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**THE WOMAN HAS OCCUPIED
THE DESERVED PLACE IN THE ALBANIAN
SOCIETY**







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THE WOMEN AND THEIR COMPLETE EMANCIPATION

by **VITO KAPO**

The road to the complete emancipation of women in present-day society. The struggle of women for their emancipation is closely linked with the struggle for national and social liberation. The decisive role of the Albanian women in socialist construction

IT HAS BECOME ALMOST A «FASHION» EVERYWHERE IN THE WORLD TO TALK ABOUT THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN. BUT EVERY «FASHION» IS DETERMINED BY SOME IMPERATIVE CAUSES IN A GIVEN SOCIETY OR MOVEMENT.

TODAY, WHEN WOMEN ALL OVER THE WORLD ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY MORE CONSCIOUS OF THEIR ROLE IN THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY, WHEN THROUGH PROTESTS AND VARIOUS FORMS OF CLASS STRUGGLE THEY ARE DEMANDING THEIR RIGHTS, WHEN IN THE GENUINELY SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ONE CONCRETELY SEES WHERE WOMEN OCCUPY, HOW THEIR ABILITIES ARE EVALUATED, AND WHAT CONDITIONS ARE CREATED FOR THEM TO EXPRESS THESE ABILITIES, NOT EVEN THOSE SOCIETIES WHICH ALLEGEDLY REPRESENT «DEMOCRACY» OR «SOCIALISM» OR THEIR SOCIOLOGISTS AND DEMAGOGUES WHO ALLEGEDLY DEFEND THE RIGHTS OF MAN CAN KEEP SILENT ABOUT THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN. AS A CONCLUSION, TODAY WE NOTICE THE FOLLOWING GENERAL PHENOMENON: THE COMPLETE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN IS SPOKEN ABOUT IN THE COUNTRIES HAVING FEUDAL, CAPITALIST AND SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST RELATIONS, AS WELL AS IN THE COUNTRIES WHERE SOCIALIST RELATIONS ARE IN FORCE. SOME REDUCE THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN TO THE ME

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proclamation of the rights of women by law; others limit it to the possibilities antagonistic class society allegedly creates for them to take part in clubs, or as the press also says, to participate in demonstrations, to go out of the house for a walk, to the café, camping, and even to exalting the «basis of freedom» – sexual freedom. Others speak of the allegedly great possibilities which modern capitalist society has created by putting new household appliances on the market or by industrialisation of some everyday needs, such as groceries, cleaning, clothing etc.

Certainly some of these conditions constitute special aspects of the great problem of the emancipation of women, but even here we must see who really enjoys these facilities in practice. But some of the things mentioned above not only are in no way connected with this problem, but are aimed at diverting the attention of girls and women from the main problems of their emancipation. In reality, they aim at directing girls and women towards an empty life, towards degeneration, especially in that period of their life when their energies are great, when their revolutionary spirit is higher and when the connection of the aspirations of women with the cause of the proletariat would constitute a serious danger to these societies themselves.

The women of Albania are conscious that, despite the colossal victories they have won, much remains to be done for their complete emancipation. We have still a great deal to do to raise the educational, cultural and ideological level of women and of the entire society. We have still much to do to raise the degree of the country's industrialization so that society increasingly undertake all those jobs which have been traditionally left to the woman, such as those relating to daily family life or the children. But the Albanian women have won the fundamental basis which guarantees their complete emancipation, the power of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which has established and is improving the socialist relations of production. Thus, they have secured their victories, and also have clear perspectives. They know that just as the socialist society cannot become completely socialist with the proclamation of its programme, but will be constructed gradually, consciously paving the way for the implementation of the objective laws operating on it, so the complete emancipation of woman, too, as a necessity of socialist society, will be realized gradually, within the framework of this society, in the concrete conditions of our country, strictly applying Marxism-Leninism. Hence, the course of the complete emancipation of the Albanian women, although it has its own specific features, and it could not be otherwise, is sure. This course is not a local phenomenon, as some who fear that the concrete Albanian example will really solve this problem want to describe it, but a creative application of Marxist-Leninist science.

Marxism-Leninism and our experience have proved that there are basic problems whose solution is indispensable for every society fighting for the complete emancipation of women. Thus, for example, emancipated women cannot be spoken of in a society in which oppression and exploitation prevail, in which the whole people are not free, which feels the

weight of national oppression, etc. It is not sufficient to speak of the liberation, equality and emancipation of women, in the conditions of the contradictions which corrode antagonistic class society, but one should struggle actively, linking this struggle with the fundamental problems of the epoch. The Party of Labour of Albania began the struggle for the emancipation of women with the struggle for national and social liberation. The national liberation struggle and women's participation in it was decisive for the liberation of the people, and thus of the women.

But in all those countries which have established national independence, have the real conditions to proceed towards the complete emancipation of women been created? Certainly not. In the societies divided into classes, where a minority, the exploiting class becomes rich thanks to the work, sweat and blood of the majority, where one class gets rich and wallows in luxury and the other is wantonly exploited, bled white, and cannot ensure either work or the children's food, what freedom of human personality can be spoken of? Even if we leave aside all the other oppression against women specifically, which originates from the same exploitation, for this very fact, too, she cannot be free. Thus, another indispensable condition for the complete emancipation of women is the destruction of capitalist exploitation, the elimination of antagonistic classes, the liquidation of private property. Only the establishment of social ownership of the means of production and socialist relations in the whole of national life can open broad roads to the complete emancipation of women too. This historic turning point is made by the socialist revolution. This has been realized and is being continually deepened by our people. And in this revolution, always on the rise and developing, the Albanian women are continuing to taken an active part, for they know that their work contributes to the deepening of the revolution, and that the deepening of the revolution provides a decisive solution to the problems of the complete emancipation of women.

Let us see concretely, in the Albanian reality, how this contribution and this interdependence is being implemented. The socialist revolution is carried out and uninterruptedly improved in all fields of life. Every field of life requires the energies of women and no activity can be properly carried out in it without them, and at the same time each one of our achievements and victories contributes to the degree of their emancipation.

In the political field, the establishment of the people's power cannot be conceived of without the active participation of women. Indeed, it could not even be a people's power without the great role and contribution of women, who make up half of the population. The people's power in Albania liquidated by law everything discriminatory against women. They were proclaimed and considered equal to men in all fields of life. Socialist democracy, the mass line followed in our country for the solution of all problems, cannot be conceived of either without the participation of women in meetings, in mass social controls, in confrontations and everywhere. By means of voting, speaking, writing and many other forms, women always adopt an active stand, without

which our democracy would be incomplete. Facts show that the role of women in the country's great political problems and their active participation in the elected representative organs, has kept increasing. While in 1946 in the People's Assembly, the supreme representative body of our State, 3,6 per cent of the deputies were women, in 1966 women made up 16.6 per cent of the number of deputies, and in 1970 this percentage reached 27.2. Also, in 1967 in the people's councils of all levels, women made up 36.7 per cent of those elected, while in the 1970 elections this percentage increased to 45.8. 33.8 per cent of those elected as judges and assistant judges are women.

In our country there are many other significant indices telling about the great role of the broad masses of women in the important problems that preoccupy our country. Suffice it to mention the fact that during the popular debate which was held on comrade Enver Hoxha's historic speech: "Socialism is built by the masses, the Party makes them conscious", thousands of women workers, cooperativists and intellectuals voiced their opinion. They made many useful suggestions, proposals and criticisms concerning the style and methods of work of the administration, the revolutionisation of production, the work of the workers themselves, and so on. The women of our country, conscious of their great role, are often in the front ranks of what is new and revolutionary, because they realize that all of our progress will accelerate the victories desired by the whole people and the women themselves.

Thus, socialist democracy needs the stand and effective action of the broad masses of the women. And the women, through this participation, continually increase their abilities and values. Thus, politics in our country are not a monopoly of the men, but on the contrary they cannot even be adopted without the approval of the broad masses of women.

In the field of economy, the liquidation of the private ownership of the means of production was the greatest victory following national liberation because it brought about the elimination of the source of all misfortunes, particularly for the women. Before liberation ours was a country of marked feudal remnants. Its economy was mainly based on small handicraft household property and had an almost primitive agriculture. In these conditions the work of the woman within the walls of the house, as a slave of the man, took up to 18 hours a day, was very tiring and yet she still had to listen to her husband say: "I feed you".

With the liquidation of the private ownership of the means of production, the productive social work of all able-bodied men and women was affirmed, new social relations were created, including in the sphere of the family. The conservatives and patriarchals too, who considered women as their commodity, even though they had not yet clear ideas about the necessity of socialism and the liberation of the society, allowed the women to go to work. This occurred because the law of socialism, according to which "who works, eats", through reforms of a socialist character which developed collective property, was unceasingly broadening its sphere of

operation. Accordingly from the 668 women that were in work relations outside their homes in 1938, in 1971 there were 167.621 women in work relations in the city, whereas in the countryside there were 189.081, which is equal to almost half of the country's adult population.

Participation in work, equal pay for equal work, special and protective treatment for the working women by the laws of socialist society have ensured the drawing of the broad masses of women into social productive work. The women not only were economically liberated and know no kind of discrimination, but they have found what they had lacked for centuries, social collective life, the possibility of politically developing themselves from the educational, cultural and technical professional viewpoint, the possibility of utilizing their real abilities, not only physical, but also intellectual, moral and spiritual in order to militate as equals among the equals. Due to the new conditions created by the socialist society the participation of women in work, has changed from a heavy burden in the past, to one of the greatest victories of the Albanian women. Political and economic liberation brought about colossal changes in the women and in the whole of our society, whether in the critical stand towards the traditions, customs, unwritten laws which govern the day to day life of people, particularly in the family and in the activity outside of the sphere of social work - or towards education, culture, science, technology, etc.

It is a known fact that, to a large extent, working and living conditions also determine man's way of thinking. With the establishment of the common ownership of the means of production, working together for the increase of social production, new relations among people began to emerge in our country. The relations of oppression and exploitation were liquidated, the reactionary concept of "dog eat dog" was eliminated, fraternal, mutual aid and relations of respect were established everywhere. New concepts started to be created and established not only concerning the place and role of woman at work, at school and in society, but also in the family. It is evident that this job was not left to spontaneity. The society worked so that the ideological and cultural revolution also be deepened, parallel with the political and economic revolution. But our practice also showed that however much the opinions of men, their concepts about life and the world may change through educative work, unless the concrete material conditions are created they cannot be completely implemented. This truth is of great importance to every field of life, but it is particularly important in the struggle for the complete emancipation of women. It is historically known that women became slaves as a result of the emergence of private property. This source of inequality was liquidated in Albania, but the centuries had created a strong tradition in the attitude to and treatment of women. Formerly, she had been considered an inferior being, capable only of giving birth to children, relegated to church and the kitchen. This concept has been broken by work and woman's participation in it. What about the family? In

this aspect it has been more difficult. In our country, the girl was frequently treated as a market commodity to be sold by her parents and purchased by her husband. In some cases she was treated as a means of diplomatic liaisons between tribes, serving to strengthen and extend their defence potential, and not infrequently as a beast of burden. These stands were especially predominant in the countryside, whereas in the city, women and girls were treated as by all bourgeois societies, as a means to strengthen the capital of the family. And only among the working class did pure marriage ties exist. In these conditions, the girl was almost completely either under the control of her father or of her husband. She had almost no personality whatsoever.

Such were the specific conditions of Albania in which our Party, implementing Marxism-Leninism, had to find the ways to liberate women from this barbarous treatment and place them in the ranks of equal citizens. Productive social work, the development of education and culture, the intense political life of the women and the whole of our people, greatly contributed to breaking down the backward concepts about women. But what dealt the decisive blow to these remnants, particularly in the countryside, was the end of the process of the collectivization of agriculture. At this time our Party launched the slogan: "Now the problem of women is more of a class struggle on the ideological front". In these new conditions that were created, the Party launched the directive for the complete emancipation of women, although throughout its whole life it has worked with rare wisdom for the solution of this great and acute social problem. This is a final solution of the problem of women on a scientific Marxist-Leninist basis.

Some feminist movements in the world, including the World Democratic Federation of Women, which allegedly fight for the emancipation of women, frequently launch such slogans as: "The struggle for the complete emancipation of women is a struggle of ideas". To reduce this struggle to that, at a time when the fundamental problems of the emancipation of women have not been solved, as we showed above, means supporting the oppression and exploitation by the reactionary classes in power, and narrowing and deviating the struggle of the women into a blind alley so that it fail to find its real and scientific solution.

With the deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution, with the work and allround struggle which we carry out according to the teachings of our Party and its leader, comrade Enver Hoxha, about the complete emancipation of the woman, we Albanian women may say that we have created an experience of our own, the Albanian experience. We started our road of development at a time when 94 per cent of our women were illiterate. We fought illiteracy and through the wide network of general and professional schools we ensured the attendance of women as well as girls. Today in Albania 1 out of 3 persons pursues studies; thousands of women and girls attend part time courses, while 43 per cent of the country's middle and high cadres

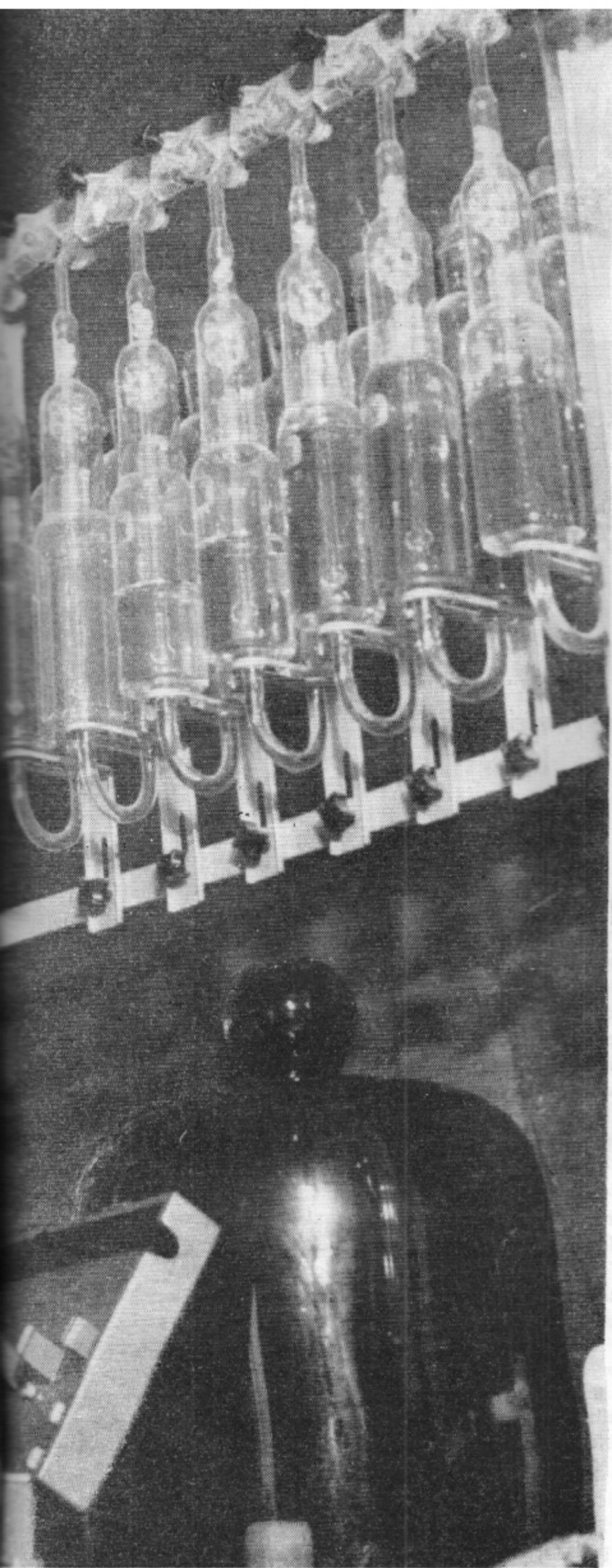
are women and girls. The socialist state, with a view to paving a broad road for the emancipation of women, from the beginning created special favours for women and girls to attend schools. Girls were preferred in granting scholarships, while working women who were attending school worked less hours on full pay.

