundreds, in Vivaldi's times, it had concert features, because through these composers aimed to throw into relief the technical qualities of the singers, that is the beauty or flexibility of their voice, even if this was to the detriment of the development of plot and characters in general. The art and skill of the singers was not assessed by the veracity with which the ideas and characters in the work, were embodied, but through the «effects» and technical possibilities of the voice. Therefore, the composers loaded the vocal parts with all sorts of difficult frills. Every character in the operas sang several parts, while, the public waited for the recitative to end, in order to hear the arias with pleasure and attention. Certainly, Antonio Vivaldi, too, composed the music of his operas according to the demands of the time, aiming at concert effects for the soloists.

From the manuscript of A. Vivaldi's «Skanderbeg» opera, in Turin National Library only four arias and two scenes

remain together with the recitatives concerned. The construction of Vivaldi's arias is perfect: they might well stand separately as complementary elements of the melodrama.

The première of the «Skanderbeg» opera was given on July 22, 1718 in Florence, on the occasion of the solemn opening of the «della Pergola» theatre, which had closed 6 years before (1712). Till that time, performances were given only for a limited circle, made up of notables of the country; but for the première of this opera, the people of Florence, too, were allowed to attend, at a price, of course. At that time, during the première of the first performance, the composer had to stay at the clavichord and conduct the orchestra by himself, playing the instrument at the same time. Thus, he had to cope with the public that filled the theatre hall; he heard the murmurs of the crowd in the pit, and took note of the «society ladies» in the box who started to play cards as soon as the arias ended, and talked disdainfully when they did not like the music. He also saw the bustle of the audience in the gallery, ready to hurl tomatoes at the most appropriate moment. The poor composer was aware of all this going on behind his back while he was conducting the orchestra, playing the clavichord, and waiting for the first applause, acclamation or whistling, the first shouts or the terrible outburst of that crowd, which might consign his work to the rubbish heap. But the performance of Vivaldi's «Skanderbeg» opera, according to the records of the time, was a great success. Twelve years after Vivaldi's «Skanderbeg» opera, in Bologna, Italy, the libretto of a comic opera by Antonio Zaniboni was published under the title: «Le valorose azioni del principe Scanderbec vincitor d'Aamurat, imperatore de Turchi. Opera comica del sig. Antonio Zaniboni...». Apart from the libretto in three acts, which was published in Bologna in 1730, we now know nothing about this work, nor about its author.

The third opera about our national hero was composed in 1735 by the composers François Franceur and François Rebel.

The author of the libretto of the French opera «Skanderbeg» was the writer and poet Hudar de la Mote, known as the author of some plays and as a member of the French Academy. He died after a protracted illness in 1731, at the age of 59, while he was working on the «Skanderbeg»

tragedy, which he left unfinished.

In order to complete this tragedy, the management of the Paris opera commissioned the writer Jean de la Serre, who added the prologue and the fifth act.

The content of the tragedy has no historical accuracy. The authors of the libretto (de la Mote-Serre) on Skanderbeg's biography did not rely on Dhimitër Frengu's work, which had been translated into French almost two centuries ago, nor did they base themselves on Marin Barleti's monumental work, published in French as far back as 1567, in a translation by Jacques Lavardin. It seems, the authors of this libretto relied on some romantic narratives, short stories and novels, without any foundation of fact, since these were circulating in France at that time. The libretto by Hudar de la Mote-La Serre was published for the first time in 1735, under the title: «Scanderbeg» a lyrical tragedy in five acts, with a prologue in free verses. Ten years later this libretto was republished with some changes: then, in 1763, it was published again for the third time, on the occasion of a performance of the work in Fontainebleau. The opera score was also published in 1735 on the eve of the première. A copy of this is in the Paris Opera Library, where it is preserved together with the original manuscript of the work (270 pages), and with the libretto of the tragedy (A. 133). Three other copies, besides these, are in the national library of Paris.

On the 27th of October, 1735, the French Royal Academy of Music, with the participation of the most renowned singers of the time, performed in the Versailles Theatre the opera «Skanderbeg» by François Franceur and François Rebel, composed on the libretto of Hudar de la Mote-La Serre. The decorations and costumes had been prepared by the most celebrated contemporary designer. The performance was a great success. According to the registers of the Opera, this performance was repeated 33 times in succession. Then, during the year 1763, that is after almost 30 years, they began to perform it again in Fontainebleau and in Paris, during the years 1765-1766, but this time with an elaborated overture, and choreography (the altered variant of this work is preserved in the library of the Paris Conservatory).

On the occasion of the new version's performance, the libretto was also republi-

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shed; later on (in 1786), this libretto was published for the third time.

The music of the «Skanderbeg» opera composed by François Rebel and François Franceur is very melodious, rich in beautiful recitatives and full of fine passages showing the artistic skill of these two composers.

Musical works about Scanderbeg continued to be composed even after this. We could mention, for example, from the 19th century, the melodrama «Le chateau d'Acra» by the French composer M. Poilup. This work was performed for the first time in Vaugirard, France, by the students of the faculty of philosophy. There is an interesting march entitled «Skanderbeg» («Albanische Lieder - Marsech») composed by Franz Enzman and published in Berlin (undated).

There is also the musical piece entitled «La figlia di Jorga» composed at the beginning of the present century by Fr. Morosini, based on the rhapsodies of the Arbëresh poet Jeronim De Rada.

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After Scanderbeg's glorious era, the greatest source of musical inspiration was the period of the Albanian rulers of the 18th and 19th centuries. The main character in the majority of works which drew their inspiration from this period of our history is Ali Pasha Tepelena, called «The Lion of Jannina». The renown of this outstanding and complex personality had already crossed the boundaries of our homeland, as shown by the numerous publications in various European languages. Foreign authors have given contradictory opinions about the figure and activity of Ali Pasha Tepelena: Some have praised him, while others have condemned him. Meanwhile the new Albanian historiography has correctly appraised the role of the figure, pointing out, both his shortcomings and the positive aspects of his life particularly his claim to merit for the creation of an Albanian state almost independent from Turkish rule, with a more or less stable administration which differed from the feudal anarchy of the Ottoman empire. These historical events were commemorated through the folk songs which continue to be sung even today, in almost every region of Albania. These songs tell about various episodes in this ener-

getic ruler's life in particular his heroic resistance prior to his death.

In Greek folklore, too, these historical events had many repercussions, especially in regions of Epirus and Morea where they sing many folk songs about Ali Pasha Tepelena (called «Ali-pashalitika»), who through his actions, contributed so much to the spirit of the Greek liberation. His actions also found a broad echo in the music of some foreign composers; from the figure and epic circumstances of this Albanian ruler, not only great and progressive-minded poets, writers and playwrights such as Byron, Victor Hugo, and Lemercier, but also various composers and coreographers, drew inspiration, finding subjects for their melodramas, operas, operettas, ballets, etc.

One of the first works which derived from that epoch of our history was the tragic ballet entitled «Selimo e Zulmira, ossia la morte di A. Pascia di Janina», composed in 1803 by Philip Beretti. Another work having Ali Pasha Tepelena as its main character is the ballet entitled «Le rovine di Janina ossia il traditor punito» - ballo tragico pantomimo, by D. Grimaldi Romeo, which was performed for the first time in the Carcano Theatre, Milan, in 1815.

Another work inspired by the tragic end of this hero is the three act melodrama entitled «Ali Pasha», with music by M. Alexandri Henri, based on the libretto of Hyacinthe Alfredi, while the choreography is by Renanzi. The manuscript of this work, which was first performed in Paris on the 9th of July, 1822, is in the national library of Milan.

There is a particularly interesting opera by the German composer Albert Lorzing. This little opera, or rather this «vaudeville», composed two years after the assassination of Ali Pasha Tepelena (in 1824), was performed for the first time in February 1, 1828, in Muenster, then in 1829, in Osnabruck, and in Detsmold (where the music manuscript of this work is preserved).

A few years later, in 1840, at La Scala in Milan, the mime entitled «Ali Pasha of Janina», a work by G. Galzerani, was staged.

Finally we have the musical piece by G.B. Ferrari, based on G. Peruccini's poem entitled «Ultimi giorni di Suli», which

was performed in 1842 and 1843 in the «Fenice» theatre, Venice.

Besides these, other works of which we have no record, may also have been composed.

Out of all these works, attention is drawn most to Lorzing's opera entitled «Ali Pasha von Janina». He composed his first Singspiel at the age of 23, when he was working for the theatre at Cologne. This work added to the renown of the young author. Although self-taught, Lorzing had sufficient musical education, and composed easily. In addition to this opera, he also composed others, together with some chamber music concerts, etc. He was very active as a theatrical actor, and as a singer, instrumentalist and composer; he also claimed distinction as a writer since he wrote the librettos of his operas himself.

The libretto of the opera «Ali Pasha von Janina», as far as its construction is concerned, reminds one of Beethoven's «Fidelio», also of the libretto of the opera «Abduction from Saraj» by Mozart (1782) with which the work has many aspects in common. As far as the music is concerned, it flows freely, with a rich melody and brilliant orchestral tone. In Lorzing's musical style, the tradition of the Viennese Singspiel was heightened by influences from Veser's music, and from the French comic opera of the 19th century.

This is not the place to examine the connections between the historical and political ideas of Lorzing's opera and its accompanying musical expression, in order to note how the freedom-loving and militant spirit of the Albanians is reflected in this work. Such an examination goes beyond the aim of this article. We only stress that this opera by Lorzing helped the German theatre audience to become acquainted, however little, with an important chapter of our history. The works mentioned above are, so to speak, part of the echo of heroic Albanian feats in world music. The bravery and freedom-loving spirit of our people became a source of inspiration not only for the composers of Western Europe, but also for some composers of Eastern Europe, who, during the past century and in our own time, composed a series of works with Albanian themes.

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Ramadan SOKOLI,  
musicologist and composer



The younger generation of Albania has all the possibilities to master science and technology. Thousands of cadres of various professions graduate from higher schools every year and start work in various sectors of the economy. Students of the engineering faculty in practical work

# THE CURRENCY CRISIS IN EXTREMIS

by ALEKO HAXHI

**The present foreign exchange and financial crisis is closely connected with the very nature of the world capitalist system; it is a product and consequence of the inevitable contradictions corroding capitalist society today. This study deals with some of the most recent aspects of this crisis, the desperate efforts to get free of it, and the resulting new conflicts and upheavals, and substantiates the thesis that the present foreign exchange crisis is developing out of the general crisis of capitalism**

**The present foreign exchange and financial crisis is closely connected with the very nature of the world capitalist system; it is a product and consequence of the inevitable**

THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE CRISIS IN THE WORLD OF CAPITAL IS INCREASINGLY DEEPENING AND WORSENING. THIS IS BEST SHOWN BY THE OFFICIAL DEVALUATION OF THE U.S. DOLLAR TWICE WITHIN THE SHORT PERIOD OF 14 MONTHS. IT HAS LED TO THE DISTURBANCE OF THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE BALANCE OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM, TO THE BREAK-UP OF THE STANDARD PARITIES OFFICIALLY FIXED IN FOREIGN CURRENCY EXCHANGES, AND TO DISINTEGRATION AND STAGNATION, THOSE INEVITABLE PHENOMENA CHARACTERIZING FOREIGN EXCHANGE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES. IN GIVEN PERIODS, UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS, THESE PHENOMENA OPERATE WITH EXTRAORDINARY force and cause great upheavals, with incalculably destructive consequences. The foreign exchange upheavals caused by the dollar crisis, unprecedented in size and depth which are now affecting the world capitalists system, are precisely of this nature. They have brought about and dictate deep structural changes, because «the stability» of the capitalist currency exchange system has been shattered to its foundations.

in terms of relative stability, as it occurs in specific historical conditions. At one time, before the general crisis of capitalism, the sole means of making international payments was by using gold currency. At that period gold freely circulated both on the internal market of the capitalist countries and on the foreign market. The convertible currency of each country could be exchanged for gold without any limitation, and vice versa. At that time the currency requirements of economic circulation were automatically and spontaneously regulated through gold being put into circulation or being withdrawn. On this basis, convertible currencies preserved their relative stability, relative, because, it was only in relation to gold. However, there was always the loophole of prices, the vacillation of which brought about, then as

## ***Chronic instability***

We can only talk about foreign exchange «stability», in the capitalist world,

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now continuous changes in the purchasing power of convertible currency. Therefore, even in the period of capitalist prosperity, convertible currency could not have absolute stability as it does in a socialist, planned economy which is not affected by the free play of market forces.

