

# Albania today



**“THE YOUTH OF OUR COUNTRY SEES THE FUTURE WITH CONFIDENCE; THE FUTURE IS IN ITS HANDS, ALL THE ROADS ARE OPEN TO IT... THIS IS WHY IT IS REVOLUTIONARY AND RESOLUTE FIGHTER FOR THE CAUSE OF SOCIALISM.”**

**ENVER HOXHA**



The cover of this issue is devoted to the happy youth of our country that has gathered at its 6th Congress in Durrës to see the road traversed in socialist construction and the prospects of the future. On the first page photo Nr. 1 shows the leaders of the Party and State on the tribune together with a group of young pioneers. Photo Nr. 2 shows the portrait of a young foundry worker and in front (3) of him the photo of a young woman engineer. Photos 4 and 5 show a group of young people working in the construction of the Elbasan-Përrenjas railway and another group of youth taking a rest. Cover 2 represents little children playing. Cover 3 shows youth executing a folk dance. In cover Nr. 4 a young artist working the portrait of a highland woman.



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### Note:

The article about the State Social insurances, announced for the present issue, will be published in the next issue due to lack of space.

PUBLISTEKA KOMBETARE  
TIRANE

# Youth-Active For Of The Country's

by **RUDI MONARI**

The 6th Congress of the Albanian Labour Youth Union (ALYU) held its proceedings in the coastal city of Durrës in October. This was an important event for our organisation. This great assembly of our youth drew up the balance-sheet of the work and activity carried out by the rising generation of socialist Albania in all the fields of our dynamic life since the 5th Congress of the ALYU, laid down new tasks and approved the programme for the coming years. During this period great revolutionary transformations have been made in the life of the whole country, and consequently in that of the younger generation of Albania as well. The youth have been a shock force in the struggle guided by the Party of Labour of Albania (PLA) for the further revolutionisation of the country's life. Wherever they work and militate, in plants, agricultural cooperatives, production and construction centres, in educational, cultural and other institutions, the youth are in the vanguard of the work fronts and they struggle to promote the ideas of our revolution. There is no field of Albanian social and political life in which the younger generation does not leave traces of its activity. It has become an initiator in the struggle for the formation of the new man, in the

RUDI MONARI - alternate member of the CC of the PLA,  
first secretary of the CC of the ALYU

# Role In The Revolutionisation Of Life

## The role of youth in the country's social-political development. Its education through work and revolutionary actions

struggle against petty-bourgeois remnants, bourgeois and revisionist influences, in mass actions against backward customs and religious prejudices and for the complete emancipation of women and girls, as well as in the broad movement for the further revolutionisation of our school, etc. Tens of thousands of young men and women, of all categories of youth, are volunteering to help in the construction of the Rrogozhinë-Fier and Elbasan-Përrenjas railway lines, in opening the Malësia e Madhe (Great Highland) highway, in the work for terracing hills and mountains, and in other projects. Actions of voluntary work have become an arena of the work and efforts of youth for the transformation of nature and, at the same time, schools for their revolutionary education. A broad movement which has recently burst forth is that to «Perfect the moral figure of youth in the struggle against manifestations of petty-bourgeois psychology», a struggle which has swept over all sections of the younger generation of our country. In the field of the development of the technical-scientific revolution the youth have thrown themselves in to the struggle against narrow craft-consciousness concepts and bureaucratic practices in production.

In the field of the socialist organisation of work for the radical transformation of the countryside, our youth are providing their example of maintaining a resolute stand against difficulties and of persisting in their efforts to conquer any manifestation of the old world. The young pioneers, rallied around their organisation, are striving to continually improve their results in studies, to temper themselves through useful social work, and they undertake initiatives and actions of political and social educative value.

### THE ROLE OF YOUTH IN THE COUNTRY'S SOCIAL-POLITICAL LIFE

Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 6th Congress of the PLA: «Our younger generation, rallied in its militant organisation of the Albanian Labour Youth Union, under the guidance of the Party, has come out into the arena of the ideological class struggle as a bold initiator and staunch fighter, as a revolutionizing, motive and shock force in the field of social, ideological and cultural transformations».

It has always been clear to our organisation that the success achieved in the political and ideological formation of the youth has been determined by the systematic mastering of Marxism-Leninism, under the specific conditions of the struggle for socialist construction. "Study-analysis-action" — this has been the motto that has permeated the whole activity of our organisation in struggle to master the ideology of the PLA, the theory of Marxism-Leninism. Its study is connected with the fundamental problems that have preoccupied the ALYU and has been accompanied by mass undertakings and initiatives, with concrete revolutionary activity. All the ideological movements and actions of youth, such as the movement against religion and backward customs, the movement for the complete emancipation of women and girls, and against patriarchy and conservatism, etc., have been a combination of the revolutionary practical action of the masses of youth and people with their theoretical preparations. Practically, the entire youth of our country was involved in the so far unprecedented broad movement for the study of the history of the PLA, of its documents, and of comrade Enver Hoxha's works. Tens of thousands of young people are involved in the movements: "Learn from the working class", "In the footsteps of the glory of the work and struggle", etc. The Party of Labour and People's Power in Albania have created all the necessary conditions for the youth to actively participate in the socio-political life of the country, in the discussion and solution of its important problems and in the activity of the elected State and social organs. The younger generation is drawn into socio-political life in an organized manner and en masse from an early age, through the young pioneer and youth organisations, the school and the family. Thus, hundreds of thousands of young men and women took part in the huge popular debate on the revolutionisation of our school and in the broad discussion for the drafting of the new five-year plan. They discuss and carry out the decisions and plans that emerge from these popular debates. Under the present conditions, when the general ideological, political and cultural level of youth has greatly risen more and more possibilities have been created to increasingly draw the broad masses of youth in to the running of the country, preparing and training them in the affairs of political power and the management of various economic and social sectors. Now, young cadres are an important weight in the leading organs of all levels. Thus in the people's councils of cities and villages young men and young women





Comrade Enver Hoxha is a frequent and very much beloved guest among the youths, young pioneers and children. He is here in their midst, after an art performance given in the Opera Theatre by the best groups of the kinder-gartens of Tirana

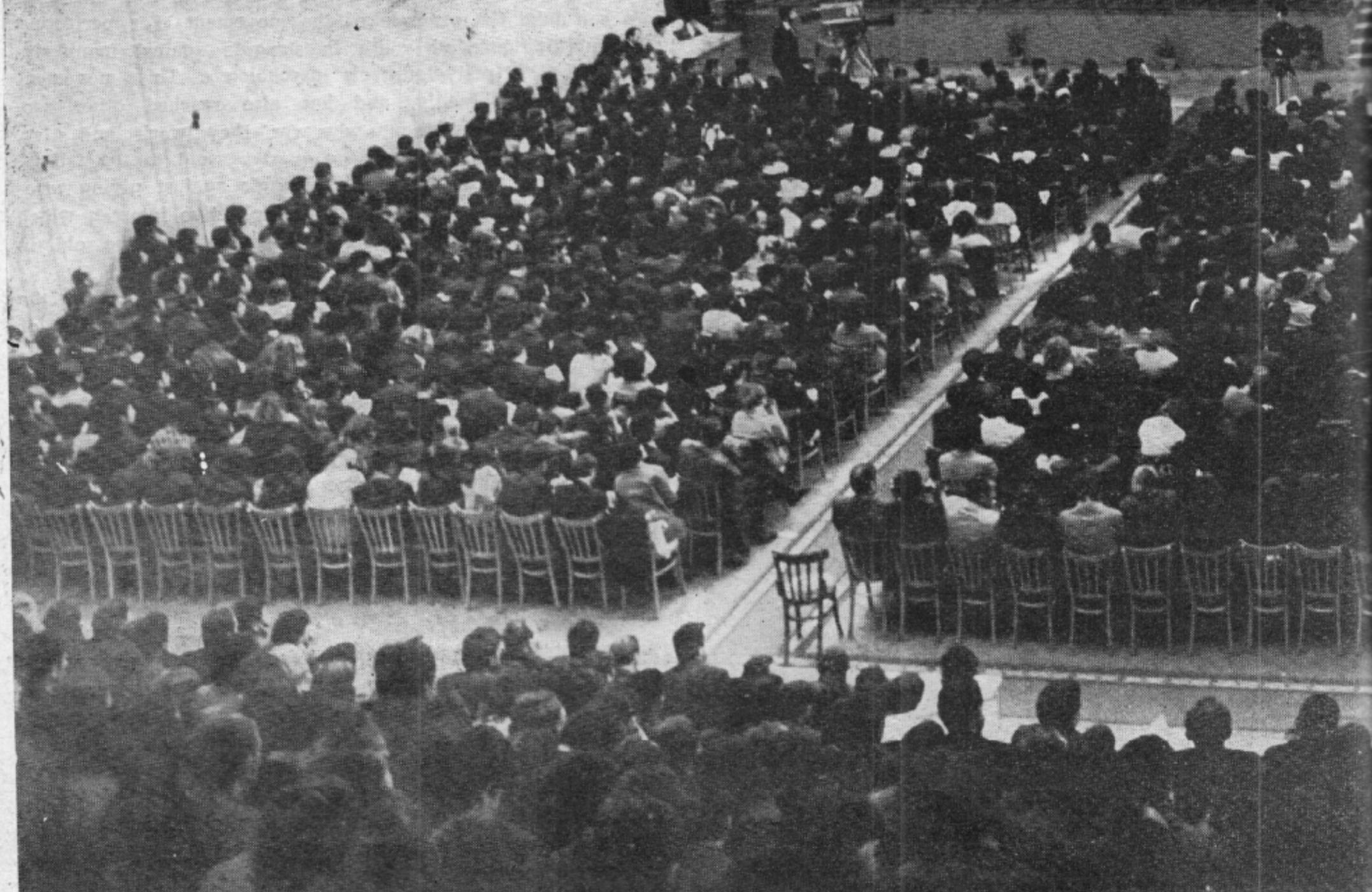
make up 34,2 percent of the councilors, in the people's courts they constitute 26,6 per cent of the judges, and so on.

Drawing the youth into running the country has been a great help in the struggle against bureaucracy. By electing young men and women to work in the organs of political power and having them fulfill their role and tasks in these organs, in the best possible way, presenting voice of the youth and the masses who have elected them, the ALYU at the same time, aims at having them fight against any bureaucratic manifestations and stands in the fold of these various organs and links of the state power.

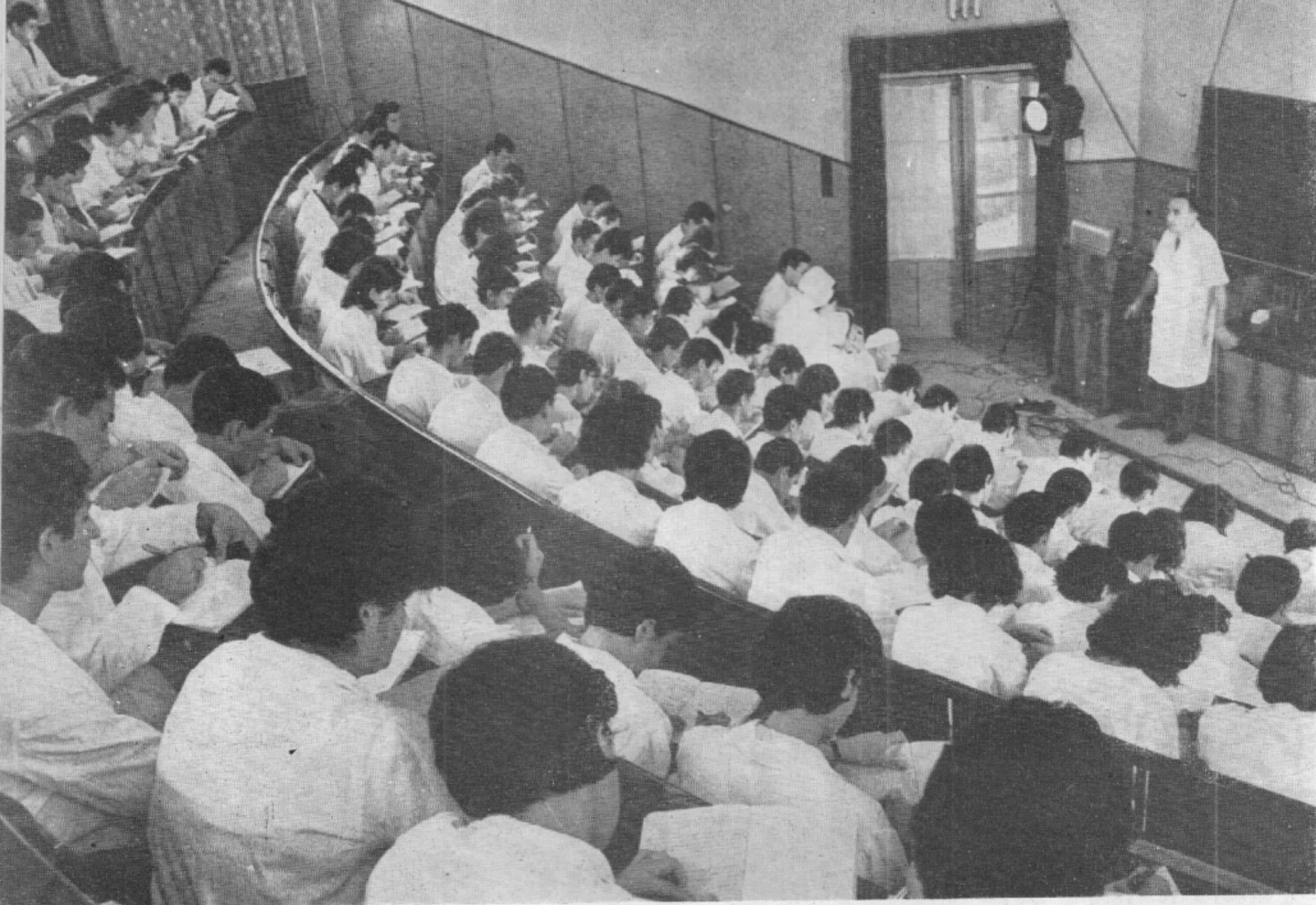
The extension of the political and social activity of the youth is not confined within the limits of its organisation or merely to those fields of life which are more directly connected with the interests of youth. In this direction we can take the example of the movement «For perfecting the moral figure of youth in struggle against manifestations of the petty-bourgeois psychology». This movement has extended broadly, and has also reached other sections of the population, wherever they work and live, in collectives town and village quarters, and in the family, directing the spearhead of its struggle against giving priority to individual interest over the collective interest, which constitutes the pivot of all the remnants of the old in the consciousness of men.

One of the important fields of ALYU'S activity is in the front of art and culture, of the aesthetic education of youth. The discussions and debates that are held on problems arising on this front, the mass participation of youth in the artistic and cultural activities and creativity, and the struggle against alien manifestations and influences, particularly the exposure of bourgeois and revisionist art and culture, are effective means for the healthy aesthetic education of the youth, because they are based on the Marxist-Leninist theory of art and culture. The experience of our struggle teaches us that the education and up-bringing of the moral and political figure of youth would have no value without the physical and military training and tempering of the younger generation. The Albanian Labour Youth Union has never seen these two important fields of its activity as separated from one another or as aims in themselves. The youth does not consider its physical training only as a means for cultured or entertaining rest, or only for the strengthening of health and for increasing abilities to work. Not only that. Physical training has been transformed at the same time into a way of tempering abilities for mi-

RI KA DALE NE ARENEN  
TES KLASORE IDEOLOGJIKE SI NIE FORCE  
OLUCIONARIZUESE SHTYTESE DHE GODITese







Our youth is being educated with the love for the people and the Fatherland, for work and culture. In the auditoria of the universities and institutes they acquire the knowledge of scientific disciplines and they become acquainted with the latest achievements of science and technology. In the photo — students attending a lecture at the Faculty of Medicine of the S.U.T.

litary training, which is seen as a task of primary importance for the defence of the homeland and the victories of socialism in our country from the threat of imperialist-revisionist aggression.

#### YOUTH IS EDUCATED THROUGH WORK AND REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

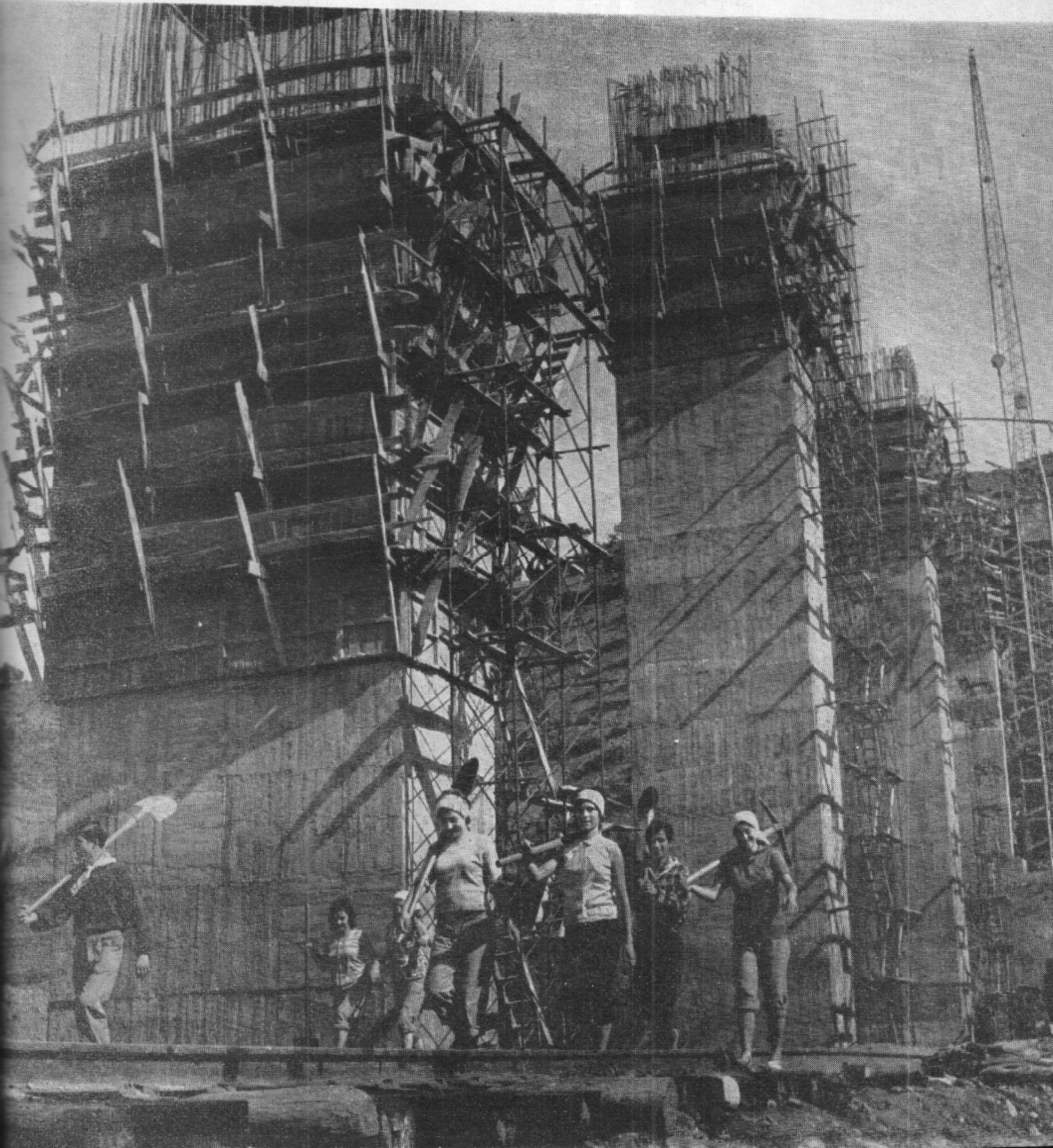
Here, too, on the front where material goods are produced, a distinctive feature of the mobilisation of youth is the launching of a series of revolutionary actions and initiatives.

Alongside the systematic efforts being made for the scientific organization and management of production as well

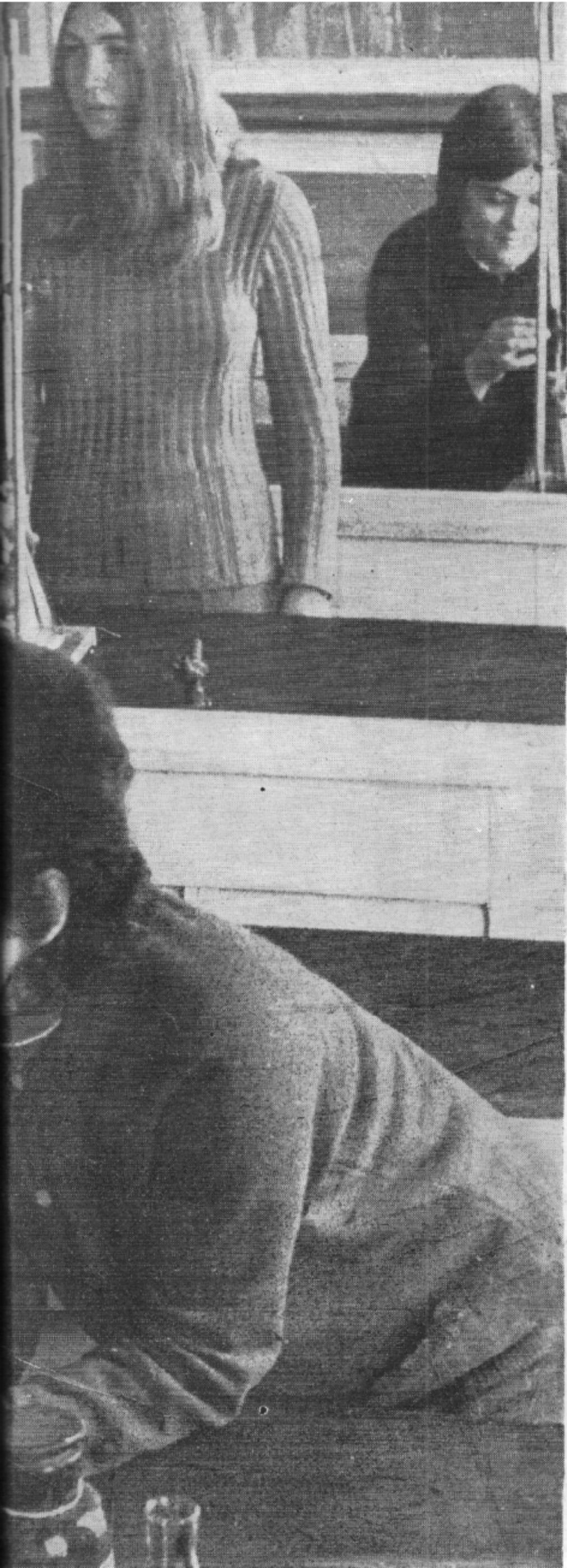
as for the largescale introduction of modern technology, the labouring youth has become an initiator in establishing technical norms in the main processes, without which we cannot speak of a scientific management of production. The youth of the textile industry, such as those of the «Stalin», «Mao Tse Tung» and other textile combines have claimed particular distinction in this field. While the co-operativist youth of the countryside and the youth of the state farms has initiated a broad movement for producing high yields in farming and livestock raising where modern agrozootechnology and scientific organisation of work have been introduced. This movement aims at extending the new methods of high yield plots to all the main sectors of agricultural and livestock production.

The rising generation of our country is aware of the times it is living in. The great progress in various branches

Work in production  
is one of the main components  
of the revolutionary education of the youth. —  
In the photo: a group of youths of middle school,  
builders of the Elbasan — Përrenjas rail way







of science and technology is directly promoting production. For the younger generation, outside the sphere of production as well as within it, all the necessary conditions have been created to master and apply science. During the current school year, 720.000 young girls and boys, representing nearly one third of the population of our country, are attending our schools, the University and other higher institutes of learning. During this five-year plan period, which ends in 1975, some 60.000 middle and higher cadres will be trained a figure which is equal to the total number of cadres trained during the 26 post-liberation years. It must be pointed out here that for the first time during this five-year plan the major part of these cadres will graduate from part-time courses. Ten of thousands of other young men and women, in the town and the country-side, are attending qualification courses and lower professional schools.

The all-round scientific and technical education of the younger generation constitutes one of the principal aims of the further revolutionisation of our school which is based on the triangle: Study, productive work, physical-military training. This triangle expresses, in a concentrated manner, the fundamental objectives of the revolutionisation of life in our country for the preparation and education of the younger generation: mastering of theory and its direct connection with production, with useful productive work, with the revolutionary practice of the cooperative workers and peasants and with physical and military training, which is an important component connected with the defense of the country and socialism in Albania. Thus, our younger generation is trained right from the school desks with revolutionary habits not only from the theoretical viewpoint, but also from practical viewpoint, taking part directly in the revolution.

The revolutionary situation has also greatly enlivened the internal life of ALYU. The most visible results in this revolutionizing process can be seen in the improvement of the essence of the work and methods of management of the youth organisations, which have given wide scope to the successful struggle against officialdom, formalism and departmentalism, as well as against bureaucratic manifestations in the day to day activity, to the further increase of the spirit of debate and struggle of opinions in the fold of the organisation and to the deepening of democracy. Consequently, the ranks of our youth organisation have been increased by 100.000 members during the last five year. Now, in the mobilization of their members and their activation concerning various problems the youth organisations know better and proceed from the specific and requirements increasing wishes and interests of the youth, adapting themselves to the times and transformations of our society, and, in particular, taking stock of the changes in the way of life, world outlook and tastes of the younger generation.

