

Albania today

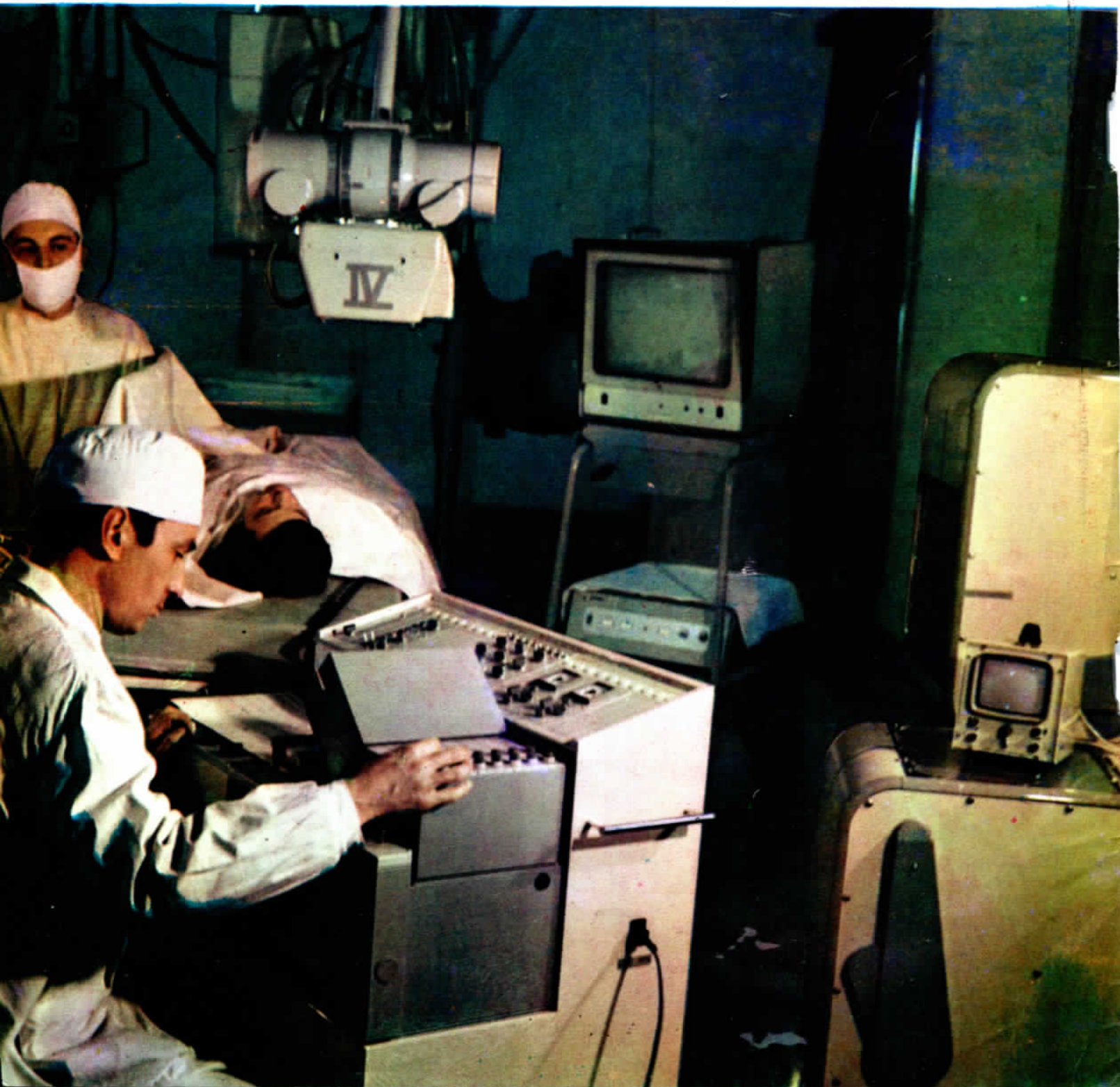
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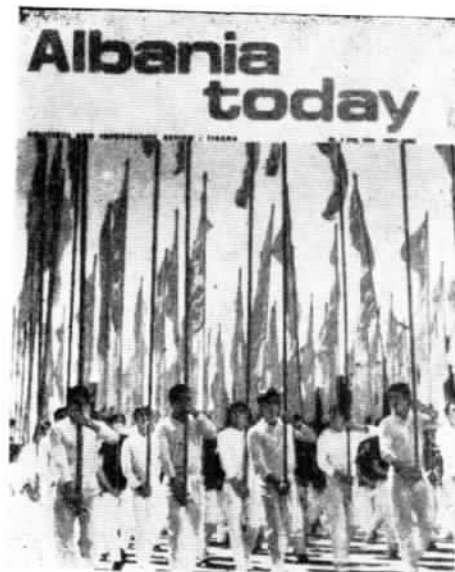
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The cover of the present issue (pages 1-4) is devoted to the international day of the workers. This year's May day in Tirana and throughout Albania has been celebrated with joy and new successes at work, in the framework of the 30th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland.

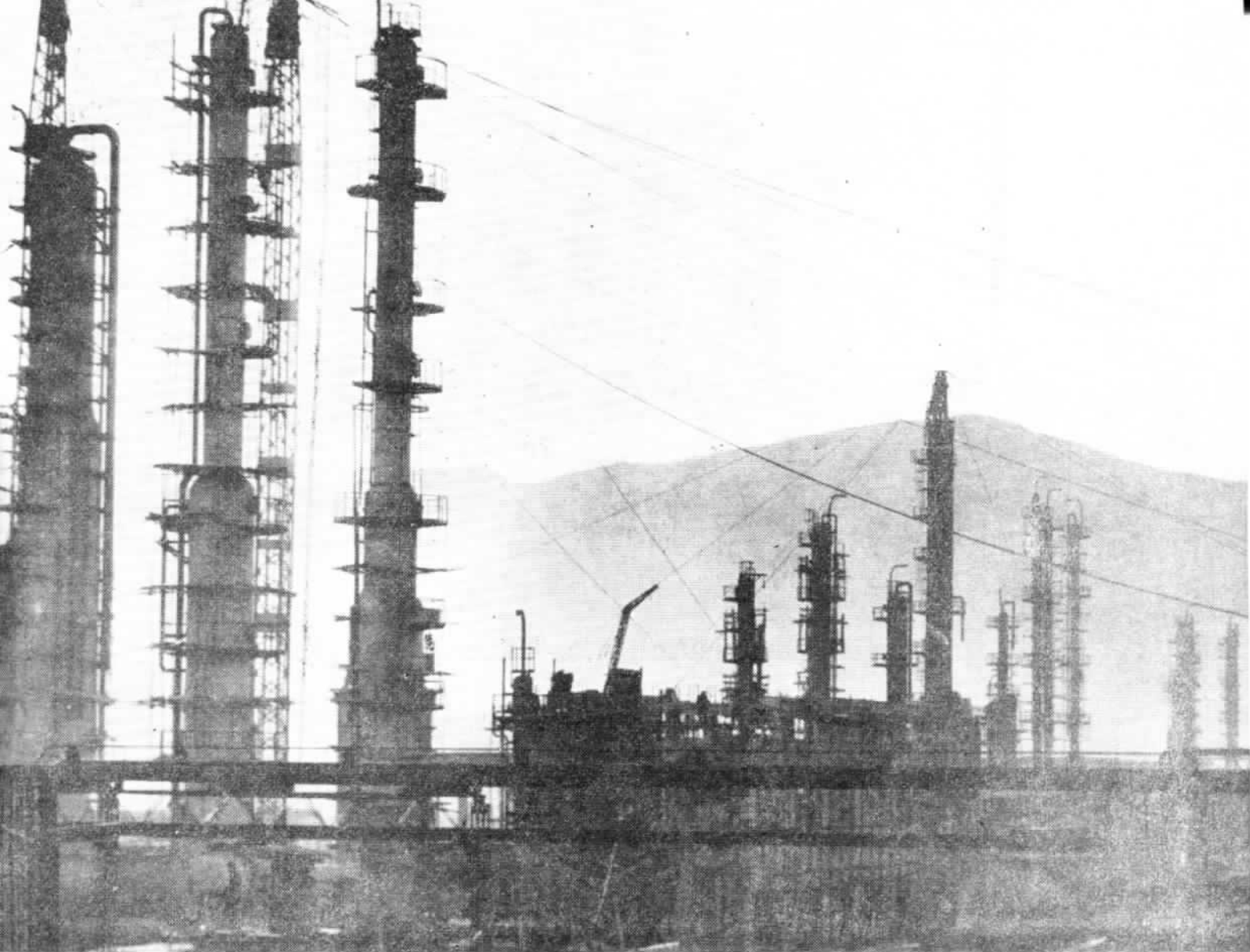
A moment of work during a heart catheterisation which serves to diagnose the inborn defects of the heart in the Haemodynamic Cabinet under the Radiological Centre in Tirana.





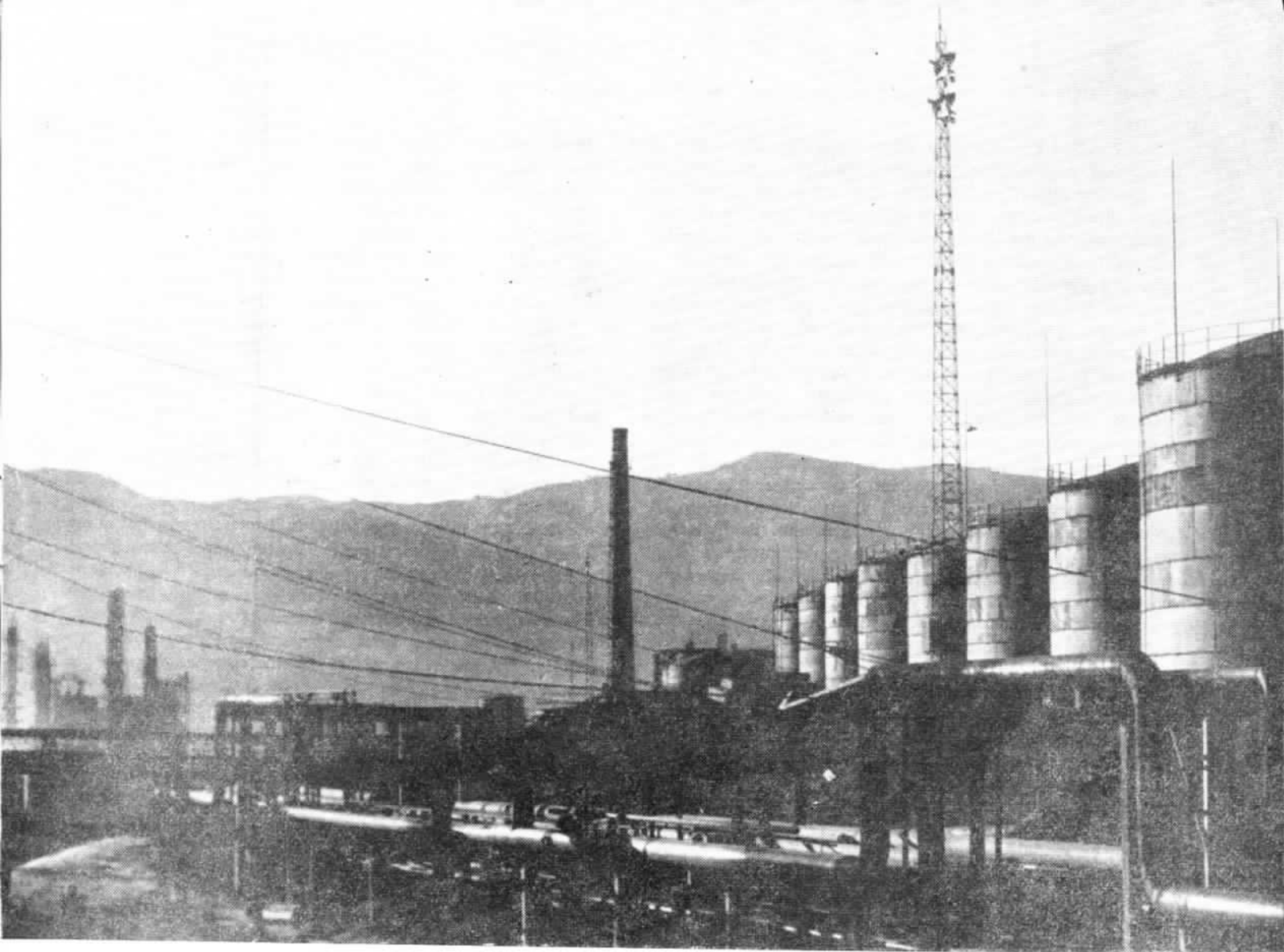
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SOCIALIST INDUSTRIA

Socialist industrialization of the country, an objective necessity for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the development of socialist revolution; and the development of heavy industry, an indispensable condition for the strengthening of the material technical base of socialism and for the development of other branches of industry and the people's economy in general



LIZATION IN ALBANIA

by **KOÇO THEODHOSI**

THIS YEAR OUR PEOPLE WILL CELEBRATE MAGNIFICENTLY THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LIBERATION OF THE HOMELAND AND THE TRIUMPH OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION. THEY ARE NOW ASSESSING THE BRILLIANT RESULTS THEY HAVE ACHIEVED UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY IN BUILDING SOCIALISM. ONE OF THE GREATEST VICTORIES IN THIS DIRECTION IS THE SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALISATION OF THE COUNTRY.

THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA, RELYING ON THE PRECEPTS OF MARXISM-LENINISM AND ON THE SPECIFIC CONDITIONS OF OUR COUNTRY, OUTLINED MARXISM-LENINISM AND ON THE SPECIFIC CONDITIONS OF OUR COUNTRY,

outlined the majestic programme of socialist construction here. This programme has always been based on the industrialisation of the country, as an objective necessity for strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and developing the socialist revolution. The industrialization of the country began with a two-year plan, but a great, broad programme for the construction of the foundations of socialist industry was mapped out at the 2nd Congress of the PLA.

At this Congress, which was held from March 31 to April 7, 1952, comrade Enver Hoxha, laying down the main economic

KOÇO THEODHOSI - member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA, Minister of Industry and Mining.

task of the first five-year plan, pointed out that it consisted of «continuing, at a faster rate, the work for the construction of the economic basis of socialism, so that by the end of the five-year plan our country might be transformed from a backward agrarian country into an agrarian-industrial country». In order to fulfil the main tasks of this plan, the Party outlined, as a main link, the creation of the new socialist industry. The congress also correctly evaluated the principle according to which the decisive role in the development of industry and of the entire people's economy would be played by the production of the means of production; therefore it devoted great attention to setting up the branches of heavy industry. For this purpose, fast rates of development were planned for such branches as mining, engineering, power, and building materials. But bearing in mind the great, urgent need for mass consumer goods, the Congress also assigned an important place to the development of light industry and food processing, to be based mainly on the exploitation of the country's raw materials. Parallel with this, bearing in mind that the low rates of agricultural development could be an obstacle in the development of industry, the Congress instructed that «the rapid growth of industry... requires agriculture to develop at a faster rate than heretofore, so that it can meet the needs of the state and the people for agricultural products».

The further development of industry and of our entire people's economy fully confirmed the correctness of the decisions of the 2nd Congress of the PLA.

Our Party has had to orientate its policy towards the creation of a strong national economy with an allround development and a rational structure. Only such an economy would be able to cope with the pressure and blockades of imperialism and social imperialism and to oppose their policy of oppression, exploitation and aggression. These political and economic circumstances have been the background to the concrete tasks the Party has outlined, in the decisions of its congresses for the industrialisation of the country.

Firmly proceeding on this revolutionary road, which we have continually followed, led by the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, now in this jubilee year of the 30th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution, we view with legitimate pride the excellent results we have achieved. Our working class, and our entire people, working with self-denial and lofty heroism, set up our modern, complex extracting and processing, heavy and light industries, this is a monumental feat.

The giant strides made by our industry are best shown by the high rate of development in production. Thus, as compared with the year 1938, total industrial production in 1973 was 86,3 times greater. What was produced in a year in 1938, is now produced in less than five days. Although the comparisons with the past have now taken on a symbolic character, the high rates of Albanian industrial development clearly appear whatever the basis of comparison. Let us take the 20 - year period of 1950-1970. During this period the annual average rate of increase in industrial production was about 15 per cent; this is among the highest known rates, and is one rarely found in the history of the industrial development of other countries. Such high and stable rates, for 20 years running, have not been known in any of the countries where the revisionists are in power. These high rates of increase in industrial production were main-

tained during the years of the Khrushchevite blockade, causing the shameful failure of their hopes that they could thus overthrow our socialist order, and hinder our economic progress. By 1973, as compared with 1960, socialist Albania had increased its industrial production 3,4 times over.

In the framework of the general increase of industrial production, our Party has given priority to the creation and development of our heavy industry, and to the more rapid development of production of the means of production, considering this to be the most indispensable condition for strengthening the material and technical base of socialism and for developing the other branches of our industry and our people's economy as a whole. As a result of this correct Marxist-Leninist policy, the structure of industrial production represented 45.4 per cent in the structure of total industrial production in 1950; it has continually increased, and now represents about 60 per cent.

One of the main methods used to increase production of the means of production steadily is the rapid development of the mineral extraction and processing industry. The transition to an ever broader exploitation and processing of the country's natural riches constitutes the main factor providing new work fronts and ensuring the necessary materials for the development of all the other branches of the people's economy.

For this purpose, special attention was paid to developing geological research, in order to continually strengthen the base of raw materials for the extracting and processing industry. Thus, by 1973, as compared with 1938, the extraction of crude oil had increased over 19 times, chromium ore 87 times, and coal 219 times. As a result of the discovery of internal reserves, the increased number of mines, and the improvement of their operations, our country has today become one of the main exporters of this mineral.

Alongside this, on the basis of the reserves discovered, there has been rapid development of the extraction of natural gas, copper ore, iron-nickel, and a series of other minerals for the needs of the building industry; also of pyrites, rock salt etc.

The development of the extracting industry has made it possible to move quickly towards setting up and developing the mineral processing industry. In the framework of the socialist industrialization of the country, this has further increased the economic effectiveness of industrial production and the self-reliance of the people's economy. Thus Albania set up and developed its own oil processing industry, which today meets not only internal needs for the main oil products, but also constitutes an important source of exports. Copper metallurgy was begun, and now we have complex processing of this mineral, using natural gas; there is also the nitrate fertilizer plant, using the country's own mineral resources, and production of building materials, cement, glass, etc., has developed rapidly.

The results achieved in strengthening the raw materials base, and the further prospects which exist in this direction, have given us the opportunity to develop the processing industry further, to set up new production branches, and to create the conditions for coping successfully with any and every difficulty which may arise, as a result of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and the disorders in the international mar-

ket. Carrying this direction of the Party further, in the coming years the metallurgical combine in Elbasan will begin operating, copper metallurgy will develop further, through the new pyrometallurgy plant to be established in Laç, chromium metallurgy will be set up; and the intensive oil processing plant at Ballsh, will start work, as well as a series of factories for the enrichment of other minerals. All this will extend the influence of the mineral processing industry in the development of the other sectors of the people's economy.

The local production of various kinds of steel, sheet-iron tubes, pig-iron, etc., the increased fuel production, the perceptible improvement in quality and the increased range, as well as the many new products which will result from these new processing industry projects, all bestow great credit on our Party's farsighted policies for industrialisation. They ensure the fulfilment of the country's needs, and the improvement of the foreign trade balance, through decreased imports and increased exports of processed products, and they will raise the defence capacity of our socialist homeland.

Our Party has always led the process of the socialist industrialisation of the country in such a way as to promote the complex development of all the branches of the people's economy. For this purpose, over the years of the people's power, particular importance has been placed on the development of power industry. In order to fulfil the needs of the rapidly developing productive forces, we set up and put into operation a series of thermo power and hydropower stations, the national power grid was built and great sources of power production, came into operation such as the thermo power station at Fieri, and the «Mao Tse-tung» hydropower station. As a consequence, by 1973, electric power production had increased 168 times over 1938. The rate at which electric power production has increased in Albania over the last thirty years is unparalleled in any other country. Work is continuing to increase power output and resources steadily, so as to keep ahead of industrial development.

The construction of the Fierza hydropower station, with an installed capacity of 500 megawatts, which is greater than the present installed capacity of the country's entire power system, will provide a powerful basis for the further industrialisation of the country, particularly for the development of the heavy processing industry.

The engineering industry has shown rapid development. Previously, engineering requirements were mainly imported but now we produce locally a very large number of the spare parts, equipment and machinery needed for many branches of the people's economy. As a consequence of setting up new modern plants, and improving the mechanical bases of various sectors of the economy, the production of the engineering industry has increased fast. By 1973, as against 1950, it had increased about 65 times over. Today, the engineering industry is in a position to produce more spare parts of various kinds so as to ensure maintenance in various branches of production, and provide equipment and machinery for the mechanisation of work processes, the improvement of production technology, the setting up of new lines and sections, etc. The engineering industry has likewise become a powerful source of technical means for the production of mass consumer goods. The construction of the metallurgical combine in Elbasan opens brilliant prospects for the further development of engineering.

Parallel with this, special care has been also taken to increase the production of mass consumer goods. Constant improvement in fulfilling the needs and demands of the working masses is the highest objective of our Party and Government; this has been expressed in the rapid development of all sectors of light industry and food processing. In this direction, suffice it to mention that between 1950 and 1973 the total industrial output of these branches increased about 47 times for light industry and about 10 times in food processing. One more fact: In 1950 Albania produced 1 metre of textiles for every inhabitant, but by 1973 production had increased to 25 metres for every inhabitant, not only fulfilling the needs of the country, but also making it possible to export textiles.

The development of the means of production industry has also contributed to the rapid development, modernisation, and intensification of agriculture. This is one of the principal objectives of socialist industrialisation. Thus, for example, this aim has been served by constructing and putting into operation the chemical fertilizer plants, the tractor spare parts plant, and other plants producing machines equipment and spare parts for agriculture; by the complete electrification of the entire country and so on. As the urea plant comes into operation, the extension of the «Traktori» plant is completed, and the reconstruction of a series of machine-building plants takes effect, industry will give still greater assistance toward increasing agricultural and livestock production.

The rapid and allround development of our socialist industry over these 30 years of the people's power has greatly strengthened the material and technical base of our economy. It has provided strong support for the development and deepening of the technical and scientific revolution and for the technical progress of all branches of production.

In implementing the socialist industrialisation of the country our Party has always upheld the correct revolutionary course of self-reliance. The consistent application of this great principle, through the continuous growth of the role of the working masses in solving economic problems, the harmonious and proportional development of industry and other branches, and the reliance on a more complete and rational exploitation of the country's natural riches, have all ensured the continuous reinforcement of our economy and its degree of self-sufficiency, thus fulfilling its growing needs increasingly better.

In carrying out its policy of the industrialisation of the country, in conformity with the specific conditions of our country, our Party has at the same time correctly combined internal factors with external aid. In this direction, it has adopted a principled stand towards truly internationalist aid and backing. It has highly evaluated the essentially internationalist and fraternal aid that the People's Republic of China has given and continues to give to our country, in order to set up an advanced economy able to stand on its own feet.

Socialist industrialisation in our country over these past 30 years has been carried out in a fierce struggle against external and internal enemies who have done their best to hinder its development. From the Yugoslav and Soviet revisionists to the internal traitors to the Party and the people, all our enemies have striven to slow down the rate of industrialisation and give a one-sided development to our economy, thus making it forever dependent on them. They tried



A great progress has been made in these recent years at the Durrës shipyard. In addition to the repair of ships, the serial production began there, since 1972, of small tonnage metallic ships. In the photo: A group of the shipyard's workers before starting their work

to hinder the development of our oil and mining industry, describing them as disadvantageous for our country and without a future. Our Party and our entire people contemptuously rejected these views. Our working class armed with the farsighted policy of the Party, rallied its forces and developed the socialist industrialisation and the entire people's economy in compliance with the interests of strengthening our socialist homeland further,

Over these past 30 years, our people, led by the Party of Labour of Albania and according to the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha, have achieved excellent results. In the future, too, with firm confidence in the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, they will exert all their energies to achieve further and greater successes, to make our socialist homeland increasingly stronger and more beautiful, and the life in Albania constantly happier and more cultured.

THE PROGRESS OF PUBLIC HEALTH AT PRESENT

by **LLAMBI ZIÇISHTI**

In this article, the Minister of Health deals with the special care devoted by the people's regime, since the early days of its establishment, to the important problems of protecting and strengthening the health of the people. He shows, by facts and figures, that in this fields too, we have achieved excellent results, which are only an indicator and milestone of new successes in all fields of socialist construction

OVER THESE PAST THIRTY YEARS, SOCIALIST ALBANIA HAS ACHIEVED EXCELLENT RESULTS IN ALL FIELDS OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVITY, AND THESE BROOK NO COMPARISON WITH THE PAST.

GREAT SUCCESSES HAVE BEEN ALSO ACHIEVED IN THE FIELD OF PROTECTING AND STRENGTHENING THE HEALTH OF THE PEOPLE BECAUSE THIS CARDINAL QUESTION HAS ALWAYS HAD GREAT ATTENTION FOCUSED ON IT BY OUR PARTY OF LABOUR AND OUR GOVERNMENT.

Our socialist public health system, from its inception was built up on sound principles based on Marxist-Leninist ideology

LLAMBI ZIÇISHTI - Minister of Public Health and professor of surgery in the medical faculty of the State University of Tirana.

and the policy of the Party. Over these past thirty years Albania has collected a wealth of experience in public health, and this is a sure guarantee of further, even greater successes.

Here we shall give you an idea of the main aspects of the health service in our country.

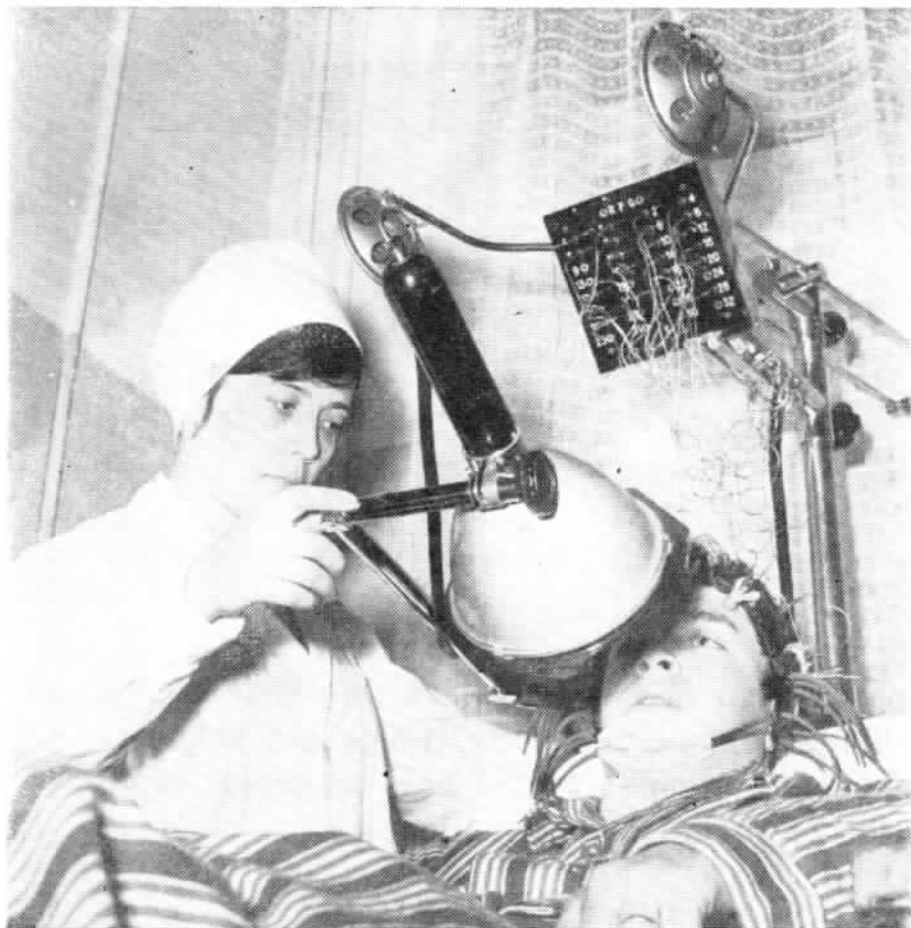
The state is fully responsible for protecting the health of the people

We can say, without any reservation, that in the field of health service our country was the most backward in Europe before liberation. At that time, we had

for public health was smaller than the amount spent by the state in the upkeep of the royal court!

Immediately after liberation this situation had to be ended. With the forming of the first people's government, a Ministry of Health was set up for the first time in our country. By this act our state undertook all responsibility for the active

on a scientific basis, such diseases as malaria, syphilis and tuberculosis, and nothing was spared to carry this struggle through to success. Large investments were made, to extend the network of all sorts of curative and preventive health institutions, the pharmaceuticals industry was set up and, in recent years, a plant for the production of electro-medical in-



In Albania all health services are rendered free of charge. The people find in health institutions a great interest

only 0.8 beds per 1,000 inhabitants, and only 1 doctor for 10,000 inhabitants; only 0.4 per cent of pregnant women gave birth with medical assistance; dental care and pharmaceuticals were completely in private hands and those few hospitals that existed in the larger cities were divided into grades, and hospitalisation was charged for. Infectious diseases, in particular, malaria, syphilis, and tuberculosis, were widespread. The total budget

and total protection of the people's health. The proper funds were made available, and medical equipment in private hands was requisitioned; a more proportional division of the existing medical forces was made, both in the cities and in the villages, and the first schools for training lower and middle medical cadres were set up.

Programmes were worked out on a national scale to combat systematically, and

struments and equipments has been built. In 1952 the higher Medical Institute opened; it later became the faculty of Medicine in the State University of Tirana.