When gold circulated without limitations, in all monetary functions (measuring of value, means of circulation, payment, accumulation, etc.) the so-called «classical» system of the monetary standard of gold operated. With the beginning of the general crisis of capitalism, this system came to an end once and for all, after the function of gold as a means of circulation and payment had been severely curtailed. On the home market, gold as a rule ceased circulating for monetary purposes, and could no longer be the spontaneous regulator of monetary circulation, or preserve a balance between the currency needs of economic circulation and the quantity of currency which was available to serve circulation. Moreover, on the foreign market too in the sphere of international payments, the uses gold was put to began to narrow. The stable convertible currencies of those capitalist countries which freely exchanged currency for gold also

came into use. After the second world war the main place as a means of international payment was occupied by the U.S. dollar. On the basis of the decisions of the international conference at Bretton Woods it was sanctioned as the main convertible reserve currency. The dollar took on this role partly because America, holding by far the largest gold reserves in the capitalist world, and being the sole state which, in the framework of international foreign exchange relations channeled through the central banks, was exchanging dollars for gold at the official rate without limitation, was able to ensure confidence in the dollar. As the general crisis of capitalism developed, so the foreign exchange system, while keeping its original nature intact, underwent changes: alongside gold, and based on it various convertible currencies, in the first place the U.S. dollar, began to play an increasingly greater role. This system is known as the divisional (foreign exchange) gold standard, or dollar gold standard, as the dollar is the main foreign exchange currency which is used in international payments. It results from the general crisis of capitalism, and has all the hallmarks of a practice which deepens that crisis further. This is clearly shown by the entire history of the development of the foreign exchange crisis in the post-war period. Thanks to the foreign exchange gold standard, convertible, currency of one country becomes dependent on the currency of another, as now, when the currencies of the capitalist countries are dependent on the U.S. dollar. The dollar reserves of the various capitalist countries are also a debt which the USA owes them. When the debtor cannot pay, in a situation where the debt can be liquidated solely with gold, it is clear that we are in a situation of crisis. This has occurred and is occurring in the relations between the U.S.A. and the other developed capitalist countries. The pivot of the relative stability that existed in foreign exchange relations between the capitalist countries was the convertibility of the dollar into gold, but this collapsed in August 1971. We can now speak of «stability» only by giving the word a pale shadow of its proper meaning, in the context of a social system which is in the process of complete decline and decay.

At one time, parities and foreign exchange rates were fixed in gold but, now as a rule they are fixed in dollars, and connected with gold solely through dollars. The capitalist countries have to preserve the stability of their currencies

in relation to the dollar. Some vacillation is allowed for; at first it was plus or minus 1 per cent, while later, according to the Washington agreement of December 1971, it grew to plus or minus 2,25 per cent. For obvious reasons, in spite of the measures taken by the capitalist states, separately or jointly, including the compromise measures in December 1971, they have not been able to ensure even relative stability in foreign exchange. Shock has followed shock, each one stronger than the last. Among them, the dollar crisis has had the greatest repercussions.

### ***Gloomy prospects ahead***

What is happening and how is this crisis making itself felt? The first indicator of the strength of any currency is the balance of payments situation. The state which spends more abroad than it earns must find some way to fill the gap. Formerly, it was filled with gold. Now the problem is not solved, and this has serious consequences. American spending abroad to implement the USA's aggressive and expansionist policy, and maintain its military forces and bases, payments for goods imported from overseas etc. are much higher than the foreign exchange income earned by exports, etc. The US balance of payments has long been showing a large deficit which continues to increase. This process was not curbed, as was hoped, either by devaluing the dollar by 7,8 per cent or by the other measures taken in various fields to get out of the crisis. On the contrary, the adverse balance grew from 4.3 billion dollars in 1971, to 6.4 billion dollars in 1972. The United States covers balance of payments deficit with debts to other developed capitalist states, in the form of the dollar reserves they have created. We are faced with a paradox; with the dollars that have swollen international payment channels the Americans cover their deficits. As debtors they are bankrupt, since they do not meet their obligations, but yet they exert pressure on their creditors and dictate their policy. By sowing dollar inflation on an international scale, they feverishly implement their expansionist policy. 100 billion dollars have invaded the world market, swelling international channels of circulation with devalued currency. It is now impossible to have confidence in the dollar; therefore those with dollar holdings do their best to get rid of them. For exam-

ple, during the second week of February this year, over 10 billion dollars were presented to European banks for exchange. When there are so many dollars for sale on the foreign exchange market, a decline in the dollar exchange rate is inevitable. It occurred in spring 1971, in summer 1972, and at the beginning of the current year, and it is happening again now. The dollar's rate of exchange in relation to other currencies is continually falling, and the price of gold is therefore steadily increasing.

The central banks tried to mitigate the operation of supply and demand by purchasing dollars, so as to prevent the rate of exchange, falling below «the critical level», that is, more than 2.25 per cent. But these efforts failed in the face of the irresistible flood of US dollars on to the foreign exchange markets of Europe and Japan. Such currency transactions are not dictated by the needs of trade, but are concerned with increasing capital on paper. They artificially increase demand for the mark and favour the inflationary processes in the German economy. This is one of the ways in which the USA exports inflation to other countries even to those which seem economically powerful. To defend against this danger, other countries must suspend transactions in their currency.

The U.S.A., consistently held to its aggressive and expansionist policy, and having flooded the foreign exchange markets with devalued dollars, undertook another diversion against its partners, in the first place, against West Germany and Japan. But America's colleagues did not remain inactive over this new diversion, especially since, in the clash with their transatlantic ally, they were caught unawares. When they saw that the dollar was slipping again, as a first step, they began to ignore the official exchange rates, and each state followed its own foreign exchange policy. Later on, when the storm of crisis broke more furiously in the early weeks of February, the foreign exchange markets suspended their operations altogether. Once again, even the incomplete stability that existed was thrown into chaos.

The U.S.A. was compelled to effect a new official devaluation of the dollar at the rate of 10 per cent. The adoption of this measure shows how weak America's position has become on the world market and that its diplomacy has failed.

Efforts to improve the balance of payments even a little had suffered complete defeat. Therefore the U.S.A. thought that one way to solve this question, though certainly not the most favoured, was the devaluation of the dollar. What it was unable to achieve with the first devaluation it now hopes to realize by the same action on a larger scale.

### **Various foreign exchange policies**

The devaluation of the dollar is clearly accompanied by grave consequences in the field of financial relations, and is not willingly undertaken. It undermines the economic position of America in the international arena, and also inevitably creates a deepening process of inflation, which leads to sharpening social contradictions. Devaluation also increases the role of gold in reserves and international payments, which is not to the advantage of the United States, as it lessens the importance of the dollar. But there is the attraction of the advantages it creates in the field of foreign trade. Through the devaluation of the dollar, that is through the lowering of its exchange rate in relation to other currencies, the United States aims to increase the competitiveness of American goods, because devaluation makes exports cheaper and creates favourable conditions for implementing a policy of dumping, (that is, the massive exports of goods to foreign markets at lower prices than those reigning on the world market); on the other hand, it makes imports more expensive. As a consequence of devaluation, for example the price of a ton of American coal is reduced to 72 marks, in Germany, whereas a ton of German coal costs 94 marks. With imports, the opposite occurs. To purchase the same foreign commodity, American importers must pay more in dollars. The United States mainly aims at restricting imports from Japan, particularly with regard to American cars, chemicals and textiles which can barely compete with similar Japanese products on either the American or overseas markets. For example, the Japanese «Toyota» company now envisages curtailing car exports to the USA by 20 or 30 per cent. At the same time, these objectives are not guaranteed. Everything depends on the movement of prices and expenditure both inside and outside America. The White

House rulers know this very well; therefore, they cannot calmly expect good results merely by devaluing the dollar. American diplomats and experts are preparing trade laws and codes for an economic move with still greater force, they want to raise protectionist barriers, and to prise open other markets so as to get a bigger share of them.

Certainly, the United States would like to find some other way out of the crisis which would make things easier for America and more difficult for others, for instance, the revaluation of other currencies, which would in fact mean the indirect devaluation of the dollar. The USA did everything it could to impose revaluation of the mark and the yen. After many equivocations, Germany agreed to effect a small revaluation of its mark by 3 per cent, which is close to the allowable variation of 2.25 per cent, that is the «critical level», but far below the figure America wanted. Japan, too, has followed the same course. Germany and Japan put up so much resistance to revaluation because it brings the opposite consequences to devaluation. A rise in the rate of exchange in relation to other currencies as has occurred for instance with the mark and the yen, has a negative influence on the competitive capacity of Germany and Japan, because revaluation raises the price of exports from these countries and makes imports cheaper. Revaluation means that exports are sold on the American market at higher dollar prices, while American goods are sold at lower mark and yen prices. In order to give an idea of the effect of revaluation on trade relations we need cite only one fact: In 1968 German exports and imports grew at equal rates, but as a consequence of the revaluation of the mark in 1969, by 1970 imports increased 3.5 per cent more than exports.

The devaluation of the dollar also damages America's partners in foreign exchange as well as in trade. For example, as a result of the 10 per cent devaluation of the dollar Germany's dollar holdings were reduced in value by over 7 billion marks. However, all in all, devaluation does not do as much damage as revaluation. Germany and Japan prefer the dollar to be devalued because, first, it does not force them to alter their foreign exchange rates, and second, it damages their economic relations only with the United States, not with other countries as well as happens with revaluation.

In such a situation, each state typically acts on its own. Unilaterally, and without consulting its partners, the United States devalued the dollar, and Germany revalued the mark; Britain, Switzerland, Japan and others, let their currencies float; France implemented a dual-rate system; and so on. This situation still continues, and stagnation still plagues the foreign exchange markets. Each of the developed capitalist states strives to protect its own economy and to get out of the dollar crisis with as little damage as possible. The more powerful strive to cheat the weaker, within the blocs as well as outside them. All this shows that the foreign exchange battle continues to be fierce. Official, and unofficial de-or-revaluation, used directly or indirectly remain on the cards.

In this framework, the policy of floating rates of exchange, i.e. indirect devaluation and revaluation, has been extensively used. This policy has been implemented in recent years, in one form or another, by almost every state, and a large number of them continue to use it now, too, because when the dollar, in relation to which the rates are fixed is incessantly slipping in value respect for the official rates does great harm, particularly now that speculative foreign exchange trading has found favourable conditions and is spreading.

Implementing the floating policy, each state strives to adapt itself to the changeable circumstances of the crisis period and to orientate itself by the state of the foreign exchange market. This market where convertible currencies are bought and sold is the barometer which reflects the economic position of various countries and the state of their currencies. Here the law of supply and demand operates, and in conformity with this, the actual rates at which currencies are bought and sold are established: For example, even after the devaluation of the dollar, on the Frankfurt market the German mark continues to be sold at a higher price than the fixed official rate. In fixing floating rates, the capitalist states also go by the gold market, that is, the nonmonetary market, which trades in gold for industrial purposes. According to the Rome agreement of December 1969, which was concluded between the USA and the Republic of south Africa for monetary purposes, gold can be purchased only by the international fund of foreign exchange, and only in set cases. On the free market,

gold fetches far more than its official price, which is 42.22 dollars per ounce; it has in fact been sold for about 100 dollars or more. These vacillations show that there is no stability whatever, either in the price of gold or in the foreign exchange rate, and these facts reflect the depth of the foreign exchange crisis.

The policy of floating rates, in accordance with the aims pursued by various states, is implemented in two ways, one including all foreign exchange operations without exception, and another which includes only financial operations which have to do mainly with the movement of capital, but excludes trade operations. This second variant is also known as a dual-rate foreign exchange system, a floating rate for financial operations and a fixed rate for commercial operations. As a rule, the first variant is implemented by those states which want to defend themselves as far as possible against the American threat, and to take advantage of their relations with the weak. Japan, Britain and Canada, are now acting in this way. The dual rate foreign exchange system is implemented by those states which seek to protect themselves not only from the American threat but also from their other more powerful partners. France and Italy, provide typical examples of this policy.

### **Failure of the «case» against gold**

Whatever foreign exchange policy is implemented by the capitalist states, it cannot avoid the inevitable. It can never bring about anything but new conflicts and upheavals, which are concomitants of the capitalist system and which stem from its very nature, by the spontaneous operation of the objective economic laws which determine the development of capitalism.

Of course, foreign exchange policy, as a secondary factor, exerts its influence on the development of events. The aggressive and expansionist foreign exchange policy that has been feverishly implemented by Washington to serve the interests of American monopoly capital, exploiting the privileged position of the dollar, is a very important factor which makes the crisis worse and more widespread. In the field of foreign exchange relations the United States of America has aimed to demonetize gold

and replace it altogether with the dollar, in order to free itself from the «restraint» of gold and go on flooding the world with dollars as it has done so far, as an instrument of its interfering policy on an international scale.

Because of this, on the ideological plane, too, the apologists of U.S. imperialism are striving to legalize these objectives by theoretically «arguing» the anachronism of gold. The ideologists of modern revisionism add fuel to the fire by denigrating the theoretical heritage of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism and asserting that capitalism has changed its nature, that the laws of monetary circulation Marx and Lenin spoke of are no longer in operation, that gold can no longer act as a measure of value and general standard, and that state monopoly capitalism can manage and arrange the economy by using the system of circulating paper money without any guarantees. In their opinion, Marx's familiar thesis that the «first function of gold is to provide the world of commodities with a means of denoting value» has allegedly become obsolete and lost its relevance.

The entire evolution of the capitalist foreign exchange system indicates the contrary. The devaluation and revaluation of the different currencies have to do with changing parities and foreign exchange rates, which, in the final analysis, lead to the establishment of direct or indirect given relations of these foreign exchange currencies, in relation to gold. Thus the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist thesis on the role of gold in a capitalist economy is confirmed and the anti-Marxist views of the modern revisionists concerning this question, are rejected. In spite of the modifications the capitalist foreign exchange system has undergone, it has not changed and cannot change its content and nature. Change has occurred, only in the modern revisionists, who have abandoned revolutionary Marxism-Leninism. The present foreign exchange crisis is developing out of the general crisis of capitalism, and at the same time it has a powerful effect in further deepening this crisis, as the contradictions that corrode capitalist society grow steadily worse.

