

# Albania today

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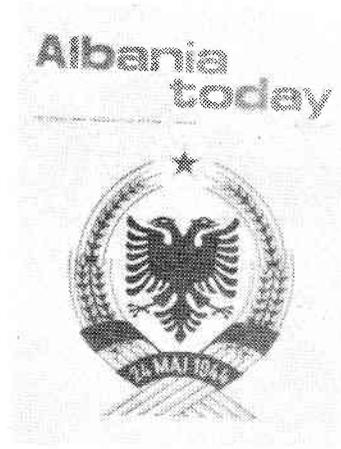


◀ National Emblem of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.



The People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania unanimously adopts the new Constitution of the PSR of Albania on December 28th 1976





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# CONSTITUTION OF THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST

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## INTRODUCTION

*The Albanian people have blazed the trail of history sword in hand. In struggle against their internal and external enemies, they have defended their existence as a people and nation, have fought for national freedom and independence, for their land and mother tongue, for their livelihood and social justice. After centuries of bondage, they achieved a major victory with the creation of the independent Albanian national state in November 28, 1912.*

*The national democratic and revolutionary movement was given a new impulse and content with the triumph of the great October Socialist Revolution and with the spread of communist ideas, which marked a decisive turning point for the fate of the Albanian people, too.*

*In the grave conditions of fascist and nazi occupation, and betrayed by the ruling classes, the Albanian people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania (today, the Party of Labour), united in the National Liberation Front, rose to their feet, and arms in hand hurled themselves into the greatest war of their history for national and social liberation. In the fire of the war for freedom, on the ruins of the old state power, the new Albanian state of people's democracy emerged as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. On November 29, 1944 Albania won genuine independence and the Albanian people took their fate into their own hands. The people's revolution triumphed and a new epoch, the epoch of socialism, was opened.*

*In the conditions of the people's state power, under the leadership of the Party of the working class, great social-economic changes were carried out, which were outlined by the first Constitution of the Albanian socialist state. The domination by foreign capital and plunder of the country's riches was ended. The capitalists and big landowners were expropriated and the main means of production passed into the hands of the people. The way was opened for the socialist industrialization of the country. The Land Reform gave the land to those who till it, and the collectivization of agriculture set the countryside on the road of socialism.*

*Social ownership over the means of production and the single system of socialist economy, which prevails in town and countryside, replaced the private ownership and the multi-form economy. The exploiting classes and the exploitation of man by man were liquidated. The entire social development proceeds consciously, according to plan, and in the interest of the people.*

*In socialist Albania, the working class is the leading class of the state and the society. New relations of mutual assistance and cooperation have been established between the two friendly classes of our society, the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, as well as the stra-*

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*tum of the people's intelligentsia. The work readily contributed by free people has become the decisive factor in the flourishing of the socialist homeland, in raising the general and individual wellbeing. Albania has overcome its age-old backwardness and has been transformed into a country with advanced industry and agriculture.*

*The vital forces of the people were freed and their inexhaustible creative energies burst out. In the unceasing process of the revolution, the Albanian woman won equality in all fields, became a great social force, and is advancing towards her complete emancipation. Education and culture have become the property of the broad masses of the people, and science and knowledge have been placed at the service of society. The foundations of religious obscurantism were smashed. The moral figure of the working man, his consciousness and world outlook are moulded on the basis of the proletarian ideology, which has become the dominant ideology.*

*Socialism has shown its absolute superiority over the old exploiting order.*

*Albania has entered the stage of the complete construction of socialist society. The great historic changes have created new conditions for the continuous development of the revolution and socialist construction.*

*The waging of the class struggle in favour of socialism, the continuous strengthening of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the deepening of socialist democracy, the development of the productive forces and the perfecting of socialist relations of production, the steady raising of the wellbeing of the working masses, the gradual narrowing of distinctions between industry and agriculture, town and country, mental and physical labour, the affirmation of the personality of man within the socialist collectivity, the mastering of contemporary technology and science, the continuous revolutionization of the entire life of the country are the main ways through which the socialist society is growing stronger and advancing.*

*The Albanian people are determined to defend their national independence, the people's state power and their socialist victories against any enemy. Socialist Albania is always an active factor in the struggle for national and social liberation, for peace, freedom, and the rights of all the peoples against imperialism, reaction, and revisionism. In its foreign policy it is guided by the great ideals of socialism and communism, and fights for their triumph the world over.*

*The Albanian people have found constant inspiration in the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism under the banner of which, united round the Party of Labour and under its leadership, they are carrying forward the construction of society to pass over, later, gradually to communist society.*

# PART ONE

## CHAPTER I

# THE SOCIAL ORDER

## A. The Political Order

### Article 1

Albania is a People's Socialist Republic.

### Article 2

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which expresses and defends the interests of all the working people.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is based on the unity of the people round the Party of Labour of Albania and it has as its foundation the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry under the leadership of the working class.

### Article 3

The Party of Labour of Albania, the vanguard of the working class, is the sole leading political force of the state and the society.

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania the dominant ideology is Marxism-Leninism. The entire socialist social order is developed on the basis of its principles.

### Article 4

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania unceasingly develops the revolution by adhering to the class struggle and aims at ensuring the final victory of the socialist road over the capitalist road, at achieving the complete construction of socialism and communism.

### Article 5

All state power in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania derives from and belongs to the working people.

The working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the other working people exercise their state

power through the representative organs as well as directly.

The representative organs are the People's Assembly and the people's councils.

No one else apart from the organs expressly defined in this Constitution can exercise the sovereignty of the people and any of its attributes in the name of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

### Article 6

The representative organs direct and control the activity of all the other state organs, which are responsible to them and render account to them.

### Article 7

In all their work, the representative organs and other state organs rely on the creative initiative of the masses of the working people, draw them into running the country, and render account before them.

### Article 8

The representative organs are elected by the people through universal suffrage with equal, direct and secret voting.

The electors have the right to recall their representative at any time when he has lost their political trust, when he does not fulfil the tasks he is charged with, or when he acts in contravention of the laws.

The organization and procedure in holding elections are regulated by law.

### Article 9

Officials serve the people and render account before them, participate directly in work in production and are paid salaries in fair ratio with those

of the workers and cooperativists, with the aim of preventing the creation of a privileged stratum. The pay ratio is set by law.

#### **Article 10**

Under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, the working class, as the leading class of the society, the cooperativist peasantry, as well as the other working people exercise direct and organized control over the activity of state organs, economic and social organizations and their workers, for the purpose of defending the victories of the revolution and strengthening the socialist order.

#### **Article 11**

The organization of the state and state activity, all the political and economic life in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania are based on the principle of democratic centralism and develop according to it, combining the centralized direction with the creative initiative of local organs and the masses of the working people, in struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism.

#### **Article 12**

The precise and equal implementation of the Constitution and laws which express the will of the working class and the other masses of the working people is obligatory in all the activity of the state organs, economic and social organizations and officials.

#### **Article 13**

The state relies on the social organizations,

cooperates with them and creates conditions for the development of their activity.

The social organizations unite the masses and broad strata of the people, draw them, in an organized way, into the running of the country, the socialist construction and the defence of the country, work for their communist education and take care of the solution of their individual problems.

#### **Article 14**

In the construction of socialism, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania relies mainly on its own forces.

#### **Article 15**

In foreign relations the People's Socialist Republic of Albania proceeds from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, follows the policy of friendship, collaboration, and mutual assistance with the socialist states, supports the revolutionary movement of the working class and the struggle of the peoples for freedom, independence, social progress and socialism and relies on their solidarity.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is for peace and good neighbourliness, for relations with all states on the basis of equality, respect for sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual benefit.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania opposes any form of aggression, colonial exploitation, tutelage, dictate and hegemony, national oppression and racial discrimination. It upholds the principle of self-determination of the peoples, the exercise of full national sovereignty and equality of all countries in international relations.

## **B. The Economic Order**

#### **Article 16**

The economy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a socialist economy which is based on the socialist ownership of the means of production.

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania there no exploiting classes, private property and the exploitation of man by man have been liquidated and are forbidden.

#### **Article 17**

The socialist property is the inviolable basis of the socialist order, the source of the wellbeing of

the people and of the might of the homeland; it has special protection from the state.

Socialist property is comprised of the state property and the cooperativist property in agriculture.

#### **Article 18**

State property belongs to the whole people and is the highest form of socialist property.

The following are property of the state alone: the land and underground riches, the mines, forests, pastures, waters, natural energy resources, the

plants, factories, machine and tractor stations, the banks, the roads of communication and means of rail, water and air transport, post, telegraph, telephone offices, radio and TV stations, cinematography.

Any other wealth which is created in the state sector or which the state gains according to law, is also state property.

#### Article 19

Land is granted for social use to the economic enterprises and state institutions, to the agricultural cooperatives and social organizations and for the personal use of individual citizens. Land is granted for use free of charge.

Agricultural land may be used for other purposes only with the consent of the respective state organs.

#### Article 20

Protection of the land, natural riches, waters and the atmosphere from damage and pollution is a duty of the state, of the economic and social organizations, and of all citizens.

#### Article 21

Cooperativist property belongs to the group of working people of the countryside, voluntarily united in the agricultural cooperative for the purpose of increasing production and wellbeing, for the construction of socialism in the countryside and throughout the country.

The following are property of the agricultural cooperative: buildings, machines, equipment, means of transport, tools and implements, livestock for work or production, fruit trees, agricultural and livestock products as well as other means necessary for its activity.

#### Article 22

The state supports the development and strengthening of the agricultural cooperatives, their transformation into modern economies of large-scale socialist production.

Under certain circumstances, the state supports the setting up and development of higher type cooperatives, in which it participates directly with investments, especially in the main means of production.

The transition of the cooperativist property into property of the entire people is done in conformity with the objective conditions, according to

the free will of the cooperativists and with the consent of the state.

The state works for the narrowing of distinctions between town and country.

#### Article 23

The personal property of the citizens is recognized and protected by the state.

Personal property are: income from work and other lawful sources, dwelling houses and other objects which serve to meet personal and family material and cultural needs.

The objects belonging to the cooperativist family on the basis of the Constitution of the agricultural cooperative are also personal property.

Personal property cannot be used to the detriment of the social interest.

#### Article 24

When the general interest requires it, certain fixed assets of cooperativist and personal property may be converted into state property. The criteria of conversion and the method of payment are fixed by law.

#### Article 25

The state organizes, manages, and develops all the economic and social life by a unified general plan in order to fulfil the ever increasing material and cultural needs of the society, to strengthen the independence and defence of the country, by constantly increasing and perfecting socialist production on the basis of advanced technology.

#### Article 26

For the administration of means which are property of the whole people, the state creates economic enterprises which carry on their activity guided by the general interests of the society, which is expressed in the state plan.

The method of the creation of enterprises and the principles of their activity are fixed by law.

#### Article 27

Foreign trade is a monopoly of the state.

Domestic trade is mainly carried out by the state, which has every activity in this field under its control.

The selling prices of the products of the enterprises as well as the prices for state purchase of

agricultural and livestock products are fixed by the state.

#### Article 28

The granting of concessions to, and the creation of, foreign economic and financial companies and other institutions or ones formed jointly with bourgeois and revisionist capitalist monopolies and states, as well as obtaining credits from them are prohibited in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

#### Article 29

Work is the foundation of the entire economic-social life of the country. Work is the main source from which every citizen ensures the means of livelihood.

The state works at narrowing the differences between mental and physical labour, between work in industry and work in agriculture.

The state takes care of, and adopts, measures

for safety at work and the qualification of the working people.

#### Article 30

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania the socialist principle «from each according to his ability, to each according to his work» is implemented.

Equal pay is guaranteed for equal work.

To encourage work for the maximum results, the use of material stimuli is combined correctly with moral stimuli, giving priority to moral stimuli.

The fund of social consumption for the fulfilment of the common needs of citizens is increased continually in accordance with the possibilities created by the development of the country's economy.

The state exercises control over the amount of work and consumption.

#### Article 31

The citizens pay no levies or taxes whatsoever.

## C. Education, Science, Culture

#### Article 32

The state carries out extensive ideological and cultural activity for the communist education of the working people, for the moulding of the new man.

The state takes special care of the allround development and education of the younger generation in the spirit of socialism and communism.

#### Article 33

Education in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is organized and run by the state, is open to all and free of charge; it is built on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook and combines lessons with productive work and physical and military training.

Education follows the best traditions of the Albanian national secular school.

#### Article 34

The state organizes and directs the development of science and technology in close connection with life and production in the service of the progress of society and defence of the homeland.

The state supports the dissemination of scien-

tific knowledge among the masses and drawing them extensively into scientific research activity.

#### Article 35

The state protects the cultural heritage of the people and cares for the allround development of the socialist national culture.

The state supports the development of the literature and art of socialist realism, which uphold the ideals of socialism and communism and are permeated by the national and people's spirit.

#### Article 36

The state works for the development of physical culture and sports on the basis of the mass movement for strengthening the health of the people, especially of the younger generation, for tempering them for work and defence.

#### Article 37

The state recognizes no religion whatever and supports atheist propaganda for the purpose of inculcating the scientific materialist world-outlook in people.

# THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF CITIZENS

## Article 38

Citizens of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania are those who have Albanian citizenship according to the law.

## Article 39

The rights and duties of citizens are built on the basis of the reconciliation of the interests of the individual and the socialist society, giving priority to the general interest.

The rights of the citizens are inseparable from the fulfilment of their duties and cannot be exercised in opposition to the socialist order.

The further extension and deepening of the rights of citizens are closely linked with the socialist development of the country.

## Article 40

All citizens are equal before the law.

No restriction or privilege is recognized in the rights and duties of citizens on account of sex, race, nationality, education, social position or material situation.

## Article 41

The woman, liberated from political oppression and economic exploitation, as a great force of the revolution, takes an active part in the socialist construction of the country and the defence of the homeland.

The woman enjoys equal rights with man in work, pay, holidays, social security, education, in all social-political activity, as well as in the family.

## Article 42

Protection and development of their people's culture and traditions, the use of their mother tongue and teaching of it in school, equal development in all fields of social life are guaranteed for national minorities.

Any national privilege and inequality and any act which violates the rights of national minorities is contrary to the Constitution and is punishable by law.

## Article 43

Citizens who reach the age of 18 years have the right to elect and to be elected to all the organs of state power.

The only persons excluded from electoral rights are those deprived of them by the decision of court and those who are mentally incompetent and declared as such by the court.

## Article 44

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania citizens have the right to work, which is guaranteed by the state.

Work is a duty and honour for every able-bodied citizen.

Citizens have the right to choose and exercise their profession according to their capacity and personal inclination, and in accordance with the needs of the society.

## Article 45

Citizens enjoy the right of rest after work. The working day and working week and the paid annual holiday are regulated by law.

Rest homes, houses of culture, and other centres of this kind are created in the service of the working people.

## Article 46

Citizens of town and country are guaranteed the necessary material means of livelihood in old age, in case of illness or loss of ability to work.

The state takes under special care the invalids of the National Liberation War, of the struggle in

defence of the Homeland and the invalids from work, and creates the conditions for their rehabilitation.

The young children of those fallen in defence of the country and in the socialist construction are under the care of the state.

#### Article 47

The state guarantees to citizens the necessary medical services as well as medical treatment in the health centres of the country, free of charge.

#### Article 48

Mother and child enjoy special solicitude and protection.

A mother is entitled to paid leave prior to and after childbirth.

The state opens maternity homes and creches and kindergartens for children.

#### Article 49

Marriage and the family are under the care and protection of the state and society.

Marriage is contracted before competent state organs.

The parents are responsible for the upbringing and communist education of the children.

The children are duty bound to care for parents who are disabled and lack the necessary means of livelihood.

Children born out of wedlock have the same rights and duties as children born within marriage.

The children bereaved of their parents and without support are brought up and educated by the state.

#### Article 50

Citizens enjoy the right to personal property. The right of inheritance is regulated by law.

#### Article 51

The state guarantees the freedom of scientific work and literary and artistic creativeness.

Author's rights are protected by law.

#### Article 52

Citizens have the right to education. Eight-grade education is universal and com-

pulsory. The state aims at raising the level of compulsory education for everybody.

#### Article 53

Citizens enjoy the freedom of speech, the press, organization, association, assembly and public manifestation.

The state guarantees the realization of these freedoms, it creates the conditions for them, and makes available the necessary material means.

#### Article 54

The right to join various organizations which operate in the political, economic, cultural as well as in any other field of the country's life, is guaranteed to the citizens.

#### Article 55

The creation of any type of organization of a fascist, antidemocratic, religious, and anti-socialist character is prohibited.

Fascist, anti-democratic, religious, war-mongering, and antisocialist activities and propaganda, as well as the incitement of national and racial hatred are prohibited.

#### Article 56

The state guarantees the inviolability of the person.

Nobody can be arrested without the decision of the court or the approval of the prosecutor. In special cases envisaged in the law the competent organs can detain a person for a maximum of 3 days.

Nobody can be sentenced penally without the verdict of the court or for an act which is not envisaged by the law as a crime.

Nobody can be sentenced without being present at court apart from when it has been legally proved that he is missing.

Nobody can be interned or expelled except in special cases envisaged by the law.

#### Article 57

The home is inviolable. No one is permitted to enter another person's home without the approval of the respective person, apart from representatives of the competent state organs and under the conditions defined by law.

**Article 58**

The secrecy of correspondence and other means of communication cannot be violated, except in the cases of the investigation of a crime, a state of emergency, or of war.

**Article 59**

Citizens enjoy the right to make requests, complaints, remarks and proposals to the competent organs over personal, social, and state affairs.

According to the conditions defined by law, citizens have the right to demand compensation from the state or its officials for the damage caused by the illegal activities of the state organs and its employees in the exercise of their duty.

**Article 60**

The citizens are obliged to respect and implement the Constitution and other laws.

The preservation and strengthening of the socialist order and the implementation of the rules of socialist coexistence are a duty for all the citizens.

**Article 61**

Citizens have the duty to protect and strengthen socialist property.

Violation of socialist property constitutes a grave crime.

**Article 62**

The defence of the socialist Homeland is the supreme duty and the greatest honour for all citizens.

Betrayal of the Homeland is the most serious crime.

**Article 63**

Military service and the constant training for the defence of the socialist Homeland are duties for all the citizens.

**Article 64**

Albanian citizens abroad enjoy the care and are under the protection of the state.

**Article 65**

The right of sanctuary in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is granted to foreign citizens who are persecuted on account of their activity in favour of the revolution and socialism, of democracy and national liberation, or the progress of science and culture.

**PART TWO****CHAPTER I****THE SUPREME ORGANS OF THE STATE  
POWER****A. The People's Assembly****Article 66**

The People's Assembly is the supreme organ of state power, the bearer of the sovereignty of the people and the state and the sole law-making organ.

**Article 67**

The People's Assembly has the following main competences:

it defines, in conformity with the general line and the orientations of the Party of Labour of Al-

bania, the main directions of the internal and external policies of the state;

it approves and amends the Constitution and the laws, decides on the conformity of the laws with the Constitution, and interprets the laws;

it approves the plan for the economic and cultural development of the country and the state budget;

it proclaims partial and general mobilization, the state of emergency, as well as the state of war in case of armed aggression against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, or when this is necessary to fulfil the obligations deriving from international treaties;

it ratifies and denounces international treaties of special importance;

it grants amnesty;

it decides on popular referendums;

it elects, appoints, and dismisses the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers, the Supreme Court, the Attorney General and his deputies. These organs are responsible to the People's Assembly and render account to it;

it defines the administrative territorial structure;

it decides on the creation or dissolving of ministries.

#### Article 68

The People's Assembly is comprised of 250 deputies who are elected in constituencies with an equal number of inhabitants.

The People's Assembly is elected for a term of 4 years.

The People's Assembly holds its first session not later than two months from the day of its election.

The elections to the People's Assembly are held not later than three months from the day its mandate ends.

In case of war or in similar state of emergency, the People's Assembly may continue its activity beyond the normal terms as long as the state of emergency continues.

In special instances, the People's Assembly may decide its dissolution before the completion of the term for which it has been elected.

#### Article 69

The People's Assembly elects its Presidential Council.

The activity of the People's Assembly is carried out according to the rules approved by it.

#### Article 70

The People's Assembly meets in normal sessions twice per year by decree of the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

The People's Assembly may be summoned in extraordinary session by decree of the Presidium of the People's Assembly or at the request of one third of the deputies.

The meetings of the People's Assembly open when the majority of the deputies are present.

#### Article 71

The People's Assembly elects from its ranks permanent and temporary commissions.

At its first session, the People's Assembly elects a commission for the examination of the mandates of the deputies. At the proposal of this commission the People's Assembly confirms or annuls the mandates of the deputies.

The permanent commissions have the duty to examine the bills and decrees of a normative character of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, to observe and control the activity of the state organs according to their respective sectors and to present problems to the People's Assembly or the Presidium of the People's Assembly. The temporary commissions are created for special questions.

#### Article 72

It is the duty of the deputy to the People's Assembly to serve the interests of the people, and the cause of the Homeland and socialism conscientiously and loyally, to maintain close contact with his electors, and render account to them.

The deputy to the People's Assembly has the right to demand explanations from all the state organs and to intervene with them for the precise implementation of the Constitution and laws.