State funds for public health have increased from year to year. Today we have a satisfactory extension of medical institutions. In 1973, there were about 8 hospital beds for every 1,000 inhabitants, and it is envisaged that by the end of the fifth five-year plan, in 1975, there

will be 10 beds for every 1000 inhabitants, a figure which is considered as optimal for an advanced health service.

Good results have also been achieved in the countryside. In every united cooperative (comprising 6-8 villages on the average) there exists a health centre, which includes a clinic run by a doctor, the mo-

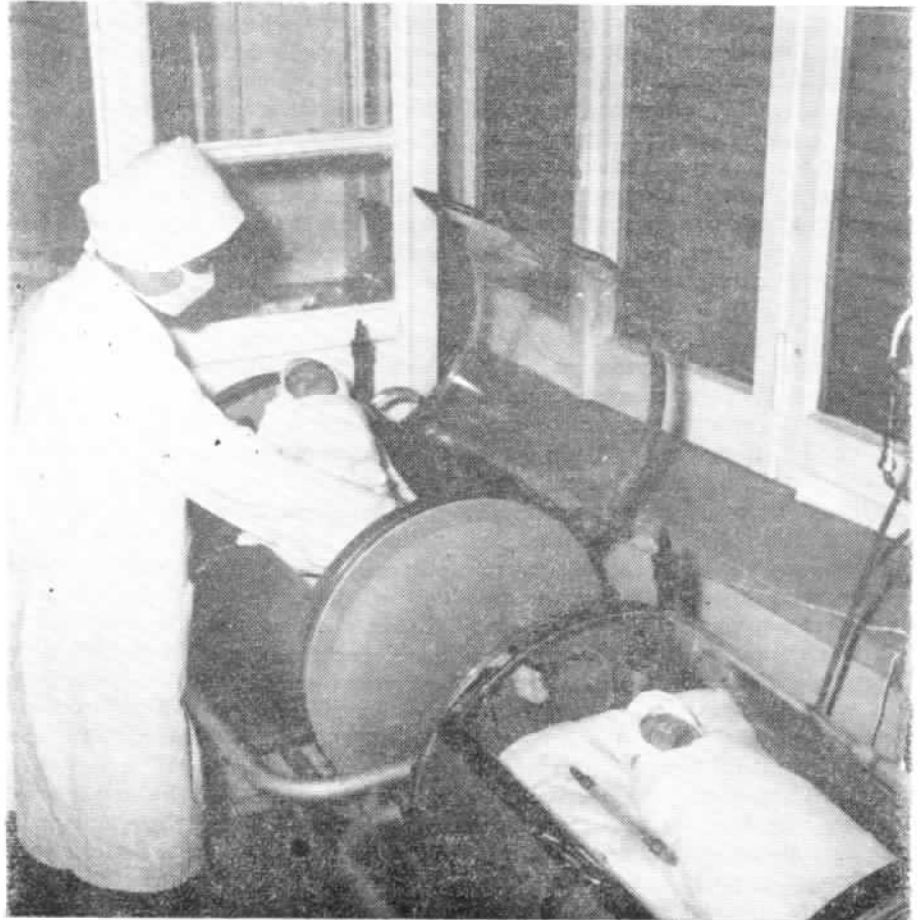
vely short period of time he will be joined by a pediatrician. The centre has also a dentist, a pharmacist or assistant-pharmacist, a midwife and other necessary personnel.

In 63 areas, relatively remote from the cities, there are small regional hospitals which include the service of pathology, pediatrics and obstetrics.

rely free. Also free are medicines for children under one year old who are examined in outpatient clinics.

As an illustration, in cases in which sick people suffering from grave long term illnesses have been treated, the state has spent as much money on them as would suffice to build a new house in which a whole family could lead a

*in the discovery and combating
of various diseases.
For this purpose
health institutions have
been equipped with apparatuses
of the most modern ones*



ther and child service at the mother and child consultation centre and in the maternity home, dental care and a pharmaceutical service.

Besides this, every village, irrespective of its size, has an outpatient clinic, a consultation centre staffed by a nurse, and a midwife, while bigger villages have two nurses each.

Every medical centre is directed by a general practitioner, and within a rela-

**Medical assistance
in our country is given
free of charge,
it is skilled
and available to everybody**

One of the greatest achievements of our people's power is the provision of free medical assistance to the whole people. Accommodation in hospitals, in sanatoria, and in maternity homes is enti-

comfortable life. Thus, in our country, a case of illness in a family is no burden at all financially, and does not affect the family budget, whereas in a capitalist country— as was the case in Albania before liberation— a sick person in the family is a real catastrophe.

Here, while the sick person is treated free of charge in hospital, thanks to the very advanced social insurance system we have in our country, the family re-

ceives a percentage of the sick person's salary, and this could be as much as 95 per cent of it. Since 1971, such insurance has been established in the agricultural cooperatives, too, in the same way as the system of old age pensions was established.

Medical assistance is becoming more qualified from year to year. Already this year we have one doctor and one dentist for about every 880 inhabitants. In the last four or five years 2.5 times more doctors have graduated annually from the faculty of medicine than the whole country had on the eve of liberation.

Now we consider the extent of the medical service to be quite satisfactory, and we are now striving to improve its quality so as to utilize our institutions to the maximum and in a more scientific way. Specialization has been progressively developed, and modern equipment has been installed which allows us to carry out laboratory, biochemical and radiological analyses on the level of the most advanced medical science; treatment is by the latest methods and preparations; and operations of the most complex kind, in heart surgery, neurosurgery, chest surgery, etc., are being done.

One important task, at the present stage of Albanian medicine, is strengthening and expanding local medical assistance, in both towns and villages and also, to make this assistance most effective, strengthening and expanding clinical and biological laboratories, and radiology, physiotherapy and other services, so as to come to the assistance of the people as quickly as possible.

High priority is given in Albania to the medical service for mother and child. With the energetic measures that have been taken in this direction, especially with the provision of one midwife for every village, all women now give birth with medical assistance, and most births take place in maternity homes. The network of pediatric hospitals and wards, as well as of children's clinics has greatly extended.

Thanks to the planned territorial extension of health institutions, medical assistance is now able to reach everybody. Consulting and outpatient clinics have been set up as near as possible to the people. There is a special medical service in work centres, so that medical aid is close to the worker. The same exists in school hostels, at the big industrial projects under construction, etc.

Our socialist public health is based on the principle of preventive medicine

On the basis of the correct understanding and application of preventive medicine, we have achieved good results in combating those diseases which had a markedly social character, particularly in the first decade after liberation, as well as in the prevention of other infectious diseases. This is now a country where for years there has been not one case of malaria (although Albania was the most malaria-stricken country in Europe before liberation, with almost half of its population affected by this disease). From 1949 on, there have been no cases of syphilis here. Fewer cases of tuberculosis are being found every year, so that measures are now being taken to make substantial reductions in the number of TB beds. In 1951, for every 100,000 inhabitants, 296 new cases of tuberculosis were found, but by 1972 for the same number of inhabitants, only 86 new cases were found.

These results were achieved by strengthening preventive measures in particular.

The principle of preventive medicine is put into practice by means of a whole system of specialized institutions for this purpose, such as epidemiological health centres, dispensaries and women's and children's consultation centres. Besides these specialized institutions, all other institutions are obliged to devote great attention to prophylaxis in their work.

In 1971 the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA convened to analyse the medical service in our country, especially the prophylactic service and hygiene. At this Plenum it was pointed out that prophylaxis must always set the tone to the whole of our public health service and that a deep revolutionisation of medical thinking in our country should be made for the allround application of the principle of prophylaxis. Our medical service does not deal only with the sick; it deals also with the healthy, in order to protect them against disease and has its say in making environmental conditions, working and living conditions, as favourable as possible, on the most scientific basis. Great attention is also devoted to these problems by the scientific research institutions, such as those of hygiene, epidemiology and pediatric research, those fighting tuberculosis, etc.

Satisfactory results have been achieved in the reduction of cases of infectious diseases. While before liberation these diseases were the prime cause of death, today they have fallen to sixth place. Energetic measures are taken for regular vaccinations, to increase local production of vaccines, to improve quarantine and disinfection measures, etc. In these last four years, our country twice faced the danger of the introduction of cholera and smallpox, which appeared in neighbouring countries. But due to the measures taken by our health organs, actively and unreservedly aided by the entire people, this danger was averted.

In order to strengthen prophylaxis, we have a strong code of laws on sanitation on the basis of which good discipline is ensured in the observation of hygiene and sanitary regulations by administrations, individuals, etc. We have a State Sanitary Inspectorate which continually oversees the observance of these regulations. Recently the Inspectorate for the protection of the environment against pollution was also set up; it deals mainly with the problem of work centres, plants, combines, etc., maintaining clean air, land and water. As our country is in a stage of vigorous industrialization, the adoption of measures to protect the environment, right from the building of industrial establishments and providing for and insisting on the inclusion of the proper cleaning installations, will ensure good work environments for the workers, and will avert the dangers of damage to the fauna and flora of our country.

The working masses themselves take an active part in protecting their health

Our people have good traditions concerning the protection of their health, which they consider to be a major source of national wealth. These good traditions have been further developed under our people's power.

Prophylaxis always presupposes good sanitary habits and education, and it cannot be thought of without these. Therefore, the public health workers have been entrusted with the permanent task of tirelessly spreading knowledge of basic hygiene among the people. We have had much success in this direction.

The way of life in our country today brooks no comparison with the past, particularly in the countryside. The general rise in the economic level, the increased family incomes, the raised level of education and culture in general, and of sanitation in particular, have all influenced the way of life, how a case of illness in the family is dealt with, etc. The arrival of electricity in every village of our Republic, the new dwelling houses built everywhere, and the dense network of socio-cultural institutions, such as public baths, laundries, bakehouses, restaurants, crèches and kindergartens, etc., which have been set up, have resulted in peasant life being brought closer to that in town.

All the great undertakings for the eradication of malaria and syphilis and the improvement of hygiene in the country, have had the unlimited backing of the broad masses of the people. The slogan launched by Lenin in his time, «the protection of health is the work of the masses themselves» has long since become a reality in our country, and this mass line is deepening from year to year.

The mass organisations, the Democratic Front of Albania, the Trade Unions of Albania, the Albanian Women's Union and the Albanian Labour Youth Union, have always dealt with the question of protecting health. In collaboration with the health organs, they continually organise mass clean-up campaigns, they give active help, for example, by ensuring that every village has a clean, plentiful water supply, they take part in demography commissions and closely follow the statistics of births and deaths, especially of infants, they help work in the health institutions, they organize courses in hygiene for mothers, and hygiene activists, they supervise the work during partial or total mass vaccinations, etc.

In view of the continual raising of the hygiene education of the people, our country has a network of institutions which organize hygiene education among the masses. Every district has its hygiene education centre; these are directed by a central administration of hygiene education, which is under the Ministry of Public Health. Pamphlets about hygiene for the people are given mass circulation every year and posters, papers, exhibitions, films etc., are distributed far and wide throughout the country. Much is being done by means of radio and television, and their medical programmes

are followed with great interest by the people. Our entire press, central and provincial, daily and periodical, pay special attention to spreading knowledge of hygiene among the people. The monthly review «Shëndeti» («Health») is also published in Tirana for the broad masses of the working people.

Our public health develops on advanced scientific grounds and on the basis of Marxist-Leninist philosophy

From year to year, Albanian medical science has amassed quite a broad experience which is materialized in thousands of articles published in reviews and special books and papers given at scientific sessions and symposia. Our doctors keep in touch with the new achievements of world medical science, put new diagnostic and treatment methods into practice, and improve laboratory methods. In general, through their scientific studies, they strive to solve the specific problems facing medical practice here in Albania.

The Faculty of Medicine at the State University of Tirana is presently attended by 2,500 students (general medicine, dentistry and pharmacy). The faculty staff have now acquired plenty of experience, and almost all the text books are written by them.

Great attention is paid here to the specialization of the cadres, and to post-graduate qualifications. At our clinics and medical research institutions, the cadres regularly spend periods of 3-4 years, and 2-3 months in qualification courses.

Scientific work is not a monopoly of the central teaching and study institutions, but is also carried out in other district health institutions. Besides work of a regional character, studies of a broader national character are also carried out. During the 1971-1975 five-year plan, studies are continuing on the extent of hypertension in our country, the fight against dystrophy and rickets, and on some occupational diseases. Analyses are also being made from the experience amassed in our country in the field of epidemiology and immunology with regard to some infections and epidemic diseases, such as measles, influenza, etc.

In order to keep the doctors well informed of world medical science, we have a good supply of the most diverse books

and reviews, in both central and district libraries, in addition to those at the most important health institutions. Besides this, doctors are sent abroad every year to specialize in new branches or to become further qualified in the existing branches. On their return home, these people strive to put into practice what they have learned and at the same time to teach their colleagues.

In their studies our doctors base themselves in the first place on the dialectical materialist world outlook which underlies our Marxist-Leninist philosophy. They always bear in mind the teachings of our party and its important documents concerning the health of the people. Comrade Enver Hoxha, on many occasions, has discussed many problems with regard to the protection of health, and has indicated the course Albanian medicine must follow in order to serve our people in the best way.

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As a result of the allround progress made by our country over the 30th years of people's power, and as a consequence of the progress of the health service, we have now reached demographic indices, of the physical development of the population, morbidity, etc., which are satisfactory. Suffice it to mention that within the state boundaries of our Republic in 1944 there were about 1 million inhabitants; today there are about 2,270,000 inhabitants. Thus, we have had, during these past 30 years, a high average birth rate. As well, we have a relatively low death rate, about 8 for every 1000 inhabitants. Our country has the highest natural population increase in Europe. Moreover the physical development of our population is improving every year. A healthy and optimistic younger generation is growing up in our country.

There has also been a rise in the average life expectancy of our people. In 1938 this was about 38 years, but by 1970 it was about 69 years.

Irrespective of the fact that the successes achieved so far in protecting the health of our people are very evident and convincing, providing further proof of the incontestable superiority of the socialist socio-economic order which has triumphed in our country, we consider also these successes to be only milestones in advancing the happiness and welfare of our working people.

THE JUNE 1924 REVOLUTION IN ALBANIA

by **STEFANAQ POLLO**

The June bourgeois-democratic revolution which was carried out 50 years ago in Albania is one of the most memorable events in the Albanian people's history. Although it had the backing of the overwhelming majority of the people, it failed after only six months. The causes of its failure became a good lesson for the genuine Albanian revolutionaries who 20 years later, under the leadership of the Party, turned into reality and carried further the objectives of this revolution

“... THE ERADICATION OF FEUDALISM IS A FUNDAMENTAL CONDITION FOR ALBANIA TO BECOME CIVILIZED. THE FEUDALS REPRESENT SOLELY ROBBERY. SUCH A CLASS HAS NO RIGHT TO LIVE ANY LONGER. IT WOULD MEAN SURE DEATH FOR FREE ALBANIA. TEAR OUT THE OAK FROM ITS ROOTS! ANY HESITATION IS GRAVE TREACHERY TOWARDS ALBANIAN HISTORY!” THESE WORDS, WITH WHICH THE DEMOCRATIC NEWSPAPER «DRITA» APPEALED TO THE ALBANIAN PUBLIC 50 YEARS AGO, EXPRESSED THE PROFOUND ASPIRATIONS OF THE BROAD masses of semi-feudal Albania in 1924, and at the same time the demand that the democratic revolution be carried through to its logical conclusion.

The Albanian reality of the early twenties was fraught with deep economic and political contradictions, determined both by the internal social relations and by the anti-Albania policy of the imperialist powers and the neighbouring monarchies. The proclamation of independence in 1912 had left intact the class of the feudals, and their arbitrary control over the economic, social and political life of the

And they gave this proof in two great engagements: the battle to expel the Italian imperialist invaders from the country in 1920, and the June 1924 revolution. Although different in character, these events preserve their logical internal connection, and they are milestones on the road of the progressive development of the Albanian people.

The great popular awakening after the first world war found its clearest expression at the Lushnja national congress (January-February 1920) and at the heroic Vlorë battle (June-July of the same year). Little Albania became one of the links in the powerful anti-imperialist front formed following the victory of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia, and under its influence. On the instructions of its leader, Lenin, the Soviet Government had published the secret imperialist treaties in which Albania figured as a land without owners, as a commodity destined to be further dissected and plundered by the powerful. The shocked consciousness of the entire nation set in motion the broad popular masses; after the powerful protests of the Lushnja Congress (one of them said that «the Albanians know how to die, in order not to pass from hand to hand like a flock of sheep, and become a commodity for those who today direct the diplomacy of Europe»). They threw themselves into armed action against the Italian imperialist occupiers, who had settled in Albanian territory as far back as in 1914, and drove them out of the country. Their lost freedom was regained, and at the same time the Albanian state was reorganized on a national basis. The Albanian movement for national liberation had to a certain extent accomplished its historic mission. The struggle for liberation from external enemies gave way to another popular movement, although this was not new, for it had followed in the wake of the national movement. It was a question of putting our house in order, now that the external danger had been averted. Thus, the problem of the political and social order in independent Albania came to the fore, bringing into conflict the main forces of Albanian society - the reactionary wing, mainly represented by the feudals and their followers, who sought to preserve their old economic privileges and their domination of the country's political life; and the progressive wing, mainly represented by the broad popular masses of the town and countryside and the democratic bourgeoisie, which stood for political, economic and social reforms. The first problem was

that of the democratization of the state apparatus, the struggle against the domination of the feudals in the political life of the country and the dictatorial objectives of their most ambitious representatives, Ahmet Zog, and his clique. This struggle, which began within the parliament, gradually extended outside it, and swept public opinion in the country. Political life was revitalized as never before. Various democratic organs and societies echoed the most urgent demands of Albanian society. The labouring peasants on the estates in Vlorë, Dibër, Gjirokastrë, Përmet and Milot either seized the lands of the feudals themselves or refused to pay their feudal dues. The political awakening of the popular masses, and their inclination toward the democratic leftwing, intensified the struggle. Many eminent leaders stood at their head old and young, men of word and action, democrats and revolutionaries like Fan Noli, a man of great culture, historian, poet, orator and outstanding diplomat; Bajram Curri, leader of the uprising and undaunted fighter for democracy; Luigj Gurakuqi, a close collaborator of Ismail Qemal in the proclamation of independence in Vlorë in 1912; Avni Rustemi, leader of the revolutionary youth, who had won general admiration for having killed in Paris, in June 1920, the mighty feudal chieftain and collaborator with Albania's enemies, Esat Pashë Toptani, and later on having demanded that the Constituent Assembly observe five minutes silence for the death of Lenin, who, as he said, «defended the lofty principles of humanity» and was «the first to denounce the secret (imperialist) treaty of 1915 for the dismemberment of Albania». This impressive group occupies an outstanding place in the history of the Albanian democratic movement. They dared to rise with courage against the local centuries-old feudalism and imperialism and lay the foundations for modern Albania. They greatly contributed to the growth of consciousness of the broad popular masses just freed from centuries of Ottoman oppression and imperialist occupation. They did everything in their power to develop the struggle and to attain their objectives within the legal, constitutional limits. But reaction stood firm. Moreover, unable to cope with the advance of the democratic forces, the Zog clique in power strengthened its collaboration with the imperialist powers and the neighbouring monarchies, and began to use terror at home. It organized assassinations of representatives of the opposition during the campaign for

country; these medieval anachronistic remnants had now lost every productive economic function, and had turned into parasites and elements of corruption which infected the entire life of the country. Externally it was the imperialists and neighbouring monarchies which first inflicted national catastrophe on Albania in 1913, wresting from it more than half of its population and putting them under a foreign yoke; they rushed in again, during and after the first world war, to wipe Albania completely from the political map of the Balkans. What made the situation still more serious was the alliance and collaboration of the most hated representatives of the local feudals with the external enemies, and their readiness to put the newly won freedom and independence up for sale, so long as they found a new patron to guarantee the preservation and strengthening of their dominating position as a class. Under these difficult conditions it was up to the people themselves, and their outstanding patriotic and democrat leaders, relying this time too, on their own forces, to give new proof of their patriotism, vitality and determination to achieve social progress.

elections to the constituent assembly in December 1923 and, in the second half of April 1924, the feudal reaction assassinated in Tirana one of its strongest and most dangerous opponents—Avni Rustemi.

With this act, the revolutionary crisis reached its climax. It definitely eliminated any remaining illusion that a democratic order could be established in a legal way. The very logic of events, and the experience gained in the political struggle, made the democratic left move on to profoundly revolutionary methods, including the use of violence to overthrow the power of the reactionary forces and bring the democratic regime to power. The assassination of Avni Rustemi was the spark which kindled the people's revolutionary fire, already prepared by the course of events. The old state apparatus could not resist this onslaught. The events of spring 1924 polarized the country's political and social forces, and drew a clear demarcation line between them. The situation was ripe for revolution. Its first clarioncall was given by Vlorë. In this city, which had twice become famous for the epics of 1912 and 1920, the opposition deputies, the leaders of the democratic organisations and the progressive representatives of the nation turned the funeral of Avni Rustem into a great political manifestation against the reaction in power.

Two ultimatums, addressed by the Vlorë Assembly to the Tirana government, demanded the government's resignation, thereby presaging the imminent revolutionary outbreak. «It was up to the people, stated one ultimatum, to take measures for the salvation and defence of the homeland». Meanwhile the forces led by Bajram Curri in the North were the first to throw themselves into armed actions, smashing the resistance of the government troops everywhere. The armed uprising had begun. It met with a powerful backing in the south, where calls were made to take up arms. Towards the end of May, thousands of armed peasants responded to the call. A remarkable indication of the changes taking place in the country was the fact that the important military garrisons of Përmet and Shkodra joined the insurgents. An administrative commission set up in Vlorë, and headed by Fan Noli, was charged with taking in hand the political direction of the revolutionary movement.

Concerned with the fate of the feudal reaction, with which he maintained close ties, the British minister Eyres strove to set up a new government that would reconcile both parties, but he failed. The revolution could no longer be stopped. The insurgent forces marched triumphantly towards the capital Tirana, and on June 10 they liberated it. The feudal reaction, fragmented, discredited and without popular support, was defeated. Its leaders, left the country, with the remnants of their forces. Zog and his mercenaries found asylum in Yugoslavia where he was welcomed as an ally. Others fled to Italy and Greece.

On June 16 the democratic government was formed, headed by Fan Noli, which represented the coalition of the political forces that took part in the revolution. Alongside the democratic left wing, moderate elements also took part in the government. After three days, in the conditions of the general revolutionary uprising, the government programme was announced, promising, for the first time in the history of the independent Albanian State, the «eradication of feudalism», «the liberation of the people» from the rule of the feudals, and the «establishment of democracy». The government pledged to adopt measures for the economic restoration of the country, to lighten the tax burden of the poor sections of the population, to democratise the state apparatus, the judiciary organs and the legislature, to organise public education on a national and modern basis, etc. In the field of foreign policy the government aimed at establishing friendly relations with all states, and in particular with the neighbouring states. As soon as the situation was normalized, as the Prime Minister declared, general, secret and direct parliamentary elections would be held. This was a revolutionary democratic programme which met the demands of the broad strata of the population. Consistently carried out, it would definitely bring Albania out of the Middle Ages and set it on the road to progress. For this reason the government programme found support far and wide, throughout the country, and particularly in the areas where the feudals dominated.

The military victory over the forces of feudal reaction, the forming of the democratic government, and the proclamation of its programme, were only the first steps. The most important move,

indeed the decisive one, was to follow up and consolidate the new state power. The external enemies which surrounded the country, and the internal reactionary forces which had been defeated but were not annihilated, were waiting for the opportune moment to take their revenge. In these conditions the only way to ensure the final victory of democracy over reaction was to carry the revolution through to the end, implementing the government programme fully and in a revolutionary way, so as to secure the total and unreserved support of the broad popular masses. This was the lesson of history, and how well it was heeded would determine the future fate of the revolution.

How did the democratic government of Fan Noli act? It proclaimed democratic freedoms, but it took only the first steps towards implementing the land reform. The revolutionary political tribunal sentenced some of the leaders of reaction who were in exile, to death in absentia, and decided that their property should be confiscated. Then signs of doubt, and lack of resolve to go further, began to appear; this is characteristic of the bourgeoisie, even when it is democratic. The moderate elements, particularly the army cadres, had put an end to the revolution as far back as June 10, with the liberation of the Capital. A double pressure began to be exerted on the radical wing of the government. On the one hand, there were the moderate and conservative elements whom the reactionary forces began to move closer towards, seeking to hinder the further revolutionary development of the country, in every way, and on the other hand, the broad masses of the peasantry who were asking for the land promised to them. The former group began gradually to take openly anti-democratic actions. When an anti-feudal meeting was being held in the city of Berat, to demand the confiscation of the lands of the feudals, the conservative Ministers ordered that all those who were agitating «against the right to property» should be tried. Fan Noli himself was in a dilemma. He was to declare later on: «By insisting on the agrarian reform, I aroused the wrath of the landed aristocracy; by failing to carry it out, I lost the support of the peasant masses. My government colleagues, and the majority of the army officers, were either hostile or at best indifferent to these reforms,

although they had previously declared themselves in favour of them».

The revolution was showing the first signs of crisis. The rank-and-file of the town and countryside, the shock force, remained without the revolutionary leadership, it needed to raise it once more in struggle, in order to secure the final victory of the revolution. As a way out of this situation, the idea began to spread among the masses to form a workers' and peasants' party, and send its representatives to the parliament which was to be elected. This was an important turning-point in the ideology of the Albanian revolution, and the best solution, in those conditions, of the question of securing a revolutionary political leadership. But events developed too fast, in a way which hindered any initiative from below.

Along with the internal difficulties facing the revolution, external factors also intervened. The victory of the democratic revolution in Albania was won at a time when, in the other countries of the Balkans and in Europe, the revolutionary movement which had broken out with unprecedented force, after the October Socialist Revolution in Russia, was ebbing. The reactionary governments of the neighbouring countries, and those of the great powers, adopted a profoundly hostile stand towards the Albanian revolution, the more so because the government of Fan Noli pursued an independent policy, in defence of the interests of the Albanian state. It did not ratify the Italo-Albanian treaty of January 1924, which paved the way for fascist economic interference in Albania, and rejected Mussolini's demand for a treaty of alliance, and it spoke out against the «open door» policy which foreign monopoly concerns sought to impose on it. It struggled to find a correct solution of the border questions in the North and South, which were still unsettled. And finally, the democratic government established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. Consistent in his policy, Noli who in September 1924 took part in the Assembly of the League of Nations, as the head of the Albanian government, openly exposed and indeed ridiculed the deceptive policy of the great imperialist powers on disarmament and international conciliation.

For a small country like Albania, such a foreign policy, at that time, was proof of great courage and real independence.

Precisely because of this, it became the target of a general onslaught by the imperialist powers and the neighbouring monarchies. Diplomatic isolation was the first step. F. Noli's government was not recognized by any of the great powers of the West, or by the neighbouring countries. The sole Balkan country that recognized it was Rumania, the liberal government of which had not yet given place to the monarchical dictatorship.

Diplomatic isolation was accompanied by a frantic anti-Albania campaign, particularly when the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union became known. Albania was proclaimed a «hot-bed of Bolshevism in the Balkans». For the imperialist and anti-democratic forces, this was the most suitable argument to justify armed intervention, and the restoration of a reactionary regime. In Yugoslavia and Greece, Zog and his followers had amassed and organized mercenary forces, with the material and financial aid of the local governments, and especially of the Anglo-American oil companies, «Anglo-Persian» and «Standard Oil». In order to cope with the danger that threatened the country, Noli, under the illusion that the League of Nations was an effective force, found no better way than to turn to it for aid. The democratic government's fatal error was that in the hope of obtaining support from the League of Nations, and undervaluing the internal forces it did not take the proper care to organise the defence of the country. Moreover, it was unable to resist pressures, and began to make concessions to the internal and external reactionary forces. Thus, it gave up the promised reforms, and sent away the diplomatic representative of the Soviet Union, in order to avoid «providing a pretext for the undermining activity of the reaction». But now it was armed intervention which could not be stopped. Zog's bands, aided by units gathered from the remnants of Wrangel's White Guard army, and backed up by detachments of the regular Yugoslav army, crossed the border on December 10, 1924. His collaborators M. Libohova and K. Kota did the same from the south, leaving Greece with their bands of mercenaries.

F. Noli at last called on the popular masses to defend the homeland. Although dissatisfied with the policy of the government, they showed themselves willing; however badly organized and unprepa-

red, they were not able to hold out. Their resistance was sabotaged by the reactionary forces of the regime, and particularly by the highranking army officers whom the government had not purged from the State apparatus. On December 24, the counterrevolutionary troops occupied the Capital. After six months in power, the government of F. Noli had succumbed to the combined attacks of external and internal reaction.—

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The historic importance of the June revolution, as the first political and social revolution of the Albanian people, although ephemeral and inconclusive, consists not only in the fact that it raised the struggle for social emancipation to a national scale and gave the oppressed masses hope and a foretaste of victory, but also in the lessons provided for that generation, and those after it, by its experience. These lessons moulded the younger generation of revolutionaries, the generation of the communists, who would carry ahead the banner of the June Revolution. They rightfully conceived its defeat not as a casualty and a fatality, but as the consequence of political and ideological immaturity, lack of experience and, consequently, errors from which conclusions should be drawn for further revolutionary activity. The major problem to emerge was that of the organisation and direction of the new revolution, thus of the necessity to create a revolutionary organisation which would lead the masses in struggle. Of whom should this organisation be composed, and on what should it be based? The events of the June revolution had provided an answer to this question. As pointed out in «Liria Kombëtare», organ of the revolutionary national committee which was formed abroad, the bourgeois democrats lacked the resolution to carry the revolution through to the end, they feared the people more than the counterrevolution, and as a result, they compromised with the reaction. This class was no longer to lead the new revolution, although the possibility of its participation in it was not excluded. It must be replaced by the

communists, who were the most consistent revolutionaries, and the new revolution should bring to power not the bourgeois regime of 1924, although the latter was more progressive than the Zog regime, but a popular regime.