### **A blind alley**

Foreign exchange relations have become the epicentre of the deep contradictions

and sharp conflicts among capitalist countries. They were displayed with new force at the recent Nairobi conference of the annual session of the International Monetary Fund and the World bank, which held its proceedings from September 24 to 28.

This «big monetary expedition» – as the western press itself called it – was attended by the Finance Ministers of 126 countries, accompanied by hundreds of high-ranking officials and currency experts, together with an army of observers and journalists. They hoped to celebrate the advent of a new foreign exchange system for the capitalist world, which had been so loudly trumpeted by the imperialists and revisionists, and the end of the long bargainings and compromises which had begun with the meeting of the Finance Ministers of the «group of ten» held in Washington in December, 1971. But the «expected» events did not happen. The only thing the conference decided was to postpone its proceedings for a year, in the hope that contradictions would be resolved by that time and a compromise be reached on the creation of a new international foreign exchange system.

The Nairobi conference fully confirmed once more the hegemonistic, expansionist and diversionist policy of the United States of America. Feverishly implementing this policy, the United States has aimed to shift the difficulties created, as a direct result of the profound, wide-ranging crisis that has gripped the American structure and superstructure, and which is expressed in the dollar crisis, on to the shoulders of its partners and the developing countries of the «third world», and to compel these countries, through political pressure and economic manoeuvres, which damage and sacrifice their national interests, to accept such measures, either in foreign exchange or in the commercial field so as to ensure an improved balance of payments for the USA, despite the large chronic deficits which they would incur. Indeed American cynicism has gone so far that Treasury Secretary George Schultz, in his speech at the Nairobi conference, gave everybody to understand that no change at all would be made in the present situation if support were not given to American interests to overcome their economic difficulties.

This means that the partners of the USA should reconcile themselves with the protectionist policy it implements, that they should, without reservation, open

their markets to American goods and capital, that they should meet U.S. demands to ensure a balance of payments credit for the USA although the result might be a deficit for them, and that they should consider it to be their internationalist duty to cure the ailing dollar and consolidate the shattered position of the United States in the world capitalist market. This would be to fall sick in order to cure others. By its discriminatory policy, the USA is also making such demands on the developing countries, which bear a heavy share of the burden of crisis, it wants to increase the ills already attending these countries, which, over the last decade alone, have lost about 10 billion dollars as a result of unequal trade exchanges.

The White House rulers have not given up their «dollar diplomacy». They are doing their level best, using force, blackmail, pressure and scheming, to preserve the privileged position of the dollar. Endlessly protracting the talks and bargainings between representatives of the capitalist states at all levels and putting off the creation of a new foreign exchange system, they are striving to secure advantages which will allow them to implement their policy of dictate more insistently in future monetary reforms, and to improvise a new «Bretton Woods».

The European states, particularly France, as well as the other capitalist states, have opposed the hegemonistic, expansionist and diversionist policy of the United States of America; they oppose the inflationist dollar policy that has been implemented by the U.S. imperialists to plunder their national wealth and income. They have stated their concern to have the foreign exchange problem solved as soon as possible (of course, within the bounds of capitalist reforms) without making it dependent on the trade situation.

At the same time the polarization over this question, with the USA on one side and on the other the European states, grew sharper at the Nairobi conference. In one of the most fundamental questions of the foreign exchange system, that of currency convertibility, and how to settle debt, for example, the 100 billion Euro-dollars which the USA owes other states, the attitudes of the parties concerned have shown no softening whatever. The question of gold is the major bone of contention. The Americans propose removing it from the foreign exchange scene, and demonetizing it, whereas

France and the other European states want to increase the role of gold in international payments. On the other hand, both sides stand for a broader use of SDR (special drawing rights) in this new currency, which is otherwise called «papergold», but their motives are entirely different. Through this currency the Americans aim to remove gold and replace it with the dollar, while the French want the opposite, to remove the dollar and secure a more fitting share for gold. These proposals offer nothing new; they express the separate interests of the capitalist states, and the deep and insoluble contradictions which corrode relations between them.

The capitalist foreign exchange system, gripped by the deepest and broadest crisis in its history, has got into a blind alley. The crisis cannot be overcome as long as its innate weaknesses are not cured, as long as budgetary and balance of payments deficits continue to rise, the policy of aggression and expansion remains in force, and the general crisis of the capitalist system develops and deepens. The future promises nothing but new conflicts and still deeper changes in the structure and superstructure of the capitalist system.

# ABOUT THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS

**The «peace plans» of the two imperialist superpowers are an open sabotage of the just struggle of the Arab people.**

**The determined stand of the Arab people towards the imperialist-zionist dictate. Oil as a powerful weapon in the hands of the Arab people against their enemies.**

**But that is not the sole weapon for the complete victory of the Arab people.**

**The newspaper «Zëri i Popullit», organ of the Central Committee of PLA, has devoted many articles to the recent events in the Middle East.**

**We publish with a few abridgements two articles**

**from this newspaper clearly presenting the attitude of the**

**Albanian opinion concerning these questions**

NEVER HAS THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION BEEN SO MUCH COMPLICATED AND TENSE, BOTH ON THE REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PLANE, AS AT PRESENT. NEVER AS AT PRESENT HAS THIS CONFLICT DRAWN AND INTERWOVEN INTO ITS STRINGS THE INTERESTS OF SO MANY COUNTRIES, NEAR AND DISTANT. LIKEWISE, NEVER HAVE THE CONSEQUENCES OF ITS DEVELOPMENT BEEN SO MUCH COMPLICATED AS AT PRESENT.

The new brutal interference in the Middle East on the part of the two superpowers, the dictate they are seeking to impose on the Arab countries have cast a heavy shadow and have aroused another concern not only in the Arab countries, but among all the peoples.

The recent Middle East events have served as a cause for the increase of the collaboration and rivalry between the two superpowers, which are equally fraught with dangers to the peoples, to peace and international security. The United States of America and the Soviet Union utilized them as an occasion to strengthen and extend their military bases outside their own countries, to test the preparedness of their armed forces and to exert blackmail on the peoples with the threat of a nuclear war. The number of the ships of the two superpowers in the Mediterranean increased a great deal, the American fleet emerged on the Indian Ocean, the U.S. bases in Western Europe

were re-activated. Various countries and peoples were placed under the actual menace of interferences on the part of the superpowers, or of being included in their mad adventures.

It is a fact that the Middle East question and all the problems connected with the two superpowers were treated by the latter without having consulted even their on allies. Moreover, they have now set in motion all the available means, not only to exert pressure on the Arabs in order to have them accept the Soviet-U.S. dictate, but also to impose on the world public opinion the thought that the key to the solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict is in Washington and Moscow and that everybody should obey the «order» which will be issued by the super big. They want to create the concept that every little conflict can give rise to a Soviet-U.S. conflict, a «world catastrophe», therefore the belligerents must accept the dictate of the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

The behaviour of the superpowers towards the Middle East events and their diplomatic activity to dictate a sham peace on the Arab people, something which is against the Arabs and in the interest of their expansionist policy, revealed that there exist secret agreements and solutions prepared before hand for conflicts and situations that may arise in various regions. It was thus proved that after the Nixon-Brezhnev agreements, the United States of America and the Soviet Union have entered a process which aims to establish their complete arbitrariness on world questions, placing all the countries before accomplished facts and obligatory solutions. Similar behaviours, so much arbitrary, contemptuous and humiliating with regard to all other countries, such a brutal attempt to place under the dictate of the two powers the solution of all the problems that have to do with the interests of so many states and with the cause of the preservation of peace and security in the world, are unprecedented in international life. The United States and the Soviet Union are seeking to make the law, to interfere wherever they like and whenever they like, in all the international questions, even in those which do not regard them.

The imperialist propaganda is trying to create the impression that the main cause of the grave situation in the Middle East and of the eventual international complications is the struggle of the Arab

people, is the persistence with which they demand their rights,

But the cause of the increase of tensions in the area of the Middle East, the Mediterranean and Europe, the cause of further complications and eventual grave consequences is not the Arab people's struggle for the liberation of the seized territories and the restoration of the denied national rights. The cause and culprit is the hegemonistic and expansionist policy of the two superpowers, their policy of interferences, their collaboration and rivalry for ever more extending their zones of influence. Tensions are created because the superpowers are striving in every way to obstruct the liberation struggles of the peoples, because they trample under foot the rights of independent countries, because they violate the national sovereignty of the states, because they implement the great power chauvinistic policy.

The United States and the Soviet Union are now making great noise saying that through their interferences and actions they have allegedly contributed to the efforts for a ceasefire and the establishment of peace in the Middle East. But what is this so much advertised «peace»?

They want to present the ceasefire and the cessation of the fighting as «peace». But everybody knows that ceasefire is one thing and peace is another thing. This might be peace for Israel, for the Americans and the Soviets, for whom the cessation of the fighting is the principal immediate aim, but it is by no means such for the Arabs. How can one consider as peace such a situation in which the Arab territories remain occupied by the Israelis and the Palestinians remain driven out from their homeland?

In Moscow and Washington they say that a guarantee for the establishment of peace in the Middle East is allegedly the new Security Council resolution, its demands and recommendations. But is there any guarantee that Israel will implement the new resolution? Not at all. Not only this U.N. document puts on a par the aggressors and the victims, not only it leaves aside the Palestinian problem, the basis of the entire Arab-Israeli conflict, but it is also quite indefinite, something which provides to Israel the possibility of justifying its failure to implement it. By sending now also the U.N. troops to the Middle East, the two superpowers provide another assurance to Israel - that nobody intends to disturb

it, and that it may remain tranquil on the occupied territories.

Now, besides the Americans and Soviets, who are known why they shout so much, the «mania of plans» for peace in the Middle East has seized also many scabs and firemen of the liberation struggle of the peoples and of the anti-imperialist resistance. All these «benefactors» who in reality are nothing else but heralds of Kissinger and Kosygin, rush from one Arab capital to another to persuade the Arabs to accept the «peace plans» which will allegedly save not only the Middle East countries but the whole world. But these «kindhearted» gentlemen speak in a foreign language and sing in variations the anti-Arab tunes coming from Washington and Moscow. All these missionaries ask the Arabs to make unprincipled concessions and compromises, to accept the arrogant and humiliating demands of Israel, to obey to the dictate of the superpowers, but no one condemns Israel as aggressor and what is more they all forget the Palestinians. Asking the Arab people to lay down their arms and accept the «peace» offered to them by the superpowers means to perpetrate a grave crime against them, against justice and the very peace and general security. The Middle East needs peace, but a real and just peace and not a sham and dangerous one dictated by the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists. The road to achieve this is the road of the liberation struggle, a face to face and through to the end struggle against the Zionists and their supporters, it is the road of the defence with all the forces and all the means of the supreme interests of the Arab nation, for the liberation of the occupied territories and the complete and final solution of the Palestinian problem. «Egypt wants peace, — the Egyptian newspaper «Al Gumhuria» writes, — but not a peace based on the status quo, but a just and stable peace.» While the other Arab newspaper «Falestin Al Saura», points out that «the armed struggle is the sole road through which we shall liberate our territories». Our people, the newspaper continues, «must make a clear distinction between their «friends» and their «enemies».

It is true that the Arab people have a great need for solidarity, for aid and support, but these have not been and cannot be those of the two superpowers. They have had and continue to have the support and solidarity of all the peace-

loving and progressive peoples of the world who have considered and continue to consider the cause for which the Arabs are fighting as a cause helping the struggle for the liberation of the entire mankind from the threats of imperialism, from the dangers of colonialism and neocolonialism, as a struggle which helps the consolidation of the freedom and independence of all nations, justice and social progress. A powerful manifestation of this solidarity and a blow to imperialism is the decision of the overwhelming part of the African countries to sever their diplomatic relations with Israel. In struggle and difficult days the peoples get to know their genuine friends and their sham friends. He that obstructs today the Arab people's struggle for freedom and independence, who strives to put out the flames of this struggle, disturb the other peoples' solidarity with this struggle, as the Soviet revisionists are doing, he is not a friend of the Arab people, but a supporter of the aggression of Zionism and imperialism, their friend and partner.

The greatest pressures being now exerted on the Arab countries from all parts, are those concerning the so-called «Kissinger plan», which, as advertised by its supporters, is allegedly aimed at bringing the peace to the hot sands of the Middle East. Whether this is an American or Israeli plan, it is difficult to tell, as both sides swear that they have no other more beloved and loyal friend than each-other. And during the recent war it was proved that the United States not only came to assistance of Israel through the air bridge, replacing all the lost armaments, not only it granted to Israel over two billion dollars as an immediate aid, but it placed all its political, diplomatic and military weight on the side of the Israeli aggressors. One thing, however, is certain: Kissinger would take no step without the approval of Golda Meir and of the Zionist organisations of America. It has been proved hundreds and thousands of times in the past and it can be proved also one million times in the future that in the Middle East conflict there are no other interests of the U.S.A. than those of Israel, just as there are no other interests of Tel Aviv than those of Washington.

The arrogance of Israel, its insatiable appetite in occupying territories, its brazen challenge to the Arabs and to the whole world, consist neither in its «bra-

very» nor in its «madness». Israel's so-called intransigent stand is the stand of U.S. imperialism to which it obeys and which it serves. The United States nourishes and arms Israel in order to have it as a gendarme of its economic interests in the Middle East, to have it as its armed guard in that area.

The U.S. imperialists do not spend billions of dollars for Israel out of any special love or out of any great consideration they have for it. They pay it only for the services it renders to them. Israel has neither waged nor is waging a war of its own, as claimed in Washington and in some other country, but the war of America.