The state organs are obliged to examine the requests and proposals by the deputies and to reply to them within defined regulations.

#### Article 73

The deputy to the People's Assembly enjoys immunity.

The deputy cannot be detained, arrested or suffer penal punishment without the approval of the People's Assembly or the Presidium of the People's Assembly, apart from cases in which a grave crime has obviously been committed.

#### Article 74

The right to initiate legislation belongs to the

Presidium of the People's Assembly, to the Council of Ministers, and the deputies.

The laws and other acts of the People's Assembly are considered approved when the majority of the deputies present have voted for them.

The laws are proclaimed not later than 15 days after their approval and enter into force 15 days after their proclamation in the Official Gazette, apart from occasions when they themselves envisage otherwise.

## B. The Presidium Of The People's Assembly

#### Article 75

The Presidium of the People's Assembly is a superior organ of the state power with permanent activity.

The Presidium of the People's Assembly is comprised of the president, 3 vice-presidents, the secretary and 10 members.

#### Article 76

The Presidium of the People's Assembly is elected from the ranks of the People's Assembly at its first session and it continues its activity till the election of a new Presidium.

Decisions of the Presidium of the People's Assembly are taken on a majority of votes when the majority of its members is present.

#### Article 77

The Presidium of the People's Assembly has these main permanent competences;

it convenes the sessions of the People's Assembly;

it sets the date of elections to the People's Assembly and the people's councils;

it awards decorations and titles of honour;

it accords or revokes Albanian citizenship and accepts the renunciation of it;

it exercises the right of pardon;

it defines the territorial-administrative divisions;

it enters into the international treaties and ratifies and denounces those which are not examined by the People's Assembly itself;

on the proposal of the Council of Ministers it appoints or dismisses diplomatic representatives;

it accepts the credentials and the letters of recall of the diplomatic representatives of foreign states;

it proclaims the laws and referendums decided by the People's Assembly.

#### Article 78

Between sessions of the People's Assembly, the Presidium of the People's Assembly exercises these competences:

it controls the implementation of the laws and decisions of the People's Assembly;

it controls the Council of Ministers, the Supreme Court, the Attorney General and any other state organ, and summons them to report;

it appoints or dismisses the Vice-chairmen of the Council of Ministers or individual ministers on the proposal of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, it appoints or dismisses individual members or the Vice-presidents of the Supreme Court and the deputies of the Attorney General. In each case the decrees for their appointment or dismissal must be approved by the People's Assembly;

it issues decrees and decisions; the decrees of a normative character are presented for approval to the People's Assembly at its next session;

it makes interpretations of laws and presents them for approval to the People's Assembly in its next session,

**Article 79**

when the convening of the People's Assembly is impossible, it proclaims partial or general mobilization, the state of emergency, as well as the state of war in case of armed aggression against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, or when this is necessary to fulfil the obligations deriving from international treaties. In time of war, in case the convening of the People's Assembly is impossible, the Presidium of the People's Assembly exercises all the competences of the People's Assembly apart from changes in the Constitution.

The Presidium of the People's Assembly directs and controls the activity of the people's councils.

The Presidium of the People's Assembly may disband people's councils, appoint the respective temporary executive committees, as well as decide on the election of new people's councils.

The Presidium of the People's Assembly abrogates the unlawful or irregular acts of the Council of Ministers, of the people's councils and of the executive committees.

**CHAPTER II**

# **THE SUPREME ORGANS OF THE STATE ADMINISTRATION**

**Article 80**

The Council of Ministers is the supreme executive and administrative organ.

The Council of Ministers is appointed at the first session of the People's Assembly.

The Council of Ministers comprises the Chairman, the Vice-chairman and the Ministers.

As a rule, the members of the Council of Ministers are appointed from among the ranks of the deputies to the People's Assembly.

The decisions of the Council of Ministers are taken on the majority of votes, when the majority of its members is present.

and organizes the finances of the state and the monetary and credit system;

it directs the activity for the fulfilment of duties in the field of the defence of the country, in conformity with the decisions of the Defence Council;

it takes measures for the security, protection, and strengthening of the socialist juridical order and the rights of citizens;

it enters into, and approves, international agreements and denounces those international agreements not subject to ratification.

**Article 81**

The Council of Ministers has the following main competences:

it directs the activity for the realization of the internal and external policies of the state;

it promulgates decisions, ordinances and instructions on the basis of the Constitution and the laws and for their implementation;

it directs and controls the activity of the ministries, other central organs of state administration, and the executive committees of the people's councils, and defines their internal organization;

it works out the draft-plan for the economic and cultural development of the country, the draft-budget of the state, organizes and controls the implementation of the plan and the budget, directs

**Article 82**

The Council of Ministers abrogates the unlawful or irregular acts of the Ministers and other central organs of the state administration and of the executive committees of the people's councils.

The Council of Ministers suspends the implementation of unlawful or irregular decisions of the people's councils and presents the question of their abrogation to the higher people's council, or to the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

**Article 83**

The Presidium of the Council of Ministers comprises the Chairman and the Vice-chairmen of the Council of Ministers.

The Presidium of the Council of Ministers supervises, controls and takes decisions on the implementation of tasks set by the Council of Ministers.

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers represents the Council of Ministers, presides over its meetings and directs its activity.

#### Article 84

The ministries are central organs of the state administration, specialized in particular branches of activity, which are directed by members of the Council of Ministers.

#### Article 85

The ministers are responsible for the activity of their respective ministries and of the Council

of Ministers, they direct and control the organs, enterprises, institutions and economic organizations of their sector.

On matters within their competences, the ministers issue orders, rules and instructions according to the laws, ordinances and decisions of the Council of Ministers, and for their implementation.

#### Article 86

The ministers abrogate the unlawful or irregular ordinances and instructions of the organs, enterprises or institutions dependent on them and suspend the application of the unlawful or irregular decisions of the executive committees of the people's councils, which have to do with their respective sphere of activity, presenting the question of their abrogation to the Council of Ministers.

### CHAPTER III

# THE DEFENCE ON THE COUNTRY AND THE ARMED FORCES

#### Article 87

The state safeguards the victories of the people's revolution and the socialist construction, defends the freedom, national independence and territorial integrity of the country.

The territory of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is inalienable and its borders are inviolable.

#### Article 88

The defence of the Homeland and of the victories of socialism is ensured by the armed people, organized in the Armed Forces, which comprise the People's Army, the forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the people's voluntary self-defence forces.

The People's Army, as the main force for the defence of the Homeland, is the army of the people and serves the people.

The Armed Forces are led by the Party of Labour of Albania.

#### Article 89

The Defence Council is created to direct, or-

ganize and mobilize all the forces and resources of the country in defence of the Homeland.

The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania is the Commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces and the Chairman of the Defence Council.

The composition of the Defence Council is defined by the Presidium of the People's Assembly on the proposal of the Chairman of the Defence Council.

#### Article 90

No one has the right to sign or accept, in the name of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the capitulation or occupation of the country. Any such act is condemned as treason to the country.

#### Article 91

The establishment of foreign military bases and the stationing of foreign troops in the territory of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is prohibited.

# THE LOCAL ORGANS OF THE STATE POWER AND STATE ADMINISTRATION

## Article 92

The people's councils are organs of the state power, which carry out the governing of the country in the respective territorial administrative units, with the broad participation of the working masses.

The people's councils direct all social life in the political, economic, social-cultural fields, the defence of the country and the protection of the socialist juridical order, reconciling the local interests with the general state interests.

The people's councils are elected for a term of three years.

## Article 93

The people's council adopts the local plan and budget; from its members it elects the executive committee and the commissions of the council and discharges them; it appoints and discharges the chiefs of the sections of the executive committee; it directs and controls the activity of the people's councils at lower levels. It issues ordinances and decisions within its competences.

## Article 94

The meetings of the people's council open when the majority of its members is present.

The decisions of the people's council are taken on the majority of votes of its members present.

## Article 95

A higher people's council may dissolve a lower level people's council, appoints the provisional executive committee and decides on the elections for a new people's council.

A higher people's council may dismiss the executive committee of a lower level people's council and order a new election.

The people's council abrogates the unlawful or irregular acts of its executive committee, of the low-

er level people's council and the respective executive committee.

## Article 96

It is the duty of the members of the people's council to serve the people conscientiously and loyally, to maintain close ties with the electors and render account to them. They have the right to control the state organs, enterprises, institutions and agricultural cooperatives and demand from them the precise implementation of the socialist law.

The respective state organs are obliged to examine the remarks of the members of the people's councils and take the necessary measures.

The members of the people's councils enjoy immunity within the territorial unit under the administration of the people's council. They cannot be detained, arrested or subjected to penal prosecution without the consent of the people's council or the executive committee, except in cases when a grave crime has obviously been committed.

## Article 97

The executive committee is the executive and administrative organ of the people's council.

The executive committee continues its activity even after the expiration of the mandate of the people's council which has elected it, until the first meeting of the new people's council.

## Article 98

Between sessions of the people's council, the executive committee exercises the rights and duties of the people's council, with the exception of those which, by law, come within the competence of the people's council alone.

The executive committee renders account to the people's council about its activity, presents its more important decisions for approval, and reports on the implementation of decisions of the people's council.

**Article 99**

The executive committee of the people's council is dependent on the people's council which has elected it and the next higher administrative executive organ.

The executive committee of a higher people's council abrogates the unlawful and irregular acts of a lower level executive committee and suspends those of the lower level people's council, presenting

the question of their abrogation to the competent people's council.

**Article 100**

The specialized organs created under the executive committees are dependent on the people's council, its executive committee, and the higher organs of the state administration, render account to them and to the masses of working people.

**CHAPTER V****THE PEOPLE'S COURTS****Article 101**

The people's courts are the organs which administer justice.

The people's courts protect the socialist juridical order, fight for prevention of crimes, educate the masses of working people to respect and implement the socialist law, relying on their active participation.

At the head of the organs of justice is the Supreme Court which directs and controls the activity of the courts. The Supreme Court is elected at the first session of the People's Assembly. The other people's courts are elected by the people, according to the method defined by law.

Court organization and trial procedure are defined by law.

other cases which are within their competence according to the law.

Judgement is done with the participation of assistant judges and in public sittings, with the exception of cases when it has been decided otherwise by law.

During the trial the Albanian language is used. Persons who do not know Albanian may use their own language and speak through an interpreter.

The accused enjoys the right of defence.

**Article 103**

The court is independent in its judgment of a case, it takes its decision on the basis of the law alone, and it pronounces its verdict in the name of the people.

The verdict may be annulled or amended only by the competent higher court.

**Article 102**

The courts judge penal and civil cases and

**CHAPTER VI****THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE****Article 104**

The duty of the Attorney General's Office is to control the precise and uniform implementation of the laws by the ministries and other central and local organs, by the courts, the organs of investiga-

tion, enterprises, institutions, organizations, officials and citizens.

The Attorney General's Office has the right to protest against every illegal act and to demand

from the respective organs its abrogation or amendment. The request of the Attorney General must be examined within the period defined by law, otherwise the implementation of the act is suspended.

#### Article 105

The Attorney General puts before the People's Assembly and before the Presidium of the People's Assembly cases in which the laws and decrees are

not in conformity with the Constitution and it also puts before the Council of Ministers cases in which its decisions and instructions do not conform with the law.

#### Article 106

The Attorney General and his assistants are appointed in the first session of the People's Assembly.

The attorneys are appointed by the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

## PART THREE

### CHAPTER I

# THE EMBLEM, THE FLAG, THE CAPITAL CITY

#### Article 107

The emblem of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania bears a black, double-headed eagle, encircled by two sheaves of wheat with a five-pointed red star at the top and which are tied at the bottom with a red ribbon, on which the date «24th May 1944» is inscribed.

#### Article 108

The state flag of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania presents a red background with a black

double-headed eagle in the middle, above which there is a five-pointed red star, outlined in gold. The ratio between the width and the length of the flag is 1 x 1.4.

#### Article 109

The capital of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is Tirana.

### CHAPTER II

# FINAL DISPOSITIONS

#### Article 110

The Constitution is the fundamental law of the state.

All activity for the creation of juridical norms is conducted on the basis of the Constitution and in complete conformity with it.

#### Article 111

Proposals for amendments to the Constitution can be presented by the Presidium of the People's

Assembly, the Council of Ministers, or by two-fifths of the deputies.

Approval of, or amendments to, the Constitution are done by the People's Assembly by a majority of two thirds of all the deputies.

#### Article 112

This Constitution comes into force immediately.

Tirana, December 28, 1976  
N° 5506

**The Secretary**  
of the Presidium of the People's Assembly  
of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

TELO MEZINI

**The Chairman**  
of the Presidium of the People's Assembly  
of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

HAXHI LLESHI

**ENVER HOXHA**

**A CONSTITUTION  
THAT EMBODIES THE TRUE F  
OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM**

***Entirely based on the Marxist-Leninist principles creatively implemented by the PLA and being a scientific synthesis of the revolutionary experience, the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a document of major theoretical and practical importance that will serve the complete and successful construction of socialism in Albania***

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Report submitted to the 5th Session of the 8th Legislature of the People's Assembly on behalf of the Special Commission for the new draft-Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

# EATURES

Dear comrade deputies,

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Special Commission set up by this Assembly to draw up the new draft-Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania have charged me to present to you, on their behalf, the final draft of the new fundamental law of our socialist state which you have the honour and the great responsibility to discuss and approve.

After the initial draft that was published by the People's Assembly in January this year, the broad masses of the working people, in town and countryside, under the direct leadership of the Party and its Central Committee, acquainted themselves with its provisions and held an exceptionally broad, vigorous, revolutionary discussion of the draft in the most democratic forms, in order to supplement and improve it and make it more precise in its political, ideological, juridical, organizational, and other aspects.

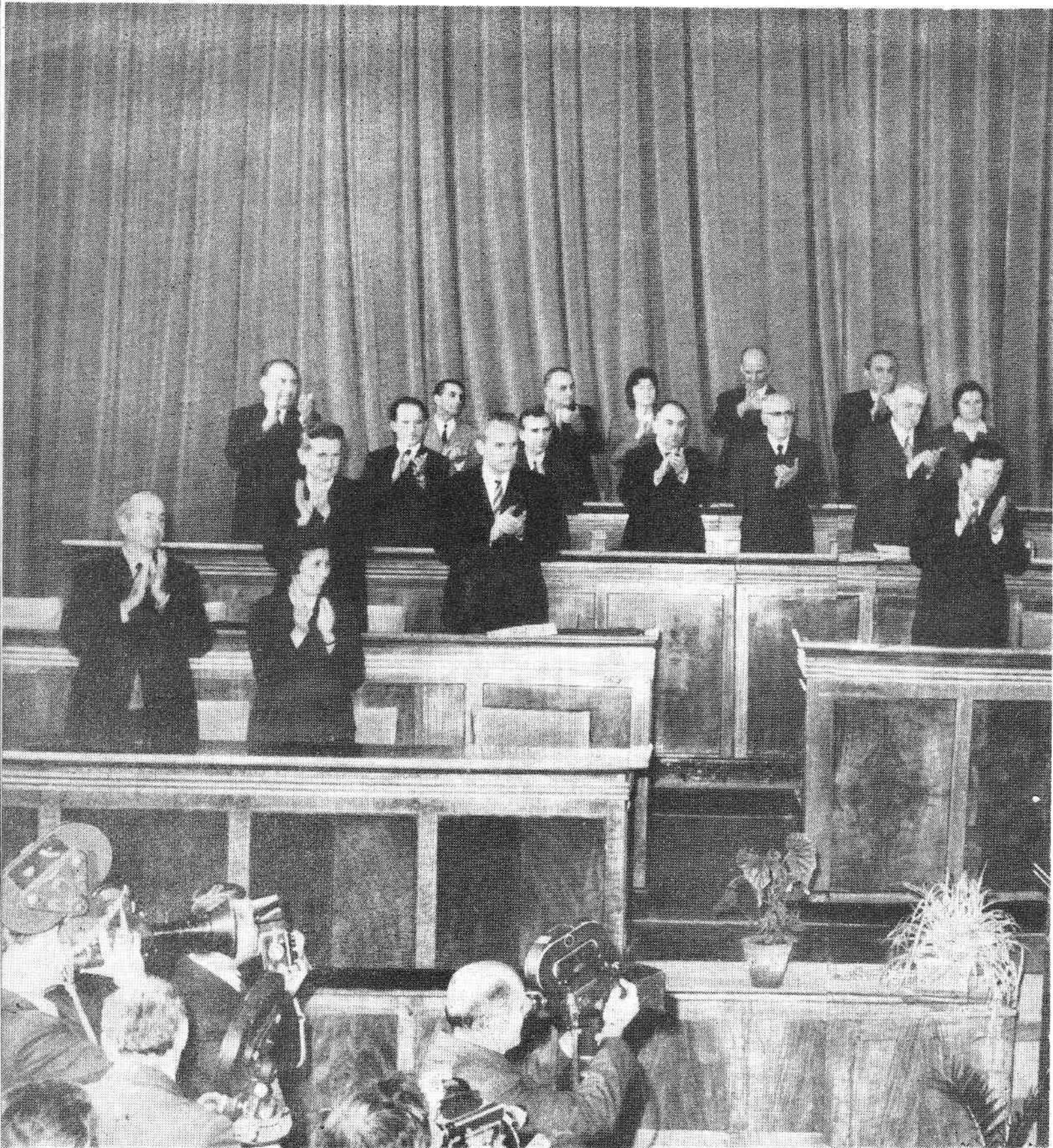
The acquaintance of the masses with the draft-Constitution and the discussion of it conducted with a most effective method and style of work, not only made a great contribution to our socialist country in the drawing up of a most democratic and revolutionary Constitution, but at the same time served as a great theoretical, political and moral school. This broad activity has given and will give an unprecedented impulse to production, to progressive thinking and to revolutionary action. All these things will open brilliant perspectives for

speeding up the construction of socialism in Albania.

Taking into account the great number of the contributors to the discussion throughout Albania and their many profound and valuable contributions, it can be stated with confidence that the entire draft that is being presented to you for approval bears the seal of the wise and revolutionary opinion of the people. The draft-Constitution is a major work of our Party and people, a brilliant reflection of our reality, and shows the great political and ideological maturity of our Party and people, as well as their vitality, courage, determination and unwavering consistency in carrying forward and defending their socialist homeland, strengthening it and making it prosperous and rich.

All the allround work carried out for the great popular discussion of the new draft-Constitution in the context of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Party and its Congress, was crowned with success. In an atmosphere of indescribable enthusiasm, the 7th Congress of the Party was unanimous in its high appraisal of the draft of our new socialist Constitution.

With a proper appreciation of the task with which it was charged by the People's Assembly, after thoroughly acquainting itself with the materials prepared by the Central Committee, with the many additions, alterations, and improvements proposed by the broad masses of the working people, by the cadres, institutions, organizations and



*Comrade Enver Hoxha submitting the report of the Special Commission of the People's Assembly for the new draft-Constitution*



of the PSR of Albania

organs of the Party and the State, as well as with the high assessment which the 7th Congress of the Party made of the draft, the Special Commission for drafting the Constitution arranged them systematically, and after careful study, included them in the final draft.

You, comrade deputies, are acquainted with the content of the provisions of the draft-Constitution, because, together with the people, you, too, took an active part in the discussion and the whole process of drawing up the draft-Constitution.

In the report the Central Committee of the Party presented to the 7th Congress, a special chapter was devoted entirely to the Constitution. The Congress defined the line of the Party in the political, economic and organizational fields, on questions of our foreign policy and our stand towards the problems of the international Marxist-Leninist and workers' movement. The historic decisions of the Congress, which guide our entire Party and people, have inspired the masses of the working people of our country and have aroused a high spirit of enthusiasm and mobilization at work everywhere.

At this session of the People's Assembly I shall dwell on some of the essential problems of principle of the draft-Constitution.

The draft-Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a synthesis which reflects our socialist reality and its trend of development, the line of the Party and its revolutionary teachings and experience, and is pervaded from end to end by the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the basic principles of scientific socialism. And this is why the content of the draft has not only been approved by the masses of our working people, who have found in it the faithful expression of the correct line of our Party during the ceaseless development of the socialist revolution and the construction and defence of socialism, but has also aroused a positive response in the world at large.

The Constitution of our socialist country is an expression of the will of the Albanian people themselves, and nobody else. It is the fundamental law, the basis on which the entire life of the people is carried on. On one hand, this Constitution corresponds to the concrete reality of our country, a reality attained through blood, toil and sweat, and, on the other, it opens to socialist Albania brilliant and sure perspectives from every viewpoint.

Clarity is its characteristic feature, and this is apparent in every article that deals with problems of the structure and superstructure, organization, or the rights and duties of Albanian citizens. Our people, of whatever social origin and cultural level, in-

terpret and implement the articles of the Constitution as individuals and collectively in the great interest of the socialist society that is being built under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, which with great loyalty and consistency, follows and implements the Marxist-Leninist theory in the conditions of our country.

The originality of our Constitution lies in the things in which it differs from the constitutions of other countries. This originality does not split the unity of the people but strengthens it; does not weaken their vitality but invigorates it; does not incite moral and political degeneration, but, on the contrary, exalts, strengthens and tempers the sound and pure virtues of our man, love for one's comrade, loyalty to the socialist homeland, the sense of justice. It exalts work as a means of education and the creation of material blessings for the man who struggles, inspired by the desire to raise his individual and family wellbeing and that of society as a whole, considering these questions as closely and firmly linked in unity and concentrated voluntarily in most democratic forms. The originality of our Constitution lies in the important fact that the Party of Labour of Albania is the leadership in our country, and without this there could be no free Albania and no socialist society.