H. Xhelo, one of the outstanding representatives of the revolutionary younger generation, wrote in November 1928: «It is not now in the interests of the Albanian people» to establish the national bourgeois regime, because this was bankrupted on December 24, 1924; but it is necessary and indispensable for the masses of labour to come to power».

Here it was not a question of a proletarian revolution, nor of a socialist regime either, but of a people's revolution and a people's regime, the establishment of a dictatorship of workers and peasants which would fulfil and carry through the bourgeois democratic tasks, and would prepare the conditions for raising the revolution to a higher level, to the socialist one.

The June events showed on the other hand that to bring the masses to power, they should be patiently and persistently prepared for revolution. At the time of the June revolution, the Albanian revolutionaries wrote, the popular masses had a poor political consciousness, and were unable properly to conceive the mission of the revolution, their strength and role, and those of the classes and groups surrounding them. Therefore, the creation of a revolutionary consciousness in the masses became one of the fundamental tasks of the Albanian communists.

The task of a revolution is not only to announce a programme but, more particularly, to carry it out. The Fan Noli government put aside the solution of the three fundamental tasks facing it: the application of the agrarian reform, the purging of the state apparatus of the reactionary elements, and the arming of the people, which would ensure the support of the masses. Thus it prepared its own defeat. Not accidentally, the Presidium of the Balkan Communist Federation and the Italian Communist Party, basing themselves on the precepts of Marxism-Leninism and on historical experience, spoke to the working people of Albania, a few days after the victory of the June revolution, in the following words: «Take measures so that your blood, shed for freedom, should not be utilized for your oppression. Beware lest

you fall victim to the reactionary forces hidden inside your country as well as the imperialist aims of Italy or other states which strive to transform your country into a colony; take care that the chains do not bind you again, even more tightly. Precisely now you must make every effort to secure your social and political achievements, otherwise you will be deceived, and then your struggle will be twice as difficult».

Finally, the causes of the victory and defeat of the June revolution must be viewed in their international aspect too. In 1924 Democratic Albania was transformed, not into a hotbed of «bolshhevik subversion» as the reactionary propaganda made out, but into a centre of solidarity and fraternity with all the oppressed peoples of the Balkans. But the ebb of the revolutionary tide on the peninsula and in Europe generally, in 1924, deprived the movement of that powerful international backing the Albanian people had had in the struggle against the Italian invaders in 1920. The quick victory of foreign intervention is also explained by this. On this basis, the conviction was formed of the necessity for close ties and coordination of the actions of the new Albanian revolution with the revolutionary struggle of other peoples.

This ideological and political heritage of the Albanian revolutionary movement became the property of the Albanian Communist Party, which was founded in 1941, in the conditions of the fascist occupation of the country. Studying and elaborating this heritage in a creative way, and merging it with the experience of the struggle of the world proletariat, the Albanian Communist Party not only gave the Albanian people a correct and clear programme, but also fought with all its forces for its complete realisation.—



*Another
industrial
project
is going up
in
new Albania*

FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY

MAY DAY IN ALBANIA

The Albanian working class, cooperative peasantry, people's intelligentsia and the whole Albanian people, celebrated May Day with magnificence and many successes in their work for the complete construction of socialist society; they celebrated it free and happy, proud of the victories achieved under the correct Marxist-Leninist leadership of the PLA, and the beloved and respected leader of the Party and the people, comrade Enver Hoxha.

In all the districts of the country, the working people paraded past the leaders of the Party and the State, displaying the victories they had achieved, and promised that in the future they will reap still greater victories in their struggle to fulfil and overfulfil the targets of the state plan, and defend the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the PLA against US-led imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, against alien influences and liberal stands towards them, in order to strengthen socialist Albania further.

The May Day celebrations were attended by many delegations from foreign countries.

In Tirana a magnificent parade of the working people of the Capital took place; it was attended by the first secretary of the CC of the PLA Enver Hoxha, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania Haxhi Lleshi, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania Mehmet Shehu, and other Party and State leaders.

The member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions, Rita Marko, greeted the working people of the Capital and the entire country, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania and the Central Council of the ATU.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, the Council of Ministers and the Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions, Rita Marko said, I greet you and wish you a happy May Day, our great festival, the revolutionary festival of the working people of the whole world.

The working people of our country are today celebrating joyfully the May Day

of the jubilee year of the 30th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland. During these three decades, our people, under the leadership of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, have won magnificent victories which cannot be measured even against centuries of development. The decisions of the 6th Congress, and the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, and comrade Enver Hoxha's speeches, created an atmosphere of very high enthusiasm and mobilisation; they awakened great revolutionary initiatives and movements in the working people, and in all our people, and further promoted social production and the country's defence capacity. The internal situation of our country is excellent. The position of the People's Republic of Albania in the international arena is today stronger than ever.

At the invitation of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania and the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, a delegation of the National United Front of Cambodia and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, headed by Kieu Samphan, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the National United Front of Cambodia, deputy Prime Minister and Minister of National Defence of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, and commander-in-chief of the people's Armed National Liberation Forces of Cambodia, and deputy head Yeng Sari, special adviser to the deputy Prime Ministers Office, paid a friendly official visit to Albania from April 20 to 26, 1974.

During their stay in the People's Republic of Albania, the delegation of the National United Front of Cambodia and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia made visits to work and production centres, cultural institutions, and military units, in the districts of Tirana, Kruja, and Shkodra, where they met workers, peasants and other working people,

The trend of present world development is toward revolution and the struggle for freedom. The imperialists and their allies are in the grip of general crisis. The working class is intensifying its struggle against capitalist and revisionist exploitation; the peoples are struggling for independence, and the revolutionary movement is on the rise.

On this great festival of May Day, we extend to the working people of all countries, to our class comrades our most ardent greetings and best wishes for new victories in their just struggle against imperialism and revisionism and we assure them of our militant solidarity. We cordially greet the great Chinese people and we wish them new victories in implementing the teachings of the Party and of Chairman Mao Tse-Tung.

United round the Party, let us temper

and deepen the revolutionary qualities in every working person and citizen. Let us mobilize still further to meet the glorious day of the 30th anniversary with a rich balance-sheet of successes, and our heads high fulfilling all the targets of the state plan! Let us be always vigilant, prepared and always ready to defend the gains of the revolution!

LONG LIVE MAY DAY, THE REVOLUTIONARY FESTIVAL OF THE WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD!

LONG LIVE OUR HEROIC PEOPLE!

LONG LIVE OUR GLORIOUS PARTY AND THE BELOVED LEADER OF OUR PEOPLE, COMRADE ENVER HOXHA!

GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM!

NEW CONTRIBUTION TO THE STRENGTHENING OF ALBANIAN-CAMBODIAN FRIENDSHIP

and soldiers and cadres of the People's Army; they became acquainted with their work and life, and with the successes they have achieved in building socialism, in fulfilling the targets of the fifth five-year plan and in strengthening the defence of the homeland. The envoys of the fraternal Cambodian people, who had come directly from the war front, were accorded a warm

and cordial welcome everywhere, and were surrounded by the fraternal friendship, pure love and militant solidarity felt by the Albanian people for the valiant Cambodian people and their glorious national liberation armed forces.

The delegation of the National United Front and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia brought to the

**May 5 in Albania
is «the Martyrs' Day» –
the day of those
who laid down
their lives
for the liberation of
the homeland and
the triumph
of the revolution.**

**This day was
marked throughout
Albania
this year with
a special brilliance
and magnificence in
the framework
of the 30th
anniversary of the
liberation
of the homeland.**

**On Skënderbej
Square in
Tirana a grandiose
concert devoted
to this day
was given at the
presence of
30.000 persons**





FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY

Albanian people the revolutionary greetings and militant friendship of the Cambodian people, as well as much joyful, welcome news about the great victories won by the Cambodian people and their armed forces, in their heroic struggle for freedom and national salvation, against the aggression of US imperialism and the treacherous Pnom Penh clique.

The first secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, and chairman of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, Enver Hoxha, received the delegation of the National United Front and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia and had a cordial and friendly talk with them, in a very warm atmosphere.

During their stay in Albania, the delegation of the National United Front and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, headed by Kieu Samphan, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the National United Front of Cambodia, deputy Prime Minister and Minister of National Defence of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia and commander-in-chief of the People's Armed National Liberation Forces of Cambodia, held talks with the delegation of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, headed by Mehmet Shehu, member of

the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania.

At the end of the talks comrade Beqir Balluku, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of People's Defence, and Kieu Samphan, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the United Front of Cambodia, deputy Prime Minister and Minister of National Defence of the Royal Government of National Union and commander-in-chief of the People's Armed National Liberation Forces of Cambodia, signed a joint Albanian-Cambodian declaration.

In the declaration, both sides expressed their special joy and satisfaction that the present visit by the delegation of National United Front and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia to the People's Republic of Albania is being made at a time when the relations of fraternal friendship, militant solidarity and close collaboration between the Albanian people and the Cambodian people are being uninterruptedly extended and strengthened; they had developed in an allround way with the visits to Albania by the head of state and president of the National United Front of Cambodia, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, and the high-ranking Cambodian officials who accompanied him.

FROM WOODEN BOATS TO TRANSOCEANIC SHIPS

December 1945. The smoking ruins caused by the war were still to be seen in our country. Then one day, at Rade, near Uji i Ftohtë in Vlora, the first friendly ship appeared, bringing the help which the fraternal Soviet people, led by Stalin, were sending us, in token of internationalist solidarity. Round that ship gathered the few small wooden barges which had escaped the war. This is how liberation found our country. Despite this, the new

regime set to work. With the nationalisation of transport, it found itself in possession of a few boats with very low transport capacity and poor technical equipment; these served as the nucleus of our merchant fleet. In those years everything we had was utilized, in order to create a stronger basis for our sea transport.

The years passed by, and on the Adriatic and Ionian coasts new ships appeared which, even though made of wood, helped

us to view the future with confidence. They were the first ships to be produced almost entirely by our own sailors and workers. The workers in this sector kept on setting themselves still greater tasks. Thus, by 1955 the volume of the work carried out by our merchant fleet, reckoned in tons per mile, had risen by 70 per cent in a few years.

The development of the people's economy in accordance with the five-year plans, strengthened our merchant fleet still more. Now, not only in the Adriatic and the Ionian Sea, but also in the Black Sea, the Baltic and the Mediterranean, the Albanian flag began to appear, flying over our first iron ships such as the «Sazani», «Butrinti», «Partizani», «Liria», «Skënderbey», etc. This extension of our merchant fleet made it possible for sea transport in the second five-year plan to cope with a volume of work 7.5 times larger than the volume of work carried out under the first five-year plan.

After the year 1960, when the modern revisionists, led by the Soviets, imposed the military-economic blockade, and expected us to suffer defeat in sea transport, we completed our merchant fleet, adding ships with a capacity of 5,000 and 12,000 tons. Our merchant fleet began to cross the world's oceans. During this period our merchant navy, always placing politics in command, helped the trade organs in secu-

ring markets for Albanian exports and also began to play the main role in importing. Our merchant ships can now be seen in the ports of many countries, they show the whole world the successes achieved in our country, over these 30 years of liberation.

With new ships, such as the «Tirana», «Korabi», «Mati», «Dajti», «Rinia» and the transoceanic ship «Vlora» of the joint Sino-Albanian line, goods circulation rose considerably. Today our fleet transports about 3.5 times more import-export goods than in 1960.

In the current year too, the volume of sea transport, compared with that of 1973, has registered a considerable increase, both with regard to overseas and coastal shipping. The data of the first quarter clearly show that the merchant sailors have joined in the socialist emulation drive, in order to meet the 30th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland with as many achievements as possible.

This vigorous rate of development by our fleet has been helped by the improvement and extension of our sea ports. Liberation found our country with the wharves of the Durrës, Vlora and Shëngjin ports destroyed by the German Nazis, but, today, 30 years later the situation has entirely changed. In order to indicate the scope of this change, suffice it to mention that the volume of work accomplished by the ports in 1956 is today carried out

by the Durrës port alone, in less than three months. Thus, while in 1956 it took 3 days to load 400 tons of coal at the port of Saranda, today this quantity is loaded in 14 to 16 hours. In 1958 it took almost 4 days to load in a 4,000 ton ship but today, this can be done at Durrës port in one day.

This port has been largely extended; it has been equipped with many wharves and powerful cranes and the number of docks and depots has been increased. In 1970 alone this port handled over 43 per cent more goods than in 1966, while this year it will handle 1000 cargoes.

The Vlora port has also been developed. It can now handle ships with a capacity of 6,000 tons, as against only 2,500 tons a few years ago. Parallel with the increase in port handling capacity, the tonnage of the ships berthing in our ports has also been rising, thanks to the work done to deepen the ports and harbour channels. About 90 per cent of the volume of port work is now mechanized.

In this jubilee year, the port workers are faced with greater tasks: In addition to the rising volume of work, many materials and items of machinery will pass through Durrës, destined for the magnificent projects going up throughout our socialist homeland. Work is continuing to extend the ports of Durrës, Vlora and Saranda.

Experimental research in agriculture in our country is of recent date. It started in the first post-liberation years. The Party then gave instructions for the erection of the first centres of scientific activity, but the rise in quantity and quality was effected in the last two decades. Such research is considered today to be the basis for new undertakings, initiatives and method of work, helping in the introduction of advanced technology, as well as opening new prospects for the increase of agricultural and livestock production.

So far the modernization of agriculture has been helped by the production of genetic material of high value, such as seeds, saplings, breeding animals, modern drugs, more advanced technology, programmes for future agricultural development, etc. In the course of research it has become possible to learn the quali-

6.000 SCIENTIFIC EXPERIMENTS IN AGRICULTURE WITHIN A YEAR

ties of agricultural crops and animals, as well as how to adopt and improve them for the various ecological zones; ways to increase the fertility of the land have been worked out, and so on. Work is also going on to achieve general improvement in the most important agricultural crops and livestock raised here, to increase the

fertility of the land more intensively, to achieve more effective use of fertilizer and irrigation, to work the best production methods and technology, etc.

The bulk of scientific studies and experiments in our country have been carried out in large-scale agricultural and livestock production. In just one year, over

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6,000 programmed agricultural experiments, were carried out this way, this is equal to five or six times the number carried out by the central research stations. The policy of giving scientific work a mass character has made it possible to ensure the necessary number of scientific subjects studied. Thus, the central research institutions study and define the most fundamental problems of agriculture and thus require more highly-skilled work, while the district agricultural stations and farms solve local problems, and sum up those experiments that have yielded the best results in production.

Mass organisation arranged in an entire system of different sectors and the organisation of scientific work in agriculture throughout the country, have contributed a great deal to attaining positive results, increasing crop yields, and improving herds. In every brigade, and agricultural or livestock production unit there is a scientific nucleus; composed of the best workers and an experimental centre, while every agricultural cooperative or farm has its scientific council.

A large number of central research institutions are operating. They carry out and direct the experimental work throughout the country according to the speciality required. The Soil and Agricultural Research Institute in Lushnja, the Zootechnical Research Institute in Tirana, and the Veterinary Research Institute in Tirana all help agriculture a great deal. Besides these a large number of research centres have been set up, such as the Central Maize Station in Shkodra, the Central Ve-

getable and Potato Station in Tirana, the centre for fodder crops in Fushë-Krujë, the Durrës plant protection centre, the mechanisation centre in Tirana, etc. Extensive research work in agriculture is also being carried out by the Agricultural Institutes of Tirana and Korça, and the relevant faculties of the State University of Tirana, as well as the institutions of the Academy of Sciences.

Experimental research has been included in the planning system, integrating the work of the different research sectors with that of extended agricultural production, and the whole of the economy and of scientific work in our country. Scientific work has been designed in such a way as to help fulfil the plan for agricultural production. Our agricultural science develops on the basis of 10 to 15 years advance plans and programmes, which lay down the fundamental lines of research and experimentation, and make for the better integration of science with production and the people's economy in general.

Within the framework of the 30th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution, in September this year, the national conference of agricultural sciences will hold its proceedings. This will be an important event; it will contribute to the deepening of scientific thought about the improvement of the technology of production and will define, on the basis of the party directives, the further development of our agricultural science in the service of stepping up production.

THIRD MEETING OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

On April 16 and 17, the third meeting of the Assembly of the Academy of Sciences of the PRA held its proceedings. Attending were members and associate members of the Academy, leaders of

scientific research institutions from various fields of science, and others.

The meeting was presided over by the president of the Academy of Sciences, professor Aleks Buda. Then the Academy's

secretary, professor Bedri Dedja, according to the agenda, delivered, on behalf of the Presidium, the report «On the activity of the Academy of Sciences of the PRA during the year 1973, the achievements recorded in various fields of science, as well as the fundamental directions for 1974 of the scientific work of the research institutions included in the framework of the Academy».

In the field of technical sciences, during 1973 important studies were carried out for the solution of the problems of various sectors of socialist economy, such as the studies in Albanian hydrology, the survey of the country's water resources, and the hydraulic studies of the Fierza hydropower station; the compilation of work on the seismotectonic map of Albania has also been completed.

In the field of natural sciences there has been successful completion of work on the calibration of the energy of electrons, the introduction of hydrometric methods in geophysics, the use of radioactive indicators, the manipulation of radioactive isotopes, etc. Many important problems of the economy and technology of our country have also been solved extending the use of computers in the fields of energy, geology, building construction, agriculture, engineering, etc.

In the field of the social sciences, studies have been carried out concerning the ideological struggle of our party and people at the present stage of the development of the socialist revolution in our country, and fundamental works of Albanian history and philology have been

concluded or are nearing completion. Thus, work is continuing on the outline «History of Albania», volumes I-III, the joint work «Orthography of the Albanian language» has been published, the first volume of the «Dictionary of the current Albanian language» has been concluded and the second volume compiled, most of the work has been done on the general and definitive edition of the «History of the Albanian literature» in two volumes, and work has entered the final stage on the «Scientific grammar of the Albanian language».

In the plans for scientific work in 1974, parallel with the extension of studies in the humanities, a greater place will be occupied by studies in the technical and natural sciences so as to meet the needs of the development of our socialist economy better.

During this year there will be intensive work on the book «Hydrology of Albania». Likewise work will continue on solving the problems of the Fierza hydropower station, and on the seismological map of Albania, on the scale 1:500,000.

In the field of natural sciences, work will continue on a series of important problems of production, such as problems of defining the mechanical damage incurred by spare parts and the radiation bombardment of biological objects for study and selection purposes; the computer centre will solve a series of complex problems connected with the construction of big projects in our country and the development of various sectors of production.

During this year the social sciences section will organise important scientific undertakings such as «The third Conference of Albanological Studies» on the theme «The Anti-fascist National Liberation Struggle of the Albanian people», a scientific session devoted to the 50th anniversary of the June 1924 Revolution, the first national symposium devoted to Albanian literature for children, a symposium on the new Albanian novel, etc.

Next, according to the agenda, a discussion took place on the development of Albanian science in the near future.

After the discussions on the first and second items of the agenda, the Academy's Assembly unanimously approved the decisions concerning the annual report and the plan of scientific work for 1974, as well as for the constitution of the Academy of Sciences of the PRA.

At the second sitting, professor Aleks Buda reported on the results of the visit of the delegation of the Academy of Sciences of the PRA to the People's Republic of China. The Assembly unanimously approved the activity of the delegation, and described it as a contribution to the further strengthening of the friendship between our two peoples, our two parties, and the collaboration between the two academies as well as to the development of the scientific research work of our Academy of Sciences.

Finally the Assembly elected the heads of sections and those of social sciences, technical sciences, and natural sciences.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's speeches and the decisions of the Party have continually been a great source of inspiration to Albanian education and Albanian teachers: they have given rise to a series of important educational tasks and problems. Such are also comrade Enver Hoxha's recent speeches and the decisions of the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA. The struggle against liberalism and alien modernist influences brings to the fore a series of important educative problems.

Responding to the tasks laid down by the Party, the Faculty of Education,

SCIENTIFIC EDUCATIONAL SESSION

which is striving to broaden and raise to a clearly defined system the educative and scientific work of the students, organized a scientific educational session devoted to problems of educative work.

The session pointed out the successes achieved by the students in their educative activity and in the field of educational

studies, the positive experience and its analysis and the tasks remaining to be solved. It also pointed out the concern of the teachers to realise the tasks raised by the Party in the sphere of ethical, moral, ideological and aesthetic education, to intensify and raise the quality of educative work in teaching and outside it,

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and the great and full responsibility of the teachers and pedagogues not only as educators but also as organizers of educative work. It pointed out that our educational thinking is created and enriched day by day by our concrete reality, in the light of the teachings of the Party and that our Marxist-Leninist educational science develops successfully in struggle against any disorientating influence by reactionary bourgeois and revisionist pedagogy.

Seeing the educative process as a process which develops in constant struggle between communist education and alien influences and concentrating on some of the most important current questions of educative work here, the papers presented also touched on problems connected with reactionary idealistic trends in current bourgeois and revisionist pedagogy.

Current bourgeois philosophical and pedagogical thinking is characterized by a diversity of trends and schools. Nevertheless, none of them escapes the framework of the bourgeois world outlook.

The efforts of the bourgeois and revisionist educators, for the so-called «de-ideologisation» and «liberation» of education and teaching from philosophy, whatever the motive guiding them, are only a camouflage for anti-Marxist reactionary views and a method of struggle against the Marxist-Leninist principle of partisanship in science. The very renunciation of «every philosophy» is in fact an expression of a specific philosophical position.

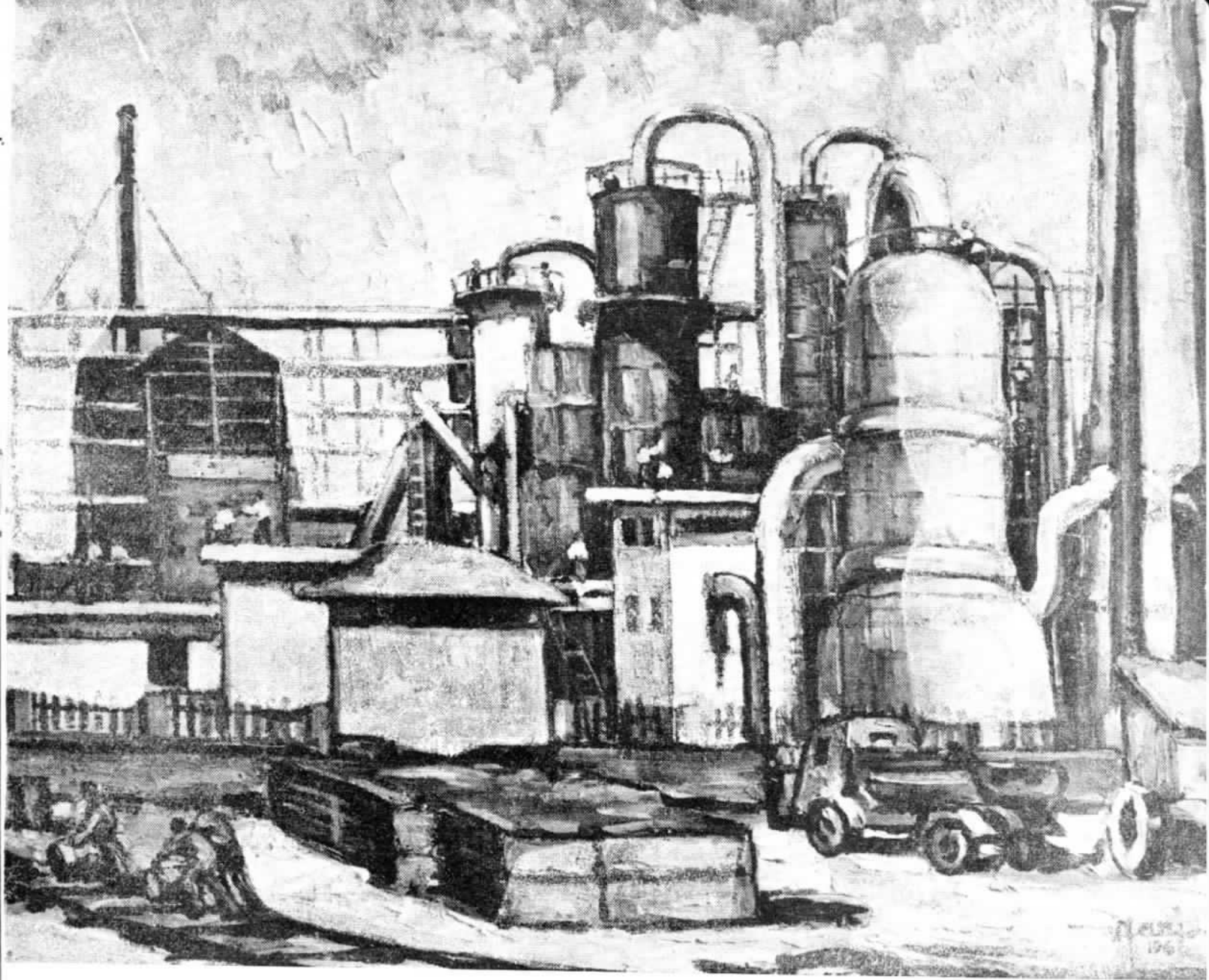
All the present bourgeois and revisionist educational theories have in common the struggle against Marxist-Leninist ideology. Education has been transformed into a weapon to influence the sons of the workers. Their fear of the truth and of the masses makes them all counterpose themselves to science, to equipping the younger generation with systematic scientific knowledge, and proclaim the cult of individualism, teaching the individual to detach himself from the collective, the society and life itself. The fear of the historical prospect and the Marxist-Leninist movement makes them deny the objective laws of human behaviour. Considering moral norms as an expression of the «absolute freedom of the Will», excluding any connection with the requirements of society, they raise extreme amorality

to a principle. They undervalue the role of the teacher, and in general of adults, who, in their opinion, must not interfere in the inner world of the pupils, for that is a divine creation and therefore impenetrable. The whole work and practice of current bourgeois education is built on the basis of these anti-scientific and reactionary concepts. All this is aimed at causing the younger generation to degenerate, and at making it unable to oppose and struggle against the bourgeoisie.

Our duty is to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist education of our student youth at all costs. The ideological, aesthetic, and ethical education of our students can be realized only on the basis of a sound communist world outlook, only on the basis of a deepened assimilation of the teachings of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha. It is important to develop active, critical, independent thinking in students, so that they can correctly orientate themselves in the complicated situations of the time, analyse correctly, in an allround way, both reality and themselves, and always adopt a stand in conformity with our ideology, morality and aesthetic tastes.

All the subjects taught in the University have great educative values and functions, including ideological, moral and aesthetic education, because concepts, convictions and ideals, moral, civic and aesthetic habits and customs, are above all concrete expressions of the world outlook of the students, and of their philosophical, scientific, political, moral and aesthetic formation. No doubt, a special role belongs to social subjects and to Marxism-Leninism, as well as to the special subjects of aesthetic education. It is our duty to promote, in the whole teaching and educative process, a militant class spirit, and to lay more stress than before on the analysis and forming of concepts, norms and principles, strengthening the educative role of the lessons.

The education of the students cannot be carried out outside the collective. In this, a very important role belongs to the youth organisation. Its allround struggle to strengthen the feelings of duty and responsibility of the students and teachers, their ideals and convictions, communist



Vladimir Jani: *Industrial landscape* (oil).

concepts and tastes, calls for maximum mobilisation, on a wide front, for the best possible accomplishment of all tasks, from lessons, discipline and regular attendance at school to the struggle against any alien influence and imitation. The task of further improving educative work requires that not only most of the youth, but every young man and woman, be formed as individuals with a high sense of duty towards society.

The main link in our school remains the teachers and their activity and exam-

ple as educators. Their responsibility for the value of the educative work they do must be increased. For the teachers to accomplish their duties as educators well, they should be as close as possible to the students and know them well; they should help them in class and outside it, to correctly understand, in particular, questions of an ideological, aesthetic, and ethical character. Through their words, explanations, and advice they should always strike out at any manifestation of alien influence. Likewise, the role of the teachers as

organizers of educative work must be strengthened. Supporting at the independent action of the youth organisation at all costs, teachers' guidance of this independent action must be strengthened and improved. This requires the teachers to become constantly more qualified ideologically, scientifically and educationally. Without such qualification the teachers today cannot accomplish their duties as educators properly.

All these constitute the main questions which were discussed at this session.

AGAINST IMPERIALIST INTERFERENCE AND CONTROL

NESTI NASE

**At the April 16 sitting
of the special
UN General Assembly
session on questions
of raw materials
and development,
the floor
was taken by the head
of the PR of Albania,
Foreign Minister
Nesti Nase.
The full text of his
speech follows**

MR. PRESIDENT,

THE MAJORITY OF THE MEMBER COUNTRIES, THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA INCLUDED, SUPPORTED THE JUST DEMAND OF HIS EXCELLENCY HOUARI BOUMEDIENNE, PRESIDENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL AND CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE ALGERIAN DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, TO CONVENE A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY FOR THE PURPOSE OF EXAMINING THE PROBLEM OF RAW MATERIALS AND DEVELOPMENT. THIS CONSTRUCTIVE INITIATIVE BY ALGERIA HELPS THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLES AND SOVEREIGN COUNTRIES TO STRENGTHEN THEIR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.

The present session of the UN General Assembly is timely, and has been convened on an important, pressing question.