Therefore the hopes some people are seeking to arouse that the United States may interfere with Israel so that the latter put an end to its aggression and release the occupied territories, are illusions very harmful to the Arab cause. They divert attention from the real enemy of the Arab people and from U.S. imperialism which is mainly responsible for their misfortunes, they deceive the masses and compel them to remain in a vain expectancy, willingly or unwillingly they play the game of Israel and its supporters. The Arab people have greatly suffered from illusions about America to allow themselves to submit again to the flatteries, demagoguery and deceptions coming from beyond the Atlantic.

Not less dangerous are also the hopes and illusions inspired by Moscow that allegedly the Soviet revisionists will support the Arab countries to cope with the Israeli-imperialist pressure and overcome difficult situations. The pro-Arab stand adopted in appearance by the leaders of the Soviet Union is a demagogic stand to conceal their expansionist aims and plans, it is a manoeuvre to profit by the situations so as to extend their imperialist influence in the Middle East. The poses of a certain «concern» or of a certain «passivity» of the Soviet revisionists at the present stage of the diplomatic manoeuvres about the Middle East are a mask to camouflage the joint U.S.-Soviet plot against the Arab people. The Kissinger plan, prior to being published in Washington, had received the blessing in Moscow.

All facts show that, after having undermined the struggle of the Arab people, the two superpowers are now doing their utmost to divide the Arabs, with a view to ensure and perpetuate their influence

and domination in that area. They strive to create a continual instability on which their hegemonism could stand and advance. This fiendish aim is served also by the «peace plans» which the superpowers are seeking to impose on the Arab countries. They know that unity is strengthened in struggle, that is why they want to create a situation of demobilization and stagnation which instigates the spirit of division and disputes, so much cherished by the enemies of the Arab people. «The present Middle East events – the Kuwaitian newspaper «Daily News» writes – can be considered as steps of a framed up game being now played by the two superpowers» and adds that «we should be careful and not be lulled to sleep by the false assurance through the proposals for peace offered by the two superpowers».

The days the Arab people are now living cannot be said to be easy. The difficulties facing them on the road of their freedom and independence are numerous and grave. Their liberation struggle may be a protracted one and with many zigzags. But one thing is certain: Such a great nation as the Arab one can never leave unsolved its national problem, the liberation of the occupied territories and the solution of the Palestinian problem. This struggle may require privations and sacrifices, but history has shown that the Arab people have never failed to make them when they have been necessary for their freedom and independence.

The protracted Arab-Israeli conflict has taught the Arab people that they can entrust the great mission of national liberation, of achieving freedom and independence to nobody else than to their own selves, they cannot expect its realization from anybody else, and the less so from the U.S. imperialists or the Soviet social imperialists.

The courageous October war has been for the Arab people a great and allround tempering which has left indelible traces that will be positively reflected in the coming battles against the Israeli aggressors and their supporters. In the first place the Arab people regained their self-reliance, their strength and unextinguished vitality. It was proved that they are quite able to realize through war even their great national aspirations, to face Israel by themselves, to resist and ignore the obstruction and pressure of the superpowers. It was proved that

Israel, in spite of the colossal aid of the United States and of international Zionism, is unable to continue a protracted war. It lacks both human and material resources to carry out a protracted mass war on many fronts.

But what became more evident during the recent events and which constitutes the main force of the Arab people, their most powerful weapon against the Israeli aggression, were solidarity and mutual support, it was the Arab unity. In face of the aggressive and annexationist policy of Israel, and especially in face of the plot of the two superpowers to include and keep the Arab East area in their spheres of influence, the only effective and sure force that can emerge victorious over them is Arab unity. The Arab people have such great human, material and spiritual reserves which, if they unite and fight for one and the same aim, no force on earth can stop in achieving their lofty national ideals.

The Albanian people are in full solidarity with the Arab people; they unreservedly support the great Arab cause of the liberation of the territories occupied by the Zionist aggressors and the correct, definitive solution of the Palestinian problem, they continue to expose the diabolic plots, intrigues and plans of the two superpowers who aim to rule over the Middle East. Wishing their Arab brothers well, they are confident that such a great nation, which has so many brilliant traditions of struggle for freedom and independence, and which sets such store by its rights, will know how to unite all its forces and emerge victorious over the Zionist aggressors, the dictate and overt and covert pressures of the two superpowers, the sabotages and diversions of all the enemies of the unity, freedom and independence of the Arab people.

The Arab people, in their just struggle against the recent aggression of Israel and its instigators and supporters – the imperialists, are successfully using also the powerful oil weapon. The adoption of measures to stop or limit the sale of oil to the United States and other countries which support the Zionist aggressors, has greatly shaken the capitalist world. The imperialist countries are paying the price of their policy they have pursued for a long period in the Middle East against the Arab people.

The power base of Western Europe relies mainly on oil. It constitutes 60 per

cent of it. Out of 620 million tons of crude oil consumed in Western Europe, 495 million tons are imported from the Arab countries. Thus, for instance, Britain imports from the Arab countries 80 per cent of its oil, Western Germany - 82 per cent, Italy - 86 per cent, and so on. Oil consumption is expected to increase still more in the future. It is envisaged that in 1980 Europe will spend 1 billion and 100 million tons, of which the four fifths must be imported from the Arab countries. The claims that the western countries can do without the Arab oil, as they can rely on other power resources such as coal, atomic, solar and geothermic power, are entirely groundless. These resources, according to the admissions of the western press itself, are very expensive and still very far, even for the United States itself, while for Western Europe they are a sheer utopia.

The oil used by the Arab people as a means in service of their just struggle has greatly aggravated the power crisis in the capitalist world. It has already created great and serious difficulties. The higher bourgeois ruling circles have pledged to find the roads of salvation. In the United States Nixon himself issued the order for the creation of «the group of action in the question of power», the Japanese government created «the extraordinary staff for the problems of power resources», while the Belgian government set up the «political committee of oil». Despite the rationing of fuel and other measures taken, the capitalist economy is not escaping the heavy blows of the Arab oil. This situation has created deep concern. The U.S. Finance Secretary, Schultz, admitted a few days ago that the oil crisis «has created a dim picture in the USA», while representatives of the «Common Market» commission have declared that «a real oil mourning has overtaken all the states». The official circles of capitalist countries point out with fear that if the boycott by the Arab countries continues, the oil reserves for Western Europe and Japan are for 4 months and 79 days respectively.

Parallel with the increase of the prices of oil and the reduction of fuel for heating and automobile transport, the oil shortage has already begun to contribute to the reduction of industrial production. According to the Japanese press, the measures taken by the government will lead in future to the reduction by 12 per cent of the production of steel,

13 per cent of the production of aluminium, etc. The president of the Federal Institute of Labour in the Federal Republic of Germany declared in these recent days that, as it seems, it will be very difficult not only for the oil refineries but also for the «plastic materials industry and for the entire power economy.» The aggravation of the power crisis, as a component part of the general crisis of capitalism, will have heavy social consequences, it will further sharpen internal contradictions in capitalist countries and the class struggle of the working people against the leading circles which strive to preserve their profits by shifting the burden of the crisis on the shoulders of the labouring masses. In order to defend its own interests, the imperialist bourgeoisie, under the slogan of «sacrifices from every one», demands the tightening of the belts from the toiling masses. Thus, for example, in the United States of America, Western Europe, Japan and in other capitalist countries, measures have been taken which affect the living standard of the working people, such as the rise in price of heating dwelling houses and public buildings, the rise in price of oil and its by-products, of electric power, etc. During the month of October alone, in the German Federal Republic the prices of liquid fuel rose by 16 per cent, while in Sweden the expenditures for heating per family will increase by nearly 400 crowns annually, etc.

On the other side, the armed forces of the USA, as the U.S. deputy secretary for war affairs stated, «irrespective of the oil crisis and its consequences, will be regularly supplied with fuel» and «the needs of the army will be fulfilled before any other need that will arise in the USA». This is why the working masses of the capitalist countries raise their voice of protest against the predatory and oppressive policy of the imperialist powers towards the Arab people, as well as against the anti-popular measures taken by the ruling circles in conditions of the oil crisis. As shown by a poll announced a few days ago by the Dutch radio-television, 79 per cent of the population expressed themselves with hatred against the policy of support for the Israeli aggressors pursued by the Dutch government.

Oil, this powerful weapon in the hands of the Arab people, has increased and sharpened still more the inter-imperialist contradictions. This was clearly expressed

by the bourgeois press which admitted that this crisis «has created in the relations between America and Europe a situation of tension which has been unprecedented in the post-war relations».

The capitalist countries have taken measures and have adopted various stands as a way out from the crisis, which prove the contradictions between them. Thus, the United States which supplies oil to Britain, Japan and the other capitalist countries, is increasing the sale prices of oil and is reducing its exports. The partners of Denmark and Holland in the «Common Market» are not answering their calls for aid. While the Asian partner of the U.S.A., Japan, which has to cope with the Arab embargo on oil supply, decided to adopt a new stand in the Middle East conflict. It has now expressed itself for the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all the Arab territories they have occupied from the year 1967 and for the respecting of the lawful rights of the Palestinian people, something which has aroused concern in Washington and Tel Aviv.

The imperialist-Zionist propaganda is trying to prove that allegedly the United States and the Soviet Union, which have great production and reserves of oil and coal, will suffer nothing from the Arab oil embargo, and that its whole burden will fall on the countries of western Europe and Japan. They aim through this to displace the anti-American spearhead of the oil weapon and pose as if the U.S. imperialists and their close collaborators do not fear it. But the oil struggle being waged by the Arab countries is directed, and it cannot fail to be directed, in the first place against the United States of America which is the main instigator and supporter of the Israeli aggressors.

The big oil companies which exploit Arab oil are, in their overwhelming part, American. If the cutting of oil supply is a blow to the power resources of the United States of America, the nationalization of these companies would be a cutting of the colossal profits they draw from the Middle East, a still heavier blow to the entire monopoly economy of America.

Oil, this great wealth of the Arab people, has been transformed for decades by world imperialism into a source of barbarous exploitation, oppression and colonization at the expense of the Arab people themselves. The Arabs are masters of the land from which oil is extracted,

but the extraction plants, the processing factories, the network of transport and distribution to foreign countries are in the hands of the U.S., British, Dutch and other capitalist monopolies. The big oil companies fix the extraction quotas and sale prices. The countries receiving the Arab oil have created the so-called «automobile company» and a whole chemical industry which is putting its seal on the present day bourgeois civilization, without speaking here about the use of this oil as the main power resource of the whole modern industry of many capitalist metropolises. Thus, it results that the Arab oil, this colossal source of energy, which has caused an entire technical revolution in Western Europe, has been taken from the Arabs, that the wealth of some has been created as a result of plundering others.

But this plunder or wanton exploitation cannot continue for ever. The Arab people, who have longstanding traditions of civilization, who have always distinguished themselves for their undaunted freedom-loving spirit, cannot fail to rise to drive out the imperialist plunderers who fatten on the wealth, blood and sweat of these peoples. They cannot give oil to those countries which have supplied and continue to supply military and financial means to the Israeli Zionists against the Arab people.

Now time has come that in the struggle for their liberation and their rights the Arab people should transform oil in one of their most powerful weapons against their enemies. And it can really serve the cause of liberation, independence, strengthening of the sovereignty and allround progress of the Arab countries only if this weapon will be used with due determination through to the end.

The enemies of the Arab people, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, threaten by their atom bomb and exert blackmail on all the countries. But the Arab people have in their hands the oil weapon which is much more powerful than their atom bombs.

In order to attain the liberation of the Arab territories occupied by the Israeli aggressors, these watch-dogs of the imperialist interests in the Middle East, and, what is essential, to liberate for ever the Arab countries from the imperialist and social imperialist interference and pressure, it is necessary to «liberate oil itself» from the clutches of foreign monopolies, it is necessary that it should be fully

placed in the hands of the Arabs themselves, to whom it rightfully belongs, it is up to them to decide, in a sovereign way, how much oil to produce, how to use it, how much to sell of it and to whom sell it. Only in these conditions it can be, not only a great source of economic development and wellbeing for the Arab countries, but also a terrible weapon against the enemies of the Arab people.

Of course, the struggle for the «liberation of oil» will not be an easy struggle. It will meet on its way the counteractions, pressures, blackmail and one thousand and one deceptive manoeuvres on the part of the United States and other imperialists, to compel the Arab countries to give it up. And, as every struggle, it demands determination and courage to carry it through to the end, to repel and smash the hostile activity of the imperialists and their lackeys.

The peoples and progressive men and women everywhere in the world support any just action of the Arab countries to fight with the oil weapon. The Libyan president, colonel Muamar Kadafi, speaks often against communism, he would do better speak less, for he is too powerless to match with it. But he has publicly expressed himself for stopping the sale of oil to the United States of America and to all those countries that support Israel. This is to be praised. If such a demand would be carried out in practice by Kadafi and all the oil producing Arab countries, this would be a disastrous blow to U.S. imperialism and its allies. If Kadafi wants to keep his promise, let him provide an example by nationalizing the U.S. oil companies in Libya and completely cutting off oil to them and to other countries which support the Israeli Zionists. Let him cut off oil also to those states which have transformed their territories into bases of U.S. imperialism, at the ports and aerodromes of which stay and are supplied with fuel, foodstuffs, etc., the U.S. ships aircraft loaded with bombs missiles which threaten the Mediterranean peoples, as for instance Italy.

