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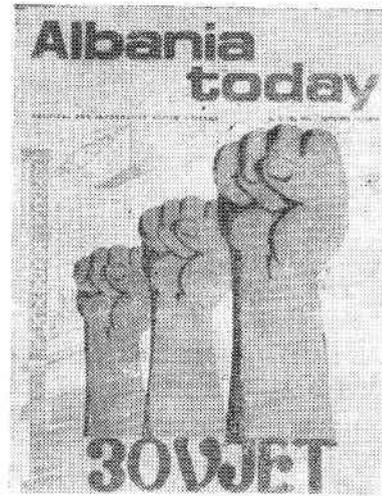


30 VJET

▶ **On the front-cover: Poster of the General Council of the Democratic Front devoted to the elections of deputies to the People's Assembly. As is known, the October 6 elections were one more expression of the broad popular unanimity to send to the supreme organ of the state power the Democratic Front candidates, the loyal sons and daughters of the people and of the revolution, the active builders of the new socialist life.**



Our young men and young women study and work, they take active part in the building of the homeland. In the photo: A snapshot of the work of a group of youths volunteering in the construction of the Fier-Ballsh railway.



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ENVER HOXHA

THE POLICY OF THE PEOPLE'S IS OPEN, A POLICY OF PROLE

***Let us keep always high the revolution
to realize our tasks, fight through to
promote the cause of the building of***

DEAR COMRADES, BROTHERS, AND SISTERS,

THANK YOU FOR HAVING ASSIGNED ME, THE SOLDIER OF THE PARTY, YOUR SON AND BROTHER, FOR DEPUTY TO THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY, AND I ASSURE YOU THAT I WILL SERVE THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE AS LONG AS I LIVE. EVERYTHING WE DO IN COMMON, WE OWE IT ALL TO THE PARTY, TO ITS CORRECT MARXIST-LENINIST LINE WHICH CONSTITUTES THE BASIS OF ALL THE VICTORIES AND THE GUARANTEE FOR THE SOCIALIST FUTURE OF OUR COUNTRY. GLORIAS AND HYMNS SHOULD BE SUNG TO NOBODY ELSE BUT TO THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE.

WITH US, THE PARTY, THE CLASS, THE MASSES AND THE LEADERSHIP MAKE UP AN INSEPARABLE WHOLE. THEREFORE, IT IS ONLY NATURAL THAT ELECTIONS IN OUR COUNTRY HAVE ALWAYS BEEN AND ARE INDICATIVE OF THE STEEL PARTY-PEOPLE UNITY, OF THE UNBREAKABLE UNITY OF THE WORKING MASSES IN THE RANKS OF THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT, OF THE COMPACTNESS OF THE WORKING CLASS, LABOURING PEASANTRY, AND OUR PEOPLE'S INTELLIGENTSIA.

THE ELECTIONS TO THIS LEGISLATURE OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY ARE TAKING PLACE ON THE THRESHOLD OF A SIGNIFICANT EVENT, THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LIBERATION OF THE HOMELAND AND THE TRIUMPH OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION. ON THIS OCCASION, THE PARTY, THE PEOPLE'S POWER, AND OUR ENTIRE PEOPLE CAN DRAW WITH PRIDE THE BALANCE-SHEET OF THE VICTORIES ACHIEVED SO FAR, AND VIEW THE FUTURE OPTIMISTICALLY. THE YEARS THAT HAVE ELAPSED HAVE ALL BEEN GLORIOUS, EACH LEAVING INDELIBLE IMPRINTS ON OUR LAND, EACH CONSTITUTING A MEMORIAL IN ITSELF.

On the marked jubilee of the 30th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland we can observe with great satisfaction that the program of the Party for the industrialization of the country, for the collectivization of agriculture, for the promotion of the cultural revolution, and for the education of the new man, has been carried out with success through all stages and links. Today from a 30 years' distance, we can view in its full glory and clarity the correct course steered by the Party from the very beginning in connection with these

questions, the correctness of the economic policy it mapped out and implemented, the vitality of the principle of self-reliance.

Within a relatively short period of time our people have set up a multi-branched economy which grows stronger continually and extends uninterruptedly through new sectors of modern production. A complex extracting and processing, heavy and light industry, an advanced and all-round developed agriculture, have been set up.

As a result of the colossal self-sacrificing work of our people in these thirty years, it has been possible to satisfy entirely or to a great extent the planned needs of the national

REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

TARIAN PRINCIPLES

***ionary spirit, mobilize all our forces
the end against alien ideologies,
socialism!***

economy and of the people for electric power, fuels and car-
barants, raw and auxiliary material, spare parts, and for vari-
ous equipment. Our needs for home-made consumer goods
are being ever better satisfied; likewise exports have assumed
greater proportions not only for raw material, but also for
finished and half processed products.

Great development has been made especially in the mining
of chromium, iron, copper and other ores. The utilization of
these treasures of our soil opens up new prospects for the
future of our economy. We boast an advanced oil industry,
with numerous and modern oil refineries. These constitute the
basis for the setting up of petrochemistry in the not-too-distant
future. Almost all local raw materials are processed at home
and transformed into material goods, into fabrics, foot-
wear, various ready-made items, alimentary products, and
so on.

Outstanding achievements have been made also in the de-
velopment of agriculture - this very important branch of the
people's economy. Its development has been channelled along
a correct line, beginning with the land reform, land im-
provement schemes, mechanization of work, the creation of the
chemical fertilizers industry, the utilization of selected seeds,
improvement of livestock breeding, and, above all, the collecti-
vization of agriculture up to the setting up of the high-type
cooperatives. This road led to the strengthening of the alliance
of the working class with the peasantry, which were bound
to each other not only spiritually, but also economically and
materially along the line of the Party, along socialist lines.
Nowadays, our cooperativist countryside is making progress

with each passing day, and the gap between city and country
is growing ever narrower.

All this development and progress has conditioned and
enabled the extension of a broad highway network which links
now all the corners of the country, down to the remotest
villages. Along with the motor and railway transport there
has also been created the sea transport which links us to nu-
merous countries of the world.

From a country in which people used to live in darkness,
today Albania is a completely electrified country. Gigantic hy-
dro-electric and thermo-electric power-plants are being added
to our country from one five-year plan period to another.
These plants which utilize the internal water resources, etc.,
now set in motion factories and mills, and tomorrow will set
in motion the big metallurgic mill which is being built in
Elbasan with the fraternal aid of the People's Republic of
China.

Culture and education, which have assumed a great unpre-
cedented impetus, have been developed on Marxist-Leninist
scientific bases. From our schools have already graduated an
entire army of cadres emerging from the midst of the people.
We boast many distinguished personalities in science, techni-
que, and arts.

The line of our Party has been and is directed towards
having the entire superstructure of the society, set up in
keeping with its economic base, serve in full the allround de-
velopment of the country towards socialism.

Of course, we cannot say that we have reached perfection
in everything, but it is a fact that all our people of arts,

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culture, and science are closely bound with the real concrete development of socialism in our country, with the Line of the Party. Not a single germ of evil experience has found breeding ground in this sound body and, whenever some evil person and enemy have endeavoured to envenom our pure atmosphere, the prevailing lofty revolutionary spirit has exposed and done short work of them.

All these are the fruit of the labour, thinking, and sweat of the people, who are the creators, guides, and consumers of all these blessings. This is what socialism is, which the people are building and enjoying for themselves.

A clear reflection of this impetuous socialist development of the country is found in Tirana, the capital of our glorious country, which is growing and being embellished with each passing day. You are all eye-witnesses of the great transformations and realizations which have been and are being made in Tirana. The workers of our capital are coming to these new elections greatly respected and holding their heads high for the results they have achieved in all walks of life. This is a source of joy for us all and a guarantee that in the future too the workers of Tirana will certainly uphold the revolutionary spirit characteristic of them and their impetus at work.

Brilliant successes have been achieved by all workers of socialist Albania. Now, we can gladly declare that the objectives set under the 5th five-year plan are being achieved in general lines. Ours is a stable economy which experiences no crisis, inflation, unemployment, etc. This is the result of the superiority of socialism, of the correct line of the Party and of the self-denying work of the people.

See what is happening in the world at present! A grave economic and financial crisis has swept over all the capitalist countries. Inflation is working havoc everywhere, and assuming threatening proportions. The treasuries of major banks are being exhausted, they are head over ears in debts, and the currency exchange speculations have multiplied extraordinarily. Similarly, unemployment is growing and prices have been incessantly rising. The cost of living has been raised, and the working masses are in a state of continual deterioration. The so-called consumer society, so much trumpeted and praised to the skies by the bourgeoisie as «the society of the future», is nothing but a rotten declining society which is revealing with each passing day the old permanent wounds of capitalism which the bourgeoisie seeks to dissimulate.

Such things will never happen with us. However, in these turbulent situations, we must go allout and exert our efforts to be ready to cope with any surprise. It is up to us to defend every day and in every sector the economic and political

stability we have created for ourselves. This calls on us to carry out every single task of the state plan in time, and to the letter, because any failure to do this breeds difficulties which weigh heavy on the economy and the life of the people.

The present situation in the world is such that the interests of our country and of its defence call for putting sacrifices and savings on the order of the day. The Party and the government will do their utmost to preserve intact the supply of the people with the necessary goods, and to keep prices from rising. However, at a time when the purchase prices of various steels and equipment we import have been considerably raised, we are faced with the imperative task of carefully maintaining the machineries, and of utilizing them to the most rational manner. Another sector in which we are to make great savings is that of fuel and electric power. The work begun in this direction should be kept up, and new ways and resources should be found in order to save as much as possible.

Our people want more sugar, meat, oil, etc. You are aware that we are as yet incapable of satisfying all needs for such items with the present availabilities of the country. Similarly, you know that the prices of these items in the world market have been greatly raised and tend to rise still higher. Therefore, great tasks emerge for our agriculture, which should provide more to fulfil these requirements, and overfulfil the planned targets. In the first place, we have to increase yields of bread grains and of all other agricultural and livestock products. In order to be able to get more meat and dairy products, we should increase the heads of cattle, sheep and goats, improve the fodder basis for the livestock, improve the state of the pasture grounds, increase the productivity of the livestock.

In the present developments we should fight ruthlessly especially against the tendency of waiting for everything to come from abroad. Therefore, we are faced with the task of putting to good use all our availabilities and resources, relying on our capacities and efforts, so as to produce at home as many equipment, spare parts, machineries as possible, and thus cut down their import. Besides this, we should take all-sided measures to increase exports, to extend their range, and to improve the quality of the goods we sell abroad. It should be clear to all that in order to import it is necessary to export.

We will have to overcome fresh difficulties and obstacles, originating from the savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement, from the financial and monetary crisis which have gripped the capitalist-revisionist world. Therefore, let us exert all our efforts and go allout with all our energies, wisdom, and

creative spirit so as to make a success of the tasks lying ahead of us.

At present the Party and the Government are working out the principal indices of the economic development of our country under the 6th five-year plan period 1976-1980. New prospects are opened before our people, greater victories and successes are in store for their future. Our economy will develop at rapid rates; it will be lifted to a new higher level. Our industry will assume a greater development; new branches and enterprises will be set up; the structure of the industrial production will be further improved by giving priority, as always, to the development of the heavy and processing industries, without neglecting the light and food industries, to the end of ensuring a better and more rational utilization of the resources and wealth of the country.

Our socialist agriculture will develop and make further progress. Its material and technical base will be still more

consolidated; up-to-date agricultural technology will be put into extensive use; its organization and management will be further strengthened and improved and, on these bases, a more rapid growth of agricultural and livestock production will be ensured.

New railways and motor-ways, schools and hospitals, centres of culture and dwelling houses will embellish our towns and villages. The achievements of science and technology will be extensively introduced in to all the branches of the economy and culture. The socialist relations will be incessantly improved towards perfection; the material and cultural wellbeing of the working masses of the town and countryside will be further raised; the gap between town and countryside, between the lowland and highland areas, will tend to grow more narrow. The life of our people will be more prosperous and more cultured. The defence of the Homeland and of the victories achieved so far will be further consolidated.

Our system of socialist democracy was born from the people's revolution and is strongly based on the precepts of Marxism-Leninism

Comrades,

Our system of socialist democracy, which comprises also elections to the supreme organ of the state power, has been born from the people's revolution, and rests strongly on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. It has grown and developed through a severe, internal and external class struggle, and has been tempered and raised towards perfection thanks to the great practice of our socialist construction.

Only the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat enable the masses to have a share in the direction of social life, to have their say regarding the internal and external policy of the state, to really enjoy democratic freedoms and rights.

Democracy is spoken of also in bourgeois and revisionist countries. Their theoreticians and propagandists make a great noise, attributing it almost «celestial» merits, presenting it as the acme and supreme form of the social organization. But, as Marxism-Leninism teaches us, democracy has had and will always have a class character. The system of bourgeois democracy and its entire apparatus are employed by the capitalist class to rule over the working people, they exist to preserve the exploitation by and the egoistic interests of this class.

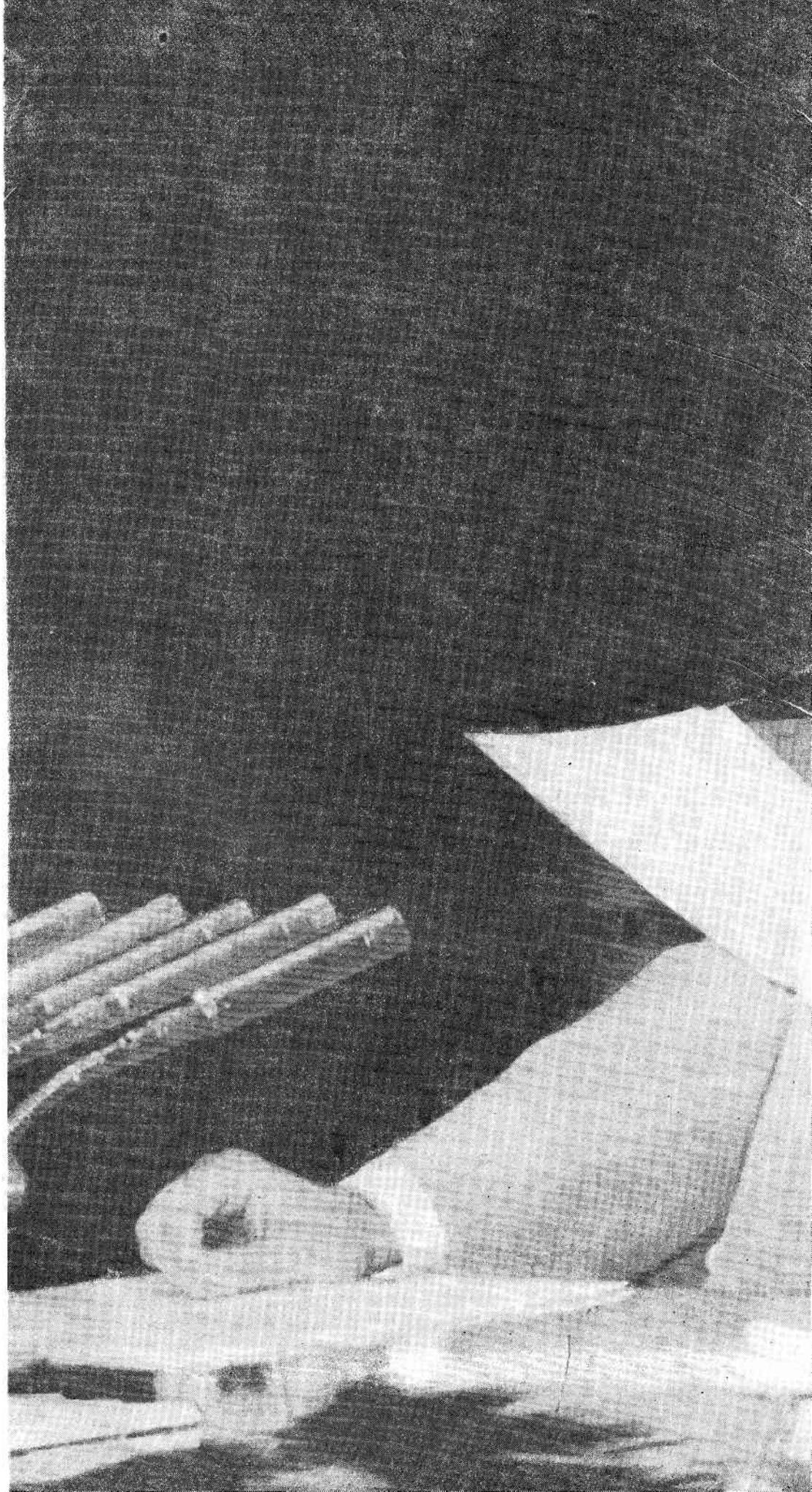
Chile is a quite fresh example. The bourgeoisie of this country was not in the least refrained by the morale of bourgeois democracy and by its traditions to bring fascism to power when it saw that its class positions were being endangered. It crushed with iron and fire not only the workers

and peasants, and did short work of all those who believed in the «unshakable foundations» of bourgeois democracy.

Another clear example of the falsity of bourgeois democracy and of that internal degeneration which the bourgeoisie seeks to dissimulate behind misleading and demagogic slogans, is also the so-called Watergate scandal in the United States of America. The revelation of the manipulations on the part of various groups in power regarding the presidential elections, the interference of powerful financial groups, the corruption of the state apparatus, and so on, indicated also that the so-called American democracy is rotten from head to toe. It is a gilt facade deliberately built to hide the real aspect of a savage dictatorship of the capitalist class, to impede the workers from seeing and realizing their real situation.

The revisionists also speak of democracy, and a «socialist» one at that. But what democracy is it when the workers and peasants are oppressed and exploited by the bureaucratic caste in power, when tanks are ordered out against the workers as in the case of Poland, or when the government and the Parliament are disbanded and reformed by the foreign invader as in the case of Czechoslovakia, when nations and nationalities in the Soviet Union are suffocating under the great Russian chauvinism.

Our system of socialist democracy is quite different from that of the bourgeois countries. With us, the deputy is not a professional politician, imposed upon the masses, and beyond the reach of their influence. Our representative to the People's Assembly fills at the same time the functions of the deputy and works directly in production, in his office, or in





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some other sector of social activity. He takes part not only in drafting and passing bills but also in putting them concretely into practice. Therefore, he is situated in objective material and spiritual conditions to carry over to the Assembly the opinions and wishes of the masses, the voice of the people, as well as in conditions to carry to the masses, and to work for the fulfilment of, the will of the people which is expressed in the activity of the People's Assembly. The deputy in our country enjoys no material privilege. Though, according to the Constitution, he cannot be arrested, or prosecuted without the consent of the People's Assembly or its Presidium. People are entitled to revoke him at any moment if he fails to live up to the confidence placed on him.

In our country, not only the deputies but also all cadres and functionaries, of whatever rank, are under the daily control of the masses, under their severe and just supervision. This is neither an expression of a situation of dread and mistrust, nor a formal practice. Cadres are loyal sons of the people, the blood of their blood, therefore their interests are not opposed. In line with the instructions of the Party, they exert all their efforts to listen attentively to the voice of the masses and to see to the prompt and correct application of their just suggestions and proposals. They fight against arrogance and overbearing, as well as against servility and conformism. However, the masses call them to give regular account of their activity, so that those steel links binding the cadres with the masses are maintained strong, the popular spirit in them is never extinguished, their pulse beats at the same rhythm as that of the people, their mind works along the same lines as that of the people.

The Party has educated and educates the masses in the spirit that the cadres, functionaries, or any person of whatever responsibility, should be highly thought of and respected as long as they work and act in keeping with the line and the directives of the Party, the laws of the state and the norms of socialist ethics. The Party was the first to set the example so that no one should lack courage to criticize anyone who deviates from the correct line of the Party and of our people.

We have succeeded in coping with various hostile pressures and in overcoming the innumerable difficulties raised on our road, because we have waged the class struggle in an uninterrupted, principled and consistent manner in all fields, both against hostile activities and against alien manifestations, whether in the society, in the ranks of the Party, or in the conscience of people. But the Party instructs us to hold always in view and never forget the great Marxist-Leninist teaching that the class struggle, as a motor of history, is a great driving power which leads onward the work for the

construction of socialism, guarantees the independence of the Homeland, safeguards the wellbeing of the people. It is a powerful weapon which purges us from evil, tempers us and makes us revolutionaries, which safeguards the Party, the state and the whole country from degeneration and the re-establishment of capitalism. In the present conditions the development of class struggle assumes special importance and significance, for it is the surest shield to beat back the ideological aggression of the enemies, to stamp out all endeavours for the revival of alien ideological leftovers, and to deactivate the impact of the confounding bourgeois-revisionist propaganda.

The principal objective of the activity of our enemies has been and is the disruption of the unity of the ranks of the Party, the wrecking of the unerring leadership of our people, the disruption of the unity and compactness of the people which constitutes that granite rock against which all sinister endeavours of various enemies have been smashed to pieces.

Their aims have failed and will fail ignominiously because the unity of the Party, people, and people's power in Albania is erected on unshakable groundwork. On the basis of this unity rest our major revolutionary transformations: the socialist ownership on the means of production, the common fundamental interests of all workers, the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, the proletarian ideology which is irreconcilable with everything alien to our socialist order.

In the future too, we should counter the numerous pressures of the enemies, encirclement and blockades, their diabolic propaganda, with our monolithic unity, the unity of the entire people around the Party. Just as we have done so far, we shall cope with difficulties by tempering ourselves politically and ideologically, promoting our economy uninterruptedly, consolidating and steeling the defence of the country, conserving and cultivating our socialist national culture.

The construction of socialism in Albania, which is being carried on under the conditions of imperialist-revisionist encirclement, has always been viewed by the Party in close relationship with the strengthening and invigoration of the defence of the Homeland. Loyal and abiding to the letter to its Marxist-Leninist line, it has educated its members, the working masses, the entire people and army, in the spirit that they consider the defence of the Homeland as a fundamental, all-time, and continuous duty. It has spared nothing for the consolidation of the defence potential of the country, for the ever better training of the army and of the entire people of soldiers. Our army and people are equipped with up-to-date means, they are trained and continue to be trained in handling them in any situation and to the highest efficiency.

The imperialist and social-imperialist enemies endeavour to put us to fright with their numerous and powerful weapons. But real strength does not lie either in the number of soldiers or in the amount or kind of weapons. History has proved the invincibility of countries and peoples, however small in numbers and inferior in armaments, who fight for a just cause and who are determined to defend it to the end. There is no stronger army than an armed and militarily trained nation, and there is no such powerful weapon that can have the better of the people's warfare, in which all aggressors are burned and done with.

Our Party and our people have never been intimidated by threats, just as they have never been waylaid by flatteries

and pacifist demagogies. The enemy will never catch our people unawares. They are prepared in an all-sided way, politically and militarily, economically and organizationally, to cope with any surprise and to deal telling blows to everyone who would dare touch in the slightest the sacred borders of our Homeland, the achievements of revolution and socialism.

The Party, people and army in our country constitute an indivisible whole. Our army is strong and invincible, because it is bound like flesh to bone with the Party and the people, because it defends and carries out faithfully the line of the Party, because it is always ready to make the supreme sacrifice for the cause of the Party, people, and Homeland.

The People's Republic of Albania does not lower its flag before blackmail and fear nor before the ruble and the dollar

Comrades,

The foreign policy of the People's Republic of Albania is the policy of a socialist country where the proletarian dictatorship is in power, and which is led by the Party of Labour which inspires itself from and remains loyal to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

The People's Republic of Albania maintains its own opinions on different matters and implements its constructive policy in an open way, in the light of the sun. It does not feel itself unconcerned by any problem and does not allow anyone to shut its mouth. Any state, any nation has a right to express its opinion freely, to oppose the opinion of others it does not agree with, just as the others have the same right to oppose the views they do not approve of. It is utterly erroneous to sit with crossed arms and keep mum when the others act to the detriment of people and nations, or to nod approval to such actions, as some people would like us to do, pretending that it is sheer arrogance for small nations to try to have their say, to defend their or their friends' rights and come out with their opinions before the "big ones". False modesty and the slavish opportunist spirit are alien to the policy of the Albanian state and proletarian dictatorship.

The two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are aggressive imperialist powers. They are dividing the world into spheres of influence and proceeding to the division and occupation of world markets. Their ultimate aim is to dominate over the whole world, to rule over all nations and states. Hence, their irreconcilable contradictions which may lead them to another world war. Their hegemonism, their reckless arms race do not take place in a quiet atmosphere. but through great upheavals that our world is seething with.

The two superpowers face today a great economic, cultural and spiritual crisis. Their regimes and ideologies are ridden by corruption. No one holds them in trust any longer, but by means of demagoguery they impose themselves on the other capitalists who have got desperately entangled in the snares, of

the two imperialist superpowers and who, but for a general uprising of the people, will never be able to shake off their yoke. Quite understandably, the two imperialist superpowers and those caught in their snares try to make the people of their countries pay for the terrible consequences of those crises. Here lie the roots of the conflicts among states and between rulers and peoples. But the people who have to put up with all sufferings cannot expect salvation from the others. It is only through their own efforts that they can save themselves, for the capitalist-revisionist rulers, when it comes to defend themselves against the people's revolution, are always at one with each other.

When they see that they have lost their game, the capitalists throw their masks into the gutter and establish their fascist dictatorship. That is what some states are doing now, whereas some others have done it long ago. There is plenty of slogans and demagogical tricks, but one must judge people according to their deeds, not by appearance.