The ultimate aim of the ALYU is, through its educative work and revolutionary activity, to train devoted fighters

In the chemistry laboratory of the «Qemal Stafa» middle school in Tirana, conducting some experiments – as school work

of science and technology is being...  
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 During the current school year...  
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 one country are...  
 other higher institutes of learning...

**A deserved rest after the work for the opening of terraces which will be planted with citrus fruit trees in Jonufër, Vlora**





for the cause of the Party and socialism in Albania and in the world, who in the future will carry further the torch of socialism and communism in resolute struggle against the class enemies and their agents at home and abroad — the imperialists and modern revisionists.

The revolutionary organisation of the rising generation of our country, the ALYU, in all fields of its international activity and active collaboration with progressive and revolutionary youth and student organisations throughout the world, has had the Marxist-Leninist line of the PLA and comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings as its shining beacon. Implementing the principles of proletarian internationalism in the youth sector, the ALYU, as a vanguard detachment in the anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist front, has consistently fought against the aggressive policy and plots of the U.S.-led imperialists and their allies, the Soviet-led modern revisionists, and against the divisive and undermining activity of their agents and tools in the world youth and student movement. The ALYU continues to unreservedly support the struggles for liberation and national defence of the peoples and youth in Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as the struggle of the working class, youth and students of the capitalist world for political, democratic and other rights.

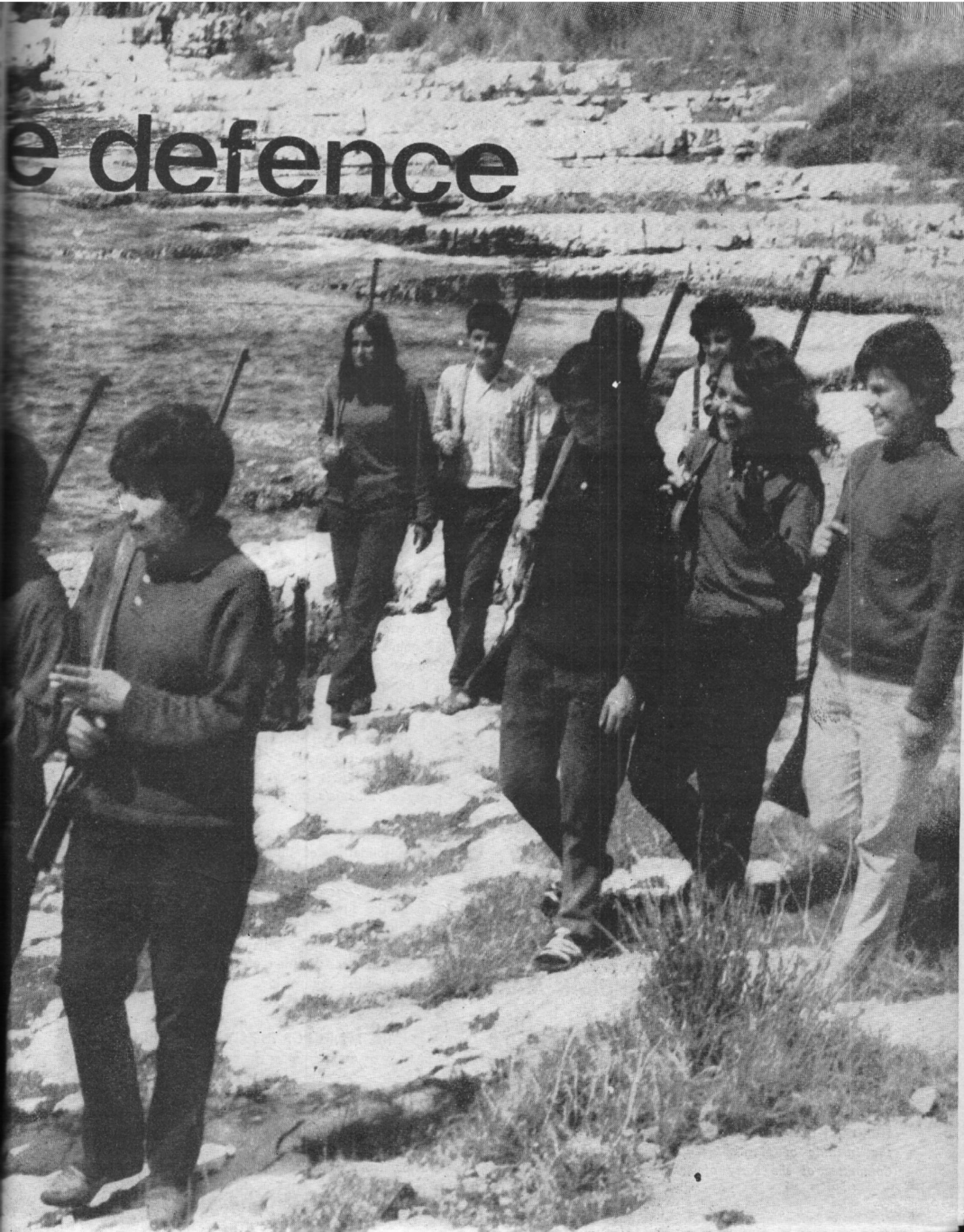
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The 6th Congress of the ALYU has been convened less than a year after the 6th Congress of the PLA, which, by its programme, opened new vistas to the Albanian people and youth and raised the revolutionary spirit of the working masses to a higher level. It has been placed at the centre of the attention of the organisations, inspiring and guiding them for new revolutionary actions and initiatives. Formed and tempered under the care of the PLA in the heat of the work and struggle for the building of socialism, our youth once more pledged itself at its 6th Congress to be prepared to undertake new tasks and still greater responsibilities, so as to be worthy of being highly appraised as a motive and shock force in the struggle for the all-round revolutionisation of life in our country.

# Youth training themselves for the of the fatherland



# e defence



# The Working Class And Socialist Construction In The Country - Side

**Problems and prospects  
of the reborn Albanian  
countryside, the development  
of the productive forces and the  
creation of equal conditions  
in both town and country-side**

**by professor HEKURAN MARA**

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HEKURAN MARA - economics professor, section-chief at the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies under the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania.

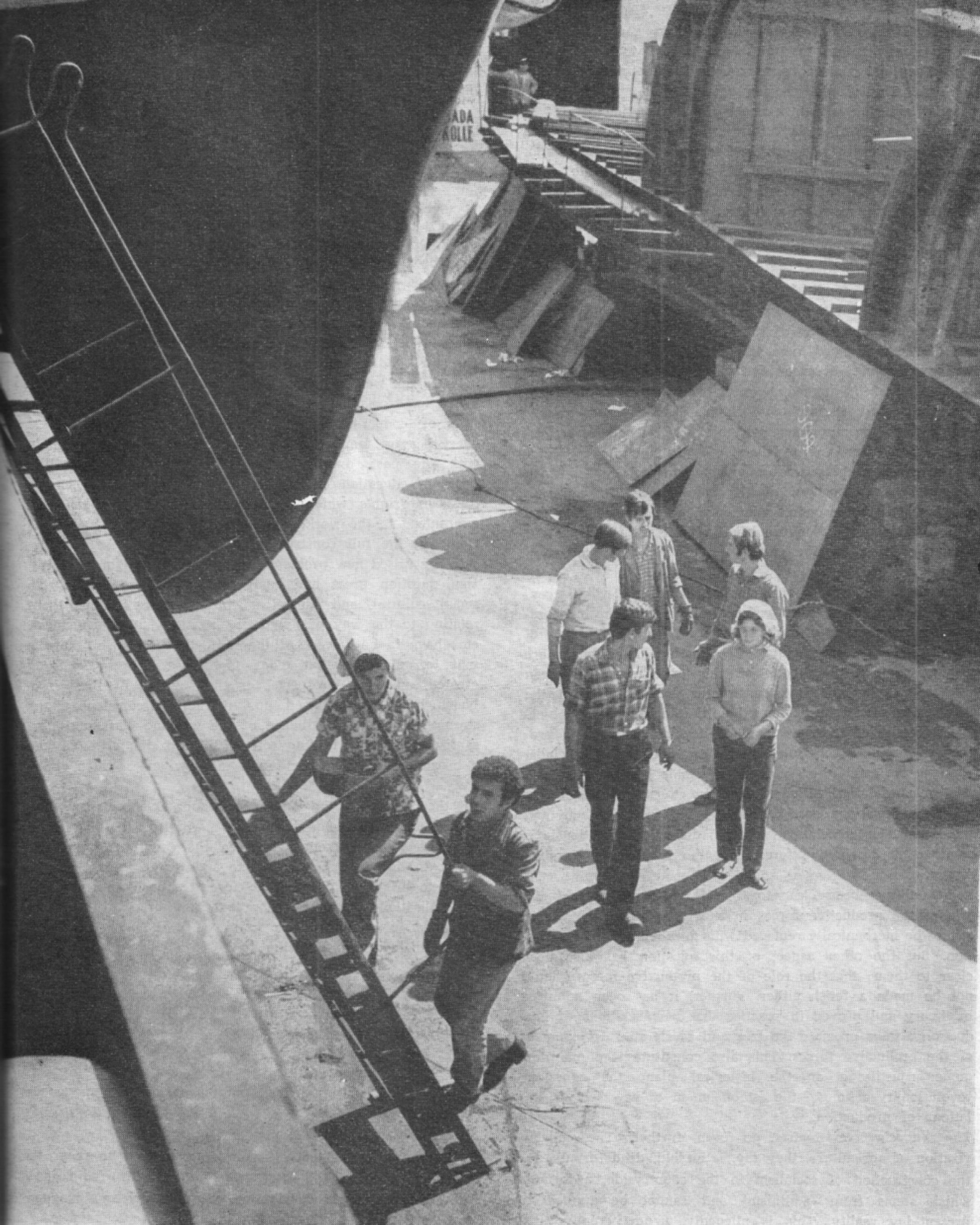
The agrarian question has constituted one of the fundamental points of the strategy and tactics of the Party in revolution and in our socialist construction. And this has not occurred accidentally. The Albanian peasantry has been a great active revolutionary force in fighting for national and social liberation, for the establishment and defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It has made an outstanding contribution to the building of socialism. Agriculture constitutes the base of our economy and the majority of Albania's population is still made up by the peasantry.

Under these circumstances the working class has considered the consolidation of the alliance with the peasantry as a task of vital importance for the destiny of socialism in our country, as an essential condition for the correct solution of the agrarian question. Therefore the Party has been unsparing in its efforts to give to the leading role of the working class in this alliance the content and goals that emerge from the solution of the problems of socialist construction in the countryside.

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## THE REBIRTH OF THE ALBANIAN COUNTRYSIDE

Numerous transformations, and deep economic, social, ideological and cultural upheavals have taken place in our countryside. The Albanian countryside has passed from a semi-feudal condition to socialism, from the wooden plough to the tractor, from darkness and ignorance to socialist culture.



Under the leadership of the working class party, the peasantry won freedom through struggle and took over the land. They got rid of oppression and exploitation by the landlords. The people's power gave the countryside great material aid. It made investments in the mechanization of agriculture, in land reclamation work and the irrigation of lands, helped with chemical fertilizers, selected seeds and pedigree animals, with qualified cadres, etc. Public education and culture were greatly extended. But all this marked only the starting point of a process which was to be completed with a series of other important measures for the complex solution of the agrarian question. To proceed constantly on the road of this dialectic required the creation of certain conditions.

The principal condition, that would mark a radical turning-point in the solution of the agrarian question by stages, was the embarking of the countryside on the road of socialist development. Because of its confidence in the Party, its conviction, its immediate and future interest, the peasantry detached itself from private property and private work. «from unscrupulous private interest» and embarked on the broad road of socialism, of collective property and collective work. This was a great victory in our history of socialist construction, of the solution of the agrarian question. On this occasion was once more proved that the collectivisation of agriculture can be successfully carried out without waiting for the completion of the industrialization of the country.

Although there exists an historical experience which confirms the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the cooperation of the peasantry as the only road for the building of socialism in the countryside, the modern revisionists are seeking to turn their back on this experience. They can be heard saying that the construction of socialism in the countryside should be postponed until it arises as «an objective necessity of the new level of development of the productive forces». According to the revisionists, «if socialist relations are established in the countryside before the appropriate material and technical base for them has been created, these relations cease to exist». This is a vulgar and anti-Marxist interpretation of the dialectical relationship between the productive forces and the relations of production.

It has always been clear to the Marxist-Leninists that the role of the productive forces in the development of society cannot be mechanically replaced with new relations of production. But the other aspect of this question has also been clear to them: that the role of the productive forces should not be made a fetish either. Further, it has been admitted in theory and proved in practice that new relations of production always promote the free and accelerated development of the productive forces. This also constitutes the main argument justifying on the historical plane the conscious revolutionary action of the establishment of new socialist relations of production.

The Yugoslav revisionists go even further. The collectivization of agriculture, they say, is an old, dead formula for the construction of socialism in the countryside, a formula which stems from «Stalinism» and cannot be applied to present-day reality. This is allegedly a new creative dis-

covery of the renegades to Marxism-Leninism. In reality it is a justification to legalize in the eyes of the peasantry the capitalist oppression and exploitation which are prevalent in the present-day Yugoslav countryside.

## NEW PROBLEMS, NEW PROSPECTS

Many of the radical problems of the agrarian question have been correctly and successfully solved by our socialist revolution. The socialist social order has been established in the countryside. Agriculture is developing at a fast rate and being intensified and modernised. Antagonism between the town and the countryside has been liquidated. The ties and relations between industry and agriculture, between the working class and the peasantry have been established on socialist bases, and are developing under the sign of cooperation and mutual aid. The livelihood of every peasant family has changed in a manner incomparable with the past, and it is improving unceasingly. In the fields of education, culture and health the peasantry enjoys the same rights which the building of socialism has also guaranteed to the workers in the town.

However, the full construction of socialism in the countryside has raised new problems. In the framework of the agrarian question great and complicated economic, ideological, social, cultural, and educational problems, as well as those relating to the way of living organization and management, etc., have to be solved. At the same time it is very important to point out that today new possibilities have been created, and new prospects for the solution of these problems have been opened up. In these circumstances, the strengthening of the alliance of the working class and peasantry and of the leading role of the working class assume a broader significance, and aims at new and greater objectives.

In the stage of the full construction of socialism one of the main problems is the narrowing of the essential socio-economic differences between the countryside and the town. In order to make concrete and further work out the ways to bring the countryside closer to the town study and generalisation of some theoretical and practical questions is called for.

These include the following:

- 1) The narrowing of differences in the level of development of the productive forces in the town and countryside, in industry and agriculture.
- 2) The development of the two forms of socialist property into a single one and the creation of social homogeneity in the socialist society.
- 3) Reaching social and economic equality between the working people of the countryside and the town as regards conditions of work distribution, organisation and management.

4) Narrowing the differences between the working class and the cooperativist peasantry in the field of ideology, culture, education and living standards, etc.

The results achieved in narrowing the differences between the countryside and the town show that our Party has followed a correct Marxist-Leninist line on this question, it has always been attentive, it has never bypassed stages but neither has it been dominated by the feeling of complacency or of marking time. According to the conditions created by the socio-economic and ideopolitical development of the country, it has striven to set forth new tasks of socialist construction in the countryside and to work out the measures to be taken to carry them out in practice.

### THE MAIN QUESTION — THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

In examining the differences between the countryside and the town and the ways to narrow them, it is essential to start in the first place from **economic differences and their causes**. The examination of this question also requires the consideration of various factors, taken in their many-sided interaction.

When Albania began the construction of socialism a great and all round backwardness characterized the economic development of both town and countryside. In these conditions the speedy building up of industry with intensified efforts constituted an historical necessity, and required the drawing of definite economic and material means from the countryside, relying on a correct financial policy which favoured the poor peasantry. This was in the interest of the entire society and also directly promoted the development showed unexampled conscientiousness and readiness, and a high feeling of responsibility in facing the task incumbent on it in relation to the question of industrialization.

In the field of the development of industry our country has made a truly historic leap. Today the total volume of industrial production is over 60 times larger than before the establishment of the people's power. In industry a whole complex of new branches have been created which have promoted the development of the productive forces in the town in an unprecedented way.

Great and unceasing efforts have been made during the whole period of socialist construction for the development of the productive forces in the countryside. As a result, total agricultural production has increased 4 times more than during the pre-liberation period. For this purpose large investments have been made. During the last 20 years alone (1951-1970) 3,429,000 leks from the state funds have been invested in agriculture. Parallel with this, the rapid development and strengthening of industry itself have also made possible the reduction from one five-year plan to another of the contribution of the peasantry to the centralized social accumulation fund. Thus, in the fourth five-year plan, the agricultural cooperatives contributed 55 per cent less to this fund than in the third five-year plan, and in the fifth they will contribute still less.

Therefore it is very important to point out that the main cause of the economic differences existing today between the countryside and the town is to be sought in the first place in **the level of development of the productive forces and of labour productivity in industry and agriculture**.

At the present time, 63 per cent of the country's active population works in agriculture, and 37 per cent in other branches of the economy. But agriculture accounts for only 45 per cent of the national income, whereas the other economic branches represent 65 per cent of it. The same is true to total industrial and agricultural production in which industry contributes 62 per cent, and agriculture only 38 per cent. If we exclude the effect of the influence of the level of prices of industrial and agricultural products on these proportions their main cause remains the fact that in agriculture labour productivity is lower than in industry and the other branches of the economy.

The significant differences which exist in the productivity of labour in industry and agriculture are the cause of the economic inequality between the working people of the town and the countryside. A condensed expression of this inequality are the per capita incomes of the population and of every employed person in town and countryside. In this respect, the policy of the Party has aimed at a faster rate of growth of the per capita incomes of the population in the countryside than in the town. And in fact statistics show that the dynamics of the increase of the per capita income of the peasantry in the last decade (1961-1970) has been higher than of the increase of the per capita incomes of manual and office workers. During this period, the per capita incomes of manual and office workers have grown by 19.5 per cent, whereas those of the peasantry have grown by 26.6 per cent. Despite this, a worker's income today is greater than that of a cooperativist. What will lead to a new and greater increase of the incomes of the peasantry is undoubtedly the consistent implementation of **the long term programme worked out by the Party for the intensification of agriculture**. This programme envisages the use of a complex of factors and elements of an economic, social, ideological, technical, biological and organisational character to increase crop yields and livestock productivity, to extend the arable area by opening up virgin lands, and placing the whole work of the organization and management of agricultural production on a sounder scientific basis.

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY AND OTHER BRANCHES OF THE ECONOMY IN THE SERVICE OF AGRICULTURE

Another main factor in bringing the countryside economically and socially closer to the town remains the development of industry and the other branches of the economy. Now that country's industrialization is entering a higher stage, industry can and must be placed more directly in the service of agriculture, and give the latter and the countryside in general greater and more effective aid in every direction. For this purpose, beginning from the fifth-year plan, special attention is being devoted to the development of



industrial branches producing chemical fertilizers, agricultural machines and implements, electric power, means of transport and building materials, which directly supply the material-technical base of agriculture. During this period the countryside will also be supplied more and on the same basis as the town with industrial consumer goods. Besides other things, this will serve as an encouragement for the cooperativists to work and produce more agricultural and livestock products, to ensure the necessary incomes to purchase industrial commodities.

The development of industry and of the other branches of the economy as well as the increase of their specific weight in the national income, create new possibilities for lightening the contribution of the countryside to the centralized social accumulation funds. This can be done in different ways.

It began, for example, with the unification of the prices of industrial products for reproduction sold to the state enterprises and agricultural cooperatives. Such a measure means that the countryside will benefit during the fifth five-year plan alone by about 80 million leks more in incomes. In the same way, in the future, when the conditions are created, the cooperatives can be assisted by lowering the prices of the commodities the state sells to them.

A new experience has begun to emerge in the case of the creation of the cooperatives of a higher type. The State is directly investing social means for this purpose. In the future, according to the possibilities, many of the important investments needed for the development of agriculture, which are today made by the agricultural cooperatives themselves, may be made by the State on the account of the centralized social funds.

Another feature of the development of industry should also be seen as a very important factor in bringing the countryside close to the town. This is the question of the integration of industry with agriculture, the objective of gradually turning agriculture into an industrial branch of the people's economy. This is a trend which must be encouraged and supported according to the concrete conditions and possibilities which will be created in the immediate and more distant future. Under the present-day conditions of the development of science and technology, the integration of industry with agriculture is increasingly being expressed in the form of the creation of industrial-agricultural complexes. Because of this, in the future in our country, too, a better coordination has to be carried out in establishing some branches of industry in the town and the countryside.

A special aspect of the union of industry with agriculture is the extension of auxiliary activities to cooperatives. These activities are supported by our State, for they contribute to the increase of agricultural production and the exploitation of the potential resources of the countryside, to the best possible use of manpower and the solution of certain social problems. However, any extension of the auxiliary activities to the agricultural cooperatives must always be in harmony,

with the needs and development of agriculture, which is the fundamental field of production in the countryside.

Moreover, it is necessary to make efforts to achieve, on a district scale and wherever possible, a specialization among the agricultural cooperatives on their auxiliary activities, too, just as is the aim with regard to agricultural and livestock products.

### THE CREATION OF IDENTICAL SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN TOWN AND COUNTRYSIDE.

The essential social distinctions between the countryside and the town today include the relations of ownership, the organization and remuneration of work, the planning and managing of production, the regulating of discipline at work, the use of the social consumption funds, etc. These differences stem in particular from the existence of the two forms of socialist property — state and cooperativist property.

The narrowing of these differences and the subsequent creation of identical social conditions in the town and the countryside is achieved through the turning of the cooperativist property into the property of the entire people. Although this objective cannot be achieved at once, but only by stages, it must be continuous and uninterrupted. What will be the road followed by the transformation of cooperativist property into the property of the entire people?

Life, and the revolutionary practice of our socialist construction, shows that the creation of the cooperatives of the higher type represents one of the forms to bring the cooperativist property closer to the property of the entire people. «These cooperatives, — comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, — will represent a higher degree of socialization of the group property on the road of bringing closer to the property of the entire people».

The distinctive feature of the cooperatives of a higher type is the direct participation of the state in the with nonreturnable social means. As a consequence, a property is gradually created in these cooperatives, which contains elements of the merger of the cooperativist property with that of the state. Later on, as a result of other measures to be taken, it will develop, and gradually eliminate those features of group property which today distinguish it from state property.

The course of this process can be neither spontaneous nor artificially accelerated, but it will be carried out in an organized, planned and guided way. It will be dependent on economic and ideological factors, such as:

- a) the development of the productive forces in the cooperatives themselves, and the growth of their economic powers on this basis;
- b) the increase of the measure of participation of the state with centralized social funds, as a consequence of the de-

The pupils of the senior class of the middle school at the «Zonja Çurre» agricultural cooperative are getting acquainted with the initial secrets of technology

velopment of industry and the other branches of the economy;

c) the merger of the funds of the cooperative with the state funds in order to make the transition in the future to the guaranteed remuneration of work at the level of the workers of the state sector, and to fulfil the social needs of the cooperativists at the same level;

d) the reduction of the individual plot of land after the creation of the conditions in which the cooperative can fulfil with its own products those needs which the cooperativist family fulfils through its individual plot of land.

And above all these factors, it will be the cooperativists who will decide on the transformation of their property into the property of the entire people, after having been convinced by their experience of the superiority of this property to that of the group.

The reaching of social equality between the countryside and the town cannot be conceived without bringing work in agriculture closer to work in industry, with regard to their content and their technical character. What we know most about this problem today, consists mainly in the material aspect for its solution. Complex mechanization and the raising of the level of the electrical equipment for work in agriculture, the application of entirely new techniques to field crops and livestock as well as the development of chemical aids represent indispensable factors in changing the character of work in the countryside, and drawing it closer to the work in industry. But for these factors to be used with due effect and to yield the desired socio-economic results, they must be accompanied with the raising of the qualification of the working people of the countryside, with a closer integration of the work of the cooperativists with scientific knowledge, with the strengthening of agrotechnical discipline in every production process, etc.

The dialectical and complex application of the material factors of work in agriculture, taken together, will make it possible to raise productivity in the countryside to the level required by the approach of agricultural work to industrial work. It will be decisive for our cooperativist to revolutionize their concepts of work and its organisation in modern agriculture, for the present-day heavy work in agriculture to be lightened and made more attractive to the peasant youth.

The increase of agricultural production and the strengthening of the economic situation on this basis have already made it possible for many cooperatives to make the transition to the remuneration of work with guaranteed and regular pay. This has brought the form of payment for work in cooperatives close to that of the state enterprises. Despite this, in individual cooperatives the same quantity of work is paid at different rates. This stems from the very character of group property and the economic power of each cooperative. But irrespective of its size, guaranteed pay can be established in every cooperative.

With the transition to the remuneration of work with guaranteed pay is created the possibility of doing away with the

workday as an economic category of the cooperativist order. Parallel with this another question arises: should the pay of the cooperativists be related to the final results of production or should it be given at a set level irrespective of them. If it is to be related, then how in what form and to what extent, is this to be done. This is a question deserving of study.

It has become an urgent need and the time has come for work in the agricultural cooperatives to be organized and guided on a more sound scientific basis, for order and discipline at work to be strengthened. For this purpose various technical and economic measures must be applied. Of special importance in this direction is the use of the classification of cooperativists and remuneration according to their work and qualification, relying on the system of tariffs and a basic hourly pay.