Recently great tension has been building up in many regions of the world, and in international relations, both political and economic. In the Middle East a tense situation continues to exist as a result of Israel's aggressive policy and the rivalry, intrigues and plots of the two superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, which seek to impose solutions which serve their imperialist interests in that region on the Arab countries.

Peace has not been reached in Vietnam. The concluded agreements are systematically sabotaged by the grave acts of war of the Saigon regime and by the continuation of US military engagement. In Cambodia the armed aggression of the USA maintains its former intensity and proportions, threatening the security of the entire Indochina peninsula.

There is increasingly greater rivalry between the two superpowers in Europe, the

Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, etc. This raises tension and creates new dangers and threats to the peoples and countries of these areas. But US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism do not only rival one another; they also collaborate for world domination.

The peoples and sovereign countries are rightly concerned about Soviet-US rivalry and collaboration, the dark conspiracies and plans the two superpowers draw up, their secret summit diplomacy, and their efforts to become arbiters of international relations and establish their domination in the world.

A grave situation has also been created in the world economy, and this continues to worsen as a result of the foreign currency and financial crisis, and the outbreak of the present energy crisis. The marked neocolonialist policy of the imperialist powers, and in the first place of the two superpowers, which are carrying out uninterrupted economic aggression against the developing countries, is sharpening all the

ves so heavily, why are they covering the seas with their warships and the skies with their military planes? Who is threatening their security? They are arming themselves in view of a new world war, to re-divide the territories and markets of the world. The great arsenal of lethal weapons, which they have amassed by the blood and sweat of the peoples, will be used by them against us, the peoples. It is our general duty to sabotage these plans of theirs and not to allow them to realize their terrible aims.

The developing countries, like the other peace-loving countries, are rightfully concerned with this course of events, and demand that the problems which are directly connected with their development and progress be examined by the UN General Assembly.

The problems connected with raw materials and development are numerous, and today they have become acute. They not only affect the vital interests of the developing countries, but also perceptibly influence relations among all states; they are closely connected with the questions of peace and international collaboration. The examination of these problems in an objective manner, and the adoption of concrete measures, have become an urgent necessity which cannot be delayed or postponed.

Great changes have occurred in the world as a result of the liberation struggle of the peoples. The colonial empires have collapsed and many new states have emerged in the international arena, seeking to proceed on the road of development, in complete political and economic independence. But because of the backwardness inherited from the savage colonial domination, they are still weak economically, and face countless difficulties.

The developing countries, which have a major place in the world from the viewpoint of their human potential and natural resources and which are the main producers of fuels and other raw materials, are the target for the ambitions of the imperialist and neocolonialist powers, who want to exploit them.

Backed by the colonial regimes, by the enslaving system of concessions or of entirely unequal relations, the monopolies of the great imperialist powers have bled the peoples white. In this way, in many of these countries, one of the greatest contrasts of our time has been created, and is deepening: On the one side the presence of natural riches, manpower, and other great possibilities for development; and

on the other, the presence of great backwardness and poverty in the greater part of the world. The developing countries, which represent 70 per cent of the world's population, possess only 30 per cent of world income. Of the population of these countries, 800 million are illiterate, about 1 billion suffer from hunger, and 900 million have a daily income which comes to barely one-third of a dollar.

Another marked contrast of our time is between the economic situation of the industrialized countries, and that of the developing countries. The gap between these countries has not narrowed but in fact is widening steadily. The predictions up to 1980 are pessimistic. In the developing countries the average per capita income is likely to be less than a twelfth of per capita income in the developed countries.

The imperialist powers, and in particular the USA and the Soviet Union, are striving to maintain this situation, in order to take away the riches of the developing countries and to keep them as sources of raw materials and as markets for the sale of exported goods. In order to preserve their selfish and predatory interests, they are doing their utmost to impose on the developing countries those political, social and economic structures which facilitate penetration, neocolonial dependency and exploitation. The imperialist powers are also striving to dictate to the developing countries unequal economic treaties and agreements which gravely affect their sovereignty.

US imperialism is seeking to impose on the world a concept according to which the United States, as a great power, is entitled to monopolize questions of the management and regulation of international economic relations.

The United States seeks to exploit not only the developing peoples, but also its «allies». The pressure exerted on Western Europe to obtain Washington's prior approval for every important political, economic or other move, is a pressure for submission, and a demand for concessions to be made in the field of national sovereignty.

America does not want and will not allow its European partners to seek to establish equal political, economic and other relations with it, nor to establish bilateral relations with the developing countries, as was the case with France.

The stand now being taken by the British Labour government towards the European Community assists this pressure

contradictions of the time still more and undermining the interests of peace and general security. In the last analysis, it is the rivalry between the superpowers, their economic aggression against all countries and their struggle for markets and zones of influence, that steadily prepare, little by little, those situations that may lead to another great world conflagration.

The frenzied armament race of the two superpowers is a continuous menace and blackmail to the peoples, their freedom, and their national sovereignty. The United States and the Soviet Union have made military pressure and threats the main pillar of their aggressive policy. One brutal expression of this is the continuous military manoeuvres of the NATO and Warsaw Treaty blocs which are being carried out with increasing frequency on the borders of sovereign countries, the gun-boat policy exercised by their fleets in the Mediterranean, the Adriatic, and the Indian Ocean and the arms trade, by which they want to flay the peoples.

Now the two superpowers are conducting a broad, general campaign to convince the world that Soviet-US activity has allegedly led to a relaxation of international tension. The aim is to quiet the peoples, to slacken their vigilance, and to suppress the anti-imperialist struggle.

Why are the US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists arming themself-

and is entirely in accord with the American line. The declaration by Foreign Minister Callaghan, in the House of Commons, when the new government's programme was presented, shows that Britain has aligned itself with the United States so as to compel the West European countries to give up their interests and accept US hegemony.

The same thing is being done by the Soviet social imperialists with their allies. With regard to the East European countries, the Soviet Union pursues a policy of strict control, economic exploitation and complete political subjugation.

Through the export of capital, the USA takes every year from the developing countries three times more profits than the amount invested. Of every 10 dollars of the income of the American budget, 1 dollar comes from the exploitation of the developing countries. The United States of America is the greatest importer of raw materials in the world, and precisely in this field it strives to exercise its strictest control; here it undertakes its most brutal interference, here its arrogance knows no bounds. US imperialism, which has surrounded the whole world with aggressive military bases, intervenes through force and, if need be, uses arms, to defend the interests of its monopolies abroad. Last year's events in Chile show that when the positions of the US monopoly companies grew weak, and were endangered by the just measures of the Allende government, the USA at once made haste to exert pressure and open threats, going so far as to organize the reactionary coup d'état to restore the previous situation.

The Soviet social imperialists too are pursuing an essentially neocolonialist policy with regard to the developing countries. The credits they give to these countries are used for the same aims as those of the US imperialists. The developing countries know the real nature of Soviet credits.

It has been proved that the economic and technical aid, loans, and specialists the Soviet Union offers to some countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, are sent on such conditions as make possible Soviet economic interference, the ensurance of political privileges and services, and military facilities and bases. The promises and offers made here at the Assembly by the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs, Gromyko, were merely a repetition of the thread-bare social imperialist demagoguery

which for years has been addressed to developing countries.

The imperialist powers, and in the first place the United States of America and the Soviet Union, have created a series of ways by which to preserve their economic exploitation and political influence in other countries. By means of «aid», «credit», «economic and technical collaboration», «joint enterprises», etc., they strive to realize economic penetration, to plunder the natural resources of developing countries, to hinder their independent realization and development, to transform them into appendages of their economies, and to undermine their freedom and independence.

As for the propaganda and demagoguery of the imperialists and social imperialists, who often attack our country, claiming that it has cut itself off from their aid, the leader of the Albanian people, comrade Enver Hoxha, has said.

«What in fact does the «aid» they pretend to give us through their credits mean? It would mean selling our country to them, and allowing the imperialists and revisionists to invest their capital in Albania in order to suck the blood of our people and profit from their sweat, it would mean becoming a satellite of the big monopolies and metropolises, adopting their degenerate way of life, and having the consumer society, with all its evils, established in our country. . .

Where do these modern robbers get the capital with which they so «generously» want to «help» the backward peoples? From brutal exploitation of the working class, and the other peoples?»

The fuss being made here in the UNO and outside it by the imperialist powers, in the first place by the two superpowers, about the so-called aid and credit they give the developing countries, allegedly to assist economic, technical, scientific and social progress, is sheer demagoguery. The same character and the same aims are found in the loud claims of the Soviet Union about the way the developing countries would allegedly profit from the reduction of war budgets and other measures in the field of «disarmament» proposed by it. The US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists never give a single dollar or ruble without having previously calculated the

political, economic, military and other profits they will make.

The value of the so-called aid given to the developing countries is very small and constitutes only 0.4 per cent of the gross national product of the great industrialized countries, whereas in order to repay the credits received at a very high rate of interest, the developing countries are compelled to pay out billions of dollars every year. The Latin American states alone use about one-third of the value of their exports to service and aid and credit.

Numerous acute problems also exist in the field of international trade, which is exploited by the imperialist powers, to make great profits, to the detriment of the countries producing raw materials.

Closed markets and economic blocs, unequal and discriminatory trade, the policy of high customs tariffs, the low prices for raw materials and monopoly prices for the sale of industrial goods, competition, the high charges for commercial shipping, etc., have become the usual practice of the great imperialist powers in international trade relations. From this kind of "trade", they make profits of many billions of dollars.

The relations existing between the countries importing raw materials and those producing them, between the price of equipment and machinery on the one hand, and those of raw materials on the other, cannot remain as they have done so far. The monopolies, manufacturers, and traders, of the imperialist countries have been accustomed, for decades, to draw profits from other countries undisturbed. They are greatly interested in oil, copper, coffee, etc., but they have cared nothing for the sacrifices of the peoples of the producing countries; they have never asked if their lives and futures are affected by prices or other conditions of exchange.

The countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America rightfully demand an end to discriminatory trade policies, the removal of artificial barriers, and the establishment of principles of equality and mutual advantage.

Today the time has come for the riches of the developing countries to serve the independent progress of their national economy and culture. In exercising their sovereign rights, they are fully entitled to take these colossal riches into their own hands and place them under their full control,

in the service of strengthening their economic and political independence. This constitutes a major trend in current world development, and nobody is able to stop it. At the present General Assembly session the developing countries have set forth a number of just, constructive demands which the United Nations Organisation is duty-bound to examine with due attention, and adopt concrete measures in the national interests of these countries, in the interests of international collaboration and peace. The Albanian delegation supports this stand and these demands of the developing countries.

It is to be regretted that the discussions on these problems in the UNO, UNCTAD and other UN organs, which have been going on for a long time, have yielded no result whatever. Moreover the decisions adopted in this field have remained a dead letter, and have failed, due to the obstructionist role of the imperialist powers, and in the first place of the USA and the USSR, which have striven to sabotage them.

The numerous facts about the plunder and exploitation of the developing countries by the big industrialized countries, cited here by many representatives, prove that the existing international economic relations continue to have an obvious neo-colonial character. The People's Republic of Albania backs the resolute demand of the developing countries for a radical re-examination of these relations, in compliance with the great changes that have occurred in the world.

If truly just relations, based on full equality and mutual advantage, are not established, if pressure, coercion, and restrictions are not eliminated, and if the industrialized countries in general do not give up their feverish race to exploit the developing countries, an eruption of new crises and tensions is inevitable. The developing peoples will not reconcile themselves to this situation; they will find the ways and means to defend themselves and to create those conditions which will ensure harmonious economic development for their countries. The countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which only recently were suffering under foreign colonial domination, will not endure the continuation of barbarous exploitation by foreign monopolies, or the serious, abnormal situation which exists in the relations between them and the big industrialized countries. We are fully confident and convinced that the peoples of the developing

countries, in solidarity with all the peoples of the world, resolutely opposing the aggression, hegemony, multifarious pressures and exploitation by the two superpowers and the other imperialist powers, will manage to liberate their economic ties with the big industrialized countries from every kind of domination, exploitation and injustice, and will continue their efforts to build relations based on equality and respect for sovereignty.

The People's Republic of Albania resolutely supports the right and efforts of the developing countries to decide on their destinies by themselves, to become masters of their national economy and natural riches, and to cast off imperialist interference and control. It welcomes the just measures which Algeria, Syria, Libya, Iraq, Kuwait, Peru, Venezuela, Argentina and other countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have taken to nationalize the capital of foreign companies, to place national resources under their full sovereignty and to exploit them in the service of independent development.

The developing countries must take their raw material resources into their own hands, and use them to emerge from economic backwardness, to develop industry, agriculture and culture, and to increase the wellbeing of the labouring masses; this is an imperative need for all the developing countries.

The imperialist powers are bringing great pressure to bear on the Arab countries for their oil and on other countries producing raw materials, so that such countries do not affect the foreign monopoly companies.

The US secretary of defence, Schlesinger, went to the extent of openly threatening the Arab oil producing countries with military intervention by the USA, if these countries do not give up the just measures they have taken in oil production and supply.

Yesterday, before this Assembly, the US secretary of state, Kissinger, did not fail to use the stick and the carrot, he threatened the developing countries which intend to proceed in defence of their rights, and waved dollars at them in order to divide and deceive them.

The monopolies and the imperialist governments which stand behind them have been accustomed to batten on the peoples and draw fabulous profits at their expense. They are infuriated by any step no matter how small, taken toward liquidating old injustices; they are infuriated

by any demand for an end to neocolonialism, or by any effort for just economic exchanges.

The crises that have broken out today in the big imperialist countries, the energy and raw materials crisis included, have not been caused by the just measures of the Arab countries over oil, or by other countries' actions over raw materials. It is not the developing countries which cause crises by defending their rights; it is the imperialists and the social imperialists who want only to exploit these peoples, as well as their own peoples. The crises have other causes, and they are the consequences of those unjust, predatory and inhuman relations imposed, through force and trickery on the undeveloped countries.

The imperialists and social imperialists are now striving to eliminate the crises at the expense of the peoples, to reconcile the irreconcilable in their own interest. This must not be permitted. It must not be permitted by their peoples, who should unite in solidarity with the developing countries against their bosses, against the common enemy. They must not allow themselves to be deceived or fall victim to the cunning propaganda which seeks to make the developing peoples responsible for the difficulties created. If there is a shortage of petrol, if rent have increased and home heating has been reduced, the responsibility lies with the policy of aggression, oppression and exploitation of the peoples, the monopolies and their governments, which seek to preserve at all costs the profits they draw from plundering other countries, and the course pursued by the two superpowers to establish world hegemony.

History has now presented the oil and raw material producing countries with a rare opportunity. The present situation has created conditions in which they can act with determination in favour of their supreme national interests, and attain successes. The key to solving the energy and raw material crisis is in the hands, not of imperialism and its allies, but of the developing countries. It is time for accounts with the exploiting countries to be settled once and for all, and settled justly.

The oil embargo shook the entire capitalist world, deepened all its contradictions still more, and proved that its so-called «economic expansion» is based on the exploitation of other countries, therefore it is false. On the other hand, the embargo

showed that the developing countries have very powerful weapons in their hands to defend their rights, to develop their national industry, to put an end to dependency on foreigners and to increase the welfare of the people.

The successes achieved in this field prove the strength of the peoples, and give encouragement to forge ahead and throw themselves onto the offensive. We, the peoples, must not retreat; our enemies must retreat. The imperialist companies, trusts and monopolies have enriched themselves greatly through the toil and sweat of others, and there is no reason for the peoples to make new sacrifices and concessions.

All those who enrich themselves as a result of plundering the raw material of Asia, Africa and Latin America claim that the complete control of production and sale of raw materials by the lawful owners would be disastrous, in as much as these countries allegedly do not know how to administer the so-called difficult or modern industries, because they lack cadres, technicians, etc.; this is an entirely groundless and tendentious argument.

The experience of those countries which have nationalized foreign companies engaged in the extraction of raw material has proved the opposite. We would like to mention here Albania's experience in this field. When our country was liberated, and the enterprises and capital that belonged to foreign companies were nationalized, their owners and defenders abroad said that they would not function for a single day, but would be destroyed, as the Albanians lacked technicians, engineers, administrators, etc. However, we did not destroy them, but developed them further, to benefit the country's economy and the welfare of the people. In 1961 Khrushchev, too, thought that we would be unable to direct geological prospecting for oil, chromium, etc., on our own. Therefore, with a view to paralyzing our economy, and as a means of political pressure, the Soviet government, among other things, withdrew all the Soviet specialists from Albania.

But our workers and technicians took over and directed, with great skill, both prospecting and mine operation. Today, the oil production has increased 71.7 times compared with 1938 and 3.3 times compared with 1960, chromium 89.8 times and 2.3 times respectively, copper 230.3 times and 19.3 times, iron-nickel 15.3 times and 3.4

times, and coal 257.6 times and 3 times. Today Albania produces 168.1 times more electric power than in 1938 and 6.9 times than in 1960.

The great monopoly companies and governments, affected by nationalizations and the demands of the raw material producing countries that fair prices be established seek to make out that these measures aim at reversing all the economic relations between the states, and at undermining world trade from its foundations. This does not correspond at all to reality. What the developing countries, which are also the main producers of raw materials, demand, is an end to the neocolonialist policy of buying cheap and selling dear, and the exchange, on the basis of complete equality and mutual advantage of their raw materials for industrial products. The raw material producing countries have the incontestable, sovereign right to fix the prices of these materials themselves, in conformity with their national interests, free of any dictate or imposition by the big monopolies and industrialized countries. It is inadmissible for the prices of industrialized goods to continue to rise in an arbitrary way. On the contrary, they must be placed in a just ratio with the prices of raw materials, and with their real value.

The developing countries rightfully demand not to have to pay for the continuous inflation, and not to become the victims of games on the foreign currency exchanges of the industrialized countries. It is a fact that the marked differences particularly during the present foreign exchange and financial crisis, between the prices of industrialized goods and those of raw materials, have damaged the balance of trade and payments and the foreign exchange reserves of the developing countries, which have been compelled to receive many loans from abroad. In 1956 the foreign debts of these countries were 10.5 billion dollars; by 1972 they had risen to 74 billion dollars.

The developing countries do not want to sabotage the economy of the partners who buy their raw material; they simply want to spend the money they receive on industrializing their own country, on building factories and plants, in order to exploit and process their raw material locally and completely, on developing their national technology and science, to spend it on developing culture and education, and increasing their welfare. The road of industrialization is an historic necessity,

and the developing countries have the right to use their national resources to attain this lofty objective.

We hold the view that the solution of the fundamental problems of international economic relations must be worked out with the participation of all the states, irrespective of their size and economic potential, and we are opposed to any effort to monopolise them or solve them within a narrow framework, particularly like that sought by the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, and the blocs they head.

The establishment of new, equal international economic relations would create the opportunity to extend economic ties and collaboration in the world. The developing countries want these ties to be established on a just, sound basis, so as to defend their lawful vital interests, their dignity, freedom, independence and sovereignty, peace and international security. But, certainly, this is not an easy road.

Experience has confirmed that the way to solve the problems now facing the developing countries is, above all, determined struggle, to strengthen their sovereignty and political and economic independence, and the mobilisation of all their material, financial and human resources, to benefit the emancipation and progress of their homeland.

Resolutely proceeding on this road, the People's Republic of Albania has achieved great results in all fields of the development of its national economy and culture. The country's industrialization is being realized step by step, but consistently and successfully, and agriculture has been reorganized on a collective basis, and modernized. Unemployment, poverty and misery, the threat of hunger and disease, which once affected the major part of the population, now remain only as part of the sad past in the memory of our people. Once a backward country, without industry and with primitive agriculture, Albania has been transformed into an agrarian-industrial country, and is taking rapid strides towards becoming an industrial-agrarian country. The complete abolition of taxes on the population, the free medical service, the complete electrification of all the villages, the development of public education, science and culture, the stability of prices and the continuous increase of the wellbeing of the people are great victories which in themselves show the correct road chosen to overcome all

obstacles and to solve the problems of economic backwardness.

These victories have been achieved, in the first place, thanks to the correct line of the Party of Labour of Albania: self-reliance, unity and total mobilization of all the energies of the people, rational exploitation of natural resources, and firm resistance and struggle against the pressures, blackmail, threats and blockades of the imperialists and social imperialists.

Certainly, the principle of self-reliance is by no means identified with withdrawing into one's own shell; in their work to build socialism, the Albanian people have had valuable aid from the People's Republic of China, allround, fraternal and disinterested aid. The peoples and countries which receive aid from People's China, or trade and develop economic relations with it, can bear witness to its generosity, justice and exemplary correctness.

The developing countries want to strengthen their national independence and sovereignty; they want a new life in which justice and equality dominate.

The fourth summit conference of non-aligned countries, held in Algiers, in September last year, expressed the will and solidarity of these countries, and set down a series of important measures for the struggle against the plundering and exploitation of the developing countries. The more united and determined are the peoples of the countries suffering from imperialist oppression and exploitation, and the stronger the solidarity between them, the more frequent, greater and more guaranteed will be the victories they achieve. By attacking the developing countries aim to eliminate exploitation and domination by the monopolies in any form, the old and new colonialists merely raise the value of this historic necessity for those countries still higher. By strengthening their unity, the developing countries can successfully cope with the challenges of imperialism, social imperialism and neocolonialism.

The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania, as always, so at this session of the UN General Assembly, will resolutely stand on the side of the peoples and countries that struggle for free and independent national development and for the elimination of all oppression, exploitation, foreign control and dictate. It will be prepared to make its contribution to the triumph of their just cause.

REVISIONIST ECONOMIC INTEGRATION AND ITS CONTRADICTIONS

EVERY PASSING DAY REVEALS MORE CLEARLY THE ALLROUND, ESCALATED AND PREMEDITATED EXPANSION AND THE NEOCOLONIALIST AIMS OF SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISTS WITH REGARD TO THE OTHER REVISIONIST COUNTRIES. AN IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THIS IS THEIR ECONOMIC EXPANSION, THROUGH THE COUNCIL OF MUTUAL ECONOMIC AID – COMECON. THIS INTER-REVISIONIST ECONOMIC ORGANISATION HAS NOW TURNED INTO A TOOL WHICH IS MANIPULATED AND DOMINATED BY THE MOSCOW REVISIONISTS AND IS USED BY THEM FOR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PRESSURE, INTERFERENCE AND SUBJUGATION OF THE SOCALLED PARTNER COUNTRIES. «THIS ORGANISATION», COMRADE ENVER HOXHA HAS SAID, «IS DOMINATED BY THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS, WHO AIM TO USE IT IN THEIR HEGEMONISTIC INTEREST TO EXPLOIT AND DIRECT THE ECONOMIES OF THE OTHER MEMBER COUNTRIES, TO COMPEL them to develop in the directions the Soviets desire, and to tie up the economies of the other countries in such a way that, through this sham socialist cooperation, they also dominate these states politically».

COMECON, despite the lustre the modern revisionists seek to give it, is really nothing but an economic bloc of the capitalist type, built up on the principles of exploitation and oppression of the small by the great. As a consequence, it is being increasingly eroded by sharp antagonistic contradictions.–

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1.

Within the framework of COMECON, and speculating with such demagogical slogans as the «community of interests», and the «socialist community», the modern revisionists have proclaimed long-term programme of economic integration between them. They consider this as an «important milestone» in the life and relations of the COMECON member countries, as a «new stage» of «collaboration» among them. This programme, approved at the 24th session of COMECON, is based on the Brezhnevian theory of «limited

**Despite the lustre that the modern revisionists
are trying to give it, COMECON
has now been transformed into a typical capitalist economic block,
built on the basis of exploiting and oppressing
principles. It is a tool manipulated
by the Moscow revisionists and used by them for economic and
political pressure, interference and subjugation of
the so-called partner countries**

by KIÇO KAPETANI and VENIAMIN TOÇI

sovereignty». In accordance with it, 44 multi-partite agreements have been concluded in the field of capital investments and technical and scientific «collaboration» for a 15-20 year period, apart from bipartite agreements. The programme is permeated by the objective of making the economies of other countries appendages of the Soviet metropolis, complementing the Soviet market, and integrated in the Soviet economy. In this way they are gradually moving in the direction of lifting national economic boundaries and consequently also political ones, in compliance with the hegemonistic interests of Soviet social imperialism.

According to the concluded agreements, it has been decided to build some big industrial projects, in the first place on Soviet territory, jointly financed by the COMECON member countries. Such projects include the combine for the enrichment of asbestos, with a capacity of 500,000 tons annually, in Kiembayev, in the southern Urals; the cellulose combine in Ust-Ilimski, Siberia; the metallurgical combine near Kursk, with a capacity of 10 to 12 million tons of steel yearly; the plant for the enrichment of phosphorites;

the copper enrichment plant, power complex in the Ukraine, etc.

With the construction of these big projects, and by exploiting «cooperation» with the COMECON countries, the Soviet Union creates for itself additional opportunities for its own industrialisation and for the appropriation of natural wealth, on the basis of the plunder of the accumulation of capital of other countries. As a consequence, it limits the possibility of the independent use by these countries of their accumulation to develop their own productive forces in accordance with their national interests.

The exploitation of the COMECON member countries by the Soviet social imperialists consists not only in the absorption of their accumulated funds, but also in the direct exploitation of labour power from these countries. Thus, for example, in the building of the cellulose and metallurgical combines going up in the Soviet Union, a considerable number of workers from six COMECON member countries engaged in these projects will be used. Reports indicate that tens of thousands of workers from Bulgaria, Poland and other countries have left their homes and

have gone to work in Siberia for the Kremlin bosses. About 20,000 Bulgarians are working on the construction of the paper and cellulose factory in the vicinity of Archangel, on the construction of the metallurgic combine of Kursk, or cutting wood in the forests of Kom.

In drawing off the labour force from other countries, the Soviet revisionist imperialists deprive these countries of an active part of their productive forces and, in this way, they slow down the rates of reproduction in these countries, or give it a one-sided character, dependent on the Soviet metropolis. Of course, the process of emigration of labour power includes the younger age group and thus, the reproduction of the population of these countries is directly harmed. With such a practice the Moscow revisionists appropriate the surplus created by the immigrant workers from the COMECON countries and at the same time the aim to solve one of their internal difficulties, that of guaranteeing manpower for the appropriation of natural riches in distant areas of the Soviet Union.

A typical manifestation of the neo-co-

lonialist exploitation of the COMECON member countries by the Soviet revisionist imperialists is the way of repaying credits received for the construction of «common» industrial units on Soviet territory. According to the agreements included in the programme of revisionist integration, the credits for these units will be repaid some time after they have reached their full productive capacity and with products from these units. Thus, Czechoslovak credits for the construction of the asbestos enriching combine will be granted over four years, 1974-1978, while the Soviet revisionists will begin to repay them from the year 1980 and for a period three times longer, effecting the repayment by supplying asbestos. This is also the nature of the «mutual» obligations with other countries, such as the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, etc.

In this way the Moscow revisionist chieftains dominate their satellites, dictate to them the fundamental directions of economic development, and determine the main products they will produce tying them to the Soviet Union. The Moscow revisionists are thus seeking to enslave the peoples of the COMECON member countries, to undermine their freedom and national independence, and to subjugate and exploit them for their own hegemonistic and expansionist aims. In the final account, they aim to turn these countries into provinces of their social imperialist empire or into economic dominions. To this end they use both dictate and demagoguery, coming up with such slogans as the international division of labour, specialisation, cooperation and concentration of production, effectiveness and profitability of production on an international scale. With the programme of integration and the projects carried out within its framework in Soviet territory, the new Kremlin czars seek to convince the other COMECON member countries of such absurdities as the idea that the economic and industrial potential of the Soviet Union also guarantees their industrialisation and economic development.

The Moscow revisionist chieftains and their ideologists loudly propagate the thesis that integration within the framework of COMECON will make it possible for the countries of this bloc to reach, in the near future, equal levels of economic development. Reality shows the opposite and indicates a widening gap in

their comparative economic development, in the first place in comparison with the Soviet Union. The following data show this: while in 1960 the share of the Soviet Union in the industrial production of the COMECON countries was 69.5 per cent, by 1970 it had reached 76 per cent. During the same period, the share of the GDR fell from 8.7 per cent to 3.4 per cent, and that of Czechoslovakia from 7.5 per cent to 4.2 per cent, without mentioning such countries as Mongolia and Bulgaria, which have much lower levels of industrial development than those mentioned above.

The tendency toward deepening economic differentiation is also evident in the rates of increase of the basic funds. In 1970, as against 1950, the basic funds of the Soviet Union had increased at a rate 2.7 to 3 times faster than those of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and the GDR.

In every case the Kremlin revisionist chieftains have resorted to dictate in relations with their «allies». They have stopped at nothing, going as far as direct political, economic and military threats, when it has been a question of «persuading» and subjugating others. They hold both the stick and the carrot, and are creating an economic integration, the strings of which are held in Moscow. The COMECON member countries are completely dependent on the Soviet metropolis for raw materials, fuels, machinery, equipment and other important materials. Thus, for example 90% of Czech imports of oil, iron ore and non-ferrous metals, 80% of food grains, over 60% of cotton, and over 60% of sulphur and various phosphorites, are of Soviet origin. It is clear that not only economic but also political consequences stem from conditions of dependence. According to some published data, from 1980, the countries of Eastern Europe will need about 150 million tons of Soviet oil annually which Moscow will supply them as repayment for their investment of capital in the exploitation of the Siberian oil fields. This means that these countries must reduce their funds for local investments, placing funds at the disposal of the Soviet revisionist imperialists, or otherwise they will experience an «oil famine». In the present-day situation of the aggravation of the power crisis on a world scale, this question becomes especially important.