The two superpowers have armed themselves up to their teeth while trying through their propaganda, to convince the others into disarmament. On the other hand, they have become the biggest arms dealers. This seems sort of contradictory, but it is not. True, they sell weapons to others, but they keep modern weapons for themselves, always preserving due proportions so as not to affect their supremacy. The more so as they give weapons only to those whom they trust and consider as their clients. They use arms deliveries, on the one hand, to suck the blood and plunder the wealth of the other nations, posing as their friends so as to intrude themselves into and rule over those countries, while, on the other, inciting them to fight against their neighbours.

The United States and the Soviet Union stir up quarrels everywhere, resuscitate centuries-old feuds, try to relax all possible resistance to their plots. In the meanwhile they stir up conflicts to their own interest over which they take this or that side, beating their chests and swearing themselves hoarse to make themselves more credible, demanding with

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great noise the convening of the Security Council until eventually everything ends up like a soap bubble.

«Peace» was allegedly restored in Vietnam, but war still goes on in that country. The Vietnam question was supposed solved, when war flared up in the Middle East. There, too, peace is claimed to be reestablished, but war continues in many other ways! The Arab-Israeli war was allegedly ended, only for the Cyprus question to flare up. This process we mentioned above goes on further. Who arouses all these conflicts? The two imperialist superpowers, the Soviets and Americans, which play with the fate of the peoples of the world.

The Soviet Union and the United States of America go into outer space and launch innumerable earth satellites. There are people and states who proclaim that those inventions «belong to mankind, are made for the good of mankind». In themselves, they are inventions of colossal importance, but one cannot help asking: «In whose hands are they? Who enjoys them and to what purposes does he use them? Are they employed for the good of mankind, or as a means for the superpowers to spy on the peoples and states? Is the danger of aggressive wars ever being diminished? Not in the least! Is the state of hunger and misery in the world being wiped out? On the contrary, it is becoming worse. Is the living of the poor being improved or the power of the rich liquidated? The contrary is happening. To sing praises to the «successes of mankind» means to become the mouthpiece of the capitalist and revisionist superpowers.

Where does the security of the peoples of Europe or of the peoples of the world lie? Does it lie in the public or mysterious travels of a certain Kissinger, of a certain Gromiko, or in the tricks of a certain Brezhnev who is leading the Soviet and other peoples white, in the travels of a certain Nixon who drowned the world in blood and guided the American mafia to the bugging and cover-up, a most shameful scandal which shook the whole of America? And the future of the world should be entrusted to this kind of people! A fine future, indeed!

Of course, those who have placed their trust in those tragic illusionists are free to attend the meetings in Vienna, Helsinki and anywhere they like. Let them have their powwows. But, on our part, we too are free not to go to those meetings, and we will not go there. And it is not only we, but also the people who are absent at those meetings. This is significant for us. But someone will say: «What do the Albanians propose, what shall we do?» The Albanians state everyday their views, all those who wished to listen to them have a clear idea of them. The Albanians say: «Poisoned food should not be eaten, for it would spell death, it should be

rejected and thrown away». There are people who say: «How should we treat the Americans and the Soviets? They are strong. Should we leave them outside the door?» The Albanians say: «We should not only leave them outside, but also isolate them and put 'the straight jacket' on them.» «This is a pious wish», they say, «but reality looks different». However, we Albanians say that this wish should be turned into reality. If you submit to the Soviet-American dictate, then you cannot escape their yoke. We Albanians admit neither their dictate nor their yoke. We are determined to fight on till victory.

When listening to us some people grin or cackel and say: «How arrogant these Albanians are! They pretend to set the world right!» But who are those who speak in this way? They are the sort of people who wish to rule over the world and the peoples, they do not want the peoples to raise their voice against them, they are wont to look down on the people and order them around with bullets and whips. And it is they who pose as the most unpretentious people on earth!

We tell them that we are not arrogant but the soldiers of that big and powerful army which carries out the revolution, which strikes terror into their hearts and which eventually will spell their death! This is not a revolution of yes-men and slaves, of people bending their backs and wallowing in the mud, but a powerful strike, the continuation of the Great October Revolution, it is the liberation struggle of the peoples. They call all this «pretention and arrogance», they hate it, for it saps the foundations and demolishes the building they have set up on the corpses of people.

In the grip of internal contradictions and grave allround crises, under the relentless blows of the forces of revolution, of national liberation, of democracy and social progress, the capitalist-revisionist world is staggering towards its ever greater degeneration and decomposition.

The bourgeoisie tries to stop the present crises and to save itself from catastrophe by throwing the burden on to the working class and masses, and preserve its profits intact. This line is bound to bring about the revolt of the proletariat and of all those oppressed and exploited by the capital.

The working masses, their more conscious section, will most certainly rise to their feet to defend their vital interests, and turn this critical situation to the advantage of furthering the cause of the revolution.

Revolution, the struggle for political and economic independence make up a non-stop historical process. The present conditions of the social development in the world urge them ahead with ever greater force and make them indispensable. This also constitutes a guarantee for their triumph.

The Albanian people and all the peoples of the world have an ardent love for and a great confidence in Mao Tse tung's socialist China

The Albanian people and all the peoples of the world nurture an ardent love and place deep trust in great socialist China, in her glorious Party and in Mao Tsetung, the great and beloved leader not only of the Chinese people and communists, but also the dear and respected leader of all the peoples and communists of the world. This infuriates modern revisionism which, with the Moscow renegades at its head, and in collusion with US. imperialism, is waging a fierce and diabolical struggle to oppose the peoples and China. This comes to us as no surprise; this is in conformity with their logic. The greatest enemy of US. imperialism and of Soviet social-imperialism are the peoples of the world, with great Mao Tsetung's China at the head. The struggle is being waged between freedom and socialism, on the one hand, and slavery and aggressive imperialism of the two superpowers, on the other. All the peoples of the world have pinned their hopes of liberation, independence and wellbeing, on their efforts and on Mao's China. They are not mistaken, and their conviction is not based on propaganda, but on a great reality, which shines like the light of the sun, on the construction of socialism in China, which is being carried on in a correct way, according to the doctrine of Marx and Lenin and the teachings of Mao Tsetung; it is based on the determined political stand of the People's Republic of China in the international arena, on the concrete moral, political, and economic help it gives the peoples of the world.

This reality wrecks and exposes the bandit-like and fascist propaganda of Moscow and Washington. The peoples of the world who feel and suffer on their back the oppression of the two superpowers, see and feel that Mao Tsetung, the great Marxist-Leninist, is on their side, they see socialist China stands them in good stead with sincerity and fraternal love. The unity with People's China is a great achievement for the cause of mankind. Old and young should feel and realize that socialism, revolution, the liberation of the peoples make headway because great socialist China marches unswervingly along this road. This is to the liking neither of the Soviet and American imperialists nor of world reaction. They have declared war on us, but we are stronger than them and will defeat them. The wheel of the revolution cannot turn backwards.

In these days the People's Republic of China celebrated the 25th anniversary of its founding. It has come to this glorious jubilee with a series of colossal achievements in all fields Great China, relying on its own efforts, has made continual progress towards the development of socialist economy, and today has set up a modern industry, and advanced socialist agriculture, and is forging ahead with each passing day towards ever higher peaks. This unprecedented progress ever recorded in the life of the Chinese people has not been achieved without overcoming innumerable difficulties and obstacles. To achieve these successes, the fraternal Chinese people have had to make heroic efforts and wage a severe class struggle at home

and in the international arena. An unparalleled revolutionary situation has been created in the People's Republic of China following the Great Cultural Proletarian Revolution initiated and led by comrade Mao Tsetung in person. In the course of this revolution, the hundred millionstrong masses exposed and turned to dust the traitorous band of Liu Shao Chi, they did short work of the counterrevolutionary, traitor, careerist, and agent of the Soviet revisionists Lin Piao. They defended the victories of the revolution, consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat, and have now gone down to the implementation of the historic decisions of the 10th Congress of their Party and the non-stop development of the struggle against the reactionary ideas of Confucius and Lin Piao. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and Chairman Mao Tsetung, people's China has been transformed into a powerful socialist state, with a great economic and military potential and a high international prestige and authority. Our people and Party wholeheartedly greet these brilliant achievements, and wish to see them increase and multiply for the good of the fraternal Chinese people and the revolution in the world.

The People's Republic of Albania, our people, our Party of Labour are loyal friends, close friends, are comrades, faithful allies of the People's Republic of China, of the fraternal Chinese people and of the glorious Communist Party of Mao Tsetung's China. We are united by our common ideals, we are united forever by Marxism-Leninism, we are united by the common road of the socialist construction, we are united by the struggle against the common enemy, by the common tasks in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

Our socialist collaboration is being developed as it should be between good comrades, with a sincerity and understanding of Marxist-Leninists. We mutually help one another in all fields, by all manner of means. This help and collaboration bears good fruit for our people and our country. China helps unsparingly and disinterestedly develop our industry, intensify our socialist agriculture, all-round strengthen our country and raise the wellbeing of our people. Everyday we are witnessing this reality at our hydro-electric and thermo-electric power-stations, our factories and workshops, in the tractors, and railways, we see it in the harmonious and mutually beneficial development of our cultural, commercial and other exchanges. The situation in our country is such as every one, young and old, hold dear in their hearts the Chinese people and the beloved chairman Mao. The same can also be said of China: everywhere you go, you have only to tell people that you are Albanian, and you will find all hearts and doors open, will feel everywhere their warm love for the Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania. We are charged with the great and vital task of preserving and tempering this friendship more and more with each passing day on the Marxist-Leninist road.

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The Soviet revisionists see with a jaundiced eye our unbreakable friendship with China. They resort to every means to harm it, but they will never be able to attain their goal. The Moscow renegades keep trumpeting in their broadcasts that we allegedly are China's satellites, that we depend on her, that the Albanian people are detached from their leaders, etc. This is the stand taken by all and every imperialist. The Albanian people tell the Moscow renegades: «However you keep barking at the moon, eagles are not afraid of your barkings. The Albanian people hate you, and their hatred is an important factor of strength for the construction of socialism and an anvil on which the Albanian-Chinese friendship is forged.»

The People's Republic of Albania pursues a foreign policy in defence of the interests of our country in the international arena, defends and struggles together with the socialist and progressive democratic countries for freedom, progress and genuine democracy all over the world, for the freedom of workers and intellectuals.

The People's Republic of Albania opposes U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, all other imperialists and reactionaries in the world who are responsible for the miseries of mankind, for the wars of plunder and oppression, for the quarrels and dissensions, diversions and plots hatched up all over the world, for famine and poverty on a world scale. Socialist Albania makes its modest contribution to this struggle and these relentless efforts of mankind, a modest help, true, but rendered openly, undauntedly and fearing nobody. And these «nobodies» may be great and powerful, but the strength of the policy of our People's Republic consists in the fact that it

defends its just cause, the sacred and dear cause of all the peoples. You should know how to seek, this cause how to find it, how to make it your own and to defend it with all your forces. But to defend it with all your forces means, first of all, to accept all sacrifices. The People's Republic of Albania has chosen this road thanks to its glorious leadership, the Party of Labour, and no storm was and will ever be able to make it swerve from this road.

The policy of the Party of Labour and of the People's Republic of Albania is an open and above board policy, it states its truth to all and everybody's, face however harsh and unpalatable it may be to someone. Our policy complies with the interest of the peoples, not with those of the cliques and ideologies that oppress the peoples. It seeks friendship with the peoples, not with their oppressors. It is not a conjunctural policy, but a principled proletarian policy. It does not stem from behind-the-scenes secret diplomacy, from mysterious talks, from putting its own and other countries' interests up for auction.

The policy of our country is not the policy of those states with a hundred flags in their pockets. Our People's Republic does not lower its flag either before blackmail and terror, or before the rouble and dollar. Should we follow this just, principled and bold policy or go down on our knees, lick the boots of the Americans and Soviets, become a state-prostitute? It is the first course that we must follow while mercilessly exposing the second.

Such is the policy of our Party and government. Therefore, hundreds and hundreds of millions are at one with us, and Albania stands on the side of those hundreds and hundreds of millions in close unity of thought and action.

US imperialism and Russian imperialism are leading the world to another world war, more terrible than all the others

We, the people of the People's Republic of Albania, of a small country in the Balkans which has suffered much at the hands of the barbarous imperialist occupiers through the centuries and which has won its freedom and everything it enjoys today arms in hand, call on all common people of the world: «Look out! U.S. imperialism and Russian imperialism are leading the world into another world war, more terrible than the two previous world wars! These two superpowers are respon-

sible of the present great crises, they are vying with one another for world hegemony, they are fighting to occupy markets, that is, to oppress and enslave peoples. It is precisely the two superpowers that arm anti-popular cliques and governments to use them as watchdogs and their people as cannon fodder for the inevitable shambles they are preparing, if they are given a free hand».

See what is happening in the world! The peoples of the

Soviet Union are being oppressed and nursed in an aggressive nationalist spirit, the peoples of the pseudo-socialist countries of Europe also are being oppressed and their ruling cliques submit the interests of their peoples to those of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty. The Kremlin oppresses and threatens them: «Either you act the way I want and order you, or I will invade and suppress you as I have done with Czechoslovakia». This was the way of Hitler; he began with Austria, then went on to Czechoslovakia and the other countries. It was in the same way that Soviet social-imperialism began, and it is in the same way that it will end. Like Hasha began ended, in the same way have begun and will end Husak, Beck-Gierek, Zhivkov-Filov and others.

U.S. imperialism is crushing the peoples under its «bloody heel». It has trodden down on its «allies» trying by every manner of means to keep them under the constant menace of the economic crisis, the atomic bomb, the Soviet threat, intrigues and diversion. It tries to preserve the Atlantic alliance by stirring up rivalries in its midst, always in its favour, and creating a climate of uncertainty in the countries and governments of its so-called allies.

The United States attack Vietnam and Cambodia. In complete solidarity with one another the Americans and Soviets intervene in Pakistan and Afghanistan, provoke wars in the Middle East, manipulated the Chilean and Cyprus tragedy.

Everyone waits in anguish. Where will they strike next? The world is now full of noise and rumours spread by agents provocateurs, sold-out scribblers, parlour and club diplomats, all of them people in the service of the two superpowers who try to fish in troubled waters through blackmail and intimidation: «Tomorrow, they say, it will be Yugoslavia's turn! What will happen after Tito? Yugoslavia will be annexed either to the Soviet or the American sphere of influence; Rumania will be gobbled up by the Soviets; Albania will not go unscathed. Which side will Greece take now that it withdrew from NATO?» etc. etc.

All these rumours express the wishes and plans of the two superpowers, they are not only a psychological campaign to demoralize the people of those countries, but also a real military preparation to weaken their resistance and drown them afterwards in blood.

The psychosis of fear and war is fostered by the two superpowers. This psychosis of threat is used to proclaim the two umbrellas, one Soviet the other American, as the sole way of salvation. According to them, there is no other choice, if you want to be saved. «Don't think with your head, your freedom and fate are dependent on these two monsters». Over all this psychosis of blackmail, intimidation and terror hovers a thick smoke of meetings, contacts, talks, bilateral and multilateral commissions. Everything is put under discussion, but no question is solved, or, when allegedly settled, nothing is certain. Even the implicit bourgeois «moral obligations» of the diplomatic acts of former times have today been affected by a horrible corruption and rottenness. The policy of the superpowers and their allies is ridden by degeneration, falsity, deceit.

Should the peoples sit idle in face of the catastrophe these criminal bands are preparing for mankind? Certainly not!

What should be done, then? We say that we must fight. But how should this fight be waged? Through messages, telegrams of congratulation to those who try to dig our grave? Should we publicly praise the Soviet revisionists who resort to all means to bury and gobble us up, should we throw flowers to the U.S. imperialist butchers, seek and accept enslaving loans from the two superpowers, and afterwards pretend to fight against them? No, there is no one to be taken in by such deceit, such demagoguery! In order to conduct a just and realistic policy towards your country and the other countries you should rid yourself of the complexes the two imperialist superpowers and their agents have created and continue to create.

These powers of darkness accuse us Albanians of having isolated ourselves. But who we isolate ourselves from, and what is the meaning they attach to our isolation? And then, what do they advise us to do? They counsel us not to isolate ourselves from the imperialists and revisionists, to accept their loans, and to make partners in our country of those who used to oppress our people and suck their blood. They advise us to turn our country into an inn with doors flung wide open to pigs and sows, to people with pants on or without pants at all, to the hirsute and long-haired hippies to supplant with their wild orgies the beautiful dances of our people. They try to corrupt our people, poke their spy's noses into our affairs, organize putches and plots, occupy the strategic spots of the country, establish military bases, turn our country into a colony of the foreigners and our people into slaves. If you do not accept all this, they say, then you will have isolated yourselves from «this magnificent world, this astonishing civilization». If you make such concessions to those monsters, they will allow you even to insult them, call yourselves communists, even pose as adherents of Marx, Lenin and Mao Tsetung. But all this is bluff, for they have gripped you by the throat and you cannot budge: you have become their slave, their agent, have sold out your country and people.

This is the sort of slaves they want us to become, for otherwise we would not be called «civilized», would not be regarded «fashionable». We reject with contempt, this mode of living and thinking, and there should be no hope that we would act differently. A sure guarantee to that are our glorious people and the heroic Party of Labour of Albania, both acting in absolute unity of thought and action.

Rascals, enemies, agents of the foreigners have emerged now and then with the aim of impeding the construction of socialism, of sabotaging the brilliant and steel-like defense of our country, but they have been exposed and eliminated as soon as they have raised the tips of their ears. The class struggle that is being so successfully, determinedly and vigilantly carried on by our Party and people uncovers and mercilessly roots this rottenness out of our society.

When the iron broom sweeps our ranks clean of them, the foreign and internal enemies prick their rears, spread such rumours as: «They are down and out, they are split and gnawed at by the worm of dissension», etc. But what does our Party and people say? «Let us do short work of them, for it is in this way that we'll wax a hundred thousand times stronger!» The rumours spread by the enemy are but wailings

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of their defeat. Our people and Party are neither astonished, puzzled, nor frightened by such rumours, for they have become used to them. Our people and Government know only too well those who spit poison when the enemy has been dealt smashing blows, they know also how to administer to such individuals the appropriate remedy. And this goes a long way to-

wards strengthening our situation, because the diabolical plots of the enemy, both external and internal, are failing, and those who carry them out are being caught red-handed. It is here that the strength of the proletarian dictatorship lies, the strength of our socialist country, the power of the Marxist-Leninist ideas of our Party.

Socialist Albania is not isolated. It has powerful friends, an honoured name and a high prestige in the world

The revisionist Kremlin and its stooges are crying themselves hoarse, saying: «We want to establish links, diplomatic relations, we want friendship with the Albanian people, with a people we love so much». The wolves in lamb's skin swear to god that they wish to hug us. But their hug is meant to stifle us. They want to kiss us thrice, according to the usage of the Russian Church, to send us to Christ in heaven. But we tell these enemies of socialism and Leninism, these avowed enemies of our people and of the Party of Labour of Albania, that we will never reconcile with them, will never make friends with them, we will always be their enemies! And they should not think that this is the opinion of some Albanian leaders who today are alive but will be dead tomorrow. No! The Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania will never die! We are their soldiers, there are millions of us with a sole thought, with a common unshaken stand. Neither your cannons, nor your rockets nor your planes, nor your atomic bomb will make us change our stand either today or tomorrow.

Our Party and people are not deceived by the demagoguery of Radio Moscow which every night weeps nostalgic crocodile tears over the old Albanian-Soviet friendship. What we cherish is our friendship at the time of great Stalin. We have never hidden and will never hide that friendship, but it was violated precisely by those who betrayed the cause of Marxism-Leninism, of Bolshevism, who betrayed the ideas of Lenin and Stalin, who betrayed proletarian internationalism and the friendship with the Albanian people. The Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people will never be at peace with them, but at war, and we are prepared to win this war without fail, if not today, tomorrow.

They should realize yet another thing, and if I say so I speak on behalf of the Albanian people and of the Party of Labour of Albania. We are intimidated neither by them nor by their weapons. We tell the Kremlin traitors and their

stooges that we know how to differentiate between the Soviet people and the revisionist leaders but we will not differentiate between those leaders and their running dogs. To our opinion all traitors are in the same boat. They will not be able to treat socialist Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania the way they treated Prague and the party of Dubcek.

With the megalomania and the overbearing of a great fascist state the Kremlin rulers, knitting their histrionic bushy brows, may say: «Where do those lilliputs find the force to oppose the Soviet Union?» Do you want our answer? Take up Marx, Engels and Lenin (for you have discarded Stalin), read them aright for a minute (for you read them the wrong way round), and there you will find where our strength lies. Do you agree, dear electors, with the answer we give those treacherous enemies?

The Soviet revisionists, just like in Khrushchev's life time, now too with Brezhnev, pursue the same ends, adopt the same tactics, and maintain the same propaganda position. In pursuit of the Khrushchevite traitorous line, the revisionist CPSU is now organizing a meeting of the revisionist parties of Europe with the end of imposing on them its own views, of holding them in check, and of showing that allegedly it is not isolated, that it is the «centre of world communism». The other parties which will attend this meeting, are bound to prove that they are on the road of treason, they will become complices of the malevolent and counterrevolutionary activity of the Soviet revisionist leaders. The Party of Labour of Albania condemns with severity such a plotters' meeting; however this meeting will be a success so far as the peoples and communists in the world will have occasion to see once again the true face of these parties which are meeting to plot.

The Kremlin chiefs and their running-dogs pretend that they stand for Marxism-Leninism, that their countries stand for socialism. Whoever joins their course receives the commu-

nion as such, whoever is against them, far from being Marxist-Leninist, is labelled as linked with, sold out, and in the service of U.S. imperialism. In other words, they say: «Either with us, or with them». But to be both against US. imperialism and against Soviet social-imperialism is unacceptable for them.

Khrushchev accused us Albanians of having, sold (ourselves) to imperialism. But who was sold, we or he? Seeing that we did not subdue to him, Brezhnev accuses us of playing in the hands of the Americans, whereas he himself and his followers are friends and close collaborators of the Americans, they are kissing-and sleeping-partners of the Americans, whereas we, who look daggers with them, are being accused by them. Nobody believes these lies of traitors, since honest and wise people are able to see through the policy and the attitude of our People's Republic and of the Party of Labour of Albania, to see the implementation and development of this policy. We rely on these people and we thank them for their correct assessment of our policy. These constitute the overwhelming majority, whether communists and non-communists, people holding different political opinions, among whom also those who may differ with our course.

But there are also some who believe the calumnies of the Kremlin imperialist renegades. What can we do? Such people are bound to exist. Hitler too had such people, both inside and outside Germany. Through demagoguery and terror he regimented the German people. You can see this happening today in the Soviet Union.

But, is Albania an isolated country as our enemies are trumpeting? Not in the least! Socialist Albania is known throughout the world, it is visited by numerous people, by friends from all countries. We maintain diplomatic, trade, cultural relations with 65 countries. The frank and loyal policy of the People's Republic of Albania towards its friends and good wishers is respected, just as our people's arts and culture are respected, just as our country's all-round achievements are justly and positively assessed.

Are we ever isolated because we do not maintain diplomatic relations with the United States of America? It is true that neither Truman, Nixon, nor Ford have spoken in the U.S. Senate about establishing diplomatic relations with Albania or about their «ardent love» for Albania, as the Moscow hypocrites are doing. But now and again the State Department flies a test «balloon» and waits for an answer. We are responding everyday to US imperialism.

Following the Second World War, when we fought together against Hitler, Albania expressed its wish to establish diplomatic relations with the United States of America. But they

did not condescend to establish relations with a government born in the mountains, they wanted a parlour and coca-cola government to be established in Albania. However, the Albanian people did not bother for this, they shared their place under the sun and prospered, no matter whether the United States of America agreed with this.

They refused then to establish diplomatic relations with us, it is us today who refuse to establish such relation with them.

Many people may say that the United States of America don't care a farthing if we do not want to establish diplomatic relations with them. It is true. But it is also true to the same degree that we also do not care a farthing for that.

The British Government, too, which maintains towards us the same stand as the US government, fly now and then a «balloon» for diplomatic relations, but we say to them: before you fly such balloons, you should release the gold which you robbed the Albanian of, and return it together with its interests to Albania. We address these words also to the Bonn government which carries on a revanchist policy and which owes Albania billions of marks for war reparations.

Perhaps, they are waiting us to bow to them and kneel down to their governments that have been the cause of so many misfortunes, so many injustices to us? No, never! They are wrong, together with all those accusing us of being obstinate.

We sympathise with the American, British and German labouring people, but not with those treading on peoples' rights, freedom and sovereignty. We fight against those governments and people who harbour enslaving ideas. We have many friends and goodwishers in France, Belgium, in the Nordic and Scandinavian countries and in many other countries throughout the world. We respect them and they respect us, despite differences of regime and ideology.

We respect those peoples and governments that do not kneel to the dictates and wishes of the two superpowers, and make an independent and sovereign policy. The well-wishers of the People's Republic of Albania respect our policy, in spite of the fact that they may not agree with us in all matters, but they understand that, just as they themselves have a right to conduct their own policy, we also have the same right to conduct ours. Distinguished persons had been born in the past from the bosom of these peoples; they have spoken and written with sympathy about the Albanian people. Now in the present time also, workers, professors, physicians, philosophers, diplomats and journalists speak and write with sympathy about our small and brave valiant people, who have never harmed anybody.