Faisal of Saudi Arabia, though a king and feudal, has raised the price of oil and has adopted some restrictive measures concerning its sale to the countries that support Israel, measures which have been welcomed not only by the Arab countries, but also by the entire international public opinion. But the battle with the oil weapon cannot be carried out through incomplete measures by raising

some per cent the price of oil and reducing a little its sale. The nationalization of all the oil riches, the cutting of supply to the countries that support Israel and adopt a hostile attitude towards the Arab people, are a high patriotic duty for every Arab country. One can imagine what will happen when 495 million tons of oil will stop flowing to Europe, a quantity representing over 80 per cent of their needs for fuel! The contradictions between the western states of Europe, the United States of America and the Soviet Union will aggravate and sharpen, there will be an increase of pressure on Washington and Moscow to change their hostile stand towards the Arab countries. The imperialists and all the enemies of the Arab people must be mercilessly hit telling them in a clearcut way: No oil!

The People's Republic of Albania, which has always supported with determination and unreservedly the just struggle of the Arab people, would fully back all the just and patriotic measures and actions, for they are to the benefit of the Arab people and of all the freedom-loving peoples of the world.

All those who, in the present-day situation, in this or that way and under any pretext, exert pressure on the Arab countries to give up the use of the oil weapon, as the Shah of Iran is doing now, are either provokers and direct agents of the U.S. imperialists or are playing their game.

The use of the oil weapon on the part of the Arab countries opens a new prospect to the just cause of the Arab people. But that is not the sole weapon and cannot act separately. It can be fully effective only by becoming integral part of the entire liberation struggle of the Arab people, by ranking with the fire arms, alongside with a determined and consistent policy and diplomacy. The decisive factor for achieving the victory of the Arab people is their unity and struggle arms in hand, relying on their own forces, for the liberation of the Arab territories occupied by Israel and for the destruction of the Israeli aggressors, for the correct and full solution of the Palestinian people, is the rejection of any illusion whatever that the two imperialist superpowers can help in the realisation of the lawful aspirations of the Arab people, and the strengthening of the struggle to do away for ever with any interference of U.S. and Soviet imperialism in the internal affairs of the Arab countries.

# HEGEMONISTIC PLANS OF SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISM IN ASIA

*Editorial from «ZËRI I POPULLIT»*

ANOTHER FOREIGN POLICY TOUR BY BREZHNEV HAS JUST ENDED. FROM NOVEMBER 26th TO 30th HE MADE ANOTHER OFFICIAL VISIT TO INDIA, WHERE HE HELD LONG TALKS WITH THE INDIAN PRIME MINISTER, INDIRA GANDHI, AND SIGNED SOME AGREEMENTS WITH HER. THE SOVIET PROPAGANDA TREATED THIS VISIT WITH RARELY EQUALLED POMPOSITY. BREZHNEV WAS ACCOMPANIED BY A SUITE OF 150 OFFICIALS, AND MORE THAN 100 SOVIET JOURNALISTS WERE TAKEN ALONG TO PUBLICIZE HIS STAY IN ANCIENT INDIA WITH EVERYTHING THEY COULD MUSTER, INCLUDING COLOUR TELEVISION AND SPECIAL SATELLITE TRANSMISSIONS.

There was plenty of fanfare. Dozens of speeches were delivered, and interviews granted, and the fine words about «Soviet-Indian friendship», «fraternal Soviet aid», and «the strengthening of peace in Asia and in the world» flowed like water. But despite all the fuss it was clear that this whole parade of propaganda was aimed at promoting a policy which the Indian people regard with suspicion, to calm the peoples of Asia disturbed by Soviet expansionist activity, and to deceive international public opinion.

Brezhnev did not go to India for the sake of friendship or, aid, or to serve

peace and security. He undertook this long trip to promote the aims of the imperialist policy of the Soviet Union in Asia and throughout the world and to involve India still further in its hegemonistic plans.

Brezhnev's visit to India took place at a time when the Soviet social imperialists, in rivalry and collaboration with the United States of America, are trying to extend their zone of influence and penetration as much as possible, and to establish their hegemony over all the seas and continents. His visit came after the secret Brezhnev-Nixon talks in San Clemente and the conclusion of the open

and secret Soviet-U.S. agreements which have cast a heavy shadow over the whole world, and posed great danger to all the peoples.

The chieftain of the Kremlin rulers went to Delhi not long after India, instigated and supported by the Soviet Union, committed its savage aggression against Pakistan, which ended the latter's dismemberment and the increased penetration of the social-imperialists in the Indian sub-continent.

He went to meet his Indian friends now when the spearhead of the policy of the Soviet leadership has been directed mainly against the People's Republic of China, and when a big anti-China campaign has swept over not just the Soviet Union, but also its satellites and all the revisionist agencies scattered throughout the world.

However, Brezhnev's visit to India also has special significance because it came immediately after the recent events in

the Middle East, when the Soviet and U.S. diplomats exerted great efforts to impose their dictate on the Arab people, and the two superpowers want to raise their arbitrary decisions in world affairs to an international norm and law. The Arab oil embargo has sown confusion in cabinets throughout Europe and of the capitalist world, and the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists are acting like hungry wolves, each trying to take advantage of the situation in order to grab the riches of others and establish their domination in new zones of influence. The Soviet military command is interested in establishing firm bases on the Indian Ocean which is a crucial area, especially for setting up another military bastion against People's China, stationed on the seas to the south of her, as well as to rival the United States which has more warship on the waters of the Indian Ocean, to come at the flanks of the Arab countries, and to get closer to the Persian Gulf, where the major oil resources and supply routes are located. The Soviet and U.S. naval fleets have left their ports and approached to foreign shores and the fighter planes and paratroops of both countries are waiting in their bases, ready to fly wherever they are ordered.

Given this situation, the demagoguery which filled Brezhnev's speeches, and the general terms and hackneyed ready-made formulas of the final Soviet-Indian communique, can deceive no one. The world is now only too familiar with such sugary speeches and communiqués, which are aimed at lulling the peoples, and concealing the intrigues, plots and dangerous plans being concocted against various countries and peace in general.

In a speech delivered in Delhi, Brezhnev said: «Asia can and must become a continent of peace, friendship and collaboration. For the sake of this great aim, he went on, it is well worth working and fighting». How fine these words sound! But such language was also used when the Soviet social imperialists were preparing to occupy Czechoslovakia, to carry out provocations on the borders with China and to dismember Pakistan.

They were used when the Soviets concluded their agreement with Brandt and sold out the interests of the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Czechoslova-

kia, etc., or when the Americans and Soviets came to terms over preserving the status quo in the Middle East, and sacrificed the sovereignty, the rights and supreme national interests of the Arab people.

What the leaders of the Soviet Union are working and fighting for is not to attain peace and security in Asia, but to secure their zones of influence and extend Soviet hegemony on that continent. Brezhnev said nothing about what was decided in his talks with Indira Gandhi on the Soviet naval fleet, which is roaming Indian waters and using Indian ports.

Perhaps this fleet, too, has the mission of strengthening the independence of India and reinforcing peace.

Soviet policy in Asia is a policy of zones of influence, and India is an important target for the penetration of the Soviet neocolonialism on that continent.

During his visit to India Brezhnev tried his hardest to present Soviet-Indian collaboration as an ideal model for relations between two states. However, his assertions are easily given the lie.

The Indian reality today shows that Soviet «aid» (like American «aid») is designed to subjugate the country economically, politically and militarily. Enslaving agreements have been imposed on India, giving the Soviet revisionists the opportunity to exploit and plunder the main branches of the country's industry. Soviet «aid» to India is nothing but a camouflaged form of neocolonialism which is aimed not at lessening the sufferings of the Indian people, or healing the grave wounds which scar present-day India, but at making them worse, at subjugating the entire Indian economy and making it into an appendage of the Soviet economy. In fact, the last ten years, during which Soviet interference in the country has intensified, have been disastrous for millions of Indians. Hunger, unemployment, inflation and rising prices are the most urgent problems facing Indian society.

With the 15-year agreements which Indira Gandhi concluded with Brezhnev, India mortgaged its freedom and independence to the hilt, and jeopardized the independent economic development of its country.

But the Indian people did not struggle so long against British colonialism merely in order to find themselves under a new colonial master.

Brezhnev's visit, and his promises, cannot wipe out the discontent of the masses with regard to the Soviet leaders in India, nor can they assuage their hatred for the reactionary policies of the Gandhi government.

During his visit to India, Brezhnev strove to promote his plan for what he calls a «collective security system in Asia» to impose full, official engagement in support of this plan on India, and to persuade the Asian countries to support it. But this idea from the Soviet revisionists is not finding support in the Asian countries. It seems that even in his talks with Indira Gandhi, Brezhnev was unable to attain his aims completely. In the published communique, the question of the «collective security system in Asia» was not mentioned. Despite this, in his speeches delivered in Delhi, Brezhnev tried to prove that this so-called system of collective security in Asia would allegedly be in the common interest of the peoples of Asia, and that the time has come for a general discussion of his idea.

In reality, we are dealing with an effort to revive, under a new label and with Soviet direction, the abhorred system of imperialist military pacts, now rotten and discredited, which would serve as a means to establish the control of the Soviet Union in Asia, and thus strangle the revolutionary and liberation struggle of the Asian peoples.

Who is threatening Asia, and from whom must the Asian peoples protect themselves?

As was proved by recent events, such as the U.S. aggression in Indochina, which is still going on, the Indian-Soviet aggression against Pakistan, etc., the Asian peoples are threatened by the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists. They are endangered by the bases and the presence of the two superpowers armed forces in Asia by the naval fleets which, sailing thousands of kilometres from home, violate the sovereignty of the countries whose territorial waters they trespass in, and by foreign capital which is suffocating the great majority of the Asian countries.

If the peoples of Asia are to be secure, their efforts must be directed against the two superpowers whose hegemonistic and expansionist policies and aims threaten and endanger the freedom and independence of all the countries of Asia. The peoples of Asia can never trust the question of their security to the United States, to the Soviet Union, or to both of them together. They can achieve security only by taking it in their own hands, and in struggle against the two superpowers.

The Brezhnevian plan for «collective security in Asia», no doubt also contains an element of Soviet-U.S. rivalry for the division of zones of influence, it is an effort to undermine the dominant position of U.S. imperialism in various areas of the Asian continent and «to fill the gaps» left by it. But this new imperialist system, drafted by Brezhnev, is primarily directed against the People's Republic of China. The entire policy of the Soviet social imperialists has been concentrated precisely to this end. «Collective security in Asia» is an integral part of the great strategic plan of the Soviet social imperialist clique for political and military expansion in Asia and the encirclement of China; likewise, the instigation of the Indian aggression against Pakistan and the organisation of the putsch in Afghanistan, the armed provocations and the amassing of more than one million Soviet troops on the border with China, the Soviet-Indian treaty of 1971, etc. are all integral parts of this plan.

But the Brezhnevian social imperialist clique is badly out in its reckoning. All its anti-China plots are doomed to fail in the face of the invincible force of the 800 million strong Chinese people who, united round their Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse tung are prepared to cope with and smash any aggression whatever and destroy any aggressors, wherever they may come from and however well armed they may be.

Asia is a continent seething with liberation struggles, and the revolutionary movement there is generally on the rise. Protracted colonial domination has left many unsolved problems and many contradictions behind. In addition to the reactionary and feudal regimes existing in many countries, the interference of the

capitalist powers and the neocolonialists have further aggravated the burdens of the past.

Does the «collective security», proposed by the Soviet revisionists aim at contributing to the intensification of the liberation and revolutionary struggle of the Asian peoples, at encouraging their social emancipation, does it push them towards progress and democracy, strengthen the anti-imperialist wave, or broaden its base. Not in the least. This «security» project presented by the Kremlin chieftains is a counter-revolutionary plan, which they hope to turn into an instrument and use as a pretext, to suppress and extinguish the liberation movements in Asia, and to suffocate the revolutionary spirit on that continent.

Designed to open the road to Soviet expansion and the extension of Soviet influence, this plan is directed towards the reactionary regimes and anti-national ruling circles, it promotes the rise of the new entrepreneurial bourgeoisie which grows and fattens under neocolonialism.

All this shows that in Asia, too, the Soviet revisionists act as extinguishers of the revolution, as underminers and saboteurs of the liberation struggle of the peoples. Nor can it be otherwise. This role conforms with the expansionist and chauvinistic policy of a great power, and is a consequence of the Soviet Union becoming social imperialist.

But the Soviet plans for «collective security in Asia» do not pose a danger to the peoples of Asia alone. Just as, through their «European security» the Soviet social imperialists want to secure their flanks in order to concentrate on Asia, and primarily against People's China, so through their «Asian security» they hope to establish a strong, dominant position on the Asian continent, in order to exert pressure on Europe, and then impose their dictate on other regions of the world. «European security» and «collective security in Asia» represent one and the same aggressive plan. They are component parts of the expansionist strategy of the Soviet social imperialists, and have emerged as a result of the collaboration and rivalry between the two superpowers to establish domination over the whole world. For this reason, the struggle of

the peoples of Asia and Europe against the hegemonistic policy of the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists merges into a single front, so that their efforts to defend their freedom and independence against the pressure and blackmail of the two superpowers may serve their common cause. By their plans the U.S. and Soviet imperialists are seeking to divide the peoples of Asia and, indeed, if they can, set them against one another. However, now as always, the peace and security of the peoples on all continents are one and indivisible. History has shown that, in its aggressive drives, imperialism has never stopped at the edge of continents.