Certainly the Soviet revisionist imperialists cannot openly state that their «programme» of integration should envisage investments and credits for the Soviet Union alone. Therefore, they have also allowed some joint projects in other COMECON member countries. But the proportion of these investments in the total programme of integration is insignificant. These investments, in the final account, are intended to fulfil in the first place the needs of the Soviet economy, and increase the economic and political dependence of the COMECON member countries on Moscow. Consider the following example: The COMECON Investment Bank over the last two years has granted about 900 million convertible rubles in the form of credits for the construction of 26 projects in six member countries. The Soviet Union has absorbed over two-thirds of this sum, while Poland has received only 3.3 per cent. Besides this, the projects under construction in the countries of Eastern Europe, are for the most part subsidiaries of Soviet trusts. Thus, the automobile plants in Bulgaria and Hungary are at the mercy of the production of the main spare parts by Soviet plants; the engineering industries of Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc., are dependent on Soviet steel; the plants of the petrochemical industry, and industry and transport in general, in the COMECON countries, are dependent on Soviet oil and gas. The Moscow revisionist chieftains can close and open the oil or gas taps whenever they like, when this is required by the interests of their political and economic affairs. Events have confirmed this, not to mention direct military aggressions in the territory of other countries.

The productive complexes and capacities which are built in the framework of revisionist integration are destined to work in the first place for the realisation of Soviet orders. Thus, over four fifths of the ships and their equipment, two thirds of the railway wagons, half the transport equipment and three quarters of the equipment for the chemical industry, without speaking of other products and many mass consumer goods exported by the COMECON member countries are destined for the Soviet market.

Another instrument of neocolonialist exploitation by the Soviet revisionist imperialists is the creation of interstate organisations and enterprises, such as «Ag-

romash», «Intermetal», «Interatominstrument», «Interkimik», etc. These organisations operate on Soviet territory, are managed, like the various COMECON organs themselves, by Soviet cadres, and have subsidiaries in the other COMECON countries. Consequently, they are used as a source of profits for Soviet monopoly capital.

Revisionist integration within the framework of COMECON creates other great advantages for the Soviet social imperialists. The drawing of long-term credits in the form of capital investments from the satellite countries enables the Moscow chieftains to create a «surplus» of capital, which they can then invest elsewhere in the interest of their capitalist business, as in India, the Middle East, and some countries of Latin America and Africa. Here, we see the same method and practice used by the capitalist countries concerning the use of their surplus capital, which they invest in other countries in the form of loan capital and functioning capital.

Through such a practice they extend their expansion to various regions of the world, posing as «philanthropists» and «allies». With their so-called aid, the Soviet revisionists have penetrated into many underdeveloped countries, occupying the key positions of the economy. Under this guise, they aim to transform these countries into sources of supply for raw materials and cheap agricultural and livestock products, and into markets for the export of their capital and for the sale of their commodities and stockpiles of arms. Thus, in India alone, the Soviet social imperialists, according to data from their own press, control over three-quarters of the engineering industry, over one third of the oil refining industry, over one third of the iron and steel industry, about two thirds of the electrical equipment industry, and one fifth of the power industry. With the units under construction being financed by the Moscow revisionists, the scale of Soviet expansion in India will grow still more.

At the same time, through so-called aid for the underdeveloped countries the Soviet Union plunders increasingly larger quantities of raw materials from these countries. As stated in an article published in the newspaper «Pravda» by the chairman of the Soviet commission for economic relations with other countries, S. Skachkov, the Soviet Union secures very important products such as mineral

concentrates, nonferrous metals, oil, natural gas, long-fiber cotton, natural rubber, vegetable oils, cotton textiles, rice, etc. According to statistics, from 1960 to 1971 the Soviet Union has seized from the underdeveloped countries 1.7 billion dollars worth of rubber and 1.6 billion dollars worth of cotton, at low prices. From 1973 to 1980 the Middle East countries will repay their trade debts and obligations to the Soviet Union through the supply of oil at a price 20 per cent lower than the price on the international market. Iranian newspapers have pointed out that the price the Soviet Union pays Iran for natural gas is a quarter of the price at which the Soviet Union sells its gas to the European countries.

By such methods the Soviet revisionist imperialists are tying with the US imperialists to occupy «free» markets, in which to invest their capital, sell their commodities and plunder raw materials from these countries at low prices. In this race, the two superpowers effect the economic division and redivision of the world between them.

An important place in the framework of the efforts of the Soviet revisionist imperialists for the economic integration of the COMECON countries, is held by measures in the field of currency and the imposition of the ruble as a common convertible currency. Their aim is the creation of a monetary and payment system in which the national currencies, representing various units of value which have been historically established and definite ties in the national and international framework, should be dependent on the «convertible ruble». At the same time this constitutes another transaction for the economic exploitation of other countries through the financial mechanism and it will be a kind of ransom which these countries will be compelled to pay to the Soviet imperialist bourgeoisie.

To achieve these aims the investment bank and the bank for economic collaboration have been created within the framework of COMECON. The financial capital of these banking institutions is controlled and manipulated by the Soviet revisionists. It has been built up according to monopoly criteria and the profits are distributed on the same criteria, according to the percentage of paid up shares. In the investment bank, Soviet financial capital accounts for 40 per cent of the entire constituent fund, Hungarian finan-

cial capital 8.3 per cent, Polish – 12.1 per cent and Czech – 12.9 per cent, Mongolia has a symbolic quota of 0.4 per cent. It is understandable that the main profits resulting from the operations of this bank and its credit and financing policy are in favour of the Soviet imperialists. –

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The process of revisionist integration is not a process which develops calmly, although the authors of this programme trumpet it as a «success» of «true» international economic collaboration. On the contrary, it develops through deep, fierce antagonistic contradictions, overt and covert, and as an arbitrary process which is carried out with as much violence as demagoguery, contrary to the will, the desires and vital interests of the working masses of each other member country of this bloc.

The objectives of Soviet revisionist imperialism, and its effects to preserve its hegemony over its satellites and to exploit other countries, arouse discontent and objections on the part of other countries. It is well known that contradictions in the political and military fields have erupted in the revisionist fold. Also acute are the economic contradictions, which often lead to public expressions of discontent and to open counter-actions concerning the objectives of the programme of revisionist integration.

It is no accident that there is discussion, at session after session of COMECON, of the programme and various measures of revisionist economic integration, or that the measures envisaged by this so-called complex programme are delayed. At the 27th COMECON session Kosygin admitted that the tasks for integration established at the previous session were not being fulfilled and he called on every country to have greater confidence in the complex integration programme, at the same time, he proposed increasing the level and competences of the COMECON organs to fulfil these tasks. He also threatened his hearers that the failure to coordinate the plans, and lack of collaboration on the part of any one state with the other states hinders the process of integration. From a dictatorial position, Kosygin demanded that the coming COMECON session should discuss in detail the tasks and the complex programme of integration, and bear responsibility for failure to realize them. This representa-

tive of the Soviet imperialist bourgeoisie went to the extent of arbitrarily demanding that the problem of integration be an object of examination at the future congresses of the revisionist parties.

It follows from the whole context of these by no means accidental admissions of the Soviet Prime Minister that, in spite of the pressure exerted on the dependent countries, the programme and measures for integration are not proceeding in line with the wishes of the Kremlin bosses; and he also expresses the nervousness that has gripped the Soviet revisionist circles as a result of this situation. They want the course of economic integration, accelerated in conformity with their immediate and long-term neocolonialist objectives.

The open or concealed opposition to the application of the complex programme of revisionist integration is indicated by the statements of the Czechoslovak collaborationists who, some time ago, in their newspapers «Tribuna», declared: «We are opposed to the nationalistic tendencies which are apparent in the absolutization of the principles of independence». The complaints of the Soviet revisionist press are also significant. Some time ago the Soviet review «Miravaja Ekonomika i Mezhdunarodnije Otnasheniya» wrote: «Some of the COMECON member countries are not much predisposed to give up their industrial production. They proceed from various reasons, the principal one being their inclination towards the industrialization of their countries, and the modernization of the structure of industry.

The contradictions seething within various COMECON member countries and particularly in their relations with the Soviet social imperialists, are expressed in the demands for equal industrial development, for the preservation of national independence and for collaboration on a bilateral and not a multilateral basis. At COMECON sessions and at other meetings of its organs, the delegations of Bulgaria, Hungary and Poland have asked that integration in the field of the production of equipment and machinery should not be one-sided, but should also include other countries. There is a growing contradiction between member countries with a developed industry, which want to export machinery and equipment, and the countries with little developed industry, which want to export not only raw materials and agricultural articles,

but also machinery and equipment. The revisionist integration measures destine the underdeveloped countries to «vegetate» within the economic structure which they have inherited, while the industrially developed countries, such as Czechoslovakia, aiming to increase their industrialisation, seek to avoid contributing to the industrialization of the less developed countries.

Contradictions and disturbances have emerged, and are growing daily in connection with the ensurance of raw materials and fuels in sufficient quantities and of the proper quality. The economies of the COMECON member countries are dependent on Soviet raw materials and fuels. But at present many difficulties have arisen in securing them. The Soviet Union, within the framework of the deepening revisionist-imperialist collaboration, is continually increasing the supply of raw materials, natural gas oil and minerals, to the capitalist markets, thus opposing the Arab oil embargo and impairing the supply of such materials to its satellites. The Soviet Union supplies the western countries with over 45 million tons of oil and by-products, or about 50 per cent of the total amount of these products which it exports.

This situation has begun to disturb Czechoslovakia, Poland and other COMECON member countries, which are turning to other markets to fulfil their needs for oil and raw materials. In 1973, Czechoslovakia imported 3 million tons of oil from the Arab countries in order to compensate for Soviet reductions.

Unilateral actions are another expression of the deep contradictions corroding the COMECON economic bloc. The revisionist countries, acting separately, are quick to extend their exchange and economic relations with the western countries, credit relations, the exchange of patents and scientific informations, and cultural, scientific and political relations. Poland's imports from western countries have increased by 45 per cent since 1971, at a time when the increase in goods imported from the COMECON countries was 11 per cent. The GDR has trebled its trade with West Germany while Hungarian imports from West Germany have reached the sum of 800 million Marks. In this way, as comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «Anti-Marxist cooperation within COMECON is associated with double capitalist enslavement, as all the members of the revisionist COMECON, with the

Soviet ones at the head, separately, through credits and cooperation, have come under the yoke or into the clutches of US and other monopoly capital».

Of course the Moscow revisionists do not like their «allies» to act separately and without their patriarchal blessing. They want everything to be done under their control and not to go so far as to affect their position of hegemony and their neocolonialist interests. For this purpose, while intensifying their efforts to deepen the inter-revisionist economic integration, they have launched the idea of and have undertaken concrete steps for the establishment of close collaboration between COMECON and the capitalist economic groupings advancing towards economic and political convergence with the capitalist system.

It is in this framework that we should evaluate the concrete efforts to open the doors of COMECON to other countries, irrespective of their social, economic and political order.

An acute contradiction among the COMECON member countries is that caused by unequal exchanges as a result of the price policy in the interest of the Soviet metropolis. These countries express their discontent over the higher international prices the Moscow revisionists apply to trade exchanges and other economic relations with them. A Hungarian economic review, criticizing the price system within COMECON, has pointed out that prices applied in foreign trade have no organic connection with local prices: they are in some cases even higher than the prices of the capitalist market and, at the same time, differ in the trade among the COMECON member countries.

It is now known that the Bulgarian revisionists are dissatisfied with the high prices of the raw materials, fuels and machinery they import, and the low prices of the agricultural products they export to the COMECON market; these low prices which have remained at the 1958 level. Agricultural and food products make up a large proportion of Bulgaria's exports. Thus, during the period 1945-1971, Bulgarian exports to the Soviet Union reached the figure of 11.5 billion levas (foreign exchange currency), including 1.4 billion levas worth of agricultural products, and 4 billion levas worth of food products, which represented 47 per cent of that country's exports to the Soviet

Union. In the years since then, the proportion of these products in Bulgarian exports has increased further, while their price is below the level of the world market. Ivan Ivanov, Bulgaria's vice-Minister of Foreign Trade, in an article published in the review «Commerce extérieur», (no 7, 1973) states that foreign trade prices established many years ago, require an examination, with a view to guaranteeing reciprocal profits. According to him, the capital needed for the development of agricultural products for export is 6-9 times higher than that needed for the development of the production of machinery for export, while the level of profit from the export of machines is comparatively very high.

The unjust and non-equivalent ratio of prices in the economic and trade relations among the COMECON members is also opposed by other countries. Non-equivalent exchange, as a consequence of the monopoly prices imposed by the Soviet revisionists, is a supplementary source of capitalist profits on their part. —

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Reality convincingly shows that COMECON has degenerated into an economic organisation of the interstate capitalist type, which is manipulated and dominated by the Moscow revisionists and which is going further and further on this road. This is a logical result of the departure from the road of the socialist revolution and from the precepts of Marxism-Leninism; it is a result of embracing the capitalist road, with all its negative political, economic and social consequences.

The Party of Labour of Albania long ago exposed the counterrevolutionary and neocolonialist character of revisionist integration within the framework of COMECON, as well as the relations developing in its fold, which serve great-Russian hegemonism. Truly fraternal and internationalist relations are those existing among the countries ruled by the dictatorship of the proletariat, which are advancing on the road of revolution and socialist construction, such as the People's Republic of Albania and the People's Republic of China. Relying on its own forces and on the internationalist aid of the PR of China, Albania is developing its economy steadily, at an ever faster rate.

«THE TRANSITION FROM TO TALKS» - A COUNTERREVOLUTION

SHABAN MURATI

The successive theories in the field of foreign policy which the ideologists, politicians and propagandists of the revisionist bourgeoisie work out and spread are a means of political and ideological diversion, used by the imperialist-revisionist reaction on an international scale. This is also true of the theory of the «transition from confrontation to talks» now being loudly proclaimed by the scrib-

THE ADVENT OF A LARGE NUMBER OF SIMILAR THEORIES IN A GIVEN FIELD OF SOCIAL THOUGHT IS NOT ALWAYS A SIGN OF THE FORCE OF SUCH VIEWS. IN POLITICS, PARTICULARLY, THE EMERGENCE OF A LARGE NUMBER OF THEORIES, ONE AFTER ANOTHER, AND WHICH COMPLEMENT ONE ANOTHER, IS A SIGN OF INCURABLE INSTABILITY AND WEAKNESS. FOR INSTANCE, THERE ARE THE SUCCESSIVE THEORIES ON FOREIGN POLICY, WORKED OUT AND PROPAGATED FROM TIME TO TIME BY THE BOURGEOIS AND REVISIONIST IDEOLOGISTS, POLITICIANS AND PROPAGANDISTS. THEY EMERGE ONE AFTER ANOTHER, ACCORDING TO THE SPECIFIC SOCIO-HISTORICAL CONDITIONS AND SITUATIONS, BUT NONE OF THEM CONFORMS WITH THE LAW OF HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT. THEY EMERGE AND ARE USED AS A WEAPON OF THE COUNTERREVOLUTION; IRRESPECTIVE OF NEW FORMULATIONS, THEY ARE ALL A MEANS OF IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL diversion used by imperialist-revisionist reaction on an international scale. This is the case with the theory of the «transition from confrontation to talks», which the imperialists and revisionists have put at the centre of their present crusade against the peoples and Marxist-Leninist ideology, against the revolution and socialism. The U.S. president, Richard Nixon, in his inauguration speech on January 20, 1969, launched the idea that «after a period of confrontation, we are ushering in the era of talks»; for the strategists of the imperialist policy this was a slogan for action, and a little later this slogan took shape in one of the main theories of the foreign policy of US imperialism. With

the acceleration of Soviet-U.S. rapprochement, and the close coordination of the political and diplomatic activities of the two superpowers, this theory was embraced, and is also being propagated by the Soviet revisionists. In this way the theory of the «transition from confrontation to talks» appears today as an explanation of the foreign policy of the Soviet-U.S. counterrevolutionary alliance. As admitted by the Soviet review «Mezhdunarodnaya Zhizn» Nr. 10, 1973, p. 10, «the move from confrontation to talks» «has been confirmed by the actual relations between the United States of America and the Soviet Union, and by the results of the Soviet-U.S. contacts in May 1972 and June 1973».

In particular, efforts are being made to convince the world that the transition

from the era of confrontation to the era of talks has really occurred on a World scale, and that relying on this theory is the only way to behave in international relations. The U.S. bourgeois ideologists and the Soviet revisionist ideologists alike are striving to present the theory of the «move from confrontation to talks» as an authentic result of the time, the expression of a qualitative development of theories on international relations and of their growing conformity with current tendencies. However, to accept this, we should first see and understand correctly the historic and social conditions behind the development of international relations, as well as the profound character of these relations and objectively appraise the ratio and contradictions among the antagonistic political and social forces, the role of these forces in the emergence and solution of various problems, and how they may act in the international arena according to their class, their social nature and their aims. Finally, we must penetrate the reality of events and phenomena, and work out the essence, tendencies and prospects of their development. After a materialist scientific analysis of all the factors, it is not difficult to become convinced that the

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blers at the service of the two superpowers. They want to present this as an «authentic result of our time». Making a materialist, scientific analysis, the author of the article refutes this desperate attempt, and proves that the theory of the «transition from confrontation to talks» is nothing but a dangerous weapon of counterrevolution on a world scale

theory of «transition from confrontation to talks» is neither a «convenient programme for action» nor a «theoretical reflection of the latest developments in the international life», but a dangerous weapon of the imperialist-revisionist counterrevolution on an international scale.

Significance of changes in the world

In the general euphoria which the imperialist-revisionist propaganda is trying to spread world-wide, in order to pave the way for global acceptance of the theory of the «transition from confrontation to talks», the main slogan is that of a «changing world». Of course, this is by no means a new discovery, nor can the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists claim credit for the process of continual change of the world, in the physical or the political sense, although they like to make out that they discover everything in social thinking. Developments and changes are a necessary element of existence, and as such they are always present in human society. But it is vitally important to define the nature and limits of these chan-

ges, and discover their real significance, this holds true for international relations too. In order to understand correctly the social phenomena and changes that occur in the world today, the sole correct method is the Marxist-Leninist one, which guards against errors and dangers in political activity. Any departure from this dialectical method leads to metaphysics and idealism, to revisionism and opportunism, and to an incorrect assessment of events and situations. Marxist-Leninists have never seen international relations as immutable, as given once and for all; but on the contrary, as changing and developing under the influence of various factors, old and new. However, they have defined the evolution of the world system of states, proceeding from the principal Marxist-Leninist criterion of the struggle between imperialism, social imperialism and reaction, on the one hand, and the peoples, socialism and the revolution, on the other. Proceeding from this objective, materialist view, the Marxist-Leninists consider the changes that have occurred in the world today to be constantly altering the general ratio of forces, to the benefit of socialism and revolution. This stems from a profound exa-

mination of the elements in international life. This is of course a strategic view of world events, because, on the tactical plane, as a consequence of various objective and subjective factors, there are temporary setbacks for the tendency underlined above. For example, the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and in some other former socialist countries, where the modern revisionists came to power, damaged socialism not only merely geographically but also politically and ideologically. But temporary setbacks have not disillusioned ideologically formed and moulded Marxist-Leninists, nor will they do so, because the general tendency of present-day world development is toward revolution and the victory of socialism. Taking such a position, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania have quickly grasped every development in the international situation and have summed it up correctly, however great the propaganda of our ideological and political enemies may have been. They have proceeded not only from the main contradictions of our epoch, the connection between foreign policy and internal policy, and analysis of the actual ratio of

forces of all the classes in the world, but also from the specific features of international reality at any given moment, and have carefully observed the character of each move in the theory and practice of the various political or state forces in the international arena, setting themselves the task of finding a correct, profound explanation of the problems of world development today.

For the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists, the changes that have taken place in the field of international relations have created a departure from the revolutionary alternative and imparted an entirely new character to current forces and problems. «Now, not only are changes occurring in the world», the Soviet specialist A. Sovietov writes, «but the whole world is changing». (*Mezhdunarodnaya Zhiznj*, Nr. 9, 1973, p. 85). According to the bourgeois and revisionist propagandists peaceful coexistence has become a norm of international life, and all the formerly antagonistic forces now aspire to this. They also talk about a changed climate and a new epoch in international life, alleging that the imperialist forces have given up relying on war as a method and continuation of politics. Thus, according to the Soviet authors A. A. Gromyko and A. Kokoshkin, military means are excluded from imperialist foreign policy, and now the diplomacy of crises and threats of force belong to the past. The American P. Peterson tries to make this credible, too, saying that «throughout the world, there is taking place the important change of rejection of reliance on military might as a basis of national policy». How and why this deep, radical change occurred, neither the bourgeois nor the revisionist theoreticians tell us; they cannot, because the reality is quite different. Strategy is not a fashion, which changes according to the different seasons or years. It has close organic, indissoluble ties with the very nature and force of the political system giving rise to it. Denying such a connection, the imperialist and revisionist ideologists want to camouflage the aggressive foreign policies of their states, and arouse in the peoples the dangerous idea that both old and new imperialism are no longer opposed to the various mo-

vements for national and social liberation, but are striving to achieve peace for all generations. This is a malicious distortion of world reality, which shows that the aggressiveness of the imperialist powers towards the peoples has not diminished in the least as a result of the degree of understanding or regulation of so-called parallel interests which the imperialists and revisionists have jointly reached. Many facts show that no advertisement or pacifist pose, or even the so-called great or «historic» acts on behalf of the «maintenance of peace» and the «progress of mankind», as U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism strive to present their foreign policies, can conceal their familiar, aggressive imperialist policy. Exposing the character and aims of this imperialist-revisionist demagogy, the leader of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people, comrade Enver Hoxha, has pointed out that «the agreements on collaboration between the great powers, and above all between the United States of America and the Soviet Union, as they multiply, cannot fail to be expressed and end in increased pressure on the smaller, independent countries, intensified efforts to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign countries, a fiercer struggle to compel others to accept their dictate on question of international relations, and extended activity to impose their own way of thinking and living on other peoples and nations. The events of October last year in the Middle East, where the flagrant interference and unprecedented arrogance of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism were manifested in the imposition of the ceasefire in that area, in opposition to the interests of the liberation struggle of the Arab people, revealed the correctness of this thesis with particular clarity.

Therefore, the peoples and genuine revolutionaries must never confound the changes, or rather the growing extent of the agreements, among the imperialist powers, especially between the United States of America and the Soviet Union, with changes in the relations between imperialism and social imperialism on the one hand, and the peoples on the other. In reality, we are dealing with two

kinds of changes, and the boundary between them is clearcut and impassable. The unification of the two types of socio-economic order, irrespective of national and social features in the United States and the Soviet Union, changed the character of the contradictions between these two states from a contradiction between capitalism and socialism into a contradiction between imperialist states, between the two superpowers, and created the basis for forming a bilateral, imperialist, counterrevolutionary alliance which is opposed to the struggle of the peoples for freedom and socialism. In this alliance there are disputes, rivalries and contradictions which stem from the capitalist social systems of the two countries and from their imperialist aims. But the prevailing factors are rapprochement and collaboration in all fields - economic, political and military in order to realize common, hegemonistic aims on a world scale. Consequently, confrontation between them is excluded in the present period. «The common threat», an American foreign policy expert says, «has been replaced with the common world outlook». In this sphere alone must the renunciation of confrontation and the transition to talks be considered. As the Party of Labour of Albania has pointed out, the end of the epoch of confrontation and the beginning of the epoch of talks in present Soviet-U.S. relations «means that the time has gone when the communist Soviet Union was fighting and opposing the United States, as the main world imperialist power, and when anti-communist America was struggling to destroy the first great socialist state. Now that these bases and motives have disappeared the time of talks has begun, that is, of bargainings to divide and dominate the world». As for relations between imperialism and the peoples, the confrontation continues fiercely as before, and this stems from the very nature of imperialism and social imperialism, as sworn enemies of the peoples and the revolution. Here there is not and there never will be a relaxation of tension. Even if a certain detente exists at present, this is so only between the two imperialist superpowers, but it can never exist between the forces of the revolution and those of the counterrevolution,

between the peoples and the imperialists and social-imperialists. The imperialist-revisionist strategy of crushing revolutionary struggles and movements remains unchanged. Of course, given the steady rise of the political consciousness and sentiments of national dignity of the peoples, and the continued spread of Marxist-Leninist ideas, imperialism and revisionism are extending their taches in their fight against the revolution and the peoples. But this is all it is; there is no change in the strategy of imperialism, as long as it exists, and this is precisely the meaning of the changes in the present-day world. In this sense, there is no actual basis whatever on which to justify the claim of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists that the new changes impose general acceptance of the theory of the «transition from confrontation to talks».

Technocratism and elitism in international politics

One of the main concepts of the theory of «transition from confrontation to talks» is that of the primary role of subjective factors particularly the role of individuals in international relations. According to the imperialist and revisionist ideologists, the foreign policy of every nation and the whole complex of international relations are now deprived of any connection whatever with social groups and classes, and the role of the individual is everything in politics. On this basis they treat the social phenomena and processes currently appearing in international life with methods suited to exact sciences. Their central figure is no longer the diplomat, coming from a particular class or of political and ideological system, but simply the scientist, who relies on technical calculations of cases and manoeuvrings, and whose ability to act is not hindered by any class or party prejudice. Reformist political literature has dwelt at length on Kissinger and the epoch he brought about in the history of world diplomacy, as one of the prime movers in the «transition from confrontation to talks». On the basis of this fact, it is claimed that, just as

in the other fields of modern industrial society, so in international relations, too, the future belongs to the scientists and technocrats, who in their opinion, do not suffer from fear of ideological sins, and to whom dogmatism, allegedly nurtured in the roots of class connections, is alien. Thus, for example, the U.S. magazine «Newsweek» speaks of the «innovations» in foreign policy undertaken by Kissinger, as a change not just in diplomatic style, but in the very content of U.S. policy. The same thesis is raised by the Soviet specialist, G. Arbatov who stresses that the «arrangements» made in U.S. foreign policy are connected not only with the form but also with the content of this policy. The conclusion of the bourgeois and revisionist political schools on this occasion is that the personality leading a foreign policy turns diplomacy from a personal affair into pure science.

Thus, according to this view, the individual talent and intellect of the person who elaborates the problems of political theory and practice can bring about a change of climate, and a quite new treatment, of international relations, this is to transfer technocratism to international politics. Here we have an anti-Marxist and subjectivist view of social phenomena, because individuals are viewed apart from the class they represent. The solution of major problems of strategy and politics in the imperialist countries is decided by the oligarchy, and their staff merely puts them into practice. Their talent and ability are made available in order to realize, as successfully as possible the foreign policy objectives of the class and ideology to which they belong. This is even more so today, when one of the main features of the development of capitalism, parallel with the concentration of production and capital, is the concentration of politics. The distinguished representatives of the bourgeois intelligentsia are not taking their place among the strategists of foreign policy so as to accentuate the new, purely scientific nature of this or that mechanism of foreign policy. In fact this indicates the increasingly greater subjugation of the sciences, especially the political sciences to the concrete aims of the foreign policy of the bourgeoisie.

It is clear that the role of individuals is significant in foreign policy, but whatever technical, scientific character bourgeois diplomacy may assume, it is always limited by the nature of the system and the politics, under whose banner it acts, and by its erroneous philosophical and sociological starting point, which is in opposition to the laws of historic development. Marxism does recognize the role of the subjective factor and the individual in the elaboration of foreign policy. V. I. Lenin taught that the proletariat, too, must produce class politicians, who will be ready to destroy the diplomatic intrigues of the bourgeois politicians. But the foreign policy of each country is formed and changes under the influence of objective factors, such as the character of the socio-economic order, the actual ratio of forces in the international arena, the contradictions between the peoples on the one hand, and imperialism and social imperialism on the other hand, inter-imperialist contradictions, the contradictions between the proletariat and the capitalist-revisionist bourgeoisie, etc. It is these factors that actually determine the shaping and practice of the foreign policy of each country.

Technocratism in international policy is closely connected with the concept of the elite. According to this concept, which has numerous adherents in the ranks of the bourgeois and revisionist political scientists, international relations must be made up not only of an elite of great and powerful nations, a hierarchy, as the American student S. Hoffman calls it, in the review «Foreign Affairs» July 1972, but also of an elite of politicians who hold in their hands the destinies of nations, and of the world, and who can change many things in the world, even the world itself. This is where the unprecedented fetishism of summit talks comes in, which is a feature of bourgeois and revisionist political literature. We are confronted with a subjectivist philosophical stand which is particularly dangerous, because it becomes a basis for and a source of political adventurism. International relations are seen only as relations between persons, and this gives rise to the idea that foreign policy is made solely by indi-

viduals with great talent, who stand above and outside classes and ideologies, and above the general intellectual level of society. The bourgeois theoreticians purposely neglect such fundamental elements as the connection of foreign policy with the socio-economic order, the analysis of the class nature of the contradictions which appear in international life, the different types of international relations, the analysis of the ideological and class platform on which this or that foreign policy is based, the connection of the ways and means used to solve international problems with the aims set by this or that state, and other cardinal questions of international relations that must be headed. For the anti-Marxist ideologists, the main problem of international relations is that of communication and contacts among state personalities, who allegedly create a new and favourable atmosphere, for the solution of any question in world affairs. Therefore, in their opinion, the central role of the individual element conditions the domination of the elite in this field.

The technocratic and elitist views in the theory of international relations are a variant of psychosociologism, that bourgeois, reactionary trend which deprives social phenomena of any class, social or historical character, and denies the general laws of historical development. International relations, in the Marxist-Leninist view, are not relations among men as psychological types, but a complex whole made up of mutual links and relations in the economic, political, diplomatic, juridical, cultural, technical, military and other fields, among peoples, states and state systems, political and social forces, and organizations acting in the international arena. The main role here is played by class relations, and no personal action whatsoever, designed to implement the theory of the «transition from confrontation to talks», can create a new direction in international relations.