We pursue the policy of good neighbourhood and support towards all the peoples struggling for their freedom and national independence

We are friends with the Yugoslav and Greek neighbouring peoples. The imperialist powers and their espionage agencies have made all preparations to undermine us and set us at

loggerheads against each other. But we the Balkan peoples have drawn lessons from these things and, in face of the common danger, even if we may not agree with each other in

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many respects, we have found and we may find a common language. Historical facts cannot be forgotten. After attacking the one the same enemy has afterwards attacked also the other. The same enemy have supported the one the other to make the third one weaker. Our people's enemies and the cliques sold out to them held the fuse of the powder barrel.

The foreign enemy has never succeeded in subduing the Albanian, Yugoslav and Greek peoples. These peoples have no slavish spirit, and they have shown this continually during their centuries-long history. The Albanians, the Yugoslavs and the Greeks are the kind of people who make a point of keeping their pistol at the ready in case the Americans, the Soviets or any other tries to deprive them of their freedom and sovereignty. Therefore, however the two superpowers or the aircraft-carrier states in their grip may dream in broad daylight, neither the Yugoslav nor the Greek and the Albanian peoples will ever allow to be trodden underfoot by the Soviet, the American, the Italian or German fascists. In case they engage themselves in such adventures, they will find their grave in our countries.

We have already told and we tell again the Yugoslav and Greek peoples that Albania's borders with them will always be quiet. The enemy will first have to face us Albanians, it will be routed here and hardly will it manage to reach their borders. We believe that they will take the same stand towards us.

We want to live a free life in our countries. Let the enemies not think that they would deal with us easily. We Albanians wish the Yugoslav and Greek people well. Let us promote friendship in the most appropriate way to each other, without intervening into each other's internal affairs and without allowing within our territories anything which, for one reason or the other, may violate or threaten the interests of good neighbourliness. Albania, Yugoslavia, and Greece are not only living without the Warsaw and NATO treaties, but their life is also free and independent. We congratulate Greece on its withdrawal from NATO. The Greek people did not allow to be trodden underfoot and anyone thinking that Washington department secretaries and Moscow foreign ministers may strike bargains and plot at the expense of the Greek people, is grievously wrong. The world will never forget how Greece shed its blood for liberation at a time when some others were hanging about.

We tell our neighbours: In our country there are and will be no foreign military bases, but we wish that they too will close the foreign military bases in their countries. No reason can be produced for the fleets of the two superpowers to be permitted not only to maintain permanent bases, but also to have the right to ride on anchor, to be repaired and supplied there. This is very dangerous, both for the country which

extends such facilities and for its neighbours. We cannot agree with anyone carrying out such actions. We have declared our stand towards the aggressive US and Soviet fleets in the Mediterranean, and we remain loyal and consistent to this policy.

We wish the Bulgarian people well, we have been and are friends together, but this friendship is being darkened, and this not to our fault. The Bulgarian people should wake up, because their rulers are turning Bulgaria into a real colony of the Soviet social-imperialists. The Moscow chiefs and their Bulgarian espionage agency, with Theodor Zhivkov in the lead, have turned Bulgaria into a military base against our countries. The Soviets want to use the Bulgarian people as cannon fodder against our peoples. In the hand of the Soviets, Theodor Zhivkov and his clique have become dangerous provocateurs in their activities against Yugoslavia, Albania, Greece, Turkey and other countries. The dreams of the ancient tzars coincide with the wishes of the new Russian-Bulgarian tzars, and Theodor Zhivkov, dreaming of Great Bulgaria, does not launch the slogan: «Through the centuries with Russia» in vain. We say to the Bulgarian people that friendship is friendship, and we remain loyal to the friendship with the Bulgarian people of great Dimitrov, but this friendship has its laws. If the Bulgarian people shelter bandits in their country and allow them to attack us from there, then that sincere and pure friendship will cease to exist.

We want to have good and friendly relations with Italy. But we are observing that the fascists there are raising up their heads, conducting a broad campaign of crimes and threats and seeking to revive the old spirit of Mussolinian adventures. Fascist terrorist acts have been carried out in Rome against the embassy of the People's Republic of Albania, which is inviolable. All those actions hindering the normal development of relations of good neighbourliness between our two countries should be condemned and thwarted.

A close fraternal friendship binds our people with the heroic people of Vietnam. Our country continues to support with determination the just struggle of the Vietnamese people for the liberation of South Vietnam, the defence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the reunification of the homeland. The Party, the Government and the entire Albanian people forcefully condemn the aggressive vietnamese policy of the United States of America which is going on with its military engagement, urging the administration of Saigon to violate the Paris Agreements and inciting it to grave provocations against the Vietnamese people. We express our unshaken confidence that the fraternal vietnamese people, through their resolute struggle, will fulfil all their national aspirations, and carry on their just struggle to final victory.

We congratulated the valiant Cambodian people on the historical victories achieved under the leadership of the National United Front, with Samde Norodom Sihanuk at the head, in their struggle against the US aggressive imperialists and the puppet regime of Lon Nol. The Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia is the sole legitimate government of the Cambodian people. It enjoys all the necessary attributes and is fully entitled to represent Cambodia in the international arena. We are convinced that the ultimate victory of the Cambodian people against the foreign aggressors and the Phnom Penh traitors is inevitable.

Friendly relations of close collaboration exist between our country and the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, which keep on strengthening and developing. We deeply rejoice at the successes the fraternal Korean people are achieving in the construction of socialism. We have sympathised and sympathise with the just struggle of the Party of Labour and the people of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, with comrade Kim Il Sung at the head, against US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism for the defence of the victories of socialism and the great cause of people's liberation. Our people approve of the just stand of the Party and the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea on the withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea and the country's reunification.

At present, the Middle East constitutes one of the problems preoccupying not only peoples of this area, but the entire world public opinion. As a result of the interference of the superpowers, the establishment of genuine peace there is far away. There is no rapid solution in view which would fit in with the genuine sovereign interests of the Arab peoples, that would totally return to them the land they have been robbed of and restore the negated rights of the Palestinians.

The so-called peace plans fabricated in the chancelleries of Moscow and Washington, aim at burying the genuine Arab cause. Any initiative the United States of America and the Soviet Union take in the Middle East aims at strengthening the positions of the imperialists and enhancing their influence there.

But a curtailed and anti-Arab peace, like that which the United States of America and the Soviet Union seek to impose, cannot be long-lived. The four Arab-Israeli wars waged so far have proven this.

We are convinced that the Arab peoples, with their ancient traditions and their freedom-loving and progressive spirit, will foil all the intrigues and anti-Arab plots of Israel and the two superpowers and through their united forces, will attain all their lofty national objectives.

Recently Cyprus too was gripped in the flames of war. A fresh threat to peace and security in the East Mediterranean and in the Balkans emerged. The development of events so far showed that the new Cyprus tragedy took place in the background of Soviet US rivalry, in the atmosphere of intrigues and plots that the two superpowers, individually or jointly, hatch up against the peoples. The US imperialists seek to settle themselves politically and militarily on the island, while the social-imperialists try to fish in troubled waters. They are availing themselves of this issue to revive the old Turkish-

Greek feuds and create such a situation which would make their expansion easier or would justify their intrusion.

The problems of Cyprus are numerous and, certainly, not easily soluble. But we are of the opinion that the Cypriot, Greek or Turkish peoples have the possibility and capability to settle their own destiny by themselves, free of external pressure and according to their sovereign interests. Cyprus is an independent and sovereign state, recognized by the majority of the states of the world, a member of the United Nations. It should remain so, and nobody has the right to attack it, whatever the pretext, to interfere in its internal affairs and impose on it such solutions as do not comply with the freely expressed will of the Cypriot people.

These events, which do not take place far from us, impose on us the necessity of still more intensifying the revolutionary vigilance, of a broader mobilization for a firmer allround struggle against all the enemies on all fronts.

The People's Republic of Albania will stand on the forefront of the struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction, and will back up all those peoples and countries that fight for national freedom and independence, for emancipation and social advancement.

In the future too we will follow the same foreign policy that has so far ensured our country international sound positions, numerous and powerful friends and wellwishers, that has won it a name and a lofty prestige.

Comrades,

Concluding, allow me to express the conviction that our labouring masses will always keep aloft the revolutionary spirit that has continually characterized our people, will mobilize all their forces to completely fulfil the planned targets, will fight with determination against alien influences and ideologies, and carry forward, as always, the great cause of the construction of socialism in Albania.

Participation of everyone in voting and voting of all for the candidates of the Democratic Front will be another brilliant victory of our people on their triumphant socialist road, another significant proof of political maturity and deep ideological convictions, a brilliant contribution to the strengthening and further consolidation of the steel-like foundations of the People's Republic of Albania.

LONG LIVE OUR HEROIC PEOPLE!

LONG LIVE THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT OF ALBANIA!

LONG LIVE AND MAY OUR PEOPLE'S POWER BE STRENGTHENED!

LONG LIVE OUR PARTY OF LABOUR, THE OUTSTANDING LEADER OF ALL OUR VICTORIES, THE GUARANTOR OF OUR SURE FUTURE!

GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM!

* *The underlines are of the Board of Editors*

THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT A MILITANT UNION IN THE STRUGGLE

by **RAMIZ ALIA**

The historical role of the Democratic Front in the national liberation struggle and socialist construction.

The Democratic Front as the most mass organisation which includes in its fold all the working people, is a powerful and effective instrument of socialist democracy, the widest tribune of revolutionary political education and direct participation of the masses in governing the country

ON NOVEMBER 29, 1974 THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE WILL CELEBRATE THE JUBILEE OF THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LIBERATION OF THE HOMELAND FROM THE FASCIST OCCUPATION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S POWER WHICH OPENED IN THEIR HISTORY A NEW EPOCH, THE EPOCH OF SOCIALISM. THEY ARE MEETING THIS JUBILEE UNITED MORE THAN EVER ROUND THEIR PARTY OF LABOUR AND THEIR STATE POWER, IN THE RANKS OF THE GREAT ORGANISATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT OF ALBANIA.

THE STEEL-LIKE UNITY OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE IN THE RANKS OF THE FRONT, WHICH BOTH DURING THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE AND IN THESE THREE DECADES OF FREE SOCIALIST ALBANIA HAS FOUND ITS EMBODIMENT IN ALL THE FIELDS OF SOCIAL LIFE, CONSTITUTES ONE OF THE DEEPEST SOURCES OF OUR PEOPLE'S RESISTANCE TO THE ENEMIES AND OF THE VICTORY AGAINST THEM, OF THE STRENGTH AND INVINCIBILITY OF OUR SOCIALIST HOMELAND, OF OUR COUNTRY'S NONSTOP PROCEEDING ON THE ROAD OF THE UNINTERRUPTED SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM.

This year's October 6 elections to the 8th legislature of the People's Assembly, in which 100 per cent of the electors

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THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT - THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE FOR SOCIALISM

cast their votes for the Front candidates, were another eloquent testimony to the unity of the entire people, incorporated into the Democratic Front, under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania.

I

The Democratic Front is the direct continuation of the National Liberation Antifascist Front of the Albanian people, which was born in the crucible of the struggle for the liberation of the Homeland from the fascist occupants and their local collaborators, in the process of the anti-imperialist and democratic people's revolution in Albania, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania (today the Party of Labour of Albania).

The ACP, since the first steps after its founding, worked out a clear line concerning the problem of the creation of a broad popular front, in conformity with the character and peculiarities of the people's revolution in Albania, with the ratio of forces and the internal and external conditions of the country.

The creation of the National Liberation Front was necessary to give an organisational embodiment to the formation of the political army of the revolution. «The Party cannot go alone in struggle and the revolution» comrade Enver Hoxha points out. «The revolution is the deed of the masses. There-

fore, the first main task of every revolutionary party is to make the masses conscious, to unite, organize and lead them. The best and most effective form found by our Party, in conformity with the circumstances of the country and the time, for the attainment of this aim, was the creation of the National Liberation Front» (Enver Hoxha - Reports and speeches 1967-1968, p. 160).

In Albania, in the years of the second world war, around the programme of the ACP for armed struggle without compromise against the fascist occupants and the reactionary ruling classes, their collaborators, for a free, independent, democratic and people's Albania, there were united in the National Liberation Front all the patriotic, democratic and revolutionary forces of the country, which constituted the overwhelming majority of the population - the working class, the labouring peasantry, the small and middle-sized bourgeoisie of the town, the patriotic intellectuals and all the other antifascist elements. At the foundation of the union of all these forces in the Front there was the alliance of the working class and peasantry. Particularly in the conditions of our country, where the working class was small in numbers and where the peasantry constituted the greatest numerical force in the general framework of the population, the drawing of the peasantry into struggle was decisive for the destinies of the revolution and of the liberation struggle. And as a matter of fact, the countryside became the main basis of the development of the armed struggle and the peasantry, under the

leadership of the working class and of its vanguard the Communist Party, the main force of this struggle.

The National Liberation Front in Albania could not fail to have, in conformity with the conditions of the country at that time, and with the peculiarities of the revolutionary movement of that period, some original peculiarities of its own.

In our country, the liberation struggle against the fascist occupation was closely interwoven with the struggle for the overthrow of the power of the local exploiting classes which had betrayed the national interests and had placed themselves at the service of the foreign invaders. In accordance with this objective situation, ACP applied a clear-cut and firm revolutionary line which provided to the National Liberation Struggle of the Albanian people the character of a profound popular revolution. Consequently, the national liberation councils, which were set up everywhere in our country on the basis of the historical decisions of the Peza Conference of September 1942 as Democratic Front organisations, were organs of the struggle against the fascist invaders and traitors, but at the same time they were the embryo of the future people's power for they performed also some state function particularly in the liberated areas. This was an original experience which creatively embodied in Albania's concrete conditions Lenin's precepts on the Soviets and Comintern's orientations about the creation of the antifascist popular fronts.

The National Liberation Antifascist Front in Albania was created not as a coalition of parties, but as a union of the broad masses of the Albanian people, rallied around the Front under the indivisible leadership of a single party – the ACP. These masses were organized in the national liberation councils which were set up throughout the country, in every region, city, village and quarter, as well as in various social organisations which belonged to the National Liberation Front (Albanian youth and antifascist women's organisations). Such a peculiarity stemmed from the fact that in our country, until November 1941, due to thoroughly antidemocratic and oppressive regimes and to the weakness of the Albanian bourgeoisie, no political party whatever existed. The ACP was the first and the sole party that was created. It was born on the basis of the objective necessity to lead the revolutionary struggle for national and social liberation and became the only interpreter of the aspirations of the broadest masses of the people in this struggle. It is clear that, as comrade Enver Hoxha points out, the working class party, if it pursues a correct revolutionary line, when no other parties exist, such as bourgeois or petty-bourgeois parties, performs still better its historical mission for national liberation, carrying out of socialist revolution and building of socialism.

The existence or non-existence of other parties is not something that depends on the desire of the communists. The Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party of the working class might be and, in many cases, is obliged to enter in collaboration, common alliances and fronts with other political

parties, organisations and movements, representatives of non-proletarian social strata, especially petty-bourgeois, which in given circumstances take part in the revolutionary movement. But the alliances and collaboration with other political parties and forces on a common front cannot be for the proletarian party an aim in itself and must serve to draw into struggle the masses which follow them. «That the Front should truly be a broad political, militant and revolutionary organisation, – comrade Enver Hoxha says, – it ought to be, above all, a union of the broad masses of the people, achieved through struggle, and not a mere union of parties, and the less so of chieftains, attained on the basis of various political combinations» (E. Hoxha – Reports and speeches 1967-1968, p. 173).

A clear testimony to the line of the ACP on the problem of the Front and alliances is its stand towards «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legaliteti». These were political organisations created by the landlords and the reactionary bourgeoisie, during the National-Liberation struggle at the incitation and with the support of the Italian and German invaders, but also with the blessing of the Anglo-American imperialists, as a reaction to the ACP, to sabotage the National Liberation Struggle and to undermine the cause of the people's revolution in Albania. But there was in their fold also a number of persons, deceived by the pseudo-patriotic demagoguery of the chieftains, and these people could be drawn into the liberation struggle. Consistent in its line to unite into a single war front all the patriotic and antifascist forces, the ACP more than once called also on these organisations to take part, together with the National Liberation Front, in the armed struggle against the foreign invaders. And only when these traitorous organisations passed over in open collaboration with arms with the invaders against the national liberation movement, when in their ranks a differentiation was made between the deceived men and women and the treacherous chieftains, when the true antinational features of the class of landlords and of the great bourgeoisie were exposed before the entire people, the ACP and the National Liberation Front undertook armed actions against «Balli» and «Legaliteti» and destroyed them together with the fascist invaders, whose tools they had become.

The ACP bore always in mind the precept of Marxism-Leninism that, while pursuing the line of collaboration with other political parties and forces in the national liberation and democratic revolution, the revolutionary party of the working class must preserve its individuality and complete ideological, political, organisational and military independence, not merge into a front, not remain in the tail of the events but struggle to secure the leading role, never forget the class interests of the proletariat and the prospects of further development of the revolution. On this depends, in final account, the fate of the revolution, its uninterrupted development, its transition from the first anti-imperialist and democratic stage to the second, socialist stage. Consistently implementing this Marxist-Leninist line in the political circumstances that existed in the country at that time, the ACP never accepted to share

the leadership of the National Liberation Struggle, consequently also the political power, with the representatives of the bourgeoisie, and waged for this a resolute and principled struggle on three fronts: against the demagogical efforts of «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legaliteti» which had not fired a single shot against the invaders and which secretly collaborated with them, to take in their hands the leadership of the movement, with a view to sidetrack the ACP, stop the revolution and preserve the rule of the exploiting classes in the country; against the interferences of the Anglo-American imperialists in the internal affairs of Albania, aimed at supporting «Balli» and «Legaliteti» and at suppressing the revolution and the Communist Party; against the opportunists in the ranks of the Party itself, who were in fact advocating the sharing of power with the bourgeoisie.

The ACP, launching the slogan of a united front of all the patriotic and freedom-loving forces «without distinction of religion, region and idea», bore in mind that in such a broad union there could be place for most diverse men and women and trends, from proletarian revolutionaries and up to representatives of set strata of the bourgeoisie, that bring with them the reservations, inclinations and waverings of their class. It is understandable that such a front cannot fail to be an arena of struggle between special interests and positions of various trends belonging to it. Consequently, as comrade Enver Hoxha points out, «pursuing the line of collaboration with various strata of the bourgeoisie or with their parties, the communist party must at the same time carry out also the line of the struggle against their waverings and tricks, against their compromises with the forces of the invader and reaction. Following only the line of unity and neglect the line of struggle against disruptive and reactionary actions in the front, this means adopting an opportunistic stand, with very dangerous consequences for the liberation struggle, for the revolution» (E. Hoxha - Reports and speeches 1967-1968, p. 174). Thus the Communist Party of Albania carried out a principled struggle against the representatives of exploiting classes which at the beginning participated in the Front against the waverings and treachery of Abaz Kupa during the years of the war, against the bourgeois reactionary deputies immediately after liberation, etc.

Such is, in general lines, the historical experience of the National Liberation Antifascist Front in Albania, which played a role of vital importance in the liberation of the country from the foreign Italian and German fascist invaders, for the triumph of the people's revolution, the establishment of the people's power and engaging our country in the road of socialist construction.

II

In the period of socialism the Front (now the «Democratic Front of Albania») preserved and fully preserves its role as

the organisational form of the political union of the entire people around the Party of Labour and the people's power, in the struggle for the uninterrupted development of the revolution, for the building and defence of socialism.

The unity of the Albanian people in the Democratic Front in the conditions of socialism, especially in the stage of the complete construction of socialist society, reaches a new level of maturity and strengthening, is filled with a new and more profound content, acquires a broader and more stable socio-economic, political and ideological basis.

With the liquidation of private property, of the exploiting classes and exploitation of man by man, the socio-economic basis of this unity is constituted by the socialist social ownership over the means of production in its two forms (the state property of the entire people and the cooperativist property), it is constituted by the socialist relations of collaboration and mutual aid among the working people, that have now triumphed in town and countryside, it is constituted by the common fundamental interests of the working class, of the cooperativist peasantry and the stratum of the people's intelligentsia, thus of the overwhelming majority of the population, interests which stem from the socialist relations of production.

The political basis of the unity of the Albanian people in the Democratic Front is the general political line of the Party of Labour of Albania for the uninterrupted development of the revolution, for the complete construction of socialism and later on of communism, for the security of the complete and final triumph of the socialist road over the capitalist road, for the defence of the socialist Homeland and of the gains of socialism, for the internationalist support of the revolutionary and liberation struggle in other countries and for undaunted and incessant struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction up to the victory of socialism throughout the world. The Albanian people have shown in deeds that they have made this line, which constitutes the programme of the Democratic Front, their own; they have fought and continue to fight with all their forces for its implementation and defence.

The unity of our people in the Front has also its ideological basis in Marxism-Leninism, which underlies the policy of our Party and State in all fields, and has become at the present time the dominant ideology in our country.

The further and incessant strengthening of this unity of our people in the Front, on which our invincibility and the guarantee of all our victories, of the present and future, are based, remains a vital permanent task of the Party and of the Democratic Front itself. This because our people's unity around the Party and the people's power is not given once and for all. The struggle for its strengthening must continue, without being interrupted for a single moment, every day, every month, every year and at every stage of our socialist development about those new problems and tasks which social life continually raises, which are dictated to us by the internal and external conditions of our country. The continuous

strengthening of the unity of our people around the Party and the people's power is also dictated by the fact that our enemies, in their activity to topple and liquidate socialist order in Albania, are trying to hit and disrupt in particular this unity.

The strengthening of the unity of the people in the Democratic Front around the line of the Party and the policy of our socialist State is, as comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, « a continuous process, connected with the correct handling of social contradictions, particularly of the contradictions in the fold of the people, with the just development of the class struggle against anyone and anything alien that hinders our triumphant onward march. Outside the class struggle and without the class struggle we cannot think either of overcoming the contradictions or strengthening the unity» (E. Hoxha - Reports and speeches 1967-1968, p. 182).

The correct understanding of the relationship between social contradictions, the class struggle and unity in socialist society is of great importance, both theoretical and practical, for the cause of socialism. Marxism-Leninism teaches us and practice has absolutely confirmed that unity, contradictions and class struggle in socialist society do not exclude but necessarily presuppose one another.

This is clearly proved by the entire historic 30-year long road of socialist Albania. It is known that through a fierce class struggle against the class of landlords and the big bourgeoisie, as well as against the interference of foreign capital, after the country's liberation deep socio-economic transformations were carried out, leading to the liquidation of these classes and to the consolidation of the unity of the people around the Party and the people's power, on the basis of the alliance of the working class and the labouring peasantry liberated from the feudal and bourgeois exploitation and oppression. At a later stage, through a fierce class struggle against the class of kulaks in countryside and the capitalist elements in town, as well as the class struggle in the fold of the people during the process of collectivisation for the overcoming of non-antagonistic contradictions between the working class, which was based on the socialist social property, and the labouring peasantry based on the small private property, there was achieved the liquidation of the kulaks and other capitalist elements as a class, the labouring peasantry was transformed into a class based on socialist property and the unity of our society was raised to a new and higher level. At the present stage of the revolution and socialist construction the strengthening of the unity of our people in the Front is done through an incessant class struggle against all the external and internal enemies and their reactionary ideology, as well as for the overcoming of contradictions in the fold of the people about such problems as the struggle against religious superstitions and backward customs, against concepts hindering the woman from taking her due seat in social life, against the petty-bourgeois inclinations to place individual interest above collective interest, against the current influences of the

bourgeois and revisionist ideologies in the fields of culture, art, the way of behaving and living, against the manifestations of bureaucratism and liberalism, of intellectualism and technocratism, etc., etc.

Any one-sided stand in the question of the relationship between the unity of the people and the class struggle in socialist society is erroneous and fraught with serious consequences. As comrade Enver Hoxha says, to consider the question of unity outside the class struggle, to deny, allegedly for the sake of unity, the class struggle as a motive force of socialist society, would mean to lull the political and ideological vigilance of the Party and of the working people, undermine the very cause of unity and the cause of socialism, slip into opportunistic and revisionist positions. And in the opposite, to see only the class struggle and deny the great importance of the solid unity of the people as a motive force of socialist society, this leads to sectarian positions and adventurism, to the transformations of the contradictions in the fold of the people into antagonistic contradictions and, in the last analysis, also to the undermining of the cause of socialism.

The vital role of the Democratic Front in the incessant strengthening of the unity of the people around the Party and the policy of the dictatorship of the proletariat, generally in our social life, includes all the main fields - economic, political and ideological. Great and manysided are also the tasks of the Front in all these fields.

The Front's organisations are required, through a broad and systematic persuasive work, to make the labouring masses of the town and countryside conscious of the tasks laid down by the Party for the development of socialist economy, to mobilize them for the realisation on time, with high quality and in all the indexes, of the plan targets and develop their creative initiative, organise mass undertakings for set economic tasks, etc. In particular, the Front organisations must carry out a great and continuous educative work in order to implant in all the working people a sound proletarian discipline at work and the high sense of duty, the spirit of thrift and care and vigilance for the safeguard and strengthening of socialist property.

It is a permanent and most important task of the Front to carry out an intensive political work for the class education of its members, thus, of the broad working masses of the country, in the spirit of revolutionary vigilance and of hatred against hostile ideology and activity, against all attempts to harm and undermine our socialist order. This task of the Front is linked with the precept of Marxism-Leninism and of our Party that the class struggle continues during the whole historic period of transition from capitalism to communism, that in this struggle the mass line must be consistently carried out, because only by actively and broadly drawing the masses in its development can all the ways be barred to the hostile activity in whatever form it may be developed. On the other side, the drawing of the masses in

this struggle is the principal and most effective method for the revolutionary class education of the masses themselves. Clearly follows from this the very important role of the Democratic Front here in this field.