In this direction we have had many successes, but the Albanian women are conscious that in the educational, cultural and technico-professional level, due to the great backwardness we inherited from the past, there are still discrepancies in the man-woman relationship. This discrepancy is an objective condition which still more or less allows the preservation of the concept of the "limited abilities of women". This is a front to which our entire society has today directed its batteries in order to liquidate the discrepancies, to achieve not only formal, but real equality. Another difficult front for us has been and remains the deepening of socialist democracy in the family, the establishment of the socialist norms of equality, love and mutual respect within it. The institution of the family in Albania is one of the purest, but patriarchalism and conservatism had taken deep root in it. Today the patriarchal family is not only being physically broken down, passing over in general from a nest of many couples to a nest of one couple, but is also being liberated from the command of the head of the family, rejecting the archaic concept of the power of the "pater familias" and gradually establishing effective equality between the members of the family, for the women and young people.

Today, the struggle of our society aims at marriage connections based on love, dealing strong blows at the arranged marriages of the past. Our young people in general are guided by the noble motives of mutual love and respect, by lofty patriotism for the Fatherland, by devotion to socialism, which create the basis and guarantee for sound socialist families. The base motives of the past when couples united on the basis of mean material or tribal interests, etc., are anachronistic with us.

Our society has never been indifferent towards family relations, but at the same time it has preserved their intimate character with the greatest care. No society whatever remains indifferent, each influencing these relations in one way or another through moral or legal norms. But while we proudly admit our interference, and propagate that we are striving to establish relations of equality, love and mutual assistance, the societies with antagonistic classes have no courage to state that they advocate, encourage or defend the relations of oppression and exploitation. In fact, in the terrain of the family we still have difficulties which keep the man-woman discrepancy alive. This occurs, among other things, also because the material conditions for the liberation of women from housework have not yet been fully created and because frequently still, the women, due to the old concepts, carry out these jobs alone. In this direction, the whole of our society is struggling in order to socialize house work by increasing the number of creches, kinder-





goods and especially automatic household appliances, etc. Likewise, we are fighting for the allround triumph of our new concept that housework be considered the work of all members of the family.

The further education of the women, the continuous socialisation of housework as well as the deepening of democracy in the family will certainly eliminate those differences that exist in our country in the man-woman relationship, they will enable an outburst of the energies and talents of women, the complete affirmation of their personalities in all fields of life. Thus, genuinely socialist relations among people, based on freedom and complete equality, will flourish further.

The road taken toward the complete emancipation of the Albanian woman is, among other deeds, one of Albania's most monumental deeds carried out in a comparatively short historical period.

In socialist Albania all the roads of development have been opened to the women. They make a valuable contribution also to the field of scientific research. In the photo: Aspect from the production of the new preparatives at the institute of Hygiene and Epidemiology in Tirana

RESOLUTE FIGHT AGAINST IDEOLOGICAL FOREIGN INFLUENCES

Editorial of the review «RRUGA E PARTISË»

IN THE CONDITIONS IN WHICH A MASS DEBATE AND ACTION HAVE BURST FORTH THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY AGAINST FOREIGN INFLUENCES AND MANIFESTATIONS OF THE BOURGEOIS AND REVISIONIST IDEOLOGY, in the entire spiritual life of our society and in particular in the cultural-educative activity, it is necessary to deeply understand the importance and acuteness of this problem, its broad incorporation into the whole struggle of the party in the general present situation, external and internal, of our country.

Our party has been and remains in an open and irreconcilable struggle against all the main trends of the hostile foreign ideology, characteristic of the present-day capitalist society; against the bourgeois ideology of an openly anti-communist character; against the old social-demo-

crat reformism; against modern revisionism; against the petty-bourgeois radical «leftists» etc. The essence of all these trends is common. They aim to prove that the present-day technico-scientific revolution is eliminating the class social contradictions of the bourgeois society, that it is a means for the integration of capitalism into socialism, a means for the creation of the consumer society, that in this consumer society one can no more speak of exploiters and exploited, that abundance for everybody is being created in it, and so on and so forth.

This sophisticated social demagogy should be viewed in close connection also with the effort for the creation of an empty euphoria in the spiritual life of society, which is realized through the external capitalist-revisionist lustre of culture, literature, art, fashion, advertisement, etc., and it is a means of befuddling the working people, of diverting them from the political struggle,

from the social battles, of leading them to vanity and degeneration. This lustre is spread by all the forces and means of the present-day mass social information and communication, of mass culture and propaganda, of the newspapers and reviews, films and spectacles, radio and television, etc.

Certainly, in the present capitalist society, too, culture and art are a complex phenomenon, with different trends, including also progressive and revolutionary ones. But the bourgeoisie finances, encourages and spreads the most decadent and disorientating tendencies, the many and various «isms» which crop up like mushrooms after a shower, the vulgarity of «mass» culture for consumption, the empty spectacle, etc. This «culture» is of an accentuated commercial character, and that is why it flows through books, reviews, the television, etc. Its influence is felt also in our country, penetrating through the most different channels and in particular

«RRUGA E PARTISË» - a monthly review, theoretical and political organ of the CC of the PLA.

our society, particularly from the ideological struggle, from that social and ideological ground where this external pressure meets with backing, especially from all those very dangerous stains and remnants of the old ideologies which have not yet disappeared from our life.

We are leading onward the complete construction of socialism in the conditions of a savage imperialist-revisionist blockade. In these circumstances we powerfully rely on our own efforts, we strive to hold aloft the revolutionary militant spirit, to work and live intensively, actually appraising the great successes we have achieved and not having exaggerated claims, beyond our conditions and possibilities. Precisely in this struggle we come across numerous foreign influences, old and new ones, the routine of bureaucratism, individualism and wresting tendencies, we come across conservatism and liberalism, indifferentism, etc. The carrying out and leading onward of this struggle absolutely demand that the whole of our spiritual life, our whole cultural-educative activity, conform with these circumstances, reflect and consolidate this high revolutionary spirit. At the same time, in the struggle for the construction of socialism we have waged and continue to wage a frontal struggle for the affirmation of our socialist ideology, for the destruction of each and every foreign ideological influence. As said at the 6th Party Congress, this struggle is directed against all foreign influence - old and new, dogmatic and revisionist, conservative and liberal-modernist, which draws its source from within or comes from outside. In a word, as comrade Enver Hoxha says, it is a struggle on both flanks. The ray of this ideological struggle has been and remains very wide. The foreign ideological influences against which we fight are of the most diverse: beginning with the oldest ones, which come from the depths of the centuries (religion, old rules, patriarchalism, obsolete traditions and customs, etc., etc.) and ending with the present-day disorientating influences of a bourgeois-revisionist character. As pointed out at the 6th Party Congress, while fighting to liquidate old social ideological wounds inherited from the past we

fight at the same time to bar the road to new social-ideological wounds which are characteristic of the present-day capitalist and revisionist world. This struggle on both flanks is rightfully called by our Party as a struggle also against conservatism, and against liberalism. Treating the problem in this way, we proceed from the thesis that both conservatism and liberalism are harmful and dangerous to the cause of the revolution and socialism. Conservatism creates stagnation, hinders the onward march, restrains the revolutionary energies, creates ground for rustiness. Liberalism endangers the achieved victories, it leads towards the abyss. Moreover, both these tendencies exert together an influence on us, they interlace with each other, they nourish each other, pass over to each other. This entire struggle against liberalism and conservatism demands to fight every foreign influence, wherever it may come from, also in the cultural and educative activity.

Another important and fundamental characteristic is that in the whole of our social development we are blazing new trails. We always rely on the Marxist-Leninist ideology and on that socialist revolutionary experience which we can exploit.

But we have been and are always faced with new problems to which there are no ready-made answers, which require a creative elaboration, a struggle which the Party with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head are continually waging. In particular, these problems concern the revolutionisation of the process of education, of the consciousness of men, of social opinion, of the development of culture and school, of literature and arts, the affirmation of the socialist morality in society. While fighting for our affirmation as a socialist country, being consistently guided by the Marxist-Leninist ideology and by a Marxist-Leninist party, we fight also for the affirmation of the originality of our Marxist-Leninist revolutionary national culture.

We see this struggle as closely connected with the great social, ideological and cultural transformations which have occurred and continue to occur every day in our life, with the new problems and demands which emerge in these

through television, radio, films, etc. The shallower the ideological formation of our men and women, the lower their cultural development, the faster and the more this influence can penetrate. Therefore, adopting a critical stand towards the entire foreign cultural heritage, as well as towards the present-day foreign culture, exploiting in a critical manner those values of this heritage that can help the cultural development of our men and women, we cannot fail to reject with contempt all and every influence of the degenerated bourgeois and revisionist culture. Otherwise, if we do not wage this struggle, the sugared poison of this decadent culture can penetrate also in our country and seriously damage our entire cultural-educative activity.

But this external pressure of the capitalist and revisionist world cannot be viewed as detached from the internal situation of our country, from the class struggle which is being carried out in

conditions of transformations, particularly in the field of the education of the new man; especially the impetuous social-demographic transformations, the creation of new cities and dwelling centres, the increase of the new working class in them, the great changes in family and in livelihood, create premises also for a richer spiritual and cultural life. This is connected also with the vigorous development of our education and culture, of our literature and arts, with the great extension and broadening, as well as with their important qualitative developments. All these things greatly increase the demands of the masses also in the field of spiritual life, their demands for culture and education, demands which in their essence are of a progressive and revolutionary character. In order to better meet these demands, comrade Enver Hoxha launched at the 6th Congress of the Party the slogan of extending our concept on the cultural-educative activity, on its content, the ways and means of its realisation, causing these means to penetrate more into our society, our family, and fall in the possession also of the individual; that we should proceed from the principle that the whole of our socialist life is culture and we should exploit every aspect of this life for the spiritual and cultural development of men. All these new social, material and spiritual premises are a powerful base of support for the intensification of the cultural and educative activity. In the framework of this situation and of this development the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha have forcefully drawn our attention recently to the necessity of a broader and more intensive struggle against the disorientating influences of the foreign bourgeois and revisionist ideology, against the liberal-modernist influences, against the manifestations of these influences in literature and arts, in culture and in the ideo-esthetic education of the masses and especially of youth, generally in the spiritual life of our society and in the educative work with people, manifestations which become increasingly more acute and more dangerous. This task and the ideological discussion on these problems that has been started demand that we analyze with a critical and self-critical eye our entire

work in this field. The Party has shown a continuous concern for the development of these fields of our life in a correct Marxist-Leninist revolutionary road; it has carried out a large-scale work and, as pointed out also at the 6th Party Congress, in these fields, too, we have achieved important successes and results. In these fields, too, the struggle of the Party has been carried out frontally against all sorts of foreign influences. But during the latest period of the revolutionisation of the country's life, dealing powerful blows to conservatism, developing against it powerful mass debates and actions, we have not fought with the same intensity also on the other flank. The Party has always stressed the need for this fight, particularly at the 15th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA in 1965 for literature and arts, as well as in comrade Enver Hoxha's speech of March 1968 on the further revolutionisation of our school the need for an intensive fight in these fields is analyzed in all its breadth. But, despite the clear directives of the Party, the fight against foreign influences and manifestations of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology in some fields of the spiritual life of society, in literature and arts, in culture and education, in the first place in the moral and ideo-esthetic education of youth and masses, in livelihood, etc., particularly during the recent period, has been neglected to a certain extent in practice.

Where do we see these influences today? As follows from the discussions being held, we see them in arts and literature, not only in the 11th song festival over the radio and television, but also in other songs, especially in light music, and in other genres of music; in poetry, especially in the use of dark and abstract figures, not speaking of cases of distorted reflection of reality; and not only in poetry, but also in prose, in some dramas and films which have been criticized also by the artistic and public opinion; in figurative arts and scenography, etc.

From the sphere of art they pass over to the sphere of morals, too. Therefore, we see them today also in fashion, in the way of behaving, in the tastes of some people, in some inclinations, imitations of foreign disorientating pheno-

mena and in a certain snobism. These kinds of phenomena are seen especially in some sections of the intelligentsia and of the youth, particularly in the larger cities; but they are seen also in other environments and if they are not forcefully fought right now, they can become more widespread.

But all these cannot be considered separately from some other phenomena alien to our socialist society, such as the violation of public order, abuse of the person, contempt for our socialist morality and laws, of social obligations of man as a working person, as a citizen, parent and family member, etc. We should not see these three spheres as separate from one another, but as closely connected. Taste is closely connected with behaviour, esthetic education with the moral one. Moreover, these manifestations exert influence on the whole moral and spiritual life of our men and women, on inclinations of parasitism and exaggerated demands, on the individualist and wresting inclinations at the expense of society, on impairing and damaging social property, they generally contribute to the lowering of the militant and revolutionary spirit. Of course such manifestations are not on a mass scale, but they are not individual cases either. The body of our society is healthy, our youth in general is healthy, our culture develops generally on a correct road. But on this healthy body and life there are also papillomas. Our duty is to nip them in the bud, not allow them to spread. Our Party has waged this fight during its entire history. It must and will wage it also at present.