Solution of an alternative

It has been noticed that in recent times, a part of world public opinion,

although a very small part, has accepted the mouthings of the U.S. president and various American politicians about «America's renunciation of its role as international gendarme». Both U.S. and Soviet propaganda have contributed to the manipulation of this part of public opinion; they are making a lot of noise about their claim that a change has occurred in the strategic priorities of imperialism, which in their opinion has led to a change in tactical priorities, with the result that in the duel between the word and the gun, the word has definitely won. Proclaiming this to be a final implementation of the theory of «transition from confrontation to talks», the imperialists and revisionists conclude that, as a result of this development in world politics, the peoples too must move with the times, and must give up every kind of struggle for national liberation, since struggle, irrespective of its nature or objectives, is in their opinion dangerous to world peace. If the peoples want to follow the principles of this political philosophy, whenever they fall victims of imperialist aggression they must not take up arms or point their rifles at the aggressor; they must not confront the aggressor, but put their trust in the words, talks, and «sound reasoning» of the chieftains of imperialism. This demand constitutes the essence of the reactionary theory of the «transition from confrontation to talks». It means that the conflicts in which an aggressor state confronts a victim state, can be solved only through talks. The greatest danger consists in the fact that the imperialists and the revisionists are doing their utmost to give this counterrevolutionary theory the form of an obligatory international law. We must see this as an attempt to work on the peoples psychologically and ideologically, so that they will not oppose imperialist aggressions. At the same time it is a portent of intensified activity by U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism to put their unslaked ambitions for world domination into practice. Likewise, under the guise of applying this theory, they want to conceal their bargainings and intensive, secret talks to concoct plots against the freedom and independence of

the peoples. By imposing the transition from confrontation to talks on the peoples as the only possible way to act in international life, imperialism and social imperialism want to deprive them of their sole means of punishing aggression, i.e. armed struggle, to throw the peoples off their guard, and to weaken their vigilance, deceiving them with the so-called period of realism and reason in international relations. There is no greater naivety than to believe that the aggressive, strategic aims of imperialism and reaction will change within a short period of time through this or that manoeuvre undertaken by those who lead the foreign policy of these forces.

It must be pointed out here that the advocacy of negotiations on the part of the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists is one-sided. They advise only the peoples to act thus, and this best reveals the dangerous nature of the imperialist-revisionist theories. While the peoples are asked to abandon armed struggle, the U.S. imperialists and the revisionists say nothing about excluding the use of force and aggression from the arsenal of their hegemonic policy. The experience of recent years shows that U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism have placed the policy of aggression at the foundation of their efforts to realize their counterrevolutionary global strategy for the domination of the world. The criminal U.S. aggression against Vietnam, and the Soviet revisionist aggression against Czechoslovakia, showed that the two imperialist superpowers stop at no crime and are ready to undertake any kind of adventure against the freedom and independence of the peoples. The demagogic fuss about the so-called peaceful situation, «relaxation of tension» or «transition from confrontation to talks» changes nothing. On the contrary this must urge the peoples to still greater vigilance, bearing in mind the Marxist-Leninist thesis that ideological and psychological pressure inevitably precedes military pressure and aggression.

The trumpeting of the theory of transition from confrontation to talks is part of the framework of attempts to sow mistrust of the people's armed struggle,

as the only way to achieve national liberation, which has historically proved its effectiveness. There is no ambiguity about the question of national liberation; the rifle and armed struggle, are the only alternative, and national salvation can be won only by this means. Certainly, the Marxist-Leninists too, support negotiations, so long as they make no concessions to the detriment of principles, and they always take into consideration the interests of world revolution. But, as comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «in order for talks between the leaders of governments and states to be successful, they must be accompanied with mass, conscious action by the peoples, for in the final account it is the peoples who decide». The Marxist-Leninists do not support the thesis that every international problem must be solved through force of arms. However, the Marxist-Leninists support confrontation between the victims and their aggressors, the oppressed and their oppressors, the exploited and their exploiters.

Whichever way you look at it, as a principle or as an objective, the theory of «transition from the era of confrontation to the era of talks» reveals itself as one of the main ideological and political weapons of imperialism and revisionism at this present stage. The era of confrontation has not ended, nor has the era of talks arrived, and it will never arrive as far as the relationship of the peoples with imperialists and social imperialists is concerned.

This is the true, objective, class view of international relations in the contemporary world. The diversionist aim of this theory is to oppose revolution at a time when, despite zig-zags, the tendency of world development is towards revolution. But like all the other ideological, political and theoretical weapons of counterrevolution, the theory of the «transition from confrontation to talks» will be unable to attain its diversionist objectives or to deceive either its own revolutionary forces or the peoples, in whom the revolution and the triumphant ideas of Marxism-Leninism are being ever more deeply instilled.

PAGES FROM THE HISTORY OF

THE LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY

Our editors have the pleasure to fulfill the demands of our readers continuing to publish selected pieces from the history of the PLA. In the current issue we publish a fragment from chapter II devoted to the decisive role of the party as organizer and leader of the struggle for the liberation of the country and the establishment of the people's power, as well as its efforts for the creation of the National liberation Front, for the creation of the national liberation councils as organs of the new revolutionary people's power.

«History of the PLA» has been prepared by the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies by decision of the CC of the PLA

It has been translated and published in Chinese, English, French, Russian, Spanish, German, Italian and other languages, and is on sale in all book-shops where you can find also the review «Albania Today» and place orders directly with D.Q.P. Librit Tiranë

THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

IN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

1. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PARTY, ATTEMPTS TO UNITE AND MOBILIZE THE MASSES IN THE NATIONAL-LIBERATION WAR

The Party had to cope with very great difficulties and obstacles in order to accomplish its historic tasks.

From the communist groups, from which it had originated, the Party inherited very weak connections with the masses.

Throughout the country savage terror reigned. The Italian armed forces maintaining the occupation regime in Albania reached nearly 100,000 men. In December 1941, «strong man» Mustafa Kruja, a lackey and inveterate agent of fascism, was placed at the head of the Quisling government, in order to crush the communist organizations and to subjugate the Albanian people. The work of the Party was impeded by the fifth column and the «Zjarri» chiefs, who had passed over to the service of the aggressors, as well as by other enemies. Under these circumstances, all Party activity had to be carried out by clandestine methods.

To prosecute the armed struggle, the Party needed weapons, financial means, and military cadres.

As a newly set up Party, it had insufficient experience of political leadership, its members lacking a thorough and extensive theoretical preparation.

However, all these obstacles and difficulties, of which the Central Committee and all the Albanian communists were fully aware, did not prevent the Party from pushing ahead courageously. It did not make the mistake of waiting to first prepare the cadres, to find arms and money, to accumulate experience, to strengthen itself theoretically, and only then to start the work and the war. All this had to be acquired in the course of fighting, by relying on the revolutionary

situation created within the country, on the lofty patriotism of the people, on the loyalty of the Albanian communists to Marxism-Leninism and the cause of communism in general. Its confidence in the victory of the world anti-fascist forces and, in the first place, in the victory of the Soviet Union over fascism, further strengthened the Party's conviction that it would succeed in carrying out its tasks.

First Organizational Measures

The most pressing task was to organize the Party. All the members of the Provisional Central Committee were dispatched to various districts in order to set up new Party cells, to organize Party conferences, and to form district Party committees. Some 200 communists were chosen from the members of the former communist groups and admitted to membership of the cells. Eight district committees were set up. The majority of them emerged from Party conferences. In the cells and at the conferences, the communists vigorously supported the fusion of groups and the welding of them into a single Albanian Communist Party, which they had long demanded. They approved the political line the Party laid down at the Meeting of the Communist Groups, and expressed their determination to fight unreservedly under the guidance of the Provisional Central Committee.

Almost all the early cells were organized in the towns. The first members of the Party were mainly workers, artisans and intellectuals. Close to each Party cell there was set up an educational group of militants loyal to the cause of the people and socialism who, it was thought, might eventually become Party members. Groups of sympathizers also were organized.

PAGES FROM THE HISTORY OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

The organization of the Party was almost completed in January 1942.

Within this period, the Provisional Central Committee also took measures for the creation of the Albanian Communist Youth Organization, which was founded on November 23, 1941, by young militant communists attached to communist groups. Qemal Stafa, Member of the Central Committee of the Party, was chosen as Political Secretary of the Communist Youth Organization. Under the direct supervision of the Central Committee and of Comrade Enver Hoxha personally, the Communist Youth Organization was built on Marxist-Leninist foundations. It was assigned the task of becoming the surest and the most powerful assistant of the CPA for the education of the broad masses of the Albanian youth in the spirit of patriotism and with communist ideas, for the mobilization of these masses in the anti-fascist liberation war. The Albanian youth were an inexhaustible source of revolutionary energy. The Party regarded them as the greatest source of the most active anti-fascist revolutionary forces. Replying to the salute addressed by the Communist Youth Organization on the occasion of its founding to the Central Committee of the CPA, Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote:

«The Party cherishes the greatest hopes that the Albanian Communist Youth will be worthy of the trust our young Party has placed in them and that they will know how to carry out the lofty task they have been assigned to in a revolutionary manner... in steel-like unity of mind and of heart with the Party, to organize and to lead the enslaved Albanian youth in a revolutionary manner toward their bright future, toward their liberation from the mediaeval chains of fascist bondage, and toward a new life of progress, culture and joy.»

For the ideological advancement of the Party members and of the young communists, the study of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Short Course, and of the fundamental problems of Marxism-Leninism was organized in Party cells, in the educational groups, the sympathizers groups and among activists of the Communist Youth.

The Foremost Task: Linking Up with the Masses

Along with the work to lay and strengthen its organizational and ideological foundations, the Communist Party of Albania did its utmost to link up with the masses and to convince them of the correctness of its political line. It placed this task in the forefront, as the key to solving the problem of uniting and mobilizing the people in the struggle.

Immediately after the founding of the Party, the Provisional Central Committee addressed itself to the entire Alba-

nian people with a proclamation which resounded like a battle cry:

«We call on all true Albanians who really hold Albania dear, to unite all our forces and place them at the service of the war for national liberation. Open war is the only stand to take toward the invader. Each son of this land of ours should be a soldier in the National-liberation War. To vanquish the enemy, our struggle must be organized, united and powerful...»

Everyone unite in the war FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION AGAINST THE FASCIST INVADER!»

The CPA devoted great attention to propaganda and agitation by the press and by word of mouth. The Central Committee issued repeated calls and distributed leaflets addressed to the entire Albanian people or, separately, to peasants, soldiers, women and to youth. Appeals and leaflets were issued by the Party district committees as well. From the early part of 1942, the local Party organizations also issued communiques and periodic bulletins on the events of the anti-fascist war at home and abroad.

Never before had any political group or organization in Albania ever carried out such widespread and militant propaganda and agitation with such sound ideological content, so clear and down to earth, as the propaganda and agitation the Communist Party of Albania began to carry out with the masses of workers, peasants, intellectuals, youth, women and soldiers. Through this untiring work, the Party elucidated its general line, explained the international and internal situation, popularized the Soviet Union and the heroic war of the Red Army, denounced fascism, the Italian invaders, the Hitlerite aggressors and the traitors to the Albanian people.

Of all forms of agitation and propaganda, agitation by word of mouth occupied the most important place - discussions with people, separately or in small groups, discussion at gatherings of workers, of peasants, and of the youth. This form of agitation yielded most satisfactory results. The communists penetrated wherever the masses gathered. In order to come in contact with the people, they made use of all the means and methods, that came to hand. They exploited extensively all old and new acquaintances, national and popular festivities, weddings, market-days, family ties, and so on.

Relying on the general line of the Party, the Provisional Central Committee elaborated its principal slogans to be disseminated through its publications, in antifascist demonstrations, and by means of oral agitation. The slogans responded to the demands and aspirations of the masses, they were comprehensible and acceptable to the people. The slogan «Death to fascism! Freedom to the people!» became the basic motto of the National-liberation War.

As a result of the Party propaganda work, the need to unite in an organized war against the invaders became more

clear. This aroused a revolutionary enthusiasm, especially among the masses of the youth. Young communists succeeded in breaking up the youth sports and cultural associations set up by the Italian fascists and replacing them with new organizations under the direct guidance of the Communist Youth.

Propaganda and militant agitation were a most efficient weapon to win over the masses, but that was not enough. The CPA had drawn valuable lessons from the shortcomings in the work of the communist groups, realizing from the start that the masses understood and mastered what the Party told them only if words were backed up by facts, concrete actions responding directly to their demands, interests and aspirations.

At first, a section of the population, especially in the countryside, did not understand the objectives and the political activity of the communists, because the Party had not yet become well known, and they had prejudices inculcated by bourgeois propaganda against communism and communists.

The Central Committee instructed the Party district committees to organize and carry out more and more political and militant actions, such as anti-fascist demonstrations, strikes, acts of sabotage, armed operations, and so on, as the most important means of strengthening the Party and linking it with the masses. The communists were required to become examples of valor, determination and loyalty to the people and the homeland.

In December 1941 and at the beginning of the year 1942, guerilla units set up in almost all the cities carried out operations under the direct guidance of district Party committees. The first guerilla units comprised communists, communist youth and sympathizers. They were small armed groups of from 5 to 10 persons. The members of the units in general were not «illegals».

At the beginning of the year 1942, the guerilla units in Tirana, Korça, Vlora, Shkodra, Gjirokastra and other cities killed dozens of Italian fascist officers and high officials, Albanian spies and traitors. They attacked and blew up arms depots and other military objectives. Antifascist demonstrations took place under the guidance of district Party committees in Shkodra, Tirana, Durrës, Elbasan, Vlora and in other localities. It was in these clashes with the enemy that the first Party members fell.

The actions of guerilla units were not intended solely to inflict losses on the enemy, but they were aimed, first and foremost, at bringing political advantages to the national-liberation movement, at influencing the rise of the political consciousness of the masses.

The armed actions and anti-fascist demonstrations aroused admiration for the communists among the broad masses of the people and rapidly raised the authority of the CPA. The exceptional valor and maturity displayed by the communists in their struggle against fascism rallied the masses closer and closer around the Party and won the people's trust.

Early in 1942, the Central Committee issued instructions that steps should be taken for the organization of partizan bands, as soon as the necessary conditions, especially the

bases of the movement, were established in the countryside. The partizan bands would be able to carry out more powerful actions and on a broader scale than the guerilla units.

The Party accompanied its propaganda and militant agitation, its political and military actions with its work for the organization of the people. It did not begin its work with the creation of mass organizations, because the masses had to be politically prepared beforehand for such organizations. The initial forms used for the organization of the people were the individual ties of the Party members, of the young communists and of the sympathizers with the workers, peasants, craftsmen, intellectuals, women, secondary school students, as well as the sports and cultural circles of the youth, women's handicraft courses and educational gatherings. These forms ensured the participation of the masses at illegal gatherings and conferences and effected their political enlightenment and active participation in the anti-fascist movement.

In February 1942 the Central Committee issued the first instructions to establish national-liberation councils which would serve as instruments organizing and mobilizing the people for the anti-fascist war and, at the same time, as the «nuclei of our future government».³ The councils were to serve as very important links in the connections of the Party with the broad masses of the people and unite them in the national-liberation front.

Of particular importance in linking the CPA with the people was its correct attitude toward the patriotic nationalists. A section of them exerted an important influence over various strata of the population, in the countryside especially. By collaborating with the patriotic nationalists, it would be possible to draw into struggle also those sections of the masses of the people who were under their sway. The Central Committee and the district Party committees displayed great care, patience and tact in dealing with the nationalists. This sector of work was considered as one of the most important, and requiring special attention.

While aiming at uniting and sincerely collaborating with the nationalists, the CPA had always to take into account the indecisiveness and vacillation of some of them, their inconsistency in a revolutionary war for the democratization of the country, their tendencies to compromise with the imperialists. The Party had to cope with the instability and neutralize the influence of those nationalists who, for some reason or other, did not agree to take part in the National-liberation War but who did not collaborate with the fascist aggressors, either.

The collection of material aid for the Party and the National-liberation War was treated as part of the work with the masses. No one other than the people could help them surmount their financial and material difficulties. Any voluntary aid in cash or in material, no matter how small, given by the workers, craftsmen, peasants, small or medium tradesmen, teachers or any other patriot to the Party was at the same time an approval of its line, a bridge linking the Party with the masses. The campaigns carried out by the

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Party organizations collecting aid for the Party and the National-liberation War served as a means to do an extensive work of political enlightenment of the people. One such campaign, for instance, was organized in January 1942, throughout Albania under the name «The Communist Party Week».

The popularizing of the Communist Party, the growth of its authority with the masses, the daring actions of the guerilla squads and the anti-fascist demonstrations aroused alarm among the fascist invaders and traitors. The occupation authorities and the Quisling government hastily took a series of emergency measures aimed at annihilating the Communist Party. Martial law was reinstated and special orders were issued to carry out «a firm policy against subversive elements».

On the other hand, the Italian enslavers resorted to new manoeuvres in order to deceive the Albanian people, particularly the nationalists and the youth. The fascist propaganda depicted the national-liberation movement as merely a «communist» and «anti-national movement». Mustafa Kruja attempted to convince public opinion that fascist Italy was the architect of «Great Albania» and the protector of the national independence of the Albanian people. Mussolini sent instructions to the Italian viceroy in Tirana «to give the Albanians more autonomy». The invaders decided to remove the «fascist symbol» and the crown of Savoy from the Albanian flag, as they construed these signs to be «the cause of the resentment and revolt of Albanian patriots». The word «National» was added to the title of the «Albanian Fascist Party».

But fascist terror and demagogy were powerless to stop the growth of the national-liberation movement and the authority of the Communist Party of Albania.

Appreciable successes were achieved as early as the first months of the Party's existence. Nevertheless, these successes could not be considered as satisfactory. The work of the communists was affected by sectarianism, a malady inherited from the past. Little had been done for the organization of workers, but the greatest weakness lay in the work with the peasants. Out-of-date mental attitudes from the former communist groups, according to which the peasantry had to remain outside the sphere of communist work, greatly hindered a proper understanding of the decisive importance of linking the peasantry with the Party and of ensuring their active participation in the National-liberation War. There were a number of Party members who found it difficult to go to the countryside and expected the peasants to come to the city to work with them.

The Central Committee emphasized that the Party activity was hampered not only by hangovers from earlier work of the communist groups, but also by the spirit of groupism which was still accentuated, as well as by the factional anti-Party activities of Trotskyites Anastas Lula, Sadik Prente and a number of their like, all of them former members of the «Youth» Group.

There were signs that a dangerous anti-Marxist liquidationist trend was crystallizing within the Party.

The spirit of groupism and the hostile activity of the Trotskyites within and outside the Party were a great obstacle to the expansion and the strengthening of the links with the broad masses of the people, and to their joining the anti-fascist war.

The Conference of the Activists of the CPA

For the purpose of surmounting this obstacle and imparting a new impulse to the work of the Party, the Provisional Central Committee called the First Conference of the Activists of the CPA.

The conference was opened in Tirana on April 8, 1942, under the leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha. The members of the Central Committee, the political and organizational secretaries of the district committees and a number of other communists took part in it. All the questions discussed were centred on the problem of linking the Party more closely with the masses, on their organization and mobilization in the National-liberation War.

Pointing out the successes achieved in the political work of the Party, the First Conference of the Activists of the CPA remarked that in Albania.

«the idea of a general uprising is going through a process of formation and of consolidation, and the people are beginning to realize that their liberation should and can be won through their own efforts, by linking their own war with that of the Soviet Union, America, Britain and China, as well as with that of the enslaved countries».⁴

The successes achieved, however, were regarded only as the first steps. The Party would have created more widespread and stronger connections with the masses, had it not been affected by the spirit of groupism, had its discipline not been violated, and erroneous theories spread by unhealthy and factionist elements.

The conference considered the weakness of the connections of the Party organizations with the masses of workers impermissible.

«But how can our Party be strong without workers», it remarked, «when the workers should be its basis?»⁵

In this regard the communists were charged with carrying out an untiring explanatory political and organizational work with the workers, to rally them more and more around the Party and to prepare leading cadres for the National-liberation War from among them.

The activists devoted special attention to the work to be carried out to attract the masses of peasants and to mobilize them in struggle. As a condition for surmounting the difficulties which had to be confronted in this field, the communists were urged to fight their old outlooks and their defeatist views regarding the peasantry, to get well based in the countryside, to become acquainted with the life of the peasants and to know and feel their troubles and their problems.

The conference instructed the Party organizations to renounce all backward ideas in their work with the youth and women, to improve and intensify their activity in these sectors. The youth and women should become powerful supporters of the Party.

The Party activists assessed as correct the practice pursued by the Central Committee in giving priority to the political and military activities.

«Without action there is no communist party. . . . What raises and strengthens the Party is action and the struggle. We cannot become linked with the people if we cannot prove to them that we are capable of leading them».⁶

The most pressing need for the broadening of the armed struggle was considered to be the increasing and strengthening of guerilla units, the creation of partizan bands.

At this conference, the concept of uniting the masses of the people in a national-liberation front and creating the national-liberation councils took a more concrete form.

The conference assessed the Party's close connections with the masses as the best index of its strength and capability as a Marxist-Leninist party, of the correctness of its policy, and as an essential condition for the preservation of the Party from enemy attacks.

At the centre of the activity of the Party, the activists placed the struggle against the attempts of the fascists to lure the Albanian people into a trap disguised with slogans of nationalism and autonomy in order to incite them to fratricidal war and antagonism with their neighbors.

The activists pointed out that the main internal problem of the Party was to eliminate groupism and the factional activity within its ranks. It advised Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte to sever all their former connections, to turn back from their crooked course, warning them that severe measures would be taken in case they did not do so. The Party activists called for a purge of the Party, mercilessly expelling all incorrigible elements, but, at the same time, exerting every effort to place the unsteady elements on the right road.

As to admitting new members to the Party, mainly from the ranks of the workers and poor peasants, instructions were given to the effect that the shortcomings of their theoretical and political knowledge should not bar them from becoming members of the Party. These insufficiently

schooled but resolute people would be further developed and educated as fiery militants for the cause of the people and communism within the ranks of the Party.

While calling on the communists to fight with all their might to eliminate the Trotskyite trend within the Party, the conference instructed them not to neglect the struggle against the renegades outside the Party, particularly against the Trotskyite «Zjarri» Group. They should likewise be vigilant and frustrate all the attempts of the Italian fascist and the internal reactionaries to have their agents provocateurs penetrate the ranks of the Communist Party.

2. DEALING A SMASHING BLOW AT THE FACTIONIST LIQUIDATORY TREND AND ESTABLISHING UNITY IN THE PARTY

After the First Conference of the Activists of the CPA, Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte, far from renouncing their disruptive activity against the Party, intensified it further. The promise they had made at the Meeting of the Communist Groups for the founding of the Party, namely, that they would submit to the will of the majority and to the directives of the Central Committee, was only a pretence. Taking advantage of the great difficulties the young Communist Party had to cope with, they resorted to all ways and means to sabotage the organizational consolidation of the Party and the implementation of its political tasks. A. Lula and S. Premte continued to maintain their old connections with most of the former members of the «Youth» Group. Infringing the rules and norms set by the Party, they held «organizational» and «educational» meetings with them and gave them directives in opposition to those of the Central Committee. They did not turn over to the Party all the theoretical and propaganda material, nor the equipment and finances of their group.

The dissidents continued to strongly oppose the general line of the Party, sabotaging the activity of the Central Committee, of the district committees and of the Party cells in every way.

The faction members were assigned the task of occupying leading posts, alleging their «greater capability» and «superior theoretical preparation»! From these positions they were to strive to seize the reins of the Central Committee.

To attain their objective, the dissidents had directed their principal blows at the Party leaders in the centre and in the districts and accused them of being incapable and unschooled persons who knew only how to give orders but not how to lead. They cried themselves hoarse at the «injustice» that had been done to the «Youth» Group, which allegedly was not adequately represented in the Central Committee nor in the district committees of the Party, and demanded that this situation should be changed.

Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte with their associates instigated discontent among ambitious, conceited and careerist members of the former communist groups, and tried to win

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them over to their side. They urged them to demand an accounting for why they had not been assigned responsibilities in the Party compatible with their merits and ability.

The dissident group carried out its hostile activity throughout the country, but it was in Tirana that its activity reached its peak.

There was not the least doubt that an anti-Party factional group with its own organizational connections and political platform had been created within the Party. The political platform of the dissidents consisted of the discredited liquidatory theses according to which armed struggle and cooperation with the nationalists and peasants were impossible to achieve, the anti-fascist alliance and, particularly, the liberating role of the Soviet Union in the war, were not to be relied upon, etc.

The situation was really disquieting. The newly founded Communist Party of Albania was in great danger of ceasing to exist due to blows dealt by the Italian fascists and the Trotskyites of the «Zjarri» Group from outside, and by the liquidationist faction from within. There were even signs that some agents provocateurs of fascism were operating in the ranks of the Party. As a result of their activity, the police had managed to capture and imprison a number of communists and non-Party patriots. Qemal Stafa, Political Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth, fell a victim of these agents. He was besieged and killed in a Tirana house while fighting heroically against the militiamen and carabinieri on May 5, 1942. The fascists also succeeded in detecting and seizing the equipment and archives of the Central Committee and of the Tirana District Committee.

There was not complete unity in the Party. Without a sound ideological and organizational unity, without steel-like discipline equally obligatory on all its members, the Party would have been unable to win over and lead the masses, and as a consequence there could have been no unity of the people around the Party, and no victory achieved over the enemy. Without unity the Party either would have turned into a Trotskyite or social democratic party or would have been crushed.

The Extraordinary Conference of the Party

To eliminate the great danger menacing the Party, the Provisional Central Committee convoked an Extraordinary Conference, which was held on June 28 and 29, 1942 in Tirana. It was attended by members of the Central Committee, members of the District Committee and other communists of Tirana. Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte were invited to attend. Comrade Enver Hoxha presided.

The Extraordinary Conference dealt with only one question: the elimination of the liquidatory factionist trend and establishing unity in the Party.

The many efforts of the Party to put the factionists on the right road had not yielded any positive results because of their persistence in their sabotage and liquidationist

activity. Now «the cup was full to overflowing», remarked the conference.

The groupism and lack of unity could not be tolerated any longer in the Party, particularly at the crucial historic moments the country was going through, when the national-liberation movement was mounting rapidly toward a general uprising, and when the unity of the people around the Party was obviously more essential than ever.

The conference emphasized:

«In order to be able to cope with the heavy and difficult tasks lying before us, we absolutely must achieve identity of opinions and views in both political work and in the organization itself (identity of views should exist in all Leninist-Stalinist type parties, hence our Party also must be based on these foundations, because identity of views is indispensable, it is the prime condition for the Party to achieve its aims)».⁷

To ensure the unity and consolidation of the Party, it was decided to purge it of all the incorrigible factionists by expelling them immediately. The conference called on the Party organizations to be ruthless against all those who had wanted to bury the Party.

After weighing the crimes of Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte and their closest accomplices, the Central Committee, in line with the assessments and proposals made at the conference, decided to expel them from the Party. Some other factionists were suspended for three months.

In a special circular letter, the Central Committee informed the entire Party of the proceedings of the Extraordinary Conference and of the measures taken against the principal leaders of the liquidatory factionist trend. At the same time, it gave instructions that measures should be taken to expel factionists operating in the districts.

The factionists excluded from the Party, the Central Committee recommended, should not be outcast and entirely abandoned, but should be helped to realize their mistakes. Every effort should be made to bring back to the Party ranks those who make amends. At the same time severe steps were to be taken against those continuing their hostile activity.

Finally, the Central Committee urged that this purge should be correctly understood as an operation to rid the Party of the liquidatory factionists to establish unity in the Party, and not as a measure directed against the former «Youth» Group members. Under no circumstances should this group as a whole be disparaged simply for the fact that Anastas Lula, Sadik Premte, and most of the factionists had come from this group. There were many communists from the «Youth» Group who had not been involved with the factionists, who had given proof of their determination and loyalty to the Party and stood in the forefront of the struggle together with the other comrades.

The decisions of the First Conference of the Activists of the CPA and those of the Extraordinary Conference, as well

as the directives of the Central Committee, found complete approval in the Party organizations throughout the country. Within a short time the Party was purged of all factionists and splitters. Hundreds of new members, tempered in struggle, loyal to the cause of the people and communism were admitted to its ranks. Many supporters of the factionist trends, deeply understanding their mistakes, broke away from their Trotskyite chiefs and wholeheartedly pledged to the Party that they would firmly abide by its correct line.

The defeat of the liquidatory factionist trend sharpened the vigilance of the communists and invigorated the internal life of the Party.

The struggle against the factionists brought to light signs of rottenness and other shortcomings which had hampered the work and consolidation of the Party.

At this time, the Central Committee censured the divisive activity of Mustafa Gjinishi, of Koço Tashko and certain other people dissatisfied over their failure to be elected to the Central Committee and district committees of the Party. In talks with Party members and non-Party individuals, they deprecated nearly all the Party directives, describing them either as premature, or belated, either as sectarian, or opportunist, fomenting, thus, personal grudges that people might have. This was done to engender distrust toward the Party leadership. They had been repeatedly advised by the Central Committee to refrain from this anti-Party activity.

During the struggle to do away with the factionist trend and establish unity in the Party ranks a secessionist tendency was detected in the Gjirokastra District Committee. This committee had failed to carry out, and had even distorted, the Central Committee's directives on the armed struggle and the partizan bands, the national-liberation councils, the youth, and so forth. It did not report to the Central Committee about its activity nor send in the principal instructions and propaganda materials it issued. The person mainly to blame for fostering these trends was Bedri Spahiu, at the time political secretary of this committee.

The Central Committee took these manifestations very seriously, severely condemned the secessionist trend of the Gjirokastra District Committee, dissolved it and organized the election of a new committee.