In its activity the Front bears particularly in mind that the People's Republic of Albania is in the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist hostile encirclement, threatening our country with armed aggressions. Therefore, the preparedness for the defence of our socialist Homeland from any eventuality is here always on the agenda as the most vital question. Also in the question of defence the PLA consistently applies the mass line which is expressed in the fact that in our country the defence of the Homeland is ensured by the entire armed people, militarily prepared and incorporated in the structure of the armed forces. From this view point an entirely special role belongs to the Democratic Front, as the political organisation uniting in its ranks the entire Albanian people, for the education of all the working people in the spirit of the centuries-long freedom-loving traditions of our people and of the ardent patriotism for the defence of the socialist Homeland from any enemy that would dare to touch it, in their mobilization to accurately perform, each one of them, their duties of military training for defence.

The Democratic Front as the most massive organisation which includes in its fold all the working people, constitutes a powerful instrument of socialist democracy, the broadest tribune of the direct participation of the masses in governing the country. Through the activity of the Front organisations, the broad working masses of the town and countryside express their sovereign will in the elections to the state organs, they take part in the discussion of the most diverse social and state problems and have their say in everything, they exercise their direct control on the persons elected, the employees of the state apparatus, on everybody. Through the functioning of this living mechanism of socialist democracy in operation the unity of the people around the Party and the state power is tempered with every passing day, the dictatorship of the proletariat is incessantly strengthened, it is preserved from bureaucratic and liberal distortions which, as shown by the experience of the degeneration of socialism in the Soviet Union and in some other countries, constitute the two greatest internal dangers threatening it.

At the present stage a special importance also in the activity of the Democratic Front organisations is taken on by their work and struggle for the strengthening of the ideological unity of our society, so that Marxism-Leninism, which has become the dominant ideology here, will inspire all the thoughts and actions of our men and women. At the present stage, of the complete construction of socialism, when the socio-economic and political unity of our people has reached a high level of consolidation, the continuous strengthening and tempering of the unity in the ideological field constitutes a decisive link to further promote the revolu-

tion and socialist construction and to bar the way to the danger of restoration of capitalism. Because, as pointed out by the 5th Congress of the PLA, without securing the complete victory of socialist revolution also in the field of ideology and culture, the gains of the revolution in the political and economic field cannot be secured and guaranteed either. The intensive ideological aggression of the capitalist and revisionist world against our country, which constitutes today the main tactics of the enemies against our socialist order, makes particularly relevant, sharp and imperative the necessity of the strengthening of the ideological unity of our society on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist ideology and proletarian morality. This requires a fierce and persistent struggle on two fronts: On the one hand, for the eradication of the remnants and traces of the old ideologies of the exploiting societies, inherited from the past; on the other hand, against the present influences of the ideology of the capitalist and revisionist world which surrounds us. A first-rate role belongs to the Front's organisations in this struggle.

The activity of the Democratic Front, as one of the most important links of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, is carried out in these main directions.

The Party of Labour of Albania is the only leading force of the Front and of all the other mass organisations here. The establishment of just relations between the Party and these organisations is of great principled and practical importance. In this question the PLA has fought and continues to fight on two fronts:

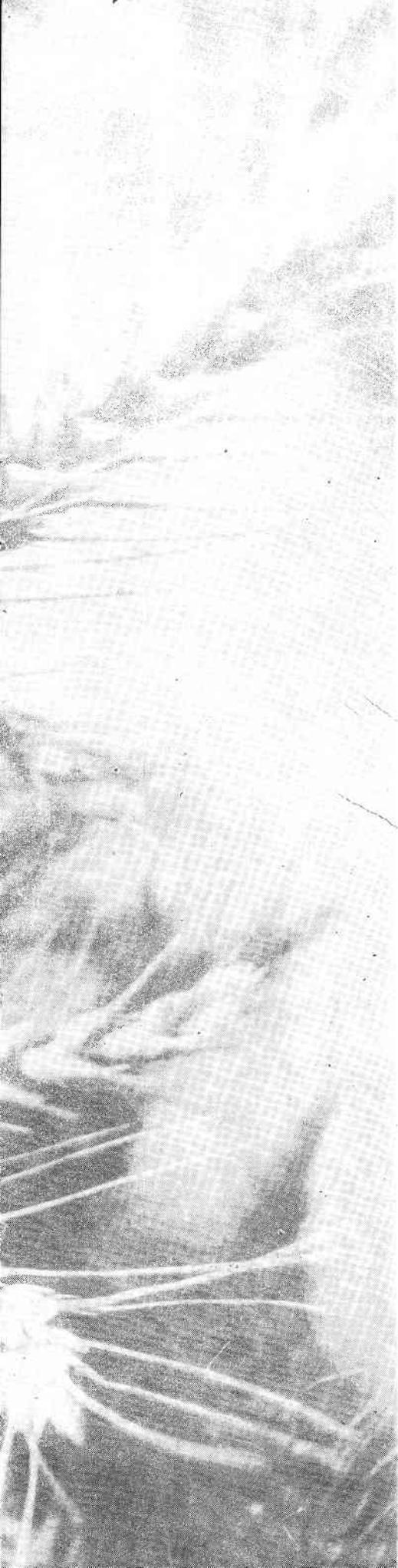
On the one side, against the liberal-anarchist revisionist views which, allegedly on behalf of democracy, advocate the «independence» of the mass organisations from the revolutionary party of the working class. But this means, in reality, independence from the proletarian policy and ideology to the benefit of the bourgeois policy and ideology. Therefore, any weakening of the leadership of the Party in the mass organisations is wrong and dangerous.

On the other side, the PLA has fought and continues to fight against the bureaucratic revisionist concepts which transform the mass organisations into appendages of the state organs, into mere instruments of theirs, denying to them any initiative and action. The leadership of the party in the mass organisations is an ideological and political leadership, incompatible with any form of tutelage and dictate. The mass organisations are not only conveyers of the party line to masses, but also tribunes of the masses themselves; they not only mobilize the masses in the accomplishment of the socio-economic tasks, but they also draw them in to take an active part in running the affairs of the state and society; they not only educate the masses in the spirit of socialism, but they take care also of the defence of the lawful rights of the working people, in struggle against bureaucratic and liberal distortions.

**Some thoughts about
the higher type
cooperatives as a more
advanced stage in the
development of
the cooperativist order.**

**The Leninist
course of transforming
the agricultural
cooperatives into
modern and powerful
socialist economies
in conformity
with the specific
conditions of our country**





WHAT ARE THE HIGHER TYPE COOPERATIVES

by **PIRRO DODBIBA**

OUR PARTY HAS WAGED AN ALL-ROUND STRUGGLE TO CREATIVELY APPLY THE MARXIST-LENINIST PRINCIPLES IN THE FIELD OF THE COLLECTIVIZATION OF AGRICULTURE TOO. THE COMPLETION OF THE COLLECTIVIZATION IN 1967 ALSO IN THE MOST MOUNTAINOUS VILLAGES WAS THE LAST LINK OF THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE DIVERSIFIED ECONOMY IN OUR COUNTRY. RELYING ON THE SUPERIORITY OF SOCIALIST PROPERTY, OUR PEOPLE'S POWER, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY, SOLVED A SERIES OF PROBLEMS OF DECISIVE IMPORTANCE TO THE VICTORY OF SOCIALISM IN THE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL FIELDS. BROAD ROADS WERE OPENED FOR THE ALLROUND DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY'S PRODUCTIVE FORCES AND THE FURTHER IMPROVEMENT OF THE SOCIALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION IN THE FIELD OF AGRICULTURE TOO.

During the more than a quarter of century that has elapsed since the setting up of the first cooperatives in our country, the peasantry has taken big strides in all directions. Our countryside has taken on an entirely new aspect. There has been a great and uninterrupted increase of social production and of the material and cultural level of the cooperativists. The rate of development of agricultural production in our country has been so rapid that within a few years we were able to overcome age-long backwardness. From a primitive agriculture based on the wooden plough, we passed over to an agriculture with large socialist economies, where ploughing and many other processes are carried out almost entirely by tractor (agricultural ma-

chinery today represents over 90 per cent of the total motor power). As to the relative quantity of chemical fertilizer, irrigating capacity and great land reclamation works, Albania today ranks among the most advanced countries.

During the first 15 post-liberation years, when the collectivization of agriculture was still under way and many agricultural cooperatives were still new, agricultural production increased 72 per cent when the cooperatives were growing and developing, during the last 10 years agricultural production increased more than 80 per cent. It is an important fact that under the last two five-year plans the main increase of production, at the rate of 80-90 per cent, has been obtained through the increase of yield, although at the same time the area under cultivation has been greatly extended, too.

PIRRO DODBIBA - Alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA, Minister of Agriculture.

Here we have to do not only with a quantitative increase but also with radical qualitative changes in the allround development of the countryside. This is also shown by the fact that today the agricultural cooperatives have become large economies. Each cooperative includes an average of more than 5 villages, 1,000 hectares of land, 400 families and about 800 labour hands. Income, value of the principal means and the expenditure made every year for production have amounted to quite large figures. Also, state investments for land reclamation work, mechanisation, chemical aids for agriculture as well as its supply with cadres and with every thing else necessary have assumed unprecedented proportions. Suffice it to mention that during the last five-year plan alone the volume of mechanized work grew 80 per cent, the irrigation capacity - 38 per cent, chemical fertilizers - 7 times, agricultural construction work - over 70 per cent, etc. This has enabled the rate of increase of agricultural production to surpass the rate of increase of the population. For example, during the last 10 years total agricultural production increased by 80 per cent, while the population increased by 31,3 per cent.

The Party directives and comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings concerning the modernization of agriculture at a rapid rate, and the struggle for their creative application, are an outstanding contribution to the development of the Marxist-Leninist theory, for the strengthening of the socialist order in the countryside and the transformation of the agricultural cooperatives into modern socialist economies in conformity with the conditions of our country.

* * *

In the series of theoretical and practical measures taken by our Party for the socialist transformation of agriculture, a special place is also held by the creation of the higher type agricultural cooperatives. Their aim is to speed up the rate of development of the agricultural economy, which will allow us to increasingly better meet the needs of our country for agricultural and livestock products, indispensable for rearing the level

of wellbeing of the labouring masses, for ensuring the raw material for the development of the light and food industry, as well as for increasing the state reserves. On the other hand we shall increasingly narrow the essential differences between the countryside and the city and raise the socialization of group property to a new level, preparing also the concrete conditions to gradually transform it into the property of the entire people.

Comrade Enver Hoxha, speaking on this question at the 6th Congress of the PLA, pointed out that «the creation of the higher type cooperatives is of great theoretical and practical importance, for the present and the future of our socialist agriculture, for the complete construction of socialism in the countryside». For the practical application of this idea it is essential to constantly raise the level of the intensification of agriculture, doing this within the possibilities and concrete conditions of our country.

As is known, the intensification of agriculture means the systematic increase of investments, means of production, quantity and quality of work in order to get as many agricultural and livestock products as possible from the same area. Explaining this Marx pointed out that in the economic sense, intensification is nothing but a concentration of capital on the same land area. Thus, in order to accelerate the development of agriculture and its intensification, investments in the agricultural economy should be further increased. Now, this is well known. But how should these means be used in the conditions of socialism in order to facilitate the road of the development of the countryside during the period of transition from socialism to communism as much as possible. This is an important aspect of the problem which the Party aims to solve by means of the higher type agricultural cooperatives. The level of intensification in cooperatives is lower than in the state agricultural enterprises which operate in the same conditions and have the same economic direction; accordingly their yields are lower and their potential possibilities are not fully utilized. But currently, the agricultural

cooperatives themselves cannot use more means for investments than provided for in their five-year plan. Even today, they have quite a high norm of accumulation. Thus, any increase in this direction would affect the level reached in the distribution of income among their members. Therefore, the Party deemed it necessary to increase the state investments in agriculture. But in what way?

If to realise these supplementary investments we followed the courses known so far, their effect would not be so perceptible and in particular, would not serve the aim in question. This is why, using these means on a small number of cooperatives of the lowland area and implementing new forms in making them through the higher type cooperatives, our Party found a new solution which has to do with the application of its policy of concentrated blows, which will greatly contribute to giving further impetus to the development of agriculture on the road of its intensification, at the same time taking perceptible strides ahead on the road of bringing group property closer to the property of the entire people.

Here we find a creative application of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism on the question of cooperation. In his work "On cooperation" Lenin stressed that when the state power is in the hands of the working class, the cooperation of the peasantry «is not yet the complete construction of the socialist society, but it is all that is necessary and suffices for this construction». In the same work he speaks of the necessity of continuous aid by the state to the peasantry because "Every social order emerges only with the financial support of a given class." It is precisely for these reasons that our Party always sees the cooperativist order in uninterrupted development, which from time to time needs the individual aspects of the socialist relations of production to be perfected as well as material and financial means in various forms for the development of the productive forces, at a higher rate.

The study that was carried out in the state cooperatives of the lowland areas in 1970 shows that, in comparison with the agricultural enterprises operating in similar conditions, their food grain yield

is 15 per cent lower, cows milk 53 percent lower, while their total production from every cultivated hectare is 33 per cent lower and from every work hand 53 per cent lower. Besides subjective reasons, these differences are also explained by the fact that the level of intensification in cooperatives is quite a bit lower than in state agricultural enterprises comparable to them. Thus, if we take the level of state agricultural enterprises as one hundred percent, it emerges that in cooperatives, for every hectare of farmland the volume of mechanized work is 64 per cent the quantity of nitrate and phosphatic fertilizers - 81 and 53 per cent respectively, the volume of annual investments - 60 per cent, etc.

In order to eliminate these marked differences as soon as possible, the Central Committee of the Party and the Government decided that a number of cooperatives in lowland areas, where supplementary investments can have a greater effect in a shorter period of time, should be transformed into higher type cooperatives, with the direct participation of the financial and material means of the State. This is «concentrated investment» having new characteristics and forms so far unknown to socialist agricultural economies, where although the character of the group property of cooperatives is preserved, the State becomes co-owner with them, in proportion with the means it invests.

This original road, in addition to solving the problems mentioned above, also aims at solving another important problem, which is characteristic of intensive modern agriculture. This is a matter of creating some large agricultural economies in which, as in the state agricultural enterprises the production of the bulk of bread grains, rice, cotton, sunflower, of milk and meat, necessary to our country are concentrated.

* * *

The basic statute and regulations on the organization of higher type cooperatives, defines their content and the purpose of their creation, the method of organization and management, the relations of the State with them, the relations with their members, their duties and rights etc.

Proceeding from the principle that social-

ism is built for the masses and with their active participation, the Party instructs that the re-organization of the higher type cooperatives be done **only with the full accord of the members of the cooperatives**, without any pressure. «The higher type agricultural cooperative, the statute reads, — is a large socialist collective economy set up according to the Marxist-Leninist teachings of the Party of Labour of Albania. It is created at the free will of its members, on the basis of the existing agricultural cooperatives. Cooperativist democracy and the socialist principles of the organization and remuneration of work are the basis of its entire activity».

The higher type cooperative in the first place on its own material and monetary means and on the common work of its members as well as on the participation of the state with equipment and with its all-round aid. **The latter is done in conditions of the preservation of group ownership and of the relations of distribution and exchange deriving from this ownership.**

The participation of the state in the higher type cooperatives with investments is quite appreciable as to the increase of the production envisaged to be made over the previously worked out five-year plan. But it is still small in comparison with the means invested by the cooperative itself in general, and still smaller in comparison with the total value of the principal means that have been accumulated since its creation. In time, the specific weight of the means invested by the state will become increasingly greater. Therefore, with this kind of financing, in a constant and gradual way, group property will approach closer to the property of the entire people, both with regard to form and content. This is precisely one of the practical steps of great importance to proceed towards the transition from group property to the property of the entire people.

Deriving from the principles of the basic statute are also the main distinctions between the higher type agricultural cooperatives and the other cooperatives, as well as what is common and what the differences are between them and the agricultural enterprises.

First, the members of the higher type cooperatives are owners of the land, of the

means of labour and of any other property held in common by them; they enjoy the right to a personal plot in the same way as in all the other cooperatives. The same can be said of the other rights, that is to take part in work, to elect and be elected to the leading organs, to discuss, give opinions, judge on all problems, to receive an answer to every proposal and opinion they set forth, to criticize and call to account concerning the affairs of their cooperative. The question of pensions and of the other social securities, is also arranged on these bases.

Second, the financial aid of the state to the higher type cooperatives is not given in the form of long term credit, but is replaced by state investments of budgetary funds for the development of the productive forces. In proportion to these sums the State becomes a co-owner in cooperatives. Besides this, they benefit by short term credit and other aid in the same conditions as the other cooperatives according to their needs.

Third, in the higher type cooperatives the remuneration of the members' work is done by **guaranteed pay**, in connection with the results of production. This means that for every accomplished norm they receive 90 per cent of the planned pay twice a month. At the end of the year they receive their pay 100 per cent when the plan is fulfilled, while their pay is increased up to onehundred per cent when the plan is overfulfilled, and is reduced by up to 10 per cent when the plan is not realized. The members of the higher type cooperatives also enjoy the right to be paid for the days when work is interrupted due to rain and when they are not assigned other jobs, receiving 30 per cent of the average planned payment for the respective branch of production.

Fourth, after having fulfilled all their internal needs according to the plan for seed, fodder etc., the higher type cooperatives sell the remainder of their produce to the State which, on its part, undertakes to supply the countryside shops with bread and other products according to the regulations for the workers of state enterprises.

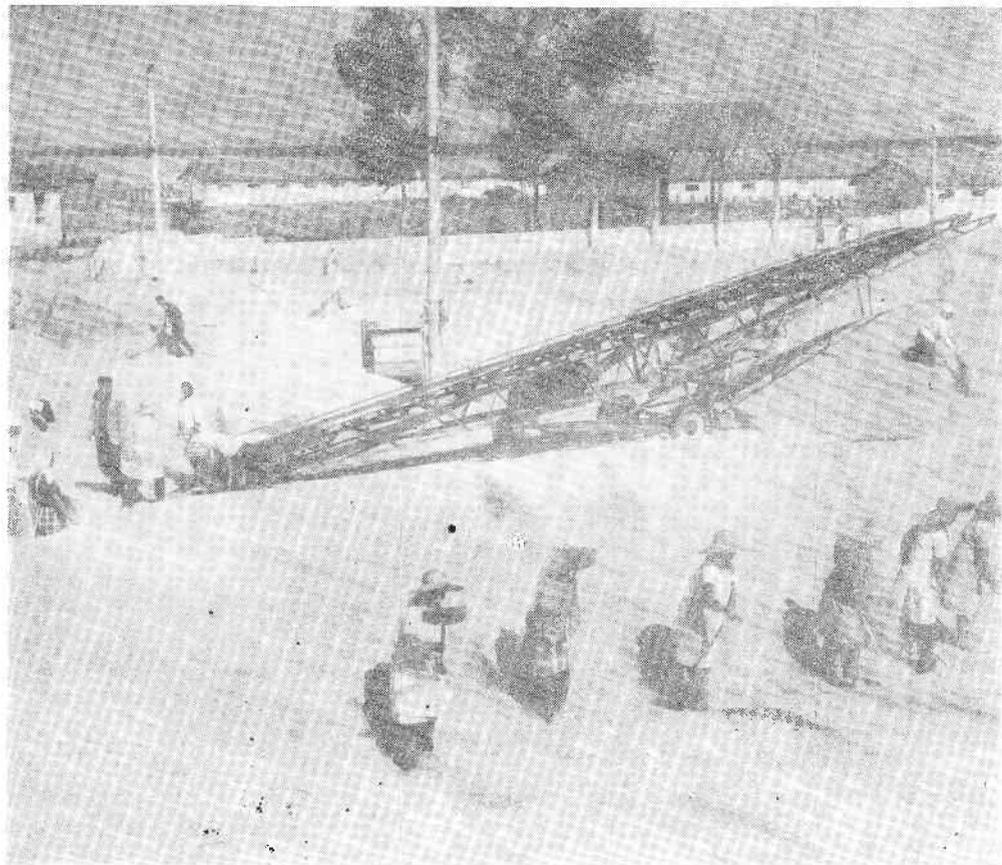
Fifth, for the higher type cooperatives the forms of the state aid in machinery are different. For this purpose a machine and

tractor station (MTS) or special MTS branches are set up for every cooperative. They help not only in carrying out the mechanized work, but also in continually raising the level of mechanization, in the maintenance of the machinery of the cooperatives and in developing small-scale mechanization through their own efforts.

Although the higher type cooperatives are like the agricultural enterprises in the organisational as well as the economic

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The higher type agricultural cooperatives were set up for the first time at the end of 1971 in Shijak, Krutje, Novoselë, Poshnje and Grecalli. They started their activity in 1972 when a total of 15 cooperatives were reorganized. These are the pioneers of this great transformation, which in the future, is expected to be one of the most important roads for the socialist development of our countryside.



aspects nevertheless they remain co-operativist economies. For this reason the pay, although guaranteed, is set in accordance with the economic strength of the high type cooperatives themselves, and in the majority of the cases it is lower than the pay of the workers of the agricultural enterprises. The latter also enjoy other rights, payment for surpassing norms, higher pensions and social security benefits, just as the members of the higher type cooperatives have other rights which the workers of the state sector do not have.

The higher type cooperatives have successfully concluded their first year of existence. A greater mobilization and revolutionary upsurge was evident everywhere, which brought about a perceptible increase of participation in work and of results in production. A good example in this direction is set by the Novosela cooperative which fulfilled the cotton production plan with the planned yield of 11.6 quintals, per hectare throughout the 100 hectares sown to this crop. The Zejmeni cooperative fulfilled the plan for the production of bread grain with a yield of 29.9 quin-

tals per hectare from the 1500 hectares sown to grain, compared to the 27,6 quintals per hectare envisaged in the plan. Similar results were achieved by the higher type cooperatives of Cakrani, Poshnje, Plasa, etc., which during 1972, as compared with the previous year, registered a perceptible increase in the production of wheat, cotton, tobacco, sugar beet, milk etc.

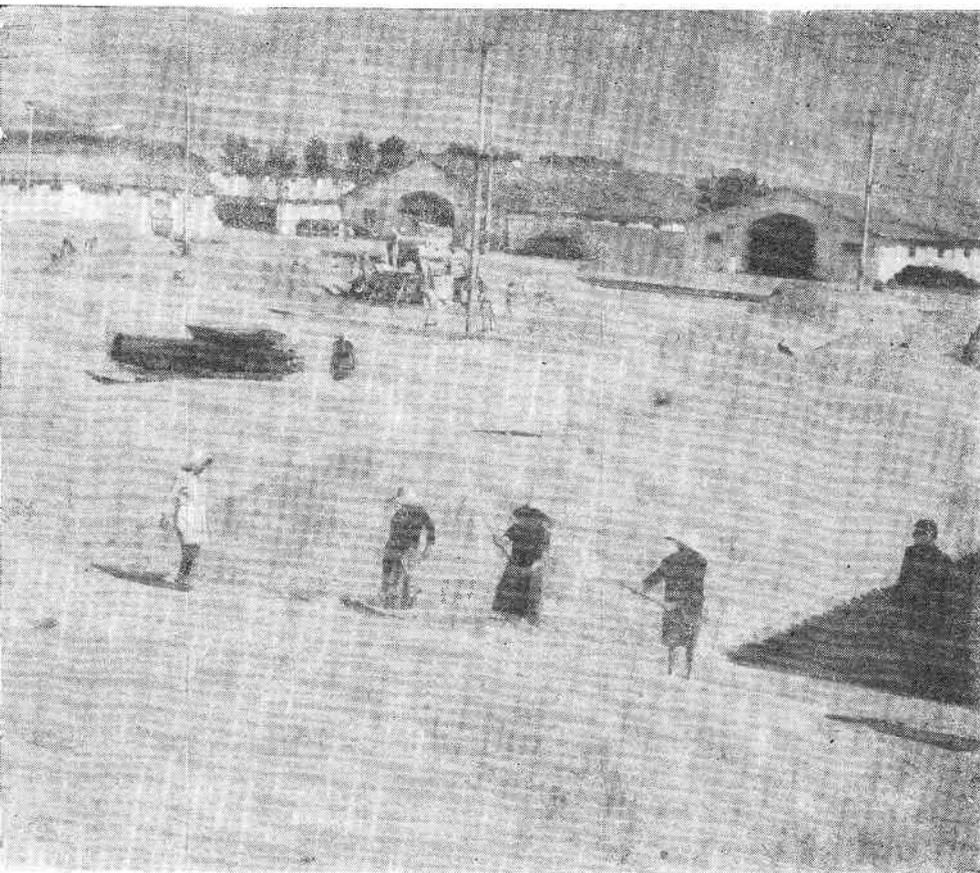
This year 10 other such cooperatives were reorganized bringing the total num-

ber of 15 HP), including those given to them in 1972. In this way an average of 15 HP of motor power will be used for every 26 hectares, that is, the same as the average for the state agricultural enterprises, instead of for 33-47 hectares as it was previously. Another important fact is that the plans for every higher type cooperative this year were drawn up on the basis of man-power, motor power, the fodder base, etc. The concentration of production was

further perfected and the main direction was set for every economy where the principal branches are better harmonized with the complementary branches and auxiliary activities. The higher type cooperatives were reinforced with leading cadres and skilled specialists. A series of other similar measures were taken.