The forceful stressing of such a duty by the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha must be understood in its whole breadth. In the last analysis, irrespective of the spheres and forms of manifestation of these influences in art and culture, in living and behaviour, we must essentially realize their ideological and political danger to the great cause of the entire spiritual forming of our men and of our society and, in connection with this, to the entire cause of the revolution and socialism. These foreign influences and manifestations aim at lowering our vigilance, so as to weaken our ideological class struggle; they aim

at reviving opportunism, revisionism, at endangering the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the sphere of culture, they aim to graft our culture and art with the culture, art, music and literature of the bourgeois countries, to arouse contempt for our culture and our cultural traditions, to create a feeling of inferiority and humiliation towards foreign culture, to wipe out the revolutionary national individuality of our culture, embark it on the road of degeneration. Therefore, the danger of foreign influences of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, of the concrete foreign manifestations in literature and arts, in culture, in the education of youth and masses, in the spiritual life in general, cannot be minimized, cannot be viewed only as a potential danger which has some very rare manifestation, which is allegedly some accidental slipping.

It is an actual and concrete danger against which all the batteries of our ideological struggle must be directed.

The following questions rightfully arise: What are the causes of these influences and manifestations? Why are they not always fought with the proper force? Why are they minimized?

This ideological struggle is an inevitable objective process that cannot be considered as separate from those general external and internal political, social and ideological circumstances in which we are fighting. Thus, it is a protracted class struggle. This should not serve as a means to justify foreign manifestations. On the contrary, it must arm us with persistence to wage a protracted and arduous struggle.

But deeply recognizing the importance of this materialistic-dialectic thesis, it is still more important to consider the subjective weaknesses and shortcomings of our work. A cause of these phenomena is liberalism which is noticed with us, especially in some given environments, particularly in the intellectual ones, not excluding here also some leading cadres in the spheres of culture, art, etc., and which has manifested itself in their work. This liberalism is in essence an opportunistic inclination with ideological and political consequences. Particularly in the fields of culture and education of youth, this liberalism meets with a backing also in

some theorisations which are done on behalf of the struggle against conservatism and for the new; on behalf of the demands of the times and of youth for innovationism and the modern, for the support of the new forces; on behalf of the fight against the obsolete traditions, against archaism, etc.; on behalf of that we should not detach ourselves from the new which is developing in the world, etc., etc., but viewing these problems in a one-sided way, without making a clear distinction between the real new, with a real innovating and revolutionary spirit, and the false new, which is nothing but an ugly imitation of what is alien. If we extend more widely in the moral sphere of the spiritual life of society, this liberalism meets also with a backing in some other theorisations about democracy and the spiritual emancipation of men, especially of youth, they, too wrongly understood, in a bourgeois and revisionist way.

Alongside liberalism, another source of these manifestations is passivity and indifferentism, petty-bourgeois silence, tacit submission to liberal pressures, reconciliation with these pressures. We cannot fail to admit that this phenomenon, too, has been spread in our organisms and institutions which direct the cultural-educative work, among their cadres and activists. We cannot fail to see the great danger of this indifferentism which, being widespread, could suppress revolutionary vigilance in many organisations, institutions and cadres and, as such, it might penetrate even into the broad social opinion.

Another important cause of the revival of these foreign manifestations is the weaknesses in the method of work of the Party in general, as well as in the method and style of the educative work. Firstly, the educative work in some cases is undervalued, it is considered as an aim in itself, in particular as detached from the struggle on the economic front. Engaging in the day to day work on the front of the economy, but seeing it rather through the economic-administrative angle, we forget the great importance of the educative work and the great and constant concern the Party must show about it. Secondly, influence is exerted by the general weaknesses, criticized even previously by the Party

and comrade Enver Hoxha, in the method and style of our educative work, such as its formalism and globalism, the qualified failure on its part to cope with the new problems and contradictions to which life gives rise, especially the qualified non-treatment of the problems of ideo-esthetic education, of moral education, as well as of the present-day general spiritual development of men.

The intensification of the struggle against foreign influences and ideological manifestations demands that we always bear in mind the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary orientations of the Party, by which we must be guided in this struggle, the principles on which we rely, the objectives we want to reach, the methods by which we shall wage it.

As always, it is necessary to stress the offensive character of the struggle we are waging. By fighting foreign influences, we aim to form with our men and women a high vigilance and a militant spirit of incompatibility against any kind of foreign ideology, against any kind of liberalism, passiveness and indifferentism towards them.

At the same time, while fighting these foreign manifestations, our fundamental objective is and will always remain to implant a healthy national revolutionary Marxist Leninist spirit in literature and art, in culture, in the ideo-esthetic education, in the tastes and behaviours of people, in the whole spiritual life of society. So, this struggle demands not merely to negate, but in the first place to affirm and deepen our positions, our spirit. Our negation in this case has a marked dialectic character. The discovery of foreign influences and manifestations, the severe criticism of our shortcomings in this field are an important lesson to more forcefully fight against these manifestations and to increasingly more narrow the possibility of their increase in the future.

But we cannot stop here. By discovering the foreign manifestations and influences and by criticizing the insufficient fight against them, we oppose to them not only our revolutionary ideological and esthetic principles, the policy of the Party and its correct directives, but also the living reality of the

struggle the Party has carried out, the experience it has amassed, the successes and results that have been reached. It is necessary that we should use the experience gained in the struggle against conservatism and some of its concrete manifestations in the spiritual life of our society also in the struggle against the bourgeois-revisionist influences. We shall fight the manifestations of foreign influences in our literature and arts not only by showing their danger, but also by opposing to them the reality itself of our literature and art, those lofty ideo-esthetic values that have been created in these fields. Therefore, it is necessary to become acquainted with and point out also these results and successes because they help us to rely on them, to proceed further onward. But they should in no way become a cause for self-complacency, to conceal the shortcomings in our work, not to properly face the acute problems raised today by the ideological struggle in these fields.

But in this struggle, in the appraisal of the weight and extension of the concrete manifestations of foreign influences, we must guard ourselves against the two extremes: the minimization of these manifestations on separate accidental occasions, and their swelling, generalizing them beyond measure. This is closely connected with the correct dialectic understanding of the relationship between our successes and shortcomings in the entire spiritual life, in the sphere of education and culture.

Another fundamental principle of ours in this struggle against foreign manifestations is that we are guided in it by our revolutionary progressive Marxist-Leninist positions and not by regressive and conservative positions. While setting forth the task of clearing foreign influences, our Party aims at consolidating the militant revolutionary spirit of our culture, of our literature and arts, at raising still higher their level and quality, at further perfecting the necessary means and skill for their realisation. Therefore, the fight against foreign influences will be at the same time a fight against vulgarity and banality, against the false external lustre, for a still more worthy reflection of life in our literary and artistic creativity, for a higher scientific level of our entire educative-cultural activity, not

only for the further enrichment of its content, but also for the perfecting of the means and forms with which it develops. This requires a broad discussion not only of the general ideo-esthetic problems facing literature and arts, but also of the most special problems of a professional character.

The discussions being made in this prism for the different fields of literature and art are not of interest only to the creative literary and artistic circles and to the leading cadres of culture. Being closely connected with the esthetic and, to a certain extent, moral education, as well as with the entire cultural and educative work, they require without fail also the judgement of the masses, as well as the engagement of the whole Party and the participation of all the labouring masses in this activity, the forming and raising of their whole active opinion through a mass debate, as well as through concrete actions, as started in practice. This is not a temporary campaign, but a continuous and systematic struggle of the party. We are always faced with the acute problem of exercising with complete effectiveness the dictatorship of the proletariat also in the field of culture and education, of the spiritual social life. It is known that the function of the dictatorship of the proletariat in this field is in the first place an organizing and educative and, when necessary, also coercitive function. Therefore, as in every field of our socialist construction, in these fields, too, we implement a broad democracy through free debates and independent action of the masses, but a democracy always in the service of the cause of socialism, which requires also an inevitable control by the party, by the state and the masses themselves.

The guidance by these principles and methods in directing the cultural and educative activity is a guaranty not only to intensify and carry out in a qualified manner the struggle against the manifestations of foreign influences of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, but in general to raise it to a higher level, as to the revolutionary spirit which must permeate it, the richer content, the more improved forms of this whole activity of vital importance to our cause of the revolution and socialism.



The artistic professional education in Albania begins from the young age. A would-be pianist doing exercises

SELF-RELIANCE

**Revolutionary content
of the principle of
self-reliance.
Historical beginnings
of this
principle and
its social-political
consequences. Against
autarchy
and the imperialist-
revisionist attacks**

IN THE GREAT TEST OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, UNDER THE CORRECT MARXIST-LENINIST LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY, WE HAVE SEEN THE INEXHAUSTIBLE ENERGIES OF THE LABOURING MASSES, ONCE OPPRESSED by the exploiting ruling classes, burst forth; we have seen the immeasurable force of their work and creative thought, of their initiative and transforming revolutionary action come to the fore. All the historic successes and victories achieved in the development of our society, which has not been tranquil or without its material and ideological obstacles, are the results of the selfless work and sweat of the people. The entire history of our revolution and socialist construction, of the defence and strengthening of our national independence and sovereignty, has been dominated by the struggle, efforts and sacrifices made by the labouring masses, primarily relying on their own forces.

Permanent revolutionary principle

For the Albanian people, for the Party of Labour, self-reliance is neither a temporary policy emanating from some specific internal or external conjuncture, nor a tactical slogan or exaltation of national pride and prejudice, as the revisionists

would like to interpret it. No, it has been and remains a permanent Marxist-Leninist revolutionary principle of our socialist construction. The idea of self-reliance was born together with the struggle for our national and social liberation.

All those belonging to the generation which carried out the National Liberation Struggle well remember, how after the establishment of the people's power and the beginning of the socialist construction, the imperialists strove to exploit the difficult economic conditions of Albania for their hostile aims and made haste to offer "aid" to our country. To accept this aid would have been to put the noose around our necks with our own hands. In the not too distant past our people experienced the enslaving consequences of such aid: therefore they refused it and chose the reliable course shown to them by the party, the course of relying on their own forces. Time fully justified this course. Never in any other historical epoch has our country known such rapid and allround economic-social development as that in the epoch of the party.

During the years that followed, in the struggle to build socialism many things became clearer with regard to the principle of self-reliance. The very concept of this principle was extended according to the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha; it became more complex and was treated in a creative spirit, on the basis of the experience gained especially from the time when the revisionists proclaimed their economic blockade against us.

by HEKURAN MARA

HEKURAN MARA: professor-economist, member of the Academy of Sciences of the PR of Albania.

Continually following the logic of self-reliance, our people and party, in every stride they have taken forward, have felt, that the preservation of political independence and national sovereignty, as well as the successful construction of socialism, absolutely require a strong and independent national economy. In the conditions when the imperialist and colonialist system still exists in the world, no socialist country (and not only socialist) that does not strive to create an independent economy can hope to cope with the pressure and blackmail, predatory and enslaving aims of imperialism and social imperialism, to oppose their policy of oppression, exploitation and aggression. The Party of Labour has been convinced of this from the historical experience of the distant and recent past of our country and of other countries. And the Albanian people faithfully apply this course by fighting with determination against each and every attempt at subjugation wherever it may come from, and whether from the imperialists or the revisionists.

The construction of socialism and the defence of independence have left our country no other choice but to utilize all the means and internal material resources to locate and exploit all the national resources so as to secure those things which are most indispensable for its economic-social development through its own forces. It goes without saying that this could not be carried out in practice with an onesided economy, without a diversified economy, and espe-

dustries.

It is true that for our country, which began the construction of socialism proceeding from a semi-feudal situation, the creation of a complex industry was a difficult and protracted process because no wonders could be worked in this direction. But the importance and urgency of the solution of this question were vital. And today, after a quarter of a century of industrialisation, socialist Albania has been transformed from a backward agrarian country into an agrarian-industrial country, with the immediate objective of being transformed into an industrial-agrarian country. The progress made has already brought to the forefront such key branches of our industry as electric energy, motor-fuels and other combustibles, machine-building, chemicals, metallurgy and other branches. Their weight and that of the whole of industry, which keeps rising, speaks of the continuous quantitative and qualitative changes which are being made in the structure of our economy. This has a special significance in strengthening the country's economic independence and its defence potential, in ensuring the uninterrupted improvement of the livelihood of the people and the complete construction of the material and technical base of socialism. This made it possible for our economy to cope with and successfully break down the savage economic blockade organized against our country in the 60's by the social imperialists. But however great the importance of industry for the construction of socialism, self-reliance and the harmonious development of the economy cannot be achieved without the accelerated development of agriculture. If we develop only industry, detached from agriculture, then there will be something amiss in our economy, it will have a one-sided character, it will have to import agricultural products and food articles from abroad and things will not proceed smoothly. Hence the correct policy pursued by our party to ensure the harmonious development of industry and agriculture, standing on both legs - on industry and agriculture. Thanks to this policy our agriculture has developed at a rapid rate, it is being increasingly intensified and modernized and is ever better meeting the needs of the economy for raw materials, and of the people for agricultural foodstuffs. And all this has been achieved by an agriculture which but three decades ago was entirely backward,

Mobilization of internal material and financial resources

The accelerated development of our economy and culture and of our entire socialist construction, has always been based on the mobilization of the internal material and financial resources. Of course, the solution of this task has by no means been an easy one. Also, for a small country like ours, the capital investments in the construction of socialism from one five-year plan to another have been very great. But the clear and correct orientation of the economic policy of the party, the concentration of the financial means in the hands of the State and their distribution in a centralized way, the elimination of parasitic expenditure, the establishment of a strict savings regime, the maintenance of a high accumulation norm from the national income - all this has made it possible for our extended reproduction to be ensured mainly from internal accumulation.

Consequently, the capital investments earmarked for the fifth five-year plan (1971-1975) will be 75 per cent larger than those made under the fourth five-year plan. Never before has our socialist construction known a programme of such large proportions of capital investments within the limits of a five-year plan.

In carrying out this programme our country will also have the very precious aid of the People's Republic of China. The Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people have highly appraised the aid of the Chinese people and Government which is granted mainly in the form of credit as well as in other ways, and which takes into account our specific conditions and our current and perspective needs. This has always been fraternal, internationalist aid, without any political, economic or military strings attached, real aid rendered by one socialist country to another socialist country. For some time, unfortunately, the Albanian people also experienced the so-called aid of the revisionists. To hear the statements made by the revisionists today it would appear that during «this golden epoch» our people sat back with folded arms, that everything was done for them by others, that all that was created and built is allegedly due to the «aid» of the

revisionists. However, the sun cannot be concealed behind a sieve. Slanders are carried away by the breeze whereas facts remain.