Historical experience has proven that the ideas of genius of the great teachers of Marxism-Leninism on the undivided leading role of the Party of the working class, on the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the class struggle are basic principles for the construction of socialist society. They must be kept firmly in mind until all internal and external, objective and subjective causes for the emergence of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism have been completely eliminated, hence, until communism has finally triumphed on a world scale. Proceeding from these teachings of principle, the draft-Constitution sanctions that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which expresses and defends the interests of all the working people, which ceaselessly carries on the revolution, upholding the class struggle, and that the Party of Labour of Albania, the vanguard of the working class, is the only leading political force of the state and society.

With the raising of these fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles to constitutional norms at a time when the modern revisionists have flagrantly distorted them, we are not only performing a great service to our homeland, and the Albanian working class and people, but are also demonstrating in our practice the ever fresh creative power of

Marxism-Leninism, and defending the unshakeable principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the immortal ideas of scientific socialism.

The draft-Constitution also sanctions another very important idea that in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Marxism-Leninism, the ideology of the working class and of its Party, is the ruling ideology. This constitutional norm, which expresses a great historic victory attained in our country, on one hand, affirms the important thesis of principle that socialism can be built only on the basis of this scientific ideology, and, on the other hand, bars the way to the spread in our country of alien ideologies and all the theories of the modern revisionists about «ideological pluralism», «the free circulation» of reactionary ideas and cultures, which are weapons of the political counter-revolution and ideological aggression, which prepare the ground for armed military aggression.

In the present conditions of world development, when imperialism and social-imperialism are doing their utmost to dominate the people, when the ideologists in their service are spreading most monstrous «theories» about the subjugation of nations, the defence of state sovereignty, the independent position of the state in all fields, assumes first-rate importance. The majority of the peoples of the world today are making great efforts and forcefully opposing colonial laws and neo-colonialist domination, the rules, practices, customs, the unequal agreements, old and new, established by the bourgeoisie to preserve its exploitation of the peoples, its odious distinctions and discriminations in international relations. The two superpowers are striving in every way to preserve and perpetuate these laws because they are trying to plunder the wealth of other countries, to ensure privileges for themselves and to enslave other peoples. The progressive peoples and the democratic states that are not reconciled to this situation and struggle to establish national sovereignty over their resources, that struggle to strengthen their political and economic independence, and for equality and justice in international relations, enjoy solidarity and full support of the Albanian people and state.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania, which, as the draft-Constitution proclaims, resolutely upholds the principle of selfdetermination of nations and the exercise of complete national sovereignty, rejects any form of limitation of sovereignty in any field whatever. In sanctioning this stand, which stems directly from the line of our Party, the draft-Constitution proclaims: «Nobody, apart from the organs expressively defined in this

Constitution, can exercise the sovereignty of the people and any of its attributes in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and in its name». With this provision of the law we not only give a firm reply to the false bourgeois «theories» that consider sovereignty as an «anachronistic concept», a «source of evil in the world today», etc., but we also categorically refute the «theory» of the Soviet revisionists about «limited sovereignty», in favour of the «supreme interests» of the so-called socialist community.

Every state that respects itself and others has its norms which guide it in its friendly relations. These norms differ according to the world-outlook of each state. None can impose its norms on another.

A thing that is agreeable or suitable to one regime may not be agreeable or suitable to another. No state leaves its opinions and viewpoints in obscurity, without expressing them, even in critical and polemical form, towards another state. It is logical that there should be truly sovereign states, like ours, that have not agreed and do not agree to obey the «conductor's baton» and no other.

If there are some who want to accept the «conductor's baton» or «the big stick», that is their affair, but our Constitution and our ideology allow and oblige us to oppose such pressures that violate the interests of our socialist state and its peoples.

Our Constitution sanctions in a clear-cut manner that no one can give himself the right to exercise sovereignty and seek «aid» in order to justify any intervention in Albania on the part of its imperialist, revisionist, reactionary, or other enemies. In this way we eliminate the possibility of attempts to disguise and justify the aggression that U.S.-led imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, which conduct an aggressive policy, want to practice. Practice of this kind, which the peoples and history must never forget, are the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the revisionist Soviet Union in 1968, and the aggressive wars and the rapacious interventions which U.S. imperialism has perpetrated in Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, etc.

Of great importance for the preservation and strengthening of our independence, the defence of the homeland, and the victories of the revolution is the principle expressed in the draft-Constitution that the territory of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is inalienable and its borders are inviolable. Nobody has the right to sign or to accept the capitulation or occupation of the country in the name of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Any such act is condemned as treason to the

homeland. Thus, from the constitutional viewpoint as well, any act that would legalize the capitulation of the country to the enemy is invalid.

The provisions of the draft-Constitution affirm the categorical stand of our Party and our people that the establishment of foreign bases and the stationing of foreign troops within the territory of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is prohibited. This principle is of vital importance to Albania, for it clearly and unequivocally expresses the determination of the Albanian people and their sovereign right to defend their country. At the same time, this constitutional norm also expresses the principled, internationalist, friendly foreign policy followed by socialist Albania, with the aim that its territory will never, and under any circumstances, be used as a base for aggression against other countries and peoples.

The juridical norms of the Constitution dealing with the defence of the country and the victories achieved have found a warm response in the hearts of the heroic and patriotic Albanian people. «Even if we are a hundred years old, when the Party sounds the alarm, we shall turn out without feeling our years, standing as straight as the rifles in our hands with which we shall defend our homeland», wrote some veterans, fired with enthusiasm and patriotism, after acquainting themselves with the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

To defend the independence of the country in the economic field, to keep the socialist economic order and the socialist ownership of the means of production inviolate, the draft-Constitution affirms that, in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the granting of concessions, the setting up of foreign economic and financial companies and institutions, or participation in joint ventures with the bourgeois or revisionist capitalist monopolies and states, as well as taking credits from them are prohibited.

U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism and their lackeys express «concern» about how socialist Albania will live and develop relying on its own forces without taking credits from the capitalists.

We shall advance on the basis of our own strength. Time and the undeniable reality of our country, the great achievements in the economy, education and culture have confirmed this determination.

We have different concepts about aid in the form of credits that a state receives from abroad. On one hand there is the aid granted by a fraternal

socialist state and, on the other, the credits provided by the imperialists, social-imperialists and capitalists. The former is fraternal disinterested aid, free of political pressure, not linked with passing circumstances, whereas the aim of credits provided by imperialism, social-imperialism and world capitalism, in whatever form they are given, is to violate the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the peoples of different countries, by putting them under continuous political pressure.

Our country has never accepted and never will accept such enslaving credits which are nothing else but forms of neo-colonialism. The new Constitution leaves no way open to equivocation or interpretation to the detriment of the freedom, independence, sovereignty, and defence of the homeland. At the same time, it does not infringe upon the rights of any other state. The Constitution does not allow any state or individual to meddle in the internal affairs of our country and, vice-versa, does not allow our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat to interfere in the internal affairs of any other country.

A socialist state like ours with its most democratic Constitution cannot fail to be on good friendly terms with the peoples of the world.

Our Constitution is not a Constitution that brings about the isolation of the country, as some people claim, but on the contrary, it arouses love and respect among nations and democrats, among progressive people and states.

In many of its articles, the draft-Constitution embodies the Marxist-Leninist principle that socialist democracy is inseparable from the dictatorship of the proletariat, that only through the complete implementation of broad democracy for the working people can the dictatorship of the proletariat be preserved and consolidated, and that only this dictatorship can ensure genuine democracy for the masses of the people.

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania all state power stems from the working people and belongs to them. The working class, the working peasantry, and the other working people can exercise their constitutional rights in governing the country not only through the representative organs, but also directly.

The spirit of socialist democracy thoroughly pervades the entire structure of our socialist state, ranging from the people's councils of the lowest instances to the highest organ of state power, which is the People's Assembly. In carrying out their activity, the representative organs and the other state organs rely on the creative initiative of the work-

ing people and the social organizations and render account to the people.

A vivid and concrete expression of the leading role of the working class and socialist democracy in action is the right of the working class, under the leadership of the Party, to exercise control over the activity of state organs, economic and social organizations and the working people, which is sanctioned in the Constitution. The workers' control is a component part of the line of the masses and not only constitutes a basic principle of the activity of the Party and State, but also expresses a distinctive and characteristic feature of our socialist reality.

Most constitutions of capitalist countries, where the savage dictatorship of the bourgeoisie prevails, as well as the constitutions of the countries ruled by the revisionists, abound in democratic phrases, but behind their beautiful words and empty promises of «freedom», «equality», «justice», etc. lurks the violence of exploiting classes and ruling cliques which is exerted over the working people.

Today the masses of the working people in the four corners of the earth are struggling to achieve democratic rights and freedoms. As Lenin said, they want to gain not just the promise of freedom, not freedom on paper, but genuine freedom. Whenever the masses demand the enactment of constitutional norms which are proclaimed only to deceive them, their efforts are immediately labelled as activities which endanger the state and political order, and are suppressed with fire and sword. This reality confirms the correct Marxist-Leninist thesis that wherever the dictatorship of the proletariat has not yet triumphed, or where it has been abolished, the masses of the working people cannot enjoy truly democratic rights and freedoms.

In our socialist homeland, through the implementation of socialist democracy, citizens have been guaranteed by law rights which they enjoy in reality, because in our country there is no gulf between the law and the reality. Such rights are, in particular, the equality of citizens before the law regardless of sex, race, nationality, education, social position, and material situation; the right to elect and to be elected to all the organs of state power; the right to work and rest after work; the right to the necessary means of livelihood in old age, in case of illness or loss of ability to work; the guarantee of medical services free of charge, as well as of treatment in the health institutions of the country; the right to education; the right to join various organizations, which act in the political,

economic, and cultural fields, as well as in any other field in the life of the country; the right to present demands, complaints, suggestions and proposals to the competent organs about individual, social and state problems, as well as many other rights which are recognised by our fundamental law and the other laws. Albania is the first country in the world to do away with all taxes.

Likewise, the draft-Constitution not only proclaims the rights of national minorities but also provides that any infringement of these rights is condemned by law.

Corresponding to the many fundamental rights that the state guarantees our citizens are their duties, which at the same time, are also an honour for them. Citizens have the duty to respect the Constitution and other laws of the country; to protect and strengthen the socialist order and to implement the rules of socialist communal life; to defend and strengthen socialist property and to take a conscientious attitude towards work; to defend the socialist homeland, and in this connection, to engage in universal military service and continuous military training. In Albania everybody is a soldier, always fully prepared to defend his socialist homeland and the great victories of our people's revolution.

In opposing the class struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leading role of its party, with a view to defending the capitalist order and justifying the restoration of the bourgeois order there where it has been overthrown, the enemies of freedom and socialism «theoretize» about «democratic socialism», «socialism with a human face», and a return to the democracy lost by the exploiting classes and the enemies of the people.

As has been pointed out, in our country the citizens are guaranteed all the rights recognised by the Constitution and the other laws, but the path has been closed, and will always remain closed, to the enemies of our state and social order to do even the slightest harm to the interests of the people, the homeland, and socialism. With us there has not been, is not, and will never be, freedom of action for the enemies. Defending this line of the Party, the draft-Constitution prohibits the setting up of any organization of a fascist, anti-democratic, religious, or antisocialist character; prohibits fascist, antidemocratic, religious, warmongering, or anti-socialist propaganda or activity, as well as the incitement of national and racial hatred. In this stand our Party proceeds from the teaching of Lenin who said: «Together with a very broad extension of democracy which, for the first time, becomes democracy for the poor... and not democracy for

the rich, the dictatorship of the proletariat brings a series of restrictions of freedom for the oppressors, the exploiters and capitalists».

The rights of citizens are indivisible from the fulfilment of the duties, and they cannot be exercised in opposition to the socialist order. The rights and duties of citizens are in unity and are built on the basis of reconciling the interests of the individual with those of the socialist society, always giving priority to the general interest. The development of socialist society leads to an ever better integration of personal and social interests, for, as Marx wrote, socialist society creates conditions such that the free development of each is a condition for the free development of all.

In regard to the economic order, too, the draft-Constitution reflects the fundamental principles of the economic policy of the Party and legalizes those aspects of the system of socialist relations of production which constitute the essential features of true socialism.

On a juridical plane, the draft-Constitution proclaims that the means of production are socialist social property in the forms of state property, which belongs to the entire people, and coöperativist property in agriculture, which belongs to the group of the working people of the countryside.

On the basis of the socialist ownership of the means of production and through the conscious activity of the Party and the masses of the working people themselves, city and countryside, mental and manual work are coming ever more closely together, and the gradual abolition of the various distinctions that still exist in our society is being brought about.

Because the socialist ownership of the means of production constitutes the inviolable basis of the socialist economic order, the draft-Constitution proclaims as a constitutional norm the duty of the state to defend this ownership.

Personal property, too, which consists of income from work and other lawful sources and serves to meet the material and cultural needs of the individual and the members of his family, is recognized and protected by our state with the sole limitation that it cannot be used to the detriment of the social interests.

Among other objects the land, too, has been proclaimed state property. In proclaiming the land as exclusively property of the state, the draft-Constitution aims to express in juridical form the reality which, in fact, has long been attained in our country. The proclamation of the land as state property does not mean the slightest change in the relations that exist today and that stem from its

being given to the agricultural cooperatives or social organizations for social use.

Comrade deputies,

Besides these principles and norms which I mentioned briefly, as you know, the draft-Constitution also sanctions many other principles and norms of importance for the construction and the functioning of the entire political, social, economic, cultural, etc., life of our country, such as those that regulate the social-economic order, the relations of ownership and distribution, the planned development of the economy, the relations between cadres and the masses, between the state and society, the principle of the unity of the state power, democratic centralism, socialist law, etc.

These principles and norms, sanctioned in the draft-Constitution, give a full picture of our socialist society that is forging ahead on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, which have been completely confirmed in our revolutionary practice. The new Constitution will be the main source and the basis of our future legislation. Its adoption should mark the starting point for new work for the further improvement of the principal laws of our state.

First of all in this context come the various codes, which have played an important role but which have now become outdated in some directions, and therefore should be revised so that they respond better to the requirements of the present stage.

Comrade deputies,

Our socialist regime is the regime of the working class, its dictatorship, which has its social basis in the unbreakable alliance between the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, the regime of genuine revolutionary democracy. In a regime such as ours the people have taken their fate in their own hands and govern the country.

The new Constitution reflects, develops, and defends these great ideas. The great strength of our people lies in these ideas and in their implementation. The foundation of these ideas and of the correct and resolute actions is the correct policy which the Albanian State follows in the international arena and which the peoples and progressive individuals understand and respect. Our policy is honoured and respected, for it is characterized by goodwill towards other states and the desire for the existence of good relations on the basis of the recognised principles of equality, respect for

state sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and mutual benefit. We are going against the imperialist and revisionist current. Our current is the revolution and the destruction of the capitalist order, which will be replaced by socialism and communism, the classless society. This society is the future of mankind, which will be built through class struggle, with bloodshed and sacrifice. But it will be built. Imperialism and social-imperialism are in decay. Socialism will triumph, the world and mankind will be saved from these plagues.

The approval of the new Constitution is a great event in the history of our people, a step of major importance in their struggle for the construction of their socialist society. Based entirely on the Marxist-Leninist principles implemented in a creative way by our glorious Party and being a scientific synthesis of our revolutionary experience, the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a document of great theoretical and practical importance which will serve the complete and successful construction of socialism in our country.

Carrying out the great tasks set by the 7th Congress of the Party, our heroic people, who are

building their life undaunted by the imperialist encirclement, will carry the construction of socialism further forward, will further strengthen the defence of their homeland. In their Constitution, the people will find fresh inspiration for still greater victories to make Albania stronger and more prosperous, to guarantee socialism and the homeland against any danger, wherever it may come from.

The broad masses of our people have now had their say on the new Constitution. Faithfully carrying out the mandate of the people, I invite you, comrade deputies, to adopt the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania unanimously and enthusiastically, the Constitution that embodies the true features of triumphant socialism, the freedom-loving and courageous spirit of our people, the wise Marxist-Leninist line of our Party.

**LONG LIVE OUR HEROIC PEOPLE!**

**LONG LIVE THE GLORIOUS PARTY OF  
LABOUR OF ALBANIA!**

**LONG LIVE OUR STATE OF THE  
DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT!**

# THE GREAT ROLE AND FORCE OF THE PEASANTRY IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

by **LENKA ÇUKO**

LOYAL TO THE END TO THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE MASSES OF THE OTHER WORKING PEOPLE OF OUR COUNTRY, THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA HAS ALWAYS HAD A PROPER APPRECIATION OF THE PLACE, ROLE AND THE GREAT STRENGTH OF THE PEASANTRY IN THE SOCIALIST SOCIETY. «OUR PEASANTRY» SAID COMRADE ENVER HOXHA AT THE 7TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY, «DESERVES EVERYTHING THAT HAS BEEN AND IS BEING DONE FOR THE PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY OF THE COUNTRYSIDE».

PRECISELY BECAUSE IT HAS ALWAYS HAD PROPER UNDERSTANDING AND CORRECT ASSESSMENT OF THE ROLE AND GREAT STRENGTH OF THE PEASANTRY ACCORDING TO THE IMMORTAL TEACHINGS OF MARXISM-LENINISM, RIGHT FROM ITS FOUNDING, THE PLA ISSUED THE DIRECTIVE ABOUT STRENGTHENING THE ALLIANCE OF THE WORKING CLASS WITH THE PEASANTRY, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE WORKING CLASS. ESPECIALLY, IN THE CONCRETE CONDITIONS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF ALBANIA, WHERE ABOUT 85 PER CENT OF THE POPULATION WERE PEASANTS, IT WAS NATURAL AND ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY THAT THE WORKING CLASS SHOULD BE LINKED IN A CLOSE ALLIANCE WITH THE PEASANTRY. AS EARLY AS THE YEARS OF THE GLORIOUS EPIC OF THE ANTI-FASCIST NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR, THE PLA LINKED THE PEASANTRY CLOSELY WITH THE WORKING CLASS AND GAVE THEIR ALLIANCE CLEAR POLITICAL OBJECTIVES.

The role of the peasantry in the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, under the leadership of the working class and its Party, was great and irreplaceable. The countryside remained the main base of this struggle. The peasantry shed its blood and made great sa-

crifices in this war. Its dearest possessions it put at the disposal of the Party and the war for liberation.

With the triumph of the people's revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the age-old aspirations of the peasantry became reality, because it won its freedom and the land, and such material and social conditions were created for it as to free it from the shackles of

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**With the collectivization of agriculture,  
the alliance of the working class with the peasantry,  
under the leadership  
of the working class, is put on new economic  
social foundations, reciprocal  
cooperation and assistance between these  
two classes, between  
industry and agriculture, becomes  
broader because it is entirely placed on  
socialist bases**

private property and to open the brilliant perspectives of the socialist development to the countryside.

In this way, the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, which is the social basis of the people's power, of the unbreakable unity of the people, and the defence of the country, assumed a new development and became even stronger in the post-liberation years. The consistent implementation by the PLA and the socialist state of a broad program of an all-round political and ideological, economic and social-cultural character, has led to profound revolutionary changes in the countryside and to the enrichment of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry both in content and in form.

With the Land Reform, which was carried out immediately following the Liberation under the leadership of the Party, the labouring peasantry saw its dream of having its own land and shaking off for ever the heavy yoke of the oppression and exploitation by the bey and agha come true. 21,544 landless peasant families and 48,667 peasant families with little land benefitted from the Land Reform. From a total of

172,659 hectares expropriated, about 90 per cent, or 155,000 hectares, were distributed to the peasants.

The People's Power gave the labouring peasantry great assistance for the development of agriculture and the continuous improvement of living conditions in the countryside. It made investments for mechanization, land improvement, irrigation and breaking in new land, to assist with chemical fertilizers, selected seeds, pedigree livestock, and qualified cadres, etc. For example, state investments in the sector of agriculture in 1975 were 14.8 times greater than in the year 1950. The use of chemical fertilizers (active substance) (in 1938 they were almost unknown in our country) was increased 397 times over in 1975 in comparison with 1950.

Education and culture were greatly extended. The number of pupils of full-time and part-time 8-year schools in the countryside in 1975, as against 1938, was 13 times greater. In 1975 the number of cadres of higher training in the agricultural cooperatives was increased 3.4 fold as against 1970, and the number of cadres with medium training 2.2 fold.

The labouring peasantry of our coun-

try, on its part, has always honourably carried out its tasks as the ally of the working class in the struggle for the construction of the new socialist society. The whole life of the country is a clear testimony to the fact that after Liberation, too, the role of our patriotic peasantry and its contribution to the reconstruction and development of the country are very great. Without this role and contribution by our revolutionary peasantry, the loyal ally of the working class and the Party, the dictatorship of the proletariat could not have been consolidated and protected. Despite the poverty it had inherited from the past, the peasantry kept the country supplied with bread and other agricultural and livestock products, poured out its sweat for the reconstruction of roads, bridges, houses, and those few burnt-out factories. At first, the development of industry also required that the countryside should make its contribution in manpower, monetary and material means, agricultural raw materials, etc. And, with a lofty revolutionary spirit and exemplary readiness, our peasantry accomplished its task for the industrialization of the country. As comrade Enver Hoxha

stressed at the 7th Congress of the Party, from the ranks of the peasantry, the new working class emerged. With the passage of time, when the industry had been set up and grown stronger, it became a great support for the development of agriculture and the countryside. Industry began to supply agriculture and the countryside with more industrial goods necessary for reproduction and mass consumption, for increasing agricultural products and raising the material wellbeing and cultural level of the peasantry.