In accordance with the special instructions of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA, the organization and progress of the higher type cooperatives is one of the main tasks of the Party and the State. The Party aims for the higher type cooperatives to reach the yields of the state agricultural enterprises within the current five-year plan and to struggle to surpass them. Great and continuous work is required to realize this task so that the high type cooperatives be placed on sound organizational foundations. Relying on the experience gained at the Plasa cooperative, the 3rd Plenum of the CC of the PLA set the task of carrying out studies and taking measures for the application of concentration and specialization, for the organisation of the territory, for the establishment of agricultural rotation and other measures necessary for a modern agriculture. These studies will be done this year and will be applied by 1974 in all the higher type cooperatives and state agricultural enterprises, thus serving as a model so that by 1975 they can be extended to all the other cooperatives of the lowland area.

As is seen, relying on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, our Party, through the higher type cooperatives, is making an outstanding contribution towards finding practical roads to create the necessary conditions for the complete socialist transformation of the countryside. Of course, there are many other things which must be studied further, but as pointed out by comrade Enver Hoxha at the 6th Congress of the PLA. «Life, the revolutionary practice of our socialist construction, will in the course of time show the other stages to be passed through in this process, they will indicate the measures to be taken in order to gradually eliminate the differences existing today between the two forms of socialist property.»



The setting up of high type cooperatives has created possibilities for the increase of yields of all crops.
In the photo: abundant wheat harvest in one of the higher type cooperatives.

ber of higher type cooperatives to 25, uniting the 31 largest and strongest agricultural cooperatives of the lowland area with a total of 64,000 hectares of cultivated land. With a view to accelerating the process of intensification, the State has placed at their disposal, in a supplementary way, investments worth 46 million leks for the construction of barns, green houses, machinery workshops and hangars, for systematisation etc. Agricultural machinery will be perceptibly reinforced. For this purpose the higher type cooperatives will be provided with 875 tractors (in terms

FOREIGN TRADE IN THE SERVICE OF THE ECONOMY

by **KIÇO NGJELA**

SOCIALIST ALBANIA IS NOW IN ITS 30TH YEAR OF LIBERATION, WITH A RICH BALANCE SHEET OF SUCCESSES IN ALL FIELDS OF LIFE. TO ACHIEVE THESE, OUR PARTY AND PEOPLE HAVE HAD TO DO A BIG JOB, FULL OF DIFFICULTIES AND OBSTACLES, CAUSED BY THE INVADERS, DURING THE HEROIC STRUGGLE WAGED BY THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE HOMELAND, BY THE ECONOMIC BACKWARDNESS INHERITED FROM THE ANTIPOPULAR AND FEUDAL REGIME, BY THE OBSTACLES RAISED BY THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES AND BY THE ANTI-SOCIALIST MEASURES TAKEN BY THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS AND THEIR FOLLOWERS.

Before liberation, in total economic production, industrial and handicraft products represented 18,3 per cent, agriculture and livestock raising were very primitive, and backward methods prevailed. Because of the poor development of productive forces, market production was very small and as a consequence foreign trade too was very limited. The export-import structure complied with the structure of the economy of that time, in an undeveloped and colonial country. Albanian exports consisted only of raw materials, foodstuffs and agricultural items. In imports, ready-made industrial goods had the biggest share; thus, for instance, in the total value of imports, textiles accounted for 24,4 per cent and foodstuffs 21 per cent, while

industrial and agricultural machinery and spare parts were only 9 per cent. Thus, pre-liberation imports had a markedly non-productive character.

Exports never covered imports, and the trade balance always showed a deficit. In Albania there was no industry to process the raw materials that existed in the country, and the anti-national regime took no measures whatever to encourage the development of the country's economy or defend it against interference by foreign capital; on the contrary, it opened the doors to it and provided every opportunity for penetration.

As the result of such an antinational policy, Albania had one of the lowest economic and foreign trade levels in Europe, and in comparison with neighbouring countries, it had the smallest per capita volume of foreign trade.

With the triumph of the revolution in Albania and the establishment of the people's power, a very advanced social order was set up, but it had inherited a very backward material and technical base which did not conform with the new relations of production.

In the field of the development of economic and trade relations between Albania, and other countries with different social systems, changes were made both in content and character: from exploitive, dictatorial relations, as formerly, they were turned into relations based on respect for sovereignty, equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of one another, and mutual advantage. With the socialist countries, there were relations of a new type, based on proletarian internationalism, mutual assistance and the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

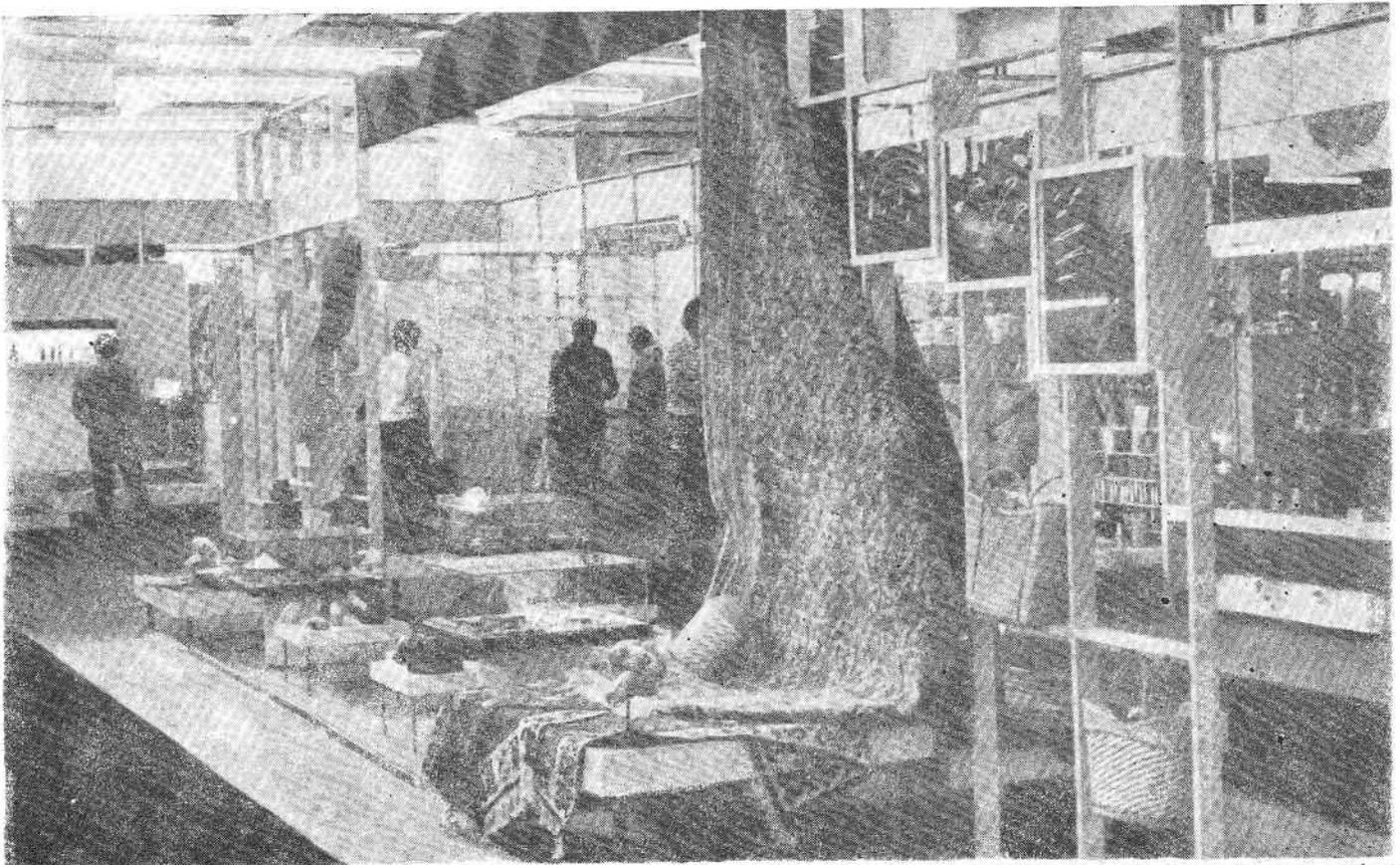
The foreign trade policy of Albania is a component part of its foreign and home policies; in conformity with the tasks of the unified plan for the development of the economy, it has helped and continues to help in its realisation, at every stage of the country's development.

Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, at the 4th Congress of the PLA: "The transi-

KIÇO NGJELA: Member of the Central Committee of the Party and Minister of Trade.

The foreign trade policy of socialist Albania is an integral part of its foreign and home policies, and fully conforms with the tasks of the unified plan for the development of the national economy.

It helps in the realisation of the plans at every stage of the country's development



During the years of the people's power the PR of Albania has greatly extended the range of export items. The Albanian products are now in demand on international markets. The Albanian pavilions in international fairs draw the attention of many visitors.

tion in Albania from a backward technical, economic and semi-feudal situation directly to the building of socialism, bypassing the stage of developed industrial capitalism, set before our Party, as one of the most vital and urgent tasks, the creation of industry through the socialist industrialisation and electrification of the country». (E. Hoxha, Report on the activity of the CC of the PLA to the 4th Congress of the PLA).

Therefore, the foreign trade of Albania, too, which immediately after liberation became a monopoly of the state, was placed in the active service of the economy, and in full harmony with the development of all its branches, and the structure of exports and imports was changed, helping the development of the productive forces and the strengthening of independence.

As far back as under the first five-year plan (1951-1955), which envisaged the transformation of Albania from a backward agrarian country into an advanced agrarian-industrial country, our foreign trade directly contributed to the creation of socialist industry, and in the first place of the mining industry, which was the main support for the development of the other industrial branches, and would fulfill the needs of industry for raw materials. The development of this industry increased the economic power of the country, and, consequently, its exporting power.

Thus, in conformity with the objectives of this plan, foreign trade changed its structure. In 1955, machinery, equipment and spare parts accounted for about 42 per cent of all imports; combustibles, metals, chemical products and building materials accounted for about 25 per cent, and agricultural raw materials, foodstuffs and mass consumer goods represented 33 per cent. As a result of the increase in Albania's economic strength, exports, too, underwent changes both in volume and structure. Thus, in 1955 fuels, minerals and metals represented 71 per cent of exports, as against 30,3 per cent in 1938.

During the next five-year plans, priority was given to faster development of

production of the means of production, as an indispensable condition for strengthening the material and technical base of socialism and the development of the other branches of industry and the economy as a whole. As a result, the structure of foreign trade has changed in conformity with the tasks and directions envisaged in these plans. Thus, in 1960 machinery equipment and spare parts accounted for 46.9 per cent of imports, in 1965, 54.1 per cent and in 1970, 40 per cent, whereas raw materials accounted for 12.7 per cent, 13.4 per cent and 21.6 per cent respectively.

Such a rate of imports of machinery, equipment and spare parts under these five-year plans has resulted in the country's productive power growing rapidly, through the construction and operation of important industrial and agricultural projects, thus creating favourable conditions for supplying industry, with mainly locally produced raw materials. But the industrialisation of the country to such an extent, made it necessary to increase imports of raw materials, particularly of metals; as the metallurgical industry develops, these will decrease.

Setting up and developing new branches of industry, especially of the extracting industry and intensifying and mechanising agriculture increased the exporting power of the country, contributing at the same time to the improvement of its structure. Thus, in 1960 processed goods represented 45.6 per cent of exports, in 1965 53.3 per cent and in 1970 58.7 per cent, while the share of non-processed goods has steadily decreased, coming to 54.4 per cent in 1960, 46.7 per cent in 1965, and 41.3 per cent in 1970.

The volume of foreign trade turnover has increased from one five-year period to another. Thus, under the fourth five-year plan, compared with the third five-year plan, it increased by 49 per cent, and exports alone grew by almost 45 per cent, as against the planned 36 per cent.

Our party has had to orientate its policy towards the creation of a strong national economy, with allround development and a rational structure, which ensured the economic independence and defence of the homeland.

The consistent application of this policy has resulted, over these 30 years of the people's power, compared with before the war, in successes that the past regimes would have been unable to attain in hundreds of years. Thus, in 1973 total industrial production was 86 times greater than in 1938, and what was produced in a year in 1938 is now produced in less than 5 days.

The annual average rate of increase in industrial production has been high. Thus, for the 20-year period 1950-1970 it has been about 15 per cent, which is one of the highest rates known, and one we rarely meet in the history of the industrial development of other countries.

As against the fourth five-year plan, foreign trade turnover under the fifth five-year plan will increase by 86 per cent. Also, the structure will greatly change, as compared with the past, including exports not only of traditional items, but also products of the new branches of industry, mainly processed and semi-processed articles, which will further increase the value of our export trade. In 1975, it is envisaged that over 56 per cent of the export volume will consist of industrial goods. Thus, for example, over the years of the current five-year plan, new articles have been added to our exports, such as electric energy, electric wires and cables, mineral concentrates, chemical products, such as oil paints and enamel, acids, silicate fluoride, sodium calcinate, and natrium hyposulphite, building materials, such as cement, silicate bricks, marble slabs, oil by-products, such as petrol, ready-made clothing and knitted goods, leather and plastic goods, aromatic essences and oils, cordials, fruit juice, etc.

In the framework of this general growth of the economy of our country, in both the industrial and agricultural field, the

volume of our traditional export goods has grown and the range of articles has been extended. Thus, for example, as against 1960, oil exports in 1972 had increased by 59 per cent, bitumens by 391 per cent, iron ore by 173.9 per cent, chromium ore in general by 177.9 per cent, ore containing 42-44 per cent Cr_2O_3 by 285.2 per cent, blister and cathode copper by 270.6 per cent; in comparison with 1965 the export of copper wires had increased 19.5 times over, and ready-made clothing exports by 175.5 per cent. A marked increase has been registered also in processed foods and light industrial products, such as preserves, cigarettes, wine, carpets, rugs, etc.

The results achieved in the strengthening of the raw materials base, and the further prospects existing in this direction in our country, have made it possible to extend and develop the processing industry, set up new production branches and create conditions to cope successfully with any difficulty that may arise as a result of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and current disorders in the international market. This results from the policy of our Party, which is based on the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance, aimed at making our economy more independent, and on this basis the future development of our country will take place, always in full conformity with the requirements of the objective economic laws of socialism.

Implementing this orientation of the Party, in the coming years there will be put into operation a series of units of great economic importance such as the metallurgical combine, copper metallurgy will be further developed through the construction and operation of the pyrometallurgy plant, chromium metallurgy will be set up, and the intensive, oil processing plant will be put into operation along with a series of factories for the processing of other minerals.

With the erection of these units, and the further strengthening of the energy base, it will be possible to produce locally

various kinds of steel, sheet-iron, rods and pigiron, to increase the production of fuels, perceptibly improve their quality, increase their range, etc., which not only will fulfill the country's needs, but will increase export power, decrease imports and further improve the foreign trade balance.

In the future development of agriculture, priority will be given to increasing production of grains, in the first place through increasing yield, and broad scale use of scientific methods, and chemical fertilizers, the material and technical base will be further strengthened, and other measures will be taken for this sector, to open great prospects for the further development and transformation of our agriculture, and the narrowing of the essential differences between the countryside and the town, at the same time it will then be possible to ensure the supply of our home market with more consumer goods, and the supply of industry with raw materials, thus contributing to lowering the specific weight of imports of food and agricultural items and increasing the volume and range of agricultural exports.

All these successes achieved in the field of socialist construction in Albania are due to the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Party, to our people, and to their revolutionary vigour, under the leadership of the Party, upholding in the first place the principle of self-reliance and with the fraternal and internationalist aid of the People's Republic of China, they are always forging ahead in strengthening their economy, moral and political unity and the defence capacity of our country.

Foreign trade is a component part of our people's economy; as such it has helped to ensure the independent economic development of the country, on the basis of modern techniques and technology. For this purpose, in conformity with the economic plan of the state, and with the requirements and prospects of development, it has increased in volume, been en-

riched in structure, and reached more countries.

Our Party of Labour has assessed foreign trade as a supplementary source, and has devoted special attention to its organisation and development on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles.

With the liberation of the homeland, the Party set about adopting measures aimed at the liquidation of capitalist exploitation by foreign monopolies, as well as by the local bourgeoisie. With the measures and deep transformations that were carried out, the foundations were laid for the establishment of the foreign trade and foreign exchange monopoly. Prior to the adoption of these measures the proper political and economic premises were created, for example the various nationalisations, the extraordinary taxes on war profits, etc. With these measures the economic and political base of the old feudal-bourgeois rule was destroyed from its foundations, while the further measures that were taken by the people's power stopped the birth and development of the capitalist element in the field of foreign trade, and stopped the exploitation of our country by the imperialist bourgeoisie, as was the case in the past.

Lenin continually stressed that we must not stop at the achieved successes, but every success must be strengthened and developed further. These words became part of the basis of the policy of the foreign trade of Albania on the improvement and extension of trade relations with all the countries that support and implement the wellknown principles of international trade, such as non-interference in the internal affairs of one another, respect for sovereignty, mutual advantage, etc.

Consistent in its Marxist-Leninist line, the Party paid great attention to strengthening and extending foreign trade, developing our international ties, and improving foreign trade organisation, in conformity with the conditions, possibilities and requirements of every stage of our socialist construction. The correct line of

our Party made it possible to defeat the plans of the Khrushchevite revisionists. Neither the economic blockade, nor political blackmail, the severance of diplomatic relations or military threats intimidated our Party and people. On the contrary, they have always marched with determination toward the complete construction of socialist society.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «We tell the revisionists: your blockade, the brutal breaking of economic agreements, the complete cutting off of supplies of industrial equipment, the seizure of projects, leaving the work half done, etc., perhaps hindered at the beginning the implementation of the third five-year plan, but our economy did not stop for a single moment its triumphant march forward and it emerged victorious over your shameful blockade». (E. Hoxha, «25 years of struggle and victories on the road to socialism», Reports and speeches 1969-1970, page 212).

The correct line of the Party of Labour of Albania and the selfless work of our people are the main factors that have made possible the steady development of our country on the road to socialism.

In this framework, guided by Marxist-Leninist principles and implementing them in its relations with all the countries with different social systems, Albania carries out in the field of foreign trade a policy which, like its foreign and internal policies, serves the aim of building socialism, and creating an atmosphere favourable to the liberation struggle of all the peoples, and to their social and economic progress.

The need for allround support for the peoples struggling against colonialist and neocolonialist oppression and exploitation, and for the development and extension of trade relations with all the countries which respect the principles of non-interference in each others internal affairs, respect for national sovereignty, mutual benefit, etc., has been and will always be one of the conditions of applying the foreign trade policy of Albania.

It is precisely due to this that our state trade relations and relations between various firms have been extended to more than 50 different countries.

All the trade relations of our country with other countries, just as in the past, in the future too, will be characterized by correctness in fulfilling the obligations originating from various agreements and contracts, and demanding the same from other countries, for the fulfilment of their obligations towards our country.

The relations of our country with the People's Republic of China are of a new type, relations between two socialist countries; they continue to grow and strengthen; proletarian internationalism and disinterested fraternal aid, find their full expression in these relations, based on Marxist-Leninist principles.

The internationalist fraternal and disinterested aid the P.R. of China has given and continues to give is great, and contributes to the acceleration of the development of the productive forces of our country. It helps to lighten our difficulties under the present conditions of the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade.

Correctly assessing the current situation, and the conditions in which socialism is being built in our country, all the labouring masses, in steel-like unity around the Party, have shown revolutionary vigour in new initiatives for the local production of as much machinery and equipment as possible, a further increase in production of spare parts, the maximum tapping of the country's potential wealth, the strengthening of the savings programme, etc., which are aimed at cutting down on imports, and further improvement in the quality and range of export goods.

Upholding and consistently applying the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance in its internal and foreign policies and in the framework of trade relations with other countries, Albania always bears in mind the preservation of its independence and sovereignty and the creation of a sound independent basis for its people's economy.

Volunteer work undertakings as an important means for the formation and tempering of the new man. They serve as real schools of revolutionary education.

Volunteer work for the benefit of society enriches the spiritual world of youth, and forms its collectivist world outlook.

The mass undertakings are a feature of the young revolutionaries, a feature of communist work, of the new person who belongs to the present and the future, and improve his moral character, as an active builder of the new society

REVOLUTIONARY EDUCATION OF YOUTH WITH THE SPIRIT OF MASS UNDERTAKINGS

The Party's work to form the new man finds its most powerful expression in the character of the youth, which constitutes the most brilliant victory of our revolution. The Party and the people are rightfully proud of our youth, who, as comrade Enver Hoxha says, are closely connected with the party, politically clear and morally sound, correctly oriented and certain in life, courageous and intrepid fighters, putting their valuable energies at the service of the socialist revolution and the allround progress of the people. These features and peculiarities of our youth

by JOVAN BARDHI

JOVAN BARDHI - First secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Labour Youth Union.

have been acquired in struggle, work, life, and study under the paternal care of the party, the influence of our conditions, and our revolutionary environment.

The fundamental characteristic of the allround work of the Party in its programme for the education of the new person, for the revolutionary tempering of our youth, has been the combination of the theoretical, scientific formation of Marxist-Leninist ideological convictions with active participation in socialist revolutionary social action. An important place in this has been held by mass undertakings

and revolutionary actions among the masses.

The long experience of our Party, and the work it has carried out here, shows that involving our people in general, and the broad masses of the youth in particular, in one battle after another during the national liberation struggle, one undertaking after another in the building of socialism in our country, one initiative after another, for ideological, political and cultural tempering, is a method of great value for the formation and revolutionary tempering of the new person.

This method has been used for the education of our youth since those days—almost thirty-three years ago—when the best youths joined together and created the organisation of the Albanian Communist Youth with the initiative and under the direct leadership of the Party and of comrade Enver Hoxha. The undertakings of that unforgettable time of the communist youths and the antifascist youth, beginning with the bold actions for the distribution of propaganda materials and the clandestine party press, and for the propagation of its ideas, and ending with the mass activation in the detachments and units of the partisan army, made our youth the most lively force of the national liberation movement.

The youth of our country immediately adopted a clear political and ideological stand; every step was taken by them with courage, with the Party and on the road of the Party. Our youth saw in the Party the leader and organizer which directed, with ability and certainty, the people and the younger generation in the realisation of their aspirations to achieve freedom. Therefore, the youth, with «steel-like» unity of wills and hearts, rallied around the Party with the same steel-like unity of ideals.

The communist youth fought with firm confidence in victory. They contributed, to a considerable extent, to increasing the patriotism of the masses and their enthusiasm, and to strengthening confidence in our own forces, in the Party and in the cause of the national liberation movement; they mobilized the broad masses of the antifascist youth, rallied them around the Party and threw them into the struggle for the liberation of the people from the

nazi-fascist invaders, thus defeating the attempts of the external enemies and local traitors which were aimed at corrupting our youth and diverting them from the struggle.

During the national Liberation struggle, the communist and antifascist youth inscribed glorious pages in the history of our people. Led by the Party, they coped with the enemies, the foreign invaders and local traitors, they struggled in clandestinity in cities and villages and, arms in hand, in all the partisan formations. Examples of the heroism of the youth are numberless. Educated by the Party, as its faithful sons, they went to mass undertakings intrepidly, always marching ahead; there where the clash was the fiercest, and facing the supreme sacrifice, they proclaimed the glory of the party and of our people.

The contribution made by the youth during the national liberation struggle was an important factor for the victory of our national liberation movement. From its ranks there emerged about 55,000 partisans (among them 6,000 young women and 1200 young pioneers) of the 70,000 the national liberation army counted in the liberation days. The outstanding leaders of the youth, Qemal Stafa, Misto Mame, Shyqyri Ishmi, Margarita Tutulani, Alqi Kondi, Manush Alimani and others paved the way to honour and immortality for the youth. Thousands of young people in the national liberation struggle became ever shining stars of freedom.

Through the national liberation struggle, and its educative work, the party prepared a whole generation of revolutionary fighters. Hundreds of young men and young women were admitted to the ranks of party and many brave commanders and commissars of partisan formations were trained.

The youth emerged from the national liberation struggle politically strong and tempered, they had high qualities or bravery, the spirit of sacrifice, courage, boundless love for the people, the homeland and the party, revolutionary vigilance and hatred for the enemies, and confidence in their own forces.

In the heat of the struggle and the popular revolution, the party prepared the youth

for the coming battle for the reconstruction and socialist construction of the country.

Albania emerged from the epic of the great partisan war impoverished and wounded, but it began the difficult epic of building socialism with confidence, multiplied energies and sure steps.

Overcoming the destruction, the organisation of the new state, the struggle against plots and saboteurs, the restoration of the ravaged economy, the offensive for culture and education, the struggle against the old world in the consciousness of men — this was a broad front on which the party and comrade Enver Hoxha invited the youth to struggle in the early years.