As was to be expected, the propaganda of the Soviet revisionists followed by that of pro-Soviet Indian circles, (and as expressed without the least modesty in the joint communique) tried recently to connect Brezhnev's visit with the theme of strengthening peace in Asia and the world in general. A special place in this pompous propaganda was saved for Brezhnev's «personal role» and his initiatives for the alleged relaxation of tension. As time goes on, Brezhnev stands out more clearly as the main architect of the dangerous counterrevolutionary strategy of the predatory and aggressive Soviet social imperialists. As the promoter and successor of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of the renegade Khrushchev, he is the man who took this evil line further, hastening the total capitalist degeneration of the Soviet order, and the transformation of the land of Soviets into an aggressive imperialist power, one of the most dangerous centres of world counterrevolution. He is a product of revived great Russia chauvinism and one of the most typical representatives of superpowers imperialism.

The years of Brezhnev's rule are years of the crystalization of Soviet revisionism as social imperialism, with markedly fascist and aggressive features. The barbarous occupation of Czechoslovakia, the strengthening of military domination in the Warsaw Treaty countries, the threats to and pressures on other states and peoples, the provocations on the borders of the People's Republic of China, the instigation, support and financing of the

Indian aggression against Pakistan, the efforts to realize the dreams of the Russian czars about entering the Mediterranean and the Adriatic, all show Brezhnev's hand. His name is also linked with the strengthening of the dangerous Soviet-U.S. alliance.

Despite the reassuring words contained in the joint Soviet-Indian communiqué, and the propaganda statements by Brezhnev and Indira Gandhi, claiming that the Soviet-Indian agreements, both old and new, are not directed against any third country, knowing the usual practice of the Soviet revisionist leaders, it is difficult to believe that during the present Soviet-Indian talks agreements were not reached and pledges were not made other than those that were publicly announced. Openly, nothing is said but it is no secret that the Soviet Union is instigating India's expansionist ambitions with regard to its neighbours, as well as its efforts to become a great military power in Asia. The policy of inciting the further dismemberment of Pakistan continues; just as India's policy of threatening its neighbours continues. This dangerous course followed by the present Indian government is now becoming more aggressive, thanks to the great internal difficulties facing by Indira Gandhi who is trying to overcome them by chasing some external «success». Therefore, Brezhnev's praise of Indira Gandhi and the support expressed for her policy forebode only evil; they are an ill omen not only for the boiling Indian masses, which will feel intensified oppression and exploitation by the regime in power, but also for India's neighbours, who must expect the worst from Delhi's policy.

In these conditions the peoples of Asia cannot fail to be concerned at this aggressive and expansionist policy of the Soviet social-imperialists and the present day Indian regime; they must join forces in struggle against all their imperialist enemies, in order to defend their freedom and independence, their independent economic and political development. The Asian people's rejection of the «collective security» project proffered by the Kremlin rulers, just like their struggle against the whole of Soviet policy in Asia, serves their supreme interest and assists cause of peace and security in the world.

# CHRONICLES

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## **A friendly visit**

*At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, from October 28 to November 2, 1973, a delegation of the Vietnamese Workers' Party, headed by Pham Van Dong, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Workers' Party and Prime Minister of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, made an official friendly visit to the People's Republic of Albania.*

*During their stay in Albania, the delegation of the Party and Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam made visits to the city of Tirana and the district of Durrës, to various industrial and agricultural centres and cultural institutions where they became directly acquainted with the high revolutionary spirit of the Albanian people and with the successes they have achieved in the socialist construction of the country. The envoys of the heroic Vietnamese people were welcomed with great warmth and cordiality as brothers and close comrades-in-arms, they were surrounded with the deep feelings of fraternal friendship and militant solidarity nourished by the Albanian people for the fraternal Vietnamese people.*

*The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Enver Hoxha, received the head of the delegation of the Vietnamese Workers' Party and of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam Pham Van Dong, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Workers' Party, Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Workers' Party, vice Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam Nguyen Zui Chin, and held with them a cordial conversation in a very warm and fraternal atmosphere.*

*During their stay in Albania, between the delegation of the Vietnamese Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, headed by the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese*

*Workers' Party and Prime Minister of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam Pham Van Dong, and the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania and of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, headed by the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania Mehmet Shehu, talks were held on the further strengthening of the relations of brotherly friendship and mutual collaboration between the two peoples, the two countries and the two parties. The two sides informed each other of the situation in their countries and of the successes and experience in the building of socialism. The talks were held in a cordial, friendly and mutual understanding atmosphere.*

*Participating in the talks were:*

*From the Albanian side: Hysni Kapo, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania; Ramiz Alia, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania; Beqir Balluku, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of People's Defence of the People's Republic of Albania; Adil Çarçani, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania; Abdyl Këllezi, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and Chairman of the State Planning Commission; Nesti Nase, member of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and Minister of Foreign Affairs; Kiço Ngjela, member of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and Minister of Trade; Ksenofon Nushi, vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Astrit Mero, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of Albania to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.*

*From the Vietnamese side:*

*Nguyen Zui Chin, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese*

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Workers' Party, vice Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; Nguyen Van Kha, Minister, vice chairman of the State Planning Commission; Hoang Van Loi, vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Nguyen Van Thu, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to the People's Republic of Albania. At the end of the talks the joint Albanian-Vietnamese declaration and a series of agreements were signed.

### November 7 and 8 celebrated with enthusiasm

The Albanian people celebrated November 7 and 8 in the revolutionary atmosphere aroused by the decisions of the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, and united more closely than ever around its Central Committee with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head. In the framework of these memorable holidays numerous political and cultural-artistic activities were carried out in the capital city of Albania and in all the districts of the Republic, in work and production centres, in agricultural cooperatives, schools, state institutions and military units.

### National meeting of vanguard workers

It is a fine thing to see thousands of machines and equipments in operation, serving the increase of social production, hundreds of new lines and sections set up with forces of the working collectives themselves of our country. And their number keeps increasing, so that the revolutionary movement to produce everything with one's own forces should mark higher rises. The Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions and the State Planning Commission organized a national meeting of vanguard workers in the Palace of Technical Progress on November 13.

This meeting was attended by many distinguished workers, vanguard workers, innovators, managers, cadres of our mechanical industry and of the other branches of economy.

Attending were also the member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA Hysni Kapo, the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA and Chairman of the State Planning Commission Abdyl Këllezi, the member of the Political Bureau and President of the Central Council of

the ATU Rita Marko, the alternate members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party, the vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers Xhafer Spahiu and the Minister of Agriculture Pirro Dodhiba.

The meeting was presided over by comrade Rita Marko.

The report on the theme "Raise to a higher level the movement for the production of machines and equipments and for the erection of new lines and sections with our own forces" was delivered by the Secretary of the Central Council of the ATU Idriz Dhrami.

A fruit of the creative thought of our innovators is also the over 4.000 machines and equipments and the 1.324 new lines and sections which were erected with the forces of the working collectives themselves during the years 1971-1973. And of these in Tirana alone there have been set up during this period 400 new lines and sections, 170 in Durrës, 136 in Shkodra, as well as dozens of others in Fier, Vlora, Elbasan, etc.

An incomplete picture of this big job is represented also by the exhibition of the machines and equipments built by our own forces and which opened under the Palace of Technical Progress.

### National conference of young talents

The Party of Labour of Albania and the people's power have shown great care and concern for the development and flourishing of young talents in the field of art and literature. An expression of this care is also the national conference of young talents which opened in the city of Korça on November 23. The conference was attended by literary men, painters, sculptors, composers, writers, artists and many other invites.

Present were also the member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party Ramiz Alia, the first Secretary of the Party Committee of the Korça district Mihallaq Ziqishti, the vice Minister of Education and Culture Mantho Bala, the President of the Albanian Writers' and Artists' Union Dritëro Agolli, the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the district People's Council Zenun Shahollari, the Secretary of the Central Council of the A.T.U. Sotir Kamberi and others.

The conference was presided over by the first Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Working Youth Union Jovan Bardhi. The main report was delivered by the Secretary of the Albanian Writers' and Artists' Union Anastas Kondo.

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*In their reports and statements the speakers pointed out the successes that have been achieved by the young creative forces and set the ways to maintain always pure the principles of socialist realism in literature and figurative arts, to successfully carry out the historic decisions of the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the P.L.A. and comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings. From the conference, which ended its proceedings successfully, a telegram of greetings was sent to the Central Committee of the Party.*

## **An Albanian friendship military delegation visits China**

*At the invitation of the Ministry of National Defense of the People's Republic of China, a friendship military delegation of the People's Army of Albania, headed by Petrit Dume, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and chief of General Staff of the People's Army, made a friendly visit to the People's Republic of China by the end of November and in December. The delegation included Hito Çako, member of the Central Committee of the Party and head of the political department of the People's Army, and other leading cadres of the army.*

## **A delegation of technical scientific collaboration of the P.R. of China in Albania**

*A delegation of technical scientific collaboration of the P.R. of China, headed by the chairman of the Chinese side of the joint Albanian-Chinese commission of technical scientific collaboration, vice Minister of light industry of the P.R. of China, Chen Wei Chin, arrived in Albania on November 26.*

*The delegation will hold with the Albanian side in Tirana the 15th meeting of the joint Albanian-Chinese commission.*

## **November 28 and 29 holidays celebrated with joy**

*The Albanian working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, the armed forces, the entire Albanian people, celebrated amidst a great political and revolutionary enthusiasm, and*

*united more than ever around the Party, its Central Committee with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, November 28 – the 61st anniversary of the proclamation of national independence, and November 29 – the 29th anniversary of the liberation of the country.*

*A revolutionary enthusiasm prevailed everywhere and the unshaken faith in new, still greater, victories in the socialist construction of the country, to carry out in practice the decisions of the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party and the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha.*

*In all the districts of the Republic there were carried out festive activities, solemn meetings, homage was paid and wreaths were laid on the graves of the martyrs, Party and State leaders made visits to martyrs' families.*

*The Central Committee of the Party, the Council of Ministers and the Party Committee for the Tirana district organized a solemn meeting in the hall of the Opera and Ballet Theatre on November 28.*

*On the main background of the hall a large national flag was fixed and near to it a pick and a rifle. The words «November 28-29, 1973» were inscribed in it. There had been placed also a bust of the beloved leader of the Party and people, comrade Enver Hoxha.*

*The meeting was attended by workers from work and production centres, and cooperativists, Party and State leaders, heroes of the people and of socialist labour, patriots and veterans of the National Liberation Struggle, parents of martyrs, military men, youths and girls and other citizens.*

*Attending were also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China to the People's Republic of Albania, Lui Jen Hua, and the delegation of technical-scientific collaboration of the People's Republic of China, led by the head of the Chinese side of the joint Albanian-Chinese commission of technical-scientific collaboration, vice Minister of light industry of the P.R. of China Chen Wei chi.*

*The meeting was presided over by Ndue Marashi, member of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the Tirana district.*

*After the execution of the national anthem, comrade Petro Dode delivered the occasional speech which was frequently punctuated by the applause and acclamation of those present.*

*At the end, a concert was given for the participants.*

*The Central Committee of the Party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania*

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gave a reception in the Palace of Brigades on November 29.

The reception was attended by Party and State leaders, members of the Central Committee of the Party, of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Government, representatives of mass organisations, working people and cooperativists, heroes of the people and socialist labour, veterans of the National Liberation Struggle, parents of martyrs, military men, workers of science, culture, art and the press, and other invitees.

Present were likewise the delegation of the technical-scientific collaboration of the People's Republic of China, led by the head of the Chinese side of the joint Albanian-Chinese Commission of technical-scientific collaboration, the vice Minister of light industry of the P.R. of China, Chen Wei chi, and the leader of the national football team "A" of the PR of China, vice Secretary-General of the Football Federation of the PR of China, Jan Siu U.

Attending were also heads and officials of the diplomatic representations accredited to the People's Republic of Albania.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania those present were greeted by comrade Haxhi Lleshi.

Artistic pieces were given during the reception.

### **A brilliant victory of the Albanian Democratic Front**

ON THE FINAL RETURNS OF THE ELECTIONS TO THE DISTRICT PEOPLE'S COUNCILS AND COURTS.

On December 23, 1973 the general elections to the people's councils of districts, cities, united villages, city quarters and villages, as well as to the district courts, took place on the whole territory of the People's Republic of Albania in an atmosphere of great political joy and enthusiasm.

The communiqué of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania on the final returns of these elections reads as follows:

It follows from the final documents the Presidium of the People's Assembly has received from the executive committees of the district people's councils that the total figure of the electors enrolled on the election lists for the district people's councils is 1.206.314. In the voting for the members of the district people's councils part was taken by

1.206.314 electors which is equal to 100 per cent of the electorate. For the district people's councils over 99,99 per cent of the voters (two votes against) voted for the candidates of the Democratic Front.

For the people's councils of the cities over 99,99 per cent of the electors (one vote against) voted for the candidates of the Democratic Front.

For the people's councils of the united villages, over 99,99 per cent of the electors (6 votes against) voted for the Democratic Front candidates.

For the people's councils of city quarters over 99,99 per cent of the electors (3 votes against) voted the candidates of the Democratic Front.

For the people's councils of villages over 99,99 per cent of the electors (79 votes against) voted for the candidates of the Democratic Front.