The energetic measures adopted by the Provisional Central Committee found immediate support in all the Party organizations throughout the country. The dangers of groupism and factionism threatening the newly created Communist Party were rooted out and a sound unity was assured - a militant unity based on Marxism-Leninism.

3. THE FOUNDING OF THE NATIONAL-LIBERATION FRONT. THE BIRTH OF THE PEOPLE'S POWER AND THE EXTENSION OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE

The First Conference of the Activists of the CPA and the Extraordinary Conference gave fresh momentum to the work of the communists aimed at making the Party's poli-

tical line clearer to the broad masses of the people, at exposing the new tactics of the enemy and mobilizing the people for war.

On the initiative of the Party and under its guidance, the first national-liberation councils were set up in a number of villages. Besides those in the towns, guerilla units were organized in a number of provinces. Non-Party anti-fascists also fought alongside the communists in these combat units. The formation of guerilla detachments had begun as far back as spring 1942. By July, fighting detachments were operating in Peza, Kurvelesh, Gora, Skrapar, Mokra, Shkodra, Devoll, Dibra and Mat. They purged the first areas of the country of the military and civil authorities of the fascist invaders and the traitors. On the instructions of the Central Committee, on July 24th all telephone and telegraph lines were cut and destroyed throughout Albania. Everyday military vehicles along the highways were destroyed, fascist carabinieri and militia posts were assailed, military depots were blown up, offices of fascist organizations and other administrative buildings of the enemy were burned down, etc. All these actions were accompanied with demonstrations, protests, strikes and sabotage.

These unremitting activities panicked the enemy, threw the occupation authorities and their collaborating puppets into utter confusion. Information and reports from the local military and civil organs on the «alarming situation in Albania», «the hopeless situation», «the penetration of communist ideas into the people's minds» poured into Tirana and Rome. The enemy resorted to fresh arrests and imprisonments of patriots, deportations of families of fugitives and partizan fighters, issued new and more rigorous orders providing the death penalty for anyone carrying out anti-fascist activity. More communists laid down their lives as martyrs showing great heroism in the armed clashes against the enemy, or in prison, facing torture, the firing squad, or the hangman.

These unremitting activities against the Italian invaders and their stooges moved more and more people to embrace the political line of the Party and give it their support and assistance.

Zëri i Popullit

«Zëri i Popullit», the organ of the Communist Party of Albania, the first issue of which came out on August 25, 1942, was a powerful political weapon in the hands of communists. It was founded by decision of the Provisional Central Committee and directed by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

In the leading article of its first number, the organ of the CPA set as its objective:

«to unite all the Albanian people around this organ, to unite all honest and anti-fascist persons regardless of their religious beliefs, political opinions and trends... for an independent, free and democratic Albania».⁸

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«Zëri i Popullit» propagated the political line of the Party, the anti-fascist war of the Albanian people and of other peoples, explained the road which must be followed for national liberation, exposed the policy and the activity of the fascist invaders and the Albanian traitors. It published Party proclamations, articles and comments on the internal and international situation, chronicles on the principal events, and correspondence from the various districts of the country.

The publication of the «Zëri i Popullit» was warmly received by the broad masses. Through Party members, young communists and non-Party patriotic activists, «Zëri i Popullit», the word of the Party, was spread to all corners of the country. It was read with the greatest interest. Soon «Zëri i Popullit» became the favorite newspaper of the Albanian people.

The Peza Conference

Through its explanatory, mobilizing and organizing activity against the invaders during the first months of its existence, the Party laid the foundations of the militant union of the Albanian people. To strengthen these foundations, to put the political and organizational union of the people throughout the country on a sound political and organizational basis the CC of the PCA called the Albanian National-liberation Conference.

This conference was held on September 16, 1942 in Peza. Besides the communists, nationalists of differing political trends took part. Some of these nationalists stood very close to the Communist Party, having embraced its political line and been active in fighting against the invaders. Others supported the liberation of the country and rallying the people in the war against the foreign invaders, but were taking no part in action, having adopted a wait-and-see attitude. This category included ex-King Zog's supporters of whom the principal representative was Abaz Kupi.

The Communist Party also invited another category of nationalists, such as Mithat Frashëri and others, who had not yet openly disclosed their stand, to take part in the conference. These nationalists did not accept and attempted to boycott the conference.

At the National-liberation Conference the problem of uniting and organizing the Albanian people in the war against the fascist invaders was thoroughly discussed. The participants, including the overwhelming majority of the nationalists, stressed the vigorous activity and the great organizational role of the Communist Party in the National-liberation War. It was pointed out that the Italian fascists and Mustafa Kruja had not succeeded in dividing the Party from the patriotic nationalists, that the communists had won the affection and confidence of the people, that

«fascist propaganda about the «communist danger» and the «communists being disloyal to the country» has been exposed. Communism in Albania is no

longer the boggy of the peasant, of the owner of medium means, of the intellectual, as fascism tries to present to the people».⁹

Neither Abaz Kupi nor any other nationalist dared to oppose openly the guiding role the CPA had begun to play in the struggle. They strove to hinder the growth of its authority by opposing some external manifestations which bore the Party mark, such as calling the fighting units «partizan» units and the red star they adopted as an emblem. This opposition and some contradictory views on the mass participation of the youth in the struggle and on some terms of the resolution were surmounted after the representatives of the CPA had patiently defended their correct points of view.

The conference elected the (Provisional) National-liberation General Council and adopted unanimously the platform of the National-liberation War proposed by the Communist Party. This platform contained the following main items:

To wage uncompromising war against the fascist invaders and the traitors, for a free, independent and democratic Albania.

The real foundations of the union of the Albanian people had been laid and would be strengthened only in battle with the invader.

Sound organization of all true Albanians in a united national-liberation front should be effected without discrimination as to class, political conviction, religion or region.

National-liberation councils should be set up everywhere as organs uniting and mobilizing the people in the war, and as organs of the people's power.

The people's general armed uprising should be popularized and prepared for as the ultimate stage, as the logical consequence of the partizan war.

An organized campaign should be waged against the Agricultural Bank, Italian share-holders' companies, and all exploiters who, by the agency of the invaders, extort profits at the expense of the people.

The Peza Conference laid the foundations of the National-liberation Front and of the people's power. It confirmed the leading role of the Communist Party of Albania in the National-liberation War, thus achieving the Party's first great political victory.

The Peza Conference was not a conference of political parties. Only the Communist Party, the organizer of the conference, took part as a political party in its proceedings. There were no other anti-fascist political parties participating.

Thus, the National-liberation Front was not founded as a coalition of political parties. The Peza Conference legalized the voluntary union of the broad masses of the people, a union whose foundations had been laid at the grass roots in the war against the foreign invaders. It was the Communist Party that forged this union and was the direct and sole leader of the National-liberation Front. The front had at its foundations the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, the latter constituting its broadest base. In the program of the Party, the patriotic nationalists saw the fulfilment of their immediate national aspirations and joined the Natio-

nal-liberation Front either in groups of the same tendency or as individuals.

National-liberation Councils

The theses advanced by Comrade Enver Hoxha at the Peza Conference on «the national-liberation councils as organs of the union and struggle of the Albanian people» were adopted as a basis for setting up the national-liberation councils.

In the regions not yet liberated the councils were combative organs uniting all the people's anti-fascist forces. They enlightened the masses and launched them into struggle, prepared them for the general uprising, collected material aid necessary for the war, gathered information on the movements and the size of the enemy armed forces, organized the economic struggle against the Italian capitalist companies and sabotaged the accumulation of agricultural products by the fascists.

In the liberated regions, the councils exercised the functions of organs of the people's power. They maintained law and order, looked after the development of the economy, the food supply, trade, sowing and harvesting of grain, organized education, culture and the press; they settled conflicts, patched up blood feuds, maintained the people's readiness for war, and so on.

*«The importance of the national-liberation councils is great», the Peza Conference stressed. «Through them the government functions and the people are mobilized for struggle and for the uprising».*¹⁰

For the organization of the national-liberation councils the CPA had the rich experience of the Soviets, but, naturally, it did not merely copy this experience. First and foremost, it relied on the concrete circumstances under which the people's anti-fascist uprising was developing in Albania. The composition of the organs of this uprising harmonized with its national-liberation character. These councils, the Central Committee instructed in June 1942, should include the militant representatives of all the antifascist forces regardless of their political opinion and class background. The concept of these councils was acceptable to the masses of the people in Albania. From time immemorial it had been a tradition of the Albanians to create «conventions» and «councils» whenever they felt obliged to rise up to fight against foreign aggressors or to solve their internal problems. The national-liberation councils, however, varied from the «conventions» and «councils» of the past in their completely new composition and organization. They were born and grew as revolutionary democratic organs created by the masses themselves under the sole leadership of the Communist Party. They were the negation of all the former anti-popular and exploiting state organs and organizations.

As such, the national-liberation councils won great popularity among the masses. Following the Peza Conference their number increased rapidly both in the liberated and not yet liberated regions. People saw in them the defenders of their own interests and those of the Fatherland.

Because in 1942 only some rural regions had been liberated, the councils began to exercise their functions as organs of people's power in the countryside, the towns being still occupied by the Italian fascists. The councils became important links binding the Party closely with the peasantry.

Partizan Detachments

Besides the uniting of the people in the National-liberation Front and setting up people's councils the armed partizan struggle was also extended and intensified.

Partizan warfare was a form of war known and tested throughout centuries in Albania and in other countries. The Albanian people preserved strong traditions of patriotic guerilla warfare against foreign invaders. The Peza Conference expressed its conviction that the glorious path of the forefathers of the Albanians would be followed with courage and honor.

By making use of the guerilla warfare experience of the former Albanian patriots, the CPA imparted to the war against fascist invaders and traitors a deeply popular and revolutionary content.

The guerilla units were the first schools of partizan warfare. Through the formation and activity of partizan detachments, the partizan movement rose to a higher level and assumed vast proportions throughout the country.

The creation of fighting detachments in general followed this course: the Party district committee sent from the towns to the countryside a number of Party members, young communists and sympathizers tested in the guerilla units, charging them with the task of organizing fighting detachments. Around this nucleus, the fighting detachments were built up mainly with peasants. The countryside became the base and the principal source of partizan detachments.

There was no class limitation in the make-up of the fighting detachments. All those who desired to fight the enemy were admitted. Only persons with a shady past, common criminals and robbers who had aroused the contempt and hatred of the people were not allowed to join. All the partizans were volunteers. There could be 50-60 fighters in each partizan detachment. At the head of each detachment stood the commander and the political commissar who together directed its activity and were jointly responsible for the readiness and the combat and political preparation of the partizans. In most cases commanders were not Party members, whereas commissars were representatives of the Party within the partizan detachments.

In each detachment there was a Party cell which was its heart.

The detachments carried out intensive combat activity against the fascist invaders and traitors. At the same time, they had to develop a political, cultural and educational activity not only with the partizans but also with the population of the region in which they were operating. The fighting detachments had the liberated zones as their base. There they had already done away with the old oppressive power and helped

PAGES FROM THE HISTORY OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

the people to set up national-liberation councils. They assisted the peasants in their agricultural work and served as the armed support of the people's councils in maintaining law and order.

In the partizan detachments the masses saw for the first time their own army, the champion of their own interests. They gave it their all-round support. The partizan detachments were given shelter and supplied with food by the peasants; the towns people also supplied various material aid. Without such aid and without such allround and unsparing support from the people, the partizan war could not have been organized and the people's revolutionary army could not have been set up.

Besides partizan detachments, after the Peza Conference, territorial units made up of volunteers were organized in the liberated regions, in each large village or 2-3 small villages. They were irregular self-defense detachments which took up arms whenever they were called upon by the partizan detachments to carry through an important thrust or to ward off operations undertaken by the enemy against the liberated regions. These detachments served at the same time as a source of replenishment of the regular partizan units.

Following the Peza Conference, the number of guerilla units, partizan and territorial detachments increased rapidly. By the end of 1942 there were about 2,000 partizan fighters, besides some thousands of others taking part in the guerilla units in towns and in the countryside.

In order to crush these detachments, from September to December 1942 the Italian invaders engaged in largescale punitive operations in 27 regions of Southern, Central and Northern Albania. They burned down hundreds of peasants' houses, massacred old and young people, women and children, but they failed to attain their objective of suppressing the partizan movement. In Peza, Skrapar, Dibra, Mat, Korça, Kurvelesh, Vlora and other regions, thousands of men and women joined the partizans in their fight against the Italian hordes. Hundreds of fascist soldiers, militiamen and officers were killed in bitter fighting.

The successes of the partizan warfare and the utter failure of the 1942 Italian military operations brought to light the inner rottenness of the invaders, the invincible strength of the Albanian people, and confirmed the correctness of the policy pursued by the Communist Party. A real people's revolution had begun in Albania.

The echo of this heroic struggle passed beyond the boundaries of Albania, arousing the admiration and high appreciation of the peoples and countries fighting against fascism. In December 1942 the Government of the Soviet Union in an official statement expressed its sympathy for the liberation war of the Albanian people. The Soviet Government did not recognize any claim of Italian imperialism to Albanian soil and desired to see the whole of Albania liberated and independent. Official statements recognizing the anti-fascist struggle of the Albanian people were published simultaneously also by the governments of the USA and of Great Britain, although the latter purposely made no declaration against imperialist claims on Albania. These statements, particularly that of the Soviet

Government, were of great support to the Albanian people, strengthened their confidence in victory, and helped to further extend the armed struggle against the fascist enslavers.

8. THE FOUNDING OF THE NEW STATE OF PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

After the failure of the enemy winter campaign, the National-liberation War assumed a new impulse in the spring of the year 1944. As early as March, the initiative had passed into the hands of the ANLA. In compliance with the General Staff order of April 5, the partizan detachments and units everywhere took the offensive. Almost all the regions south of the Shkumbini river were again liberated. The partizan movement in Central and Northern Albania became more active. The nazi invaders and the reactionary forces were again forced to ensconce themselves in towns, in barracks and in fortified centres along the main highways and the seacoast, under the perpetual menace of attacks by the ANLA fighters.

The intensification of the National-liberation War immeasurably deepened the crisis in the enemy ranks in Albania. Disorder began among reactionary organizations and armed forces. Gendarmes and «Balli kombëtar» adherents deserted in groups.

By May 1944, the National-liberation Army had grown to 35,000 fighters. It was strong enough to launch the general offensive for the liberation of the towns and of the whole country.

This prospect became still brighter as a consequence of the Red Army's brilliant victories over the German army. As far back as January 1944, the Red Army had mounted a gigantic offensive on the Eastern Front. Advancing irresistibly westwards, in April it entered Rumania. The German troops in the Balkans were thus in danger of encirclement.

Smashing the Enemy's New Manoeuvres

Faced with this critical situation, the alarmed enemy left no stone unturned to find a way out and to change the situation in his favor. Great hopes were laid on a new large-scale operation the German Command was preparing against the National-liberation Army. In preparation for this operation, the Albanian reaction also was mustering all its forces. The Hitlerites counted on starting the operation in April.

But this was not possible because the ANLA upset their plans with its spring offensive and because their efforts to recruit mercenaries were foiled by the people's resistance.

At the same time, the Albanian traitors tried to play a new card. They intended to set up a coalition of the Greek and Albanian reaction, which would eventually be turned into a Greek-Turkish-Albanian military alliance. According to the enemy's plan, the united forces of these countries would be employed to crush the national-liberation movements in

Albania and Greece. The Albanian people's revolutionary war, however, nipped this scheme in the bud.

The same fate was shared also by the attempts of the reactionaries to beguile the people through clamorous announcements of some measures of economic character, like «the agrarian reform» and the creation of a «society for the economic development of the country». These measures, promised the traitors, were to defend the peasants' and workers' rights and to do away with the economic backwardness of the country which was, according to them, the cause of the grave crisis in Albania. These beautiful promises, however, could not deceive the Albanian people. They were already convinced that it was only by achieving victory over fascism and by crushing the traitors that they would realize their dreams and aspirations.

It was at this time that the Anglo-American imperialist reaction came to the rescue of the Albanian collaborators. The British Government had not given up its plan of bringing the Balkans under its control. In the powerful growth of the national-liberation movement it perceived a great obstacle to the implementation of this plan in Albania. The General Council and the General Staff of the ANLA had not accepted the Anglo-american dictate. It was only by relying on the opponents of the national-liberation movement and by weakening it as much as possible that the Anglo-American imperialists could put their plan into operation. For this reason the allied Mediterranean Command increased its aid in arms and other means to the reactionary forces of the «Legality», the «Balli kombëtar» and the treacherous tribal chieftains. The British military mission tried to convince the ANLA General Staff not to move its forces toward Northern Albania, because that was the zone of action of the «Legality», and that would give rise to conflicts. In London, the British Government increased its attempts to set up an Albanian reactionary government in exile.

The Communist Party assessed the moments the country was passing through in the spring of the year 1944 as decisive for the fate of the people's revolution in Albania. It became imperative that all enemy attempts to turn the situation to their advantage should be frustrated, that all the tricks of the internal and foreign reaction should be beaten, that such military and political measures should be taken as to ensure the complete liberation of the country and the triumph of the people's revolution. In this connection, the Central Committee defined as the key link the strengthening and legalization of the power of the national-liberation councils as the sole legal power of the Albanian people, the setting up of the new Albanian State with its own democratic government and its own regular army.

The Përmet Congress.

The Creation of the State of People's Democracy

With this aim in view, it was decided to call the 1st Anti-fascist National-liberation Congress which would take up for discussion and solve the political and military problems. The

proposal of the Central Committee of the CPA for the convocation of the congress was discussed and adopted at the meeting of the Presidium of the National-liberation General Council in April 1944.

At the same time, and in line with the Central Committee directives, the General Staff began to draft the plan for changing the whole National-liberation Army into a regular army as well as the operative and strategical plan for ridding the entire Albanian territory of the German nazis and traitors.

These major political and military problems were taken up at the meeting of the Plenum of the CPA Central Committee which was held on May 15, 1944 in Helmës of Skrapar. The plenum approved the decisions of the Central Committee and of the General Council Presidium for convening the 1st Anti-fascist Congress. The steps for creating a Provisional Democratic Government and turning the National-liberation Army into a regular army were considered timely. The Central Committee made a correct assessment of the dangers threatening the National-liberation. War, national independence and the people's revolution from the inimical activity of the British Government and of the British and American military missions in Albania. It reaffirmed its determination not to allow any of the allies, whoever it might be, to interfere in the internal political and military affairs of the Albanian people.

To deal with the situation, bearing in mind some incorrect viewpoints which had made their appearance from time to time, or which might emerge in the future in the Party, in the army, or in the National-liberation Front, the plenum drew attention to two important problems concerning the Party line. It warned against any alterations of the Party slogans, insisting that the national-liberation character of the war should be preserved to the end. The task was set of popularizing still more the Communist Party's role of leadership, but always within the line of the National-liberation War. The Central Committee argued that the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist and democratic stage of the revolution had not and could not come to an end without assuring the complete liberation and the democratization of the country. On the other hand, it gave the instruction to combat the opinion that, with the termination of the National-liberation War, everything would be over and that once the Germans had been driven out, the National-liberation Army fighters should lay down their arms and return to their homes. The Plenum demanded that it should be made absolutely clear that the Albanian people would retain the arms in their hands after the liberation of the country as well, in order to ensure their full freedom, to destroy any enemy, to defend the victories achieved and to develop them further. It instructed the Party to study carefully the circumstances that would arise, to determine in time the necessary attitude and measures to be taken.

The Plenum condemned unanimously Ymer Dishnica's capitulation in Mukje and Gjin Marku's compromise with the Germans in Berat. For these grave faults it removed both of them from the Central Committee of the CPA.

The Party did a great deal of work in popularizing the decision on the convocation of the 1st Anti-fascist Congress both in the liberated and not yet liberated regions.

PAGES FROM HISTORY OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

The people enthusiastically welcomed the decision to hold the 1st Anti-fascist Congress. At meetings and gatherings, they expressed their allegiance to and love for the Communist Party, thanked the Party for its correct leadership and heroic struggle in defense of the interests of the Fatherland, confirmed their readiness to fight to the end against the invaders and traitors, and supported the decision to convoke the congress and to establish a provisional democratic government.

On account of the war conditions, the election of delegates to the congress took place by open ballot. Nevertheless, they were the first democratic elections in Albania. Women, too, took part in these elections, for it was during the period of the National-liberation War that they were given, for the first time in the history of the country, the right to elect and be elected to the various organs of the people's power. It was the first time that the representatives of the people were chosen not on the basis of their lineage and property, but on the basis of their merits in the war against the enemies of the Fatherland and the people. The delegates to the congress were the representatives of the masses of the uprising people.

The elections to the congress demonstrated the political maturity and the high consciousness of the popular masses. They were another great test of the sound links of the Communist Party with the people.

The convocation of the 1st Anti-fascist Congress caused great concern amongst the enemy. The Hitlerites and the reactionaries exerted all their efforts to discover the place of the meeting so as to direct an armed assault against the congress. On their part, the Anglo-American imperialists exerted great pressure and left no means unemployed in order to sabotage it. The British Government described the holding of the 1st Anti-fascist Congress as «illegal» and ordered the chief of the British military mission in Albania not to accept the invitation which the National-liberation General Council had extended to him to take part in the congress in his capacity as a representative of the allies. Speaking in the House of Commons one day before the congress was opened, Attlee, Deputy Prime-Minister and later Prime-Minister of Great Britain, attributed the heroic war of the Albanian people under the leadership of the Communist Party to the «Legality» and the «Balli kombëtar» organizations which were enemies to this war.

The Communist Party, following with attention and vigilance the evolution of the situation, succeeded in foiling all the enemy attempts, and the congress accomplished its tasks successfully, according to plan.

The 1st Anti-fascist National-liberation Congress of Albania was held from the 24th to 28th of May, 1944 in the liberated town of Përmet.

The work of the congress proceeded in a profoundly revolutionary spirit and complete unity. The report «On the Prosecution of the National-liberation War of the Albanian People in the Background of the International Events» submitted by Comrade Enver Hoxha in the name of the National-liberation General Council was vigorously discussed by the delegates, who voiced their unanimous approval of all the proposals presented.

The congress elected the Anti-fascist National-liberation Council (ANLC) as the highest legislative and executive body in Albania, as the representative of the sovereignty of the people and of the Albanian State. The Anti-fascist Council elected in Përmet was the first people's convention of Albania. The congress charged the Anti-fascist Council with forming the Anti-fascist National-liberation Committee with the attributes of a provisional people's democratic government. The Antifascist Committee, which was approved at the congress, was the first people's democratic government of Albania. Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the CPA Enver Hoxha was elected Chairman of the Anti-fascist Committee.

Establishing the supreme organs of the people's power, the Përmet Congress decided: «the new people's democratic Albania is to be built according to the will solemnly expressed today by the people through the Anti-fascist National-liberation Council»; to prevent former King Zog from returning to Albania; not to recognize any other government which might be set up within or outside the country against the will of the Albanian people; to continue the war against the German invaders and Albanian traitors more fiercely until they are utterly destroyed and the state power of people's democracy has been established throughout the country.

At its first session the Anti-fascist Council took a series of decisions of major importance which were adopted by the congress and which constituted the first laws of the Albanian State of people's democracy. Of particular importance was the revolutionary decision to annul all the political and economic agreements the Zog government had concluded with foreign states as incompatible with the interests of the Albanian people. The Anti-fascist Council set up a special state commission for detecting and identifying war criminals and investigating all the crimes committed by the invaders and the traitors.

In close connection with the problems of setting up the people's state power at the highest levels, the congress also took up and settled problems concerning the further consolidation and perfection of the National-liberation Army as the main weapon for the complete liberation of the country and the defense of the new state power. It was at this congress that the unification of the high command of the National-liberation Army and the introduction of military rank were decided on. Comrade Enver Hoxha was appointed Commander-in-chief. The congress decided to set up divisions and army corps. The General Command announced the formation of the 1st Storm Division.

The Përmet Congress expressed its gratitude to the Soviet Union and to the Red Army which, by their heroic war, had accelerated the liberation of Albania and of other countries enslaved by the fascists. It reaffirmed its allegiance to the Soviet-Anglo-American alliance and the friendship of the Albanian people with all the peoples of the world anti-fascist coalition. The congress expressed its determination to strengthen the militant relations with the member states and peoples of this coalition and to fulfil all the obligations deriving therefrom, at the same time making the best use possible of the help of the allies. Quite unlike former congresses and conventions

in Albania, the Përmet Congress appealed to no one for aid in solving the problems and deciding the fate of Albania. On the contrary, it warned the imperialist powers that the time when Albania could be used as a medium of exchange was gone for ever, and that the Albanian people would not tolerate any bargain struck at their expense. They themselves would decide their fate. The Përmet Congress publicly denounced the attempts of the Anglo-American allies to interfere in the internal political and military affairs of Albania.

The historic decisions of the Përmet Congress were received with great joy and immediately embraced by the broad masses of the people.

The efforts of the Communist Party of Albania to demolish the old anti-people state power and to set up the people's democratic state power in the heat of the National-liberation War were crowned with success. The Peza Conference laid the foundations of the new state power. The Labinot Conference centralized it and proclaimed it the sole state power in Albania. The Përmet Congress solved the problem of the political power in favor of the revolutionary people. It founded the Albanian State of people's democracy. The decisions of the Përmet Congress comprise the basis of the Albanian State Constitution.

After this, the internal reactionaries were incapable of re-establishing the rule of the landlords and the bourgeoisie, either by their own forces or with the aid of the Hitlerite invaders.

At the time of the Përmet Congress half of Albania was still under the control of the German nazi invaders and their collaborators. In the occupied regions and towns the national-liberation councils carried on their activity underground. In many regions there were no councils at all, but this was not the main thing. The main thing consisted in the fact that, following the Përmet Congress, in the liberated zones as well as in those not yet liberated, the Albanian people recognized as their own actual government only the Anti-fascist Committee, and obeyed its orders and the laws of the Anti-fascist National-liberation Council. The Albanian National-liberation Army preserved the people's democratic state power from the blows of the enemy and was in a situation to secure, in the immediate future, the complete liberation of Albania and the establishment of this state power throughout the whole country.

The decisions of the 1st Anti-fascist Congress on the founding of the Albanian State of people's democracy, on the formation of the Anti-fascist Council and the Provisional Democratic Government were not simple decrees. The new Albanian State and its supreme organs were the offspring of the revolutionary liberation war of the Albanian people under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The power of the national-liberation councils in Albania differed entirely from the old state power both as to its form and substance. It had nothing in common with any sort of state power in the bourgeois parliamentary republics. As a type of political power, it resembled the Paris Commune and the Soviets. Nevertheless, it preserved its full originality, in conformity with the objective conditions of Albania under the

circumstances of the National-liberation War of the Albanian people.

In line with the decisions of the Përmet Congress the national-liberation councils and the Anti-fascist Committee were charged with the task of giving all-round help to the National-liberation Army for the complete liberation of the country; of ensuring the triumph of democracy throughout Albania, doing away with any possibility of the re-establishment of the Zog or of another reactionary regime; of wiping out any remnants of fascism and the old methods of government; of organizing the life of the people through an all-round transformation of the country, and development of the national economy and culture.

From their class composition and the task they were charged with, the national-liberation councils represented a democratic dictatorship of the revolutionary forces under the direct and sole leadership of the Communist Party.

The solution of the problem of state power demonstrated that one of the strategic tasks of the Party had been accomplished. Nevertheless, this problem could not be considered as definitely solved so long as the other historic task was not yet carried through – the complete liberation of Albania from the German invaders.

The decisions of the Përmet Congress dealt a heavy blow at the invaders, at the internal reaction and at the Anglo-American imperialist reaction. They were of major importance for throwing off the imperialist yoke and for the social emancipation of the Albanian people.

1 Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. I, p. 29.

2 The First Call of the CC of the CPA. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. I, pp. 27-28.

3 Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. I, p. 39.

4 Resolution of the First Conference of the Activists of the CPA, April 8, 1942. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. I, pp. 56-57.

5 Ibid., p. 61.

6 Ibid., p. 62.

7 Circular of the CC of the CPA about the condemnation of the inimical activity of the Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte group at the Extraordinary Conference of the Party, July 1942. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. I, p. 81.

8 «Zëri i Popullit», N0. 1, August 1942.

9 Resolution of the Peza Conference, September 16, 1942. Documents of the Supreme Organs of the National-liberation Revolutionary Power, Tirana, 1962, p. 12.

10 Ibid., p. 13.



Ibrahim Shelu: The harvests (black and white)

PRESS REVIEW

GERMAN IMPERIALISM — A REAL THREAT IN EUROPE

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

West German imperialism is emerging increasingly in the international arena as an expansionist power, nurturing its old ambitions for hegemony on the continent and for a «world role or mission». The facts about this speak for themselves.

Today almost all the main West German consortiums have a share in turning out war products. Since 1963 they have fulfilled 70 per cent of all the orders of the Bundeswehr. According to the West German newspaper «Die Welt», the total value of these orders over the years 1974-1978 will reach the figure of 50 billion marks. The Federal Republic of Germany now represents, from the military viewpoint, the second power in NATO and the first in Western Europe. According to official West German publications themselves, every day German imperialism spends about 76.5 million marks on military purposes, or 3.2 million marks per hour.

West German imperialism, as well as US imperialism, values NATO as a possible means to implement its hegemony and its unrealized plans on the continent. For the time being, those in Bonn accept US hegemony, and serve it, but they are demanding their share. This stand, of course, is pragmatic; Bonn needs to act thus, to dominate over the other West European states who nourish the same ambitions, and to vie with Britain

and France, which are superior in the nuclear field, in order to render this superiority ineffective. Meanwhile, under the guise of peaceful aims, West German militarism continues its nuclear experiments, using Soviet uranium. We must not forget that the Bundeswehr is ready for total nuclear war. It now has a troop effective of 500,000 men. But official statements have been made in Bonn about mobilizing all able bodied forces. In the West German Capital revanchist sentiments always accompany the noise of preparations for war.