But what was to mark another radical turning point in the life of the Albanian peasantry and countryside, was the setting of agriculture on the road of socialist development. The PLA showed great maturity in the solution of this problem. It worked patiently but persistently, to convince the labouring peasantry to take the road of collectivization voluntarily, to renounce private property, to take a road that was new and unknown to it. So the first agricultural cooperatives were set up. The first sparks of the cooperativist movement were the Upper Krutja cooperative and that of Sarava in the Lushnja District, the Dobraq cooperative in the Shkodra District, etc. Following their example, agricultural cooperatives were set up everywhere in our country. By its experience of life, by the great work of explanation by the Party, from the trust it had formed in the correct policy of the Party, by the results achieved by the first agricultural cooperatives, the peasantry was convinced of the benefits of collectivization, seeing it as the only road that could save it from any kind of exploitation and lead it towards the new socialist life.

With the collectivization of agriculture, the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, under the leadership of the working class, was put on new economic and social foundations. Now the collaboration and mutual assistance between these two classes, between industry and agriculture were

broadened further, for they were established entirely on socialist foundations.

With the aim of the further development of the cooperativist order, of its continuous strengthening, of implanting the spirit of collectivism deeper and deeper among the peasantry, and strengthening the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, the Party, in accord with the free will of the peasants, took measures to turn the economically strong cooperatives of the plains into higher type cooperatives, which today occupy 23 per cent of the arable land of the country. These cooperatives have demonstrated a series of advantages: they have achieved a high level of productivity in agricultural and livestock products, have stepped up the rates of increase of production, and the stability of these rates is being reinforced from one year to another.

The policy of the Party of Labour of Albania in regard to the countryside has always been correct, firmly based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, and in conformity with the concrete conditions of the country and the socialist construction. The PLA has never allowed the countryside to be underrated, industry to be developed at the expense of agriculture, the city to advance to the detriment of the village, and the countryside to become depopulated. Its aim has always been that industry and agriculture should develop together in harmony, that city and countryside should advance together, that the working class and the peasantry should raise the level of their wellbeing shoulder to shoulder with each other. In this matter the Party has been guided by the principle that «socialism cannot be built in city only, nor with the working class alone, but it is also built in the countryside, for the peasantry, too». While struggling for the development of agriculture on the plains, the PLA has never neglected the rapid development of agriculture in the mountainous and

hilly areas. The implementation of this correct Marxist-Leninist policy on all these problems has had and still has great importance for the strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the defence potential of the country, in any situation our country may be confronted with by the savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade.

A totally different picture presents itself in the countries ruled by the renegade revisionist cliques. In the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries, where the victories the peasantry had won have been totally liquidated, capitalist relations of a special type have been established and the development of the countryside has been left to the spontaneous operation of the laws of capitalism. With their notorious theories about the «complex mechanization of agriculture», the creation of the «industrial society», etc. the modern revisionists try to justify the depopulation of the countryside and the savage exploitation to which it is subjected by the new revisionist bourgeoisie.

In Albania today, agriculture faces very important tasks for its rapid development on the road of intensification and modernization. The principal task of agriculture in the 6th five-year plan is to consolidate the great victory achieved in making the country totally self-sufficient in bread grain. This is a task of great political, economic, and strategic importance. The continuous securing of all the bread grain required from home production and the fulfilment of the other targets facing agriculture, largely determine also the fulfilment of targets in the other branches of the economy, the raising of the general wellbeing of the people, and the strengthening of the defence potential of the country. Therefore the PLA continues to carry out all-round work to make the cooperativist peasantry increasingly aware of

the exceptional importance of the rapid development of agriculture. The struggle for the further intensification of agriculture is a struggle for the complete construction of socialism and the strengthening of the political and economic independence of the country, a struggle to smash the savage imperialist and revisionist encirclement and blockade. In this struggle, the cooperativist peasantry will have, as always, the unsparing assistance of its ally, the working class, and the socialist state, which will take all the measures necessary to fully implement the directive of the Party to deepen the great revolutionary movement, «Agriculture — the Concern of All the People». The common efforts of the cooperativist peasantry and the working class for the development and further intensification of agriculture constitute the number one task today to make the militant alliance between them stronger and stronger.

One of the key problems that the PLA has always tried to solve correctly for the strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry has been and remains the narrowing of distinctions between city and countryside. The decision of the Central Committee of the PLA and of the Council of Ministers of the past year marked a new step in the further reduction of these distinctions. On the basis of this decision, the cooperativist peasantry gained more than 140 million leks.

A meaningful index of the rise of wellbeing in the countryside is the considerable increase in the population there. In 1975 the rural population reached the level of 1,578,100, as against 880,400 in 1938. Along with the increase in population the per capita income of peasant population has also gone up. Many problems of a social and cultural character have found a solution through the use of social funds. Pensions for cooperativists have been raised, further narrowing their differences with those of the working peo-

ple of the town. Maternity leave and childbirth benefits for women cooperativists, too, are paid by the state.

The PLA has never regarded the differences in real per capita incomes existing today between city and countryside as a privilege for the city that must be preserved. On the contrary, it has seen these distinctions as a temporary phenomenon, caused by the objective conditions of the great economic and social backwardness that the Albanian countryside inherited from the past, as a phenomenon that is being overcome step by step within the possibilities created by the development of our economy. Furthermore, the PLA has never considered the narrowing of these distinctions as a «concession» that the city should make to the countryside, or a «sacrifice» that the working class should make for the benefit of the peasantry, but as a law of the complete construction of socialism, without damaging the standard of living of the townspeople. In order to further narrow the differences between city and countryside, the coming five-year plan envisages that the rate of increase in the real per capita income in the countryside will be three times higher than in the city.

Both the cooperativist peasantry and the working class face mutual tasks for the ceaseless strengthening of their alliance. By working with might and main, with revolutionary drive, to accomplish the great tasks on the agricultural front, for the production of bread grain in the first place, the peasantry makes its contribution to reinforcing the economic independence of the country, to the further strengthening of our socialist Homeland and its ability to defend itself.

The further strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the cooperativist peasantry also requires, as comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 7th Congress of the PLA, that any manifestation of distrust of the city by the countryside must be combatted, and that special care

must be taken to draw the peasantry ever more actively into the class struggle, into all the political, economic, and social life of the country, to educate it politically and ideologically, to more and more consolidate cooperativism, rooting out all hang-overs of the feeling of private property, of the petty-bourgeois psychology, of pursuing narrow personal interest, etc. which still have strong roots in the countryside.

The working class, for its part, makes its contribution to the continuous strengthening of the alliance with the peasantry, both by increasing its care and direct assistance for agriculture and the countryside, and, in general, by carrying out all its tasks, everywhere it works, in a revolutionary spirit, by producing more mineral, more steel, more power, more mass consumption goods, etc. In this way it unceasingly strengthens the material-technical base of socialism, for the ceaseless allround development of city and countryside, ever better fulfilling the material and cultural needs of the cooperativist peasantry and the whole people. In this process, the alliance of the working class with the peasantry becomes more steel-like, their mutual trust increases and grows stronger so that they march together, shoulder-to-shoulder, under the leadership of the Party, on the road of the complete construction of socialism.

To have a lofty concept and a thorough knowledge of the content of the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry means to consistently implement the line of the PLA for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the complete construction of socialism in city and countryside, as well as for the defence of the country. Proceeding on this correct and proven road, under the wise and far-sighted leadership of the Party, the role and the great revolutionary strength of the peasantry in the socialist society will be further increased and its alliance with the working class will become more steeled. —

# The 5th Session of the 8th Legislature of the People's Assembly

From 27th to 29th of December 1976 the 8th Legislature of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania held its 5th Session in Tirana.

Although this was a normal session, it had exceptional importance. It adopted the New Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and approved the 6th five-year plan for the development of the economy and culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

The session had the following agenda:

1. — The adoption of the draft-Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

2. — The report of the Council of Ministers «On the Draft 6th Five-year Plan for the Development of the Economy and Culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania for the Years 1976-1980, and the Draft State Plan and Budget for the year 1977».

3. — The adoption of the Bill on the 6th Five-year Plan for the Development of the Economy and Culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania for the Years 1976-1980.

4. — The adoption of the Bill on the State Plan for the Development of the Economy and Culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania for the year 1977.

5. — The adoption of the Bill on the State Budget for the year 1977.

6. — The approval of the decrees issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

7. — On a change in the composition of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Attorney-General's Office.

Concerning the first issue on the agenda, the report was delivered by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, the Chairman of the Special Commission of the People's Assembly for drafting the new Constitution, comrade Enver Hoxha.

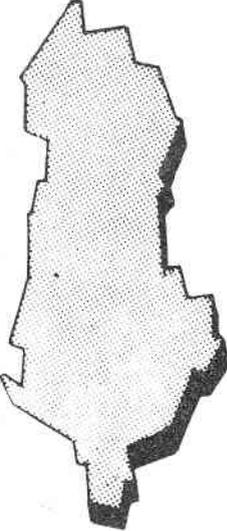
His speech, which we are publishing in full in this issue, was frequently interrupted by cheering and stormy applause from the deputies and the numerous guests who filled the hall, the boxes and the galleries of the People's Assembly.

There were many contributions to the discussion on comrade Enver Hoxha's report and the draft—Constitution. The deputies highly appraised the work done by the Commission and assessed the new draft—Constitution as an excellent embodiment of the fundamental teachings of the doctrine of scientific socialism, of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, defended by the Party of Labour of Albania with unflinching determination and consistently implemented in a creative way in the concrete conditions of our country.

Then the new draft—Constitution was read and unanimously adopted by the deputies, in principle, article by article, and in its entirety. This important event was hailed with enthusiasm by all the deputies and the entire Albanian people.

The report on the second issue on the agenda was delivered by the Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers and the Chairman of the State Planning Commission, Petro Dode.

After dealing in detail with the fulfilment of the 5th five-year plan for the development of the national economy and culture for the years 1971-1975, and with the 6th five-year plan for the development of the national economy and culture for the years 1976-1980 (with which the report of the Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSRA, comrade Mehmet Shehu, a detailed summary of which was published in «Albania Today», No 6/1976, also dealt extensively), Petro Dode presented to the Assembly the results

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of the fulfilment of the plan for 1976, the first year of the 6th five-year plan, and the principal targets of the draft-plan and draft-budget for the year 1977.

«Under the leadership of the Party, the masses of our working people, mobilized as never before to greet the 7th Congress of the Party, the 35th anniversary of its founding and the great celebrations of November with great achievements», he said, «scored important new victories in the fulfilment of the target of the plan for the year 1976, which is also the first year of the 6th five-year plan.

It is forecast that total industrial production will be fulfilled according to plan and, in a number of products, it will be overfulfilled. The heroic efforts of the working class to give the people and the Homeland one of the most important projects of our people's economy, the Elbasan Metallurgical Combine, were crowned with a great success. This year, for the first time in our country, pig iron and steel of the Albanian brand were produced. When this big project is completed and fully commissioned, it will create still greater possibilities for the further development of our socialist economy.

Correctly understanding the important tasks laid down by the Party for agriculture, with unprecedented mobilization at work in 1976 the cooperator-peasantry and the other workers of agriculture achieved a victory of great historic significance by fulfilling all the needs of the people and the economy for bread grain with local production. The targets envisaged by the plan for the year 1976 for the production of bread grain will be fulfilled with success.

Further increases are forecast in other agricultural and livestock products also. Increases this year, as against 1975 will be: potatoes about 18 per cent, sugar beet about 9 per cent, vegetables about 9 per cent, meat about 11 per cent, eggs about 8 per cent, etc.

The volume of state construction work will be realized 97 per cent, with a rise of over 14 per cent as against 1975. The plan of goods and passenger transport will be fulfilled 100

per cent, the plan of the goods turnover in retail trade 100 per cent, whereas it is forecast that export targets will be fulfilled 99 per cent.

The targets of the plan for 1976 are expected to be fulfilled also in the sectors of education, culture, the health service, etc.

As a result of the fulfilment of the principal targets of the plan of 1976 and of the struggle to further strengthen the regime of savings in all directions, the income envisaged by the state budget will be realized 100 per cent, and expenditure about 96 per cent.

The draft-plan and the draft-budget for the year 1977 have been drawn up on the basis of the fulfilment of the targets for 1976 and those envisaged in the draft-plan for the 6th five year period.

In 1977 total industrial production will increase 9.3 per cent over the expected results of the 1976 plan. For some important items this increase will be as follows: coal 20 per cent, rolled steel about 67 per cent, caustic soda 88 per cent, electric power 22 per cent, cement 14 per cent, urea 123 per cent, sugar about 5 per cent, cheese by about 15 per cent, etc.

Total agricultural production is expected to increase 13.8 per cent as against the expected fulfilment of the plan of 1976, whereas the production of bread and potatoes will go up 11 per cent, sugar beet 8 per cent, cotton 20 per cent, sunflower 15 per cent, vegetables 22 per cent, meat 11 per cent, milk 12 per cent, eggs 13 per cent, etc.

During 1977 the material-technical base of agriculture will be further strengthened, in the directions of the extension of the area under irrigation and the systematization of land as well as mechanization, increased chemical fertilizers, and the breaking-in of new land.

In 1977 the volume of state investments will rise by 14 per cent. Many new projects will be completed and commissioned, such as the Valias colliery, the copper ore enrichment plant in Fushë-Arrës, the iron-nickel mine at Prrenjas, the «Enver» engineering

plant, the paper mill at Lezha, many irrigation projects, etc.

Increased targets are envisaged also in the transport of goods and passengers, in the turnover of goods in retail trade, in increasing the productivity of labour, in reducing costs, as well as in the development of education, culture and health.

The draft-budget for 1977 envisages an income of 7 billion 700 million leks, an increase of 4 per cent as against that of 1976, and expenditure of 7 billion 600 million leks. Thus the draft-budget envisages a surplus of 100 million leks of income over expenditure.

Turnover tax in the internal sectors of the economy is envisaged to increase by about 69 million leks as against that of 1976. Income from the profits of economic enterprises is envisaged to be 1.4 per cent higher than in 1976.

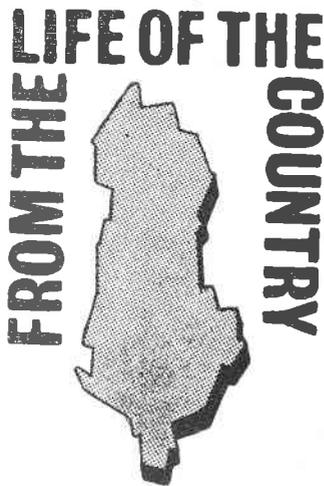
The bulk of the expenditure will be channelled towards financing the people's economy. It will make up 62.6 per cent of the total expenditure of the budget. 23.4 per cent of the total expenditure of the budget will be utilized for social and cultural measures.

The draft state budget also envisages the necessary funds to increase the defence potential of the country and maintain the state administrative apparatus.

This was a summary of the targets of the draft state plan and budget for the year 1977.

Comrade deputies,

Albania, our country, is living in the atmosphere of a new powerful upsurge of the revolutionary drive of the masses, of their creative initiative and revolutionary movements. Under the leadership of the party organizations, the working masses of city and countryside, the state and economic organs have set to work in a militant spirit to study, master, and implement the decisions of historic importance of the 7th Congress of the Party, and the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha. Guided by the illuminating ideas of the Congress, the working collectives of city and countryside are analysing and concretizing the tasks and measures for the implementation of the directives of



the Party in the field of the economic and social development of the country, to deepen the class struggle in all fields against alien manifestations, to further strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and the defence potential of our socialist Homeland.

In order to fulfil the tasks set by the 7th Congress of the Party successfully, the Council of Ministers has instructed the state and economic organs that they must have a thorough understanding of the situation and keep it well in mind, so that under the militant slogan of the Party: «Work, struggle and live as under siege», the level of organization and management of the economy will be continuously raised and, in the future, too, they will forge ahead, successfully overcoming any enemy blockade and difficulty we may face as a consequence of the influence of the economic-financial crisis of the capitalist and revisionist world».

In conclusion, comrade Petro Dode once more expressed the conviction of the Council of Ministers that the targets of the 1977 plan and those of the five-year plan are realistic and completely attainable although they would

require great and all-round mobilization by all the working people.

There was a great deal of discussion about the report of the Council of Ministers presented by comrade Petro Dode.

In conclusion the People's Assembly unanimously approved the Law on the 6th five-year plan for the development of the economy and culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania for the years 1976-1980, the Law on the state plan for the development of the economy and culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania for the year 1977, as well as the Law on the state budget for the year 1977, according to items 3,4 and 5 of the agenda.

The People's Assembly also approved the decrees promulgated by the Presidium of the People's Assembly according to item 6 of the agenda, and some changes in the composition of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Attorney-General's Office of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania according to item 7 of the agenda.

This brought the 5th Session of the 8th Legislature of the People's Assembly to a close.

## A year of successes, a year of perspectives

The Albanian people, old and young, celebrated the New Year happily in the traditional way. For many days before, all Albania had been decorated for this popular celebration. Red and national flags and large banners with slogans hailing the working people and wishing them further successes at work in the New Year 1977 were flying over all the main squares and streets of the cities and villages of the country. Everywhere, in centres of work and production, agricultural cooperatives and army units, in schools and various institutions, special afternoon and evening functions were organized as part of the celebrations. The various cultural and artistic institutions had prepared special programs suitable to the occasion which were performed in

meeting and concert halls, and in the squares and parks for several days on end.

The organs of trade, too, had taken measures to supply the working people with extra foodstuffs, fruit, poultry, different drinks and sweets.

As usual, particular attention was devoted to the children who are the privileged ones in socialist Albania. The creches, kindergartens and schools organized for them various parties where the children were given all sorts of presents. Very pleasant evenings for the children were organized by the enterprises at which their parents work, too. Youngsters that had distinguished themselves at school and in the society were invited to big functions organized on a district scale



*There were plenty children's toys in our shops to celebrate the New Year*

by the trade union councils and the committees of the Albanian Labour Youth Union.

About 1,500 distinguished youngsters of the Capital took part in the big party organized just before New Year in the great Palace of Culture. Leaders of the Party and state, among them the Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA and the Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Manush Myftiu, the Member of the Political Bureau and the Chairman

of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania, Rita Marko, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Labour Youth Union, Lumturi Rexha, etc., were also present at this function.

The youngsters danced and played games for hours on end.

On New Year's Eve the entire Albanian people were revelling. Thousands of working people celebrated at evenings organized by the trade organs in the best restaurants and the others

with family feasts. An atmosphere of happiness and well-being prevailed, and this for good reason. In welcoming 1977, the Albanian people looked back at 1976 and saw with satisfaction that, unlike the capitalist and revisionist countries in which suffering and poverty, exploitation and terror prevailed, in socialist Albania things had gone well.

During 1976, for the first time, the Albanian people succeeded in growing all the grain they needed at home, the

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first Albanian iron and steel were made, a number of new factories and plants were built, production was increased in all the principal branches of the economy. Thousands of apartments, as well as many health, education and cultural institutions were built. The year 1976 gave the Albanian people their new Constitution, which is the most democratic and advanced Constitution in the world. It sanctions the Albanian reality and opens brilliant and assured prospects for the uninterrupted development of the socialist revolution and the complete construction of socialist society in Albania.

1976 was the year of the historic 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, which drew up the balance-sheet of the successes achieved during the

5th five-year plan and adopted the directives for the 6th five-year plan which will take Albania a long way further on the road of socialism.

An event of great importance for the Albanian people in 1976 was the Decision of the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania on the reduction of higher salaries, some improvements in the pay system of the working people, and on a number of measures to raise the economic, social and cultural level of the peasantry, which will bring about a further narrowing of distinctions between the town and the countryside, as well as a series of other important decisions.

## An Important Event in the History of the Albanian People

On January 11th, 1946 the Constituent Assembly that emerged from the free elections of December 2nd, 1945, proclaimed Albania a People's Republic. This was one of the most important events in the history of the Albanian people. After many struggles and efforts, for the first time they had succeeded in building a truly democratic people's state.

Every year the Albanian people celebrate January 11th joyfully, but in this year's celebration they had greater cause for joy than ever. This year January 11th found Albania more advanced on the road of socialism. The new Constitution, which was unanimously adopted by the People's Assembly on December 28th, 1976 and which is a synthesis of the socialist reality reflecting the trend of development of Albania, the line of the Party of Labour of Albania, its teachings and revolutionary experience, proclaimed it a People's Socialist Republic.

This year, too, there were many cultural-artistic activities and broad meetings were organized throughout the country to commemorate the procla-

mation of the Republic and to emphasize the major victories achieved by the Albanian people over the 31 years of the Republic's existence.