In this case there arise two main questions which call for solution: how broad will be the extent of classification for the various sectors of agriculture (field crops, stockraising, fruitgrowing, etc) and what will be the proportion between the pay of the highest and lowest categories. Both these questions are of principled and practical importance.

#### SOME SOCIAL AND CULTURAL PROBLEMS

In the conditions of our society, we must consider as an important factor for bringing the countryside closer to the town, the creation of identical conditions in the fulfilment of the social and cultural needs of the population of the countryside and town. A special role in the attainment of this objective is played by the use of the social fund of consumption.

A distinctive feature of these recent years is that social fund of consumption has grown more rapidly than the personal consumption fund. Under the fourth five-year plan the social fund of consumption increased by 79 per cent whereas the personal consumption fund increased by 31 per cent. A considerable part of the social fund of consumption was used chiefly to fulfil the cultural and social needs of the countryside, such as the completion of the electrification of all the villages, the extension of the trade network, the fulfilment of the needs of education, culture, health communal services, etc. The fifth five-year plan, too, envisages an increase of the social consumption fund which will increase by 55 per cent.

After embarking on the road of socialism, the cooperativist peasantry also began to enjoy many social gains (aid from the cooperatives for cooperativist families lacking manpower, the setting up with their own means in some cooperatives of old age pensions, paid leave for expectant

The working class is the vanguard of socialist construction and revolutionary transformations in Albania. Snapshot from the work of a brigade in the construction of the urea factory in Fier



mothers, etc.). Despite this, the countryside was still far from the level of the town with regard to these social problems. Therefore, it was only natural for the cooperativists to show concern for their solution. The establishment of pensions for the cooperativist peasantry too, with the means of the State and of the cooperatives themselves, is a great social victory. The main problem remaining for the future in this direction is the increase of the contribution by the state from the centralized social fund, the increase of the level of the minimum pension of the cooperativists and the equalizing of the pension age for the working people of the countryside with that of the working people of the town.

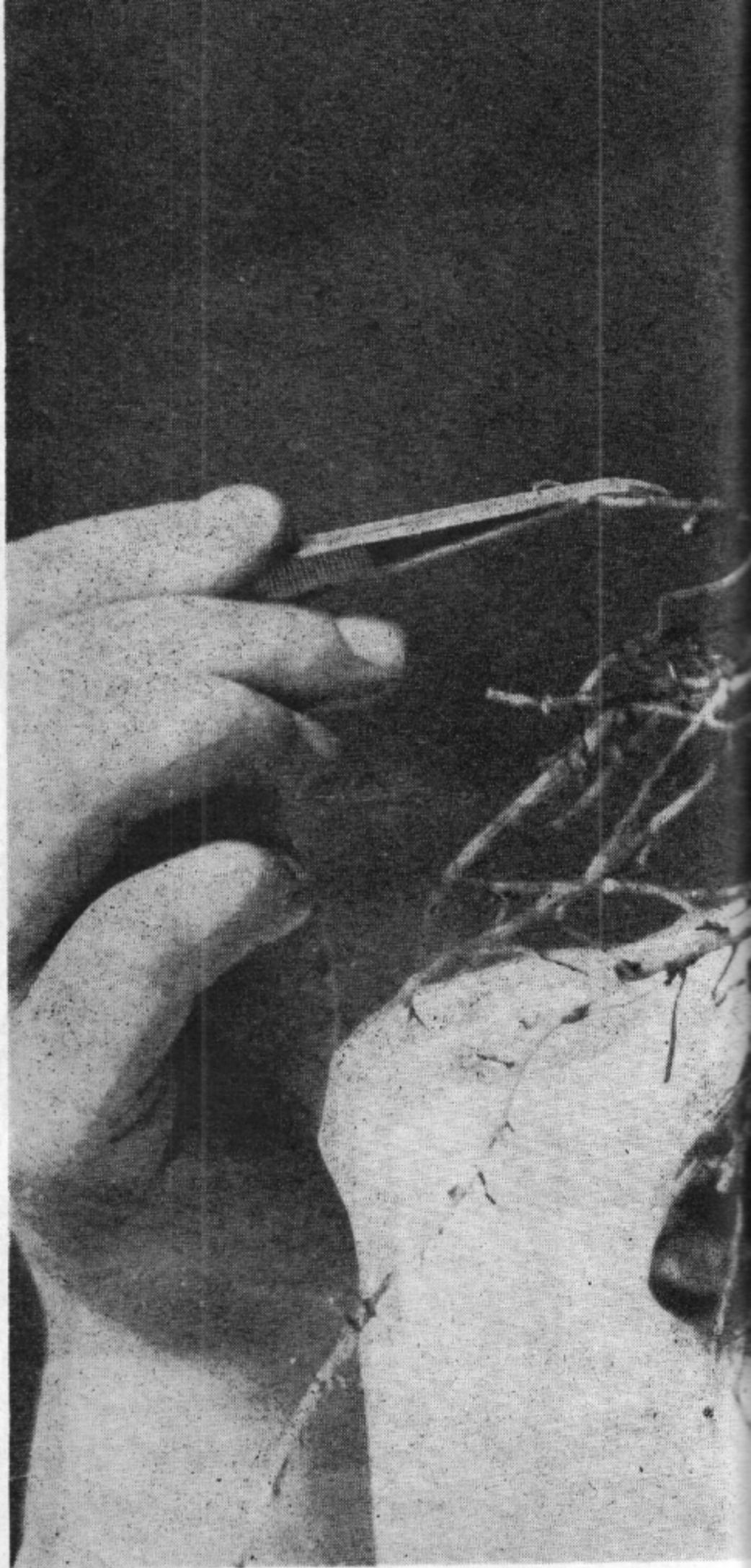
Important progress has also been made in the countryside during the years of socialist construction in the sphere of communal services and living conditions. In the countryside about 9.000 homes have been built on the average every year, compared with 7000-9000 apartments built in the town. Every home is supplied with electric light. A total of over 17.000 handicraft units, bath rooms, laundries, ovens, dining halls and other units have been set up, which help in the improvement of services and living conditions of the peasantry.

Under the fifth five-year plan too, a new impetus, is given to the question of the improvement of the living conditions in the countryside. During these years 40.000 new houses will be built. The State will invest 130 milion leks in building water pipelines alone. Other investments will be made from social means, for telephone links and building roads in the countryside, to increase the transport of passengers from the countryside to the town, etc. Only the working class State which serves the entire people through to the end and remains loyal to Marxism-Leninism, can aim to carry out such popular undertakings. This is possible to achieve only in a trully socialist society, where all the people of the town and countryside can enjoy a happy life.

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Even this general view of the situation and tendency for the narrowing of the essential differences between the countryside and the town shows that the general line pursued by the Party and our working class for the building of the socialism in the countryside has been and remains a correct Marxist-Leninist one. It has served the strengthening of the alliance of the working class and peasantry and the raising of the material and cultural level of the working people of the countryside and the town.

The elimination of the essential differences between the countryside and the town, as a manysided and complicated problem, cannot be fully solved for five or ten years. It requires putting into operation over a long time, during the entire period of socialist construction, of all the ideopolitical, social, material, financial, organisational, technical and other factors that our society has at its disposal. It goes without saying that the solution of this problem is in the first place dependent on the material possibilities created by the whole national economy and, especially, by the development of agriculture, and the countryside.





In the laboratory of agrarian microbiology  
at the higher State Institute of Agriculture  
of Kamza in Tirana.

In the photo: the laboratory worker Klementina Hysi  
during the selection of fava tubercles  
needed for the production of a preparative

The nature and functions  
of our trade, which is an  
important link in the constant  
improvement of the living  
standard of our working  
masses

by **KIÇO NGJELA**

# Socialist Trade

All the programmes of our Party and Government have aimed and continue to aim at making the life of the people as happy and prosperous as possible. Our socialist trade has always served precisely this lofty aim of the Party and Government.

Being nourished by socialist production, by the planned production of our industry and our intensive agriculture, a production which is organized on the basis of the requirements of the people, our socialist trade also helps at the same time in the development of production and in fulfilling the demands of the people. It is not purely an administrative link or an intermediary factor, but a form of the economic ties in the field of goods turnover between industry and agriculture, between the working class and labouring peasantry, between the town and the countryside. «Socialist trade» - comrade Enver Hoxha has said - «has never been considered by the Party as a purely technical apparatus for the distribution of commodities, but has always been valued by it primarily as a branch of great economic and social importance».

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In compliance with the general line of the construction of the socialist society in our country, the PLA has set forth for every year of the five-year plan and for every stage of socialist construction clear and important tasks and objectives for the increase of social production and, consequently, for the gradual raising of the material and cultural standards of the working masses. These tasks and objectives, which in general have been successfully realized, also include the key problems of the economic policy in the field of trade. The tasks that have been laid down in the field of trade have expressed the growth of the effectivity of social pro-

# de In The Service Of The People

duction, they are based on the objective laws and take account of the positive trends of our socialist development. They are analysed and carried out, in conformity with the ratio between production and consumption, as the two principal aspects of extended socialist reproduction, and in all the annual and five-year plans.

In the whole course of our 28-year socialist development, our socialist trade, developing and strengthening alongside all the other branches of the country's economy, has always played an important role in the improvement of the material and living conditions of our people as well as in the development and perfecting of the country's productive forces.

The successes of socialist trade are mirrored not only in the strengthening and development of its material-technical base, expressed in the large network of shops, department stores, warehouses, workshops, social catering units, etc., equipped with various tools and machines, but also in the constant improvement of the supply to the people, in the study and the better fulfilment of their requirements, in the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the plan targets from one five-year period to the next.

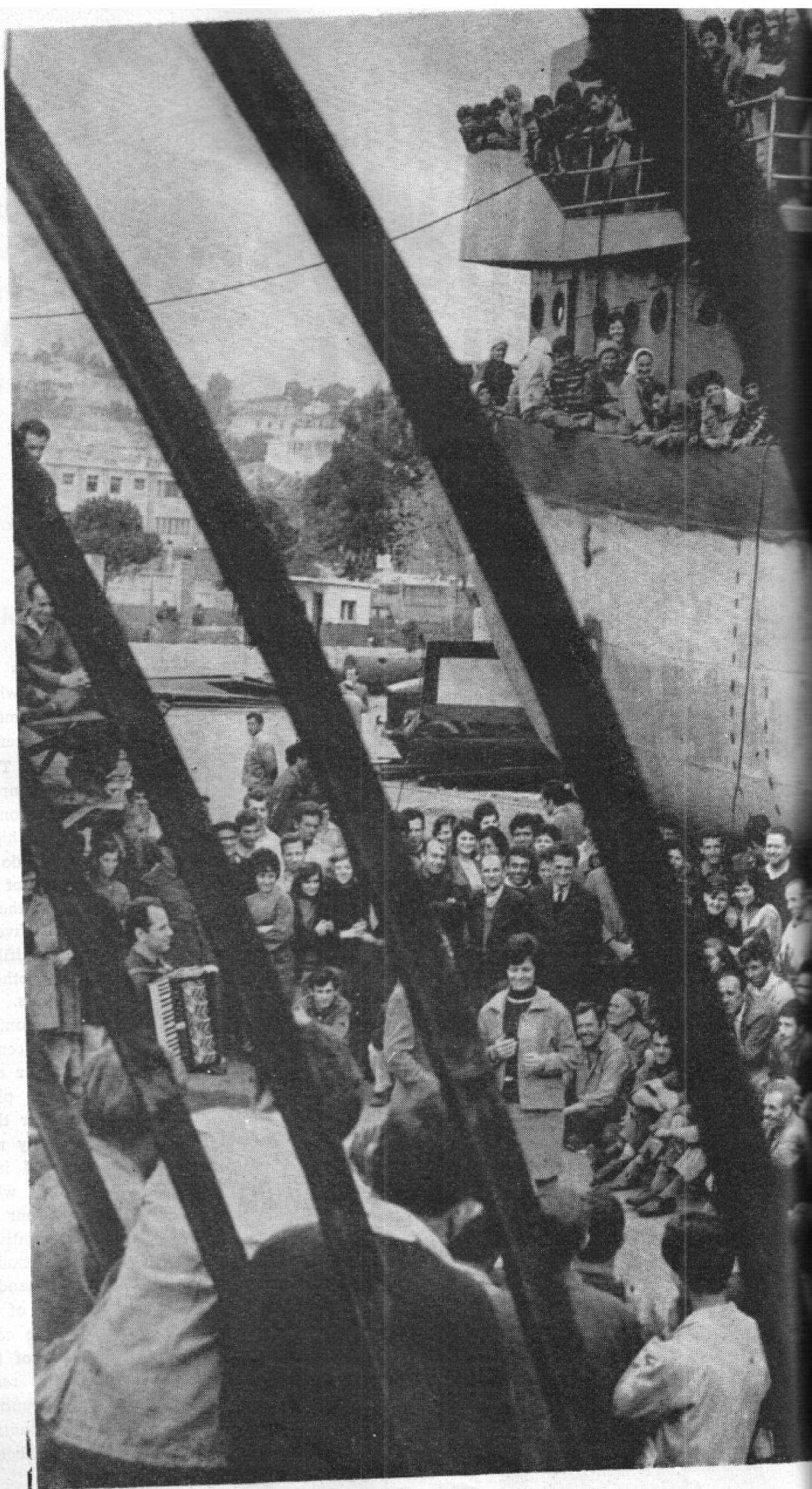
The successes registered by our socialist trade during every stage and period of socialist construction in our country are of importance, but the successes achieved during the last decade are of special importance due to the very conditions and circumstances under which they were realized. As is known, from the beginning of the 60-s onward, the Soviet revisionists organized their savage economic blockade against our country. In this way they joined imperialism in a common front hatching anti-Albania plans, thinking that they would thus realize their subjugating and enslaving objectives. But our Party, headed by our great leader and teacher comrade Enver Hoxha, defeated this blockade and successfully overcome all the difficulties created, mainly relying on its own forces. Within this whole framework

visible progress was also made in the trade sector. This period, just as the whole period of the development of the economy of our country, can be rightly characterized as a period of the further quantitative and qualitative rise of our socialist trade. This finds expression, among other things, in the unexampled development of the trade network, in its fuller extension through the country's territory, including the distant highland villages. At present there are no villages which do not boast trade units. This is an important indicator of the increase of the wellbeing of the working masses of the town and countryside.

Under the fourth five-year plan (1965-1970) our socialist trade still better fulfilled its tasks in the field of goods turnover and in other politico-ideological and technico-organisational indices. It fulfilled the plan for the fourth five-year period 4 months ahead of schedule, exceeding it at the rate of 9 per cent, whereas for the countryside this index reached 13 per cent. In 1971 our trade also fulfilled the goods turnover plan to the tune of 102 per cent, whereas the plan for the first half of the current year has also been successfully realized and exceeded.

The success achieved in the electrification of all the villages of the country, which became possible thanks to the economic power of our country and the revolutionary enthusiasm of the cooperativist peasantry, still further increased the tasks for the trade sectors. With the gradual rise of the level of the demands of the peasantry, which is connected with the raising of its cultural and living standards, the trade workers in the countryside are striving to fulfil ever better the demands of the cooperativist peasantry. The tasks in the field of the removal of agricultural and livestock products from the countryside, as well as in fulfilling the requirements of the countryside for machines, tools and other equipment are also being carried out better than in the previous periods.

Artists are always favourite guests of the workers. At the Durrës shipyard the workers are listening with pleasure to the songs of young artists





Under the fourth five-year plan social catering developed further, thereby contributing to a large extent, to the creation of conditions to make it easier for the working woman to take part in productive work and in the active life of socialist construction in Albania, and helping her further in her complete emancipation.

New and greater successes have also been achieved in the rise of the level of culture and service to the people, in the strengthening of the trade ties with the broad masses of buyers and in listening to their voice, in the increase of the abilities and conscientiousness of trade workers, etc.

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The 6th Congress of the PLA opened new horizons for the building of socialism in Albania. The fund of consumption in the national income will increase at the end of 1975 by more than 50-55 per cent, as compared with 1970. As a result of the increase of production and of the purchasing power of the population, the turnover of mass consumer goods will increase by over 40 per cent.

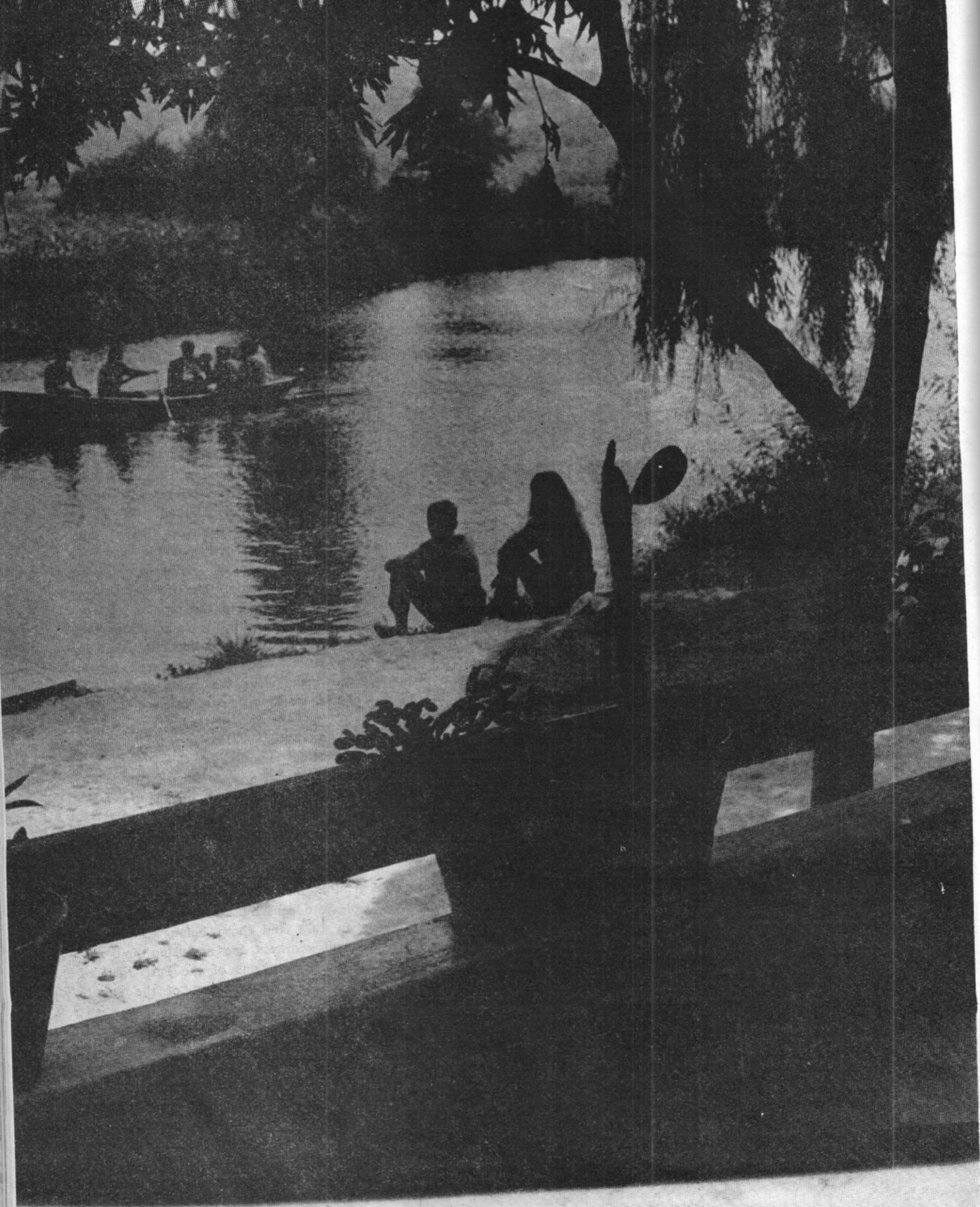
Speaking at the Congress, comrade Enver Hoxha said: "In the struggle to fulfil in the best possible way the tasks in the field of the increase of wellbeing, a great role belongs to our socialist trade. The whole activity of trade must be directly submitted to the regular and uninterrupted supply of the people with the commodities they most need and demand, to the distribution and delivery in due time to consumer of everything produced by industry and agriculture which fulfils the needs of the people, to the service of the working people in as cultured a manner as possible."

These instructions of comrade Enver Hoxha actually constitute the pivot of the whole activity of the organs and workers of socialist trade in town and countryside.

Striving to carry out these instructions in practice the trade workers are doing a big job and are playing an active role in the increase of production as well as of consumption; in the extension of the range and the improvement of quality as well as in the improvement of the structure of consumption, and in the introduction of as many new commodities as possible into consumption.

The results achieved in 1971 and those being achieved in 1972 show that the trade workers are analysing and successfully implementing the instructions of the Party and of comrade Enver Hoxha on the improvement of the supply to the people.

In 1971, in comparison with 1970, there were increases in sales to the people of the following items: sugar 12 per cent, rice 14 per cent, macaroni 4.9 per cent, fats 5.9 per cent, cheese 18.4 per cent, meat 9.7 per cent, vegetables 7.3 per cent. The supply of milk is improving from year to year. In the first six months of the current year, in comparison with the same period of the past year, 22 per cent more milk was sold to the people. With regard to industrial (non-food) articles in 1971, also compared with 1970, the



goods turnover increased by 10.7 per cent, while the sales of some main articles increased as follows: readymade garments 10.2 per cent, hosiery 15.8 per cent, footwear 4.9 per cent, glass products 29.2 per cent, aluminium and laminated utensils 117.8 per cent, etc.

In recent years there has been an increase of the articles related to the raising of the material and cultural standards of the people, such as washing machines, sewing machines, refrigerators, bicycles, radio and TV sets, etc. The specific weight of these articles in the total value of the industrial (non-food) articles has grown in a satisfactory way and shows a continual growth.

Our Party and Government in this five-year plan have laid down new and greater tasks for the all-round development of the countryside, for the increase of agricultural production, the improvement of the supply of the peasantry and of the accumulation of agricultural production. The development of trade will still better respond to this great development of agriculture. Socialist trade has been charged with the task of radically improving the level of service and supply to the countryside, thereby contributing to a large extent to the narrowing of the essential differences between the town and countryside, contributing to the strengthening of the alliance of the working class and cooperativist peasantry.

With the establishment of the socialist relations of production in our country the contrast between production and consumption has disappeared, and everything is produced for the people and serves the people. There exists in our country "extended production for very broad consumption". Therefore, the increase of production and of the variety of mass consumer goods and the constant improvement of their quality constitutes one of the important tasks not only for production workers but also for trade workers. Every product of our socialist enterprises is guaranteed for its good quality, for its usefulness in promoting the health of the people. In our country there is no competition and struggle for markets: therefore there is not and cannot be any fraud concerning quality. Any action running counter to this principle is severely punished by the State laws. The pivot of our socialist production is the realization of use-values and not merely of profit as in the case in capitalism. Production in our country covers not every commodity but in the first place and only those commodities which have a use-value which fulfil the demands and needs of the people. There is no production, and no thought of organizing production outside these demands.

New tasks have also been laid down in the fifth five-year plan in the field of the further development of social catering. Through the complex development of this sector, under the fifth five-year plan forward strides will be made to extend it on a mass scale, to lighten the job of the working woman of the town and countryside, in

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**The Albanian environment is rich in attractive and beautiful sites and corners where our men and women have a possibility to rest, entertain themselves and engage in their favourite sports. A snapshot from a new rest center run by the Trade Unions in Tushemisht, Pogradec**

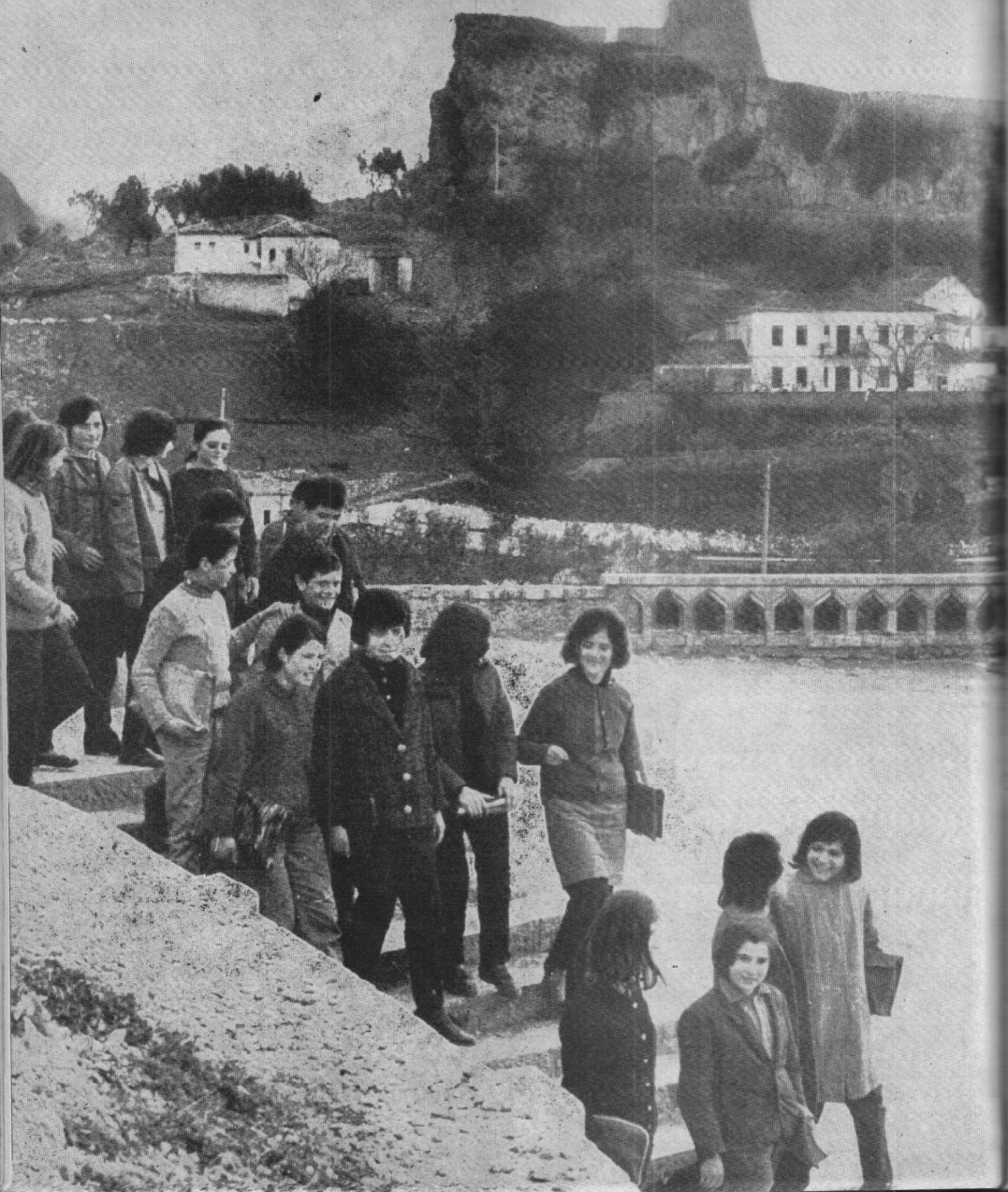
the improvement of the structure of the network of restaurants, dining halls, kitchens, units with semi-processed products, self-service stores, etc., and of an ever broader and more organized extension to the territory of the cities and villages.