Along with militarism, revanchism has always been one of the corner stones on which German imperialism has based its adventurous policy since its birth, and this is still true today. The Soviet revisionists strive to deny and ignore the facts, to show that the treaties they and the other revanchist cliques have concluded with Bonn have resulted in a new page being turned in the history of the European peoples and the destinies of the continent. «The government headed by chancellor Brandt», writes «Novaja i novjeshaja istorija», has given up some political doctrines which have become obsolete and were making the German Federal Republic a hotbed of revanchism and tension in Europe». But such revisionist illusions and distortions are unable to conceal the

reality. By taking German imperialism under its protection, the Soviet and other revisionists, in fact once more reveal that they are allies of the darkest forces of European and world reaction, and accomplices in the plots against the peoples. The statements of the chieftains of German imperialism show that with treaties or without them, the basic political line remains the same. Indeed, the treaties have served it. The Soviet leaders themselves have admitted that the treaties have increased Bonn's political credit and have strengthened its position. Dealing with the importance of the treaties, in one of its recent articles, the Soviet newspaper «Izvestia» wrote that they helped «Bonn to realize a more flexible and more effective foreign policy... and this is in the first place to the advantage of West Germany». The Soviet revisionists have thus met half way the desires of German imperialism for a continental role, a «world mission», or «world responsibility». This kind of thing cannot fail to lead to the creation of a favourable climate for the rising ambitions of German imperialism. It must be pointed out here that the increasingly more active character of the revanchist manifestations in West Germany is paralleled by the ever more open claims of German imperialism to play a dominant role on the continent,

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indeed to hold world responsibility, as Brandt Scheel and others put it.

West German sources themselves openly show that as in previous years, so in the current year, too, the Bonn rulers have provided large sums in their state budget for the activities of revanchist organisations. During Brandt's years in power, the revanchist propaganda in the Federal Republic of Germany has continued to intensify. Maps of Germany with the borders which existed under the Reich are on sale in the country's book shops. There are also exhibitions of clothes and souvenirs recalling the Nazi chieftains, and nostalgic films about the epoch of the Hitlerite regime.

Thus, the facts show that German imperialism is pursuing a calculated objective concerned with nurturing and keeping ali-

ve the spirit of revenge in the country. They also clearly show the active role of German social-democracy in attaining these objectives. One significant fact is according to official data, in April 1971, there were 66 ultrarightist neo Nazi and revanchist organisations, in West Germany. Two months later they were joined by 42 others, raising the total number of 108. The official data of June last year gave a higher figure making it 129. It is a fact that such organisations as the «National demokratische Organisation» «Aktion Oder-Neisse», «Witiko-Bund», «Deutsche Volksunion», «Aktion Widerstand», Social German Action, Europäische Befreiungsfront, (European Front of Liberation) etc., are all active in the country.

German imperialism has devoted special attention to the continuous fascistization of the

police apparatus and of bourgeois justice. By 1973, the internal security or police forces for use against progressive and revolutionary demonstrations and strikers had doubled, 1969, when Brandt's social democrats came to power. The funds for internal security were increased last year by 142 million marks, raising the total sum allotted to 785 million marks.

Thus German imperialism, revitalized with the aid of US imperialism and rehabilitated as a great political power in the international arena with the aid of Soviet social imperialism, has never renounced its old ambitions; it is preparing itself militarily and politically and by working on social opinion both abroad and at home. Having learnt nothing from history, today it again represents an actual threat on the continent.



MILITARY MANOEUVRES — A MEANS OF PRESSURE, BLACKMAIL AND THREAT

«LUFTEETARI», central organ of the Ministry of People's Defence

A day rarely passes in Europe in the North or South, in West Germany, Italy or Greece, in the oceans or on the Mediterranean, when you do not hear the noise of thousands of tanks or the engines of fighter planes, when naval fleets do not roam the seas. Let us quote some facts. In January, on the territory of Hessen, in the Federal Republic

of Germany, manoeuvres were held involving 20,000 soldiers and officers of the US army and the 6th tank brigade of the Bundeswehr, 1,700 tanks, over 350 war vehicles and many aeroplanes. These were followed by the ones code-named «Goldener Pfeil 5» in which 15,000 troops, over 2,000 tanks and other war vehicles took part. Other manoeuvres

were held in the Atlantic Ocean, code named «Safe Pass», these involved the ships and aircraft of the USA, Canada, the Netherlands, West Germany and Britain. They were followed by the naval manoeuvres of NATO in the Aegean and in the eastern part of the Mediterranean, with the participation of Greek, Turkish, Italian and American ships.

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What political and military aims does the aggressive NATO bloc pursue, by intensifying its sabre-rattling in these manoeuvres? It is clear that they are carried out neither to serve the «relaxation of tension» nor to show the «desire» for a reduction of forces; nor are they displays for the 25th anniversary of this bloc, which is a gendarme set over the European peoples and an alliance for aggression and dictate in the hands of the US imperialists. In fact, as our Party has pointed out, like the frantic propaganda and cold war diplomacy, the manoeuvres have to do with pressure, blackmail and threats which, if not today, then tomorrow, may turn into openly aggressive acts against sovereign countries, their aim is to intimidate the European peoples and to quench the fires of protest and struggle

against this aggressive bloc and against its manoeuvres, so as to ensure that the US imperialists preserve their spheres of influence.

But in order to attain these aggressive political aims, the strategists of the Pentagon and NATO are preparing their forces militarily. They have turned Europe, the Mediterranean and the Aegean, like the oceans, into ranges where they experiment with their aggressive, expansionist, militarist concepts, and their new weapons. The rationale behind these exercises shows that the military strategists are striving to perfect coordination among the armies of the NATO bloc and to preserve and perfect its military structure, at a time when the contradictions among them have deepened. They show that all these actions have an offensive character, their aim is

to exercise the troops and make them acquainted with the terrain and with fighting actions in Europe, to try out troop mobility and troop transport by air from one country to another, for diversionist purposes, both from the air and from the sea.

Our socialist country works and stands vigilantly on guard, in the conditions of the savage imperialist encirclement. Albania's 30 years of experience has taught it that enemies have always aimed at this country, therefore our people have enhanced their vigilance, and have prepared to face any enemies with arms. The peoples must not allow their countries to become ranges and terrains of military tests and manoeuvres and to fall victim to the imperialists, but to expose the plans and conspiracies hatched against them.

THE SOLZHENITSYN FARCE

«DRITA», organ of the Albanian Writers' and Artists' Union

The counterrevolutionary Solzhenitsyn phenomenon is an offshoot of the feverish activation of world reaction against communism and a logical consequence of the betrayal of the Soviet revisionist leaders. The fuss which has lately been made by reactionary propaganda in the West, and all the noise in the revisionist camp, benefited the international bourgeoisie.

Solzhenitsyn's expulsion from the Soviet Union, his forced plane trip, accompanied by four police officers to a West German airport, and his abandonment there - all this was but a banal farce prepared by the revisionists, not to deflate but to inflate the counterrevolutionary «glory» of this anti-communist writer.

Solzhenitsyn was called to the scene by the revisionists in the

early sixties, when they were prepared to collaborate with anyone who would agree to sling mud at Stalin. In their feverish propaganda, they did not hesitate to mobilize even the dregs of Soviet society, provided such people had a sharp tongue to vituperate and slander socialism. Thus there rose from the mud the political prisoner Alexander Solzhenitsyn, who offered the revisionist authorities his coun-

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terrevolutionary hatred and his poisoned pen. They enthusiastically welcomed the services of the former prisoner, because they immediately became aware of his hatred for communism. They badly needed such savage, unrestrained and aggressive hatred. Thus, on Khrushchev's direct orders, the major Soviet literary review «Novij Mir», published the short story «One day in the life of Ivan Denisovich», which could very well be titled «One day in the life of Alexander Solzhenitsyn».

It was the first time that the state which claimed to defend the interests of the communist revolution had given the floor to an enemy of this revolution, and not just a theoretical enemy, but one condemned by the dictatorship of the proletariat. This short story, which was the shame of Soviet literature, a tedious and hackneyed story, was applauded by the revisionist clique; it was even proposed for the «Lenin» prize.

This is how the career of a counterrevolutionary began. In the course of time, Solzhenitsyn started to publish one work after another. He became a respected member of the Soviet Writers' League; his name was mentioned in congresses and symposia.

But later unexpectedly, a cooler stand was adopted towards Solzhenitsyn. Many people asked: How did the honeymoon of the revisionist leaders with this writer, an enemy of the revolution, end so quickly?

The new coolness was followed by quarrels, and then the

breach with Solzhenitsyn who, was expelled from the Writers' League. He was forbidden to publish.

Why did the bosses quarrel with their ungrateful apprentice? Or, rather, why did the apprentice revolt against his ungrateful bosses?

In reality no contradiction of principle has ever existed between them. It is only a question of a disagreement between conspirators.

The favourite of the revisionists, Solzhenitsyn, with his exaggerated zeal to serve the counterrevolution in the best possible way, wittingly or unwittingly began to become an element bringing discredit on them. Partly because of his great hatred, and partly because of this impatience, Solzhenitsyn did not observe the proper limits on the rate at which he escalated his treachery. He attempted to move through the various stages of treachery more quickly than his patrons. But this was dangerous to his masters and ran counter to the simplest logic of demagoguery.

History has shown that when the camouflaged enemies of communism begin the struggle against it, so as to avoid discrediting themselves, they pursue quite a cunning policy. They want to show that they allegedly are not against communism and the revolution (never, they say, beating their breasts), but only against some of their practical applications. Thus, usually, before starting their attacks, they praise Marx, Engels and, to a lesser extent, Lenin. Once past this stage they start very carefully

to aim at Lenin, while it is self-evident that they express their full hatred for Stalin. Then, according to the logic of escalation, they mount a general attack on the practice of the revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and everything else sacred to communism. Thus, the removal of the mask is effected gradually, in order to avoid discrediting themselves immediately before social opinion.

At the beginning Solzhenitsyn obeyed this ritual of hypocrisy. In his first works he showed himself to be very careful. It seemed as if his whole hatred was directed only against Stalin, although all the men and women who cherished the destinies of the revolution and socialism, clearly understood that by attacking Stalin, whose name is connected with the victories of the revolution, the pen of the former prisoner was dripping poison against the revolution. In his first period, Solzhenitsyn was so cautious that in his book «Cancer Ward» he flatters the Home Ministry of Khrushchev's time and all the revisionist bureaucratic organs, he did this to show Soviet opinion that he had no grudges save those against Stalin.

But this could not last for long. Just like all his predecessors, Solzhenitsyn began to drop his mask. His works began to attack the revolution in general, show regret for old Russia, and regret for the eliminated class of the kulaks and attack collectivisation; later on came open attacks on socialism and the «open protection of the Orthodox

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Church. At that time an unprecedented event took place in the history of Soviet literary life. A Soviet writer sent a shocked letter to the Moscow archbishop, accusing him of not defending the interests of religion in the USSR, properly. This writer was Solzhenitsyn. No other Soviet liberal writer, not even Pasternak, the author of the infamous «Doctor Zhivago», had dared to do such a thing.

This annoyed the revisionist leaders. Solzhenitsyn by this disobedience, and his indecent haste, was becoming not only troublesome but also dangerous. Hence the split between the bosses and their apprentice.

Thinking that by expelling their recalcitrant apprentice, they could calm down to a certain point that section of the Soviet people who were justifiably revolted by Solzhenitsyn's brazenness, his masters drove him beyond the borders of the Soviet Union.

However, inside these borders, Solzhenitsyn's friends and followers still carry out their activities freely. Thus, for instance, the expelled Solzhenitsyn had hardly set foot in West Germany, when one of the vanguards of the liberal phalanx of Soviet writers, Yevtushenko, wrote a letter to Brezhnev protesting against the expulsion of his colleague. It seems that the behaviour of the Kremlin rulers is unclear and illogical to Yevtushenko. He is somewhat disillusioned with Brezhnev, and made haste to write to him reminding him of his previous promises. Indeed, Brezhnev would gladly keep his

liberal promises, but there are some circumstances which compel him, for the time being, to adopt coercive measures with regard to his former allies.

Perhaps the revisionist authorities could put up with these attacks by Solzhenitsyn, his attacks on socialism, and his defence of religion; but they could not swallow his latest book «The Gulag Archipelago», which was published in Russian in Paris. This book placed them in an exceptionally difficult position: they had either to launch a frantic campaign, and entirely reject it, or, accepting it, even by silence, expose themselves clearly, before the eyes of international and Soviet opinion.

«The Gulag Archipelago», which the international bourgeoisie is expecting to be published in the western languages, is no doubt the most counterrevolutionary, the most reactionary and the most scandalous book in the history of Soviet literature. Without any artistic value, written in the form of thoughts, memories, articles, and statements about the war and the post-war period, it openly slings mud at communism, Lenin, and everything else connected with the interests of the working class.

The bourgeois press itself is compelled to admit the marked antisocialist character of Solzhenitsyn's latest book. Thus, the bourgeois journalist Bernard Féron, in his article published in «Le Monde» on February 1 this year, analysed the current opposition in the fold of the Soviet intelligentsia in his own way,

and divided it into two groups, the left and the right; he then continued with a detailed analysis of the rightists.

These, too, are divided into two groups: One group, he says, «strives to influence the Kremlin leaders» — in fact, so that they deviate still more, and more quickly, towards the right; the other group cannot find a common language with the leadership. This second group is heterogeneous, and is composed of various nationalists, opponents to bolshevism, members of religious sects, etc. Solzhenitsyn belongs to the second group», says Féron. «The reader searches in vain for a description of some ideal socialism. If the writer in his youth belonged to the Komsomol, there is nothing to show that he joined from conviction. The statements of faith found in his book, those he concentrates on there, have to do with ethics and religion. He does not support socialism».

But the most discrediting part of the «Gulag Archipelago» is that in which Solzhenitsyn takes under his open protection the traitorous general of the Red Army, Vlasov, and his followers. Lieutenant General Andrei Vlasov not only surrendered to the Germans during World War II but, after having recruited, among the Soviet prisoners, the enemies of the Soviet power, he used them to set up an army supplied with weapons by the Germans, and with this army, he fought shoulder to shoulder with the Hitlerites against his homeland. For the Soviet people, Vlasov's name and that of the «Vla-

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sovites» (his followers), is one of the most hated names there are. The shame of this Judas could hardly be washed away, even in centuries for he had done something which has always been shameful, and the more so in the era of the socialist homeland. However, not a quarter of Century had passed since the end of the war before a Soviet writer rises and quite openly takes this traitor under his pro-

tection. This could occur only in a sick social, ideological and political atmosphere, and just such an atmosphere has been unfortunately created in the Soviet Union by the revisionists.

It was certainly this part of the ill-famed «Gulag Archipelago» which compelled the revisionist leaders to break hastily away from their protégé, as if he had the plague. They put a distance of several thousand

kilometres between him and them, but this is only a mechanical separation. All those people, inside and outside the Soviet Union who understand or have begun to understand something about the revisionist treachery, clearly realize that Solzhenitsyn and his masters, the revisionists, can never break away from each other. They will always be together in their fate and in their shame.

THE VATICAN IN THE SERVICE OF THE TWO IMPERIALIST SUPERPOWERS

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

In bourgeois society, and that dominated by the modern revisionists, the church and religion are an integral part of the superstructure, serving the power of the ruling classes and acting in and influencing politics through both visible and invisible means. The claims of the Vatican that «the church does not identify itself with any social system», and that «it is not connected with any political system», are only expressions of political changeability and clerical conformity in the present conditions of the class and liberation struggle. Thus, for instance, there will not be many people naive enough to believe the documents published lately about the political and diplomatic activity of the Vatican during the second world war, those were

chosen in such a way as to «prove» that «the Holy See» cannot be accused of collaboration with fascism and German nazism. The Vatican seeks to hide the truth, but people are very well aware that it is an active participant and accomplice in all the political intrigues, diplomatic manoeuvres and crimes, including Franco's counterrevolutionary falanges in Spain, the chaplains and «sisters» of the fascist military detachments, the treachery and banditry perpetrated in many countries of the world by «Catholic Action», the «blessings» of the Nazi-fascist hordes, the churches and cells turned into arms depots and hide-outs for criminals, and the sheltering and encouraging of reactionary political exiles and individuals who have committed many crimes against the people. Even today the Vatican's ties with the fascist movement in Italy are obvious.

The history of every country is replete with many facts which tell about the dark activity of the Vatican. It is publicly known that it supported Italian fascism and the Hitlerite campaign for the occupation of Europe and the world. Numerous facts show that the Vatican and the reactionary Roman Catholic clergy did all they could to assist the occupation of our country by Italian fascism, and have been consistent enemies of our freedom, independence and territorial integrity, our traditions, language and national culture. Since the liberation of our country, until today, the Vatican has continued its hostile activity against the

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Albanian people. In close collaboration with the US, British and other imperialists, it has done its utmost to overthrow the people's power and restore former regimes in Albania. For this purpose the «Holy See» has taken under its protection all the Albanian war criminals sentenced by the people's justice, and all the spies and diversionists of foreign powers captured by our people. Many plots against the People's Republic of Albania are connected with the Vatican. The pope and his friends have continually undertaken frantic campaigns and fierce attacks and calumnies against the People's Republic of Albania because they have been enraged by the fact that the popular masses in socialist Albania, on their own initiative, cast away religion, setting a great example of how to get rid of centuries-old religious obscurantism. But the entire uninterrupted hostile activity of the «Holy See» against the People's Republic of Albania has failed and will always fail shamefully. The enemies of our people are powerless with regard to Albania.

As in the time of the Middle Ages, so today too, religious intolerance, fanaticism and racism continue to be used and manipulated according to the policies, interests and situations of the two imperialist superpowers and international reaction. The fact that the Washington and Moscow chieftains often get the pope's blessing for their actions, and that their plots and deceptive agreements on «European security», «disarmament», «peaceful solution» of the Mid-

dle East crisis, etc., meet with the approval and support of the Vatican, helps to expose before the peoples the reactionary and aggressive nature of the two superpowers. There is no baser irony and demagoguery than to refer, for example, to the «will and benevolence of God», for the restoration of peace. Neither the essence of religious doctrine nor the diplomatic political practice of the Vatican brings about any kind of peace other than the so-called «peaceful coexistence» which ensures the further counterrevolutionary rapprochement of the two superpowers, the imposition of their dictate on the peoples and the strengthening of the shaky position of the Roman Catholic Church itself. The whole propaganda and activity of the Roman Catholic Church in this direction aims to weaken the vigilance of the peoples and leave the imperialists a free hand for their aggressive actions. The pope prays to «God for peace and Nixon thanks God in church for giving him «peace» in one or another focal point in the world. But this is a very convenient method of exculpation and justification, for even imperialist aggression and banditry may be presented as part of the «divine will». The Vatican exploits all situations and circumstances for the realisation of its aims. The pope notices that the policy of aggression and war of US imperialism for the establishment of world hegemony is closely connected with the cultivation and spread of religious obscurantism, and he relies on this policy. The Vati-

can's stance towards Eastern Europe is also conditioned by the revisionist cliques' moves towards the West. Religion, both exploited and used in its cosmopolitan class essence, extensively serves as an ideological bridge both for the penetration of the Vatican and for imperialist-revisionist rapprochement and collaboration.

The Vatican knows that any step to strengthen its position can be undertaken only under the shadow of the policy of the two superpowers and within the frameworks of their expansionist plans. As long as the neocolonialist aims and interests of Washington and Moscow in the Middle East demand that the «no war no peace» situation be preserved in that area, so that both sides have the chance to intervene, dominate and impose their will, the diplomacy of the «Holy See», too, remains in this framework and has been further set in motion calling for «peace» in the sense of the victims of aggression submitting to the Israeli aggressors and to the anti-Arab plots of the two superpowers for «coexistence» between religious communities etc.

In view of the realisation of its aims, the Vatican does not stop at the most unscrupulous tricks and manoeuvres. When one of the past popes signed the agreement with Mussolini, he declared that he was prepared to come to agreement with «the devil himself» if it would serve the interests of the church and religion; the present pope is prepared to accept any modification, liberalisation or modernisation

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of religious dogma, provided the religious opium and the «fear of God» is kept alive and spread among the peoples. Such is, for example, the preaching of the present pope «scientific studies confirm divine truths», that «the church supports science» that the «conflicts between religion and science have stemmed from the weakness of human judgement» etc. It is quite clear that the pope falsifies the entire ill-famed history of the church, and underestimates its savage activity against science, its barbarity, and the declarations of his predecessors.

The demagogy of the Vatican is connected with that of the two superpowers. They speak of «economic aid» and they plunder

with both hands, they preach «Christian charity», they «pray for peace and tranquillity» and carry out aggressions, disrupt and suppress the national liberation movements and the revolutionary struggle of the working class. Washington, Moscow and the Vatican are close to one another and allied in essence in the methods they use and in their counterrevolutionary aims. The raising of secret talks and secret diplomacy to a system, both between the two superpowers, in the internal activity of the «Holy See» and between the see and the superpowers, shows that these forces are afraid of communicating openly with the peoples, that they express their real aims and bar-

gainings tête-à-tête, in closed meetings and talks while publicly they come out with demagogic declarations.

The Vatican and the chieftains of the two superpowers would greatly like the world not to speak out, and not to judge their crimes. But the world will not remain silent. The intrigues and hegemonistic plans of the two superpowers will not be realized, however the pope may bless them and mask them with demagogy. The peoples will not allow themselves to be deceived by tricks and treachery, they are rising and opposing ever more strongly the aggressive and chauvinistic hegemony of US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism.

NATO — AN ALLIANCE FOR WAR AND AGGRESSION AGAINST THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE EUROPEAN PEOPLES

—BASHKIMI—

NATO's short 25 years of existence show that it has always been an instrument of the aggressive policy of US imperialism. Precisely this organization, set up on the pretext of the danger to «the free world», further paved the way for the interference of US imperialism in Europe. US imperialism settled down militarily on the continent, extending the network of its military bases and paving the way for the allround economic

and political penetration of the USA. Over 300.000 troops, stationed in several hundred of military bases in the Federal Republic of Germany and elsewhere, are the American «defenders» of the «free world» in Europe.

NATO has been used by US imperialism and its partners as a common weapon and a strike force against the revolutionary struggle of the European and other peoples. NATO arms and

soldiers have been stained with crimes in Korea, Vietnam, Cuba, Guatemala, in the Portuguese colonies or Cambodia. US imperialism has incessantly armed this aggressive alliance. It has possessed the most up-to-date weapons. Over the past 25 years the NATO countries have spent 1 trillion 700 billion dollars on the upkeep of the military forces and on equipping them with ever newer arms.

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By means of NATO, US imperialism has striven to preserve its leading role and exercise its dictate over its partners. With the aid of Washington, and in the framework of the Atlantic alliance, the West German Bundeswehr was restored and armed. The Bonn revanchists are playing an increasingly greater role in NATO. Bonn is Washington's most loyal partner, and through this loyalty, as well as the concessions of the Soviet social imperialists, it is striving to open the way further to the realisation of its militarist dreams for a «great Germany».

The 25-year activity of the aggressive NATO alliance is also filled with defeats and contradictions which originate from its imperialist character. In the fold of NATO, there have been continual quarrels between the USA and its partners, who, for the

sake of their imperialist interests, have tried to get rid of US tutelage. In this atmosphere of contradictions, France has long since left NATO's military structure, and later on there were increasing demands for a revision of the alliance. In order to mitigate this situation, Washington, as is known, proclaimed the so-called «Atlantic Charter». But the US-European contradictions were further sharpened after the Arab-Israeli October War and the challenge of the USA to its partners on this occasion. The disputes have continued to increase, and are constantly worsening.

But irrespective of the contradictions, which are connected with the struggle for markets and profits among the imperialist powers, the NATO bloc remains as aggressive as ever, with the same aggressive aims

against the freedom and independence of the peoples. It is arming incessantly; it is extending its military bases and increasing its military exercises, and all this threatens the peoples. In the framework of the continuation of NATO's aggressive activity, US imperialism is striving to strengthen NATO under its tutelage, in order to ensure US power and dictate in Western Europe. This is the strategy of US imperialism; a strategy in conformity with that of the other gendarme of the peoples, Soviet social imperialism, which strives to secure its domination and dictate in Eastern Europe. Thus the two aggressive blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, are proceeding towards further coordination of the activities having as their sole objective the oppression and subjugation of the European peoples.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST REFORMISM IN THE TRADE UNIONS — AN IMPORTANT TASK FOR THE WORKING CLASS

«PUNA» — organ of the Council of the Trade Unions of Albania

The successive crises hitting capitalism, most clearly seen in the energy crisis and the intensification of capitalist oppression and exploitation, resulting from the efforts of the monopoly bourgeoisie to overcome these crises at the expense of the labouring masses, have created a very favourable situation for the working class. The class con-

flicts between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat have greatly sharpened. The working class, betrayed by its reformist and revisionist leaders in the fold of the trade unions, has realized that in its militant actions against the power of the bourgeoisie it must act on its own, and must struggle, led by its own revolutionary militants, the most reso-

lute people, devoted to the cause of the working class. The strike movement of the working class has been characterised by «wild cat» strikes, i.e. strikes not approved by the government and the leaders of the reformist and revisionist trade unions. For example, there was the strike of more than 500,000 West German transport and communication

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workers. Many strikes by the workers of various branches of Italian industry were likewise the result of the independent action of the workers, without the approval of the trade union leaders. Such were the strikes of the British miners, who did not accept the dictate of the leaders of the British trade unions, and the strikes of the Spanish, Japanese and other workers.

These facts testify to an entirely new situation in the movement of the international working class, and show that the workers are having more say through their militant actions.

This has greatly intimidated the bourgeoisie, which is why it has increased its efforts to disorientate the working class through ideological means, so as to divert it from its militant and revolutionary road. In this ideological diversion, the bourgeoisie has pinned all its hopes on the «workers aristocracy», the scabs of the proletariat. A particularly base role is being played today

by the social democrats and the revisionists, who act in the trade unions of the working class in order to quell its militant spirit and to lead it into the path of structural reforms, so as to make the working class movement harmless to the bourgeoisie. In direct cooperation with monopoly capital, they strive to curb the militant vigour of the proletariat, to prevent it organising, and to stop it advancing in its struggle. The trade union chieftains become the main bearers in the labour movement of the bourgeois slogans claiming that the working class and the bosses are equally interested in production, and that the strike movement hits the worker and the manufacturer alike. This great deception is one of the main slogans of the ideological and political diversion developed by the various revisionists and reformists in the fold of the working class. Indeed one of the Italian trade union bosses, Scaglia, announced that «the aim of the trade unions must be to achi-

eve close collaboration between the three forces: the politicians, the employers and the Trade unions». It is understandable that such people at the head of the trade unions cause very great damage to the working class. Therefore, the struggle against the reformist line in the trade unions emerges as a primary task for the working class, as one of the indispensable conditions of preparing the proletariat for victory. The working class in the capitalist countries is becoming increasingly convinced of this truth by reality itself, and the experience of its day to day struggle against capital. In its struggle, it is counterposing itself to the reformist trade union bosses, and is coming to realize the correctness of the road indicated by Marxism-Leninism. Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 6th Congress of the PLA: «Revolution is the only way to change the world, the only way to win freedom from national and social bondage».

THE ENEMIES OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE WILL ALWAYS SUFFER DEFEAT

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The recent course of events in South Vietnam shows further intensification of the criminal activity of the Saigon administration in the liberated areas under the control of the Provisional Revolutionary Govern-

ment. By its ugly actions, instigated and supported by US imperialism, the Saigon administration is constantly exposing itself as the sworn enemy of the Vietnamese people.

The facts prove that the US im-

perialists, in the framework of their aggressive global strategy, are striving to establish various forms of neocolonialism in South Vietnam at all costs; therefore they are continuing their military engagement and inter-

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ference in the internal affairs of that country, steadily supplying their tools in Saigon with plenty of modern weapons, and granting economic aid. The Saigon representatives of the US armed forces have admitted that so far, the USA has provided the Saigon regime with «F-5e» fighter-bombers, and that it will shortly send 150 supersonic fighter-bombers. Moreover, for the coming fiscal year, beginning June 1, 1974, Washington has granted the puppet clique 2.4 billion dollars, or 65 per cent more than in the current year.

The Nixon administration has trampled on and continually violated the Paris agreement by not withdrawing its armaments, and by maintaining and increasing the number of US advisers in South Vietnam, disguised as «specialists»; these now exceed

24,000. Stressing allround support for the traitorous Thieu regime, the US Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, admitted in a recent statement that the US government «has politically and morally engaged to give South Vietnam long term military and economic aid». The refusal to allow the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam to take part in the latest diplomatic conference at Geneva, is an open expression of the continuation of the savage and hostile policy of US imperialism towards the Vietnamese people, and of the allround support it gives to the Saigon puppet clique.

But every aggressive act of theirs, every plan and conspiracy they frame, will be rebuffed by the Vietnamese people. The liberation armed forces and the people of South Vietnam have

counter-attacked with determination, and have frustrated all enemy attempts to occupy the liberated areas. This is shown by the defeats which the Saigon troops have suffered in the liberated areas, in My Tho, Ben Tre, Kien Tuong and other provinces.

The Vietnamese people, who have a long experience of liberation struggle against US imperialism and its tools, stand always on vigilant guard, so as not to fall into the traps of their enemies, and in order to destroy their diabolic plans. They are convinced that only in this way, and in militant unity with the other peoples of Indochina, will they be able to realize their lawfull aspirations for a free, democratic and independent South Vietnam, and for the reunification of the homeland.



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