For the district courts over 99,99 per cent of the electors (5 votes against judges and 13 votes against assistant judges) voted for the Democratic Front candidates.

The elections took place in full order, in conformity with the Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania and with the decree on the elections to the district people's councils and courts.

The returns of the the December 23, 1973 elections are another brilliant victory of the Democratic Front of Albania, a high expression of the militant revolutionary spirit, an ardent manifestation of the steel-like unity of the people around the Party with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head; they are a vivid expression of their determination to consistently implement the Marxist-Leninist line of our party and to always advance on the road of our uninterrupted socialist revolution.

### **Seventh session of the 7th legislature of the People's Assembly**

The 7th session of the 7th legislature of the People's Assembly held its proceedings on December 25 and 26.

The vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Adil Çarçani, on behalf of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, delivered the report:

"On the fulfilment of the State plan and budget for the year 1973 and on the draft-plan of the development of the people's economy and culture and the State draft-budget for the year 1974".

The Assembly approved the law on the State plan of the development of the economy and culture of the People's Republic of Albania for the year 1974 and the law on the State budget for the year 1974.

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**«The concepts of October illuminate the road of struggle and victory against imperialism and revisionism»; this is the heading of the editorial in the newspaper, «ZËRI I POPULLIT», organ of the Central Committee of the PLA, which appeared on November 7, the anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution.**

The triumph of the October Revolution, the editorial reads in part, marked the beginning of a great new epoch in the history of mankind, that of the transition from capitalism to socialism. Since that time, socialism has become a living reality, which, in spite of the treachery of the Khrushchevite revisionists has shown its indisputable superiority in all fields over the oppressive and exploiting capitalist order.

Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet Union raised high the glorious banner of great October; it was transformed into a powerful socialist country, with great international prestige and authority, as an impregnable fortress of the revolution and socialism.

But after Stalin's death, the renegade Khrushchevite band trampled the banner of the October Revolution in the mud. Once it had usurped the leadership, it betrayed the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, liquidated the dictatorship of the proletariat and the party of the proletariat, and established capitalism. From the centre of the world revolution it once was, the Soviet Union has been turned into a centre of counterrevolution. The Soviet people are

today experiencing the most difficult consequences of the capitalist course at home and the social imperialist course in international relations which the revisionist Brezhnev clique pursues.

The editorial further states: The restoration of capitalism and the repressive measures at home correspond to the expansionist and aggressive course in the international arena, and the «holy» alliance with U.S. imperialism, which constitutes one of the fundamental features of the foreign policy pursued by the new Kremlin czars. Speaking of U.S. imperialism, this ally of Soviet social imperialism, Lenin said that «it is the youngest and the strongest imperialism», and that «the American multimillionaires, those modern slave-owners, have opened an exceptionally tragic page in the bloody history of imperialism». The rapprochement with U.S. imperialism is instigated by their common objectives: the strangling of the revolution and of socialism, the liquidation of the liberation struggles of the peoples, the division of zones of influence, and the establishment of the hegemony of the two imperialist powers in the world. A special role in the further strengthening of this counterrevolutionary alliance has been played by Nixon's visit to Moscow and Brezhnev's subsequent visit to Washington. These visits were further steps in harmonizing the interests between the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists. The long series of agreements concluded on the two

occasions best shows that the two superpowers, despite their rivalry and inter-imperialist contradictions, today place major importance on their political, economic and military collaboration, and on concocting new plans and plots against the freedom and independence of the peoples, in order to establish their imperialist domination in the world.

The newspaper writes in conclusion:

Despite the betrayal of the revisionists, the ideas of the October Revolution are alive and triumphant. They light the way and provide inspiration for revolutionaries and progressive forces throughout the world. They are defended and put into practice today by the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania, by the Marxist-Leninist parties and groups which are increasing and strengthening and by all the progressive and freedom-loving forces in the world.

The Albanian people, under the leadership of their glorious Party of Labour, with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, are firmly marching ahead on the road of great October, the glorious road of socialism and communism. Our people celebrate this great event with brilliant successes in the field of socialist construction at home and in the defence of the Fatherland, with increased international prestige for socialist Albania which, shoulder to shoulder with the great People's China of Mao Tse tung, and all the revolutionary and progressive forces in the world, are fighting

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with determination for the cause of the revolution and socialism, the defence and triumph of Marxism-Leninism, the ideas of great October, and real peace and security, against the aggressive and counterrevolutionary plans of U.S. imperialism, Soviet social imperialism and international reaction.



The newspaper «LUFTËTARI», organ of the Ministry of People's Defence of the P.R. of Albania, in an article entitled «Military manoeuvres serve the aggressive policy of the two superpowers» writes in part:

Over the last two months, the aggressive NATO bloc has carried out military exercises, involving large forces, in West Germany, Greek and Turkish territory and in all the areas of the Mediterranean. Among the most important operations were the combined «Big Pharaoh» manoeuvres, with the participation of 42.000 U.S., West German and Dutch troops, 11.000 tanks and military vehicles and a number of aircraft squadrons, which have been estimated by the Bonn press to be the largest held in recent years. The combined «Deep Pharaoh - 73» manoeuvres in the Mediterranean region and on Greek territory, with the participation of the countries of the southern flank of the bloc and the U.S.A. and Britain; the one-month «Diligent Duty» manoeuvres organized by the NATO command in

Naples, with the participation of warships from the countries with naval forces under this command; «Big Ben» in the German Federal Republic, with the participation of 11.000 German, British, American, Belgian, Dutch and Canadian soldiers; those under the name of «Reforger-5» which were held in two stages and on a wide scale, with thousands of troops taking part, and the manoeuvres of the NATO offensive fleet in the Atlantic, codenamed «Swift Move», involving about 20.000 troops, 34 ships and 250 aircraft from Britain, Denmark, the German Federal Republic, Norway, Holland, the U.S.A. and Canada. There were also the manoeuvres called «Redeployment of Forces to Germany» with the participation of 11.000 soldiers of the first U.S. army division, who were flown from the U.S.A. to the NATO bases in Western Germany. Then, jointly with the U.S., Canadian and West German troops, which amounted to 26.000, there came the military manoeuvres under the code name of «Certain Charge».

In this feverish competition over manoeuvres the Warsaw Treaty and the Soviet Union not lagged behind; they have carried out a series of manoeuvres in the Soviet European regions, both in its provinces and in Hungary and elsewhere. For instance there were the big troop manoeuvres held from September 17 to 22 in Hungary, involving many Soviet and Hungarian troops within the framework of the bloc, as well

as a series of exercises by the army staffs of those countries which belong to the aggressive Warsaw Treaty, such exercises are held regularly, under Soviet command.

With all this gang on, as well as the separate manoeuvres of all the imperialist-revisionist countries, we can state that from the start, the European atmosphere has smelt of gunpowder; it is characterized by the demonstrations of strength, the armaments race, and the preparations for war being made by the two superpowers, moreover, this is happening at a time when the two superpowers are striving to convince the peoples that an «epoch of peace», has arrived, «international tension» is being relaxed, «security of the peoples is being «strengthened» and so on.

The question is, if we are heading towards «peace», what is the use of all these frequent manoeuvres, this sabre-rattling, on the part of the two aggressive blocs commanded by the two superpowers?

In their respective blocs, the two imperialist powers maintain more than one million soldiers, who are being prepared not for «peace», but for war. Amidst all this hysteria of armament and military exercises, there are no good, «peaceful» aims. They merely preserve the «military balance» between the two superpowers, while their entire activity, in the final account, fits in with Soviet - U.S. global strategy and hegemonistic interests. There is

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also fierce competition between them.

■

**«Pseudo literature and business», under this title the newspaper «Drita», organ of the Albanian Writers' and Artists' Union, carries an article criticising the growing tendency in the capitalist world to utilize literature for profits.**

Long ago a large section of American literature degenerated into an important, profitable business, which attracts droves of bankrupt scribblers who call themselves writers and who tirelessly turn out one «success» after another. This does not depend on whether they have become prominent writers or whether their work is of high literary value. The commercial publishers are not concerned with such things. «Successes» are obtained from best-sellers and the huge profits they make for the author and publisher.

These books, which flood the stores, are ugly pseudo-literature which has no value at all. So now can we explain the attention publishing houses pay to getting them out on sale. The contradiction disappears if we look at the subjects they contain. Crimes, sex, adventures and film stars are the kind of thing these «writers» deal with, and the bourgeoisie is quick to encourage them. Along with the other decadent and modernist literary trends, which

infect the reader with their ideas, and sentimental literature of the «Love Story» type, the ruling class also needs this type of rubbish which glorifies adventure and crime and which completely diverts people from considering important social problems. It does a great deal of harm to young people. The reports of murders and other crimes in the pages of the American and West European newspapers are full of the names of young and adolescent criminals.

The authors of these books have no talent and no ability. Many spend a lot of time gambling and partying, and taken little interest in business, preferring to make money out of their «commercial» literature. They write very quickly, producing several novels a year, and their total output is very large indeed. «The publication of cheap books is increasing in a surprising way», says the novelist Louis Lamour, who, not long ago, published his 57th book, which sold forty million copies. «People want to read for amusement, and therefore writers like me are successful» — says Pendleton from Arkansas, who has written 45 books, 41 of them in the last six years alone.

However, the publication of so many books in a short period of time would seem to indicate that it doesn't cost the authors much effort to write them; so surely interest would fall off, and so would profits. But they have thought up a

simple solution: pseudonyms. The New York Times says that the writer Michael Avalon, who spends much of his time playing billiards and other games, has published 142 «works», and some of these, as he admits himself, have taken him only two days to write. They were published under 14 different pen names. The author of the article in the «New York Times» expresses his surprise that Avalon, who, in addition to detective stories, writes horror stories under the name of Edwin Nyn, and children's books, also writes TV scripts, film scenarios and many other things. The American journalist would be less surprised if he delved deeper in the social causes which allow Michael Avalon to make so much money through his literary productions.

Men like Avalon, Lamour and Pendleton are counted by the hundred in the United States and the other capitalist countries. Allan Reeve wrote 7 adventure stories in six months. John Creasey, who died in London some time ago, produced the extraordinary total of 560 crime and adventure stories, which he published under various pen names.

However, publishing such books has its own troubles. As a New York publisher observed «... these youngsters must always be on the look-out for new subjects». Still, they can't find this very difficult. The crimes to which American society gives rise provide plen-

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ty to excite the imagination of these men.

This literary business began with the horror novels and detective stories which appeared between the two world wars. Allen Pinkerton gave way to the multitude of present day detectives, who punish all the criminals in the books, contrary to what happens in actual life (these are numerous cases of collaboration between the U.S. police and detective force, and groups of gangsters).

Thus, this pseudo-literature, which propagates vice, crime, and violence, is the offspring of the capitalist society, and at the same time serves it well in distracting and confusing people, and directing them anywhere, save to social emancipation.



The newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» and «Bashkimi» hailed the 24th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the P.R. of Albania and the P.R. of China. «Relations which originate from a great revolutionary friendship», is the title of the article in the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» devoted to this important event.

The article reads in part:

The establishment of diplomatic relations between the P.R. of Albania and the P.R. of China 24 years ago was a logical result of the victory of the revolution in our two

countries, and of their resolute engagement on the road of socialist construction. This was a political act of historic importance, and a concrete expression of the will and aspirations of our two peoples to march always shoulder to shoulder in the common struggle for the triumph of the cause of socialism and the revolution, against imperialism, colonialism and the forces of reaction in the world.

This memorable event in Albanian-Chinese relations opened the way for the continuous development and strengthening of revolutionary friendship and fraternal collaboration between the P.R. of Albania and the P.R. of China.

The article further says:

The People's Republic of China enjoys great authority and prestige in the international arena. It has won the deep sympathy and great respect of the freedom-loving and revolutionary peoples of all countries, for they see in it a great, loyal and sincere friend, the most powerful defender of their just cause, an impregnable fortress of socialism and revolution, and a resolute fighter against the hegemonistic policy being pursued in the world today by the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists. The People's Republic of China constitutes a decisive factor in the positive development of all world events, and its principled and consistent foreign policy fully responds to the supreme interests of the

cause of the freedom and independence of the peoples, the revolution and socialism and real peace and security in Asia and in the world.

Our people wholeheartedly rejoice over the victories won by the P.R. of China in all fields. They are proud of having such friends and comrades-in-arms as the great Chinese people. Comrade Enver Hoxha said, at the 6th Congress of the PLA: «We are proud of having as our allies and friends the 700 million strong Chinese people, the People's Republic of China and the Communist Party of China, with their great leader, the most respected friend of the Albanian people, Chairman Mao Tse tung, at the head. The great revolutionary Albanian-Chinese friendship, unity and allround fraternal collaboration between Albania and China, based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, tempered in the common struggle against imperialism, revisionism and all the reactionaries, have withstood all tests and have brought great successes and victories to our two countries.

The friendship between the Albanian people and the Chinese people, between our two parties and governments, is strengthening with every passing day. An inexhaustible basis for the strengthening of this friendship is Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, our common ideal, the revolution, socialism and communism and our common

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struggle against the same enemies – U.S. imperialism, Soviet social imperialism and international reaction.

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The newspaper «Puna», organ of the Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions, in an article entitled «The slogan of unity – a mask to conceal the betrayal of the WFTU chieftains», comments on the efforts of the Soviet social imperialists to create a single world trade union organisation.