Our youth, under the leadership of the communists, became the most advanced detachment in the realisation of these tasks, in the realisation of the programme of the party. Holding both the pick and the rifle, the youth threw itself with new courage, and a crusading spirit, into every stage. The period of reconstruction and construction is replete with new countless heroic feats of youth. «In mass undertakings, in the whole of constructive work, in our whole struggle for socialism and the defence of our homeland, our youth have inscribed, and continue to inscribe every day, wonderful pages of heroism», comrade Enver Hoxha says. And this is understandable. The party and the revolution solved for the younger generation the problems that constituted the chronic misfortune of the youth before liberation, and which today are the cause of the shocking tragedy of the youth in capitalist and revisionist countries. The party and the revolution realized and took further the dreams of the younger generations of the past. This is why the youth are closely linked with the party and the revolution, and why their interests have become the youth's supreme interests. This is why the youth have made their life's motto comrade Enver Hoxha's instruction: «If something is in the interests of the party, you can be sure that it is absolutely in the interests of the people, therefore tackle the mountain and overcome it». Thus the youth, with steel-like arms and will, with wisdom, persistence and rare bravery, overcome any obstacle or difficulty. The thirty years since li-

beration are full of offensives and undertakings, in which the heroism of the partisans has been transformed into the mass heroism of the youth at work.

There is no field of life in which the youth have not undertaken revolutionary actions, initiatives and movements which have yielded important results in production. The volunteer work actions constitute a glorious chapter in the heroic history of our younger generation. They began from the early days of liberation. One can scarcely find throughout Albania one span of territory where the sweat of the youth volunteers has not been shed in road and railway building, in terracing and constructing industrial projects, in reclaiming land and other undertakings to help agriculture.

Here is what the figures show:

In the construction of nationally, vital highways, about 270,000 young men and women have volunteered, in the railroad construction, 300,000, in terracing coastal hills and planting citrus trees, over 40,000, in the construction of industrial projects, 6,000 and in undertakings for land reclamation, planning orchards, etc., 40,000 young people.

One can hardly find any young men or women of the years of the party and the people's power who have not undergone their first test, as sons and daughters of the revolution, in the youth undertakings.

But through their volunteer actions, the youth do not merely build projects for the flourishing and reinforcement of the homeland. Together with the projects, they build and temper themselves. Mass undertakings have served as true schools of revolutionary education. They play a role in educating the youth in the spirit of joint work, social work, with its romance, psychology and heroism, and in equipping them with habits of organisation and discipline at work. Through mass undertakings thousands of young men and women learned for the first time about socialist competitions, shock workers, work banners, norms, pledges, initiatives, etc., concepts which were to enter not just the vocabulary but also the day to day life of the youth and the labouring masses.

Mass undertakings have continually helped to develop and implant in the youth the spirit of collectivism, of care and love

for their companions and their work. Through working and living together, the student, worker and cooperativist youth learn and profit from one another; they become friends with one another, and «they cast aside the various artificial distinctions made by the overthrown ideologies and classes.

Communist concepts and morality, the spirit of sacrifice and revolutionary determination, of will and persistence, are implanted and consolidated through work and joint life in the mass undertakings; the petty-bourgeois and patriarchal remnants of the past, and manifestations of and liberal stands towards bourgeois and revisionist ideology and morality, are cast away. A special role has been played by the mass undertakings for the education of the school and student youth with the spirit and habits of manual work, with love and respect for those who do it and for the connection with the workers and peasants, thus combating manifestations of intellectualism, divorce from the masses, technocratism and bureaucratism, «tendencies which, had they found our door open, would inevitably lead us to the birth of revisionism and restoration of capitalism», as comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out.

The value of the mass undertakings in educating and tempering the cooperativist youth, who are in the vanguard of the struggle for the new in all fields, for the extension of education and culture, farming techniques, socialist relations in the family, hygiene and cleanliness, etc are invaluable. In this struggle they have learned and profited by the revolutionary spirit, and education in the great revolutionary undertakings of the youth.

The volunteer undertakings of youth embody one of the features of the new revolutionaries, of the new person who belongs to the present and the future. «The willing work for the benefit of society is communist work. Through such work, the spiritual world of the youth is enriched, and their personality is affirmed, concern and preoccupation for the collective good becomes a personal, prevailing feature in life. «Outside this concept,» comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, «there can be no true education of youth».

On this road of communist work, of



The participation of youth in voluntary work is one of the ways of its education with the communist morality. Tens of thousands of youths from town and countryside work for one month every year in



***national and local undertakings,
such as construction of roads, railways,
reservoirs, etc. In the photo: An aspect from the
work of youth in the construction of the Fier-Ballsh railway***

following the collective interest, the youth are educated everywhere. The undertakings of volunteer work are only a part of revolutionary action and of communist consciousness and morality. Mass undertakings have become a method of education in all the aspects of the development and formation of the youth.

At this stage of the development of the revolution in our country, where every young person is conscious of working and struggling for himself and for society, all the conditions have been created for initiatives, mass undertakings and movements in all fields of the country's life.

Particularly important are the mass undertakings in the political, ideological, and cultural fields concerning way of life, formation of tastes and moral norms, and behaviour in the family and in society. Besides their importance, these mass undertakings are also more difficult to carry out, because they require more persuasive work, perseverance, attention and ability, since one is dealing with people's feelings and consciousness. It is a fact that the youth, educated by the party, are quicker to adopt the new, the progressive, and struggle to carry it through. The whole struggle of the party for the deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution cannot be divorced from the contribution, strength and devotion of the youth. The youth constitute not only an encouraging example for the improvement of the moral figure of the new man, but also an urging and transforming force.

The mass undertakings, initiatives and movements of youth for the elimination of the old backward customs and religious beliefs, the undertakings for the elimination of churches and mosques and other religious institutions which spread obscurantism, the youth movements and undertakings for the emancipation of the women and girls, the movements for the further revolutionisation of the school, such as that for the strengthening of proletarian discipline, the movements: «Why do we learn and for whom do we learn», «The ideals of communism – a banner of our life», «Learn from the working class», «Improve our moral character in struggle against alien manifestations and liberal stands towards them», etc. etc., have

brought the younger generation to the front ranks of all the battles and mass undertakings, as courageous and unflinching fighters in the struggle against any and every stain of the old world or pressure of today's bourgeois-revisionist world and in the deepening of the ideological revolution, for the allround emancipation of society.

These revolutionary initiatives and movements have a great educative value for the moulding of the new man with socialist features. First, they include the broad masses of youth who take an active part in the work for the solution of the great problems which preoccupy the party, the people and the state; they are more closely connected with the problems of their work centre, agricultural cooperative, school or military unit, where the youth increase their confidence in their own forces and their youthful enthusiasm, and have their say in all aspects of life. **Second**, a harmonious and allround class and revolutionary education of youth is carried out; the method of education is combined with that of self-education, and the economic benefit and the educative value of the initiatives are merged into a single whole. Third. Marxism-Leninism, the teachings of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha are assimilated and carried out in life by the youth in revolutionary practice and in struggle against the remnants of the old society and the manifestations of bourgeois-revisionist ideology.

The initiatives, mass undertakings and movements which the youth undertakes are not aimed just at drawing in the bulk of youth into them. The other labouring masses, too, are drawn in through the initiatives and mass undertakings of the youth, under the leadership of the Party.

The Party teaches us that the revolution develops nonstop, and that there is no place for random work. We are building socialism in conditions of the savage imperialist and revisionist encirclement.

The 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, analyzing the situation the country is undergoing, the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, and the ideological aggression against our coun-

try, pointed out that «We should not forget that the youth have been and always remain a target of the activity of all our enemies». Our internal and external enemies have always aimed their attacks at the youth. But our youth, oriented and taught by the Party, have understood that one of the main objectives of the enemy is to poison the minds and consciousness of young men and women, and introduce alien ideology into our ranks; they have understood that the main objective of the ideological aggression of the bourgeoisie and revisionism is to divert the younger generation away from the revolution and to divorce them from the Party. Therefore, under the leadership of the Party, our youth struggle to preserve their ideological and moral purity, refuting with contempt any and every alien bourgeois and revisionist manifestation or influence. The active and conscious participation of our youth in the powerful movement and undertaking of the masses to intensify the struggle against alien manifestations and liberal stands towards them is a powerful indication of the new features of our new person, reared and educated by the Party with proletarian ideology and morality. This is further proof showing that our youth stand firm in sound revolutionary positions, that they are determined to proceed on the road of the Party and of ceaseless revolution.

1974 is the year of the 30th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland. In the framework of this jubilee year, the youth, through their organisation, inspired and guided by the Party, have raised higher the banners of the undertakings, showing a rare spirit of sacrifice and self-denial, enthusiasm and heroism, at work, at school and in life. Swept by the mass movement to win the title of «distinguished organisation of the 30th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland», they have intensified their work and struggle for enriching their spiritual world and revolutionary tempering, and for the further perfecting of their moral figure through mass undertakings and ideological debates, through the struggle to realise the plan targets, and for further successes in all fields of socialist construction.

The victory of revolution in our country made it possible to begin to set up and develop socialist teaching.

Here are some thoughts on the experience of developing Marxist-Leninist educational thinking and making educational science a new theoretical basis for the building and development of our new schools and socialist education

THE REVOLUTIONARY NATIONAL TEACHING

by BEDRI DEDJA

THROUGHOUT THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR COUNTRY ON THE ROAD OF SOCIALISM, WE CAN DISTINGUISH THREE STAGES IN THE EFFORTS TO ELABORATE MARXIST-LENINIST EDUCATIONAL THINKING AND MAKE EDUCATIONAL SCIENCE A NEW THEORETICAL BASIS FOR THE BUILDING AND DEVELOPMENT OF OUR NEW SCHOOLS AND SOCIALIST EDUCATION.

In the first place, there was the stage which begins from the period of the national liberation struggle, and continues after liberation, with the application of the education reform and the fulfilment of the two-year plan for the country's economic and cultural development, in 1949-1950: This is the stage in which we struggled for the complete triumph of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line in educational theory and in the practice of building our socialist education.

In the second place, in the years 1951-1965, there was another qualitative stage, when the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line had completely triumphed in education, and we laid the first foundations for the creation of an Albanian, socialist science of teaching as well as for the stabilisation of our socialist education, on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

In the third place, in the years 1966 and onward, we have to do with the stage of the further revolutionisation of

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our schools and a new creative development in the field of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary educational thinking.

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In the first stage, when we struggled to define the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line in the field of pedagogical thinking, we had to make a great effort to destroy the old feudal and bourgeois concepts about education, as the domain of the privileged classes, as well as to take organisational measures to spread popular education, beginning during the national liberation struggle in the liberated areas. For this purpose, from the war on, we sought to implement a minimum programme for the education of the masses in a way which suited the war situation and the lack of staff and equipment. After the liberation of the country, when we were making the first efforts to prepare the education reform, our Party set down the two fundamental lines in the development of Albanian education: its mass character, and the radical change in programme, i.e. in content. In March 1946, presenting the government programme, comrade Enver Hoxha stated: «In the cultural and educational field, the Government has a heavy burden, because our people need more bread, but they also need more culture and education. This culture and this education must not be just a useless embellishment, but must serve the general interest, to produce more and better, and to raise living standards in our country. We need a culture that will make our people better able to work and produce, and we should make this culture and education a weapon of the broad working masses... The school reform and the change of programme will be the first task of the Government in the field of education. The reform and change in programme will be suited to the conditions created in our country and to the needs arising in the building of new Albania».

By the year 1946, the fundamental requirements of the educational policy of our party, in the socialist development of education, were clearly defined. Now our state, our people, the mass of teachers

and teaching opinion were faced with the task of carrying out radical transformations in the structure, content and methods of work of our new schools. This is the basis which promoted the lively development of educational thinking, especially from the year 1946, as well as the fierce struggle between opposite views, the debates, etc., which led to the victory of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line in the field of our new educational science.

At the beginning, when Marxist thinking had not been completely formed, in the theory of teaching and in the debates on the character and content of our school, two trends clashed: pragmatism and Herbartian pedagogy. On the one hand, many pedagogues and teachers, proceeding from the desire to contribute to the creation of the new schools, began to criticize the old schools in a onesided way, as passive, devoted to verbalism and intellectualism, and full of repressive discipline. But in their views about the creation of the new schools, these people were bringing the old bourgeois, reactionary content of John Dewey's theories on the active school, where the pupil «should become its starting point, its centre and its sole aim». There was a risk that this theory would hinder the creation of a proper education system, with unified programmes, and principles of systematic learning of the foundations of sciences; on the other hand, by advertising with leftist slogans the self-motivation and independence of the pupil; it ignored, the guiding role of the teacher in the teaching and educative process, thus paving the way to narrow bourgeois practicisim.

But among our teachers and pedagogues there were also those that supported Herbart's ideas; they thought that without «blind discipline» and the «firm authority» of the teacher there could be no real, serious schools.

Guided by the education policy of our Party, a series of measures was adopted, to carry out radical transformations in the content of education, introducing the spirit of the national liberation struggle. These measures were expressed in the compilation of new texts for the elementary school, in introducing the his-

tory of the national liberation movement and later on of Marxism, in abolishing the teaching of religion, in the struggle waged to teach exact knowledge, on a scientific and experimental basis, in strengthening the political spirit in the whole internal life of the schools and, particularly, in increasing the role of the youth and young pioneers' organisations at school.

Thus, little by little, with concrete struggle, on the practical terrain of the schools and in debates and discussions in the field of theoretical thinking, fighting both pragmatism and Herbartian pedagogy, Marxist educational thinking began to take shape.

First, concerning the aims and tasks of education, for the first time the requirement was raised for the allround, general communist development of the younger generation. This development demanded, in the first place, a high level of culture among the youth, the mastering of modern science and technology, and the forming of a scientific world outlook about society and nature, as well as the ability to operate machinery in industry. This development also demanded education with communist morality, the promotion of socialist patriotism and hatred for the old exploiting order, the cultivation of proletarian discipline, internationalism, the spirit of self denial and irreconciliability with prejudices and old customs; work education, aesthetic and cultural education, and physical and military training (so that our young people become physically strong, brave and loyal soldiers, defenders of the homeland and good workers on every front). All this as a whole should serve class political education, and the raising of the political and ideological level of the younger generation, through true Marxist-Leninist knowledge.

Second, concerning the content of teaching at school, it was required that «the equipping of the masses of our youth with a revolutionary culture» should become a guarantee that the remnants of fascist ideology would be eliminated. This would not be achieved just by removing fascist culture from the programme or praise of fascism from the texts, but through a minute re-examination of all subjects, in particu-

lar history, philosophy and ethics. In history, for example, we had to eliminate the obsolete methods and theories which were making of it a history of kings, generals, feudal lords and great men, by introducing revolutionary theories and making it mainly a history of the masses. We also had to include in the school programmes the study of Marxism, the history of the national liberation struggle and the history of the revolution and socialist construction, and remove every element that was orientated towards fascist culture.

Third, concerning the methods of teaching and education, the new programme required that besides studying, the younger generation should also be tempered in the school of life and work («the strongest educative means for youth today, as yesterday in the struggle»); theoretical preparation should be connected with practical work through mass undertakings, e.g. road, building, reconstruction of houses destroyed by the war, contributing to increased production in factories and villages, better organisation of agriculture, transport, and trade, the struggle against illiteracy, to spread culture in the masses, etc. These materials clearly laid down the task: «The more we involve the youth in the political, economic, social and cultural problems of the country, the more certain we are of success in their education.»¹⁾ Concerning the problem of the methodology of teaching, it was required that «the professors... should be more careful and more methodical in explaining the subject... the interpretation of various subjects is for the time being a major problem which must greatly preoccupy the professors. They must bring up youngsters with progressive principles which are based on real Marxist-Leninist science. They must explain the lessons, the events, through the prism of the principles which today guide our People's Republic» (the newspaper «Rinia», February 15, 1947).

The Party Congress in 1948 have clear instructions on deepening the process of the communist education of the younger generation with the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and basing teaching and educative work on materialist pedagogy and didactics. The meeting of the Educational Council in 1950, which held its proceedings

on the theme «For a sound education and ideology in our schools», stated that in the future attention should be concentrated on ideological problems in the content of teaching and education, rejecting a one-side way of dealing solely with methodological and organisational problems of education.

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After the years 1949-1950, when the party laid down the task of transforming our country into an agrarian-industrial country and later on of building the economic basis of socialism in Albania, our school and our education were faced with new complicated problems which required a more scientific treatment of pedagogical questions. The transition to compulsory 7-year education, as a new step in our cultural revolution, the extension of education and culture to the broad masses of the people, as well as the decision to eliminate illiteracy among the adult population, up to the age of 40, the strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist ideological spirit in the entire content of teaching and education, the broadening of the links of the educational system for training the cadres needed by the socialist construction of our country, etc. — all these set our young educational science many difficult tasks, both in organisation and in content.

In this period we have to do with one of the most difficult stages in the development of our young educational science. On the one hand, the problems facing our schools and our education were enormous and complex and on the other, these had to be solved by educationalists without having as yet organized special scientific educational studies, without having properly trained cadres in the field of pedagogy and its branches and without the publications needed to train educational cadres, at a time when we had just taken the first steps in organizing the higher education system and, in particular, higher teacher training.

Under these conditions it was understandable that our attention should be concentrated on the experience of Soviet education, as the first socialist education system in the world, as well as on Soviet

educational science. Thus, the first foundations of our young educational science are closely connected with the experience of Soviet socialist education, which was at that time the most progressive in the world. But our educational thinking not only knew how to profit by the Soviet experience, but also how to pose and solve some specific problems of Albanian socialist education, in conformity with the historical conditions and the requirements of our country.

Nevertheless, it must be said that, besides the positive influence exerted on our education thinking, Soviet education also exerted a negative influence. This found expression in two fundamental directions: First, exaggerated trust in Soviet education frequently appearing in the tendency not to adopt a critical stand towards many of its theses, and not to worry for a long time about the creation of special scientific research institutions in the field of educational science. Secondly, the lack of specialists trained in this field, as well as of a pedagogical front with a scientific-experimental platform, meant that many erroneous theses of Soviet pedagogy deeply penetrated into the practice of our schools and curbed to a certain extent, until the years 1960-61, the vigorous development of our educational thinking, as well as the creative initiative of our teachers. This influence found expression in a certain overevaluation of mental education in our schools, in their detachment, especially the schools of general education, from work and life, in the maintenance for a long time of verbalism and formalism in the methods of the teaching and educative work, in the increase of the teacher's formal authority, and in the cultivation of a certain new formality in teacher-pupil relations, and of educational bureaucratism.

Until the year 1961, we had only one pedagogical review: «Popular Education» («The New School»), which throughout its whole existence has been a lively, militant forum for the development of educational thinking in our country. In 1951 the faculty of pedagogy and psychology was founded in the Educational Institute of Tirana, the first scientific teaching unit of this nature in our country. This faculty has played a considerable role in the trai-

ning of educational cadres as well as in the publication of our first texts of educational sciences.

In 1960, in its theses on the reorganisation of the educational system, the Party set the fundamental directions of our educational science. These theses read: «Scientific work in the field of education must be concentrated on the study and elaboration of problems of content and teaching methods». Later, in his speech of March 7, 1963, the Minister of Education and Culture expressed the confidence that «we have the skilled cadres to set about serious, profound work, really scientific work, in the field of education. Carrying out the tasks set by the historic 6th Congress of the Party in the daily work of our schools, the need for such studies and research is being increasingly felt». Proceeding from this need, by special party decisions, concrete measures were also taken which helped greatly to revitalize our educational thinking from the year 1961 onward. Such measures were the decision to publish the newspaper «Mësuesi» (the teacher) in September 1961, as well as the creation of the Institute of School Studies and Publications in April 1965.

The years 1961-65 onward have been characterized by a perceptible revitalization of our educational thinking, and by efforts to solve, in original ways, many current problems in education, to extend scientific, experimental work in the field of education, to implement the mass line in scientific educational work, and to distribute on a large scale our original educational publications.

This was the period when, in our country, a great public debate was held on problems of the new teaching programmes, current questions of the communist education of our school youth, methods of teaching and education, and special problems concerning separate subjects. The first scientific educational session, organized in March 1963, the National Conference on educative work with the school youth, also in 1963, the national seminar on problems of the methods of teaching and education, etc., served as forums to promote our scientific thinking in the field of education, implementing the line of the masses. During this period special attention was also

paid to educational publications, the popularization of our studies, and the advanced experience of our teachers, etc., thus creating along with «Popular Education» and «The Teacher», a library of scientific educational publications.

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In 1966, with the 5th Congress of the Party, for our schools in general, and for our educational science, a new, more advanced stage began.

The further revolutionisation of education marks the beginning of the period for the complete consolidation of socialist education in our country, as well as of the struggle to carry the socialist revolution through in the field of education. For our educational science, this is the period in which we pose for solution and work on many new problems in the theory of the complete consolidation of socialist education as well as of marxist critical analysis of all our experience of socialist education in general. At this stage, our educational science, as a creative process, not only acquires original features but also plays a vanguard role in solving the fundamental ideological and educational problems which are connected with the development and complete consolidation of the socialist education system, and the revolutionisation of content and method.

What are the essential features of this new stage in the development of our education?

Under the present conditions of the fierce struggle between Marxism-Leninism on the one hand, and the bourgeois ideology and modern revisionism, on the other hand, under the conditions when socialist education in a number of countries where the state power was usurped by the revisionists is moving toward bourgeois degeneration, the problem of the struggle against bourgeois and revisionist views in education acquires great importance in order to carry the socialist revolution through in education.

Precisely for this reason, our Party has set, as a fundamental task in educational theory, the struggle we must wage to refute bourgeois concepts about the school, which still exert influence on its practice.

Along with this, in the party documents, the materials of the popular debate and our studies, particularly in recent years, a series of new educational problems were set out which pave the way for the complete consolidation of socialist education, and are connected with the educational system, the improvement of the compulsory 8-year schooling, the strengthening of the ideological axis in the whole of the teaching and educative work of the school, in the subjects of Marxism-Leninism and the humanities in general, the connection of study with productive work, the physical and military training of the younger generation, the posing the problem of polytechnical education in the current conditions of education here, the methods of teaching and educating, etc.

The new educational problems, which have increased at this stage, concern:

First, the re-examination of the entire platform of educational science, which must not be limited, as heretofore, mainly to the problems of the regular schools, where the younger generation studies and is educated. Here in fact we have to do with a new and higher stage of the development of the educational policy of the party, which finds expression in the demand for the total socialist democratisation of education, as a condition for the complete construction of the socialist society, and the triumph of the socialist revolution in both the economic field and the field of ideology and culture.

This will be achieved, as was pointed out at the 8th Plenum of the CC of the Party, through the effective establishment of the control of the working class, the broad labouring masses of town and countryside, over all the work of the schools. The exercise of worker control is decisive in preserving our schools and our school youth from any danger of revisionist and bourgeois degeneration, and making our schools a centre of the revolutionary tempering of the younger generation. The concrete ways to attain this aim are the establishing of worker control over the school in various forms, and opening all schools to the workers and all the working people, giving a mass character to education. «Thus, we will be able to educate our whole people and youth, our workers

and cooperativists, who, in the immediate future, must have a general, technical and professional education which is sufficient to promote our socialist economy and culture».

Second, our Party makes a contribution to the development of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary education with comrade Enver Hoxha's thesis on the allround ideological strengthening of education, the elaboration of a new, up-to-date concept of the essence of communist education and a complete system of the ways and means to further strengthen the Marxist-Leninist ideological axis in the whole content and method of the socialist school.

Thus, it is obvious that under the present conditions of the complete construction of socialist society and the fierce struggle against the ideology of imperialism and modern revisionism, political education and the ideological formation of the younger generation acquires absolute priority over all the other aspects of communist education. More than anything else, our people today are required to have political loyalty and ideological clarity. Broad general culture has no value without political and ideological formation and tempering. Here in essence we have an idea which enriches and lays down in a new light our classical concept of communist education: Certainly, all the aspects of the allround development are of decisive importance in forming the new man, but above all priority is given to ideological formation and political loyalty, which set the tone for all the aspects of communist education, mental development, ethical education, aesthetic formation, etc. This thesis is in open opposition to the views of revisionist pedagogy which trumpets and sings praises to the on-sided development of the mind, to «pure knowledge», to the closed temple of science for the chosen. In practice these theses of revisionist pedagogy have brought about great confusion in Soviet educational science, and have concentrated it on the «modernization» of the programmes and texts, at a time when the spirit of bourgeois degeneration has penetrated into the schools. In fact we have here an open effort by revisionist pedagogy to detach youth from life and from class struggle.

Third, the merit of our Party is that for the first time, it is actually solving what Lenin called an ideal of the future society, the unity of study with productive work and, parallel with this, the engaging of education on a course of its complete polytechnisation, while solving the problem of the physical and military preparation of the younger generation, in conformity with the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement of our socialist homeland.

«Our new education», says the report to the 8th Plenum, «must have as the basis of its entire teaching and educative work the triangle of study-productive work-physical and military education... The integration of study with productive work and physical and military education must be considered, first and foremost, as a question of world outlook, with an essentially ideological and political character. Only on this basis will our new people be able to learn, work and defend their homeland and at the same, to assimilate these three necessary qualities and put them at the service of our struggle for the complete construction of the socialist society».

Fourth, our Party once more reaffirmed, under new conditions, that the most appropriate method of teaching and educating is that which, parallel with study, is based on the revolutionary practice of life, on the living experience of the working masses, on productive work. Speaking of these problems, comrade Enver Hoxha raised in a new light the problem of the revolutionisation of teacher-pupil relations, and of perfecting the methods of teaching and educating. His thesis, that «teaching in the classroom must not have as its object the study of definitions, for it would then be an entirely formal verbal thing... The definitions must be complemented for the pupil or student with concrete questions, given to them by their research and its application in productive work,» opens a wide, concrete horizon to our educational theory which must re-examine with a critical eye many obsolete rules, methods and forms of organisation of the teaching process, which has kept the latter closely connected with the four walls of the class-room, with the teacher's verbalising,

with passivity and mechanical role learning by the pupil, with the very perceptible detachment of teaching theory from the research work and productive work of the pupils.