In the capital a commemorative meeting was organized by the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, and the Tirana District Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. Working people from work and production centres, representatives of mass organizations and various institutions, etc., were present at the meeting. The President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Haxhi Lleshi, the Member of the Political Bureau and the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Hekuran Isai, the Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and the Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Adil Çarçani, were also present.

The address was delivered by the

Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Spiro Koleka.

«The proclamation of the People's Republic of Albania was neither the result of parliamentary political combinations nor of decrees from above», he said among other things. «This historic act expressed the will of a free people whose legendary sons and daughters gave their lives as heroes on the fields of battle in every part of the country, to lay the foundations of their state power».

«From the first steps of the armed uprising, from the Peza Conference of September 1942, together with the foundations of the political union of the people in the National Liberation Front, the Party also laid the foundations of the new revolutionary state power. The national liberation councils, as organs of state power increased, were strengthened and extended together with the extension of the war. The Second National Liberation Conference at Labinot proclaimed the people's power of the national liberation councils as the only people's power in Albania, while at the First National Liberation Congress, that was held in the town of Përmet on May 24th, 1944, the genuine representatives of the people, democratically elected and from all parts of the country, decided to create the new Al-

banian state of people's democracy, burying the old regime of oppression and exploitation once and for all. With the triumph of the people's revolution and the complete liberation of the country on November 29th, 1944, the people became masters of their own fate, our country set out on the road of its all-round and uninterrupted revolutionary development, the radiant epoch of socialism».

«Looking at our country from the height of the 31st anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic,» Spiro Koleka continued, «we see that it is as different from what it was in the past as night from day. Albania was the most backward country in Europe, the country of the wooden plough, of illiteracy, of exterminatory diseases, of savage feudal-bourgeois and imperialist oppression and exploitation.

Now Albania is a flourishing socialist state, with advanced industry and agriculture. Total industrial production today is more than 97 times higher than in 1938, so that industry accounts for about 60 per cent of total industrial and agricultural production, as against 8 per cent prior to Liberation. Today our socialist industry meets more than 80 per cent of the needs of the people for mass consumer goods. Agricultural production has increased about four fold in comparison with the pre-Liberation period, and is about two and a half times greater than in 1960. The

production — for the first time in the country's history, — of all the bread grain needed by the people is a great victory. And another great victory of our Party and people has been added to this one — the production of the first Albanian steel. The local production of iron and steel has opened new and broader perspectives to the development of the productive forces, and will strengthen our economic independence still more».

«New, more magnificent perspectives for the development of the planned socialist economy have been opened to our country by the 6th five-year plan which the People's Assembly recently adopted on the basis of the directives of the 7th Congress of the Party. The new five-year plan will ensure the continuation of the socialist construction of the country at a rapid rate, on the course of its transformation into an industrial-agrarian country, according to the principle of self-reliance. It will further strengthen the economic independence of the country all-round, will perfect the socialist relations of production and the entire superstructure in a revolutionary way, will make the dictatorship of the proletariat and the defence potential of the homeland ever stronger, raise the material and cultural level of the people higher, and steadily reduce the distinctions between town and the countryside».

## Radiant Beacons of the Struggle for National and Social Liberation

According to reports reaching the Albanian Telegraph Agency, in the middle of December 1976 a large number of troops of the Brazilian Second Army surrounded one of the sectors of the city of Sao Paulo inhabited by the poor where preparations were being made for a meeting of some comrades of the Brazilian Communist Party. As a result of an ensuing armed

clash, the members of the Executive Commission of the Central Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party, comrade Pedro Pomar and Angelo Arrojo, and the member of the Central Committee of the Party, Juan Batista Drumond, were killed in the fighting. Some other comrades were arrested in the street and imprisoned. Their fate is unknown.

In connection with this event, comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, sent the Central Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party a telegram which reads:

Dear comrades,

With profound grief, we learned the news of the heroic death of comrades **Pedro Pomar** and **Angelo Arrojo**, Members of the Executive Commission of the Central Committee, and comrade **Juan Batista Drumond**, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil. The news has deeply grieved the Albanian commu-

# FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY



nists and our entire people, who greatly respect and admire the sister Communist Party of Brazil, its brave leaders and militants, who are fighting bravely and with determination, without sparing even their lives, for the freedom of the people, the independence and democratic progress of the country, and the ideals of communism.

The cruel killing of comrades Pedro Pomar, Angelo Arrojo, and Juan Batista Drumond, as well as the arrest of other comrades is an expression of the fury of the fascist reaction in Brazil, of the barbarous oppression by the military dictatorship in the service of U.S. imperialism, against the Brazilian people, against their finest sons, patriots, and most progressive people. This new wave of reactionary violence shows the weakness of the fascist regime, which, to prolong its existence, is trying to check the revolt of the masses and drown it in blood, turning the entire country into a gloomy prison.

We will always preserve the memory of the comrades fallen in the revolutionary struggle against the Brazilian fascists. Especially unforgettable is the memory of our beloved comrade Pedro Pomar, one of the renowned leaders and founders of the Communist Party of Brazil, who was, at the same time, a close friend of our Party and a firm supporter of the struggle of our people for the construction of socialism. His visits to Albania have always been a special joy and encouragement to us.

The loss suffered by the Communist Party of Brazil is serious, but we are convinced that no fascist violence, no terror or repression whatsoever can break its strength, cut its links with the working class and the deep roots it has among its own people. The comrades who have fallen will certainly be replaced by hundreds and thousands of others who will rise and always keep flying high the banner of the revolutionary struggle against fascism at home, against imperialism and social-imperialism, against modern revisionism, and for the victory of Marxism-Leninism.

Glory to the heroes fallen in the

**struggle for freedom, independence and socialism!**

On the other hand, «Zëri i Popullit», organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, published an editorial which, among other things, says:

The Albanian communists, all the Albanian people were deeply grieved upon learning about the assassination of these comrades of the leadership of the CP of Brazil. On this occasion they express their deepest sympathy and full revolutionary and internationalist solidarity with the sister Communist Party of Brazil and the Brazilian people. The assassination of the comrades of the leadership of the CP of Brazil is a new criminal act in the lengthy record of the terror and anti-popular activity of the fascist dictatorships in various countries of the world, part of the joint imperialist-revisionist plot against genuine Marxist-Leninist communists and all the other progressive anti-imperialist forces. Today, many Marxist-Leninist parties have to work in difficult conditions of illegality. The fascist regimes are attacking them and undertaking unprecedented repressive and terroristic measures. Other parties continue their activity under difficult circumstances of the struggle that the big bourgeoisie, social-democrats and revisionists conduct against them. At the 7th Congress of the PLA Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «Many outstanding fighters of the Marxist-Leninist movement have been barbarously murdered by the fascist criminals who are ruling in many countries, have died under police torture, or are still languishing in the dark dungeons of reaction. Through their determination, their courage, their lofty spirit of self-denial and their devotion to the great cause of the proletariat, they have become radiant beacons of the struggle of the masses of the working people for national and social liberation».

For more than 12 years Brazil is ruled by a savage clique of generals, offsprings of the local capitalists and big land proprietors, servants of the multinational companies and U.S. imperialists. That odious anti-popular re-

gime has turned the country into a huge terrible dungeon. Millions of Brazilians are living under terror. The number of patriots and progressive anti-fascist democrats under arrest amounts to several thousands. The elimination without any trace of the opponents of the government is common practice.

In such a grave situation for the Brazilian people, the CP of Brazil, a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party, has been affirmed as a brave and resolute defender of the interests of the proletariat and the broad working masses of town and country, as standard-bearer of the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist struggle for national and social liberation. It never separates its resolute struggle against the Geisel dictatorial regime from the struggle against U.S. imperialism. It is the most resolute and most conscious force in the country against the dictatorship and against Brazil's subjugation to foreign imperialism. The CP of Brazil, its members and leading cadres are always on the forefront of the struggle for people's freedom, country's independence and democratic progress and the ideals of communism. Its brave leaders and militants, together and shoulder to shoulder with the revolutionary patriots and other progressive people, have not spared even their lives for people's ideals and aspirations to freedom. Scores of the members of the CP of Brazil have shed their blood in clashes with the units of the mercenary army and gendarmery of the fascist dictatorship, or have withstood the most savage torture.

The persecution, the darkest terror have been employed against the members of this Party. Leaders and militants of the CP of Brazil have been barbarously tortured and killed in the dungeons of the secret police. Through the force of arms, the most savage terror, the clique of generals has tried to break the CP of Brazil and its militants, to suppress the Brazilian people. But, as every reactionary clique in any part of the world, the Brazilian fascist clique has made a grave mistake: the Brazilian Marxist-Leninist com-

munists are sons of the working people and therefore they are invincible. When a militant of this party falls heroically in performance of his duty, fighting to defend the people among whom he was born, many other sons of the people rise and hold aloft the banner of the struggle against fascism, against imperialism and social imperialism, against modern revisionism, for national and social liberation, for socialism and communism.

In the recent years, contrary to the will and desire of the imperialist and revisionist bourgeoisie, there are Marxist-Leninist parties in existence and activity in all continents and zones of the world. Their revolutionary activity is increasing day by day. Today, conscious champions, genuine and unbent revolutionaries for the cause of Marxism-Leninism are defending the interests of the world proletariat, the cause of the revolution and socialism. The capitalists, revisionists and the fascist dictatorial cliques are mortally afraid of the growing activity of these parties, the revolutionary organization of the proletariat and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist parties. Therefore, those counterrevolutionary and reactionary forces, openly or secretly, through demagoguery or brutal force, are plotting against, and attacking furiously, the Marxist-Leninist communists, the genuine patriots and revolutionaries when they find the opportunity.

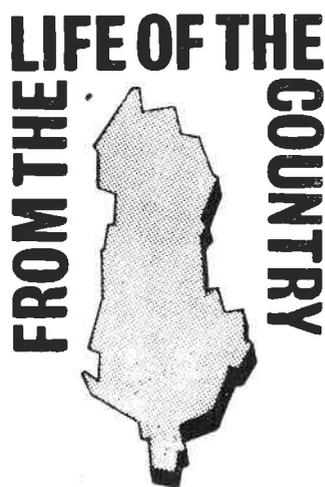
But the forces of reaction are doomed to failure. No difficulties and no complicated circumstances have ever been able to curb the revolutionary impetus of the Marxist-Leninists, the consolidation of the ranks of their parties, their growing influence in the working class and the working masses. Sacrifices have been and will be great. They have been and will be on the order of the day for members of the genuine revolutionary parties and they are conscious of this, ready and resolute to face them, because they know they are fighting for the lofty interests of the revolution and socialism. In this struggle, inspired by the sacrifices of the members of the Marxist-Leninist parties, the prole-

tariat surges ahead, enhances its struggle against capital and exploitation, becomes more and more convinced in Marxism-Leninism and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist communist parties. In the continuous bloody battles these parties are tempered and strengthened.

The cruel assassination of the three comrades of the leadership of the CP of Brazil and the imprisonment of many other comrades are a grave loss, but they cannot bond this sister party, tempered in a protracted revolutionary struggle, with deep roots in the people and determined to carry its just struggle to victory. The new wave of violence and terror launched by the fascist military dictatorship of Brazil does not show the force of this degenerated regime doomed to failure by history, but its weakness and great fear in face of the impetuous upsurge of the movement of the people's masses and their liberation struggle, against fascism and imperialist oppression.

At its 7th Congress, our Party once more proclaimed its complete internationalist solidarity with the Marxist-Leninist parties and their courageous struggle. The revolutionary support and solidarity among the Marxist-Leninist communists, among the revolutionary forces and people in the struggle for freedom, for revolution, for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, imperialism and social-imperialism has been and remains a duty of internationalist importance.

Educated in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, love, respect and all-round support for the revolutionary peoples and forces who are fighting for their freedom and rights, the Albanian communists and people express their determined protest for the barbarous crime perpetrated by the fascist military gangs of Brazil against the comrades of the leadership of the Communist Party of Brazil. The Albanian communists and people are convinced that the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist struggle of the CP of Brazil, of the Brazilian revolutionary patriots, proletariat and all the Brazilian people for national and social liberation will surely triumph, that no fascist



force, no pressure by the US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists, no betrayal by the revisionists can stop this victory.

Glory to the Brazilian heroes fallen in the struggle for freedom, independence and socialism! Their cause will triumph.

## A Revolutionary Centre for the Training of Artists

Ten years ago, under the direct care of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Higher Institute of Arts was founded in Tirana, through the merger of the «Aleksandër Moisiu» Higher School for Actors, the Higher School of Music, and the Institute of Figurative Arts. This was an important event for Albanian art. Within a short period, the Higher Institute of Arts became a revolutionary centre for the training of artists in Albania. During this time many composers, instrumentalists, conductors, singers, musicologists, painters, sculptors, graphic artists, scenary designers, painters of applied arts, actors, producers, organizers of culture among the masses, etc., have graduated from this school. These cadres are playing an increasingly active role in the houses of culture and professional theatres, in national ensembles and symphonic groups, in schools and other important institutions.

Artists well-known for their work and creativeness have made and continue to make a valuable contribution to the training of young artists. Thus, the Institute has become not only a nursery raising new talents from the masses of the working people, but also a place where the best artists and scholars of our arts contribute their experience and theoretical knowledge.

The Institute began its activity with 138 students, a teaching staff of 26, and 14 specialities. This year it has 324 students, 64 full-time teachers and 84 collaborating teachers, and trains cadres for 28 specialities.

966 cadres have graduated from the Institute up to now, including 306 in

music, 217 in figurative arts, 227 in drama, and 216 in culture.

Successes have been achieved in linking the school more closely with life and artistic practice, in introducing, in interesting forms, the living work of socialist reality into its auditoriums. Some diploma theses have been defended in gatherings of the working class. At the same time, in the Institute great attention is devoted to military training, so that everybody is ready to defend the victories of the revolution.

In the context of the 10th anniversary of the founding of this Institute a series of artistic activities was organized. In one of the halls of the Palace of Culture of Tirana an exhibition of figurative arts with works done by students since the time of the founding of the Institute was opened. In the hall of the Higher Institute of Arts a vocal and instrumental concert was given by students of music. The program included works by the students themselves. A concert of recitations of artistic works was given in the same hall with students and former teachers and students of the Higher Institute of Arts performing.

Working people from the centres of work and production of the capital, workers of literature, art culture, teachers, students, etc. were present at the concert. Among them was Mehmet Shehu, Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

A scientific session with the theme: «To carry out the directives of the Party and the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha for the further revolution»

nization of the school» was also held. Seven papers were presented on various problems of the educational and

teaching process of the Institute as well as on the enrichment of the ideological content of teaching, the deepening of

the national character and proletarian partisanship in the arts, the further revolutionization of the school, etc. —

## Scientific Session on the Protection, Study, and Restoration of Monuments of Culture

Albania has inherited from the past assets of particular value in the field of architecture and art. This wealth created by the hands of the people is not the work of just a few individuals or a single historical period, but the fruit of a common creative spirit through all the periods of the history of our people. Despite their difficult conditions, in this heritage, the Albanian people, one of the most ancient of the Balkans, have been able to create an architecture and art with special features and originality, embodying the creative genius, the spiritual strength and vitality of the masses of the people.

The anti-popular regimes of the past neglected and scorned the creative work of our working people, causing great damage and irreparable losses to the material values of our nation.

After Liberation, under the special care of the Party, particular attention began to be devoted to the traditions of our people with the aim that they

should serve the patriotic education of the masses, and especially of the youth, both for the present and the future. For the first time in the history of Albania, the appraisal of traditions, the discovery and protection of material and spiritual values of the past occupied the place they deserved. And with the founding of the Institute of the Monuments of Culture, the solution of these problems was put on a more scientific basis.

At the end of last year, the 3rd Scientific Session with the theme: «The Protection, Study, and Restoration of the Monuments of Culture in Albania», organized by the Institute in the context of the 10th anniversary of its founding, was held in Tirana. The report on «The Results and Tasks in the Field of the Discovery, Protection, and Restoration of the Monuments of Culture» as well as 34 papers illustrated with slides were delivered at the Session.

Various problems were dealt with at

the session. In the field of monuments of antiquity the papers dealt with the criteria followed for their restoration, summing up the results of work and analysing individual cases. It was stressed that scientific opinion on a series of aspects of mediaeval architecture, such as fortifications, buildings associated with religion, and civil engineering works, had made progress.

In the relatively new field of the monuments of art, the papers made a valuable contribution to the solution of practical problems in the discovery and restoration of mural paintings, mosaics, paintings and works of applied arts. The Papers dealing with general and particular problems of restoration and city and village architecture occupied an important place in the proceedings of the Session.

The Session was an important event in the scientific life of the country. It reflected the achievements to date and laid down tasks in all directions to put the discovery, restoration, protection, and promotion of the educational values of the monuments of culture on a scientific basis.

On this occasion, the exhibition «The Monuments of Culture in Albania» was opened in one of the halls of the Palace of Culture.

## Thousands of Specialists for Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

Enlightened by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the Party of Labour of Albania has always kept in mind the fact that, along with developed industry, the construction of so-

cialism requires advanced modern agriculture. Hence, the PLA long ago issued the slogan «Agriculture the Concern of All». And the Albanian people have responded with enthusiasm. That is

why within a short period, a real revolution has taken place in agriculture. Industrial and livestock production has increased at high rates from year to year. During the 5th five-year plan (1970-1975) alone, the production of grain increased 35 per cent, cotton 48 per cent, sugar beet 76 per cent, milk 47 per cent, etc. The cadres who, following the instructions of the Party, have put production on a scientific basis, are

# FROM THE COUNTRY

playing an important role in the increase of agricultural and livestock production. The Higher Institute of Agriculture, which last November celebrated the 25th anniversary of its founding, is an important centre for the training of cadres.

At first the Institute had only 3 chairs and 7 professors. Immediately following its founding, the faculties of agronomy and zootechny were created. A year later these two faculties were expanded, and in the same year the branch of veterinary medicine commenced with 14 students. In 1959 the faculty of forests was opened, while in 1966, with its merger with the Institute of Agricultural Research of Lushnja, the Institute of Zootechny of Shkodra, and the Institute of Veterinary Medicine, the Institute became an important teaching and research centre.

During the 25 years of its activity, the Institute has trained 4,603 specialists, including 2,436 agronomists, 866 zooveterinaries, 420 zootechnicians, 458 agricultural economists and accountants, and 421 forestry engineers. As a result, in Albania today there is one agronomist for each 270 hectares of farm land. Three thousand students, 34 per cent of whom are girls, are studying at the institute this academic year.

The entire teaching and educational process of the school revolves around the Marxist-Leninist ideological axis, and all the activity of the Institute is based on the revolutionary triangle — study-work in production-physical and military training.

The Institute has a powerful material base at its disposal. It has special laboratories for agrochemistry, pedology, botany, seed selection, phytonomy, timber processing, protection of plants and forests, biology, anatomy and special zootechny, to assist the teaching process. The Institute is equipped with modern farm machinery. An important role in the training of students is played also by the experimental farm on which the classroom lessons are put

into practice as well as the large-scale enterprises of socialist agricultural production: the botanical garden, the forest and fruit tree nursery, the veterinary clinic and the livestock centre, which have been organized in an exemplary manner.

The students not only learn but also work according to a special program, become acquainted with the work, and master the various processes from the simplest to the most complicated.

Scientific work is a component part of the teaching and educative process. This has made an important contribution both to raising the ideological and scientific level of the work for the training of cadres and to the solution of various problems connected with the development of agriculture. The soil studies and compiling of pedological maps, the production of virus-resistant tobacco hybrids, as well as the studies on concentration, specialization, and crop rotation, the selection and development of new hybrids of maize and wheat, and vegetables, studies in improved breeds of sheep and cattle, in the use of carbamide as stock feed, as well as other studies of an ideological and economic-administrative nature, have been of great value.

The students' scientific work is concretized in their diploma theses. They deal with advanced experience and scientific experimentation, and propose complete or partial solutions to important problems concerning agricultural production. At the same time, through their scientific work, the young people acquire skills, improve their qualifications, learn the reality of work and temper themselves to cope with work in production. During the 1975-1976 academic year alone, 125 diploma theses were presented by the students. The plan of scientific research of the Institute includes more than 150 themes and agricultural experiments a large number of which also figure in government's research plan.



*Practical scientific work occupies an important place in the teaching programs of the Higher Institute of Agriculture of Tirana*

# IMPERIALISM AND SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM AND UNDER THE REVOLUTIONARY

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

**The events of the past year showed that despite all the plots, intrigues and interferences, despite all the modern means of warfare at their disposal, the super-powers and reaction are incapable of subjugating the peoples and countries, even small ones, if they are determined to fight to the end and make any sacrifice**

The year 1976 was one of great confrontations. All over the globe, the proletariat and its allies, all the oppressed and exploited, the peoples who are fighting for freedom, democracy and socialism, stood up to and opposed the hegemonic and aggressive policy of imperialism and social-imperialism, the anti-popular plans and measures of the bourgeoisie and monopolies, the violence and terror of the forces of darkness.

For our people and our Party, the year 1976 was a year of an upsurging dynamism and vitality, of legitimate

pride at the successes achieved and the brilliant and clear perspectives, and unwavering confidence in the future. Our people and our Party welcomed the great historic assembly — the 7th Congress of the Party, with achievements to be proud of. Important victories were achieved in all the work of the Party for the Marxist-Leninist education of the masses of the people, in the deepening of the socialist revolution in the field of ideology and culture. The correctness of the consistent Marxist-Leninist course and the road on which the Party is leading the coun-

try and people confidently towards the construction of socialism, and the further strengthening of the freedom and independence of the homeland, was once again confirmed.