In the first place it is a known fact that, in comparison with our needs and their possibilities, the «aid» of the revisionists was always very limited. This «aid» represented but a very small portion compared to what was accumulated from our own internal sources, while from the material and technical viewpoint it left much to be desired. But what should be pointed out in particular is the fact that, by means of this «aid», the revisionists sought to bring about the economic enslavement and political subjugation of our country, its transformation into a satellite country.

In the face of these facts, is it not hypocritical for the revisionists to allege that they «are ready to help our country even now if it returns to the socialist community?» (read: to their fold). However hard the revisionists may beat their breast allegedly on behalf of socialism and internationalism, the Albanian people well know that they (as well as the imperialists) do not give the smallest thing without having previously calculated how much material, political and military profit they can gain for themselves. Those who nourish illusions about their so-called «aid» are risking their necks.

The modern revisionists, and in the first place the Soviet revisionists, have a great deal to say about the «decisive importance of aid and cooperation among the socialist countries, of proletarian internationalism among them». If we confront these statements with the content the revisionists actually introduce into them, with the actions accompanying these statements, what they are saying is that the decisive role in the revolution and socialist construction belongs to the external factor and not to the internal factor, that is, not to self-reliance. This is to upend the Marxist-Leninist thesis about the relationship between the internal factor and the external factor in the struggle of the peoples for their national and social liberation, for the transformation and development of the social order.

There is no doubt that the external, genuinely internationalist aid which one socialist country gives another socialist country is of great importance to national liberation, to the strengthening of independence and the building of socialism.

Such is the aid that the Soviet Union gave our country and other countries during and after the second world war while Stalin was at the head of the Soviet Communist Party and State. Nevertheless, without the internal factor, without the struggle and efforts of the peoples of these countries, this aid could not yield the desired results. But the modern revisionists, as soon as they took power in their hands, completely changed the character and aim of external aid, of interstate economic cooperation. They gave them a capitalist, enslaving character, with a view to undermining the revolutionary development in other countries and to turning them into countries dependent on them economically, politically and militarily.

The revisionists say that the Albanian people's self-reliance has allegedly led them to self-isolation and autarchy, has sidetracked them from the international division of labour, from trade integration and exchanges, does not allow them to benefit from world science and technology, and so on and so forth. All these are inventions which are refuted by confrontation with reality.

Life, our experience, shows that the development of the economy based on self-reliance does not lead to autarchy; it does not exclude, but strengthens and extends the basis and possibilities for economic ties and exchanges abroad. The international division of labour and, connected with it, the need for interstate economic exchanges, remain a reality in the present-day world. Proceeding from this reality, our country has made and continues to make efforts to maintain and develop normal economic and trade relations with other countries on the basis of full equality, of mutual benefit and interest. And in every case that this aim has met with understanding it has been reciprocally welcomed. At the same time, when our Party and Government seek an extension of trade exchanges with countries having different social systems, they never hope or expect to achieve this at any cost, making political and ideological concessions to the sworn enemies of our people and socialism, to the imperialists and the revisionists. It is not self-reliance which hinders normal international economic relations, but narrow economic and political interests, it is closed economic groupings accompanied with their military blocs which aggravate and upset

these relations and economic cooperation between countries.

Against withdrawing into one's own shell

Relying on one's own efforts in no way means withdrawing into one's own shell, absolutizing one's own experience and ignoring the results achieved by other countries in the progress of science and technology. Our Party has always pointed out that our country needs to learn and benefit from the achievements of world sciences and technology. Furthermore, our Party and Government have also adopted definite measures to enable our men and women to become acquainted with every achievement made abroad and to apply it according to our needs, possibilities and conditions. At the same time, the party teaches us not to make a fetish of foreign experience, not to underevaluate our own experience and to fight crawling after others and against pinning every hope on outside. Our people should be characterized by the revolutionary courage to blaze the trail ahead by their innovating and creative thought and action.

As early as its birth, the world socialist system was charged by history with the lofty mission of proving before the peoples its superiority over the capitalist system in the field of interstate economic relations and cooperation too. The Council of Mutual Economic Aid was also created for this purpose, and had to be based on correct Marxist-Leninist principles. However, with the usurpation of power by the traitorous Soviet revisionist clique the CMEA began to change its nature completely. Since that time the Soviet revisionists have used this organisation as a tool for their hegemonistic interests, to exploit the peoples and economies of the other member countries, to establish their complete political domination over these countries. Today the CMEA is but a second capitalist "common market".

Our Party and Government abandoned and exposed in due time all the capitalist forms of economic cooperation and integration established among the revisionists. And life showed how correct, far-sighted and revolutionary was the stand of the Party of Labour of Albania which defended the vital interests of the people and socialism in our country. It also

shows that the economic integration which is being practiced today between the Soviet revisionists and the revisionist cliques of other countries has assumed a completely neocolonialist character. The new Soviet colonies, the CMEA member countries, must supply the revisionist metropolis, they must serve to strengthen and fatten the new Soviet bourgeoisie.

The fabrications and the war the revisionists are carrying out against the principle of self-reliance have a definite purpose. Through them they want to pave the way for and justify the ill-famed theory of limited sovereignty which is a great challenge and a permanent threat to the national dignity and sovereignty, to the freedom and independence of the peoples. By this theory the Soviet revisionists aim to subjugate the various peoples and exploit them for their own purposes according to the capitalist principle of "flaying alive the weaker". The armed occupation of Czechoslovakia, which exposed the Soviet Union to the whole world as a fascist military power, illustrated the true meaning of the theory of limited sovereignty for the revisionists.

A proverb says: Hypocrisy is the honour which vice does to virtue. Making an analogy, we can say that the revisionists, while attacking the principle of self-reliance allegedly on behalf of internationalism, do nothing but inadvertently increase the value of this Marxist-Leninist revolutionary principle still more.

In our day, when the legitimate desire for freedom, political independence and national sovereignty, for profound changes and accelerated economic and social development, is everywhere mobilizing and inspiring the revolutionary forces, the broad masses of the people, the application of the principle of self-reliance becomes particularly significant. In this framework, also of great importance are the relations of cooperation that have been established and are being strengthening with every passing day between our country and the People's Republic of China; relations which are genuinely socialist ones. The constant extension and strengthening of this cooperation are based on our national economies making progress and flourishing. The stronger and the more developed our two socialist countries, the greater will be the power of the influence of socialism, of socialist relations among the peoples.



Artistic handicraft has traditions of long standing in Albania. The Albanian young women take forward the craft of carpet making.

RISE OF THE PEOPLE'S WELLBEING

CORRECTLY APPRAISING THE TEACHINGS OF MARXISM-LENINISM ABOUT THE PEOPLE'S WELLBEING, THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA HAS STRIVEN TO PROPERLY IMPLEMENT THESE TEACHINGS, IN CONFORMITY WITH reality, with the conditions of our country, Being deeply acquainted with the requirements of the economic laws of socialism and relying on the objective and subjective conditions of the country's economic and social development, the Party has elaborated and perfected its programme of socialist construction. In compliance with this and with the possibilities created at each specific historical stage, the PLA has adopted concrete measures in the field of production, distribution and use of the material goods, as well as in the field of the development of the social and cultural sectors, to ensure the gradual and general rise of the wellbeing of the people. In this revolutionary process, bearing well in mind the political, ideological, economic and social factors, it has linked into a single entity and has correctly harmonized the most general interests of the country with the individual interests, the immediate interests with the perspective ones, the national interests with the international ones. The successes achieved in raising the material wellbeing and the cultural level of the people, most forcefully testify to the correctness of the general line and of the economic policy of the PLA in the building of the socialist society.

PLA's understanding and revolutionary application of wellbeing

One of the fundamental questions of the building of the socialist society is the

**The people's wellbeing
is the supreme
aim of the activity
of the PLA.**

**The revolutionary
meaning of wellbeing
and the ways of its
realisation.**

**The main economic
and social indices of
wellbeing**

by ABDYL BACKA

correct understanding of wellbeing as a socio-economic notion, the determination of a clear line in this field, and, in conformity with these, the determination of the concrete ways and measures to reach the planned objectives in an organized and programmed way. This is explained by the broad and complex meaning of wellbeing in socialism as well as by the aim of social production. What are the fundamental features of the revolutionary understanding of people's wellbeing in our country? How can they be concretized?

The treatment of this problem both from the viewpoint of the course followed and from the viewpoint of the results achieved leads to the following main results:

First, the rise and improvement of the people's wellbeing is always viewed in close connection with the entire process of the country's socialist construction. And this is because wellbeing has not and cannot have a purely economic character; it is not only connected with the material aspect of consumption by the people, but, at the same time, it has a deep political, ideological and social content. It is linked with the fulfilment of the cultural, spiritual and community needs of the people, with all the factors and conditions which determine and constitute the existence of the entire people. In this way, the material wellbeing and the cultural level of the people have to do with the main lines of the economic policy of the Party, with the main proportions of extended socialist reproduction and, in the last analysis, with the correct harmonization of economic interests. From the theoretical viewpoint, the PLA sees wellbeing as an objective question deriving from the very mode of socialist production and,

which, in its whole complex should serve the building of the socialist and communist society completely and through to the end. Therefore, in our country the complete and free advancement of every individual, the raising of the wellbeing and the allround advancement of all members of society has not been and cannot be separated from the requirements and possibilities for the progressive development of the productive forces, from the extension and perfecting of the socialist relations of production or outside of the struggle against the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, against the stains of the old society in the consciousness of the people, for the tempering and forming of the new man, active and resolute builder of the socialist society.

The experience of our economic construction shows that without an allround principled struggle to discover and solve the contradictions in the field of economy, to ensure an uninterrupted reproduction of the social product, of the labour force and of the very relations of production, without defending and creatively implementing the Marxist-Leninist economic doctrine, there can be no question of a general and continuous rise of the living standard of the broad working masses in the conditions of the building of the socialist society.

Second, wellbeing is not donated, but gained through the work and sweat of the people themselves, through the struggle and efforts of all the working people for the development of the country on the road of building the socialist society. The revolutionary concept that the main and decisive thing in the building of socialism is self-reliance, the efforts of the people themselves, has been deeply implanted into the consciousness of the people by the PLA. Only in this way can we guarantee the country's rapid and allround development, the continuous rise of the wellbeing of the people on a correct Marxist-Leninist road and in complete freedom and independence.

The historic experience of our country shows that there is not and cannot be any wellbeing for the working masses without the development of the productive forces, without the building of the material and technical base of socialism. Wellbeing is not an abstract notion, detached from the material development of society. The Party continues to see the fast rate of development of social reproduction and the setting and preservation

of correct proportions in this process as indispensable bases in reaching the objectives in the field of the wellbeing of the people.

In the field of the development of the productive forces and of material production, our country has already taken an important qualitative leap. In 1970, as compared with 1938 industrial production increased 63,8 times, while agricultural production increased 3,1 times. During the four five-year plans for the development of the economy and culture (1950-1970), social production has increased by an average of about 10 per cent annually, while the national income has grown by over 8 per cent. This means that in our country the rate of the development of material production surpasses the rate of increase of the population nearly 3 times. During the same period social labour productivity has increased 2,7 times and, in general, the course of the gradual increase of the accumulation norm has been followed in the framework of the general material and financial resources of the country. While formerly the overwhelming majority of mass consumer goods were imported, today our people's economy produces over 70 per cent of the mass consumer goods to satisfy the purchasing power of the people, and this percentage grows yearly.

It is this strong and stable economic base that has enabled our Party and our people's power to resolutely carry out the course of uninterruptedly raising the wellbeing of the people. The development of production in general, the rapid increase of the production of the means of production and, in connection with this, the increase of the accumulation norm in the use of the national income, are the clearest expressions of self-reliance in raising wellbeing. These factors, in the conditions of our social order are not and cannot be aims in themselves because, in the final analysis the development of the means of production and the increase of accumulation are aimed at the increase of the production of consumer goods, which demands that increasingly more resources of work, material and financial resources, be thrown into the production process.

Third, in the process of the socialist construction, **the line followed has been that of the general rise of the wellbeing of the people, the gradual narrowing**

of the essential differences between the levels of incomes and between the way of life in the town and in the countryside and within them. This has been and remains a general course emanating from the nature of the socialist order and meeting the radical interests of the working class and of the other labouring masses.

The plans for the development of the economy and culture and the struggle for the accomplishment of the tasks set by them aimed at continually raising wellbeing not only of one section but of the entire people, not only of the city but also of the countryside, not only of the lowland areas but also of the hilly and mountainous ones. In this direction priority has always been given to the fulfilment of the most urgent needs of the masses, which constitute the basis of the people's consumption, of the social interests of collective and perspective interests. And in this respect a well studied job has been done, without falling into positions of egalitarianism, and paying the proper attention to qualified work, length of service and difficulties at work, encouraging the increase of labour productivity and the improvement of the quality of production. Of course proceeding on this road requires not only that production and the other social activities develop at a rapid rate, but also that there be a rational distribution of the productive forces. Parallel with this the building of correct relations in the distribution and use of the national income has been aimed at and made possible. The harmonization of the needs and possibilities of the development of industry with those of agriculture, the construction and application of a just system of payment of the working people, the continuous reduction of the prices of retail commodities, of tariffs on various services and the complete abolition of direct taxes on the incomes of the working people, the gradual reduction of the contribution of the peasantry in forming the sources of socialist accumulation and the priority increase of social consumption in the general framework of the increase of the real incomes of the working people, constitute the principal directions of the economic policy of the Party in the field of the consistent application of the course of narrowing the differences in the level of the incomes between different groups of the population.

As a result of the PLA's implementation of a correct policy in this field it is possible for the real income of the population in the countryside to grow at a faster rate than that in the city. Thus during the last decade the real income per capita in the countryside has increased at a rate of nearly 1.4 times more than that of the city population. The priority rate of increase of income in favour of the peasantry has also brought about the narrowing of the difference in their standard of living in comparison with the city. In the present-day conditions objective possibilities have been created to increase the income of the peasantry even more rapidly. For this purpose it is envisaged that in 1975, the real income of the peasantry grow about 2.5 times faster than that of the city population in 1970. This directive is being put into practice. Thus, in 1972, as against 1970, the income of the peasantry increased over 2 times as compared with that of the workers and employees. Parallel with the general increase of the income of the peasantry the economic differences between the lowland areas and the hilly and mountainous areas have been reduced. If we compare the principal elements that constitute the real income of the peasantry, it emerges that in 1971, the per capita income of the peasantry in the mainly lowland areas was only 15-20% larger than in the mainly hilly and mountainous areas. A series of factors have had and still have an influence in this direction, such as the development of mines and industry in the inland areas of the country, the strengthening of the cooperativist economy, the application of a policy favourable to the hilly and mountainous areas in the field of capital investments, the accumulation prices for agricultural and livestock products, taxes on income, etc. In the future all these factors will exert a greater influence on the general rise of the living standard of the cooperativist peasantry.