Social catering in the summer season is developing broadly. At our beautiful beaches, in the numerous health resorts and picturesque sites, the social catering units are fulfilling ever better and at a high level of quality the requirements of the buyers and numerous visitors to these centres. The large and beautiful hotels with the necessary tourist comforts, at Durrës beach, in Shkodra and Korça, in Elbasan, Fier, Berat, Vlora, Gjirokastër and Saranda, also receive every year, from all parts of the world, various tourist groups, which leave this country with very good impressions of the welcome, service and the picturesque environment of our country.

The supreme aim of our party, of our socialist order, is the continuous raising of the wellbeing of the people. The workers of socialist trade are continually guided in their work by this lofty principle of our party. The party describes the trade workers as servants of the people, as those who take the revolutionary line of the party to the masses of the people. Great ideopolitical and professional work is done with the trade workers in order to further raise their conscientiousness and capabilities at work, to raise the level of their service to the people and the quality of their trade. The advanced trade workers, by their example at work, are a great force drawing over the mass of the other trade workers to raise the level of service to the people.

The trade workers do not measure their work by turnover, or by profit. The main thing for them is to speed up the supply of the people, to fulfil their requirements better and more quickly, to strive for the increase of production and the improvement of the quality of commodities. The problems connected with the improvement of the supply of the people are numerous and multifarious. They are closely interwoven with each other as well as with the other problems of an ideological, political and social character. Therefore, the trade workers have based their work on the instruction of the party that, in order to serve the people in a highly conscientious way, it is necessary for them to raise to a higher degree their ideological and professional level. The profound ideological and political understanding of the tasks by each trade worker is an indispensable condition for the fulfilment of the tasks laid down by the Party and Government in the fifth five-year plan, 1971-1975.

The preservation and administration of socialist property is another main task of the trade workers. They know that this property belongs to the people in power, that it is the economic base of our people's power. For this reason, the trade sector, too, like all the other sectors of the people's economy, has been placed under the direct control of the working masses. The placing of trade under the control of the masses, rendering account to them, is one of the features distinguishing our socialist trade which provides it with the possibility of always developing in harmony with the ever growing demands of the people.



# Illyrian Studies At The Present Stage

**The South Illyrians and their historical, ethnic and cultural ties with the present-day Albanians in the light of recent studies and researches. The first symposium of Illyrian studies, its conclusions and prospects**

by **SKENDER ANAMALI**

*The first symposium of Illyrian studies was successfully held in Tirana in September this year. This symposium is of great importance as it affirms the Albanian scientific thought in the field of Illyrianology and opens new prospects for its further advancement, contributing to the elucidation of many key problems in the ethnic, socio-economic, political and cultural fields. This first symposium of Illyrian studies was attended by Albanian archaeologists, historians, linguists and ethnographers and also by many scholars from various European countries.*

*It cannot be said that the Illyrians as an archaeological problem have only recently drawn the attention of scholars; researches to discover their civilization began almost two centuries ago. But they have developed in a relatively intensive way mainly in the northern Illy-*

SKENDER ANAMALI - Archaeologist. Director of the Institute of Archaeology in Tirana.

*rian regions, and their results have been of considerable interest to Illyrianology. But for various reasons, the southern part of Illyria, more or less as an Illyrian territory inhabited today by the Albanians, remained uninvestigated for a long time. The ancient written tradition has provided important historic information about this territory. Whereas the problem of the early Albanians, of their ethnogenesis, had for a long time been taken up only by the linguists, and, for lack of archaeological material, remained their «privileged» fields of investigation. This is why the young Albanian archaeology, as soon as it began to take its first steps, gave priority in its research work to the two above-mentioned problems. In reality they constituted one single but complicated problem, because they concern the ancient inhabitants of the territory inhabited by the Albanians, and therefore they concern their predecessors, the very genesis of the Albanians. The fact that the Albanian territory is also the territory*

inhabited by the Illyrians proper and that here the Byzantine chroniclers of the early Middle Ages mention for the first time in the 11th century "les arbanoi", a name which replaced that of the Illyrians, could not fail to have a positive influence.

It is only over the past two decades that the archaeological researches about this problem have been developing in Albania. With patience and persistence, traversing not only the lowland coastal regions and the river valleys, but also the highland areas, the archaeologists have worked an archaeological survey of Albania, choosing every year the centres where the research work was to be carried out. A person who becomes acquainted with the archaeological centres of Albania, which was described by the French archaeologist Salomon Reinach, at the beginning of this century, as "une tache blanche" finds it difficult to specify which region deserves the greatest attention, for he will find prehistoric settlements, early Illyrian fortified settlements, tumular graves, ruins of ancient and medieval cities. Encouraged by the results of the archaeological research and excavation work, the Albanian archaeologists have organized scientific sessions at which they have discussed broadly the fundamental problems raised on the basis of the recent discoveries. It is the recent archaeological discoveries and the conclusions drawn from them that created the conditions for and the necessity of organizing the first symposium of Illyrian studies, a symposium which is of national and international character.

1. - As a symposium devoted to the Illyrians it was but natural that it had as its first theme the problem of the formation of the Illyrian ethnos, broadly discussed by archaeologists, historians and linguists. This time the problem is discussed against a broader archaeological documentary background derived from the recent discoveries. Such a situation naturally justifies the need to revise the old thesis of the origin of the Illyrians and at the same time to the appearance of the antithesis. According to the old thesis it is accepted that the Illyrians had inhabited the western part of the Balkan peninsula - having the Thracians as their eastern neighbours, and Hellenes as their southern neighbours -

from the beginning of the first millennium before our era (i.e. in the iron age) and that they came somewhat earlier - towards the end of the bronze age - from Central Europe or from some other northern area where they had formed as an ethnos. But alongside this thesis was also formulated the opinion that the Illyrians, or rather the proto-Illyrians, also inhabited the Balkan peninsula during the 2nd millennium B.C., but without acknowledging the absolute autochtony of the latter.

Albanian archaeology began the discussion on the origin of the Illyrians and their autochtony in the Balkans after the excavation work carried out on the tumular graves of Vajza (Vlora, South-West Albania) and Pazhok (Central Albania), and following the discoveries made in the prehistoric dwellings of Maliq and Treni or in the Korça area (South-East Albania). The above discoveries, which at the beginning indicated a continuity of settlement, culture and ethnos from the bronze to the iron age indicated that the Illyrians were inhabitants and bearers of the discovered material culture, led archaeologists to the conclusion that the culture of the Illyrian ethnos was formed in the Balkans during the second millennium B.C., and to the thesis of the autochtony of the Illyrians. By further investigating this problem, especially the ties with the Indoeuropean palaeobalkan population, which settled down several centuries earlier and belonged to the bearers of the Balkano-Anatolic cultural complex, by properly determining the road of the formation of the culture of the Illyrian ethnos, it was established that at the end of the bronze age there already existed in Albania a broad Illyrian community with clear cultural and linguistic features.

2. - While looking for the features of the Illyrian culture during the first millennium B.C., in which as a result of the introduction of iron metal and of the general economic and social development the Illyrians entered the stage of their greatest flourishing, it became possible to distinguish two important archaeologically and historically well defined stages. The first stage is that of the beginning of the disintegration of the order of the primitive community and with it are connected the numerous tumular

graves and the fortresses built with so-called cyclopean walls and the appearance of large Illyrian tribal and federal formations. It is interesting to point out that the archaeological material discovered in the tumular graves with strong local features contradicts a new opinion which tries to see in the Illyrians not a single ethnos but a population formed by tribes of different origins and cultures.

3. - A problem which the Albanian archaeological discoveries have the merit of having placed on the correct path to its solution is that of the urbanization of South Illyria, in the period of its independent political development. Certainly, a great contribution to this has been made by the excavation work carried out both in the ruins of the known Illyrian cities such as Amantia, Lissus, Dimallum and Antigoneia (the last two mentioned have recently been identified on the basis of epigraphs) as well as in the ruins of the Illyrian cities of Lower Selca, Pogradec, Irmay, Zgërdhesh, Hollm, Xibër, etc. The multifarious character of the archaeological discoveries, beginning with the architectural monuments, such as the surrounding walls with their additions or the construction works of historical importance such as the stadium of Amantia, the portico of Dimallum, the monumental graves in Lower Selca, the houses of Antigoneia, and ending with the mass-scale productions of the cities - ceramics for household use, weapons and work tools, decorations and works of plastic art, have allowed the archaeologists to pursue the development of the Illyrian cities from their birth to their fall or destruction. Being aware of the difficulties of the problem of its genesis, they have followed the road of the birth of the Illyrian town as an economic and social phenomenon, which helps also in discovering the basis of the Illyrian state. Some documentary data have shown the investigators of this problem that in the life of the Illyrian cities, especially in the first period, two stages must be distinguished: the V-IV centuries (the first half) as the stage of the birth and formation of the Illyrian town, and towards the end of the IV-II centuries the stage of their greatest prosperity. A third stage is the period of the Roman occupation.

The second stage is better known. At this time the archaeological ma-

terial indicates a lively building activity, a great development of handicraft production, an extended trade activity, assisted also by the appearance in the market and in circulation of Illyrian currency (besides the Illyrian cities of Amantia, Bylis, Olympe, Skodra, Lissus and Foinike, money was also coined by the Illyrian king Monuni, Mytih, Genti and by the Labeat and Daors communities); and indicates too a special administrative organisation and a development of art. All these are testimonies to a rich urban life. Such an economic, social and cultural development was encountered by the Romans in South Illyria when they started their battles for the occupation of the Balkan peninsula.

4. - Also connected with the Illyrians is the problem of the early Albanians; in other words the problem of the preservation of the Illyrian population during the Roman occupation, and of the Illyrian-Albanian continuity. In this field, too, archaeological researches have made a valuable contribution. In placing the Illyrians in the forefront of the history of the Albanian people, the historians have above all taken into consideration the results of archaeology for a period of almost a thousand years.

In the first place they have become acquainted with the material and intellectual culture of the Illyrians during the Roman occupation, especially in the very difficult 4-century period of the empire. The archaeological material, the Latin inscriptions (in the Latin-speaking areas), the cults and religion, the handicraft and artistic products, have continually shown the presence of the local, Illyrian, element. This element was seen in anthroponymy, in funeral rites, cults, in clothing, art, etc., until the end of the IV century of our era when the Roman Empire was divided in to two parts. While at the end of the fourth century B.C. the danger of romanization disappeared, and the romanization had not been such as to liquidate the Illyrian population, as some scholars have suggested without thoroughly investigating the archaeological material, a new danger appeared in the Balkan peninsula a little later: the great invasion of the peoples coming from the North. While the earlier invasions caused damage because they were followed by plunder and destruction, the invasion of the Avars and especially of

the Slavs after the VII century brought about consequences in the composition of the ancient Balkan population. This latter event brought to light the theory of the "slavization" of the Illyrians, but without basing it on the archaeological material.

The discovery of a series of graves pertaining to the early Middle Ages in North and Central Albania, as well as the fact that many ancient Illyrian cities continued to exist in the Middle Ages and the birth of new cities in the early Middle Ages, gave rise from the beginning to a debate on the question of the Slav colonization of the Illyrian territories and at the same time placed in a different historical background the question of the "focus" of the preservation of an ancient Illyrian nucleus. In other words, the archaeological findings showed a continuity of settlement and culture, of the Illyrians, Roman-provincial cultural elements, and Byzantine influences, but nowhere the presence of Slavs. On the other hand, the discovery of the Illyrian-Albanian cultural ties, the uninterrupted continuation of urban life, did not support the suggestion that the Albanians are the successors of those small groups of Illyrians who sheltered in distant highland areas, even in "the closed Mati valley". The evidence of a continuity of settlement and culture also refuted the theory of linguists and of some historians, according to which the Albanians, as successors of the Illyrians or Thracians or Thraco-Illyrians, are not autochthonous in their territory, but immigrants.

In face of these recent archaeological facts, the thesis most clearly substantiated from the linguistic and ethnographic viewpoint too, remains that, according to which the Albanians are successors of the Illyrians and autochthonous inhabitants of their land. A further testimony to this is the name they bear, which draws its source from the Illyrian Albanoi who, according to the Alexandrine geographer of the second century B.C. - Ptolemy, were living behind of the city of Durrës.

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These are not the only problems that were discussed at the first symposium of Illyrian studies. Outside the field of ar-

chaeology remained the problems of the Illyrian state and of the place of the formation of the Albanian language. In general, following the extension of the Albanian researches it can be said that these problems are on the way to their correct solution. They were examined in an allround way in the numerous lectures and papers delivered during the proceedings of the symposium of Illyrian studies, which was a success of Albanian scientific thought. No doubt, at coming scientific forums they will be more enlightened by the new discoveries and jointly with them our archaeology will also discuss other problems with regard to which it has already started to have its say.

# The New Albanian And Ismail Kadare

## A glance at some current problems of our literature and at the creativeness of I. Kadare

In recent years the literary and non-literary press of many foreign countries has written a great deal about the Albanian writer Ismail Kadare, author of two novels published in France and in many other countries, («General of the Dead Army» and «The Drumming of the Rain»). Foreign critics received both works with enthusiasm and a certain amount of surprise. On this occasion many wellknown literary personalities, especially in France, described the two novels as «an unexpected event», as works which could figure «among the beautiful discoveries of world literature», as «the discovery of a previously unknown literature, which at once gives us an excellent novel». According to the French literary review «Le Bulletin des Lettres», the Writers' Club chose the novel «General of the Dead Army» as the second best work for April 1970; Patrick Hovald ranked it as the third of the best ten books of 1970 published in France, while the wellknown French publicist and critic, Robert Escarpits, described it as «a novel of world proportions». In general French critics expressed themselves favourably towards the new Albanian literature and especially towards the creativeness of Ismail Kadare.

Who is Ismail Kadare and what place does he occupy in new Albanian literature?

Born in 1936 in Gironkaster, a city in South Albania, Ismail Kadare entered the Albanian literary world as a poet at the age of 18 with his poetic volume «Youthful inspirations». Eighteen years have elapsed since then and during this period Kadare has affirmed himself as a personality of the Albanian artistic, cultural and social life. He is a poet, novelist, journalist and social activist. As a poet Kadare is known for his poetic volumes «Youthful inspirations» (1954), «Dreamings» (1957), «My Century» (1961), «What are these mountains thinking about» (1964), «Motifs with sunshine» (1968). As a novelist he is known for his novels «General of the Dead Army» (1964), «The Wedding» (1968), «The Fortress» (1970) (Known abroad under the title «The Drumming of the Rain») and «Chronicle on Stone» (1971). As a journalist Kadare is known for his volume «Distant Lines» (1971) and «The People's Autobiography in Verse» (1971) as well as for many

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by **SPIRO MITROJORGJI**

other writings published in the Albanian press. As a social activist he is known for his fruitful activity as a member of the presidium of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, as a deputy to the People's Assembly of the PR of Albania and as member of the presidium of the steering Committee of the Albanian Writers' and Artists' Union. The foreign reader knows Kadare as a novelist. But the talent of this artist was first manifested in his poetry which is as interesting as his prose. Indeed we might say that his poetic talent helps his prose to have the generalizing and emotional force, the beauty of style, the diversity of symbols, the rich figuration, the consciousness of thought and the dramatic intensity which impress us so much. Kadare has been appraised by Albanian critics as an innovating poet whose inspiring verse reveals the vitality of the Albanian people, the magnitude of their stormy efforts to overcome their centuries-long backwardness and to enter the present-day world with a concept of their own. Endowed with fine sensitivity, with abilities that can penetrate into the essence of social phenomena, with a conscientious inclination towards communist

ideals, Kadare distinguishes himself in his poetry with his emotional generalizing strength, with his militant polemical spirit against anything hindering the forward march of the Albanian revolution. His poetic volumes which despite their common thread are very different from each other, include a very rich thematic echo not only of the complex revolutionary development of present-day Albania with her difficulties and contradictions of growth, but also of contradictory world development. The great social, political and ideological conflicts in this epoch of revolutions and counter-revolutions are among the favourite themes of the poet who considers and appraises them according to the Albanian thinking. A publication of his selected poetry would give the foreign reader a more complete idea of the poetic nature of this artist with the pen. The French review "Action Poétique" recently published excerpts from five of his poems. Kadare as a novelist, very dear to Albanian readers, has been described by foreign critics as a wonderful narrator with a great convincing force, as a great talent, as a writer perfectly adapted to our century, as a master of the word,

rich in ideas, with a broad human experience, who manages to give known themes an original form, an excellent composition, the force of suggestion, etc. All these assessments honour Kadare, but at the same time, they impose obligations on him - one of the most renowned representatives of the new Albanian literature. But is it only artistic skill that makes his works have powerful repercussions abroad as well as in Albania? In our opinion the emotional force of Kadare's world derives from the great philosophical conclusions he draws from present-day national and international phenomena. In the entirety of present-day Albanian literature and art there is a noticeable positive tendency of enriching and delving deep into the philosophical essence. But with Kadare, the language of philosophy and that of art, have created a harmonious conformity, to the point of having merged into a single one. His works are permeated with a great profundity of thought raised to art through the ways he has used to depict reality in an artistic manner. If it is true what the French critic Alain Bosquet says, that Kadare reminds one of the great ancient Greek authors, then

could we not mention Diderot who used to say that the works of antiquity are magnificent because these artists had attended the philosophical schools? Doesn't the history of the art of all the epochs — without excluding our century — show that all masterpieces have had a rich philosophical, progressive essence and have been distinguished, and are even today, by their philosophical conception of the phenomena and great events of social life?

Also, in his two well-known novels, the war, a theme both old and new, has assumed an original and impressive form, not only with regard to the interesting form of presentation, but particularly to the new method of its philosophical conception and interpretation. Indeed Kadare evokes the struggles of the Albanian people in two decisive periods of their history not without a purpose. He is prompted to write in this way by the present-day national and international reality, by the concern of the peoples at the present-day aggressive policy of the imperialist superpowers. This policy has transformed the globe into a giant arena of great and fierce class conflicts — philosophical, political, economic, social, moral and others. The roar of guns is the echo of these conflicts. We are faced with an heroic drama of colossal proportions, having as protagonists the peoples who struggle to gain and defend their freedom and national independence, and as antagonists the two superpowers which strive through aggression and threats to preserve and broaden their hegemony and extend their domination over the whole world. Albania does not remain outside this drama. And Kadare aims at bringing the voice of Albania to this drama, a voice coming from the historic experience of the distant and recent past of this country, to speak to us of the present and the future. It is precisely here where one of the aspirations of Kadare's innovating mind finds expression — his capacity of giving a current flavour, the vibrations of our epoch, to a past theme. In the novel "The Drumming of the Rain" this voice is a heroic call for determined resistance to the aggressiveness of the superpowers till final victory, whereas "The General of the Dead Army" contains a serious warning to the organizers of aggressive wars. The Marxist-Leninist philosophical outlook of the author, organically merged

in his art, sees the question of war through a revolutionary ideological prism, clearly differentiating between just wars and unjust wars. And not only that. He goes further. Quite unlike and in contrast to the majority of those novels which present war only as a misfortune for the peoples, in Kadare's works, war, an offspring of the reactionary ruling classes, becomes the latter's grave-digger. On the pages of two novels there are horrifying scenes in which the barbarities and savagery of the war of the aggressors are described with realism. But these often macabre scenes do not arouse defeatism, fatalism, pacifism, or passivity in the reader, as is the case with many novels about war. The writer, as a representative of popular conscience and justice, puts them in the pillory, inflicts the most terrible military, political, philosophical, moral and psychological defeat on them. Whereas he puts the crown of glory on the fighters, throws into relief their fiery ardour for the triumph of their freedom-loving and progressive ideals, and erects invincible fortresses as monuments to them. The ideal objective of the author is evident. The rulers and tyrants tremble at the revolutionary struggle, they lose their logic, go mad and are overthrown like the General of the Dead Army, whereas the people, the proletarians, have nothing to lose but their chains. Rising in revolution they gain a new world. And something else. After each aggressive war, the organizers of human slaughter seek to present the collection of the remains of their victims as a patriotic and humanitarian act. In the "General of the Dead Army" Kadare exposes their hypocrisy, cynicism and criminality with the whole force of his art and calls on the peoples to be vigilant to prevent the bones of their sons from ever being spread around the world again to be collected in nylon sacks. . .

In "The Drumming of the Rain", by describing the enemy camp, the author once again reveals the philosophy of the aggressors, that philosophy which finds its expression in the ambition for conquests, profit, wealth, and glory associated with massacre, cynicism, savagery, hatred, fanaticism and medieval obscurantism. This whole philosophy is manifested through the massive, savage, bloody and desperate attacks described by Kadare with a rich imagination. In opposition to this aggres-

sive war and its philosophy the author raises the magnificence of people's war and its philosophy. The people (remember the men of the fortress in "The Drumming of the Rain") are not shocked by the war. Neither does it cause them any amazement when it starts or when it ends. As long as it is imposed on them, for the sake of their freedom-loving ideals, they cope with it by themselves with an admirable epic self-possession, standing firm in the face of threats, blockades, terrible weapons, furious attacks, hunger or thirst. In the people's struggle depicted rather indirectly, by symbolically firing the imagination, there is not the slightest sign of fear, alarm and panic or the slightest shadow of the hysteria and savagery that characterizes the enemy camp. The ideals of the fortress rise majestically and dominantly over those of the aggressor. The determination for resistance is firm, for as a man of the fortress says, "this is our land, and here we shall either live or die". Again the ideal objective of the author is evident. Also, a people small in number, can successfully cope with the attack of a superpower as long as they ensure their unity, their determination to struggle and their confidence in victory. The outstanding French novelist, Robert Merle is quite right when he says: "In the 15th century there was a Vietnam in Europe, too. It was Albania led by General George Kastrioti".

The pages of Kadare's novels, where the Albanian heroism flows like an underground stream, made many critics speak with sincere sympathy and respect for the militant spirit and courage of the Albanians. For instance the wellknown French critic, Gilles Laponge, in his article on the "General of the Dead Army", wrote as follows: "The Albanians make up a people of fighters who strike awe into their enemies. . . They fought like lions from the beginning of the centuries against all invaders who have sought to subjugate them".

But it was not the rugged mountains that made the Albanians valiant warriors, although they served them as faithful allies, nor war instincts that made them so, as some bourgeois and clerical psychologists are trying to present the case. They were made valiant warriors by the lofty ideals of justice, of honour, freedom and national independence, in whose defence they have been

compelled to keep their rifles always at their shoulders.

Indeed, the wars did not make the Albanians either warmongers or inhuman; they did not arouse them to either hostility or hatred towards other peoples, nor did they cause them to shrink inside themselves. Truly ridiculous, if not hostile, is what is written in some western newspapers about a mysterious Albania, about a certain self-isolation of Albania from the outside world, about a certain doubt and scepticism of Albanians towards foreigners. The Albanians have never been isolated nor have they felt themselves as such. Others have sought to isolate them, to blockade and humiliate them so as to conquer them more easily. But the Albanians have always had and today have even more friends and well-wishers to whom they have opened their arms, have laid the table and have welcomed and farewelled with their beautiful songs and dances. But the perfidy and ambition of others have caused them to be vigilant, wise in their judgement and cautious in their actions. Whereas they have responded to friendship and faithfulness with a hundredfold increase of friendship and faithfulness. If you read the preface by Robert Escarpit to «General of the Dead Army» you will find an approximate description of the character and psychology of the historically formed present day Albanian.