On the other hand, as regards the problem of drawing the school youth into the revolutionary practice of life and the need for active participation in all the social, political, ideological, productive and other spheres of life for tempering in the school of life, as one of the ways to education ideologically, our Party makes a great contribution to the theory of education, in order to detach this important branch of educational science from its age-old verbalism and formalism. Summing up the long experience of Party work with the youth, one clearly sees the great importance of undertaking, as a basic method, to involve the youth into the revolutionary practice of life, as a fundamental method for their communist education. Our youth, through their mass undertakings, are not just building important economic work. Above, all, mass undertakings serve as a great school to temper the younger generation, and educate it with correct concepts about work, they serve to instil in the youth the spirit of collectivism, struggle to overcome difficulties, love for their fellow creatures, pure friendship, and revolutionary determination. Communist concepts and morality are moulded in work and life, the petty-bourgeois, patriarchal and intellectualist remnants of the past are cast away and the obsolete barriers of various artificial distinctions set up by the overthrown ideologies and classes are rejected. The mass undertaking is a concrete area, where the party slogan, «think, work and live like revolutionaries», is put into practice.

All these features, taken together, constitute in themselves an important contribution to the development of socialist theory on education and schooling, the communist education of the working people and the younger generation, and of the further deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution. They constitute at the same time a firm foundation, a strong ideological and theoretical basis, for promoting our revolutionary educational science.

FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY

COMMUNIQUE ON THE MEETING OF THE 5th PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PLA

THE 5TH PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PLA CONVENED ON JULY 25 AND 26, 1974, UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMRADE ENVER HOXHA. THE PLENUM EXAMINED THE REPORT OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU ON THE PROBLEM OF FURTHER STRENGTHENING THE DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY, IT EXTENSIVELY DISCUSSED IT, AND ADOPTED THE APPROPRIATE MEASURES.

AT THE END OF THE MEETING, AN IMPORTANT SPEECH WAS DELIVERED BY THE FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PLA, COMRADE ENVER HOXHA.

**FROM THE 5th PLENUM
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE PLA**

Tirana, July 26, 1974

On October 6, 1974, in the atmosphere of an unprecedented joy, enthusiasm and mobilisation which has burst forth throughout the country in honour of the glorious 30th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and of the triumph of the people's revolution, the Albanian people once more manifested their great love for the Party of Labour and the people's power, crowning with full success the great political action of the elections of the deputies to the highest state organ, the People's Assembly.

A great inspiration and a high optimism were aroused in all the working people of socialist Albania during the campaign of the elections by the programmatic speech of comrade Enver Hoxha delivered at the meeting with the electors of his precinct.

The Central Election Commission, after having examined all the materials of the elections, noticed that the elections for deputies to the People's Assembly in all the polling booths, both at home and abroad, both at our diplomatic representations and our ships which were on sail, were held in conformity with the Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania and the law «on the elections to the People's Assembly».

From the examination of the minutes it follows:

A total number of 1,248,530 electors have been enrolled in the lists of the electors of the 250 precincts.

1,248,530 electors, equal with 100 per cent of the number of electors, took part in voting for the deputies to the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania.

1,248,528 electors, equal with 100 per cent of all those who took part in voting voted for the candidates of the Albanian Democratic Front in the 250 precincts, because on the basis of the article 38 of the law «on elections to the People's Assembly»,

BRILLIANT VICTORY OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE ON THEIR TRIUMPHANT SOCIALIST ROAD

**100 PER CENT OF THE ELECTORS TOOK PART
IN THE VOTING.**

**100 PER CENT OF ELECTORS VOTED
FOR THE CANDIDATES OF THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT
FOR DEPUTIES TO THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY**

**Communique of the Central Commission on the final results of
the elections of the deputies to the People's Assembly
of the 8th legislature**

2 voting bulletins were found worthless.

The participation in voting and the results achieved in the elections of October 6 are another great political victory, a brilliant manifestation of the steel-like moral-political unity of our people in the Democratic Front united to a man round the Party of Labour of Albania with the beloved leader and teacher of our Party and people, comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.

The October 6 elections still more strengthened the people's power, the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, raised still high the struggle of our people for the country's socialist construction, for the strengthening of the defensive potential of the Homeland, further enhanced the revolutionary vigilance against the imperialist-revisionist activity and all the other enemies of our Party and people.

The October 6 elections manifested with a new brilliancy the strength of our socialist democracy,

of the democracy of the people in power, who, under the leadership of the Party, directly take part in running the country and the construction of the new socialist life.

The October 6 elections further consolidated the victories achieved in the great work for the construction of socialism. They are an expression of the firm determination of our people to follow and implement through to the end the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party of Labour of Albania. Voting for the best sons and daughters, our people voted for their happy socialist future.

Based on the records of the precincts, on the basis of the article 15 of the law on the elections to the People's Assembly, the Central Election Commission decided to enroll as elected deputies to the People's Assembly and to send to the Credentials Commission of the People's Assembly the records of the elections for 250 deputies to the People's Assembly of the P.R. of Albania.





Graphic cycle :
«ALBANIAN WOMAN FOR FREEDON AND DEFENCE»
by painter Safo Marko.

FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY

25th ANNIVERSARY OF THE PROCLAMATION OF THE P.R. OF CHINA

The 25th anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of China was joyfully celebrated in the P.R. of Albania. Everywhere, in work and production centres, cultural and educational institutions, agricultural cooperatives and military units numerous activities were carried out devoted to this important event.

In the evening of September 28, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania and the Tirana district Party Committee organized a festive meeting in the Opera and Ballet Theatre hall.

Attending the meeting were workers from work and production centres and various institutions of the Capital, cooperativists, young men and young women, servicemen, representatives of mass organisations.

Present were also the member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania Mehmet Shehu, and other Party and State leaders. Present were also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China to the People's Republic of Albania Liu Chen Hua, other embassy officials and Chinese specialists who are helping in the

construction of the five-year plan projects.

The speech on the occasion was delivered by the member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and President of the Central Council of the Trade Unions Rita Marko.

Ambassador Liu Chen Hua also took the floor.

In the evening of September 30 the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China to the People's Republic of Albania Liu Chen Hua gave a reception in the «Dajti» hotel. Present at the reception were the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA Enver Hoxha, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Haxhi Lleshi, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania Mehmet Shehu and other Party and State leaders.

During the reception, which passed in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere, comrade Liu Chen Hua and comrade Mehmet Shehu delivered speeches.

On the occasion of the glorious jubilee of the 25th anniversary of the People's Republic of China the comrades Enver Hoxha, Haxhi Lleshi and Mehmet Shehu sent a message of congratulations to the comrades Mao Tse-tung, Tung Pi Wu, Chou Teh, Chou En Lai.

A DELEGATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH VIETNAM IN ALBANIA

At the invitation of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania and of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, a delegation of the Republic of South Vietnam, headed by Mr. Nguyen Huu Tho, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the National

Front for Liberation of South Vietnam and chairman of the Advisory Council of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, paid an official friendly visit to the People's Republic of Albania from September 16-20, 1974.

During their stay in Albania the dele-

gation of the Republic of South Vietnam visited various work and production centres, agricultural cooperatives and cultural institutions in the city of Tirana and the district of Durrës, and became directly acquainted with the great constructive work and the successes achieved by the working class, the labouring peasantry and people's intelligentsia in the struggle for the building of socialism and the defence of the gains of the people's revolution in Albania. The respected friends from South Vietnam were everywhere extended a warm and fraternal welcome, which is an eloquent expression of the profound friendship and powerful feelings of militant solidarity the Albanian people nourish for the fraternal people of South Vietnam and their heroic people's armed forces. The delegation of the Republic of South Vietnam expressed cordial thanks for the warm welcome accorded to them in Albania.

The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and President of the General

Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, Enver Hoxha, received the delegation of the Republic of South Vietnam, headed by the President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the National Front for Liberation of South Vietnam and Chairman of the Advisory Council of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam Mr. Nguyen Huu Tho, and held with them a cordial talk in a very warm fraternal atmosphere.

The President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania, Haxhi Lleshi, and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, Mehmet Shehu, held talks with the President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the National Front for Liberation of South Vietnam and Chairman of the Advisory Council of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam Mr. Nguyen Huu Tho. At these talks, which passed in a cordial friendly and mutual understanding atmosphere, both sides informed each other

of the situation in the two countries and exchanged opinions about the strengthening of the relations of friendship and fraternal collaboration between the People's Republic of Albania and the Republic of South Vietnam, as well as about various problems interesting both sides.

At the end a joint communique was signed by which both sides express their conviction that the official friendly visit of the delegation of the Republic of South Vietnam, headed by Mr. Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the National Front for Liberation of South Vietnam and Chairman of the Advisory Council of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, to the People's Republic of Albania, which concluded with full success, is a new contribution to the strengthening of the friendship and militant solidarity between the Albanian people and the people of South Vietnam, between the People's Republic of Albania and the Republic of South Vietnam.

This September, like every other, throughout the country, the doors of thousands of schools of all categories open, and one-third of the country's population flows into them; at this time, the difference between now and 30 years ago, when almost 90 per cent of the entire population was illiterate, becomes even clearer.

Little children, young boys and young girls, and older persons who study while continuing at work, are all going to school today. Thus, they begin to study, from their ABC up to learning about the building and operation of electronic computers, the atom and neutrons.

Today, some 550,000 pupils started lessons full time in the 8-year schools. These are the younger generation of our country and none of them stays out of school today. This category of school will be attended also by nearly 40,000 workers, who will take part time courses.

The number of pupils who attend secondary schools of general or vocational education has also increased from year to year. The full time secondary schools of general education alone will be attended by some 25,000 pupils, and vocational secondary schools by 33,000 pupils. There is now a greater attendance of vocational

secondary schools by workers and cooperativists, which shows that they are gaining a powerful weapon, knowledge, to their determination to advance our production and science.

The working class, in struggle to put into practice the teachings of the Party, just as in every field of its activity, so in the problems of education, too, is providing an example in strengthening proletarian discipline and deepening democracy.

The number of students who will follow full time and part time courses at Tirana University; its subsidiaries, and other higher schools of the country is enormous. 3,435 students will this year begin their studies in various branches of our higher schools, and about 1,500 others, also for the first time, are taking part time higher courses.

The great army of teachers, which amounts to over 30,000 has been joined this year by 1,700 more. Better conditions have been created for the pupils in this new school year. In all the country's

schools there are now workrooms and bases for productive work, and they have been equipped with laboratories and other teaching aids. There will be better conditions this year too in the establishments where teaching takes place. In the village schools alone over 700 new classrooms have been built and put into operation. Better preparations have been made for sports grounds and military training grounds. Progress has been made too, in increasing the number of textbooks compiled according to the orientations of the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party. All this will help in integrating more correctly the three components of Albanian education: Study-productive work-physical and military training.

About 3,000 students and 150 lecturers from 5 faculties of the University of Tirana began this academic year with work on one of the components of the revolutionary triangle of our new education, productive work. They have left for the youth undertaking, the Fier-Ballsh railway construction site.

THE NEW SCHOOL YEAR BEGINS

TIRANA,

THE LOVELY CAPITAL OF SOCIALIST ALBANIA

SABRI PILKATI

**On November 17 it will be
30 years since the
day Tirana was liberated.**

**This article tells
what Tirana was in the
past and how it has been
transformed and
flourished under
the people's revolutionary
socialist power.**

TIRANA, THE MAIN POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL CENTRE OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA, IS A NEW CITY IN COMPARISON WITH THE OTHER CITIES OF OUR COUNTRY, SUCH AS SHKODRA, DURRËS, BERAT, ETC., WHICH HAVE A HISTORY MORE THAN 2,000 YEARS OLD.

VARIOUS LEGENDS EXIST ABOUT THE BACKGROUND OF THE NAME AND FOUNDING OF THE CITY OF TIRANA, WRITTEN BY ALBANIAN AND FOREIGN AUTHORS. ACCORDING TO MOST OF THESE LEGENDS OF THE PEOPLE, BEFORE THE XVIITH CENTURY, BETWEEN THE SAUK, FARKË AND DAJTI HILLS ON THE ONE SIDE, AND THE HILLS OF KRUIJA, ISHMI AND PREZA ON THE OTHER, THERE LAY THE PLAIN AND A VILLAGE CALLED TIRANA. THE NAME OF TIRANA, AS IT IS CALLED TODAY, IS MENTIONED IN MANY LEGENDS WHICH ARE CONNECTED WITH THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE NATIONAL HERO GJERGJ KASTRIOTI-SKËNDERBEJ. BUT AS A TOWN, TIRANA WAS FOUNDED IN 1614.

The development of Tirana as a city was influenced not only by its surrounding land, which is suitable for agriculture, but also by the fact that Tirana was since that time crossed by transport routes for the caravans; it connected the coastal areas with the regions of Dibra, Mati, and Shkodra, with Elbasan, Ohri and Manastir. From that time too dates the development of trade and handicrafts. In the second half of the 18th century Tirana was trading not only with the other cities of Albania but also with Venice. Historical evidence shows that in 1817 Tirana had 8,000 to 10,000 inhabitants.

Tirana claimed distinction particularly for the production of silk and silk fabrics, and the production of olive oil.

SABRI PILKATI - economist, vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the People's Council of Tirana.

During the Turkish occupation the inhabitants of Tirana staged continuous uprisings against the Turks and local feudals. In 1908, at a meeting of the Tirana patriots, it was decided that the teaching of the Albanian language should be introduced in all the schools of the city and the «Bashkimi» club was founded to serve the Albanian national cause. In 1912, the inhabitants of Tirana formed two groups of insurgents, who fought against the Turkish army. From 1912 to 1919, Tirana fell three times under the domination of the Serbian army, once under the Austro-Hungarian occupation and twice under the Italian occupation.

On February 9, 1920, the Lushnja Congress proclaimed Tirana for the first time to be the Capital of Albania. After this Tirana began to develop more rapidly.

In 1920 Tirana had 15,000 to 20,000 inhabitants, and in 1938 it had 33,000 inhabitants. But until 1938, in the economic field, the small-scale production of private craftsmen and small private traders was prevalent in Tirana. Only in 1927 was there set up the first power station of 1,150 hp. There was a brick works, a cigarette factory, a few oil and soap workshops, a small radio station, a few small printing establishments, an ice works and a joinery. This was the entire industry of the city which was created over the 14 years of the monarchic Zog regime.

Since Tirana had been proclaimed the Capital of Albania, the country's reactionary elements were gathered here, and occupied high government positions, but parallel with them, the most progressive elements also began to arrive. Thus Tirana became the main centre where the political struggle for the overthrow of the rule of beys was intensified, more than anywhere else. By the years 1920-1924 the progressive democratic organisation «Bashkimi», created by Avni Rustemi, had the support and sympathy of the broad masses of the people. In 1926 the tailor workers and in 1929 the joiner workers formed the first societies of a trade union character, and over the years 1930-1940 the worker movement in Tirana began growing rapidly. Great assistance was given to this movement by the communists Ali Këlmendi, Qemal Stafa, Vasil Shanto, and others, who carried out broad activity for the organization of the workers and youth of the city. The leader of our people and Party, comrade Enver Hoxha, carried out a great deal of activity in Tirana. This city was the first to rise against the preparation for the Italian occupation on the part of Ahmet Zog, and in 1939 great demonstrations broke out. Hundreds of volunteers enrolled to fight against fascism in Durrës. But they were betrayed by the Zog government, which hid the weapons and vehicles from them.

During the nazi-fascist occupation, the people of Tirana never interrupted the struggle for the liberation of the homeland. In November 28, 1939 the first mass demonstration broke out against the foreign occupation.

But the national liberation struggle entered a new and glorious stage with

the founding of the Albanian Communist Party in Tirana on November 8, 1941. On every April 7, May 1 and November 28, days connected with historic events, under the leadership of the communists, thousands of people poured into the streets of the capital to express their hatred against the invader, and their solidarity with the antifascist camp, clashing with the army, the carabinieri and the police of the enemy. In November 27, 1941, the first shots of the guerilla war were heard in the streets of the city of Tirana. On May 5, August 16 and October 10 of 1942, the communists and heroes of the people Qemal Stafa, Misto Mame and Vojo Kushi fell heroically. Immediately after the forming of the party, the first partisan units were formed in Peza, Dajti and Petrela. Thousands of people left Tirana to fill the ranks of the partisan army. In some brigades, as in the 2nd, 3rd, 22nd and 23rd, most of the partisans were inhabitants of Tirana.

The fascist and nazi invaders, in collaboration with the traitorous organisations of the «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legaliteti», resorted to terror and massacres in order to extinguish the liberation struggle. But they did not achieve their aim.

In September 1944 the General Staff of the National Liberation Army charged the first Shock Division of the National Liberation Army, commanded by comrade Mehmet Shehu, to liberate Tirana. After 19 days of heroic, bloody fighting, from street to street and house to house, on November 17, 1944, Tirana, the capital of Albania, was liberated once and for all from the nazi invaders and the blood-thirsty local beys and agas.

On November 28, 1944 the people's democratic government of Albania, headed by comrade Enver Hoxha, was definitely established in Tirana.

In those glorious days of the struggle for liberation, partisans and people fought shoulder to shoulder in the streets, squares and houses of Tirana, as a new and powerful expression of the great support the partisan army always had from the masses of the people, and the popular character of our struggle, led by the party.

Every street and lane, every house, garden and square of Tirana, was involved in that great epic of liberation, in

which Tirana stood always on the front ranks. The city is full of commemorative plaques, statues and monuments, because from November 1941 on, it became the city of leaflets and of the ardent propagation of the line of the national liberation struggle, the city of demonstrations and bold actions of the guerrilla units, the city of the artillery shelling of the traitorous assembly and the revolutionary activity of the communist cells. Liberation found Tirana heavily damaged, as a result of the destruction caused by the invaders and traitors to the country.

But while one could still see the destroyed nazi bunkers, in the squares and the streets of Tirana, when the materials of the barricades were still heaped up on the streets and pavements, when one could still almost smell the smoke and gunpowder, the citizens of free Tirana set about the reconstruction work, and in struggle with the difficulties of growth, and forging ahead, particularly those created by the imperialists, chauvinists, revisionists and local reaction, they reaped brilliant victories. This was another heroic epic, no less glorious than that of the national liberation struggle.

In these post-liberation years, Tirana got to know many things «for the first time» in its history, because Tirana was the only capital in Europe that had never heard the whistle of a locomotive. It had been a capital without a university, without an opera and ballet theatre, without a drama theatre, without a museum, without a film studio, without a scientific research laboratory or academy of sciences.

Tirana is a very significant indication of the magnificent work the Party has done over these 30 years of liberation, for the transformation of the economy, education and culture in our country. Instead of small, primitive workshops, Tirana today has flourishing and developing modern combines, plants and factories. Several years ago, in the field of industry, Tirana boasted the «Enver» plant and the «Stalin» textile combine, but today there have risen along-side them dozens of other factories and plants, such as the Tractor Plant, the «Ali Këlmendi» food combine, the meat combine, the «Josif Pashko» building materials combine, the «Misto Mame» timber processing combine,

the bread factory, the glass works, the ceramic works, the «Dinamo», «Dajti», «Partizani» and «Tirana» plants and dozens of other new factories.

In comparison with 1938, the industrial production of Tirana has increased over 65 times. It now represents about 21 per cent of the Republic's total industrial production. Tirana ranks first in all the districts of the Republic in the engineering, building materials, glass, ceramics, timber, printing, and light industries.

Tirana now produces electrical and other motors, cranes and excavators, turbines and soldering apparatus, steel tubes and transformers, fabrics, ready-made clothing and shoes, tiles, bricks and panes, foodstuffs, furniture, glass and porcelain products, kitchen utensils, pharmaceuticals, cosmetics and hundreds of other items.

Profound general transformations, incomparable with the past, have taken place over these 30 years in the villages around Tirana, too which formerly were characterized by great economic and cultural backwardness.

The cultivated land area has reached so far about 29,000 hectares as against 13,000 hectares in 1938. The Tirana district has an area of 1,700 hectares planted in vineyards, as against 24 hectares in 1938; it has now approximately the area of vineyards which the whole of Albania had in 1938. The number of fruit trees and olive trees has increased from year to year.

In the Tirana area, too, socialist farming is proceeding toward complete mechanization. Tirana has today over 600 of 15 HP tractors as against 1 tractor before the liberation. There have been set up modern poultry farms and greenhouses which, together with a whole system of agricultural farms and cooperatives, supply the capital regularly with fresh vegetables.

In these recent years, in agricultural enterprises and cooperatives over 1000 auxiliary services have been set up, such as production workshops, crèches and kindergartens, dining halls, bakeries, public bathhouses, laundries, etc., which have helped to raise the cultural standards of the peasantry.

Over these 30 years of people's power there has been a perceptible increase in Tirana's capacity in the field of construction work, transport and communication, the extension and modernisation of the trade network, and in health and various other municipal services.

In addition to the great industrial projects and the cultural ones such as the big palace of culture, the «New Albania» film studio, the sanatorium, the «Partizani» stadium, and the central army barracks, dozens more establishments adorn our capital. In Tirana there have been built about 25,000 new apartments, asphalted roads, parks, gardens and hundreds of service establishments. Tirana can take a modest pride in several things: its population uses the water of mountain springs as drinking water. It is considered to be one of the European capital cities with the largest green area, and from the ecological view point is one of the cleanest cities in the world. Tirana consumes today 85 times more electric power and is supplied with 40 times more drinking water than in 1938. The trade network has extended to the remotest villages in the district.

Particular attention is paid to the protection and improvement of the health of the people. Today Tirana has 22 health institutions with 3,500 beds, 10 general clinics and 6 dental clinics. In the Tirana villages alone, there are 3 hospitals, 8 maternity homes, 8 small dental clinics and 44 outpatient clinics.

Tirana is today the greatest cultural and educational centre in the country. In the current school year, over 90,000 pupils and students are studying in day and evening schools in Tirana, and over 4,000 teachers and lecturers work in them. One out of three people living in the Tirana area attends school. Over 12,000 students follow their studies in 70 subjects at the State University of Tirana, the higher Agricultural Institute, the Institute of Arts and the Physical Culture Institute.

The thirty years of the people's power were years in which the new men were tempered in tireless and persistent efforts on the front of production, building construction and creative work. We have to-

day a heroic working class, and a people's intelligentsia very closely connected with the party and the interests of the people. The life and activity of our working class and of all our working people preserves the spirit of the barricades, the spirit of the people's revolution, the spirit of the party.

As for our entire country, a brilliant future lies in store for Tirana. Great developments lie ahead for Tirana's engineering industry. Besides the extension, to almost three times its size, of the «Traktori» plant, the «Enver» plant will be extended to four times its present capacity. Almost all the plants in the district will undergo complete or partial reconstruction. Many of the new sectors created under the current five-year plan, such as those for production of electric motors, moulds and instruments, agricultural machines, equipment and tools, boilers and trailers, metal-cutting and processing machines, etc., will be greatly extended, or else separate plants will go up. The range of production of our engineering industry will show great increases particularly in the production of machines, equipment and spare parts.

Great development will take place also in food-processing and light industry. The extension of the «Stalin» textile combine, the construction of the printing plant, the extension of the «Partizani», «Tirana» and «Dajti» plants, the electro engineering plant, and the furniture factory, the construction of the tomato concentrate and fruit juice factory, the extended production of ready-made clothing, sugar, velours, cosmetics, pharmaceutical products, washing machines and refrigerators, the match factory, etc., are only some of the new projects which will be added to our food-processing and light industry in the coming years.

Red Tirana, Tirana of the partizan barricades, is meeting the 30th anniversary of its liberation and that of the homeland with a rich balance sheet of successes and a joyful heart, with firm confidence and the unflinching resolution to march together with our people towards the happy future, on the road of the Party.

press review

THE HEGEMONISTIC AIMS OF THE SUPERPOWERS UNDERLIE «EUROPEAN SECURITY»

«ZËRI I POPULLIT», organ of the C.C. of the P.L.A.

The proceedings of the second stage of the conference on «European security and collaboration» in Geneva have been suspended. The various agencies point out that the conference was postponed until Autumn «without achieving the important results which were expected at this stage of the talks». Thus, the wishes of the Soviet social imperialists that the second stage should end as soon as possible and the third and final stage be convened in summer this year, were not realized, nor were their efforts to achieve this successful. Over more than 21 months of discussions, the main problems set by the organizers have not been solved.

The Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania have long said that, under the guise of «European security», there is being concocted a plot of great proportions, the dangerous consequences of which will not be slow in coming to light. At the «Conference of European security» the United States of America and the Soviet Union speak of building relations between states in Europe on the principles of independence, sovereign equality, non-use of force, etc., but they un-

dertake actions in contrast with these principles and carry out diversive political and diplomatic actions, combined with demonstrations of force.

The creation of the dangerous situation in Cyprus is a direct consequence of the hegemonistic policy long pursued by the two superpowers in the Middle East and the Mediterranean, and in particular in its eastern part. The United States of America and the Soviet Union, as two imperialist powers, in the framework of rivalry and struggle to divide zones of influence and to secure superiority with regard to one another, ignoring the sovereign rights of the peoples, make great efforts to occupy key strategic positions and military bases in the Mediterranean area, in order to maintain their fleets there. These events and facts clearly reveal the false and deceptive character of the imperialist-revisionist propaganda. Now, when it is clearly seen that the conference on so-called European security has entered the road of failures, and when, as a result of the aggressive actions of the two superpowers, tension in Europe and the world has further increased, the revisionist propaganda spreads inventions

about the successes allegedly achieved in talks, and about the «relaxation of tension» on the European continent.