In the framework of the measures to ensure the rise of the wellbeing of the people through a correct road, a decisive role belongs to the building and application of the wage system. Our system of wages is a unified, centralized and differentiated one, according to the importance of the economic branch, according to the difficulties the work presents, according to the degree

of qualification etc. This system is based on remuneration according to the quantity and quality of the work of each giving equal pay for equal work. The wage system has been perfected by adopting measures from time to time in the direction of lessening the differentiation in remunerating work among various groups of working people. The PLA has fought and continues to fight in two directions, against marked differentiation in the wage system as well as against the petty-bourgeois levelling of wages. By following this line the working people's interest in work and production has increased and their revolutionary enthusiasm and creative initiative have been raised higher.

Today in our country the difference between the minimum and maximum wages is 1 to 2.5-3. To achieve this, during the fourth five-year plan (1966-1970) it was necessary to reduce the high wages, twice in succession at the same time raising the level of the low wages by 8-10 percent. Also a minimum wage limit has been set at a level sufficient to meet the most urgent needs of the working people. In the future, with technical-scientific progress, demands for qualified work will grow and this will require more efforts to be made to further raise labour qualification. But, at the same time, efforts will be made to raise the general educational and technico-professional level of the working people at a faster rate, gradually narrowing the differences between simple work and complicated work. In these conditions, also following the course of the rapid increase of low wages, it will become possible to further narrow the wage differentiation between different groups of working people.

Main course of raising wellbeing

Various courses are followed to raise the wellbeing of the people and various factors have an influence in this direction. In accordance with the specific conditions of each given stage, it has been made possible to ensure the general rise of the wellbeing of the people and gradually strengthen the efforts of society to meet the needs of the working people, without impairing their direct material interest.

The main course to raise the wellbeing of the people is to increase the participation of the able-bodied population in useful social work. The fast rate of development of social production and of the various social and cultural activities as well as the rational distribution of the productive forces over the whole of the country's territory, have made it possible to engage all the forces that are able to work. This is a distinctive feature of the people's economy and represents one of the greatest victories of our socialist order.

In 1971 the number of the working people in work relations with the state increased over 5 times compared with 1950. The number of working people in the cooperativist sector of agriculture has also increased. Thus during the 1961-1970 decade alone, the number of people engaged in work, throughout the country (the cooperativists included) increased almost 40 per cent. Today in our country an average of 2-3 persons per family work. This is so not only in the big cities and districts, which were once comparatively more developed, but also in the small cities and highland areas which before the country's liberation were very backward economically and socially. The employment of the men and women of these districts and areas has contributed to a large extent to speeding up the rate of increase of the income of the working people in general and of the peasantry in particular. This is seen also from the fact that in the structure of the sources of the income of the peasantry, the income from non-agricultural sources (from work in industry and in other sectors of the economy and culture) in 1970, accounted for 31 per cent, as against almost 20 per cent in 1960.

The factor of engaging the able-bodied population in work will also be dynamic in the future. According to studies carried out, the able-bodied population in our country will continue to increase at a higher rate than the population as a whole. At the same time this makes it necessary to ensure in the future, too, the high rate development of extended reproduction and the rapid increase of the social product.

Another road to increase the wellbeing of the people is that of the increase of the real wage of the working people. This has been and is being done through the reduction of the retail prices of

mass consumer goods, through the reduction of tariffs of various services, through the abolition of income tax for the working people as well as through the increase of the minimum wage.

The reduction of the prices of mass consumer goods and of the tariffs on various services, is an effective road of an economic and social character. This is based on the increase of labour productivity, on the increase of the sources of socialist accumulation and of the production of mass consumer goods. It is directed at those commodities and services which constitute the basis of the people's consumption, thereby serving the further increase of the people's consumption with less expenditure, as well as ensuring the rise of wellbeing not only in the city but also in the countryside. In this way, at the same time we ensure the stability of the purchasing power of the currency in circulation, the strengthening and increase of this stability. Between 1950 and 1969 there were 14 reductions of prices of mass consumer goods, of medicines and tariffs of various services, carried out on a mass scale.

During the entire process of socialist construction there has been a tendency to reduce the specific weight of imposts and taxes on the population in the total of the budget incomes, until in the years of the fourth five-year plan they were completely abolished. Thus today Albania is a country free of imposts and taxes on the direct income of the population. The effect of the above measures can be seen in the improvement of the living conditions of the working people. Under the fourth five-year plan alone the population gained over 700 million leks through the reduction of prices, the reduction of various tariffs, the abolition of imposts and taxes on the population and through several other measures in favour of the peasantry. This is an unchanging course which therefore will continue in the future too creating greater possibilities for the further increase of the real income of the population.

In the framework of the increase of the real wage the increase of the nominal income (nominal wages) of the working people is also of special importance. In this direction, from time to time adjustments have been made to the wages of the working people giving priority to raising the lower wa-

ges. This has always been based on the increase of labour productivity. This factor has been and remains the most active and the most important one in the income of the cooperativists, creating greater possibilities for the narrowing of the economic inequality between the peasantry and the working class. Thus in 1971 as against 1960, the income of every work hand from the joint economy in the agricultural cooperatives more than doubled.

Striving to increase the direct income of the working people and their individual consumption, the PLA also ensured the rise of wellbeing through the road of systematically raising the fund of social consumption. This is of principled importance, for in this way we ensure the fulfilment of a series of vital social needs of the working masses and because it contains the beginnings of communist distribution. The general tendency has been and remains the growth of the weight and of the funds of social consumption in the general consumption of the people, both in the city and the countryside. In 1970, as compared with 1960, while the fund of consumption in general increased by 61 per cent, the fund of social consumption almost doubled.

The state and society use ever greater resources for the development of education, health, social insurance and the other vital services of a social-cultural character. In Albania 1 out of 3 persons follows studies, 8-year education is compulsory, the health service has greatly extended and is free of charge for the whole people, the social insurance system covers both the city and the countryside and the municipal and postal services have assumed an all-round development. State expenditure for the social and cultural needs in 1970, increased 2,4 times over that of 1960. They account for almost 25 per cent of

the whole expenditure of the state budget.

Large funds are used every year for the improvement of the housing conditions of the working people. From 1950 to 1971 about 220.000 apartments and houses were built in the city and the countryside, housing a population equal to the population of the country before liberation. On the other hand, house rent in our country is very low and constitutes only 2-3 per cent of the average income of a family. Accordingly, we point out that the rise of wellbeing in Albania has been reached in three main directions: a) giving absolute priority to employing the whole of the able-bodied population; b) increasing the real wage of the working people, mainly through the reduction of retail prices, without neglecting the increase of the nominal income of the working people; c) giving the increase of the social consumption fund priority over that of the individual fund.

The application of this course will continue in the future, in full conformity with the vital interests of the working masses and with the demands of the allround economic and social strengthening of our country.

Some of the main economic and social indices of the rises of wellbeing

The rise of the wellbeing of the people is expressed in a series of economic and social indices. In presenting the revolutionary understanding of wellbeing and of the ways to raise it we gave some indices of this nature. The synthesis of figures below (in percentage) gives a more complete idea of the rate and proportions of the rise of wellbeing in our country:

	1950	1960	1970
1. The population of the country	100	133	175
2. Production of national income	100	242	482
3. People's consumption fund	100	232	373
4. Goods turnover in retail trade (with prices of respective years)	100	402	716
5. Number of school pupils and students	100	176	375
6. Increase of life expenditure (in years)	53,5	64,9	68,9



One of the young volunteers in the building of the new Elbasan-Prenjas railway

All these and many other facts of day to day life speak of a radical turn being made step by step in the living standard and way of life of our people. We should not forget for a single moment that the whole of this development has been carried out in complicated circumstances and in struggle against numerous obstacles and difficulties, connected with the great economic and so-

cial backwardness we inherited, with the damage caused by the war and with the savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement. As comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, «we know how to correctly and realistically appraise this rise of the living standard, for we know where we started from, and we also clearly know where we will arrive. We have raised and will continue to raise this livig stan-

dard with our own forces, with our sweat, without having our fatherland and people being enslaved, whether economically or politically».

ABDYL BACKA - Economist, scientific collaborator of the Institute of Economic Studies under the Academy of Sciences of the PR of Albania.

ON ALBANIAN DIASPORA IN THE MIDDLE AGES

of emigration
and
their character.
The role of
Arbëresh emigrants
in the field
of material culture,
art, commerce,
etc.

by **ZIJA SHKODRA**

IT IS KNOWN THAT THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE ARE AMONG THE MOST ANCIENT PEOPLES OF EUROPE. IT IS ALSO KNOWN THAT THEY HAVE INHABITED THE PRESENT DAY REGION SINCE THE MOST ANCIENT TIMES. An important chapter of our national history is also the problem of the Albanian colonies (diaspora) of emigration. This phenomenon, which originated from the earliest periods of our history, has long been an object of scientific studies by foreigners as well by our scholars. But in recent times this theme has increasingly drawn the attention of our students in treating various aspects of the problem.

The Albanians, just as the other peoples, due to various reasons, were compelled very early to emigrate as individuals or in groups and settle in various other countries. It seems that the first mass emigration were those of the Balkan area and especially those toward some regions of Greece.

ZIJA SHKODRA - *historian, scientific collaborator at the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the PRA.*

The settlement of the Albanians on the territory of Hellas is quite ancient. According to some documentary sources, it began at least with the VII-VIII centuries, and perhaps earlier, i.e. with the IV century, as the Cyprus chronicles tell us. These very early Arbëresh emigrations included small groups of peasants or individuals, who penetrated peacefully into the northern Greek regions, and then went gradually down towards the south, in a sporadic manner like colonist farmers, or emigrating stock-raisers. However the mass emigration of this area belonged to a later period. The wellknown German historian Y. Fallmerayer who has engaged himself in this important problem of our history, says that the first big wave of this emigration must have occurred in the first half of the XIV century, that is towards the years 30-40 of our era. This was the last period of the Byzantine rule of our country and the beginning of the rule of the feudal Serbian invaders. During this period, the severe punitive measures of the Byzantine emperors Andronicus III, Palaeologus and Ioannis Kantakuzen, against the Albanian insur-

gent population as well as the savage oppression and wanton exploitation by the feudal slav invaders with Czar Stefan Dushan at the head, compelled large groups of peasant Arbëresh from almost all the regions of our country to emigrate, be it even as mercenaries, towards the south to Thessaly, Attica and Peloponnesus, from where they later settled down also on some islands of the Aegean Sea, such as Euboea, Hydra, Spetza, Poros, etc. The overwhelming majority of these elements, particularly the poor peasants, settled in the unpopulated lands of the Greek and French feudals, whereas the rest went into the armies of these feudals. Thus, in addition to the inhabited centres, these elements gradually filled the deserted Greek territories, founded a series of villages and built up some towns where they started without delay to develop a lively economic life.

Another powerful wave of Arbëresh emigration, dictated by violence and the heat of war, was caused by the Turkish occupation of our country. Hundreds and thousands of miserable inhabitants of various regions of the country, aiming

to escape this savage fury and to secure a livelihood once again were compelled to follow the difficult road of emigration, leaving their motherland, their homes and their peaceful work forever. Indeed, since the outburst of the first big ottoman offensive (1387), the populations of some northern regions had started moving towards the Dalmatian coast. But the greatest emigration of the period of the Ottoman invasions occurred particularly after Scanderbeg's death (1468), when a large section of the Albanians, compromised by the wars against the Ottomans, were eventually compelled to leave their homeland. Thus, large cities like Shkodra, Lezha, Kruja, Durrësi, and others, as well as many peasant regions, were impoverished or completely deserted by the industrious and peace-loving inhabitants who took the arduous path of emigration, this time no longer heading south, as one century before, but north, mainly towards the regions of Dalmatia, Venice, to the kingdom of Naples as well as towards the whole eastern coast of the Italian peninsula. The emigrations of this long period of

ders for some time but also contributed to the rapid fall of the country's productive forces.

Another period of important Albanian emigration was that which occurred during the XVII-XVIII centuries. This was the period of the most peaceful migrations towards the Balkan regions, caused mainly by economic circumstances.

The severe Turkish oppression, religious discrimination, lacks of land, the continuous impoverishment of the popular masses of the town and countryside under the grave conditions of the military feudal domination, as well as the feudal arbitrariness at the expense of these masses, constitute the fundamental causes which compelled the inhabitants of various regions to leave their homes at this time. Some of them, without a guaranteed means of livelihood, moreover compelled by the Turkish pashas and the feudal states of Europe - particularly by the Kingdom of Naples, France and Venice - roamed about as mercenaries and ended their lives on horseback, outside their homeland, hoping for future profitable wars. From among these emigrants only a few had the good fortune to return safe and sound to their country and homes.

The *devshirme* system (that of press-ganging boys) practised on a large scale by the Turks, was another negative factor concerning the forced emigration of hundreds and thousands of young boys - town-dwellers and peasants. Thus, the waves of emigration, during these two centuries too, continued to take Albanians to Austria, Wallachia, Bulgaria, Dalmatia, Serbia, Bosnia, Greece, Stamboul, and other places. Also of this period were the emigrations of the inhabitants of the Shkodra region, who settled in Zara and in some other regions of Dalmatia; those of the Këlmendi inhabitants to Slovenia (1737) as well as those of the inhabitants of some flourishing centres like Voskopoja, Vithkuqi and Llënga who fell victim to the feudal anarchy of the XVIII century.

In the XIX century Albanian emigration entered a new stage. The great economic-social changes that occurred in this period did not fail to leave deep traces in this direction. The establishment of the oppressive landlord regime with the liquidation of the feudal military system of Timar, as well as that of the new fiscal system, accompanied with the great abuses of the Turkish rulers,

property, many of these elements were turned into wage earners, day labourers, servants and beggars. The rest, unable to live in the city under the restrictive regime of the craftsmen corporations, took the road of emigration. With the implementation of the centralist reforms (*Tanzimat*) this phenomenon also deeply affected the peasantry of the highland areas, particularly of South Albania. The creation of the new administration during the centralist reforms, as well as the liquidation of the system of the irregular mercenary armies, put out of action not only the directing headquarter of these armies - the medieval captains and feudals - but also the mercenary detachments of the free peasantry whose lives became entirely insecure. Thus, these elements, too, like the former ones, being unable to secure a livelihood locally, were compelled to emigrate, especially to the Balkan regions where a more rapid social and economic development had begun.