In the novel «General of the Dead Army» the attention of readers and critics has been particularly drawn by the episode about highlander Nik Martini who, according to Tristan Renaud, by attacking the fascist armies individually was not carrying out any heroic feat but merely performing his duty. We would like to add that this episode, included in the historical circumstances of that time, also speaks of the tragic fate of the Albanian people who, betrayed by the local ruling classes, because they were small in number, were left by the great powers of Europe on April 7, 1939 at the mercy of the Italian aggressors. And in order to avoid a repetition of this tragedy are they not correct to stand vigilant and invite other peoples too, to be vigilant towards the hegemonism of the imperialist powers? Can they be rebuked for their policy of powerfully relying on their own forces for the preservation of the freedom and independence of their home land?

And despite the great injustices done to them in the course of history, through their struggles the Albanian people have defended the national interests of other peoples as much as their own. In the 15th century, the 25-year long resistance of the Albanians against the Ottoman hordes became the bulwark of the Renaissance and according to Karl Marx «it contributed to the acceleration of the progressive development of mankind». Recall for a moment the words of the man of the fortress towards the end of «The Drumming of the Rain» where he says: «Someone must always rise up to stop the march of the crazy horde, and time has chosen us at the present moment. Time faced us with two roads – the easy road of submission and the difficult road of struggle. We chose the latter. We could have chosen the former had we thought only of ourselves».

Historic analogy reminds us of Albania of the 60's when the Albanian people, with their Party of Labour at the head, for the sake of the supreme interests not only of their own homeland, but also of the revolution and Marxism-Leninism, unwaveringly coped with the hostile revisionist-imperialist blockade and revealed to the world the aggressive countenance of the Soviet social-imperialists. Precisely because socialist Albania continues to see its national interests in unity with its internationalist duties it enjoys today the respect and sympathy of the proletarian revolutionaries and the progressive and freedom-loving peoples of the world. This great reality which inspires all the Albanian artists could not fail to be reflected in Kadare's consciousness too, and from this, in his work.

A characteristic feature of Kadare's creativeness which derives from the general tendency of Albanian literature and art is his originality in the creative application of the method of socialist realism. This originality is in full unity with the ideological essence of this method. Kadare wrote in 1969 that «the method by which we create is socialist realism. This is a method viewing life through the eye of revolution, of communism». Although socialist realism as a creative method is historically new, its fund has

already accumulated countless works, which will not be gone into here, and which embody the new ideo-esthetic principles of revolutionary art, the new world outlook, the new aesthetic ideals, the new principles of the artistic perception of reality. This fund also includes many works of the new Albanian literature and art. Through this method, which in Albania was born and is developing in conformity with the historical conditions, cultural traditions and socialist development of the country, there has been an affirmation of the artistic personalities of many Albanian writers and artists whose works claim distinction for their worthy artistic level, for their sound national and revolutionary character, for their trend of continuous innovatory research. The Albanian literary-artistic practice, that of Kadare included, is another confirmation of the vitality of socialist realism.

With regard to socialist realism, the Albanian writers and artists have their own viewpoint which is incompatible with metaphysical, dogmatic and conservative concepts and with the liberal and modernist ones of the bourgeois and revisionist aesthetes.

This viewpoint has been expressed in the entirety of their creativeness. It has been formulated in a clear and concise manner by the leader of the people and of the Party of Labour of Albania, comrade Enver Hoxha, who speaking of socialist realism said: «This question should not be conceived as an empty formula repeated to and fro and on which theories are framed and academic formulas drawn up. Socialist realism is the faithful reflection of socialist life we are building in all its aspects... But this socialist realism by no means appears in static, rigid forms; it seethes, it is in permanent and continuous development through a struggle of the opposites, through a class struggle, through the struggle of the new against the old». From this viewpoint the international and Albanian experience of socialist realism, the successes and failures, are today in Albania subjected to a principled discussion by our artists, critics, aesthetes and historians. This discussion has to do with a more correct conception of the method of socialist realism, of its relations with the world outlook, of the spirit of proletarian partisanship, of the relations with the national and international lite-

rary-artistic heritage, of tradition and introduction of the new and of many other problems of a more specific character. This discussion, which is encouraged and enlivened in relation with the national and international literary process, has also determined the present-day innovatory tendency of the Albanian literature and arts. This tendency, which is being consolidated with every passing day, is characterized by the negation of everything old, anachronistic, schematic and dogmatic which detaches art and literature from reality and the people, which strangles socialist realism and suffocates the creative, innovatory spirit of the method itself. It is also characterized by the critical assimilation, on the basis of Marxist aesthetics, of the national and world literary-aesthetic experience in struggle against both xenophobia and xenomania, as well against both the absolute negation of national and world tradition and worshipping and bending the knee before it. The future belongs to socialist realism. And in this process socialist realism will assimilate everything beautiful and progressive created by world literature. Therefore in Albania people encourage and support the courageous research for a new artistic conception and reflection of historical or current national and international reality, research which must bring art and literature of a high ideo-artistic content, the dramatic character and great conflicts of the times, the revolutionary transformations of our epoch. Another distinctive feature of the discussion is the consistent principled fight against the various decadent, modernist and revisionist literary-artistic trends, which are used by the bourgeoisie for social degeneration, the corruption and confusion of the minds of men, the suppression of resistance and revolutionary struggles.

The fundamental aim of this principled discussion being carried out in many directions is the deepening of the socialist and popular character of art and literature, the development of revolutionary spirit, the preservation of ideological purity, the strengthening of ties with the revolution, the growth of their emotional, educating and inspiring influence.

In the framework of this struggle and process of the ascension of the new Albanian literature, talents thrive and the

individual features of the expression of the artistic thought of various authors are affirmed.

Kadare's two novels, which were so warmly received by the foreign reader, or his other works still unknown abroad, are also a result of this free creative atmosphere which characterizes Albanian literary life. Kadare's originality resides first of all in the essence of his works and, as a consequence, in his artistic form. Departing from the dogmatic conception of reality, he introduces the Marxist-Leninist world outlook into every cell of his work. Breaking from manifestations of conservatism in social and literary life he raises higher the social-aesthetic ideals of socialism. Destroying routine, rigid, schematic forms in creativeness, he creates a more harmonious unity between content and form. Partisanship — a basic principle of socialist realism — is embodied in the author's clear ideo-emotional stand towards all the actions, events and episodes described in the two novels.

Nourished and developed in such a favourable creative atmosphere, many others works by Albanian authors too are beautiful and original, although from the viewpoint of artistic form, style and expression, they differ a great deal from those of Kadare.

When the French publishing house «Albin Michel» was in possession of the novel «General of the Dead Army» perhaps it wondered, like many others before it: «How can this writer be an Albanian?!»

When the second novel «The Drumming of the Rain» was published, this Albanian author was a surprise to many critics. But the surprise in the final account required an explanation. Certain individuals who were not acquainted with the cultural traditions of the Albanian people and with the new Albanian literature were viewing Kadare as a product of outside influences, and his work was compared with that of the great authors of antiquity and many other contemporary foreign writers. Others were appraising him as an Albanian talent, but were considering him as an exception. But the most objective critics described

Kadare as «the voice of millenary Albania speaking to the men of the century about her renewal» (Robert Escarpit), «A refutation of those who were under-evaluating the literature of this country» (Alain Bosquet), «An author of great talent that needs no comparisons» (Gilles Laponge), and so on.

In our opinion Kadare is not an isolated, accidental phenomenon, detached from the actual historic conditions and from the total literary-artistic wealth of his country. His creativeness, is a product of yesterday's and today's Albanian culture, it is an offspring of the present-day Albanian society which is building socialism. His creative individuality was born and developed on the fertile ground of his homeland.

The Albanian people are truly small in number. But they are one of the most ancient peoples of Europe having their own history and culture. Comrade Enver Hoxha said, «The fact that the Albanian people although small in number, were not annihilated or assimilated by the states which enslaved them during the centuries, nor was their culture annihilated or assimilated by the culture of the big states in great development such as the ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine culture, proves that the culture of our people has also made its contribution to this miracle, jointly with the armed resistance... of course the development of the culture of our people, small in number, who had been compelled to defend themselves, did not have that vigour and splendour which characterized the culture of other peoples. But our culture, too, despite the peripeties of the centuries, has contributed to the general culture of mankind». Whoever is interested in coming to know the history of Albania, her archaeological and ethnographical riches, her arts, architecture, folklore, language, literature, etc., would become convinced of the rich cultural traditions of the Albanian people, of the interlacing and mutual influence of their culture and that of other neighbouring peoples.

The proceedings of the First Convention of Illyrian Studies which were held in Tirana last September, once more confirmed these facts. They brought scientific substantiation of the autothony of the Albanians, of the antiquity of their rich intellectual world.

Similarly, it is true that the cultivated Albanian literature is new and not as rich in traditions when compared with the literature of the other, developed countries. But a glance over the history of Albanian literature would acquaint the friends and well-wishers of Albania with worthy writers whose works are not less valuable than those of their contemporaries of other countries. Jeronim De Rada (1814-1903), Naim Frashëri (1846-1900), Anton Zako-Çajupi (1866-1930), Ndre Mjeda (1866-1937), Fan Noli (1882-1936), Milosh Gjergj Nikolla-Migjeni (1912-1938), etc., laid down sound foundations of a literature with an essentially patriotic and democratic spirit.

Under the conditions of socialism Albania made political, economic, ideological and social progress which ensured her a worthy and respected place among the ranks of the advanced nations. Today Albania has an independent stand towards the most important questions of world development and the building of socialism. An uninterrupted ideological and cultural revolution is transforming and perfecting the superstructure of the society, enlivening and giving dynamism and creative force to the scientific thought in all fields. Under the influence and in the service of this revolution, public education, science, literature, various arts and publications assumed a vigorous development. In literature, alongside Kadare, many other writers also claim distinction for literary maturity and artistic individuality. If the foreign readers becomes acquainted with the works of Dhimitër Shuteriqi and Shevqet Musaraj, Petro Marko and Llazar Siliqi, Dritëro Agolli and Fatos Arapi, Ali Abdihojha and Jakov Xoxe, Sterjo Spasse and Nonda Bulka, Dhimitër Xhuvani and ~~Luigj~~ Gjergj Zhej and Loni Papa, and of many others of a younger age, he will become convinced that he is faced with a literature deserving of attention and respect. It does not lack artistic values or originality. It knows how to express the vigorous march of its people with powerful ideo-emotional force. It is as epic as it is dramatic and lyrical. The novels of the 60's in particular tell beautifully about that breath and depth of conflicts which continue to be associated with the socialist transformation of Albania.

If this literature has not been sufficiently known outside its own country, that is not

its fault. Behind the reasonings of many critics and aesthetes of the big developed countries about the alleged lack of literary traditions and artistic values of the small nations is hidden the traditional tendency of the reactionary bourgeoisie to throw the cultural contribution of the small countries into oblivion or to underevaluate it and to throw their own national culture into relief. But the times are changing. We are confident that after Kadare, foreign readers will have an opportunity to become acquainted with the best works of other Albanian writers too.

As to the question of influences of Kadare, we might say that these are to be sought mainly in Albania and not abroad; although it is quite clear that he has known how to benefit from the experience of advanced world literature just like his colleagues. In the first place this influence is seen in relation to the wealth of creation of his own people, in that powerful oral poetic tradition for which Albania is frequently taken as an example. «When you turn over the pages of the books of our people's poets», Kadare wrote in 1971, «you have a feeling of eternity, reality, space. The people are an immense creative force, of great ideas and feelings with a conscious tendency towards the new. Folk poetry can teach many things to present-day poetry; breadth, democracy, a feeling of reality, conciseness and bold figuration - all this assimilation in a creative manner by our poetry, drama and prose, has been and must be a great nourishment to them».

In as much as the roots of his art are nourished by the fertile Albanian land, Kadare is one of the most beloved and popular artists of the older generation as well as of the young. It is true what has been said, that there is nothing folkloristic in his novels, and we would add, in his poems either. But all the renowned artists have been real creators, for they have known how to make their own «flesh and blood» of the creation of their people. Are we not right in saying that getting acquainted with and honouring Kadare means evaluating the great talent of the Albanian people?

The traditions of classical Albanian literature have exerted their positive influence on Kadare too. As pointed out by critics and Kadare himself, he has learned from De Rada, whose novel «Milosao»

published in 1836 remains one of the artistic peaks of Albanian literature, how to discover that unique Balkan flavour, the spontaneity of the creative act and the disdain for arid literary schemas and canons. From the great poet Naim Frashëri, Kadare has learned the breadth of the conception of literary works and that continuous attention to the great national and international problems. Whereas from Migjeni, he has learned to discover the grotesque, the dramatic, sometimes arriving at the point of creating an atmosphere of drama and the macabre, but always remaining close to man. But it is also right to say that Kadare differs from them as much as he has learned from them.

As a highly cultured writer with a great creative passion, Kadare has a broad knowledge of world classical and contemporary literature. No doubt, from this great spiritual treasure which is a wealth of the whole of mankind, Kadare too, like all the others, learns and benefits. However, crossing the borders of his country, this Albanian writer also makes his modest contribution to the enrichment of progressive contemporary world literature. Kadare's works are further testimony to Albania's successful efforts on its road of progress.

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# Present-Day Revolutionary And Trotskyism

## Features of present-day trotskyism and circumstances of its rebirth. Necessity of the fight against trotskyism as saboteur of proletarian revolution

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# ry Movement

by prof. Agim Popa

The development of the revolutionary movement of the working class in our days, as the 6th Congress of the Party pointed out, necessarily requires a consistent struggle both against the right opportunism of the modern revisionists, which is the main struggle, and against «leftist» trends and arguments, especially against the dangerous activity of Trotskyism, which beginning particularly from the sixties, has currently been reactivated. In his report delivered to the 6th Congress comrade Enver Hoxha said: «The various anti-Marxist trends of the Trotskyites and anarchists have been revived as never before. By penetrating into various mass movements, especially those of the youth and intellectuals, they are seeking to fish in trouble waters with a view to diverting the masses from the right road, and to throw them into dangerous adventures which lead to serious defeats and disillusion».

## THE REVIVAL OF TROTSKYISM AND ITS CAUSES

After the 20th and especially after the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, where the renegade Khrushchev launched the savage campaign of anti-Stalinism, Trotskyism, which had been dealt heavy blows and had lost all influence on the masses, raised its head, resumed its undermining activity on a broad scale, and extended its poisonous roots to many areas and countries of the world. Like mushrooms after a shower, Trotskyite groups and organisations started to crop up in large numbers in Europe, America and in other areas. At the present time, from the sixties onward, the Trotskyites have grouped themselves around four main centres: the

«International Secretariat», the so-called «Marxist-revolutionary trend of the 4th International», «Latin-American Secretariat», the «International Committee» in London, which unites mainly the British, American and Canadian Trotskyite groups. The Trotskyite groups in Western Europe are especially numerous. Thus, for instance, several such groups have appeared in France and are carrying out their pernicious activity: the «Internationalist Communist Party» (PCI), which is the French branch of the 4th International; the «Internationalist Communist Organisation» (OCI), a rival faction which does not belong to the 4th International; «Youth Alliance for Socialism» (AJS), «Marxist-Revolutionary Alliance» (AMR); «Communist League» (LC), the «Worker struggle» group (LO), etc. In Spain, too, several Trotskyite organisations are active: the «International Communist Party unification» (POUM), the «Communist Action» organisation, the «Revolutionary Workers Party» (POR). In Britain the Trotskyite organisation known as the «Socialist Labour League» is active. Various Trotskyite groupings have also raised their head in many other countries too, such as West Germany, Sweden, Belgium, etc., in Europe, and including Ceylon and Japan in Asia.

What are the causes of the revival of Trotskyism at the present time? The principal ones are the following: On the one hand, the betrayal of modern revisionism, in particular that of the Khrushchevite revisionists, which caused great disorientation in the revolutionary movement. It is precisely this that has allowed the Trotskyites to speculate with pseudo-leftist slogans in order to lead astray the revolutionary movement. On the other hand the revival of Trotskyism is connected with the large scale involvement in the present-day revolutionary movement of other intermediate, petty-bourgeois, strata, including in particular the various petty-bourgeois

strata of the city, such as the small merchants, lower and middle white-collar workers, intellectuals and students, etc., who bring with them into the movement the vascillations typical of the petty-bourgeoisie. Precisely these vascillations, this petty-bourgeois instability, inclinations to go from one extreme to another, from anarchism and unbridled adventurism to extreme Right opportunism and defeatism, constitute the favourable ground on which Trotskyism flourishes and speculates for its own counterrevolutionary aims.

Finally, in the present-day period, when the wave of the revolutionary movement is constantly rising, the bourgeoisie instigates and supports by all ways and means, the extension of Trotskyism, which taking advantage of the feelings of protest of the broad masses of working people and in particular of the masses of youth and students against the capitalist order, and of their sincere but spontaneous revolutionary inclinations, seeks to disorientate them with ultra-revolutionary phraseology, to divert them from the true road of the revolution, to throw them into adventures which are not harmful to the bourgeoisie, and to disillusion them. This is the reason why publishing house financed by the bourgeoisie, today distribute Trotsky's works and Trotskyite literature in large quantities.

#### SOME ESSENTIAL FEATURES OF PRESENT-DAY TROTSKYISM

What characterizes present day Trotskyism? The treatment of this problem, even though in summary form is essential in order to understand the essence and role of this anti-Marxist trend in the present-day conditions of the development of the revolutionary movement.

The Trotskyism of our days is generally based on the anti-Marxist viewpoints, objectives and methods worked out by Trotsky in his time. But it has, and cannot fail to have, some new features and peculiarities dependent on the present-day conditions and circumstances of the development of Trotskyite activity. What we have to do with here, is the fusion of some already known features with new nuances. The aim of the present paper is not to draw an historical parallel between yesterday's Trotskyism and today's, or to throw into relief the differences between them which might be the object of a special study. Here we shall point out some of the fundamental principal features that characterize the viewpoints and activity of the Trotskyites in our days, irrespective of whether or not they were also characteristic of the Trotskyism of the past. Nor shall we enter into a comparative analysis of the numerous Trotskyite groups and factions which are in permanent feud and polemics with one another, but are united on some fundamental points in their fight against Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary movement. We may thus speak of some general features of the whole Trotskyite trend.

From the philosophical-methodological viewpoint, present-day Trotskyism, like that of the past, is characterized by voluntarist subjectivism which finds expression, among other things, in the failure to take into consideration the objective conditions determining the development of the revolutionary

movement on a national and international scale, and the character and motive forces of the revolution in its different stage. The Trotskyite concepts are also characterized by eclecticism and pragmatism, the lack of stable principles, reliance on entirely opposite concepts, the transition from one extreme to another, uniting with the most various trends for the sake of ephemeral advantages, etc.

From the ideo-political viewpoint, present-day Trotskyism is characterized, above all, by hostility towards revolutionary Marxism-Leninism. This is a general feature of old and new Trotskyism. At one time it expressed itself in Trotsky's hostile stand towards Lenin and Leninism. Later on it found its expression in the hostile stands of Trotsky and the Trotskyites towards Stalin, his ideas, work and leadership. In our time the hostility of Trotskyism towards Marxism-Leninism is expressed in the fact that the Trotskyites seek to divert the attention of the revolutionary movement from the fight against modern revisionism and push it into positions of anti-Stalinism. The Trotskyites present Stalin's Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line in an entirely false light, describing it as Right opportunism. And while they gloss over or say a few general words about the struggle against revisionism, they have spearheaded the whole fire of their batteries against Stalin and "Stalinism", accusing him of betrayal of Leninism and the cause of the revolution and socialism, of disorientating the world revolutionary movement, of causing a decline of the revolutionary upsurge in the West, of occupying and exploiting the countries of people's democracy after the second world war, etc. (P. Frank "The Fourth International" ed. Maspero, 1969). They also attack Mao Tse-tung and his ideas, the Communist Party of China and the Chinese revolution (Ibidem, as well as D. Avenas, A. Brossat. "On Anti-Trotskyism", ed. Maspero, 1971). On the other hand the Trotskyites are in full agreement with the modern revisionists on fundamental attitudes. Jointly with the revisionists they attack Stalin and the CP of China, and give their support to the variants and different trends of revisionism. In 1948 the leadership of the Fourth International and the trotskyite organisation belonging to it expressed their support for the Yugoslav revisionists and carried out a large-scale activity in their favour (P. Frank "The Fourth International"). In 1956 they took sides with the Hungarian counterrevolution and expressed their dissatisfaction with Imre Nagy's "irresolute stand" (Ibidem). In 1968 the trotskyites supported the Dubcek revisionists in Czechoslovakia, proclaiming their course to be a revolutionary movement (Ibidem). Likewise, the Trotskyites join in the demagoguery of the Soviet revisionists about "the united front of all the socialist countries against US imperialism" (Ibidem), deny the process of the restoration of capitalism in the revisionist-ruled countries, etc., (Ibidem). What Lenin once said about Trotsky is completely true of present-day Trotskyism. "... He manoeuvres, speculates, poses as a leftist, and helps the rightists as much as he can..." The objective of the Trotskyites is to unite all trends, be they rightist or "leftist", against revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, described by them as "Stalinism".

The division of the revolutionary movement of the working class constitutes one of the most characteristic distinctive

objectives and features of present-day Trotskyism. Objectively, the Trotskyism of our days could be described as a special agency in the service of the bourgeoisie for the division of the labour movement, a division which the Trotskyites are seeking to raise to a principle, openly expressing themselves against unity in its ranks. One of the leaders and ideologists of present-day Trotskyism, Pierre Frank, writes: "In fact, what is truly abnormal in the labour movement is monolithism, this «unity» that strangles every independent political thought in the ranks of the organisations calling themselves Marxist... Whoever refers to the history of the worker movement sees that this has most frequently been full of struggles of trends and tendencies, in theoretical and political opposition with one another. This was normal, for the progress of revolutionary action and thought cannot be conceived outside an unceasing confrontation of theories, stand and orientations with reality, and the more so in a world which is in a state of uninterrupted upheavals, in which «the new» was and is emerging from day to day" (P. Frank «The Fourth International», page 60). Thus, according to him, there can be no question of unity of the worker movement, its normal situation is continuous division (!). It clearly follows from such a concept that the constant division in the very ranks of the Trotskyite movement, its continuous dismemberment into a large number of groups and factions in unceasing disarmament with each other, is not only an expression of its weakness and petty-bourgeois nature but also a tactic to sow discord and disintegration in the ranks of the revolutionary movement.

The unprincipled vascillations to the «left» and right, unity at one time with the extreme Right opportunists and at another with the most extremist and adventurist «leftist» elements, is also a characteristic feature of the concepts and attitudes of the Trotskyites. Thus, for instance, on the one hand they pursue the so-called policy of «entrism», i.e. the merger of the Trotskyist groups with other parties, including the Right social-democratic parties, while on the other hand they furiously attack the policy of antifascist popular fronts, describing it as «opportunist policy of class collaboration». On the one hand the Trotskyites praise to the skies the use of random violence, they support and incite the anarchist «leftist» movements which lack perspective and a clear revolutionary programme, which bring confusion and disillusion into the revolutionary movement, such as the chaotic revolts of small armed groups or the warfare of guerillas not based on an organized broad political mass movement. Thus, they advocate political adventurism and putchism, while on the other hand they recommend to the worker movement a «strategy» and «tactics» in the struggle for socialism, which is identical with the reformist line of the rightwing revisionists (P. Franc «The Fourth International» as well as K. Mavrakis «On Trotskyism», ed. Maspero, 1971). These vascillations, the eclectic mixture of the most rightist concepts with the most extreme «leftist» ones are not only an expression of the essentially petty-bourgeois nature of the Trotskyite movement, but also a way to disintegrate and disorientate the revolutionary movement.

All this shows that the fundamental political characteristic of present day Trotskyism is, just as in the past, revolution in words and the undermining and sabotage of the revolutionary movement in practice.

The above-mentioned distinctive features which, irrespective of the shades between the various factions and groups, characterise at the present time the concepts, stands and activity of the Trotskyite trend, find their concrete expression in the treatment of a series of problems. It is necessary to dwell, even though very briefly, on some of them, in order to see in what directions they distort Marxism-Leninism and in what ways the Trotskyites try to hoodwink and disorientate the working class and the revolutionary movement in our time.

#### HOW THE TROTSKYITES SABOTAGE THE WORKING CLASS REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT AT THE PRESENT TIME

The Trotskyites speculate a great deal on the slogans of the revolution, and publicize in particular the so-called theory of «permanent revolution» which they seek to peddle as a creative development of Marxism-Leninism. But what is the essence of their ultrarevolutionary theories and whom do they serve in reality?

The theory of «permanent revolution» is the denial of the stages of the revolution under the pretext of its uninterrupted development. This was Trotsky's viewpoint, and is also the viewpoint of the present day Trotskyites. According to it, in every country, whether in the capitalist metropolises or in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, for the revolution to develop, it cannot be other than a pure proletarian revolution, without any intermediate stages. «The whole revolutionary experience of present-day Vietnam, — the Trotskyites write, — confirms the necessity of combining the anti-imperialist struggle with the anti-capitalist, anti-bourgeois struggle, and the necessity for the revolutionaries of the colonial countries, if they want to secure the means to carry through to the end the so-called «national» tasks, to set about the process of a proletarian revolution» (D. Avenas, A. Brossat «On Anti-Trotskyism», p. 75). And further: «... the revolution by stages has definitely failed», «... at the present time there is no intermediate road between the rule of capital and the dictatorship of the proletariat» (ibidem). But raising the question in this way means to ignore the objective factors that condition the character of the revolution in the various stages of its development, it means to narrow the social basis of the revolution in these countries, sowing discord between the social forces which should be united in the revolutionary movement and, in the last analysis, sabotaging it.