But in reality «the Conference on European security and collaboration» has nothing in common with true security and collaboration. Europe can never be secure as long as the aggressive blocs of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty remain intact, their military bases are maintained, they do not put an end to the presence of foreign armed forces on the territories of some European countries, and nothing changes in the aims and hegemonistic policies of the two superpowers. In Europe, peace and stability, likewise cannot be guaranteed as long as the two superpowers maintain their warships and military bases in the Mediterranean basin, and as long as in the Middle East and other areas of the world, a tense situation continues to exist. It is for these reasons that «the People's Republic of Albania», as comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «is opposed to this so-called European security, in as much as it considers it to be European slavery, a suppression of freedom and democracy, and the independence of the European peoples, by the great im-

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perialist powers and by all those capitalist groupings which are in power in other countries of Europe, and which blindly follow this criminal activity.

The so-called «European security», under the patronage of the two great imperialist superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet revisionists,

aims at placing Europe in their power and at the same time giving a free hand to the two superpowers to dominate the world».

A SURE DEFENDER OF THE REVOLUTION AND SOCIALISM

The whole Albanian press published editorials hailing the 47th anniversary of the creation of the glorious Chinese People's Liberation army. The article in the newspaper «LUFETARI», organ of the Ministry of the People's Defence, under the above heading reads:

The creation of the Chinese People's Liberation Army is a monumental deed of the Communist Party of China and of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. The Party has always been and remains in command of it. It has led it with wisdom and maturity, on the basis of the precepts of Marxism-Leninism, from victory to victory. Issuing from the fold of the people and guided by the teachings of the Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has grown and tempered itself as a revolutionary army of the new type, in the crucible of the legendary battles for national and social liberation as well as for the defence and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat in new People's China. During its whole legendary struggle against the forces of Japanese militarism, US imperialism, the Chiang Kai Shek reactionaries and all other enemies, it has creatively and successfully put

into practice the precepts of Marxism-Leninism on revolution and armed uprising, and the requirements of the revolutionary military art in the concrete conditions of its country.

Over the years of the people's power, the Chinese People's Liberation Army, always led with farsightedness by the Communist Party with Chairman Mao Tse-tung at the head, has further enriched and developed its brilliant, revolutionary fighting traditions. Always united with the people like flesh to bone, it has worked and fought shoulder to shoulder with them for the construction and the defence of socialism, making an outstanding contribution to the victories and achievements registered in all fields. It has steadily raised the level of its allround political and combat preparedness, and it has become a steel-like bulwark of its socialist homeland. Standing guard over the gains of the revolution, the Chinese People's Libe-

ration Army has destroyed with an iron fist the conspiracies, plans and aggressive acts inspired or directly undertaken by the US imperialists and their allies the Soviet social imperialists, it accomplished a lofty internationalist duty in giving great aid to the Korean people to defend the Democratic People's Republic of Korea from US imperialist aggression. A brilliant testimony to its proletarian character, firm devotion and boundless loyalty to its socialist homeland and the people, as well as an excellent proof of its strength and vitality, was seen in its active participation in and outstanding contribution to the great proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung in person, for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the People's Republic of China, and the victory of the line of the Communist Party against the line of the renegade Liu Shao Chi clique and the consis-

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tent revolutionary stand of this army was also seen in the movement to criticise Lin Piao and Confucius.

The Albanian people and their army, educated by the Party of Labour of Albania and comrade Enver Hoxha with the spirit of proletarian internationalism, have always followed with interest the outstanding successes and victories of the 800 million strong Chinese people and their army. Their successes and victories have gladdened and

inspired our people and army who have considered them as their own successes and victories, and those of all the peoples, of socialism and the revolution on a world scale. That is why they feel respect, admiration and sincere friendship for the Chinese people and their glorious army. Our friendship is ever-lasting because it has been forged by our Marxist-Leninist parties and by our great leaders, comrade Enver Hoxha

and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, because it has been built on the steel-like foundations of Marxism-Leninism, because it is continually strengthened and developed in the common struggle, and shoulder to shoulder on the same fronts, against US imperialism, Soviet social imperialism and all the reactionaries, in the joint efforts to defend the cause of the progressive peoples, socialism, and the world revolution.

■

SIX YEARS AFTER THE BARBAROUS AGGRESSION BY THE SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISTS AGAINST CZECHOSLOVAKIA

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

Six years have elapsed since the fascist occupation of Czechoslovakia by the troops of the Soviet social imperialists, and these six years have brought the Czechoslovak people many sufferings and misfortunes. Their country is occupied. In the political field, the clique in power carries out what Moscow decides, what is ordered by the headquarters of the Soviet occupation units, the Soviet embassy in Prague or the other representations of Moscow which wear the disguise of international institutions, such as the Warsaw Treaty, etc. On Moscow's order numerous purges have been carried out in Czechoslovakia so far, for the

«consolidation and stabilization of public order», the communists and real patriots are persecuted. Also recently, a series of laws and measures have been approved in Czechoslovakia which give broader competences to the police organs to make house searches, checks, persecutions and arrests.

In the economic field Czechoslovakia's bosses carry out neocolonialist plans worked out in the Planning Committee of the Soviet Union. Today in Czechoslovakia there is almost no economic branch that does not work for the Soviet metropolis. Indeed, in the Czechoslovak economy as a whole and in some individual branches of it, struc-

tural changes have been made in order to fit production to the needs of the Soviet occupationists. For example, the entire uranium industry is in the hands of the Soviets. The Moscow chieftains exploit Czechoslovak productive capacities, and the technical and technological abilities of its working people, in order to obtain products which will go to the Soviet Union. According to official data, most of the Czechoslovak materials imported by the Soviet Union consist of minerals and fuels. These minerals are processed in Czechoslovak plants and factories, and as ready-made products, are sent to the Soviet Union. Eighty per cent

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of the goods Czechoslovakia exports to the Soviet Union is machinery and equipment used for the industrialisation of the Soviet Union, at a time when in Czechoslovakia there is a shortage of such machinery and equipment. Thus, during the current year, Czechoslovakia will receive from the Soviet Union 6.4 million tons of iron ore, but it must return to the Soviet Union 50 per cent of the equipment produced by processing this metal, such as locomotives, rolled metals, inland vessels and other goods produced with the Soviet raw materials. Thus, through the "price scissors", the Moscow chieftains cut at the Czechoslovak working people. The Soviet Union gets machinery and equipment from Czechoslovakia at prices which are 15-38 per cent lower than those of the world market. The Soviet Union compels Czechoslovakia to develop those economic branches in which the Soviet economy is interested, and this orientation of the economy to produce according to Soviet needs, not the national

needs, has done great harm to the Czechoslovak people.

At the same time the Moscow chieftains have compelled Czechoslovakia to contribute colossal sums to set up various projects on the territory of the Soviet Union. On the basis of the 1966 agreement alone, the Soviet Union got from Czechoslovakia various goods to the value of 4 billion crowns, in the form of credit for the exploitation of Siberia's Tiumen oil. It has got billions more for the "Druzhiba" (friendship) oil pipeline (although the greatest quantities of oil go through it to the Federal Republic of Germany and other western countries), the gas pipeline, and the asbestos combine in Kiembaj.

Soviet troops have occupied Czechoslovakia, but the Czechoslovak people have not submitted. They have resisted the occupiers in various ways from boycotting everything bearing the Russian trademark, to isolating the Soviet servicemen and civilians serving in Czechoslovakia and destroying the buildings where they work, as was

the case at the offices of the Soviet civil air line which were destroyed in Prague. All the efforts of the Husak clique to make the Czechoslovak people "friendly" toward the occupiers have failed. The various measures this clique has undertaken to stabilize the situation, and the broad campaigns in this direction, have not yielded results.

The occupation of Czechoslovakia brings great shame on the Soviet social imperialists. But at the same time it is a warning to all those who love freedom and independence, that in the world arena, in addition to US imperialism, there has for years been another enemy operating who is just as dangerous, aggressive and savage, another enemy of the freedom and independence of the peoples, oppressive and exploiting, occupationist and colonialist - Soviet social imperialism. Therefore, they must be vigilant, not to allow this sworn enemy to trample on the peoples and the things they hold most sacred, their freedom, independence, national dignity and destiny.



IDEOLOGICAL DIVERSION AIMS AT DISRUPTING AND SUBVERTING THE YOUTH

"ZËRI I POPULLIT"

Towards the beginning of the sixties, there was an upsurge in the struggle of youth in the

capitalist world. This fact is connected with the increase of the opposition and revolt by

youth against exploitation and the aggressive policy of imperialism. The general opposition

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of youth goes as far as rebellion and revolutionary actions, as in the youth and student movement in 1968. Concerning these movements, comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out that «at the foundation of the student and youth problem in general, in the capitalist countries, there is the cause of revolution, the violent overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie which is the source of all their misfortunes».

The political struggle of the youth compelled the bourgeoisie more intensively to put into action against the younger generation its main weapon, ideological diversion, which has principal aims: First, by means of social demagogy, to spread among the ranks of the youth social and political indifference, in order to achieve the spiritual enslavement of the younger generation. Second, to spread ideological confusion, so that the opposition and revolt of youth against the capitalist system will not be channeled in an organized political direction.

In this way, the imperialist bourgeoisie seeks to split the youth, so as to make it easier to subvert them and place them at the service of its antipopular policy and expansionist plans.

The social demagogy of the bourgeoisie has a general aim, but it aims at the younger generation first since, because of their nature and lack of experience in life, they can more easily be affected by this de-

magogy. The propaganda of the bourgeois state, such as decadent literature and art, films, radio and television, and the omnipresent advertising of goods, does its best to convince people that capitalism has changed its nature and has become «people's capitalism», where the exploitation of man by man has allegedly disappeared, that the antagonistic classes are now disappearing, that «the consumer society» has created well-being and abundance for all men, that education has taken on a mass character, and other nonsense. The bourgeoisie aims, through the «power of things», to enslave souls of people.

In the field of politics, they seek to befuddle the youth by means of bourgeois «freedom» and «democracy». These are purely demagogic slogans which serve to extend ideological chaos and political anarchy. The power of capital allows just so much freedom as will not endanger its existence; when it feels itself in danger, it resorts to force of arms, paves the way for the fascist forces, as in Chile in September 1973, or revives the fascist elements, as for instance in Italy.

The power of capital encourages, and frequently even finances, the spreading of all kinds of tendencies and political trends in the fold of the youth movement, with a view to disorientating and disrupting it. The anarchists launch slogans which curb the revolutionary movement of the working class

and the progressive youth. A general political strike is considered by the Trotskyists as the only form of carrying out the revolution, thereby negating the other, higher forms of revolutionary struggle. Anarchist tendencies are revived in particular at the most intense periods of the struggle of the youth. They deny the necessity for a vanguard party in the revolution and the state in general. One feature of the Trotskyist trend in the youth and student movement is phraseology, which considers the intellectuals, the students and pupils as the leading core of the revolutionary movement of the masses. In general, the so-called «leftist» trends have no organisational unity among them, but in practice, by sabotaging the progressive movement of youth, they directly serve the bourgeoisie.

Particularly great service is rendered to the bourgeoisie by the modern revisionists, who have become its collaborators in spreading ideological confusion in the ranks of the youth. They often help the repressive apparatus of the bourgeoisie to divert the revolutionary actions of youth from political demands, or directly to sabotage them. This is how the French revisionists acted during the student movement in France in May-June 1968. They called on the rebelling students to give up their political demands and confine their struggle to «trade union rights» and «reforms of the educational system», without

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breaking out of the bourgeois framework. The Spanish revisionists are trying to channel the struggle of the youth and students toward the «democratisation» of the fascist Franco regime. The undermining activity of the revisionist parties in many countries of the capitalist world has openly come out against the use of violence by youth and students, defending in this way the power of the bourgeoisie. The modern revisionists have transformed themselves into social-democratic type saboteurs of the struggle of youth.

But however hard the bourgeoisie and its servants may try, through social demagogu-

or by spreading ideological confusion, they will be unable to divorce the progressive youth of the capitalist countries from the working class. The objective conditions of bourgeois society urge youth and the masses of students increasingly to unite with the struggle of the working class. The youth struggle is now assuming a markedly political character. This is proved by the struggle of the Spanish youth against fascism in power, that by the Italian youth against the revival of fascism, the protest demonstrations and marches of the American youth against the hegemonistic and aggressive policy of US imperialism, etc. In this revolutionary movement, an

ever more active role is being played by the Marxist-Leninist parties. They are rallying around them broad masses of young people by means of meetings, the press and other forms, they ideologically instruct the worker and student youth, they fight against revisionist, anarchist and Trotskyist concepts, they show youth the true revolutionary road and they lead them on this road. For the progressive youth in capitalist countries the revolution is becoming an increasingly attractive force, and this must be so because, as comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «the tendency of present day world development is toward revolution and the triumph of socialism».

THE FASCIST PINOCHET CLIQUE MAKES HASTE TO REWARD ITS AMERICAN BOSSES

«BASHKIMI»

It is almost eleven months since the Chilean fascist junta carried out the military coup, and the situation in Chile remains tense. In order to suppress the resistance of the people, the military junta is continually exercising violence, terror and mass arrests. Over 65,000 people have been arrested in Chile since the military coup d'état. More than 10,000 of them are still held in terrible conditions in the jails or concentration camps spread all over the country, even on the islands. In less

than 9 months, the fascist regime increased military expenditure more than 5 times over, and envisages increasing it still more. The Pinochet junta now maintains an army of more than 500,000 soldiers, not counting thousands of agents and spies of the secret police. The Pinochet clique is defraying these colossal expenditures with the aid granted to it mainly by US imperialism. Within a few months it has received more than 900 million dollars in the form of loans or credits.

On the other hand Pinochet makes haste to reward his instigators and bosses, and continues to return the factories, banks, mines and lands expropriated by the Allende government to the capitalist owners, land proprietors and foreign monopoly companies. In Santiago, it was announced that the junta would pay the «Anaconda» Copper mining concern 253 million dollars as «compensation» for the losses this monopoly suffered as a result of the nationalisation of its two bran-

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ches under the Allende Government. «Anaconda» will receive 65 million dollars in cash and 188 million more within 10 years, with interest. The «Andes Copper Mining Company» will be given 44 million dollars, and the «Chile Exploration» company 15 million dollars.

This «compensation» of US monopolies is done at a time when the Chilean economy is in the grip of a deep crisis. Since September last year, the cost of living has increased by 64 per cent. The official statistics published recently admit that in the first four months of the current year, the consumer

goods price index rose by 86.91 per cent. The prices of mass consumer goods such as bread, flour, oil, butter, sugar, and medicines, have been raised by up to 30 times over.

This is the reality in Chile, which the junta of the fascist generals is trying to conceal by numerous demagogical statements about the alleged «good prospects» of Chile and about the so-called changes in the present situation. Beside the demagoguery, savage oppression, terror and violence continue. But the Chilean people, the labouring masses of Chile, are responding to the fascist violence,

hunger and poverty, and the anti-national policy of the Pinochet junta, through struggle in the most diverse forms, up to armed resistance. Although strikes by the workers have been banned, since the advent to power of the fascist Pinochet junta, the workers of various sectors of the economy have organized more than 150 large-scale strikes, in addition to demonstrations and numerous clashes with army and police forces. Savage violence has not conquered the Chilean people's aspirations to freedom, real national independence and social progress.

THE REVISIONIST BOURGEOISIE — OWNER OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The ideological counterrevolution and the usurpation of political power by the revisionist traitors in the Soviet Union and in some other countries of Eastern Europe has inevitably brought about profound changes in economic relations.

In these countries, social ownership over the means of production has been eliminated and the relations of production have degenerated. Externally, property in the revisionist countries has preserved the form of state property, it is presented by the rulers of these countries as «socialist property» and in this framework previous orga-

nisational forms have been maintained. But this does not alter the fact of its capitalist degeneration.

The new bourgeoisie, through the measures carried out on the basis of the numerous economic reforms, have brought about a situation in which the workers and other working people can be dismissed, punished, fined and persecuted according to the will of the managers, who have won unlimited rights, like the bosses of capitalist countries. Although creating material goods, the workers and peasants are at the bottom of the list when it is a question of ful-

filling their immediate needs for housing, health institutions, pre-school institutions, etc.

Although the Soviet revisionists claim that there are no unemployed in the Soviet Union, it follows from various figures that millions of people are in fact jobless. In May last year the newspaper «Trud» was compelled to admit that about 6 million able-bodied persons «are not in work relations». Unemployment is officially admitted in Poland and Hungary. Masses of ruined peasants, in search of better working and living conditions, abandon their homes. In Poland the ruined pea-

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sants swell the army of the unemployed.

Such a situation has favoured the conditions in which the new bourgeoisie take all sorts of arbitrary measures in order to make as much profit as possible from the working people.

The degeneration of ownership over the means of production in these countries has inevitably led to the degeneration of distribution. Lenin has stressed that the socialist state must defend equality in the distribution of products, and exercise control over the rate of work and the rate of consumption. The modern revisionists have violated this principle, they have destroyed not only socialist social property, but also distribution, according to the socialist principles of «to everyone according to his work, from everyone according to his abilities». As a result, we have today a marked property differentiation between the new revisionist bourgeoisie and the broad labouring masses. The «élite» of the revisionist society appropriates the results of the labour of the working people, enriches itself, and leads a dissolute life. The revisionist bourgeois, according to their hierarchic level, receive salaries and remunerations dozens of times higher than the wages of the rank-and-file workers. Numerous conditions have been created for them to enrich themselves through various privileges. For instance, in the Soviet Union a low rank manager or

an assistant in a low-level institute receives a salary over 10 times larger than the wage of a worker. The salaries of the leaders of the party, state, economic and other organs, at district level, and up are dozens of times larger. In addition to their salaries they also receive up to 7 supplementary payouts annually in the form of rewards, and they have great privileges. Some time ago it became known that the Soviet Minister of Culture Furtseva, had built herself a villa worth 170.000 dollars, a rank and file worker would have to work for about 200 years to earn this!

Thus, in the revisionist countries, the capitalist state sector is prevalent. The new bourgeoisie uses the state machine to increase its capitalist riches and profits, as the sole owner of the principal means. The same thing occurs in the other sectors where special groups of men in collective farms, cooperatives and various unions wantonly exploit the broad working masses, with the allround aid of the police machine of the state. Although these sectors preserve their external socialist form, their essence is the same as that of the equivalent sectors in capitalist countries.

Another economic sector which was revived in recent years in the revisionist countries is the private-capitalist sector. This sector has a strong position in agriculture, trade, tourism, handicrafts, etc. According to official Soviet statistics, on

January 1 this year, private individuals owned over 70 million head of livestock. They contribute 65 per cent of the production of potatoes, 40 per cent of vegetables and about 50 per cent of eggs. To transport their goods to private markets they use trains and even planes. The state has given private owners several million hectares of land. In Poland 85 per cent of the farm land is in private hands.

In Hungary private owners control a large part of the food supply to the population. In Bulgaria the private owners in the countryside are favoured with bank credits.

The private sector is also developing in tourism. According to the Soviet press, on the Sukhum coast of the Black Sea, the private sector has as many places for tourists as the state sector. In Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Hungary private people earn large sums from tourism. To these must be added those people who, under the guise of workshops and even factories which are formally dependent on collective farms or cooperatives, carry out broad private activities. In the Soviet Union alone, there are 250.000 such workshops and enterprises, employing about 1.5 million people and turning out production worth 7.5 billion rubles.

For the rank and file workers of the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries, the weight of exploitation is no

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lighter no matter whether the exploiter hides behind the mask of the «state of the entire people», or of «socialist property», or openly comes out as a private owner. In both cases, on the one hand we have the exploiter, who owns the means of production, decides upon everything, and gets rich at the

expense of others, and on the other we have the workers, who are compelled to sell their strength to the revisionist exploiters, to the new bourgeoisie which is as savage and insatiable as the old one. With the liquidation of socialist ownership over the means of production in these countries, the

exploitation of man by man was reestablished.

The working class in the revisionist countries does not reconcile itself with this situation, it will rise in resolute struggle and go into battle to overthrow the power of the revisionist bourgeoisie and restore the dictatorship of the proletariat.

NIXON'S DEPARTURE — A SERIOUS EXPOSURE FOR THE US RULING CLASS

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

Seriously exposed before American and world public opinion, abandoned even by his closest collaborators, Nixon was compelled at last to tender his resignation from the presidency.

Nixon's downfall is a heavy blow for US imperialism and for political morality and the customs of governing the country. The false facade of American democracy has suffered another shock.

The Watergate scandal, in itself is really an ordinary event in American life, which is familiar with crimes, murders, robberies, spying on the citizens, listening in to conversations, etc., it is the offspring of the capitalist system itself, of oppression and exploitation. But the fact is that this scandal, in which the president himself was involved, still more clearly showed the rottenness and deep crisis of that oppressive and

exploiting system where criminals and swindlers rule, where law of the «jungle» and «business morality» operate.

Nixon's rule in the White House showed that he served to the end the American bourgeoisie and the big monopoly groups. He pursued a reactionary and antipopular policy, and did his utmost to shift the burden of the crisis which has gripped US imperialism onto the rank and file workers of America; under him, inflation rose to an astronomical figure, as did prices and taxes, and the monopolies secured fabulous profits at a time when economic difficulties, unemployment, etc., weigh so heavily on the working masses of the USA. At the same time, Nixon has utilized the method of oppression and reprisals to defeat the class struggle of the American workers and progressive forces.

Nixon served the big US imperialist bourgeoisie with loyalty and zeal in the field of foreign policy too. Rarely has any president played the role of a demagogue as he did, to advertise himself as the man of peace, and to accomplish his hated mission as an international gendarme, in defence of the predatory interests of US imperialism. He waved the olive branch and spouted bombastic slogans about the relaxation of tension and the establishment of peace in the world, yet on his order American planes killed Vietnamese men, women and children, they razed to the ground houses, schools and hospitals in Hanoi and Haiphong and they reduced to ashes towns and villages in Laos and Cambodia. The ill-famed doctrine of setting the Indochinese against the Indochinese bears Nixon's name. His administration, in order to rea-

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lize the neocolonialist aims of the USA in the Middle East, has maintained a heavily armed Israel and has set it against the Arab peoples, against their freedom and independence.

Wherever there is oppression and exploitation, conspiracies and aggression, the hand of US imperialism can be seen. Nixon has always been a supporter of the darkest forces of reaction and neocolonialism. His administration is the main inciter and organizer of the military coup in Chile, which toppled the lawful government of that country and established the savage fascist Pinochet regime. He has worked tirelessly to prop up the puppet regimes of Thieu, Lon Nol, Park Chung Hee, etc. More than any other US president, Nixon distinguished himself with his zeal to maintain and further extend neocolonialism, to carry out expansion, and to plunder and exploit the national riches of the developing countries. Under his rule, capital flowed faster than ever outside the borders of the USA. Nixon did his utmost to preserve and strengthen the domination of US imperialism over the European allies, by means of «tightening the screws». He also took special care to strengthen the aggressive blocs directed by Washington.

During his stay in the White House, implementing the counterrevolutionary global strategy

of US imperialism, Nixon worked hard for rapprochement and collaboration with the Soviet social imperialists. He and Brezhnev concluded a series of agreements and concocted new plots against the freedom and independence of the peoples.

The agreements concluded between Nixon and Brezhnev, and the rivalry between the two superpowers to extend their domination over the whole world, which now has been intensified, are the main causes of increases in international tension and the quarrels and conflicts existing in many regions of the world today. With Nixon's removal from the US presidency, Brezhnev loses a very close partner in his policy of rapprochement and counterrevolutionary collaboration with US imperialism.

It is true that Nixon has energetically and loyally served the interests of US imperialism. But despite this, he was removed from the presidential post, at a time when he was exposed and discredited to such an extent that he was no longer in a position to perform his function as representative and defender of the interests of the big monopolies. President Nixon's removal, and his replacement with Ford, may be exploited by the American bourgeoisie to create the false impression that in the America of savage capitalist oppression and exploi-

tation, freedom and democracy exist. Under this guise, the bourgeoisie seeks to deceive the American people in general, thus practicing its familiar tactics to continue and perpetuate its domination.

It is clear to the American people and to all the peoples of the world, that irrespective of who comes and goes in the White House as president, nothing changes the fact that the big monopoly bourgeoisie rules; according to its interests and the situation, it makes sure to have as chief executive its most trusted men from one of the two bourgeois parties, Republican or Democrat. The US presidents, as experience confirms, have continued to use, through various methods and tactics, the same policy; that of oppression and exploitation at home, and expansion and aggression abroad. After Nixon's forced resignation, the presidential chair was occupied by his substitute, Gerald Ford who did not fail to sing praises to his bankrupt chief, to form his new government with leading members of the Nixon team, and to state in a televised speech that he will continue Nixon's policy.

This once more shows that US imperialism may change its leaders, but even after this it remains the same: an oppressor and aggressor and a savage enemy of the freedom and independence of the peoples.

Various aspects from production centres in the socialist homeland.



On September 2nd, schools opened throughout Albania and some 600.000 pupils and students began their studies, which is equal to half of the population Albania had before liberation. In the photo: A group of pupils in a school manifestation in Tirana.

Albania today