Towards the second half of the XIX century emigration also shook the town population. The rapid disintegration of the craftsmen corporations released much manpower in the city. Many apprentices, tradesmen, independent masters and craftsmen were economically ruined and became domestic servant or town proletarians. The backwardness of the country as well as the decline of the guilds caused by the competition of European commodities, encouraged the emigration of the labouring masses, who threatened by the insecurity of their life, were eventually compelled to look toward the nearest and most developed countries of the times. Therefore, instead of diminishing the big army of emigrants was growing from day to day, with poor elements from various strata of the towns and villages.

The main countries that gave asylum to these poor and declassed elements in this period were Rumania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece and Egypt. The speedy economic development, particularly in the coastal centres and in the capital cities of these countries, aroused the hopes and illusions of these masses for better working and living conditions. Towards the end of this period fresh hopes directed the bulk of the emigrants to the United States of America. This big wave, which swept up tens of thousands of inhabitants, especially peasants of the southern regions, did not fail to set in motion

other elements too, who, either due to political-military reasons or to the medieval custom of vendetta, were compelled to leave their country. In continuation of the deep social differentiation, the process of the emigration of Albanians to various regions of the world, continued its course uninterruptedly also during the XX century, until 1944. Albanian emigration was: a) permanent, b) temporary or c) seasonal.

The first category included the peasant and town elements of all social categories who had almost entirely lost their ties and contacts with their motherland since the early days of their emigration due to reasons of war. These include the large groups of the first period (XIV-XV centuries) who left together with their families and who formed the first big communities of the Albanian colonists who had settled mainly in Greece, Dalmatia and Italy. The second category includes elements who had left, due to economic reasons and without their families, for a period of one or more years.

The third category of emigrants includes the seasonal wanderig emigrants mainly from poor peasants strata. Every year, during the summer or even during the winter, these peasants went in groups or as individuals to Rumelia and Anatolia where they worked at various agricultural and handicraft jobs. Part of them returned home during the winter season to live with their families on the money they had saved during the summer, while others – the handicraft-peasant elements – left home at the time when the former were beginning to return home. The Albanian emigrants practiced the most diverse trades and professions. Others also excelled in the field of studies, education and culture. Many of them attended various schools where they distinguished themselves. It is not accidental that from the ranks of these elements there emerged able pioneers, fighters and ideologists who, devoting themselves might and main to the sacred cause – the national liberation movement – managed to organize the struggle and activity of these colonies for this purpose.

Everywhere in their works, in the field of architecture or the other fine arts, of trades or culture, the creative genius of these workers far from their homeland was seen, their professional qualities and abilities and their firm spiritual

force, initiative, talent, dynamism and great love for work and creativeness were evident. The German scholar H. Grothe, speaking of some qualities of these emigrants as well as of their contribution to various branches of social activity, remarked that, abroad, first of all in Egypt, Asia Minor and Italy, the Albanians were at the head of some economic enterprises. As colonists, they claimed distinction for their zeal and intelligence in Greece and in Italy and have contributed to the progress of trade and agriculture. While the Turkish historian of our day Kazim N. Duru, speaking of the contribution of the Albanians at home and abroad, says: "... in the field of art and handicraft as well as in that of knowledge... they rendered great services".

The most eloquent proof is their works, some of which the civilized world recalls with admiration and respect even today. The history of architecture well knows the Michelangelo of the Orient, the chief architect of Stamboul in the XVI century, Mimar Sinan, whose wonderful works remain even today as an insuperable model in the field of medieval architectonic art. The works of architect Sinan, who is thought to have been from Këlcyra, are of rare beauty. The Suleymanie Mosque in Stamboul, alongside that of Ayia Sophia, stands as a monumental work even today. His works include, in addition, 200 mosques, water-pipelines, bridges and other artistic buildings. Sinan's disciple, Sedefqar Mehmet from Elbasan, was also a great artist. The outstanding mosque of Sultan Ahmed in Stamboul, built east of the «At Meydan» square, is the performance of the hand and mind of this talented Albanian architect. This distinguished master also built the fountain in front of this mosque which is the most beautiful work of this type of architecture in the city. Many constructions in the metropolis of Islam, Mecca, are also the work of Sedefqar Mehmet from Elbasan. While Mimar Kasëm from Gramshi, Tomorrica, another talent in the pleiad of architects of the XVI-XVII centuries in the Capital of the empire, distinguished himself with monumental works which honour his name and the nation to which he belonged.

The well known Turkish chronicler of the XVII century E. Çelebi spoke of this traditional school in the field of architecture and urban construction work in the

countries of the Ottoman Empire of the contribution, abilities and talent of the Albanian masters of this zone. Speaking sympathetically about the Albanian architects, he also mentioned the master craftsmen of road paving and in particular the builders of fountains and water pipelines. Concerning the latter, he said that they master their craft according to the «science of geometry». After giving many details about the method of their work, he concluded by saying that «this marvellous craft, which is beyond almost everyone's power, is done only by the Albanians».

One century later, the prince of Moldavia, Dhimitër Kantemiri, greatly stressed the ability of these craftsmen, saying that to become convinced of this it is sufficient for one to see the water-pipelines of Stamboul alone. The Albanian craftsmen who had the monopoly of this craft, also practised it successfully in other countries, for example as in Egypt, in the large construction work of dams and irrigation canals near the Nile river, etc.

In the construction and paving of streets they had been at the head of the respective enterprises of Stamboul, Sofia, Salonica as well as of the other main cities of the Balkans since the XVII century. But their contribution was not limited to the narrow framework of road building in the old style; it extended further also passing on to the difficult problems of the modern construction of tunnels, brigdes and mountain railroads. The example of the XIX century engineer Karlo Gega, this talented Arbëresh from the Albanian colony of Bucharest who excelled in the art and craft of constructing tunnels and mountain railroads, is clear testimony in this direction. In this difficult sector of work he won world renown with his masterpiece – the Semering tunnel, which linked the Austrian Capital with Trieste. As a token of gratitude for this majestic work a monument was erected to this talented worker in the square bearing the name of Karlo Gega; while one of the squares of Vienna is honoured with the name of «Karlo Gega Platz». In Rumania, too, these men made no small contribution. The great Rumanian scholar of Albanian origin, Nicola Yorga, speaks with admiration of the seasonal groups of traveling masons who performed various works in the Rumanian principalities. One of these Albanian masons by the na-

... my grandfather, who came to Rumania and remained here forever.

From among the ranks of small craftsmen and merchants, many of these emigrants, reached leading posts in the economy, finance and other branches of the state. Such was fruit-seller Hasan Pasha in the 16th century, who in addition to other state functions also became the main adviser to the imperial Ottoman treasury concerning the question of minting money; baker Ahmet Pasha in the 17th century who became an outstanding financial worker; cook Mere Husein in the 17th century who held the post of Sadrazim twice in succession; tobacco seller Mehmet Ali, who from the year 1805 will go down in the world political history by the name of Mehmed Ali Pasha of Misir.

No less distinguished were the Albanian emigrants outside the borders of the empire. Since the XV-XVI centuries those of Dalmatia or Venice were known in the fine arts, in town-planning construction work, in commerce and handicraft.

In the Dalmatian region mention should be made of the builders, architects and stone-engravers of the old commercial city of Raguza. These craftsmen from the poor urban sections belonged to the category of craftsmen who used to travel in groups or as individuals along the Dalmatian coast or in the inland areas to earn their living from this arduous and not very profitable craft at that time. They were talented craftsmen of a great "school" of Arbëresh masters, architects and sculptors of the coastal cities of North Albania, with Tivar as the chief centre. The dispersed elements of this "school" of very ancient traditions in the field of urban construction in our country made a colossal contribution with their tasteful and artistic constructions of a public, private or religious character in this open area of the Eastern Adriatic. Of this large army of professional emigrants who did not spare their talent and forces in the development and embellishment of this open region, especially of its chief-centre, Raguza, only a very small part could escape oblivion and emerged from the Middle Ages as bearers and creators of works of genius in the fields of architecture, sculpture, painting, etc. Among these earliest known outstanding workers and artists is the stone-engraver Bosa from Tivari who in

1347, together with his two brothers, won great renown working on stones imported to Raguza from Korçule and set an example to all the active and zealous men of his occupation.

Another contemporary of this talented master was also the sculptor and architect Miho from Tivari, who towards the sixties of the XIV century, with his professional colleagues, built among other things the famous Franciscan monastery of Raguza. This medieval artistic monument of the Roman church style interlaced with Gothic elements and preserved in a good state stands even today, together with the other works of architectonic value, as eloquent testimony to the Arbëresh contribution in the eastern region of the Adriatic coast. In the field of the art of painting towards the end of the XIV century, again in Raguza where there was a powerful Arbëresh colony, an outstanding artist from Durrës carried out his work, who thanks to his professional abilities, was for since several years running in the service of the municipality of that city. One century later in the Dalmatian region the masterful hand of the great architect Andrea Aleksii from Durrës could be seen. This outstanding personality of Renaissance art built many beautiful public and religious works in many regions of Dalmatia, especially in Arbe, Trau and Split. Also, in the field of the fine arts of sculpture and architecture skilful masters and artists emerged from the western side of the Adriatic Sea. Among our compatriots who emigrated to Italy to escape the Ottoman slavery mention must be made of the "Albanesi" of Vicenza and Padova. From the XVI century Francesk Albanese was renowned in the art of sculpture and architecture. This art was preserved from generation to generation among these emigrants, reaching its climax with Francesku's sons, Gjon and Ishmi. Not only Vicenza but the whole of Padova was adorned with the architecture and sculpture of these two Albanian brothers. The Vicentine people, who preserve the valuable works of these two talented masters even today, as a token of deepest respect compared them with the greatest ancient sculptors and inscribed their tombs with the words: "He was a second Phidias" (referring to the former). "This was Policletus" (for the latter) (Ille alter Phidias hic Polycletus erat).

One century later (XVII), in Northern Italy, the master violin makers, father and

son Mali and Zet Albani, won renown even beyond the borders of the Apennine peninsula. In some cases, many crafts such as hide processing, road building, difficult hydraulic works, some specialties of empiric medicine, etc., had become a monopoly of these Arbëresh emigrants from the early centuries of the Ottoman occupation. In Stamboul, Anatolia and Rumelia the manufacture of sandals and saddlery was in the hands of emigrants from Leskovik, who until the middle of the XIX century, by decree of the Sultan, preserved this right as a heritage generation after generation. In Salonica, too, until the beginning of the XIX century, the main supplier of this centre with leather products was a powerful corporation made up completely of Albanians. The Dalmatian professor G. Gelçiq also mentions the fine taste, talent and creative genius of the Albanians who nourished Dalmatia in the Middle ages with architects and craftsmen of a rare value. He says that many things which are considered today "as Dalmatian art and works" are nothing but "works of Albanian genius and skill..." Also the use of many Albanian words in the field of professional activity in some regions of the Balkans, particularly by the Serbian craftsmen, the Macedonian and Bulgarian builders, is further eloquent proof of the abilities, experience, role and contribution of these Arbëresh emigrants. The role of the emigrant Arbëresh in the field of material culture, in art, commerce, etc., was considerable. With the capital amassed, they helped in the development of the markets and fairs, they contributed to the increase of the production of commodities as well as to the enriching of these countries with various artistic works. These elements also made their contribution to the great cause of the liberation of the homeland. Not sparing even their lives they unreservedly placed themselves at the service of national education and liberation, together with their savings earned with much toil and great sacrifices. In the cultural-political societies and clubs abroad - in Stamboul, Bucharest, Sofia, etc., - the handicraft commercial elements, together with the other patriots, became an important factor which effectively assisted the great struggle of the fighters for national revival in every way, becoming an important factor in the liberation culture and education of their country.



Students of the engineering faculty during their practice for the preparation of their diplomas

AN ENDURINGLY RELEVANT WORK

«This little book is worth whole volumes: the organized and militant proletariat of the civilized world lives and acts even nowadays in the spirit of this book».

V. I. LENIN

MANY WORKS HAVE BEEN WRITTEN OVER THE CENTURIES BY VARIOUS THINKERS AND SOCIOLOGISTS ABOUT THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY AND ABOUT THE WAYS OF REORGANISING IT BETTER. BUT RARE ARE THE works which have had the fate of the «Manifesto of the Communist Party» published by Marx and Engels 125 years ago, in February 1848. This rare fate (books, like people, have their own fate) is explained by the current and objective value of the ideas and truths which they formulated and argued in this work. The greatest glory of the «Manifesto of the Communist Party» resides in the repercussion it had in the hearts of workers, in the minds of thousands and millions of men and women. While the works of the sociologists before Marx have become the property of the libraries or, at the most, have occupied a place in the manuals of sociology as a testimony to

the currents of sociological thought, the «Manifesto of the Communist Party» very quickly became the property of millions of men and women, a banner of struggle and victory of the revolutionary masses throughout the world. Today too, as 125 years ago, its ideas are present wherever people are fighting against reaction, for social progress, wherever people are building the new socialist society.

1.

In the «Manifesto of the Communist Party» and in their other works Marx and Engels did not come out as bearers of «good news» or as reformers promising «Pie in the sky» and a «paradise on earth for mankind». No, they came out as scientists who mentally dissected the society of their time (analysis), then they put it together again (synthesis), they viewed it from one side, then from other sides, and in this way they discovered its most intimate secrets, they discovered the mechanism of the basis on which it

by **ZIJA XHOLI**

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lives and proceeds ahead. Marx and Engels wrote: «The theoretical conclusions of the Communists are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that would-be universal reformer. They merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes». (p. 48)*.

As soon as they arrived at the conclusion that the weapon by which the bourgeoisie overthrew feudalism was turning against the bourgeoisie itself and making its destruction inevitable, Marx and Engels continued their analysis further and made another great discovery – the discovery that the bourgeoisie, with its very conditions of production creates, forms and amasses a new class, the proletariat, which objectively and historically gets prepared and becomes able to overturn the capitalist order and to create the new order – the socialist order. Marx and Engels wrote, – «But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons – the modern working class – the proletarians». (ibid. p. 39).

Just as the mechanism of the birth, development and inevitable destruction of capitalism allowed Marx to discover the mechanism of the functioning and development of the whole society in the past, so too the analysis of the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie allowed him to arrive at a general conclusion which is applicable to all societies and which was to constitute the new foundation of the materialist understanding of history.

This is the famous conclusion that the whole of past history, with the exception of the primitive community, is nothing more than the history of the class struggle and that it is this class struggle which brings about those transformations demanded by the dialectical interaction of the productive forces and of the relations of production that have existed so far, – Marx and Engels write, – it is the history of the struggle between classes.

«Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and jour-

neyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes». (emphasis Zija Xholi) (ibid. p. 31).

Arguing the class struggle as the motive force of all antagonistic societies, Marx and Engels provided historical science with the basis of the correct understanding and explanation of the entire socio-historic process, as well as of all the phenomena accompanying it. They showed that whoever seeks to correctly orientate himself in the apparent chaos of historical events must direct himself not to the passions, initiatives and orders of the «outstanding men» of history, of the «heroes», but, first and foremost, to the class struggle, to the activity of the masses of the people, which although frequently not apparent, is the most fundamental historical activity. The principle of the class struggle, formulated and substantiated as early as the «Manifesto of the Communist Party» remains not only the basic principle of the activity of the communist parties, but also the golden rule, the fundamental demand of the Marxist-Leninist historical science, the sole historical science.

2.

Marx and Engels have gone down in history as great scientists and as great revolutionaries. It is impossible to say where the scientist in them begins and where the revolutionary ends. They are the one and the other at the same time. By their example they registered that excellent tradition for every true Marxist-Leninist party, the tradition of the unity of thought and action, of theory and practice.

As genuine revolutionaries, as men closely linked with the proletarian revolutionary movement, Marx and Engels explained the conditions the proletariat must bear in mind in order to secure victory over the bourgeoisie. These conditions are: the creation of the political party of the working class, which they called, the communist party, the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by violence, by revolution, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

For the first time in the history of revolutionary scientific thought Marx and Engels presented the idea of the proletarian party as an indispensable organism, without which the proletariat cannot liberate itself and take political power into its own hands, cannot destroy the capitalist society and build the new socialist society.

With the formulation of this fundamental principle, they went even further and showed what this party should be, how the communists should work in order to fulfill their historic role. Concerning aims and general line, the communists have no other aims, no loftier interests than those of the working class in general and, consequently, that at every stage of their revolutionary movement, at every degree of their struggle against the bourgeoisie the interests of the movement in general must be defended. This means that the guiding star which no communist party whatever can renounce without renouncing itself, is the overthrow of capitalism and the transition to socialism which realizes the working class interests in their totality.

In general but well defined lines, Marx and Engels put forward the features of the communist, they showed how he ought to be in practice. «The communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others...» (ibid. p. 47). The communists are not distinguished by the name they bear, but first and foremost, by the courage to always march onward. Courage and determination which takes no heed of any difficulty and which is in position to overcome each and every obstacle, accompanied with the defence of the new, of every revolutionary movement in every case, constitute the most distinctive and most valuable characteristics of the communist. The communist must be in the front lines whenever and wherever a revolutionary movement emerges, whether for the overthrow of capitalism or for the building of socialism. Otherwise he does not properly answer to his name and mission.

The courage of the communists emerges and is nourished by their world outlook, by their theoretical training. It is this training that raises them above the masses of the workers, that enables them

* All the references can be found in the English edition: K. Marx, F. Engels, «Manifesto of the Communist Party», Foreign Languages Press Peking 1970.

to see wider and further than the others and thus lead the revolutionary movement towards the set objective, and become the vanguard of the working class. The communists, Marx and Engels pointed out "...on the other hand, theoretically they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of the march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement". (ibid. p. 48).

The demands that the communist be determined, defend everything that assists development, and be ideologically and politically trained show what a lofty idea Marx had of the name of communist, in whom he saw the best representative of the working class, its leader, its vanguard. The communist party went down in the history of the proletarian revolutionary movement as a vanguard detachment which leads the working class in revolution and in socialist construction. And it must exist as such today too. Any other understanding of the party, any underevaluation of or attack against its vanguard role is, in essence, a denial of the party itself.

On the basis of Marx's analysis and conclusions, a onetrack mind might arrive at the erroneous conclusion: what then is the use of the party, what is the use of revolutionary activity when the objective process of the society is heading towards socialism. Marx however was dialectic, a master of dialectics. He was a revolutionary, leader of the proletariat. As much, he understood and was convinced that nothing can be achieved spontaneously, by pinning all hopes on spontaneous development. Behind the capitalist relations of production and defending them stands the bourgeois state, bourgeois violence unprecedented in its savagery and brutality. The only way out here is revolution, the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie. This way out was discovered by Marx and he openly proclaimed it in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party"; describing it as the decisive condition, as the broad road without which there can be neither the overthrow of capitalism nor the construction of socialism. "In depicting the most general phases of the development of the proletariat" - Marx and Engels wrote, - "we traced the more or less veiled civil war, raging within existing

society, up to the point where that war breaks out into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat". (ibid. p. 45).

The triumph of the violent revolution of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie is the first step on the long road of the transformations it aims to accomplish. In order to realize its tasks, in order to acquire stability and strength, the triumphant proletariat must immediately establish its dictatorship, create its own state, or, to use the terminology that Marx used at that time, "organize itself into the ruling class".

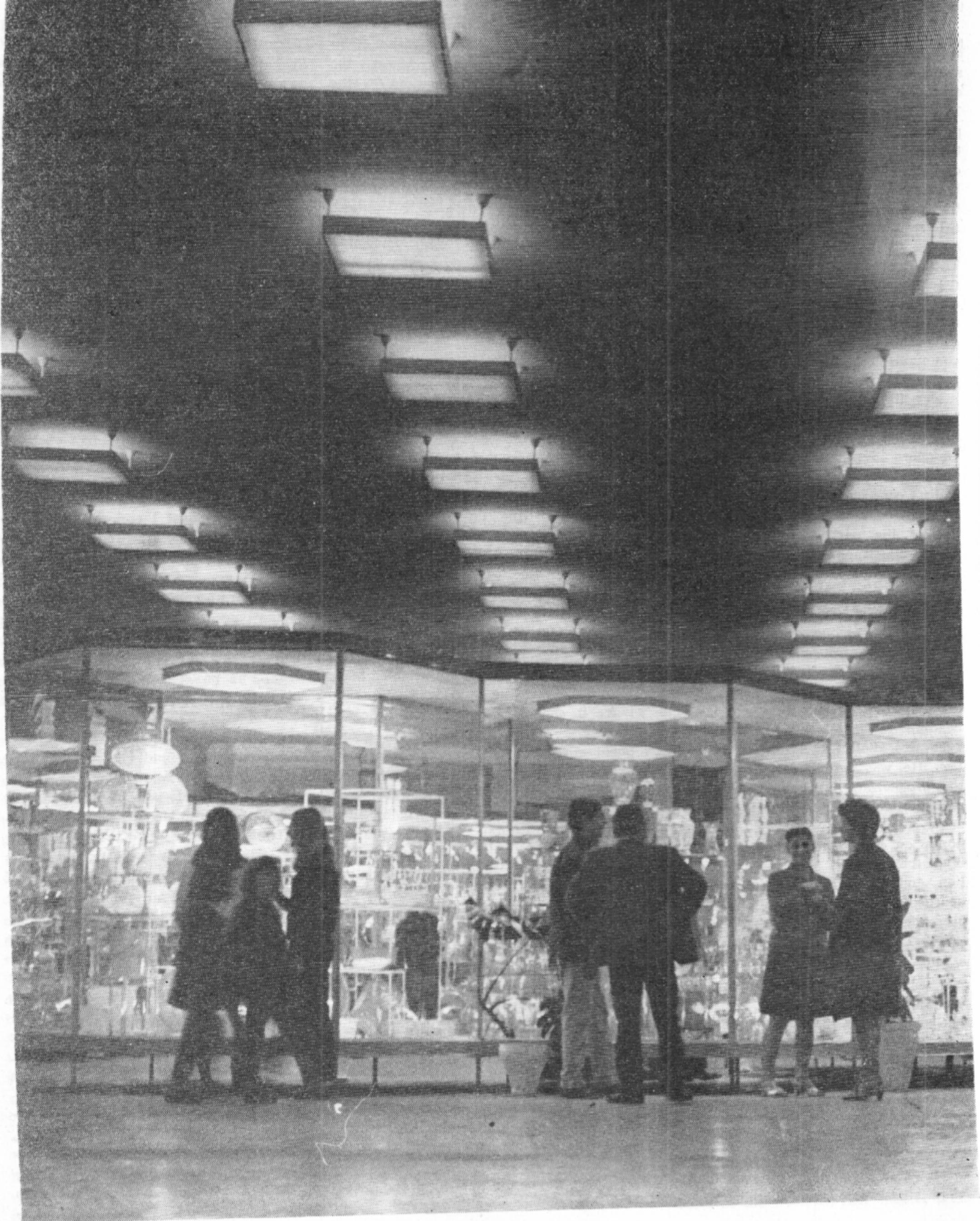
Thus, from the time the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" was written and from the beginnings of his revolutionary activity, though not using the term "dictatorship of the proletariat", Marx presented the idea of this, without which the revolution cannot last nor socialism be built. The idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, because of its decisive role in the fate of the socialist revolution and of the building of socialism, is the central idea of Marxism, to which the classics of Marxism-Leninism always return and continually enrich.

Together with the need for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, with great farsightedness Marx also discovered its content, showed the tasks it should accomplish in order to become a sharp weapon of the triumphant revolution. Marx saw these tasks in two directions; in a negative direction, so to speak, "to wrest from the hands of the bourgeoisie little by little the whole of capital", and in a positive direction, so to speak, "to increase as soon as possible the total of the productive forces".

The ideas of Marx and Engels on the dictatorship of the proletariat and its duties were developed and enriched by themselves and, later, by Lenin and Stalin. Nevertheless what has been formulated in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party", preserves its entire importance and value.

In one chapter in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" Marx analyzes and criticizes the various currents of socialist thought which circulated at that time around Europe, such as reactionary socialism in the form of feudal socialism, petty-bourgeois socialism and German socialism or, as it was otherwise

called, "true socialism", conservative or bourgeois socialism and critical-utopian socialism and communism. These currents now belong to history and do not play any role in our day, therefore there is no point dwelling on them for long. But what can be pointed out is the conclusion to be drawn from Marx's criticism: First, for the communists to fight successfully against the bourgeoisie they must ensure great ideological clarity (what Engels later called ideological struggle), and, second, this clarity must be ensured not only in struggle against the open bourgeois ideology, but also against the bourgeois ideology camouflaged under the cloak of socialism and communism. This was a brilliant warning by Marx. From the time of Marx and Engels, after their death and until our day the Marxist revolutionary proletarian parties have had to wage fierce battles on two fronts, against the revisionists of every hue disguised under the name of socialist as well as against the proclaimed bourgeois ideologists. The social environment in which the proletariat lives and fights is very complicated. All kinds of parties are active within it, all sorts of movements emerge. At times the situation becomes clear and at times it darkens and takes the most unexpected turns. The proletariat and its party can orientate themselves correctly in such circumstances only if they know how to make politics, if they are in position to work out and implement correct tactics. As well as ideological clarity, in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" Marx also demands tactical clarity from the proletariat and its party, and elaborates some basic principles which since then have been the basis of every revolutionary tactic. Thus, he teaches the communists to always maintain a consistent revolutionary party, to fight "for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement". (ibid. p. 74). The immediate interests and the ultimate aims - socialism and communism - constitute a single entity of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, which does not allow either the immediate interests to be forgotten in favour of the ultimate aim or the ultimate aim to be sacrificed on behalf of the imme-



mediate interests. Valid too is Marx's tactical principle which demands that the communists support everywhere any democratic revolutionary movement and strive to reach unity and agreement with the democratic parties of all countries. An excellent application of these tactical principles of Marx and at the same time a confirmation of their correctness was the national liberation struggle of our people (immediate aim) around which the Albanian Communist Party knew how to rally all the antifascist democratic forces and to direct and organize it in such a way that it prepared, brought near and sped up the establishment of the people's power and the transition to socialism.

With the high appraisal which Marx made of the revolutionary party of the proletariat, of its ideological education and its tactical clarity, he shows how much he valued the force of ideas, of organisation, of the revolutionary energies for the realisation of the progressive tendencies which are an objective reality in the capitalist social reality. This added a new element to the materialist understanding of history, completing and perfecting it. Thus all the factors acting in society, both objective and subjective, found their place and role.

If there is a work which has realized what is an ideal for every man of philosophic-literary creativity, that is, to put forward and substantiate as many thoughts as possible in as few words as possible, this is the «Manifesto of the Communist Party» by Marx and Engels. It has only a few pages, but its ideas and statements are worth whole volumes. In these few pages Marx and Engels have presented and argued the fundamental elements of their new world outlook in its three parts – dialectical and historical materialism, political economy, scientific socialism.

It was not by chance that Lenin described the «Manifesto of the Communist Party» as of «great fame» and wrote in admiration of it: «This work presents with the clarity and force of genius the new world outlook, consistent materialism, which also includes the field of social life, dialectics, as the most

The range of the products of the Albanian industry has been greatly extended. A clear mirror of this is the exhibition of the new products that has been opened in Tirana. In the photo a snapshot of the exhibition.

complete and profound doctrine about development, the theory of the class struggle and of the world revolutionary historic role of the proletariat, the creator of the new, communist, society» (V.I. Lenin, works, Albanian edit., vol. 21, p. 36).

3.

125 years have elapsed since February 1848 when the «Manifesto of the Communist Party» by Marx and Engels appeared in London in the German language. This is a long time, indeed so long that the whole political and ideological configuration of the social world has changed.

As of any other sociological work, the question may arise about the «Manifesto of the Communist Party». How did it withstand this severe test of history? What did the long socio-historic practice confirm and what did it reject?

And still more simply: What remains valid from this document and what has been relegated to history?

Marx lived for another 35 years after 1848, while Engels lived until even later. During this period they wrote a series of other magnificent works. Here too, the question might arise: What had they to revise from the «Manifesto of the Communist Party» and what have they preserved?

All these questions have a simple but meaningful answer which explains why the «Manifesto of the Communist Party» occupies such a special place in the treasury of Marxism-Leninism. Marx and Engels did not touch anything and did not revise anything from what they had written in the «Manifesto». In their later works they merely developed, enriched and argued more deeply what they had written and formulated in the «Manifesto». And the 125 years of socio-historic practice, so rich in events, did nothing more than confirm what Marx and Engels had foreseen, indeed it confirmed them in such a brilliant manner that the ideas and principles of the «Manifesto of the Communist Party» have acquired the value of objective truths and have entered the golden fund of the Marxist-Leninist science.