To these adventurist arguments of the Trotskyites, the Marxist-Leninists counterpose the necessity for a concrete analysis of the development of the revolution in every country, without falling into rigid and absolute formulas and, where objective conditions and circumstances impose it, the combination of revolution by stages and the uninterrupted revolution, under the leadership of the working class and

its Marxist-Leninist party, as a necessary condition for carrying the anti-imperialist or democratic revolution through to the end and passing on to the socialist revolution.

The Trotskyite theory of «permanent revolution» is also the theory of negation of the national movement in the development of the revolutionary movement, the theory of the overestimation of the external factor and negation of the internal factor as decisive in the revolution and, in the last analysis, a theory of the «export» of revolution. «The idea that revolutionary movements can be built on a «national» scale or in «regional» isolation, — says one of the programmatic documents of the 4th International, entitled «Current dialectics of world revolution», — has never been so bankrupt as in the epoch of intercontinental ballistic missiles and voyages to outer space» (P. Franc «The Fourth International»). While the Trotskyites D. Avenas and A. Brossat write: «The different countries have reached very different levels of development, but they are all closely connected, they are all interdependent — this is what should be borne in mind, for this last stage of development of the productive forces bars turning back, returning to national boundaries» (Ibidem). Such a treatment of the question in fact leads to abandoning the revolution in different countries, to waiting for the creation of conditions for the development of the «chain world revolution» which is impossible because of the uneven economic and political development of capitalism, a factor which the Trotskyites want to ignore, thereby falling into subjectivism.

By their arguments and stands the Trotskyites disorientate and divide the motive forces of the present-day revolutionary process. In the colonial and semicolonial countries, where the working class still constitutes a relatively limited class whereas the peasantry makes up the majority of the population, and thus also the numerically greater force of the revolution, they, by denying the revolution by stages, in fact deny the revolutionary possibilities of the peasantry, they estrange the peasantry and the other intermediate strata from the working class with ultra-leftist slogans. While in the developed capitalist countries, where the working class constitutes the decisive force of every truly revolutionary movement, the present-day Trotskyites are ever more persistently spreading the view that in these countries the striking force of the revolution and the real leaders of the revolutionary movement are, allegedly, the young intellectuals, the students and school pupils. This is also clearly shown by the fact that the Trotskyite trend is spread mainly among the student youth, while its influence on the workers is extremely limited. Thus, on this question the position of the Trotskyites is similar to that of the bourgeois ideologists of the Marcuse type or of the Right extremist revisionist like Fisher and others. But however developed the student movement may be, it can play a positive and effective role in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism only if it unites with the revolutionary movement of the working class and places itself under the leadership of the proletariat and of the Marxist-Leninist proletarian party.

While making a great hue and cry with general ultra-revolutionary slogans, the present-day Trotskyites, when it comes to treating the concrete problems of the develop-

ment of the working class revolutionary movement, come out with arguments which in essence fully accord with those of the modern revisionists, about «structural reforms» about the participation of the workers in running the capitalist enterprises, etc. Thus, the Trotskyite Mandel says that the struggle for workers' control in the capitalist countries «creates a situation of dual state power», that the «demand for workers' control... aims at the establishment of workers' power, first in the plant and then throughout the country» According to Mandel, in May-June 1968 the workers would have achieved victory if they had acted according to the following recommendations: «Had they been educated during the previous years and months with the spirit of workers' control they would know what was to be done: elect a committee in every enterprise which would begin with the opening of the account books of the employers; calculate themselves the cost of the income and the company tax on the firms' incomes; establish the right to vote in hiring in and dismissing workers, as well as in every modification of the organization of work; replace the foremen appointed by the boss with elected work mates... The workers should pass quickly from worker control to worker administration. But this interval should be used to denounce before the entire nation the arbitrariness, injustice, confusion and plunder by the employers and to organize local, regional and national congresses of strike committees and worker control committees which would ensure the workers who had risen in struggle the means of organization and self-defence necessary to cope with the bourgeois state and the capitalist class as a whole» (Quoted from K. Mavrakis «On Trotskyism»). And all this, according to the Trotskyite theories can be done in the conditions of the rule of the bourgeoisie while it is still armed to the teeth, without overthrowing it, without destroying the bourgeois state machine, without establishing the proletarian dictatorship (!). This is a most flagrant opportunist denial of the revolution.

#### PRESENT-DAY TROTSKYITES AND THE PROBLEM OF THE VANGUARD PROLETARIAN PARTY

The hostility of the Trotskyites, both past and present, towards the revolutionary working class movement, is clearly seen in connection with the stand towards the problem of the proletarian party. The Trotskyite viewpoint on this question could be summed up as follows:

First, according to the Trotskyites, the existence and leadership of the Marxist-Leninist proletarian party is not absolutely necessary in the struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of socialism. As the Trotskyite P. Franc says in his book «The Fourth International», Trotsky himself forecast in his writings, although as a rare possibility in extraordinary circumstances, that «the revolution could be victorious even under a leadership which is not revolutionary Marxist», while after the second world war some such cases have allegedly occurred (P. Franc «The Fourth International»). It is quite evident that on this ques-

tion there is no essential difference whatever between the Trotskyite viewpoint and that advocated by the Yugoslav, Italian and other modern revisionists. It is common knowledge that such arguments aim at leaving the working class without a genuine revolutionary leadership and serve only to undermine the revolution and leave the working class in capitalist bondage.

Second, the Trotskyites are against the undivided leadership of the Marxist-Leninist proletarian party after the seizure of power by the working class and, together with the various rightist bourgeois and revisionist ideologists, advocate the multiparty system in socialism. Here is what the Trotskyite P. Franc writes in this connection: "In the society of the period of transition to socialism the working class will still remain differentiated for a long period to the extent that different strata will have different viewpoints concerning the relationship between their everyday needs and their longterm interests. Thus, there will be room for different parties in the transitional society, some of a more reformist character, others of a more revolutionary character" (Ibidem). Thus, it is a question of the existence of several so-called worker parties, which excludes the leadership of a single vanguard party of the working class based on the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism. But in these circumstances the existence of a genuine proletarian dictatorship is impossible, and this enters into the calculations of the Trotskyites. The very fact that they have waged and continue to wage a frantic campaign against the "Stalinist" Soviet system, which embodied the fundamental features of the proletarian dictatorship, is the most evident testimony to their unbridled hostility towards the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Third, by advocating "world revolution" and by underestimating the role of the internal, national, factor in the development of the revolutionary movement, the Trotskyites consequently also underestimate the role of the proletarian party on a national scale and speak of the necessity for a "world party". Since there is no "socialism in a single country", - they say - "the instrument of the world revolution cannot be other than a world party" (P. Franc "The Fourth International") This in essence means to eliminate the true role of the proletarian party, for the world revolutionary process in the present-day conditions cannot be conceived other than as a development and triumph of the revolution in different countries; therefore on a national scale, under the indispensable and fully responsible leadership of the proletarian party in each country.

Fourth, the Trotskyites, although in words they proclaim themselves as consistent heirs, and indeed the only ones, of Lenin, in fact are stubborn opponents of the Leninist principles concerning the internal life of the proletarian party. Under the pretext of "democracy" and "freedom of thought", they oppose in particular the principle of centralism and unity of thought and action, the iron proletarian discipline in the party, without which the latter remains something amorphous and disorganized, a club for endless discussions, incapable of any kind of effective revolutionary actions, while internal democracy is transformed into a means to disintegrate and liquidate the party. The party of the Leninist type was described by

Trotsky in his time as a "barracks regime" and the Leninist norms as bureaucratic and dictatorial. According to him, the party should be an unprincipled union of all the factions or trends which proclaim themselves socialist or communist (Jean-Jacques Marie "Trotskyism"). The present-day Trotskyites also advocate factionalism and support "freedom of discussion and the right to form trends, without which the base is denied true political activity" (P. Franc "La Quatrième Internationale"). Also on this question the position of the Trotskyites is identical with that of the extreme rightwing revisionists of the type of Garaudy and Fisher, or of the "leftist" groups of the type of the "Manifesto" who openly (and not in a camouflaged way like the Trotskyites) oppose the Leninist teachings about the party.

Facts prove that present-day Trotskyism is a sworn enemy of the revolutionary movement of the working class and of the peoples and a dangerous weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie and imperialism to sow confusion in this movement, to divide and undermine it. Therefore, in the present-day conditions the struggle for the exposure and destruction of the Trotskyite trend is an urgent need for the successful development of the working class revolutionary movement and a current task of all Marxist-Leninists.

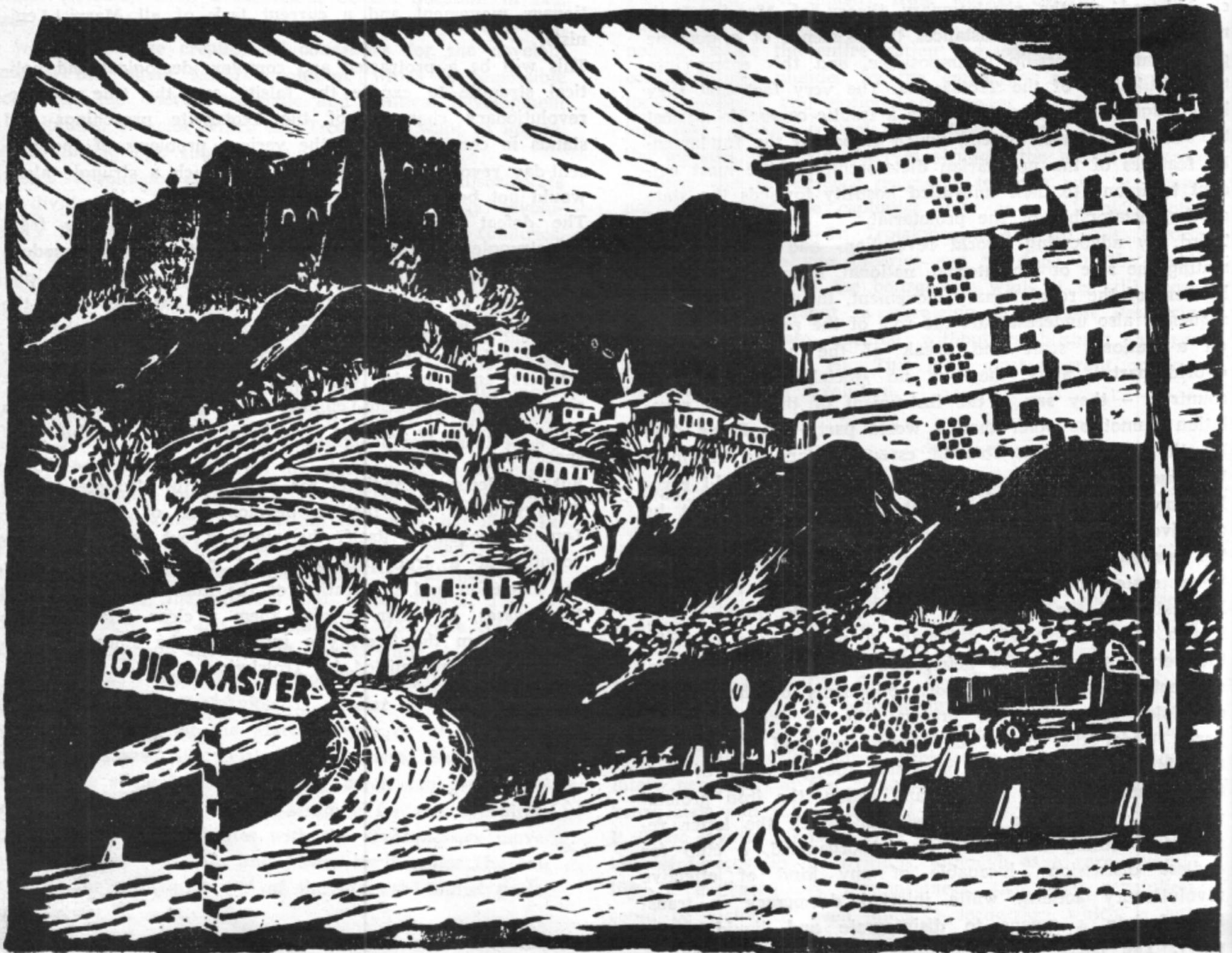
This will be a protracted and complex ideological and political struggle to expose the falsity and the true counter-revolutionary character of the Trotskyite preachings and stands in connection with the various problems of the present-day revolutionary movement. But such a struggle alone would not be sufficient.

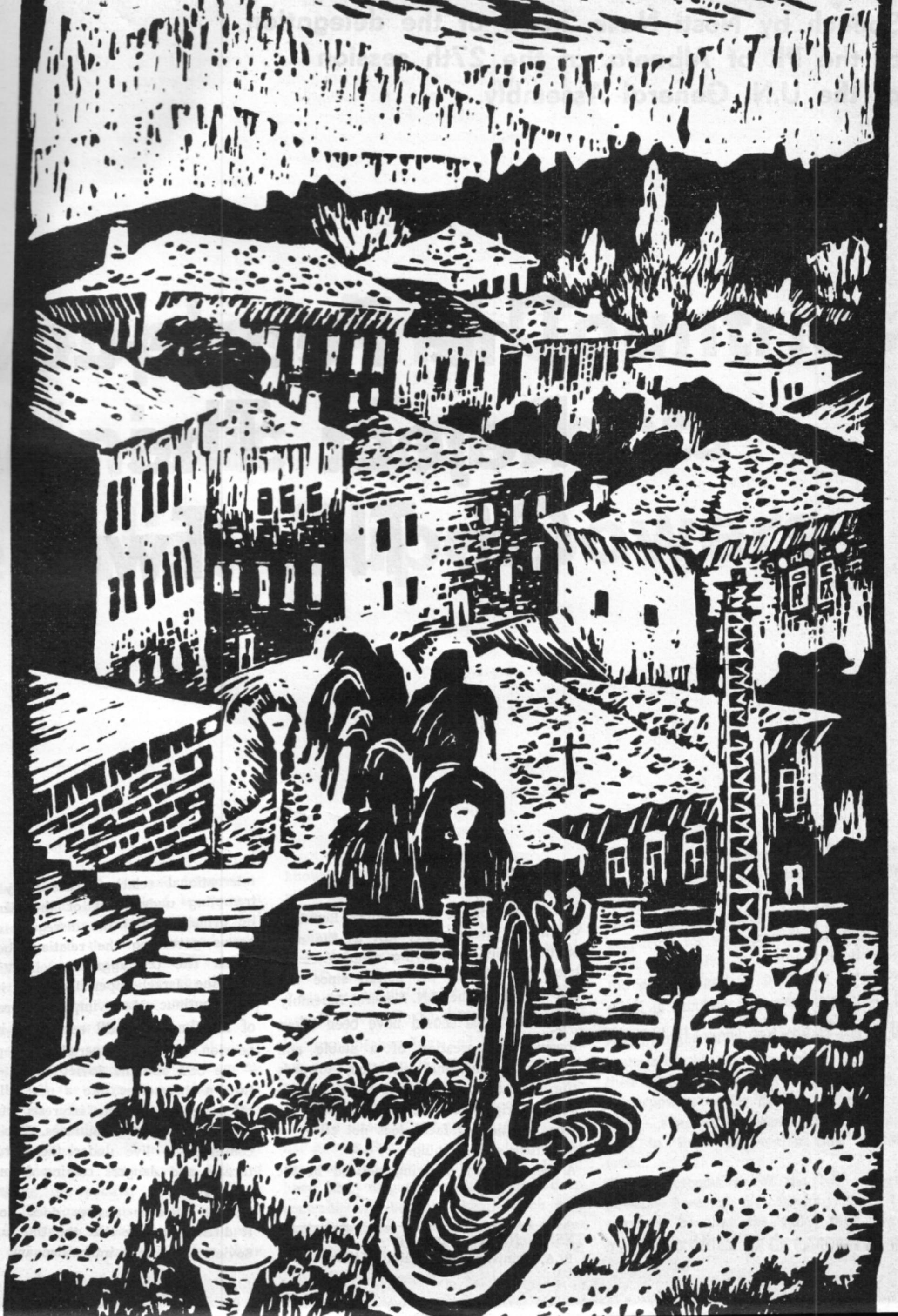
The defeat of the Trotskyite trend is inseparable from the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties against modern revisionism, and against Soviet revisionism in the first place, to put an end to the confusion it has caused in the present-day revolutionary movement, which created the conditions for the revival of Trotskyism, to make clear to the workers and peoples the wide gap separating the revisionists from Marxism-Leninism and genuine socialism, in order thereby to deprive Trotskyism of the possibility of speculating.

But the decisive condition for a successful struggle against Trotskyism is the further development of the Marxist-Leninist movement itself, the working out by it in every country of a true programme of revolutionary struggle, the extension and penetration of the Marxist parties among the masses, in order to give them a clear orientation, to liberate from the Trotskyite influences the sincere revolutionary elements misled by Trotskyism.

The present issue includes a number of designs by the painter Dhimitër Trebicka, director of the Gallery of Arts in Tirana. He has treated in them of the city-museum of Gjirokastra, its traditions and present.

«Gjirokastra – ancient city and new city»





Speech by Nesti Nase, head of the delegation  
of the PR of Albania, at the 27th session  
of the U.N. General Assembly

# The Peace-Loving Reject The Heg Of The Two Im

Mr. President,

The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania would like, just as the majority of the peace-loving member countries, that during the period since the last session of the U.N. General Assembly important steps should have been taken towards the creation of a stable and healthy international situation, towards the restoration and respect of the sovereign rights of the peoples. But the true situation of facts does not allow us to affirm such a thing.

A new tension is being noticed in the

international relations caused by the trampling under foot of the democratic principles and the disregard of the norms governing the relations between states. The U.S aggression in Vietnam and the Israeli-imperialist one in the East continue. Many important problems of the times are still remaining in suspension. The two imperialist big powers - the USA and the Soviet Union - have thrown themselves into a new all-round offensive against the interests of sovereign peoples and countries. The world continues to live under the burden of threats and dangers coming from these powers.

Today, whoever desires does not find it difficult to see that the USA and the Soviet Union have intensified and perfec-

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NESTI NASE - member of CC of the  
PLA, minister of Foreign Affairs

# g Peoples And Countries emonistic Concepts perialist Superpowers

ted their interventionist and hegemonistic policy and have raised to quite a high degree their actual coordination and activity against the freedom and independence of the peoples. They are in competition and rivalry for the division of the zones of influence and the domination of the world.

All the member countries are witnesses to that the two «superpowers» are manoeuvring in all the ways to set themselves against the efforts of the peoples and of all the freedom-loving countries to strengthen and defend their national independence and sovereignty. But no advertising, no pacifist pose, not even the so-called «great acts» in the name of the «preservation of the peace» and «progress of mankind», can camouflage their

known imperialist policy and the true aims they are pursuing separately or jointly. Their aggressiveness and arrogance have already come into the open, their thirst for absolute power over the whole world is noticed everywhere.

Certainly, as the leader of the Albanian people, Enver Hoxha, has said, «it would be incomprehensible and unrealistic if we would see in the Soviet-U.S. alliance only the rapprochement and collaboration of the two «superpowers», their common interests and actions. As imperialist powers that they are, the United States and the revisionist Soviet Union have also disputes, rivalries and deep contradictions between them, which prevent them from acting always and everywhere in full harmony and unity. The

existence and sharpening of the contradictions underlie this alliance, the capitalist social system of the two countries, their imperialist objectives. Both sides, preparing for war, plan to liquidate also each other». But it is also true that for the peoples, and in particular for those small in number, it is very dangerous to live with the hope that one of the other imperialist big powers might come to their defense. The «defence» the two «superpowers» offer is the inclusion in their zone of influence, the submission to their domination and exploitation.

The representatives of the two «superpowers» here at the Assembly tried to convince us that the talks they have held between them and the agreements they

have concluded during this year, have allegedly rendered a great service to the world, to the entire mankind, and they presented the situation in such a light as though the member countries should now feel themselves more guaranteed than before, etc. This is a fraud and we flatly turn it down. In these talks decisions have been taken to the detriment of the vital interests of the peoples of the world, the spheres of influence have been confirmed and divided, great bargainings have been struck at the expense of Vietnam, the Arab countries, Europe, etc. Questions are judged on the basis of facts and facts testify to a further deepening of their global aggressive strategy, now publicly announced, to the hatching up of new dangerous plans and conspiracies against the peoples and peace in the world.

Now, both the United States and the Soviet Union are seeking to impose on others the thought that the two "superpowers" are allegedly indisputable guarantors of the world and unappealable arbiters of international relations, that the peoples must sacrifice their national interests for the preservation of the balance between the big two, on which allegedly depends all the equilibrium in our planet, that allegedly on these two powers and the development of the relations between them most fatally depend the destinies of the world, of peace and international security, that on the warming or cooling of the Soviet-U.S. atmosphere depends the climate of the entire terrestrial globe, etc. Both "superpowers" have already made it a practice to directly discuss with each other the important international problems and decide on them in accordance with their hegemonistic interests, without asking and without notifying anybody, not even their closest allies. Haven't the SALT talks and other delicate questions shown of this truth? Nobody dares to pretend saying that he knows what is being hatched up in these top secret talks, but everybody knows there is decided not only on a joint armament policy, but also on a common line and stand towards others, in all the fields and on all the questions.

With their hegemonistic policy the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet ones are aiming not only to arouse in others the psychosis of fear and submission to their

potential but also are openly seeking to have the peace-loving countries deprived of their participation in the solution of the problems that preoccupy and concern the entire world, that they allow the two big powers to decide behind their back and especially behind the back of the small ones, also on questions that have to do with these countries. In a world, they want that the peoples leave their supreme sovereign rights in the hands of the "big two". But the freedom-loving peoples and countries reject these hegemonistic and ultra-chauvinistic preachings and concepts and forcefully oppose the big power policy which the United States and the Soviet Union are trying to impose also here in the United Nations Organization.

Now it is being said by both great imperialist powers and by some others, too, that the situation in Europe has undergone a great positive evolution and that conditions have been created for the achievement of a complete and all-round security of this continent. To convince us, they mention among other things the Bonn-Moscow, Bonn-Warsaw treaties, the agreement on Berlin, etc.

All this picture does not present the reality. In fact nothing has changed in Europe. Moreover, the agreements mentioned above have brought about a new tension in Europe, and new contradictions have been added to the old ones in the East and West. The attempts of the United States of America, the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany to gain dominating positions and new privileges to the detriment of the other European sovereign countries have been intensified.

We hold to the viewpoint that it is unrealistic to speak of a possibility of achieving European security at a time when the USA and the Soviet Union are following in Europe a hegemonistic policy and maintain the military aggressive blocs of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, when on the territories of European countries they have set up a whole network of military bases, maintain numerous troops and conduct successive military manoeuvres, when Czechoslovakia remains occupied and the "limited sovereignty" theory is being applied to the East European countries, when close economic groupings in Eastern and Western Europe are practising discrimination in trade and have become an obstacle in

the development of an equal collaboration between the European countries.

We adhere likewise to the viewpoint that peace in the world is one and indivisible. There can be no peace in a part of the world as long as aggressive war is carried out in another part. The true peace and security is unimaginable in Europe as long as near to it, in the Middle East, an open aggression and an unprecedented imperialist interference is being carried out, as long as in the south of the continent, in the Mediterranean basin, tension is increasing as a result of the presence of the aggressive war fleets of the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union and their naval bases.

On this occasion the Albanian delegation asks the question and raises the problem: Why have these aggressive fleets come to the Mediterranean from thousands of miles away without being invited by anyone, why do they criss-cross its waters with their guns pointed towards the peaceful shores of the Mediterranean countries bringing with themselves also the threat of war?

The peoples of these countries do not need the protection and sham friendship of the U.S. and Soviet imperialists. They well know the mission of these fleets and the "gun-boat diplomacy" that the two imperialist powers want to implement in that area. It is a fact that with the Mediterranean peoples there is still more increasing the opposition to the presence of the U.S. and Soviet warships and troops, to the foreign military bases on their shores as well as their struggle for the transformation of the Mediterranean into a region of peace and collaboration. They will, without fail, realize their lofty aspirations and will know how to show the right place to the new pretenders to the domination of the seas.

The People's Republic of Albania which expelled the Soviet social-imperialists from its waters when they wanted to establish themselves on its shores and become masters of the country, greets and supports the just stand and efforts of the freedom-loving Mediterranean countries in defence of their national independence and sovereignty and for the liberation of the Mediterranean basin from any kind of hegemonistic policy. Just as in the past and in the future, too, Albania will make her contribution

in this direction. She thinks that the effective road for the realization of the aspirations and will of the Mediterranean peoples is the undertaking of actual and energetic movements and acts such as: The Mediterranean countries which have foreign military bases on their territories should declare that they will liquidate them; the other Mediterranean countries should declare that they will not allow new foreign military bases to be set up on their territories; the Mediterranean countries which provide to the U.S. and Soviet war fleets facilities, ports for temporary use, for supply, repair and rest, should declare that they will provide no aid whatsoever to these fleets in the future; the Mediterranean countries which accept now these fleets for visits, should not accept them in the future.

We think that the adoption of such resolute measures would make an important contribution to the relaxation of tension and to averting the danger from the Mediterranean, the strengthening of national sovereignty of the Mediterranean countries, and it will be a positive factor for the strengthening of true peace and security in Europe.

The «peace» and «security» that the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union are seeking for Europe is a «peace» and «security» of which they are in need to ensure their zones of influence, to preserve their military pacts and bases, to guaranty the presence of their troops on the territories of the European countries. The «tranquillity» they promise to create in Europe means tranquillization of their flanks to direct the spearhead of their aggressive policy to the East, and especially against the People's Republic of China.