Faithful to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in foreign policy, during the year 1976, too, our Party and people aimed, first of all, to develop and strengthen their relations of fraternal friendship and militant unity, cooperation and mutual aid with the People's Republic of China. «Our Party and our people», stressed comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the Party, «will work unrelentingly to keep the fraternal friendship and collaboration with the great Chinese people, their glorious Communist Party, and great People's China, pure and strong».

The year 1976 also witnessed the growth and strengthening of new Marxist-Leninist parties. In their struggle against capital and reaction, against the savage oppression and terror of fascist regimes, against the revisionist poison, the true Marxist-Leninists, and their revolutionary organizations and parties were tempered and achieved more successes for the cause of the revolution and communism. The counter-revolutionary violence, that the bourgeoisie uses, the difficulties, confusion and disintegration that the revisionists and social-democracy create in the ranks of the workers' movement, were quite unable to stop the revolutionary drive of the Marxist-Leninist commu-

# CAPITALISM IN CRISIS

## BLOWS OF THE PEOPLES

nists or the growth and consolidation of their ranks. Now the Marxist-Leninist parties are spread to all the continents and regions of the world. As determined revolutionaries, their members consciously defend the great cause of the proletariat. They have become a lofty example of inspiration in the struggle against the blood-thirsty bourgeoisie and reaction, for national and social liberation.

In the bourgeois and revisionist countries, the grave crisis that has gripped them has led to a further sharpening of contradictions between labour and capital. During the year 1976, too, the monopoly bourgeoisie, both old and new, tried to shift the consequences of the crisis on to the backs of the masses of the working people. Everywhere, whether in the East or in the West, in order to keep its profits intact, it stepped up the oppression and exploitation of the masses of the working people, of the proletariat in the first place, launching a real attack on the standard of living and the rights of the working people. Thus, along with galloping inflation and skyrocketing prices for the most essential daily commodities, the number of the unemployed in the United States, the Soviet Union and the other countries of the bourgeois-revisionist world rose to about 100 million. The gulf between the masses of the working people and the bourgeoisie became even deeper. While the poor became even poorer, the capitalist exploiters who have accumulated

fabulous wealth from the plunder of the masses of the working people, further increased their riches. In the United States, just one per cent of the population owns 34 per cent of the national wealth, in Britain 5 per cent of the population owns 95 of national income. In the second quarter of the past year, the profits of the monopoly companies of the United States rose by 30 per cent as against the same period of the year 1975.

Being unable to cope with the revolts of the workers and the people, and their mounting dissatisfaction with the recognised pseudo-democratic means or the pseudo-socialist parliamentary deception, the bourgeoisie in power went further down the road of establishing fascism, the bourgeois-revisionist state brought into use the savagest, forms of naked fascist law — violence and the whip. The threat of fascism became apparent in many countries.

In this situation, during the past year, the wave of class struggle rose high not only in Europe and the United States, but on all continents, particularly in India on the Asian continent, in Southern Africa on the African continent, as well as in Australia.

Parallel with this very great upsurge, during 1976 there was an unprecedented extension of strikes and demonstrations. Thus, whereas in 1959 over 8 million people took part in them and in 1961 over 60 million, in the past year, in a single day more than 15 workers were involved in a nation wide strike

that affected various branches of the Italian economy.

In the United States there were 2,716 strikes just in the first six months of the past year; the strike of the women working in the subsidiaries of the U.S. Ford company in Britain went on for 21 weeks; in France, there were three times as many strikes in the first months of 1976 as in the same period of the previous year. In Poland, the anger and hatred of the workers and the broad masses of the working people against the anti-popular and anti-national policy of the revisionist ruling clique headed by Gierek burst out with fresh force in June, 1976. Thousands of workers of the «Ursus» Tractor Factory on the outskirts of Warsaw stopped work in protest against the rising cost of living and erected barricades. The strikes of the Radom and «Ursus» workers were a stern indictment, not only of the revisionist political and social system, but also of the subjugation and plunder of Poland by the social-imperialists of Moscow. During the past year, the strikes, protests and demonstrations of working people, which often turned into bloody clashes with the bourgeoisie and its oppressive apparatus and which struck at the very foundations of the bourgeois and revisionist state power, were extended to Germany, the Soviet republics, Spain, etc.

Terrified by the proletariat, this great force which is the grave-digger of capitalism, the bourgeoisie brought into

action with extraordinary intensity, all its reformist socialdemocratic, «socialist» and revisionist arsenal of ideological disruption and sabotage. In the year which has just past, it also strove to overtake what it fears most — the revolution. Its «theoreticians» have dug up all sorts of «arguments» to «prove» the uselessness of the revolution, and the benefits of replacing it with the «solution of day-to-day problems». On their part, the reformist and revisionist trade-union leaders continued to play the counter-revolutionary role assigned to them, of ensuring that every action of the working class takes place within the bounds of respect for bourgeois law, so that nothing affects the real interests of the bourgeoisie. The French, Italian and other revisionists appeal to the proletariat, and all the masses of the working people for «trust» and «understanding» towards the employers over «sacrifices» and try to direct their struggle on to the course of compromises to the detriment of the vital interests of the proletariat, and its great cause, the revolution.

In the struggle of the peoples for liberation, in their all-round strivings for political independence and to break away from old and new colonialism, once and for all the year 1976 showed positive results over a broad front against the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists, and all the other imperialist powers. The African peoples, who have emerged from the darkness of centuries of colonial slavery, are making all-round efforts to defend and strengthen their sovereign rights, and have rejected the neo-colonialist practices of oppression and exploitation followed by the neo-colonialist powers and the flagrant plunder of their natural resources. On the other hand, the positions of the racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia have become still more unstable. They are clearly aware that their state power of enslavement is slipping from their hands. During the past year the armed struggle of the patriots of Zimbabwe and Namibia, and the bloody

clashes of the Azanian people in South Africa, constantly increased in scope and strength. The Israeli Zionists are doing their utmost to strangle the struggle of the Palaestinian people for freedom, and their aspirations to a return to the Motherland seized from them by violence. Nevertheless, throughout the whole year, the brave Palaestinian partisans never ceased their armed actions against enemy objectives. The demonstrations in the occupied Arab territories, which were almost daily occurrences during 1976, supported them. With their determined struggle, the people of Northern Ireland, the patriots of that country oppressed by the soldiers of British imperialism, have aroused concern and panic in London. The fascist regime of Pak Chung Hi is now more than ever encircled by the hatred of the broad masses of the people, who have displayed their feelings in many strikes and demonstrations in the squares and streets of South Korea. The fascist regimes, the traitor cliques that have put the independence of their countries on the auction block, found themselves in the iron grip of the revolutionary forces. In Brazil, Bolivia, and Colombia, in Thailand and Malaysia the patriots' rifle-shots are becoming volleys, making the positions of the oligarchies more and more difficult, while the day when the imperialists and foreign monopolies that fatten on the blood of the peoples of these countries will be driven out, is fast approaching. In this direction, as comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 7th Congress of the PLA, «socialist Albania considers it an honour to stand on the side of the great struggle of the proletariat and the peoples, of all who struggle for socialism, freedom, and independence».

The unceasing blows of the forces of the revolution and national liberation, of democracy and social progress, have deepened the grave crisis which all the capitalist and revisionist countries are experiencing today. This is not just the economy crisis character-

ized by falling production and galloping inflation, but is also political and ideological, military and cultural, affecting the structure and superstructure of the bourgeois-revisionist system. Political crises, scandals involving high officials and bourgeois parties, their all-round moral and political degeneration, stood out against the background of this general crisis last year. Now, finding itself in an impasse and aware of the instability of its state power, the bourgeoisie is turning more and more to its reserve — fascism.

The over-all picture of the activity of the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists, and their other allies and followers, shows that the more blows they are dealt, the more deeply they sink into the bog of the crisis, the more savage, the more perfidious, and the more dangerous these two avowed enemies of everything progressive become. «Our Party», said comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, «holds the view that the situation in the world today is turbulent and, consequently, there is no place for complacency, for relaxation or euphoria». The events, the concrete activity of the two superpowers, the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, show that they are the greatest and the most dangerous aggressive imperialist forces known to history. In the same degree and to the same extent, the two of them represent the principal enemy of socialism and the freedom and independence of nations, and are defenders of oppressive systems. They also represent the direct threat that mankind will be hurled into a new world war. During the year which has just ended the peoples were in conflict with the sinister aims of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism to preserve and extend their spheres of influence, to place sovereign states under their domination. There is no area or region of the world, in which these savage and perfidious enemies of the peoples are interested militarily or economically,

which they have left out of their plans. For the U.S. imperialists, these aims were expressed more clearly than ever during the recent presidential elections, and for the Soviet social-imperialists at their 25th Congress and at the Berlin Meeting. The candidates for the presidency of the U.S.A. resorted to demagoguery to conceal the true situation from the American people, but on the other hand, they could not fail to stress the unchanging course of U.S. imperialism of continuing to attack the peoples, to dominate its allies and extend its expansion. In the revisionist bloc, during 1976, the patriarchs of the Kremlin also tried to maintain their hold on their «allies». To this end in the past year they organized a series of bilateral and multilateral meetings of the Kremlin chiefs with their revisionist vassals. The notorious Berlin Meeting, too, at which the revisionist betrayal was signed and sealed, was convened in this context. For purposes of demagoguery, the Soviet social-imperialist chiefs never fail to trumpet about the so-called «flourishing of the socialist nations» in the bosom of the «alliance» in which, in reality, the Soviet fist rules by force.

During the year 1976 the countries that participated in the so-called European Security Conference, organized and staged under the direction of the two superpowers, commemorated its first anniversary. But apart from intensification of the well-worn demagogical phraseology about alleged peace and security, the European reality remained as it was. Far from being dissolved the military bases of the two superpowers, the aggressive blocs of the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, have been further perfected and developed. The U.S.A. and the Soviet Union have set up new bases and have increased and perfected the striking power of the aggressive blocs which they manipulate and lead. In the past year, the military budgets within the framework of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty were again increased. There were many and frequent mili-

tary manoeuvres. At their meetings, the generals of Washington and Moscow openly proclaimed their intention of using these aggressive military groupings in their own interests and under their command. The pacifist demagoguery spread by the bourgeois-revisionist propaganda was simply an attempt to deceive the European peoples, to blunt their vigilance so that the two superpowers would have greater possibilities to make the law on the continent.

During the past year the Balkans became a place of pilgrimage of the emissaries of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, which are trying to interfere in the internal affairs of the countries of this area and to plot against the freedom and independence of these peoples. Their aims have always been to incite feuds and dissension from which they hope to profit.

The Mediterranean was another scene of the Soviet-U.S. rivalry for expansion and hegemony.

In the Middle East, the events in Lebanon were another confirmation of the results of the Zionist aggression against the Arab countries and of the meddling of the two superpowers in this area. The bloody clashes in Lebanon were the deed of the U.S.A., the Soviet Union, and the aggressor Israel, which provoked and incited them to destroy the liberation movement of the Palaestinian people, to liquidate the Palaestinian cause, to split the Arab peoples, and that priceless Arab unity, so as to carry out their aims of plundering the Arab oil, of seizing military bases, and exerting political and economic influence.

Following the bloody intervention and quarrels in Angola, the rivalry and competition for spheres of influence between U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism was transferred to the south of the African continent.

The events of the past year in the world made the peoples better acquainted with the falsity of all the demagoguery about the alleged «desire for

peace» of the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, of their alleged efforts to achieve «disarmament» and «peaceful coexistence» of their alleged «spirit of détente», etc. They demonstrated that the number one task for the peoples and all the revolutionary forces is to sharpen their vigilance and expose the plots of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, forcefully and without hesitation, to foil their aggressive plans. The past year showed that the peoples of the world are becoming increasingly aware of this truth. The movements of the working class, the struggles for liberation and genuine national independence, and all the progressive movements of the past year drew the noose of the profound political, economic, and social crisis still tighter round the necks of imperialism and social-imperialism and brought still nearer their inevitable and final defeat. They showed that despite all the plots, intrigues and interferences, despite all the modern means of warfare at their disposal, the superpowers and reaction are incapable of subjugating the peoples and countries, even small ones, if they are determined to fight to the end and make any sacrifice. They confirmed the thesis of our Party that freedom and independence are won and defended with the rifle, through struggle, that the strategy of the national-liberation people's war is a victorious strategy, that the revolution and the national liberation of peoples are problems taken up for solution. «The present conditions», says comrade Enver Hoxha, «require that this merciless and all-round struggle should be waged by all the peoples of the world, all progressive mankind that really and completely cherish in their hearts the interests of their peoples and have made them the objective of their struggle and their lives. This struggle will be the more determined, ever more consistent and on the upsurge, if it is led by the world proletariat and its vanguard, the Communist Party, that is guided by the unerring theory of Marxism-Leninism». —

# THE MODERNIST DISTORTIONS IN CONTEMPORARY BOURGEOIS-REVISIONIST MUSIC

by **SIMON GJONI**

EACH NATION CREATES ITS OWN CULTURE AND ART, ELABORATES AND ENRICHES THEM IN THE PROCESS OF ITS HISTORICAL EVOLUTION. THE CHARACTER OF EACH PEOPLE IS EXPRESSED VERY CLEARLY IN ITS MUSIC, BECAUSE, JUST AS THE REALITY HAS BEEN FELT IN VARIOUS WAYS BY DIFFERENT PEOPLES SO IT HAS FOUND ITS OWN EXPRESSION. EACH PEOPLE PUTS ITS SEAL ON ITS OWN CONCEPTION AND ARTISTIC MATERIALIZATION OF THIS REALITY. ONE HAS ONLY TO COMPARE THE SONGS, MELODIES AND ARTISTIC CREATIONS OF DIFFERENT PEOPLES TO DISCERN THE DIFFERENCES IN THEIR CONCEPTION AND SOUND WHILE CLEARLY DISTINGUISHING THEIR OBVIOUS LINKS WITH THE CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE TO WHOM THEY BELONG. BUT, IT IS KNOWN THAT THE SPECIAL FEATURES OF NATIONS HAVE BEEN EXPRESSED AND DEVELOPED GRADUALLY; THEY BELONG TO THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECT WHICH HAS A DIRECT INFLUENCE ON ARTISTIC THINKING. THEREFORE, THE PHENOMENA OF LIFE THAT MUSIC EMBODIES IN THE MOST VARIED ASPECTS ARE CONCRETE, NOT ONLY FROM THE HISTORICAL, SOCIAL, AND CLASS ASPECT, BUT, IN THE EPOCH OF EXISTENCE OF NATIONS, ALSO FROM THE NATIONAL ASPECT. THE NATIONAL CHARACTER IN MUSIC IS EXPRESSED NOT ONLY IN WHAT FEELINGS A PEOPLE EXPRESSES IN ITS SONGS, MELODIES AND DANCES, BUT ALSO IN HOW IT EXPRESSES THEM, HOW IT MATERIALIZES THEM IN ARTISTIC CREATION. THE ENTIRE NATIONAL ATMOSPHERE, THE HISTORY OF THE NATION, THE NATURE OF THE COUNTRY, THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE IN IT, THEIR RELATIONSHIPS, THE MELODY OF THE MOTHER TONGUE IN ALL ITS SPECIAL FEATURES, ETC., FIND THEIR EXPRESSION HERE.

The national character is the more or less stable expression of the world outlook, the psychology and mental characteristics of a nation, which are formed in given historical conditions and which distinguish it from other nations. The various epochs and stages in the rise, formation, and existence of the nation have given rise to different concepts of the aims and tasks of its literature and arts, because, the national character is not fixed once and for all. In the succession of stages, some of its features become obsolete

and disappear, while others grow and develop. Thus the national character that we are emphasizing in our music is its present-day national character, with all its new and powerful characteristic features. Music firmly based on the national soil, with a socialist content and a national form, is not a matter of national «adornment», but a necessity that is closely linked with the needs of a realist communication of the content, ideas, thoughts and emotions of the nation, of our contemporaries. Comrade Enver Hoxha says:

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*SIMON GJONI — a composer, merited artist of the PSRA.*

**The efforts of the present-day  
reactionary esthetes to advertise a «universal»  
art serve the interest of the imperialist  
bourgeoisie which has always striven to denigrate or to eliminate  
the cultural traditions of smaller nations and the national  
spirit in art and culture, to facilitate its cultural aggression  
and the subjugation of nations**

«Through many tempests of the time, endless fierce battles our people created a culture and art with a clear national form, which constitutes a priceless asset. These values of the progressive art of our nation are the object of legitimate pride for us, they are our contribution to the treasury of progressive world culture. Since our people have preserved this culture and developed it further through the centuries, then the burden falls on us, the generations of socialist society, to fight with the passion of a communist militant to keep it pure and develop it further».

However, the present-day reactionary esthetes of the West are advertising far and wide a «universal» musical art, independent of national ties and class outlook. According to them, this «modern» music is also «revolutionary» because it is allegedly capable of reflecting the modern world, because only this music has found and elaborated the means of expression suitable to penetrate into the essence of our epoch, in which the great technical and scientific discoveries have brought about a complete revolution in human concepts about the world and society, because in the century of atomic power and interplanetary flights a «new world outlook» has been created, which in its artistic embodiment demands a «modern» musical language, a «modern style», obli-

gatory for all the creative artists of the world. This attitude emerged with particular clarity in the «Festival of Contemporary Music» that took place recently in Rome, at which works of serialist, dodecaphonic, and punctualist composers were performed. To express ourselves in the terms of the bourgeois criticism, the general feature common to all those works was that no one could tell what nationality distinguished one composer from another. In other words, there was total elimination of the national character, and any distinctive feature, of form or content, or the creative individuality of the composers. A. Schoenberg, the creator of dodecaphonic music, from which all the other ultra-formalist trends proceed, basing themselves in essence on the morality of the philosophy «The Ethics of Retreat into Oneself», declares: «People whom the same feeling unites are in danger of being transformed into a mass». Proceeding from this, all the decadent, ultra-individualistic trends and styles eliminate any concept of music as a powerful art in educating the masses for the realization of the supreme aspirations of human society. What is more, by cutting themselves off from the living reality around us, from the society of which we are members, they arrive at nihilism, expressing the tendency to deny any possibility of, or belief in, social advance in history.

Theodore Adorno, a fervent disciple of Schoenberg, and one of the most widely known representatives of dodecaphonism, confirms this more openly in his book, «The philosophy of the New Music», when he writes about his master: «The fear of loneliness becomes a canon of his art». Here, then, we have to do with an openly reactionary ideological stand, and not just a simple and «independent system for the combination of sounds», as they try to present it. The essence of Schoenberg's system of atonal music, together with its hybrids, which has many followers today, in the bourgeois and revisionist countries, being given every kind of treatment in derivatives by various «composers», proceeding from its one basic principle: «We must not go back to the past», or «To insist on the tests of esthetic laws of periods in which one has not lived means that one has no capacity for art», consists of the idea that all the national art and culture of the people is unnecessary for the artist, for the creator. Thus every connection is severed with the people's heritage, with all the former musical culture, while in fact, affirming the most extreme cosmopolitanism, and utterly corrupting the content and the artistic form in which it finds its embodiment. Starting from impressionism and expressionism to the present dodecaphonic, serial, punctualistic music, as well as other trends and sys-

tems that are the offspring of bourgeois decadence, they all try to justify themselves under the cloak of «innovation», the «search for the new» at all costs, while absolutizing the means of expression, while breaking every connection with the best progressive traditions of the peoples and, above all, seeking to divert attention from the essential problems of the content, from the major questions that are concerning mankind today, the working class, the youth, the peoples of the world, who are fighting for their liberation and their social rights.