In recent years, the newspaper writes among other things, the chieftains of the WFTU, who have placed themselves at the service of the policy of the Soviet social imperialists, allegedly on behalf of unity, have carried out broad activity to create a single world trade union organisation. They have made many bargains with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions as well as with the World Confederation of Labour. They also made appeals for «collaboration» and «unity» at the 8th Congress of the WFTU which held its proceedings in Varna, Bulgaria, recently.

Of course, the two organisations mentioned above are tools of the international bourgeoisie and imperialism. They work to split the ranks of the working class, to disorientate it ideologically, to lower its revolutionary and militant spirit

and to sabotage the struggle for its freedom and rights.

At the time when the WFTU took a revolutionary antiimperialist class stand many of its documents and resolutions mercilessly condemned the treacherous policy of the bosses of these reactionary trade unions. They said among other things that «the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions resulted from abandoning the struggle against fascism, militarism and colonialism», that it «compromises with the monopolies», that «it continues the policy of collaboration with the class enemy», etc.

How is it then that, today the WFTU leaders are forgetting these stands towards the activity of the ICFTU and the WCL, and are stretching their hand out to them in collaboration, «friendship» and «unity of action»? Is it perhaps that the leaders of the reactionary trade unions have suddenly abandoned their previous positions and the bosses whom they served so loyally? No; this has not happened nor will it happen. The trade union bosses are still in the service of the capitalist bourgeoisie and have not changed their attitude. They have become more reactionary, and eager to defend the bourgeois order, as the handouts the bourgeoisie gives them have increased. They have undertaken to gloss over and prettify the capitalist bourgeois order and to present capitalism as «popular» or «humanitarian», as an order of social harmony.

Using U.S. dollars, the ICFTU has interfered in every part of the world; it has extended its tentacles to the African and Asian continents, to Latin America, Europe and elsewhere. No change has occurred in the attitude of the ICFTU and of the WCL. What has occurred is the betrayal by the WFTU leaders, who abandoned their former just positions, and sank to collaborating with other traitors to working class interests.

In order to camouflage this betrayal the WFTU leaders claim today that the ICFTU, the WCL and the AFL-CIO in America have given up their old positions, and that they can now join them to «defend working class interests against the attack of the monopolies», claiming that the working class also desires such unity.

However, the «unity» the WFTU leaders talk about is not the one which the working class needs in its struggle against imperialism and the rotten capitalist and revisionist system. It is unity between the trade union bosses, the worker aristocracy, to the detriment of the interests of the working class. Real unity of the international working class can be created only on the barricades of class battles in struggle against the monopoly bourgeoisie, against its economic and political power, against U.S. – led imperialism and modern revisionism, with Soviet social imperialism at the head, which are seeking to dominate the world and keep the peoples

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enslaved. The working class, the Marxist-Leninists and the trade union militants in the capitalist and revisionist countries are today fighting for such unity. They reject the kind of «unity» sought by the leaders of the WFTU and those who manipulate it.

The call of the WFTU leaders for «unity of action» serves the alliance of the two superpowers – U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. The powerful actions of the working class in various countries, which have taken place despite the reformist and revisionist trade union bosses, have given a lot of trouble to the WFTU leaders. The latter want to have a controlled labour movement so as to avoid a repetition of the kind of strikes and demonstrations that took place during May-June 1968 in France, those of several million Italian workers or the powerful strikes of the British dockers, miners or construction workers. The only thing the WFTU leaders demand is «class peace» and the perpetuation of capitalist domination.

They need «unity» with the reactionary trade unions, so they can work together, in order to divide the workers, to break their revolutionary spirit and to keep them obedient slaves of the bourgeoisie.

In recent years the WFTU leaders and those of the revisionist trade unions have greatly increased contacts with their western partners. For example there was the conference orga-

nized in Santiago, Chile, which was held in April 1973, and was attended by representatives of the national trade unions which are members of the WFTU, the ICFTU or the WCL; or the meeting of the leaders of the three world trade union groups which took place in Geneva, in June this year. A meeting of the European trade union leaders has been proposed for January 1974 in Geneva.

Echoing the proceedings of the WFTU 8th Congress and praising to the skies the way the traitorous trade union leaders of the reactionary trade union organisations met together there, the trade union review of the French General Confederation of Labour, «*La vie ouvrière*», stated with enthusiasm: «It is a rare thing to see, united at the same congress, the Secretary-General of the WFTU and the deputy Secretary-General of the World Confederation of Labour»... Whereas one of the leaders of the WFTU boastfully declared: «What other organisation is in a position to open its doors so wide? Another significant fact was the proposal of the Italian trade unions, approved by the congress, concerning modifications in the constitution. According to this proposal, trade union centres may be either affiliated to the WFTU, or collaborators with it, and as such they are not obliged to carry out the programme and the decisions of the WFTU. This is another proof of the

profound degeneration of the World Federation of Trade Unions, and of its treachery, opportunism and complete departure from the class and anti-imperialist struggle.

This process of merging the WFTU with the other anti-labour organisations includes the demand of the European Trade Union Confederation, which was created during this year, for collaboration with the WFTU. The president of this Confederation, the head of the British trade unions Feather, in an interview with the Soviet revisionist trade union newspaper, stated: «The doors of the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) are open to all trade unions.

We have no doubt that in the future, the trade unions of the socialist countries of Europe will become members of the European Trade Union Confederation».

Our working class, like the whole international working class, resolutely condemns these efforts of the WFTU leaders, and exposes their open treachery. Together with the Albanian Trade Unions, it will unite its forces further with the genuine international labour and trade union movement in the class anti-imperialist struggle for the freedom and lawful rights of the working class in all countries of the world. The working class in the capitalist and revisionist countries, led by trade union militants and by the new Marxist-Leninist parties, will struggle with

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all its energies for its freedom and rights and for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The future belongs to the working class.

■

**In an article entitled «The weapon of Arab oil on the front of political struggle», the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» writes among other things:**

It is true that the imperialist powers want to obtain and implement a «common anti-Arab policy». But it is also true that the interweaving of their interests is so complicated and contradictory that the implementation of such a policy frequently breaks down, becomes ineffective or backfires.

In this area, oil has always been the cause of savage rivalries and great clashes between various powers. These rivalries and clashes have had, according to the occasion a political, diplomatic, economic or military character. This has happened because Arab oil guarantees colossal opportunities for political and economic profits to those who control it and those who purchase it.

On October 18, when the guns were roaring in the Middle East, the representatives of ten Arab oil countries gathered in Kuwait and decided to use their most powerful weapon — oil. They placed a complete embargo on the U.S.A. and all

other countries that supported Israel in its aggressive anti-Arab war. They increased the price of oil by 17 per cent on the world market, and on October 19 they decided to reduce national oil production by 5 per cent. This is tantamount to an annual reduction of almost 40 millions tons, or 3,3 million tons monthly. Moreover, on November 4, in Kuwait, the 10 OPEC countries decided to reduce oil production for the month of November not by 5 per cent but by 25 per cent, that is by 16.5 million tons. What influence can these measures exert, and who will be affected by them?

The terms «influence» and «effect» are in fact far too mild, since it is really a matter of great upheavals, and of strong attacks, which put great strain on the entire western economic and financial system, and indeed push it to crisis point.

The article continues:

The use of oil by the Arab countries, as a weapon of political and economic pressure against the U.S.A. and the other countries that support the Israeli aggressors, is yielding its first results, its first successes. Above all, it expressed unity of action by the Arab countries against the common enemy. Secondly, it struck home, causing great damage, confusion and crisis in the ranks of the enemy, and forcing it onto the defensive.

The newspaper writes in conclusion: All these facts and

events show that only when such a concentrated and powerful blow was dealt them and the going got rough did the imperialist chieftains begin to move, and realized that the Arab people will no longer be pawns in the corrupt game of the powers and superpowers, or suffer in the clashing of their selfish, hegemonistic and expansionist interests; they want to be masters of their own destinies, worthy of the ancient and heroic past of the Arab nation, capable of defending their sovereignty and national dignity and united against the sworn enemies of the cause of freedom and progress in the Arab countries.

■

**The newspaper «Bashkimi», in an article entitled «The anti-Korean plots of the USA and its collaborators will fail shamefully», comments on the discussion of the Korean question at the U.N. General Assembly.**

The aims of U.S. imperialism in Korea, and its plot of «two Koreas», the article says among other things, are encouraged by the policy and activity of its allies, the Soviet social imperialists, who for the sake of preserving the U.S.-Soviet counterrevolutionary alliance, and strategy for the domination of the world in zones of influence, are interested in maintaining the status quo in the Far East and keeping U.S. in-

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terests intact. One expression of this traitorous policy is the favour which the Kremlin clique is continually extending to the Seoul clique. Among other things the Soviet revisionists did not scruple to invite a delegation from the Pak Chen Hee clique to this year's Moscow University games. The Soviet revisionists concluded an agreement with the Seoul clique on facilities for the anchorage and repair of Soviet ships in South Korean sea ports, while recently they went still further and are now striving to conclude with this clique an agreement on the «return to South Korea of the Koreans living on Sakhalin». This activity shows that Soviet social imperialism in fact helps the plots of Washington and Seoul to perpetuate the division of Korea.

The newspaper writes in conclusion:

The Albanian people have resolutely condemned the policy and criminal plots of U.S. imperialism on «two Koreas». They demand that U.S. imperialism should put an end to its aggression in South Korea. The Korean question must be solved by the Korean people themselves, and cannot be solved as long as the American invaders remain in South Korea. The Albanian people, as their representative to the United Nations Organisation stated, powerfully back the re-

solute struggle of the fraternal Korean people for the unification of their fatherland, the correct stand of the Government of the DPR of Korea on this question, and its 5 point programme, which opens new prospects for the country's independent unification by the Korean people themselves. The Albanian people are confident that the just struggle of the Korean people, which enjoys the support of all the revolutionary and freedom-loving peoples of the world, will certainly lead to the realization of their lawful aspiration – the independent reunification of Korea.

**«Zëri i Popullit» comments in an article on the talks concerning the so-called reduction of military forces in Europe.**

The article reads partly as follows:

This conference, too, like those on «European security and collaboration», «the limitation of strategic arms» (SALT), etc., is being advertised by the imperialist-revisionist propaganda as part of the «peace offensive» and as an «important step for securing peace through talks» so as to «prevent war in Europe». But in reality these meetings and conferences are manipulated by the two imperialist superpowers and serve their aggressive and he-

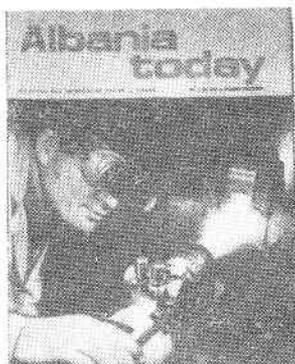
gemonistic aims. The Vienna talks on «troop reduction» are merely another link in the chain of the counterrevolutionary alliance and bargainings between U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, in order to avoid a confrontation in Europe, and preserve the status quo on this continent, so as to be able to concentrate their attention, aggressive forces and activities on other areas of the world, according to the familiar dictum of «peace in Europe, war in Asia». On the other hand this conference is another clear indication of the growing political and military collaboration between the two imperialist superpowers.

In order to camouflage these aims, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists are doing their utmost to create dangerous illusions among the European peoples about the «contributions» the superpowers are making to peace, and their efforts to avoid war in Europe. But even if some kind of troop reduction is effected, this would serve only the interests of the two imperialist superpowers. The maintenance of a colossal number of troops about one and a half million men, by the two superpowers on the European continent at the present time, constitutes a real anachronism, which thoroughly exposes them in the eyes of the public.

# Albania today

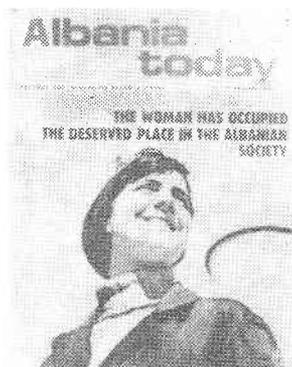
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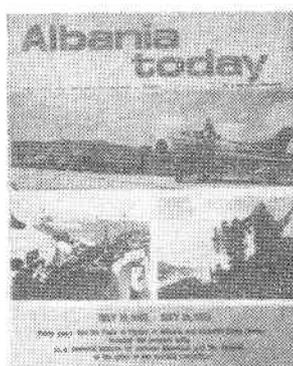
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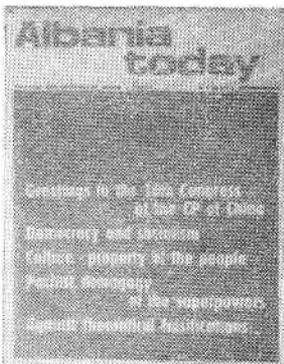
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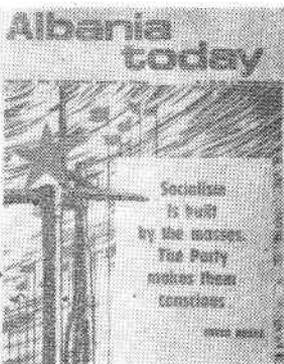
\*Zëri i Popullit\*

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The Tirana art gallery is being enriched with new paintings on the theme of the National Liberation War  
Fatmir Haxhiu: The ten councilors of Hekal.  
(This oil painting is based on an episode from the National Liberation War: during an enemy offensive the foreign invaders shot dead ten members of the national liberation council of Hekal village in south Albania in order to terrorize the population)

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