Before we speak of European security we must elucidate the question: Against whom must the peoples of Europe ensure themselves? Which are the forces representing an actual and eventual danger to them? The true and actual danger to Europe is represented now and in the future by the two superpowers and German revanchism, and if the peoples of Europe must ensure themselves they must do this precisely against them. The European security, as proposed and formulated by Moscow and Washington, means consecrating the security of the imperialist interests of the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union in Europe,

giving them a free hand to act also militarily against the peace-loving peoples and nations in other parts of the world. Under these conditions we think that the support to the initiatives for the convocation of a conference on European security would lighten the burden of war to the two superpowers for their domination in Europe. A conference organized and manipulated by the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists would bring nothing good to the peace and security in Europe except words and demagoguery. It would create harmful illusions for the real and effective defence of the freedom and independence of the European peoples.

The convocation and the preparations for the realisation of a conference on the European security are a Soviet-U.S. deal which assumed a complete form in the recent talks between the two superpowers. Both these and the decisions which may derive from this conference would bear the colour of the hegemonistic interests of the two superpowers, they will bear their seal.

We would like to stress that the deceitful atmosphere with which the two superpowers have surrounded the preparations of the conference has aroused hopes in some countries which are supposed to attend it, that they will be able to ensure from this conference political, economic and other benefits. But we think that sooner or later they will disillusion because the two superpowers will make no concession whatever outside their great mutual interests. All the threads of the conference are in their hands. Herein lies the source also of the fluctuations and hesitations of various countries about the summoning of this conference.

The People's Republic of Albania expressed itself against this kind of European «security». The true peace and security in Europe will be achieved through joint efforts of all the peace-loving European peoples and countries, who would take this question in their hands, to unceasingly strengthen their national sovereignty and defence capacity, to resolutely oppose any hegemonistic policy and the aggressive activity of the military blocs on their continent and in the nearby regions, to fight through to the end for the withdrawal from their lands of the military bases and foreign troops as well as to closely connect the struggle for

their security with that of all the peoples of the world.

Recently, a new intensification has been noticed of the joint activity of the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union in the so-called field of disarmament and a great attempt to create the impression that they are seriously engaged in this question. The fuss about disarmament is a smoke-screen to conceal their true aims, to hide their frenzied armament race. The recent Soviet U.S. agreements on the so-called limitation of strategic arms, which they present as a great historic event and an outstanding contribution to peace, not only do not mark any step on the road towards true disarmament and by no means affect the nuclear monopoly of the two «superpowers», but on the contrary, they encourage their efforts for the strengthening of their dominating position and technical and scientific superiority in the armaments field, as well as for the preservation of the distance they are seeking to keep from others. They mark a new stage in the continuation of the armaments race through the further improvement of the strategic and nuclear arsenal. And practically all of us see that the two «superpowers», while speaking of disarmament, intensify their efforts for armament, they increase their war budgets and their armed forces dispersed around the world, outside their national borders; that while they speak of the limitation of their strategical and nuclear arms they increase the destructive power of these arms through their improvement and increase their expenditures in the field of scientific and technical researches for the invention of new weapons of mass extermination.

The Albanian delegation thinks that disarmament should not be demanded from the small countries and individual areas because it is not the small states and these areas, it is not, for instance, the Balkans or other areas, wherever they may be, that threaten and endanger today the peace in the world and international security. The true disarmament first and foremost should begin from the two superpowers because it is precisely they which with their aggressive policies have become a continuous source of tension and threat to the freedom and independence of the sovereign countries. In case we will see and treat the question of disarmament as the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union are propagandizing it,

it means that this question be raised wrongly and the struggle for disarmament remain an empty phrase.

If the two superpowers take their statements on disarmament seriously, then let them accompany them with concrete and effective acts, let them put an end to their policy of war and aggression, let them pledge themselves that they would not be the first to use the nuclear arms and that they stand for the prohibition of their production and utilization as well as for the complete destruction of these arms according to the known respective proposals of the Government of the P.R. of China; let them effectively embark on the road of the destruction of the mass extermination weapons, let them reduce their armed forces to the level required by the interest of their national defence and withdraw within their national borders all the troops and war fleets they have abroad; let them put an end to the course towards the extension of their military bases on the territories of other countries and let them liquidate the existing military bases in foreign countries; let them destroy their aggressive blocs and put an end to the armament race under any form it may be.

We have no illusion whatsoever that actually the two superpowers will make any concrete and real step in the field of disarmament. The aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism is unchanged and arming is a condition of the very existence of their system. Therefore, also the summoning of a world conference on disarmament proposed by the Soviet Union is a propaganda manoeuvre to pass the time with words, to keep the world dreaming, to act against the peoples and peace.

We think that the freedom-loving countries, which cherish the interests of their peoples, of international peace and security, should not enter the fraudulent and dangerous whirlwind purposely created by the imperialists, but should enhance their vigilance and fight the illusions spread by the two imperialist powers concerning disarmament and the benefits which the various countries would allegedly have from the means released from disarmament, they should increase their military defence potential, intensify their efforts for self-defence and meet any eventual attack on and continuous threat to their freedom

and independence from the U.S.-Soviet aggressive policy. The peoples do not expect the true disarmament from the two great powers, they will realize it through a determined struggle against them, against the plots they hatch up in this direction.

In the centre of attention of the world public opinion remain, as before, Vietnam and Indochina where the U.S.A. is continuing its dirty aggression for years on end. It has severely condemned the inhuman barbarities of the U.S. army and has insistently demanded that an end be put as soon as possible to the armed intervention of the U.S.A., that the American soldiers leave as soon as possible Vietnam and the Indochina peninsula, that the Vietnamese people be left free to solve by themselves, without any interference from outside and according to their own will, their national problems. But by challenging the desire of the peoples and encroaching on every international norm, the U.S. Government, with an unmatched obduracy and cynicism, continues its aggression. Now the United States has landed on an impasse and, distracted by the defeat, it passes as well from one crime to another, as also from one blunder to another. Its serious situation in which it is finding itself in Vietnam is not being lightened either by the recent measures for the intensification of the «vietnamization» of the war or by the from time to time escalations of its criminal aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The mining and blockade of the ports and the destruction of dikes, associated with demagogical promise about the so-called withdrawal of the U.S. troops from Vietnam and disengagement of the U.S.A. from the Indochina region, which are now needed by president Nixon also for the purposes of his election campaign, have not yielded nor will they yield any result. The U.S. president's words that he desires «the withdrawal from Vietnam and Indochina» are a bluff which can deceive only the naives. It is already clear that the U.S.A., be it through armed aggression or through diplomatic manoeuvres, is trying to achieve its known aims in this area in order to turn South Vietnam, just like the other parts of the Indochina peninsula, into a base of aggression against the peace-loving countries of South-East Asia and against the national liberation movement of this region.

In achieving these aims the U.S.A. is continuing to have the support of the Soviet leadership which also calculates and seeks to draw its own benefits from this question that preoccupies the whole world. While they pose as the greatest supporters of Vietnam, the Soviet leaders in fact have never given up their pressure on the Vietnamese people and their efforts to curb and sabotage their just struggle, to save the U.S.A. from its shameful defeat which lies in store for it in Vietnam, just as they do with the liberation struggle of the Cambodian people, maintaining ties with the Lon Nol clique and not recognizing the legitimate head of state Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and the Royal Government of the Cambodian National United Front, which is the only true and legitimate representative of the Cambodian people.

The recent events revealed the complete deal on Vietnam between the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union. One cannot understand otherwise the attitude of the Soviet leadership which not only did not move its finger either when the U.S. president Nixon announced the mining and blockade of the sea-ports of the D.R. of Vietnam and undertook unprecedented air raids against it, but made use of these U.S. acts as a pretext for not sending that little military aid it may have dispatched. The war in Vietnam has not in the least destroyed the U.S.-Soviet idyll and the relationship between them. Both «superpowers» agree that the Vietnamese people should not win their freedom and independence, that the Americans should not be driven away from Vietnam and Indochina.

But the Vietnamese people have not allowed and will never allow others to play with the blood of their numberless sons. They are determined, in militant solidarity with the Cambodian and Laotian peoples, enjoying the powerful support of the great Chinese people and the internationalist solidarity of the freedom-loving and progressive peoples of the world, to achieve final victory over the U.S. imperialist aggressors and solve their problems by themselves, as they think it, in accordance with their supreme national interests. The true and just peace in Vietnam and in the whole of Indochina will be reached without fail, and that will be done by the heroic Indochina peoples through their determined struggle. It will be achieved only when

the U.S.A. will be compelled to completely and finally draw unconditionally all its aggressive troops from that region; when it will withdraw from there its military bases and equipment, when it will put an end to the instigation and support of its tools in Indochina.

The course of events in the Middle East during this year again showed that not only the aggression against the A.R. of Egypt, Syria and other peace-loving Arab countries is continuing, but the Israeli Zionists are going more and more deeply, and stubbornly insist on their absurd expansionist claims and ambitions towards these countries. While on the occupied Arab territories they pursue an unbridled denationalization policy and practise racism, on the political plane, from the positions of strength, they seek to legalize the fruits of their armed aggression and to dictate their own will on the Arab people. At the same time, the U.S.A. continues to unsparingly give political and moral support and supply Israel with unlimited quantities of modern weapons. The Soviet Union, though posing as supporter of the just cause of the Arab people, adopts a double-faced stand and obstructs them in their just struggle for the liberation of the occupied territories and the defence of their national interests, which constitutes an open encouragement for the Israeli Zionists to continue their aggression. While the United States supplies Israel with armaments, the Soviet Union supplies her with qualified living force through the dispatch there of tens of thousands of Soviet Jews. The two together fulfill in this way Israel's needs to continue her aggression against the Arab countries. The Soviet Union, jointly with the U.S.A., has sought and is seeking to completely and finally liquidate the Palestinian question.

The two "superpowers" have never stood for the true solution of the Middle East problem. In accordance with the objectives of their global strategy in this region, they speculate on the temporary difficulties of the Arab countries and, as it comes out also from their recent joint stand, they are doing their utmost to preserve the "neither war nor peace" situation, which means preservation of their political, economic and military position and influences in this area.

The leader of the Albanian people, Enver Hoxha, said at the 6th Congress

of the Party of Labour of Albania which was held in November last year, as follows: "The Zionists, imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are now seeking to divide the Arabs and set them at odds with one another, with a view to weakening their common anti-imperialist liberation front and impose on them a peace in contrast with their vital interests. The aim of the two superpowers, which are seeking to take the destinies of the Middle East in their hands and to play the role of an arbiter, is to divide it into zones of influence and build on the life and bones of the Arab people new places d'armes from which to start for imperialist conquests on the continents of Asia and Africa.

"However, it is not for sacrificing them now for the imperialist interests of the great powers that the Arab people have fought during centuries for their freedom and independence, for the defence of their honour and riches. The price for the "peace" offered to them by the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists is very high. Moreover, it is offensive and deeply affects the glorious traditions, the dignity and pride of all the Arab people. The Arab people have made it clear that they will not renounce even to a single span of Arab land and will make no bargaining whatever on the Palestinian question".

The latest measures adopted by the Arab Republic of Egypt for the expulsion of the Soviet military advisers and specialists were a heavy blow dealt at the Soviet expansionist policy in the Middle East and an exposure of the dangerous plots they are hatching up with the U.S. imperialists against the Arab people and the other peoples, as well as an important step towards the strengthening of its state independence and sovereignty.

They once more confirmed what we Albanians have long since said, that the Soviet revisionists give their arms to the Arab countries not to help them in their struggle against the imperialist-Zionist aggression, but to tie up their hands and become masters of the country, to lord it over in the Middle East. This has not been only a political deduction, but also a deduction of the hostile policy of the Soviet Khrushchevian revisionists who wanted to occupy our sea-ports and transform Albania into a place d'armes of their. But the Albanian people,

unwaveringly, smashed their diabolic plans.

The lesson which comes from the latest events in Egypt is that the sovereign peoples and countries cannot rely on the arms and "aids" given by the two big imperialist powers which seek to rule over them.

The Soviet leaders are not accustomed to speak of their defeats; therefore, this time, too, they seek to minimize the event. They present the matter as if the military advisers, who were expelled from Egypt, "honourably fulfilled their tasks and they are now returning home". The question arises: What tasks have they honourably fulfilled? Is it perhaps that of the containment of the Arab people in their just struggle for the liberation of the occupied territories, or is it perhaps that of the preservation of the status quo in the Middle East which is in favour of Israel and of the Soviet-U.S. expansionist objectives?

Peace in the Middle East will be established neither by the United States nor by the Soviet Union, neither by both these powers together nor by the resolutions and missions created and manipulated by them, but through the determined struggle which the Arab people, in close unity with one another, will wage against the Zionist aggressors and the plots of the two "superpowers". The Israeli aggressors must finally and unconditionally withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories and put an end to their policy of aggression and armed provocations against the Arab peace-loving countries. All the lawful national rights must be recognized and returned to the Palestinian people.

The peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, just as all the other peoples, aspire to live free and independent, to become masters of their countries. But despite the great changes that have occurred and continue to occur, the imperialist powers do not give up their old colonial possessions and they savagely implement in them apartheid and racial discrimination. Therefore, the whole of Africa is seething today from the national liberation armed struggle for freedom and national independence of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), the Cape Verde islands, Namibia, South Africa and South Rhodesia. The North Ireland patriots are fighting, arms in hand, against the colonial oppression

and terror of the British ruling circles. The people of Porto Rico are insistently demanding to be freed from the imperialist yoke. In the U.S.A. the revolt and the protest movement of the black people against racial discrimination is growing.

The imperialist powers, and in the first place the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, persistently implement a marked neocolonialist policy, they exploit and plunder other peoples, and especially those newly liberated from colonial oppression.

I do not intend to speak here at length of the dirty forms and practices these powers pursue towards these countries, but as representative of a country which has as lofty principle of its foreign policy the support for the countries struggling for a free and independent development, I cannot keep silent before the fact that the ambitions of the new colonialists who threaten the political independence and sovereignty of these countries, are directed against them and I cannot fail to express at the same time the complete solidarity of our people with their just anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle.

The U.S.A. and the Soviet Union have already come to terms and have coordinated their actions with regard to their so-called aids for other countries. All aid of theirs is given with political and military strings and to such an extent that it should not harm the preservation of the status quo in the division of their zones of influence, that it should hinder the development of the national liberation struggles and not allow the creation of situations which would endanger the interests of two "superpowers".

We greet the struggle of the peace-loving countries of Latin America and other countries in defence of their territorial integrity and national jurisdiction against the hegemonistic aims of the two "superpowers". We resolutely back up the just measures that Algeria, Iraq, Libya and the other main oil producing countries, that Chile, Peru, Ecuador and the other countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia have adopted in defence of their independence and sovereignty, in defence of their national riches and rights. The People's Republic of Albania will always stand by the side of their just cause.

The peace-loving people and countries have forces to cope with the dangers and threats imposed on them by the two "superpowers" and we are convinced that their determination and resistance to defend their honour and independence, can be defeated by no power, no matter how big and armed it may be. A great factor of peace and security in the world has become today great People's China which is a powerful socialist country developing at fast rates and uninterruptedly marching onward. She is a reliable support of the struggle of the peoples and countries for freedom and national independence, social progress, an insurmountable obstacle for the aggressive and hegemonistic plans of the two "superpowers".

The whole progressive mankind greeted with enthusiasm last year the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the UNO, which constitutes a brilliant victory for great people's China and her correct foreign policy, a victory for all the freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples and countries of the world. It was the successful crowning of the over 20-year long struggle that the member states, the People's Republic of Albania included, relentlessly waged here in order to put an end to the unprecedented situation created in the fold of the Organization.

The presence of the People's Republic of China in the UNO perceptibly strengthened the struggle of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist forces here in the Organization, the struggle of the peace-loving member countries against the two great imperialist powers in defence of the rights of the peoples and of the cause of peace. But with the restoration of the lawful rights of the P.R. of China in the UNO only the first important step has been taken on the road for the increase of the authority and capability of the Organization. Many other important measures should be taken in order that the Organization respond to the charter and to the demands of the times.

We find out that the United Nations Organization continues to be unable to fulfill the tasks it has been created for, failing to make its contribution to the solution of the great problems which preoccupy the world today. Numerous and new facts testify to such a situation. The inability of the UNO was clearly

manifested in the case of the Indian armed aggression last year perpetrated with the support of the Soviet social imperialists against Pakistan, which led to the forcible division of the territory of a sovereign member-country and now we are asked to recognize and legalize this situation created through violence. Of such a situation clearly speak also its failure in the efforts for the solution of the Middle East question, the endless discussions in connection with disarmament, the legalization through it in many cases of the dangerous plots of the two "superpowers", the failure to carry out many decisions in connection with the colonial problems, etc.

A clear proof of the weakness and of the impasse the Organization continues to be in, is the impermissible stand it has adopted and continues to adopt towards the freedom-loving Korean people. It is common knowledge that the United Nations Organization not only was used to disguise the barbarous aggression of the U.S.A. and its allies against the Korean people, but its flag is continuing to this day to serve as a cover for the stationing of the U.S. aggressive troops in South Korea, that have brought misery and numerous sufferings to the people of this part of Korea, are unceasingly committing armed provocations against the D.P.R. of Korea and increase tension in the Far East. The existence over more than 20 years of the so-called "U.N. Commission for the unification and restoration of Korea" constitutes another aspect of the flagrant interference on the side of the UNO in the home affairs of the Korean people and an open violation of the fundamental provisions of the Charter. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania, once more forcefully condemning the serious acts perpetrated against the Korean people, stresses that in case the Organization wants to make its contribution to this question it should as soon as possible adopt the decision demanded long ago, first and foremost by the Korean people themselves as well as by the peace-loving member countries, on the dissolution as soon as possible of the unlawful commission on Korea and withdrawal as soon as possible from South Korea of all the U.S. aggressive troops. These are the first and urgent measures that should be taken. Only in this way an end can be put to the further discrediting of the Organization

on this question. The Korean people should be left free to decide by their own in accordance with their wishes without any interference from the outside, and to realize their legitimate national aspirations - the reunification of their fatherland.

The Albanian delegation is of the opinion also that there should be restored as soon as possible the legitimate rights of the Kingdom of Cambodia, whose seat in the UNO should be occupied by the representatives of the Royal Government of the National Union of Cambodia which is the only lawful representative of the Cambodian people. This demands the immediate expulsion of the Lon Nol clique representatives. Such a decision would fully meet the sovereign rights of the Cambodian people and the fundamental principles of the Charter.

The present international situation and the interests of the increase and strengthening of the U.N. capacity and role impose on the member countries, on all those who cherish and respect the fundamental principles of the Charter, to coordinate their efforts and further intensify their struggle for the liberation of the UNO from the Soviet-U.S. mani-

pulation and for its embarking on the correct road. The Albanian delegation thinks that these were some of the main problems of the international situation on which it wanted to present the view of its Government, but at the beginning of the proceedings of this session there was raised also the question of terrorism about which the U.S. delegation made a great fuss. Our stand towards terrorism is known, we do not approve it, but the Albanian delegation cannot fail to point out that the moment chosen and the way of representing the matter show that their aim is, in the name of the "fight against terrorism", to attack the national liberation struggles, the sacred rights of the peoples to fight with all their means to win and defend their freedom and independence. It is clear that the U.S.A and its supporters want to make use of this question in order to divert the attention of the public opinion from their inhuman crimes in Vietnam and Indochina, from the barbarities and terror of Israel against the Palestinian people, the Lebanon and other Arab peoples, from the savage racist oppression and genocide in many African countries, etc. The peace-loving member countries should

not allow themselves to be attracted by the U.S. manoeuvres, but they should expose true terror, the imperialist crimes and barbarities, they should fight against the policy of aggression and expansion, the policy of colonial oppression and exploitation which cause incalculable sufferings and misery to the world.

The People's Republic of Albania, which is consistently following a correct principled foreign policy, of resolute defence of the supreme interests of the Albanian people, of unreserved support of the struggle of the sovereign peoples and countries for freedom, national independence and social progress, of peace and international collaboration, just as in the past, will always stand on the side of the freedom-loving peoples and countries and will spare nothing for the triumph of their common cause, for achieving a true peace and the defence of their supreme national interest. The Albanian delegation, at this session, too, in accordance with the just stand of its socialist country will join efforts with the delegations of the other progressive countries and will make all its contribution in favour of these lofty and noble objectives.

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## 30th Anniversary of the historic Peza conference

Thirty years ago, on September 16, 1942, on the initiative of the ACP (today the PLA), the Peza Conference was convened, which laid the foundations of the National Liberation Front and the people's power.

*On September 17, the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania and the Council of the Democratic Front of the Tirana district organized a ceremony in the hall of the Opera and Ballet Theater of the Palace of Culture, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Peza Conference.*

*The ceremony was attended*

*by workers of various work and production centres, agricultural cooperativists, veterans of the National Liberation Struggle, patriots, distinguished activists of the Democratic Front organisation, parents and relatives of martyrs, military men and young men and women.*

*Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the CC of the PLA,*

*and other Party and State leaders were also present. The meeting was presided over by Ndeçi Plasari, member of the CC of the PLA and chairman of the council of the Democratic Front of the Tirana district. The speech on the occasion was delivered by Abdyl Kellezi, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA.*

*In the framework of the 30th anniversary of the Peza Conference, on September 14, the Presidium of the Council of the Democratic Front of the Tirana district organized a jubilee conference: "30 years of the Peza Conference", in one of the halls of the Palace of Culture.*

*The conference was attended by veterans of the National Libe-*

*ration Struggle, members of the families of martyrs and of which were bases during the war, activists of the Democratic Front organisations, workers from work and production centres, military men, etc.*

### JUBILEE CONFERENCE

#### "30 YEARS OF THE PEZA CONFERENCE"

*The paper "The Peza Conference and its historic importance to the National Liberation Struggle in Albania" was delivered by Ndreçi Plasari, chairman of the Tirana district Democratic Front Council.*

## First convention of Illyrian studies

On September 15-20, 1972, the First Convention of Illyrian Studies organized by the Institute of History, the Institute of Linguistics and Literature of the State University of Tirana and the Institute of Cultural Monuments, took place in Tirana. The Convention was attended by workers of the Albanological sciences, workers of educational and cultural institutions, representatives of mass organisations and others.

Also present was comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the CC of the PLA, as well as other party and state leaders.

The Convention was attended by a delegation of the Prishtina University as well as by scientists from the People's Republic of China, Austria, Great Britain, Bulgaria, France, Greece, Italy, Yugoslavia, Poland, Rumania, the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic. Among the participants were a large number of scholars from among our brothers of Kossova, Macedonia and Montenegro.

The rector of the State University of Tirana, Agim Mero, delivered the opening speech. Six papers were delivered at

the plenary sessions of the convention, while in the two sections - that on the Illyrians (archaeology-history) and the genesis of the Albanian Language, and that on the Albanians (linguistics-history) 64 contributions were delivered.

At the plenary session prof. Aleks Buda delivered the paper "The South Illyrians as a problem of historiography".

Myzafer Korkuti delivered the paper: "On the formation of the Illyrian Ethnos", Selim Islami "The Illyrian State, its place and role in the Mediterranean world".

Franco Prendi gave his paper on the theme: "The Urbanization of Southern Illyria in the light of Recent Archaeological Data".

Prof. Eqrem Çabej's paper dealt with the theme: "The Problem of the Place of the Formation of the Albanian Language".

Skënder Anamali gave the paper: "From the Illyrians to the Albanians".

The Albanian and Foreign scientists discussed these reports and contributions in special sections.

Prof. Stefanaq Pollo, director of the Institute of History and chairman of the Organizing Committee, summed up the

work of the First Convention of Illyrian Studies.

"The first Convention of Illyrian Studies is ending its proceedings. During five days of intensive and fruitful work, during five days of frequently heated discussions and debates which continued outside the walls of the convention hall, the fundamental problems of Illyriology and of the history of the ancient Albania were examined, problems which also occupy an important place in the ancient history of the Balkans. The large number of participants in this convention and the large number of papers, contributions and discussions, showed the great scientific interest which these problems present.

Outstanding representatives of science from various countries of Europe and Asia made an important contribution to the proceedings of our convention. Both on the scientific plane and on the plane of strengthening friendly ties we highly appraise this fruitful collaboration which made a considerable contribution to the successful development of this convention.

From the numerous problems of Illyriology and the early Middle Ages the convention

## chronicle

centred its attention on the treatment of some fundamental aspects which help in the solution of such key problems as the genesis of the Illyrians and Albanians, the degree of their economic, social and cultural development and their political role.

For the first time, proceeding from a broader territorial base and treating the problems in detail and in their entirety, our convention marked a new higher stage of Illyrian studies on a national and international scale. Its merit also rests in the fact that, alongside the separate specialized questions, it devoted attention to the general problem of methodology as well. This allowed a new synthesis to be made and enables some fundamental directions of the further development of the science of the Illyrians to be outlined.

It was good to see, the speaker continued, that the scholars at this convention found a common language in treating the problems that were raised. This was expressed in the fact that in general the fundamental theses met with the approval of the participants, irrespective of the debates on specific questions, debates, which are very

useful to the dialectical development of science.

The further research and studies on Illyrianology and the Albanians of the early Middle Ages will no doubt shed new light on these fields and will provide new and fuller solutions to the problems raised. Nevertheless, can draw several conclusions from this convention about the actual stage of scientific thought.