The so-called concrete music, so much praised by Pierre Schaeffer and his disciples, is founded on more or less the same principles. Proceeding from the principle that the music created by mankind through the centuries is nothing but «abstract music», these «creators» take «concrete sounds» from life, nature, in the form of noises like that of factories, the roar of machines, the bellowing of animals, the roar from a stadium, human groans, etc. Among the known achievements of this music we will mention «Death of the Horse» in which, among sounds of differing tones and forms, the neighing of a horse in diverse moments of its life, down to its death rattle, are tape-recorded and combined with other noises. We can mention another work of a similar kind composed by an Italian composer and entitled «The Hunt Symphony» in which the different noises of a forest are recorded, the rustle of trees, the baying of hounds, the sound of horses' hoofs, the halloo of hunters, etc., which continue for forty minutes. In its basic idea, this trend is also linked with the electronic music which is produced in laboratories by means of various electronic devices, as a trend that seeks to destroy genuine music art, all the progressive musical culture of the world that the peoples have preserved, developed and cultivated through the centuries. In the first place, they try to eliminate the overtones (secondary tones generated by all natural musical sounds according to a law of

acoustics), including the human voice and all the different instruments mankind uses today. By means of generators and the play of frequencies, semitones and even quarter tones are made to compete among themselves, gliding from one to the other to end in an inarticulate, indeterminate sound called «Geräusch», that in fact is only a sort of hiss and nothing more. Fresh experiments and studies are carried out in electronic laboratories to produce variations and ramifications of every kind, and together with the concrete music, they claim that only this type of music is directed to the listener and communicates with him directly (without the intermediary of performers), thus eliminating the social function of live concerts and all the feelings and emotions they arouse. Into the same category fall all the various experiments and «discoveries» of the German composer K. Stockhausen who, starting from the technique of serial music (which is linked with Webern's style) produces the most bizarre sounds, for example in his work for electronic sounds, piano, and percussion instruments. Another off-shoot of dodecaphonism is serial music which, based on the same esthetic principles, is characterized by the fragmentation of the melodic line in tiny asymmetrical nuclei in which the timbre is given an independent function in the overall context of sounds, with an even more advanced complexity of musical language which marks the prelude of the generalization of the serial organization, typical of the final phase of development of dodecaphonism. Striving to perfect the trend of serial music, the Austrian composer A. Webern, who is known as an admirer and a worthy disciple of Schoenberg's, in order to perfect the flow of serial music, abandoned the tonal functions and eliminated the principles of the function of sounds — the main characteristic and basis of realist music — right from the start, thus negating the possibility of individualization and typification as well as the national physiognomy of music in general, which

leads to complete cosmopolitanism. The so-called «athematic music» which, by abandoning musical thematic unity (a logical consequence of the individualization of heroes, of situations, of the clash of opposing forces, of a correct and clear dramatic development, etc.), leads to the fragmentarization of ideas, is in an almost identical position. The same may be said of other currents similar to those we just mentioned, all of them being phenomena of the decay and degeneration of bourgeois art culture. On this question, comrade Enver Hoxha says: **«Under the disguise of an art which allegedly does not recognise social prejudices and ideological commitments, the cult of lack of content and ugly form, the cult of the vile and the hideous is created. The principal heroes of decadent modernist art are murderers and prostitutes and its themes are immorality, social pathology. Its banner is irrationalism, its liberation from «reason». Its ideal is the primitivism of the cave man».**

The reactionary Western esthetes claim to have a «universal» musical art, but in fact, there is no one, unified, «modern style» for all. These musical trends and sub-trends have their common philosophical aspect, idealism, and are the offspring of the capitalist system, but, on the other hand, their special feature is the tendency to liquidate one another. Thus, «electro-nism» and «cosmic music» claim to be the most modern and up to date, and therefore pride of place belongs to them; the «silent music» seeks to wipe out all that has gone before it.

Light, rhythmic, and jazz music come within the category of this inhuman character of bourgeois music. As is known, following the First World War this music, which originated in the United States and Latin America, penetrated into various countries as «modern music». And especially during the Second World War and after it, wherever the American Army went, these «evolved» modern dances became part of the political and ideological offensive to introduce the Ameri-

can way of life amidst other peoples, and this pushed the songs and dances, the art and culture of various peoples throughout the world into obscurity. In various countries, the most progressive forces, the music of the people, are in direct conflict with this plague that strives in every way to suppress the national music. Misusing the specific character of song as the simplest form of music that penetrates rapidly among the masses, this genre has become the vehicle for a most reactionary content which, cloaked in a most degenerate form, is aimed at the youth in particular. This inhuman music of frenzied rhythms is accompanied by the ugliest dances which are always presented as the «latest thing» and which are intended to intoxicate and stupefy the masses. The words that go with these «creations» clearly reveal the poisonous aim for which are instilled into listeners' minds, day after day. This same political and ideological plan also guides the religious music which is being spread so vigorously in recent years in many countries of the West, with the powerful support of the Pope and the Catholic clergy. This current of church music calling for peace among men, for Christian humanism, and the serenity and the blessings of heaven is nothing but open propaganda to reconcile the slave with his master, the freedom fighter with the plunderer and oppressor, the oppressed with his exploiter. No less dangerous is the music of erotic inspiration which today has turned out into a pornographic current which through the radio, television, concerts, and records seeks, like pornographic literature and films, to bring about the corruption of the youth, to divert their attention from the great political, economic, and social problems that really do concern them.

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As a result of the great betrayal of Marxism-Leninism by the Soviet leadership and the other revisionists, in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist

countries the degeneration of their culture, art, and music began. This was inevitable. The political and ideological degeneration resulted in the repudiation of the method of socialist realism, the communist partisanship, the class stand, the national character and popular spirit of music, putting it under the influence of the most reactionary currents, degrading it by adopting Western systems and styles, especially American ones, and turning to «modernism», in order to exalt the «new», «modern», the «creativity of our time».

The slogan of the «re-examination» of the foundations of the Marxist-Leninist esthetics which began in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries, especially following the 20th Congress of the CPSU, was nothing but a subjectivist and idealist interpretation of esthetic phenomena. As early as 1962, «Sov'yetskaya Muzyka» (No. 2) wrote in an editorial: «The struggle conducted by the party against the influence of the personality cult and, in this case, the reestablishment of a correct creative appraisal of individual works of some great composers, gave a fresh and vigorous impulse to the advance of our music». But just how music advanced in reality in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries is shown by all the subsequent evolution of music in these countries, both on the theoretical plane and in creative practice.

Even before the October Revolution some composers of Czarist Russia began to fall under the influence of formalist currents. Here we can mention the experiments in colour by the well-known composer Skriabin, who, on the other hand, was also prominent for his idealism and pessimism. In the twenties these influences affected a great number of Soviet composers, Myaskovsky among others, and subsequently Shostakovich. Symphonic instrumental and chamber music was particularly influenced by them. Thus, in the works dealing with contemporary themes a pronounced formalist influence was apparent, as for example, in Shostakovich's symphonic work «De-

dications to October» and his miniatures for piano, «Aphorisms», in «Mozolov's Factory», Polovinsky's «Telescope II», G. Popov's «Sextet», etc. This was the result, in creative practice, of the ideological esthetic thinking prevailing in those days, according to which «the sound of the time must respond to the current reality», and so the trend to adopt the «technique» of Western music appeared. In «Zhizn Iskusstva» (p. 3, No 23, 1927) Belyayev wrote: «...we must borrow the technique of contemporary composers» which in fact means an abstract technical stand, a formalist concept of the new, of «innovation» mainly in the «combination of the means of expression» which no longer resemble «the music of yesterday». At this point, these composers accept Schoenberg's theoretical and practical demands for breaking all connections with the popular heritage and the most progressive works of cultivated music. But the consistent revolutionary struggle, the teachings of Lenin and, later, the leadership of Stalin guided musical creativeness correctly achieving those great results of the Soviet music of socialist realism which are recognised and known. Following the betrayal in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries, such as Poland and others, an unrestrained propaganda began in favour of the currents and styles of bourgeois decadent music. The various revisionist theoreticians tried to justify this by claiming that the use of these styles is a demand imposed by the time. According to them, the subject, the intellect, the creative power of the artist as an independent individual creates the object of art. Thus, they agree on many points with the bourgeois esthetes and adopt the theses both of expressionism and of other modernist currents, according to the adepts of which the «object» has not the slightest realist foundation, because emotion is based on profound passivity and mysticism, as we find, for example, in the works of the French composers Messiaen, Boulez, etc. So it is not at all accidental that in 1965 the Soviet publishing house «MUZGIZ» published

and distributed Arthur Honegger's «Liturgical Symphony No 3» and the Soviet composer D. Shostakovich himself performed his «Symphony No 14», which is pervaded by pessimism, anti-heroism and mediaeval religious obscurantism.

According to the Polish musicologist, Jozef Chominsky: «... Even now, for many composers (Polish) the West still remains an attractive force. The influence of the creative currents of Western Europe often hampers the development of national music... The creativeness of contemporary Polish composers is distinguished for its wide variety of styles. The range of means of expression is very broad, from the modes of the past century to dodecaphony and punctualism...». The Polish Radio in Warsaw has organized experimental studios of electronic and concrete music (under the direction of Jozef Patkowski), the same as in many Western countries: France, Italy, Germany, or the United States. Hence it is not surprising that Poland has become a centre of the ugliest trends of decadent music; in Warsaw there are public concerts of performances of silent music, including the most absurd styles practiced in Western music today.

The general Secretary of the League of Soviet composers in fact justifies the cultivation of every decadent musical current when he writes in the magazine «Sovetskaya Muzyka»: «... In great part of our music subjective tendencies are still manifest. Some composers seek their inspiration in the archives of the Middle Ages, others in cold, grotesque masks. Some try their talents in dodecaphony or concrete music. In fact there is nothing to be alarmed about in all this; youth is youth, and it likes to try everything». And further: «Let us take another subject, space, one of the most romantic themes of our days. Here, too, our young authors are devoting great attention to research in «cosmic sounds». As is known, today, in the West there is a trend of so-called «cosmic music» which, with imagination, tries to discover sounds of in-

terplanetary space (reproducing them by means of sophisticated electronic apparatus and generators). But we ask what difference is there between these appraisals, this stand, and the statements of Heinrich Strobel, the editor of the avant-garde magazine «Melos», who says that «bombs fall atonally». We should add that, according to him, it does not matter what one composes, how and why one composes, or the musical trend it belongs to because death is hanging over everybody's head. These are clearly metaphysical views of an expressionistic philosophy and esthetics, and have been approved by the Secretary General of the League of Soviet Composers, just as he has given his approval of many decadent works by various Soviet composers.

Present Soviet musical criticism thinks that the means of expression of dodecaphony present no danger and that, in different combinations, they do not distort the content. Thus, at the Symposium of Musicologists (Berlin 1966) they presented «six tableaux for piano» composed «in mixed style», dodecaphonic and traditional, by Arno Bobadian. Moreover, at the Fifth Conference of Musical Theoreticians it was claimed that «phenomena should not be evaluated from traditional positions». In fact these theories are nothing other than a negation of the national physiognomy of music, a break with tradition, as Schoenberg demanded earlier. At the same conference Klignitka caps this when he says more openly: «Dodecaphonic technique levels out national originality», and this is clearly confirmed by all the creations of contemporary modernist currents. As to the real relationships between content and artistic form that lie at the foundation of these currents, systems and styles, Stefan Kiselewsky defines them in a clearcut manner in the Polish magazine «Ruch Muzyczny», when he writes: «Music is the organization of sounds, or more exactly, the combination of certain systems of organization that gather individual viewpoints in their own sphere». Hence, it has nothing

to do with content, and S. Kiselewsky, although in another form, has borrowed this negation of the power of music to reflect objective reality from Igor Stravinsky (composer of Russian origin and U.S. citizenship) who accepted the thesis that «music is only a lie» and who did not consider himself a creator, a composer, but a craftsman who produced various sounds.

At the conference mentioned above, the Soviet composer Denisov declared that «dodecaphony and serial music are a normal achievement in the new stage of development of musical art». In fact this assertion accepts the elimination of principles of the function of sounds of realist music, a departure from their tonal base, the negation of individualization, the elimination of the national physiognomy and popular spirit in music, and, above all, the bastardization of the sound ideological content which results from these currents which start from an idealist and reactionary ideo-esthetic base.

Today various representatives of Western decadent music visit the Soviet Union and are welcomed there. Various works of degenerate musical currents are being popularized and ever more frequently performed there. Troupes, ensembles and complexes from the United States give «successful» performances for the Soviet public.

Today, in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries, all sorts of ensembles at the most varied kinds that, both in content and form, imitate those of the United States, have been set up. Once M. Gorky asked: «With whom do you side, masters of art?» It is evident that these revisionist masters of music and those that direct, encourage, and approve them, are against the people, the revolution, and socialism.

Confronting the modernist degeneration and distortions stand the art of socialist realism and all the revolutionary and progressive art of the world, which remains loyal to sound traditions and proceeds from the lofty interests of the peoples. -

# In Service of Marxist-Leninist Unity

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In December, the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, published a summary of the Joint Communiqué on the talks between representatives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina (M-L) and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany (M-L).

The communiqué, taken from the newspaper «Roter Morgen», organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany (M-L), announces that important problems of the situation in Argentina and in Germany were discussed as well as the problems of the Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle.

The communiqué stresses the full support of the Communist Party (M-L) of Argentina for the struggle of the German proletariat and the working masses of Germany under the leadership of the Communist Party of Germany (M-L), for the violent socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat through the whole of Germany, for a united, independent, socialist Germany.

The Communist Party of Germany (M-L) declares its full support for the struggle of the proletariat and the working masses of Argentina at the head of which stands the Communist Party (M-L) of Argentina. The masses of the people of Argentina are fighting in the new democratic revolution to liquidate the fascist dictatorship and to defeat the domination of imperialism and the

Argentinian oligarchy linked with it. The defeat of the fascist dictatorship and its replacement with a revolutionary provisional government can be achieved only through a revolutionary uprising.

In connection with their assessment of the international situation, the two parties unanimously observe that the present epoch is the epoch of the proletarian revolution and the present situation in the world is the result of the development of fundamental contradictions analysed by Lenin.

The communiqué points out that the fundamental contradictions in the world today are linked together and no one can deny or extinguish them. On the basis of the sharpening of the contradictions, in the world today, a situation favourable for the revolutionary struggles of the peoples has been created. The struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations against imperialism, especially against United States imperialism and Russian social-imperialism, against reaction and revisionism, is assuming a great impetus. In the capitalist countries, the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, with the socialist revolution as the objective, is constantly developing. The existence of Socialist Albania and Socialist China is of great importance for the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and the international proletariat. The socialist countries, which adhere to the Marxist-Leninist line and proletarian internationalism, are bases in the struggle against impe-

rialism, reaction and revisionism, for the victory of socialism on a world scale.

Today, the two imperialist superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, are the two biggest international exploiters and oppressors, stresses the communiqué further on. Their fierce contention in the struggle for world domination is the main source of the danger of a new imperialist world war. The Communist Party (M-L) of Argentina and the Communist Party of Germany (M-L) are of the opinion that it is absolutely necessary to fight both the superpowers in the same manner and that it is impossible to rely on the one superpower against the other.

The Communist Party (M-L) of Argentina and the Communist Party of Germany (M-L) hold that the present situation in the world makes it especially necessary to strengthen and consolidate the unity among the sister Marxist-Leninist parties on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. In this unity, they see the main factor for the further progress of the revolution in the world.

Commenting on this communiqué in an editorial article, the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» writes:

«As the communiqué says, the representatives of the two parties discussed important questions of the international situation, the situation in Argentina and in Germany, problems of the Marxist-Leninist strategy and tac-

# In Service of Marxist-Leninist Unity

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tics of the revolutionary struggle in the respective countries, and exchanged experience and expressed their support for one another in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

The Party of Labour of Albania fully supports the cooperation between the Marxist-Leninist parties and welcomes the joint communique of the German Marxist-Leninists and the Argentinian Marxist-Leninists. In this, it sees a serious effort by the two sister parties to further strengthen and develop the unity between them as well as that in the ranks of the internationalist Marxist-Leninist movement.

In the present epoch, when the working masses are engaging themselves in the revolutionary struggle, in the struggle against the two superpowers, against imperialism and reaction in general on an ever wider scale, the international unity of the proletariat and the unity among its vanguard detachments, the Marxist-Leninist parties the world over, assume special importance. As comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, the call of Marx and Engels «Proletarians of all countries, unite!», has been and remains a powerful call for unity. Today, the allround reciprocal cooperation and aid among the Marxist-Leninist parties are more necessary than ever, because they are their powerful weapon in the unequal fight against imperialism headed, by U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionary forces.

The bourgeoisie and revisionism have always risen against such cooperation, although they themselves collaborate and coordinate their activities, openly or secretly, in order to divide and crush

the revolution, the genuine Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries.

The joint communique of the Communist Party of Germany (M-L) and the Communist Party (M-L) of Argentina, and the earlier declarations of a number of other parties are an expression of the fact that the genuine Marxist-Leninist movement has now gained valuable experience, both in the struggle against its common enemies and in the coordination of their activities in the revolutionary struggle. As the communique of the two sister parties shows, this experience is becoming more thoroughly assimilated and carried further forward.

In this sense, it can be said that the publication of the joint communique of the sister Marxist-Leninist parties of Germany and Argentina, which appraises the situation and defines the mutual tasks for the coming class battles from a correct Marxist-Leninist position, is a success for the whole Marxist-Leninist movement.

The Party of Labour of Albania has fraternal relations and ties both with the sister Party of Germany and with the sister Party of Argentina. These relations are inspired by our common ideology, Marxism-Leninism, by our revolutionary unity, which is based on the immortal lessons of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Our Party supports the correct Marxist-Leninist line and revolutionary activity of the sister Communist Party of Germany (M-L) and sees in it the vanguard detachment of the German proletariat in the two German states, the fighter for the revolution through to victory, the resolute fighter for a united, independent, socialist Germany.

Our Party is in solidarity also with the general line and the revolutionary

activity of the sister Communist Party (M-L) of Argentina, which is fighting resolutely against internal reaction and U.S. imperialism, as well as against modern revisionism.

Armed with the decisions of the 7th Congress, the Party of Labour of Albania, in the future, too, will continue to render its support to every activity which contributes to the strengthening of the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement on a world scale and will always uphold the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.



# press review

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## THE NAME AND WORK OF COMRADE MAO TSETUNG ARE IMMORTAL

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

Today the Albanian communists and people, together with the Chinese communists and fraternal people, commemorate with deep respect the 83th anniversary of birth of Comrade Mao Tsetung, the great leader of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people, the dear friend of our Party and people.

All the victories of world historic importance that the Chinese people have achieved over more than half a century under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, are closely linked with the name and revolutionary activity of Comrade Mao Tsetung.

On the basis of the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism and relying firmly on the revolutionary struggle and efforts of the Chinese proletariat, Comrade Mao Tsetung founded the glorious Communist Party of China, the faithful vanguard and leadership of the Chinese working people, which he led for more than 50 years on the road of great victories.

Comrade Mao Tsetung is the great strategist of the Chinese revolution. Applying and developing the teachings of Marxism-Leninism in the conditions of China, he provided the Communist Party of China and the Chinese revolution with a correct strategy which led them to victory through a heroic people's armed struggle extending over 25 years. Un-

der the direct leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung, in the fire of the revolutionary armed struggle, the People's Liberation Army of the Chinese people was born, and grew into a colossal force. Through legendary battles, it routed, one after another, the forces of feudal-bourgeois reaction, the armies of the Japanese invaders and the counter-revolutionary horde of Chiang Kai-shek, armed to the teeth by the U.S. imperialists. The brilliant victory of the great Chinese revolution, which dealt a heavy blow at the positions of world imperialism, and the founding of the People's Republic of China are the living embodiment of the correctness and vitality of the Marxist-Leninist line followed by the Communist Party of China under the tested leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung. The rich experience of the Chinese revolution, which constitutes a valuable contribution to the treasury of the theory and practice of the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat, is summed up on a scientific basis, according to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, in his thought and teachings.

For the Chinese people the creation of the People's Republic of China marked the dividing line between two worlds — the old world of exploitation and oppression, and the new world of freedom,

progress, and wellbeing. At the head of the Communist Party of China, Comrade Mao Tsetung became the architect of the glorious road of profound social transformations, of the construction of socialism and the magnificent victories that the fraternal Chinese people have achieved in all fields over these 27 years of their people's power. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China with Comrade Mao Tsetung at the head, great People's China has been transformed into a powerful, developed socialist country, with modern industry and advanced agriculture, with science and technology of a high world standard, with a stable economy that knows no crises or unemployment, and ensures the uninterrupted rise of the wellbeing of the people, with a defence potential capable of defeating any enemy or coalition of aggressors that might dare to touch it. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which was initiated and directed by comrade Mao Tsetung, defeated the counter-revolutionary plots of the bourgeois-revisionist clique of Liu Shao-chi and his supporters, defending the victories of socialism and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat so that the cause of socialism in China would advance unceasingly and the way would be closed to any attempts to return to capitalism.

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The great victories of the Chinese people fill our communists and people with immense joy, for our two parties, our two peoples and our two countries are linked in a deep revolutionary friendship. This friendship was forged by our two Marxist-Leninist parties, by Chairman Mao Tsetung and Comrade Enver Hoxha. It has withstood every test, for it was created, born and tempered in the struggle for the same ideals of the revolution and socialism, is based on the common ideology, Marxism-Leninism, and on proletarian internationalism, has been strengthened and tempered in the common struggle and battles against imperialism and world reaction, against the two world gendarmes, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, and in the resolute and consistent struggle against modern revisionism. The Albanian communists and people will always keep alive in their memory the deep feelings of love and respect nurtured by comrade Mao Tsetung for our people, our Party and our country, the great and constant concern he showed, in a lofty internationalist spirit to sin-

cerely support and assist socialist Albania in her struggle and efforts to overcome the difficulties created by the plots and blockades of her imperialist-revisionist enemies, in the successful construction of socialism and the strengthening of the defence potential of the country. Comrade Mao Tsetung made a high appraisal the common struggle and the mutual support of our two parties and people for the great common cause of the revolution and socialism, for the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism against the same enemies, imperialism, social-imperialism, revisionism, and reaction. «The strength that stems from this friendship», stressed comrade Mao Tsetung, «is inexhaustible and truly invincible. Let our two parties and two peoples unite still more closely with the genuine Marxists all over the world, with the revolutionary peoples of the different countries, and fight shoulder-to-shoulder to finally bury the common enemies of the peoples of the world, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism».