1. - The important problem of the formation of the Illyrian ethnos and the Illyrian culture was treated on a Balkan, and on an extra-Balkan plane, too, over a broader extent of time, from the Neolithic to the early Iron Age, and over a wider area which includes Thessaly and the northern regions of Greece, Macedonia, Southern Bosnia and Herzegovina and, beyond the sea, the Apennine peninsula. In this respect, the Albanian excavations and studies brought in a new element, filling in the century-old blank in the prehistory of the Balkans. Consequently, the cultural and ethnic processes from the Neolithic to the Bronze Age became clearer and, due to their correct and accurate in-

terpretation, the view that the Illyrian ethnos was formed during the Bronze Age in its historical homeland from a paleo-Illyrian substratum, became more convincing.

2. - A special place was occupied by the treatment of the problem of the urbanization of the Illyrians. This was rightfully considered as an important link in the process of the economic and social development of the Illyrians in the period of the slave-owning order. This phenomenon, particularly developed in Southern Illyria, was more broadly and deeply, studied by the Albanian archaeologists, thus enabling them not only to provide new materials, but also to give a more complete picture and a more advanced concept responding to the degree of the advanced economic and social development of Southern Illyria.

3. - The study of the economic and social development of Southern Illyria, enabled the treatment of the super-structural phenomena and, in particular, the treatment of Illyrian State as a slave owning state which played a special and independent role in the frame-

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work of Mediterranean history, to be raised to a higher level.

4. - One of the known theses of Albanological science, but one which so far had been treated one-sidedly and inadequately, is that of the Illyrian Albanian continuity and the autochthony of the Albanians on their present-day territories. For the first time this problem was treated deeply and in an all-round way, in the light of the concordant results of linguistics, archaeology, history and ethnography.

The positive results achieved so far in the field of Illyrianology and of the early Middle Ages, Prof. Stefanaq Pollo continued, create a solid foundation for Albanian archaeology and historiography to develop further. This makes it necessary to specify the research work and studies even more clearly in the future.

1. - Prehistoric archaeological research must extend in time and area so that the character and evolution of the material cultures that have developed on the territory of Albania can be more accurately determined. The task of studying the early Neolithic period and, more ex-

tensively, the Neolithic cultural extension in the subsequent stages and the not yet studied territories of Northern and Southern Albania, remains of primary importance.

2. - The Bronze Age and the early Iron Age as the periods of formation of the Illyrian ethnos deserve special attention. The study of the process of this formation can be assisted by a broader acquaintance with the dwelling-places and necropolises of this period on the whole territory of our country which believe to be the cradle of the formation of the Illyrian ethnos.

3. - Further research on the economic-cultural development and the socio-political life of the Illyrians in the epoch of the slave-owning order remains an important program of work. The study of the Illyrian towns must be carried out not only under the prism of urbanization, but also of their role in all manifestations of Illyrian life in the ancient period. Studies in the field of the Illyrian countryside of this epoch, of its economic and cultural physiognomy, of its ties with the town, are still new and

so far, have not occupied the place belonging to them.

4. - The Illyrian-Albanian ties as an historical-archaeological problem must be viewed as broadly as possible including the entire late ancient period and the early Middle Ages. Thus, we must study the background of the heritage of the early Albanians in a general way, seeking not only the Illyrian, but also the Roman and Byzantine elements that were assimilated by this population. In this direction, it is particularly important to extend the scope of research on new early Albanian centres, especially by intensifying the excavation work in urban centres and by extending the period of time to the 14-15 centuries.

5. - The ethnogenesis of the Albanians as a linguistic problem requires a deepening of research in the historical linguistic field. A still little developed but quite promising field in this direction, is onomastics. Ethnography should also make a special contribution to the solution of this question by studying the elements inherited from antiquity in the material and spiritual culture of

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the Albanians. This is still a problem of time, due to the danger of the rapid disappearance of these elements under the conditions of the vigorous development in our country. Finally, we should also think about the development of other auxiliary fields which contribute to the solution of the problems we mentioned above, in first place of anthropology.

The tasks facing us are many and complex. But the new forces of the Illyrianologists, equipped with advanced materialist

methodology are increasing in our country, and their methods of work are continually improving. This strengthens our conviction that, in the future, new and ever greater results will enrich Albanian science which, just as it has to the present, will enjoy the unsparing support of our Party and socialist State.

But we are also aware that the complex interconnected study of the fundamental problems of Illyrianology and of the early Middle Ages, over a wide range of time and area, requires the

close cooperation of the scientific forces of various countries, mutual acquaintance with the results achieved, a systematic exchange of experience and the broadest possible confrontation of viewpoints. Our convention once more confirmed the great usefulness of this cooperation. Allow me to express my assurance that we shall come to the second convention of Illyrian studies, in which we will meet again in Tirana, with fresh and greater results, and we shall raise science to still higher peaks.

## Plenary session of the organizing commission of the Congress of the orthography of the Albanian language

The plenary session of the organizing commission of the Congress of the orthography of the Albanian language, due to be held in Tirana in November this year was convened in Tirana on September 21. The session was attended by represen-

tatives of the main scientific, educational and cultural institutions of our country, and by representatives of the scientific-educational institutions engaged in the study of the Albanian language in Kosova and Macedonia. The commission examined the

themes of the scientific contributions and discussions proposed to be held at the Congress, as well as a series of other organisational questions and those relating to the manner of the development of the Congress proceedings.

## At the Youth Congress

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*The 6th Congress of the Albanian Working Youth Union held its proceedings in the «Punëtori» Sport Palace of Durrës in October.*

*The Congress was attended by 1.610 delegates elected by the youth organisations and many other invitees.*

*Attending were comrade Enver Hoxha and other Party and State leaders. The Congress was honoured by the participation of the youth delegations from all parts of the world. Part was taken by the delegation of the youth of China, headed by the member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and deputy secretary of Hopei province, Lu Ju Lan;*

*The delegation of the Ho Chi Minh workers youth union of Vietnam, headed by the member of the Bureau of the Central Committee of this Union, Hoang Dinh Song;*

*The delegation of the Youth Federation for the liberation of South Vietnam headed by the member of the Federation's Central Committee Nynh Tllan;*

*The delegation of the Patriotic Youth Union of Laos, headed by the member of the Central*

*Committee of this Union, Sithouh Sibouhuong;*

*The delegation of the youth United National Front of Cambodia, headed by Senong Sikoeurn;*

*The delegation of the Union of the Communist Youth of the Socialist Republic of Rumania, headed by the secretary of the Union's Central Committee Ioan Popescu;*

*The delegation of the Workers Socialist Youth of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, headed by the chairman of the Central Committee of this organization, Pak Che Neng;*

*The delegation of the Union of the Communist Youth (M-L) of Italy, headed by the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of this organization, Anna Maria Sasso;*

*The delegation of the Japanese Communist Youth League, headed by the secretary of the Secretariat of the League's Central Committee Hajim Kitamura;*

*The representative of the Marxist-Leninist youths of France;*

*The delegation of the Congo-*

*lese Socialist Youth Union, headed by the member of the Union's Central Committee Ossibi Josef;*

*The delegation of the Norwegian youth socialist (M-L) League, headed by the member of the Leagues Central Committee, Inger Halvorsen;*

*The representative of the Communist (Marxist-Leninist) Youth of Spain;*

*The delegation of the African Democratic Revolution Youth of Guinea, headed by the member of the Central Committee of this organization, Diallo Kade;*

*The representative of the «Rote Garde» Youth of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of Germany, Klaus Kammerer;*

*The representative of the Marxist-Leninist Youth of Britain, Beverly Midden;*

*The delegation of the Communist and Progressive Youth Union of Indonesia, headed by Margona;*

*The representative of the Marxist-Leninist Youth Union of Austria, Olga Linek;*

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The representative of the Workers and Students alliance of Australia;

The representative of the Marxist-Leninist Party Youth of Ecuador;

The delegation of the "Clarte" League of Sweden, headed by the League's Central Committee, Sten Olf Vllstron;

The representative of FEANF;

The delegation of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) Youth of Argentina;

The representative of the Union of Students of Madagascan origin;

The delegation of the Iranian Students Confederation, headed by the secretary for foreign affairs of the Confederation, Djeber Kalibi.

The representative of the Democratic, Patriotic and Revolutionary Youth of Brazil, Paulo Lemos;

The delegation of the Syrian Students National Union, headed by the vice-president for international ties of this Union, Zeid Al Assaf;

The delegation of the National Liberation Front of Algeria, headed by the General Secretary of Oran Federation, Djilah Aouedj;

The delegation of the Students General Union of Palestine, (G.U.P.S.), headed by the Union's General Secretary, Shafik Hourani.

The Congress held its proceedings with the following agenda:

1. Report of the Central Committee of the A.W.Y.U.

"The Youth - active force in the struggle for the all-out revolutionization of the country's life".

2. Report of the Central Auditing Commission.

3. Elections to the central A.W.Y.U. organs.

The report of the Central Committee of the A.W.Y.U. was delivered by comrade Rudi Monari, first Secretary of the CC of the A.W.Y.U.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the P.L.A. the Congress was greeted by comrade Ramiz Alia, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the P.L.A. The Congress held its proceedings at plenary sessions and in commissions. At the end elections to the A.W.Y.U. leading organs were held. Rudi Monari was re-elected first Secretary of the A.W.Y.U.

# Press Review

The newspaper "Puna", organ of the Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions, publishes on August 11 the article entitled: "Expression of the intensification of the class struggle of the British proletariat", in which it comments on the strike, on a national scale, of the British dockers. After pointing out the causes of the outburst of this new powerful class movement in Britain, the article discusses about the threats, pressure and blackmail of the conservative Heath Government which proclaimed the state of emergency with a view to allowing itself to use also troops against the strikers. "This, the article underlines, shows the weakness of the British capitalist bourgeois order in ruling through usual means and that it needs violence to suppress the workers revolt. But it is unable to reach this aim".

"The strike of the British dockers and their persistence for victory, the article continues, is an inspiring example to the entire British working class which is always giving them its militant class support. The strike has had a broad repercussion and has met with class solidarity also outside Britain...

*In face of the counterrevolutionary offensive of the bourgeoisie, the British working class is strengthening its unity and intensifying its struggle for its rights and freedoms. And this is the greatest guaranty for victory.*"

Commenting on the conference of the representatives of the 27 revisionist parties of Europe which was held in Paris on July 27, the newspaper "Zëri i Popullit", organ of the Central Committee of the PLA, carries in its August 2 issue an article entitled: "New revisionist farce in Paris". After pointing out that the conference adopted a declaration, as not few declarations of this kind adopted also previously by the modern revisionists, with general and high-sounding words, allegedly in support of the struggle of the Vietnamese people, which contains nothing concrete, the article says that "this was a farce held in Paris but framed up in Moscou, that fell out of tune from the beginning to the end and which was suffocated by the distant rumble of the American bombardments in Vietnam. It was a new deceitful attempt at a given time and with definite purposes".

The article further stresses that this conference was needed by the Soviet revisionist leadership to cast shadow on the cordial Nixon-Brezhnev Moscou talks which, as is known, were held at a time when the U.S. president announced the mining of the ports of the D.R. of Vietnam and extended the air raids to the territory of that country perpetrating hideous crimes. "Everything in these situations, the cordial talks and the open and secret agreements that Nixon and Brezhnev signed in Moscow and the subsequent course of the events concerning the Soviet-U.S. relations and all-round collaboration - the article underlines - revealed that the Soviet social imperialists consider of primordial importance their relations with the United States, their counterrevolutionary alliance on the altar of which they are prepared to sacrifice everything, the sacred struggle of the Vietnamese people and of the other peoples of Indochina, the Arab people's rights usurped by the Zionist aggressors and everything lawful of the peoples and moral norm in the world." "The Vietnamese people and the other peoples of Indochina, the article concludes, have already

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had their say. By their legendary tit-for-tat war against the U.S. aggressors they have reduced to smithereens the plans of the USA and its collaborators of every hue.

"The navy, an instrument of the expansionist policy of the Soviet revisionists", this is the title of an article published on August 4 in the newspaper "Zëri i Popullit". The article comments on the articles of the two admirals, Sergei Goshkov, commander-in-chief of the navy, and Vasili Grishanov, published in the revisionist newspapers "Pravda" and "Izvestia". After exposing the demagogical slogans that the war fleet of the Soviet revisionists is allegedly an important factor of stability and peace in the world, the article of "Zëri i Popullit" says: "The navy of the Soviet revisionists have kept growing in number and power. In the Mediterranean, in the Arabian Gulf, the Indian and Pacific Oceans and everywhere, alongside the ships of U.S. imperialism are sailing also warships with the Soviet flag... It is the day to day reality which shows that behind the demagogical slogans there is the aggressive and expansionist policy

of the Soviet revisionists, the objective of the Moscow chiefs to legalize the expansion, military intervention and aggression of Soviet social-imperialism everywhere in the world. The naval forces of the Soviet revisionists are an instrument of this aggressive policy, an actual expression of the ill-famed activity of dictate and military blackmail."

After condemning the demonstration of strength of the navies of the two imperialist superpowers, the article concludes: "In face of this threatening situation, the sovereign interests of the peoples and those of the true international security demand to expose the Soviet-U.S. plots, to resolutely oppose their aggressive policies, to struggle for the withdrawal once and for all of the naval fleets of the two imperialist superpowers from the oceans and seas."

In its August 6 issue the newspaper "Zëri i Popullit" carries an article entitled: "Intrigues and threats cannot hoodwink and intimidate the Arab people". This article comments on the events occurred three weeks after the announcement of the decision adopted by President

Sadat on the expulsion of the Soviet military advisers and experts from Egypt and on taking under control the Soviet military installations. After stressing that this decision was unanimously approved and greeted with enthusiasm by the Egyptian people and the other Arab people and was welcomed by the genuine friends of the Arabs everywhere in the world, the article says that, as it was expected, "the enemies of the freedom and independence of the Arabs are making efforts to avail themselves of the situation that has arisen for their own aims, to realize their anti-Arab plans". Further on the article exposes and condemns Israel's threats, the efforts of the U.S. imperialists to deceive the Arabs and to pose as "impartial arbiters" for the solution of the Middle East crisis, as well as the hypocritical smiles of the Moscow revisionists. "But whatever intrigues and threats their enemies may make, the article points out, the Arab people, especially during these last five years, have become well aware of their anti-Arab aims and objectives. Therefore, they do not allow themselves to be deceived by the flatteries and manoeuvres, to be intimidated

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by the pressure and threats either of the U.S. imperialists and the Israeli zionists or of the Moscow social-imperialist».

«The Egyptian people and the other Arab people, who have coped with numerous obstacles and difficulties on their way for the preservation and strengthening of their national independence, the article says in conclusion, will be able to successfully cope with the intrigues and blackmail and defeat the plots of their enemies - U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and Israeli zionism. Only with their just and resolute struggle, relying on their own forces and on the support of their genuine friends, of the progressive and anti-imperialist forces, the Arab people will liberate their occupied territories, will realize their lawful national aspirations».

Commenting on the many court trials in Czechoslovakia, the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» of August 17 publishes the article entitled: «Suffocating atmosphere in occupied Czechoslovakia». The article says that Czechoslovakia has been transformed into a Soviet colonial protectorate where the law is made by the Moscow governors, and

the Prague Quislings with Husak at the head carry out the orders given from «above».

After pointing out that due to the events in Czechoslovakia the summer of this year has been described as the «summer of court trials», the article says that in Prague, Brno and in other Czechoslovakia cities there was held a series of court trials against various elements accused of «subversive activity» and of having been opposed to the «normalization» process. «This whole wave of arrests and judgements which are openly seen, the article stresses, are only a part of those that occur in reality - arrests, executions and other persecutions which are not publicly announced. If we add to these also the other reprisals, such as various purges, dismissals from work, expulsions from school, etc., then a more complete picture is given of the suffocating atmosphere created by the occupation and Quisling authorities to suppress the resistance and to impose the occupation regime on the Czechoslovak people.

The article says that the holding of court trials on the threshold of the fourth anniversary of the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet

revisionists serves also as a warning by the Prague rulers to the Czechoslovak people to be «peaceful».

«The court trials and the other repressive measures that are being taken in Czechoslovakia, the article continues, testify to the terror exercised by the Soviet occupationists and the Husak clique. At the same time, they are an indicator of the hatred and resistance of the Czechoslovak people towards the Soviet social-imperialists and their lackeys in Prague... But the Czechoslovak people who have been robbed of the most sacred thing - their freedom - and have nothing else to lose, have not reconciled and will never reconcile themselves with the foreign occupation and national betrayal».

«Nixon's promises are repeated, but his repressive and aggressive course remains» - under this title the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit», in an article of August 27, comments on the proceedings of the national convention of the Republican Party in the USA. After exposing Nixon's empty promises and the bitter American reality the article points out: «Nixon, with his ultra reactionary policy at home

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and abroad, a policy fully in interest of the U.S. capital, not only could not take the country out of the swamp of this general crisis, but has brought about a further irritation of the deep wounds of reality in the U.S.A. The war in Vietnam continues to be the Nr. 1 problem for the American society. Nixon not only did not end the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, as he had promised four years ago, but he extended the dimensions of the imperialist aggression also to Laos and Cambodia.

Finally the article says: "Who will win: Nixon or McGovern? In essence this question is of little importance inasmuch as they both are representatives of the two main bourgeois parties - the Republican Party and the Democratic Party, which had been described by Engels, during his life-time, as "two big political bands which take in turns in their hands the state power and exploit it with the help of dirty means. Whereas the nation is powerless against these big cartels of the politicians which allegedly are with it, but which in reality rule over it and plunder it."

The newspaper "Drita", organ of the Albanian Writers' and

Artists' Union, in its August 27 issue carries the article entitled: "The revisionist countenance towards the Arab cause" which says that "the traitorous double-faced policy of the Soviet revisionists towards the Arab people, is wellknown. President Sadat's decision on the expulsion of the Soviet military advisers and experts dealt a strong blow at it, tore off the mask to the Moscow chieftains who were swearing that they were friends of the Arab people". Exposing the expansionist aims of the Moscow revisionists in the Near and Middle East areas, the article points out that "the so far backstage activity of the Soviet revisionists and the joint setting of watches at the same hour by the superpowers at the expense of the Arab people has served the preservation of the status quo, of the "neither peace nor war" situation and the security of their spheres of influence in this zone".

"The Moscow revisionists, seeing that their interests in the Middle East were greatly shaken, the article concludes, are still studying the situation that has arisen and are striving to frame up other plans so as not to allow the Middle East slip from

their hands... But time, the new facts make it clear to the Arab people who the Moscow revisionists are."

Article of "Zëri i Popullit" of September 2 entitled: "By their determined struggle the heroic Vietnamese people will triumph over the enemies" is devoted to the 27th anniversary of the proclamation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The article says that the Vietnamese people are celebrating the 27th anniversary of the creation of their Democratic Republic under the conditions of a fierce struggle against the barbaric U.S. aggression, under the conditions of the determination to carry this struggle through to the realisation of their aspirations: the defence of the North, the liberation of the South and the national unification. They are celebrating this anniversary at a time when they have reached great successes in the country's socialist construction and when they are defending their fatherland with great heroism, providing thereby a brilliant example for all the peoples to follow and inspiring them to defend their freedom and independence against the old and new impe-

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rialists." "This anniversary, the article says, is being celebrated at a time when the liberation forces of South Vietnam have raised high the banner of the people's war and have dealt smashing blows at Nixon's plans for the escalation of the aggression, at the ill-famed doctrine of "vietnamization" and his deceitful political manoeuvres, coordinated all this, in various forms and ways, also with those of the Moscow revisionists... The secret Nixon-Brezhnev talks in Moscow, the various meetings and talks also after this meeting, clearly show that the Moscow social-imperialists, for the sake of the Soviet-U.S. "holly" alliance for the domination of the world, have been and are still more prepared to sacrifice the vital, sovereign interests of the Indo-chinese people."

Finally the article, after pointing out the Vietnamese people's determination to carry their just struggle through to complete victory, as well as the support given to this struggle by great People's China of Mao Tse-tung and by all the progressive and freedom-loving forces in the world, says: "The Albanian people have supported and continue to resolutely support the just

struggle of the fraternal Vietnamese people. On this day of festival they extend to them their ardent revolutionary greetings and wholeheartedly wish them new and still greater successes in socialist construction in the D.R. of Vietnam and in their struggle for the complete and final destruction of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, for the realization of their lawful national aspirations".

Exposing the military manoeuvres of the aggressive Warsaw Treaty under the conventional name of "Shield 72" which took place on the territory of Czechoslovakia, the newspaper "Bashkimi", central organ of the Democratic Front of Albania, in its September 13 issue publishes the article entitled: "Again sabre-rattling in Czechoslovakia". This article says that the noise of the revisionists propaganda in connection with these manoeuvres is aimed at creating the impression that tension in Europe has greatly arisen and therefore the Warsaw Treaty member countries must take measures for the strengthening of the defensive capacity. "However, the article stresses, this runs counter to the propaganda which the So-

viet revisionists have made and continue to make for several years about the alleged detente in Europe, about the creation of the necessary conditions for the collective European security and about the possibility of a balanced reduction of the armed forces on this continent".

Then the article exposes the real aims of the Kremlin leaders pointing out that "at given moments the Soviet revisionist clique makes fuss about the relaxation of tension in Europe with a view to compelling its vassals to make concessions to the imperialist powers in order to secure from this some concessions for itself from the Western countries, whereas at other moments it makes fuss about "dangers from the west" in order to secure from its own vassals a greater submission to its dictate. In both cases the Kremlin clique strives to hit, in the Warsaw Treaty member countries, on any popular movement that would be directed against the Soviet domination".

The article finally says: "But whatever the Moscow revisionist leaders may do, they will not attain their purpose. Their sabrerattling no more intimi-

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dates the peoples who have a wealth of experience in their struggle against fascism and reaction, just as the methods of pressure and blackmail do not intimidate those who really want to preserve the freedom and independence of their countries.

In the article under the title: "The heroic Vietnamese people are determined to fight and win" the newspaper "Bashkimi" of September 16 deals with the great victories of the liberation forces of South Vietnam against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their Saigon puppets, as well as with the defeats of the Nixon Administration in its efforts to force the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to its knees through blockades and barbarous air-raids.

Exposing the fraudulent political manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists as well as the support given to the latter by the Soviet revisionists, the article continues: "It is obvious that the visit made to Moscow in these recent days by Nixon's adviser, Kissinger, was aimed at creating the false impression that Nixon was making every effort to end the war in Vietnam. By this, the chieftain of U.S. imperialism is seeking to deceive

his own people and possibly also the Vietnamese people. But neither the American people nor the Vietnamese people will allow themselves to be hoodwinked by Nixon's manoeuvres." The article finally says: "This was once more clearly expressed in the latest statement of the provisional revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, which reads in part "The Vietnamese people are determined to fight shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal peoples of Cambodia and Laos, to completely rout the U.S. imperialist aggressors and to cause "the Nixon doctrine" to suffer fiasco in Indochina. The bombs and shells, the insulting threats, the fiendish political and diplomatic manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists cannot conquer the Vietnamese people; on the contrary, they will serve to deepen their hatred to increase their determination to fight and win.

The article of "Zëri i Popullit" dated September 30 under the title: "In the interest of the peoples of China and Japan, of the peace in Asia and in the world" comments on Japanese Primer Minister Kakuei Tanaka's visit to the People's Republic of China. The article says

that the Sino-Japanese talks led to the normalization of relations between the two countries and, on the basis of the joint declaration of the Government of the PR of China and that of Japan, the Japanese Government recognizes the Government of the P.R. of China as the sole lawful government of that country; it respects the stand of the Chinese Government that Taiwan is an integral part of the territory of the PR of China. At the same time the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ohira, stated at a press conference in Peking that the treaty between Japan and the Chiang Kai-shek clique came to an end beginning from September 29, 1972. After pointing out that this was reached thanks to the correct policy of the PR of China on the international arena, and to the struggle of the broad sections of the Japanese people against militarism, the article continues:

"The results of the Sino-Japanese talks are a reflection of the will and desiderata of the peoples of Japan and China and open a new chapter in the relations between the two countries. They are at the same time a positive contribution to the relaxation of tension in Asia and

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*to the preservation of the world peace. As such, they deal a hard blow at the plans and conspiracies of the two imperialist superpowers against the peoples of China and Japan, against the other Asian peoples, at the objectives of Washington and Moscow for the establishment of their hegemony in the world.*

*Precisely for these reasons, this event has had a great positive*

*repercussion in the world public opinion and has been received with joy by the freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples. The Albanian people, who are bound by an everlasting friendship with the great fraternal Chinese people, greet with warmth and deep satisfaction the conclusion with full success of the Sino-Japanese talks and the restoration of diplomatic and friendly relations between*

*the PR of China and Japan. Our people appraise this as a great victory of the many-year long struggle of the Chinese and Japanese peoples, and as a triumph of the correct and consistent policy of the People's Republic of China on the international arena, as an important contribution in the interest of true security and peace in the Far East and throughout the world.\**

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to the preservation of the world peace. At such a time, they deal a hard blow to the plans and conspiracies of the two imperialist superpowers against the peoples of China and Japan, against the other Asian peoples, at the objectives of Washington and Moscow for the establishment of their hegemony in the world. Precisely for these reasons, the event has had a great positive

FOR THE READER,

Beginning with the issue Nr. 1 of the next year, the editorial board of the review "Albania Today" has decided that the annual subscriptions be as follows: U.S. dollars 3 or Fr. f. 15.

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