This militant internationalist friendship is a great in-

spiration and encouragement to our Party and people. They are proud to have a reliable friend and close comrade in arms of the same ideals in the great Chinese people and in their Communist Party, educated by comrade Mao Tsetung with feelings of love and internationalist solidarity towards our country. And, as comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 7th Congress of the PLA, «Our Party and people will strive unceasingly to keep the fraternal friendship and collaboration with the great Chinese people, their glorious Communist Party, the great People's China, pure and strong».

In commemorating the 83th anniversary of birth of comrade Mao Tsetung, this great Marxist-Leninist and proletarian revolutionary, the Albanian people and their Party of Labour express their firm conviction that, as comrade Mao Tsetung has said, our two parties and our two peoples will stand together, fight together and triumph together, in the interests of our two countries, and the cause of socialism, the revolution, and Marxism-Leninism.

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## **WHILE THE MILLIONAIRES MULTIPLY THEIR MILLIONS, THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE ARE LIVING IN POVERTY AND WANT**

«BASHKIMI», organ of the Democratic Front of Albania

In the present conditions when the capitalist-revisionist countries are deeply involved

in an economic and financial crisis, the economic and social inequality between classes,

between exploiters and exploited, has assumed unprecedented proportions. While the

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masses of the working people are becoming more and more impoverished, the bourgeoisie is increasing its profits. In the United States, the profits of 541 big monopolies rose 33 per cent in the first six months of 1976, in comparison with the same period of 1975. The «Dupont» firm, for example, in the space of three months made a profit of over 200 million dollars, or 6 times more than in the same period of the past year.

Today in the United States, 5 per cent of the population owns 57 per cent of the national wealth, whereas 87 per cent of the remainder of the population owns only 8 per cent of it. Over 30 million people in that country are living below the official poverty level. This in no way hinders the monopoly bourgeoisie from spending about 130 million dollars per year just to maintain its bureaucratic apparatus, or from spending 10 billion dollars on the receptions given by the big corporations, or 40 billion dollars on luxury items each year.

This is the road the new bourgeoisie in power in the Soviet Union has taken, too. There, the process of class differentiation, the polarization of society, is increasing rapidly. On one hand there are the elements of the new bourgeoisie, such as the top functionaries of the revisionist party and state, the bureaucratic military caste, the technocrats, etc., and on the other the broad masses of the working

people of the town and countryside. Millions of Soviet people, especially in the countryside, are living below the recognised minimum. According to official data, there are 25 million people in the Soviet Union living at the minimum level set by the Soviet revisionists themselves, while 68 million others have a family income below that minimum.

Under these conditions, in which the fundamental contradictions of capitalist society are becoming ever deeper, social-democracy, the revisionists and the other opportunists are intensifying their deceptive propaganda intended to convince the masses of the working people that the present upheavals are allegedly a passing phenomenon, therefore they should endure the heavy burden that has fallen upon them. But, as Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 7th Congress of the Party, «... capitalism, as a social system, can never escape its contradictions and ulcers, because it is incapable of ensuring its own superprofits and preserving an internal social equilibrium at the same time». Nothing can cover the fact that the enrichment of a handful of millionaires brings about impoverishment and want among the masses of the people. An intensive process of polarization is observed, among other things, also in the colossal differentials in wages. In Spain, for example, the manager of an enterprise is

paid 33 times the average wage of a worker, in France this difference is 28 times, in the Soviet Union about 20 times, in Italy 18 times, whereas in Brazil it is 100-200 times over, or even higher.

The capitalist law of the increase of profits and the impoverishment of the masses of the people is operating ever more savagely. Everywhere, in all the capitalist-revisionist countries, we see an unprecedented rise in prices and taxes, which leads to the continuous rise of the cost of living. Now in the Soviet Union, in order to buy the essential food and industrial products, a worker's family must spend 29 per cent more than previously, whereas the income of a peasant's family has fallen 25 per cent during the last five years.

Taxes are another factor that reduce real wages, thus making the life of the broad masses of the working people ever more difficult. It has been calculated that the total sum of taxes squeezed out of the U.S. working people during the period following the Second World War has increased five fold and has reached the sum of 286 billion dollars. A whole system of taxes falls on the backs of the Soviet working people, too. During the last ten years taxes have increased 140 per cent, in 1975 the masses of the working people were robbed of 18,4 billion rubles, that is to say 12 per cent of their monthly wages. In Britain taxes gobble up

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40 per cent of a worker's pay, whereas in the Federal Republic of Germany in 1975 alone the masses of the working people had to pay 65 billion Marks in taxes.

The more the general economic crisis of the bourgeois-revisionist countries deepens, the more big capital, the

bourgeoisie and the revisionists try to shift the burden of the crisis on to backs of the broad masses of the working people. Thus the gulf between rich and poor, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, is becoming deeper day by day. This class differentiation leads to the con-

tinuous sharpening of the antagonistic contradiction in capitalism between the social character of production and the private character of appropriation, and leads to the further intensification of the struggle of the proletariat for the overthrow of the rotten system in power.

## THE REFORMIST AND REVISIONIST TRADE UNIONS — SABOTEURS OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKING CLASS AGAINST CAPITAL

*«PUNA», organ of the Central Council of Trade Unions of Albania*

In the capitalist and revisionist states an ever increasing intensification of the capitalist oppression and exploitation of the working class and the other masses of the working people is apparent. This is an expression of the anti-popular policy of the bourgeoisie and monopolies to saddle the working people with the burden of the grave crisis which has gripped them and is growing deeper day by day, and to keep their profits unaffected. The bourgeoisie is accompanying this intensification of its capitalist oppression and exploitation with new savage police measures to prevent any outburst of the legitimate opposition and revolt of the working class against the savage attacks of the capital. The aim of the bourgeoisie is to make the working class and the other oppressed and exploit-

ed strata accept their difficult situation, so that they do not rise and seek the road of the overthrow of the capitalist system of oppression.

To achieve this counter-revolutionary objective, along with violence, the bourgeoisie also uses its other favourite weapon — disruption of the ranks of the working class. In this respect, it has charged the reformist and revisionist trade unions with a special mission, and precisely at these moments of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism when the bourgeois state power is beginning to quake under the blows of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, they have stepped up their treacherous and disruptive activities. «These so-called trade unions, openly manipulated by the bourgeois parties and led by the working class aristocracy», said comrade

Enver Hoxha in the report he delivered to the 7th Congress of the PLA, «struggle by all manner of means to confuse the working people and to sabotage their revolutionary struggle».

As the agents of capital, the treacherous leaders of the trade unions strive to have the entire movement of the working class, any of its actions, carried out within the bounds of bourgeois law, in such a way as not to damage the interests of the monopolists. They try to impose class peace and to channel the movement of the working class into the capitulationist line of class conciliation and collaboration. Clear expressions of this are the active support which the reformist and revisionist trade unions are giving the various plans of the bourgeoisie to get out of the crisis by shifting the

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burden of it on to the shoulders of the masses of the working people, and the propaganda they conduct to this end. The so-called policy of national sacrifice that the revisionist trade union leaders have trumpeted so loudly in Italy and France, in the Federal Republic of Germany and England, in the USA and elsewhere, is nothing but the continuation of the notorious policy of further tightening of the belt which the heads of the bourgeois governments are applying. Thus, in Italy the traitor leadership of the Italian General Confederation of Labour, which is under the influence of revisionist parties, has supported the so-called «plan for the restoration of the economy» which was recently adopted by the government and which is based entirely on considerable increases in prices for many food products and industrial goods.

Just like the ministers of the bourgeois governments, who try to satisfy the workers with an empty spoon, the trade union leaders are carrying on a lot of propaganda in

the workers' ranks to the effect that these sacrifices are allegedly 'indispensable' now to improve the situation, which will allegedly improve, as soon as the difficult economic situation is over. They present economic crises, these permanent fellow-travellers of the capitalist system, which will go on as long as private ownership and the capitalist exploitation exist, as passing phenomena. And they do this, not only in order to make the working class and the other masses of the working people accept the consequences of crises, but also in order to prevent the proletariat from seeking and taking the road of the revolution which, as Marxism-Leninism teaches us, is the only road to escape crises and capitalist exploitation.

On the other hand, the trade union leaders strive in every way to sabotage the organization, unity and the revolutionary struggle of the working class. The interference of the trade union leaders in Italy or France, in Britain or Belgium and elsewhere, in order to force the workers to renounce their revolutionary

class struggle, is now notorious. As soon as the strike movement in a branch of the economy takes a direction that infringes upon the interests of the capital, the trade union leaders rush into negotiations with the bosses, the principal aim of which is to extinguish the revolt of the working class and prevent the movement from assuming proportions dangerous to capital.

In order to keep the trade unions and the entire workers' movement under their control, the traitor trade union leaders, in close collaboration with the capitalists, strive to prevent at all costs sound elements, dedicated to the cause of the working class, from coming to the leadership of the trade unions. The daily experience of the class struggle is convincing the working class that the struggle against the treacherous activity of the trade union leaders, against their anti-popular line and stand, is a component part of the struggle against the bourgeoisie, against capitalist oppression and exploitation. —

## THE TENTACLES OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»,

Events in Africa show that, in the context of their global strategy for world domination, the two imperialist superpowers, the United States

and the Soviet Union, are devoting special attention to this continent. The motives that impel them are economic and political, military and stra-

tegic. Africa possesses great wealth and huge reserves of still unexploited raw materials, especially of minerals of great strategic value. It ac-

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counts for a large percentage of world's production of diamonds, cobalt, gold, chromium, etc, as well as considerable quantities of uranium. At the same time, Africa is a huge market on which the obsolescent weapons and unsold stocks of goods of the two greatest plunderers of our day, the U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, can be sold with economic and political advantage.

The facts prove that both these two plunderers are competing with each other to get their hands on the biggest and best slice of the African «cake». Under the guise of «development aid» the U. S. monopolies and the multinational monopoly companies have made huge investments in many African countries under conditions that ensure them colossal profits of tens of billions of dollars, at the expense of the long-suffering African peoples, and that create possibilities for them to plunder and subjugate these nations. Even in the present conditions of the deepening crisis, the prices of industrial goods sold to the African countries have gone still higher, whereas prices for the raw materials that they sell have dropped. We need only mention that in 1974 prices for U.S. exports of fertilizers and metallurgical products went up 100 and 33 per cent respectively in comparison with those of 1973, while the prices of copper and coffee exported to the United

States from Zambia and Ethiopia in 1975, fell 40 and 35 per cent respectively.

Under the guise of their «natural ally» and «disinterested friend», the neo-colonialists of the Kremlin, too, are robbing the African countries with both hands. During the ten last years they have exported capital totalling more than three billion dollars to Africa. As a result of their unequal trade with the Soviet social-imperialists, the African countries had suffered losses amounting to 2 billion 400 million dollars in the period 1965-1974.

The sphere of the fierce rivalry between the two superpowers in Africa also includes its very favourable strategic position. They have made, and continue to make, all sorts of efforts to create military bases wherever they can, in Libya and South Africa, in Rhodesia and Somalia, in Angola, Zaire, Guinea, etc. from which their naval fleets can control the sea routes across the Atlantic and Indian Oceans from Europe to Africa and Asia and vice-versa, while the airports of the African countries are the preferred stations for the military aircraft of the airforces of the United States and the Soviet Union.

The visits of the emissaries of Washington and Moscow to the African countries speak of many things. Time has proven that the smiling faces of these emissaries conceal their interference and plots to stir up

conflicts and to create new hotbeds of tension in this area, according to the old imperialist policy of «divide and rule».

The two superpowers split the Angolan people and embroiled them in a fratricidal war, they incite one African country against the other in order to create new hotbeds of tensions. It was U.S. imperialism that incited the quarrel between Kenya and Uganda, the armed raid by the Israeli Zionists on Entebbe airport in Uganda, and the aggressive acts of the Rhodesian racists against Mozambique. Behind the enmity and discord among the Arab countries on the African continent lurks the bloodstained hand of Washington and that of Moscow. The never ending plots and intrigues of the enemies of the freedom and independence of the independent African states, as comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 7th Congress of the Party, «are engineered to retard the revival of this vast continent with a population that has lived in poverty for centuries, but which has an ancient culture, which has new strength and energies, which imperialism, social-imperialism and world capital do not allow to be channelled on to the right road of the progress, freedom, democracy and full independence and sovereignty of these states».

The African peoples, who for centuries on end have faced savage, wily, and perfidious enemies, the old colonialists

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and the present-day racists, etc., are seeing more and more clearly that they should strengthen their unity and continue their struggle against

these old enemies which are trying to regain their lost positions everywhere they can, and in particular against the intrigues, manoeuvres and

plots of new enemies, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists, who are more savage and wily than their old enemies.

## THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE CRISIS FOR THE PEASANTRY OF THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

*Fact and figures from the Albanian Telegraphic Agency*

In the situation in which the entire capitalist and revisionist world is caught in the grip of crisis, the bourgeoisie is trying to shift the consequences of the crisis on to the backs of the working people, including the peasantry. The decline in agricultural production concentration of arable land in the hands of big estate-owners and monopolies, the enormous increase in the prices of daily necessities, etc., are causing the impoverishment of millions of peasants.

In many capitalist countries, such as West Germany, France, Italy, Spain, and others, the process of the ruin of the labouring peasantry, of the increasing bankruptcy of peasant farms that cannot cope with the competition of the monopolies and the big landowners, is being stepped up. As a result, many peasants are turned into field hands, into hired labourers, while many others are obliged to leave their villages, to join the ranks of the unemployed in the cities, or to take the road of emigration. But wherever they go, the same fate awaits them.

In the Federal Republic of Germany agriculture is declining, as the West German bourgeois press itself is forced to admit. This is expressed, in particular, in the ruin and bankruptcy of peasant farms. According to the data of the Statistical Board of the Federal Republic of Germany, during the past 20 years, 45,1 per cent of the farms have been ruined by the fierce competition, while about 40,000 small farms went bankrupt during 1975. Their situation is made worse because of the price policy imposed by monopolies such as «Glockner-Humboldt Deutsch», «International Harvester», «Massay Fergusson» and «John Deere Lanz», that have concentrated the production of tractors and farm machinery in their hands and impose high prices in order to ensure maximum profits. Likewise, agricultural products are becoming more and more concentrated in the hands of a few monopolies. The big «Unilever» and «Nestle» companies have the production of milk and milk products almost completely under their control in West Germa-

ny. This means that while they buy agricultural products from the peasants at very low prices they sell their processed products at prices as much as four times higher than the purchase price. This rapacious policy of the monopolies has led to increased indebtedness by the peasants of West Germany until now it has reached a total of 30 billion Marks.

In France, too, farm incomes are constantly falling. During the past last two years they have fallen 25 per cent. At the same time the debts of the peasants are increasing, in particular because of mortgages at high rates of interest which they are forced to obtain from the monopolies or the capitalist banks, thus further increasing their dependence and exploitation. Many French peasants are obliged to hand over more than two-thirds of their production merely for mortgage and interest repayments.

In these difficult conditions a great number of peasant farms go bankrupt. According to figures from the foreign press, during the last ten

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years the number of medium sized farms in France has fallen from 3 million to 1,2 million.

In Spain the process of the impoverishment of the peasantry and of the concentration of large tracts of arable land in the hands of rich landowners is becoming more and more pronounced. According to press reports, in Andalusia big landholders own 53.6 per cent of all the arable land.

Since 1950, about one million Spaniards have been obliged to leave their villages and emigrate.

The crisis of agriculture is growing deeper in Italy, too. The number of individual farmers with a small plot of land is steadily decreasing as they are obliged to abandon their land. On the other hand, the number of wage labourers in agriculture is increasing. According to figures from the Italian press, the number of peasants farming their own land fell from 74 to 61 per cent in the fifteen year period from 1960 to 1975. According to the same source, from 1971 to 1975 price of chemical fertilizers rose 82 per cent, tractor fuel 100 per cent, farm machinery 53 per cent, etc. All those factors have resulted in a decrease of 150,000 in the number of people engaged in farm work.

The situation of the Japanese peasants, also, is deteriorating in the same way because of land speculation on the part of the capitalist firms and monopolies which

gobble up small and medium farms that are unable to withstand the savage competition, along with the rise in production costs and the cost of living. The monopoly firms use a great part of the land they have gobbled up as a commodity to make profits from the sale of land at colossal prices for construction, etc. Figures from the Department of Agrarian Affairs of Japan show that during the period from 1969 to 1973 an area of 785,000 ha, or 21 per cent of the whole territory of the country, was gobbled up by the big monopolies. At the end of March 1975, Japanese firms with a capital of 100 million Yen or more owned 810 thousand ha of land, from which 100,000 ha of land was for sale.

The bankruptcy of small farms, the abandonment of villages and the concentration of land and agricultural production in the hands of the monopolies have assumed large proportions also in such countries as Holland, Denmark, Belgium and Sweden. In Holland, the total number of farms has fallen from 410 thousand to 181 thousand within the space of the last 25 years. In the same period, the farming population of Denmark decreased from one million to 420,000, while the number of farms fell from 205,800 in 1951 to about 129 thousand today. The process of the ruin of farms is going on in Belgium, too. According to the local press,

about 50 per cent of Belgian peasant farms have suffered total ruin during the 16 last years, whereas in Sweden the number of peasant farms decreased by more than half during the years 1951-1974, and now there are only 133 thousand such farms in that country.

The ruin of the peasants and the aggregation of land in the hands of a small number of rich people have assumed large proportions in Colombia, Honduras, and other countries of Latin America. In Colombia, the process of polarization in the countryside is becoming more and more pronounced. In Honduras, more than 85 per cent of the peasants have no land at all, because the largest tracts of land are in the hands of the local big landowners and foreign capitalist companies, especially American ones, such as «The Banana Transnational United Brands», that oppress and exploit the local peasants savagely.

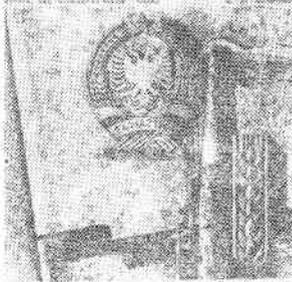
The cruel capitalist oppression and exploitation, the ever more difficult life, the crushing burden of the crisis that falls on the peasants in many capitalist countries, have caused them, together with the other masses of the working people, to come out on strikes and demonstrations, to occupy the big landowners' estates by force, to clash with the bourgeoisie and its apparatus of oppression. —

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**Important steps for perfecting the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat**

The role of the socialist state in the communist training and education of the working people

The time has completely confirmed the predictions of the PLA

Stability and vitality — distinctive features of the economic and social development of Albania

The antipode of creative attitude towards things and phenomena

Peasant art and artistic crafts in Albania

From the life of the country

The revolution determines the course and opens the way to the development of present-day society

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«The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which expresses and defends the interests of all the working people.»

(Documents) Report delivered to the 1st Consultative Meeting of the Activists of the Communist Party of Albania

Clear reflection of the self-acting capacity and stability of the economy in the PR of Albania

A document of extraordinary value for the present and the future of socialism in Albania

The economy of the PRA is successfully coping with every imperialist-revisionist blockade

The vitality of the principles of socialist realism in the present-day Albanian art

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A new victory of the policy of the PLA in the uplift of the general wellbeing of the people

The worker-peasant control — an important factor for the strengthening of the socialist order

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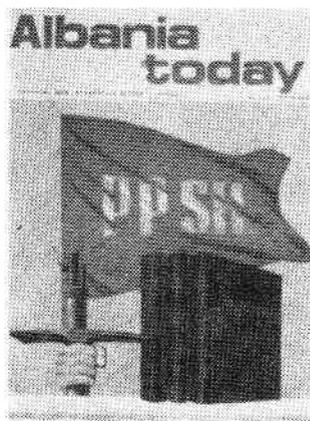
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# Albania today

# 1976

N° 4(29)  
July-August



The editorial office of the review «Albania Today» is publishing in the present issue a part of the documents of the volumes 20, 21 and 22 of the Works of comrade ENVER HOXHA, which include speeches, talks and writings of the year 1961, year of the ever greater intensification of the struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania against the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Party and State which, through most vicious means, tried to force the PLA and the Albanian people to their knees.

*This issue includes:*

**The open political and economic pressure of the Soviet revisionists will fail in the face of the determination and iron will of the Albanian people and communists**

**Slanders and pressure do not frighten us — we do not fall on our knees**

**We must give the open attacks of the Soviet revisionists the reply they deserve**

**The dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania is alive, vigilant and active**

**An act of unprecedented hostility against the PRA and the Albanian people**

**Speeches, reports and other writings**

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**A great event for the further development of the revolution in Albania**

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November-December



*This issue of the magazine «Albania Today» is dedicated to the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania held from 1st to 7th November 1976 in Tirana. It includes:*

**The report «ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA» submitted to the Congress by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, comrade ENVER HOXHA**

**The report «ON THE DIRECTIVES OF THE 7th CONGRESS OF THE PLA FOR THE 6th FIVE-YEAR PLAN FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY AND CULTURE OF THE PRA FOR THE YEARS 1976-1980» submitted to the Congress by the Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRA, comrade MEHMET SHEHU**

**The closing speech of the Congress by comrade ENVER HOXHA**  
**Other materials dedicated to the 7th Congress of the PLA and the 35th anniversary of its founding**



*In the PSR of Albania great care is taken for the protection of the monuments of culture: A typical Gjirokastra house. A partial view of the museum city of Berat.*



# **Albania today**

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