Nothing of what Marx and Engels wrote in the «Manifesto of the Communist Party» (with the exception of the his-

torical figures or the political parties mentioned in it) has been relegated to history. Everything in it is valid and preserves its complete value also nowadays. Indeed can the beauty and force be lost of such quotations as: «A spectre haunting Europe – the spectre of Communism», (ibid. p. 29) «Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win». (ibid. p. 76), or the immortal words «Working men of all countries, unite!», with which the «Manifesto of the Communist Party» concludes. Can the revolutionary proletariat or the Marxist-Leninist party worthy of its name give up such ideas and principles as that of the inevitability of the destruction of capitalism and of the building of socialism, of the historic mission of the proletariat, of the leading role of the proletariat and of its party in revolution, of the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie, of the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of tens of others like principles in the «Manifesto of the Communist Party» and which no Marxist-Leninist anthology or text can do without. The «Manifesto of the Communist Party» has been and remains, as Stalin described it, «the song of songs» of Marxism. The revolutionary proletariat of the whole world is living and fighting today too, just as before, on the basis of the ideas of this book.

Although the ideas and principles of the «Manifesto of the Communist Party» have been completely confirmed by socio-historic practice and with this have assumed the value of objective truth, an uninterrupted, fiery polemic continues to develop concerning them. The polemic is not developing only for theoretical reasons, over whether the ideas of the «Manifesto of the Communist Party» are true or not, but rather for political reasons. The point is that these ideas affect not ordinary interests, but the most radical interests of present-day society. And when vital interests are at stake, then reason is silent, or rather is submits to interests. Lenin ironically pointed out that if it were in the interests of the bourgeoisie for $2 + 2$ to make 5 and not 4, then, without fail, ideologists would emerge who would prove this. But what does not happen with the truths of mathematics and of the other natural sciences, does happen with the social truths, such as those formula-

led in the «Manifesto of the Communist Party». One great truth, against which the ideologists of the bourgeoisie have fought and continue to fight, is the central idea of the «Manifesto of the Communist Party» about the inevitability of the destruction of capitalism and the victory of socialism. For 125 years now they have been framing «argument» after «argument» to prove that capitalism is allegedly in a position to cure the wounds of society and that, consequently, it has reason to exist and no reason to be destroyed. Private property and accordingly the capitalist society which is connected with it, they explained in the last century, is the best form of the organisation of human society, indeed the only possible form. Such a clumsy thesis is indefensible, particularly today when history has tested capitalism so severely, and confirmed by the example of many countries and peoples, as with our country and the People's Republic of China, that socialism is the only road to the liberation and progress of society. Therefore, today they are compelled to seek new «arguments» which they frequently present with a great noise as their own discoveries. The more intelligent among them have given up the term «capitalism», even coming out under the mask of anticapitalism, calling present-day society «post-capitalist society» or «industrial society» or «consumer society». Whereas the modern revisionists go even further and call present-day capitalist society a transitional society, a society in which «elements of socialism» emerge, a society which spontaneously and peacefully identifies itself with socialism! In every case the conclusion is one and the same – a reactionary and anti-scientific conclusion – that there is no reason for capitalism to be overturned, there is no reason for the revolution to take place.

If at the end of every 5-10 years in bourgeois society some sociologists and their arguments are forgotten to be replaced by some new sociologists who come forward with new arguments, and who are soon forgotten as well, if the capitalist system is in constant need of new arguments in its defence, this means that it is not a question of arguments but of the real character of the capitalist system.

The capitalist world exists and develops in our day too according to Marx's diagnosis and prognosis. The contradiction between the social character of production and its private appropriation has to-

day assumed monstrous proportions. In the last century the capitalist industrial enterprises had hundreds or at most thousands of workers, while today there are of those which count hundreds of thousands of workers.

This shows how much the socialisation of production in the capitalist countries has deepened. But on the other hand, while in the last century the capitalists were able to accumulate several millions of dollars, today there are of those who have billions upon billions of dollars and who have concentrated fabulous riches on their hands. This shows how much private appropriation and the exploitation of the working class has deepened. The contradiction here is flagrant, ugly, and on the basis of this contradiction the capitalist world is being shaken, just as previously, but in broader proportions and at a higher degree of aggravation, by the economic crisis, unemployment, anarchy in production, competition and the struggle between the giant capitalist enterprises, and between the capitalist countries, which reaches the point of world conflicts, with all their annihilations and horrors. All these things constitute a grave indictment of the capitalist system and a clear proof that capitalism has no road of salvation, that it is heading inevitably towards the abyss.

Another object of great ideological struggle is the fundamental thesis of the «Manifesto of the Communist Party» about the world historic mission of the proletariat, about its hegemony in the revolution and in the building of socialism. In the dawn of capitalism and in the epoch of its consolidation the ideologists of capitalism called the proletariat a «negligible magnitude» and they did not take account of it, at least theoretically. However only a few decades passed when the working class showed its whole force and weight in society. Indeed, it showed in practice all its historic creative abilities.

The ideologists of the bourgeoisie do not hesitate to accept the revolutionary role of the proletariat in the past, in order to negate it in our day. In their opinion, present-day capitalist development has brought about the deproletarianisation of the proletariat, it has made the working class an interested part of the capitalist system and, consequently, an agent of the conservation and preservation of the capitalist system. They attribute the negative role of the capitalist system to the lumpen proletarians, emigrants or stu-

dents. The viewpoints broadly spread by the revisionists, according to whom the struggle for socialism can also be led by other social non-proletarian classes and forces, from the national bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie to the progressive and patriotic intelligentsia, are also a denial of the historic mission of the proletariat, of its revolutionary creative abilities.

These affirmations are the result of great speculation. The ideologists of the bourgeoisie and, following their example, the modern revisionists too, speculate on the changes present-day capitalist society has undergone and, consequently, the proletariat too. They take these changes as a basis and call them sufficient premises to negate the revolutionary role of the proletariat in present-day capitalist society, to bury the idea of its historic mission. The tongue goes to the tooth that aches. To lull the proletariat, to divert it from the road of the revolution, – such is the dream of the bourgeoisie, and what its ideologists dish up to it. No one attentively following the processes occurring in the present-day world and being armed with a scientific method of study can deny that in our day the proletariat has undergone changes in quantity, in its level of education, in its standard of living. But no such person, who is not blinded by the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, can deny that all these changes do not affect the nature of the working class, do not change its position in the present-day capitalist society. The working class today, just as previously, is a class without any means of production, it is oppressed, exploited and ordered about, a class which is at the mercy of the savage laws of capital and of the insatiable thirst of the bourgeois magnates for profits. Criticizing the bourgeois-revisionists thesis of the negation of the historic mission of the proletariat and discovering its complete lack of foundation comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 6th Congress of the party: «The conditions that make the working class the decisive force of present-day social development, a leading force of the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the capitalist world have in no way changed,.... it remains the main productive force of society. Life shows that only when the working class moves, when it suspends work even for one day, the whole of the bourgeoisie trembles and all its institutions are placed in a state of alarm».

The life of present-day capitalist society, its great and small events, show that its pivot is the struggle of the class of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. All the great problems of our times are concentrated on this struggle. The further development of society depends on its outcome. Both the miserable and oppressed situation of the working class, and the destinies of social progress alike demand that the proletariat should rise and overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie and occupy the place belonging to it in society - the place of the guide of its own destiny and of that of the whole society.

But in order to be worthy of its historic role and to fulfill it in practice, as Marx and Engels taught 125 years ago and as confirmed by later experience, the working class must have its revolutionary party, it must pursue a consistent revolutionary road, it must have as its objective the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the transition to socialism. Another task logically derives from this: that the working class should discard the bourgeois-revisionist preachings and break with them as soon as possible. At the 6th Congress of the Party comrade Enver Hoxha also trea-

ted this aspect of the problem and pointed out the entire danger facing the revolutionary labour movement from the viewpoints and the activity of the revisionists. «The situation is such - comrade Enver Hoxha said, - that the practical movement of the masses has proceeded and continues to proceed onward, while the subjective factor, consciousness, their organisation and direction in many countries, have lagged behind, they do not meet the tasks of the times. Here, a direct undermining and sabotaging role is played by the modern revisionists who, after having abandoned the revolutionary ideals, have transformed themselves into scabs and extinguishers of the revolution, and by their opportunist and anti-Marxist viewpoints and activity they are striving to disarm the working class and disorientate the ranks of the revolution ideologically and politically».

The ideological class struggle against the bourgeois-revisionist ideology has been and remains one of the main tasks of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. In order to emerge victorious in this struggle there is no other road than to constantly return to the ideas and to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, defend their purity,

analyze the present-day situation and draw conclusions from the viewpoint of these fundamental ideas, from the viewpoint of their general principles.

If comrade Enver Hoxha and the Party of Labour of Albania, just as the entire Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement in the world, return to the ideas of the «Manifesto of the Communist Party» and base themselves on them in the theoretical analysis of the great problems of our times, this shows not only that the Party of Labour of Albania is a party true to the end to Marxism-Leninism, but also that Marx's ideas are as alive as 125 years ago, that just as at that time, today, too, they help the revolutionary proletariat to live, to struggle and to win.

The confirmation and the practice of idea argued in a work, their being carried out in practice, is the highest prize that can be given to a work. History has given this prize to the «Manifesto of the Communist Party» by Marx and Engels. The coming years will do no more than increase its value. The present-day society exists and develops according to the ideas of Marx, according to the all-conquering ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

J. V. STALIN - GREAT REVOLUTION AND MARXIST - LEN

Editorial of «ZËRI I POPULLIT»

J. V. STALIN, THIS GLORIOUS DISCIPLE OF V. I. LENIN, WHO STOOD FOR THIRTY YEARS AT THE HEAD OF THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY AND STATE, DIED TWENTY YEARS AGO. ALL REVOLUTIONARIES AND FREEDOM-LOVING peoples remember Stalin as a great revolutionary and an outstanding Marxist-Leninist who devoted his whole life to the defence of the victories of the revolution and of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, to the cause of the liberation of the proletariat and of all the oppressed peoples.

Closely linked with Stalin's name are the brilliant victories of the Soviet people following the October Socialist Revolution, the building of the socialist society in the Soviet Union, the glorious victory in the second world war against the fascist hordes, the development of the communist and workers, national liberation and democratic movements in the world. J. V. Stalin developed and enriched Leninism, the theory of the construction of socialism, of the struggle against opportunism, revisionism and imperialism. After Lenin's death he defended Leninism with firm determination against all the enemies of the working class - Trotskyists, Bukharinists, bourgeois nationalists, modern revisionists; he further developed the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin about the party, the revolution and the state, and applied them with persistence and farsightedness. He became a comrade, teacher and great defender of all the oppressed, of all those who were

fighting for social and national liberation.

Because Stalin was such, the imperialists, the modern revisionists and all the enemies of communism and of the freedom of the peoples have sought with all their forces to tarnish his image as a dauntless revolutionary and to denigrate his glorious performance.

By attacking Stalin they aimed at burying Marxism-Leninism, at discrediting socialism and communism, paving the way to revisionism and counter-revolution, at overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat. By attacking him, they aimed to curb the revolution and rob the peoples of the socialist and liberated countries of their historic gains. All this has been proved by the present-day revisionist degeneration of the Soviet Union and by the complete departure from Marxism-Leninism of all those parties which joined the slanderous campaign against Stalin. The leaders of the Soviet Union and the other revisionists in some former socialist countries have cut all ties with Marxism-Leninism, they have transformed the communist parties into revisionist parties, they have replaced the dictatorship of the proletariat with their own bureaucratic-bourgeois dictatorship and they have restored capitalism. The modern revisionists, by their traitorous line, transformed the Soviet Union from a centre and base of the world revolution, from a great assistant and defender of the peoples, into a centre of world counter-revolution, into an imperialist state, enemy

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of socialism and of the freedom of the peoples. Through a «holy» alliance they linked themselves with U.S. imperialism which today represents the greatest counterrevolutionary force counterposed to the struggle of the peoples for freedom and socialism. Together with it, they are striving to destroy socialism, to stifle revolution and establish their domination over the whole world. Their counterrevolutionary collaboration has been clearly seen in the course of events in Indochina and in the Middle East, in the Indian Ocean and in the Mediterranean, in Europe and elsewhere.

The Soviet Union, when J. V. Stalin was at its head, helped the peoples of Europe in their liberation from the nazi-fascist yoke and in the building of their independent existence, whereas the present-day revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union carried out the fascist aggression against Czechoslovakia and are maintaining their domination over a series of European countries. They collaborate with the Bonn militarists and trample under foot the interests of the peoples of Europe and of all those who have fought against Hitlerite fascism. With all their forces the Soviet Union and Stalin supported the struggle of the peoples for national liberation against colonialism and imperialism, whereas the present-day Soviet leaders have become extinguishers of the revolution and of the national liberation struggles. They have undermined the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people and have given great aid to the

U.S. aggressors «to withdraw with honour» from Indochina. Moreover, they implement an expansionist and hegemonistic policy in the Middle East, the Indian Ocean, etc. As a fiery internationalist, Stalin was a supporter and inspirer of the international communist movement, whereas the Soviet Khrushchevite leadership has sought to dictate its own traitorous and anti-Marxist course on it, to turn it into a tool of the Soviet foreign policy.

In the light of the present-day international events Stalin's image as a dauntless and uncompromising fighter against imperialism, reaction, the renegades to socialism, enemies of freedom and peace, rises still more imposing. His Leninist teachings illuminate the road for the revolutionaries and peoples of the whole world. Because Stalin stands and will always stand as a glorious banner in the struggle for socialism, for freedom and independence, the imperialists and the revisionists are furiously continuing their efforts to cast his name and work into oblivion, to distort and reject his revolutionary teachings, the great principles of Marxism-Leninism which he defended and implemented with determination.

But despite all these efforts of the imperialist-revisionist propaganda, despite the deceptive campaigns they have not been and will never be able to tarnish Stalin's image in the least. They have suffered great defeats and still greater defeats lie in store for them. Stalin's name and activity are vividly preserved in the hearts

of the revolutionaries and of the peoples of the world and they are an inexhaustible inspiration in their struggle for freedom, independence and socialism, for the realisation of the great ideals of the whole of progressive mankind for which he fought. Stalin's work is a banner of inspiration, determination and courage for the peoples and the genuine revolutionaries in the Soviet Union, who will without fail rise up one day for the overthrow of revisionism, for the restoration of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the triumph of the eternal teachings of Lenin and Stalin, for the return of the October glory.

Our Party, guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and of comrade Enver Hoxha, alongside all the other Marxist-Leninist parties and true revolutionaries in the world, just as previously, will defend Stalin and his work, convinced that this will thus defend the triumphant revolutionary theory of the proletariat, the great cause of the revolution and of socialism, the freedom and independence of the peoples. Our Party and people, bowing with respect before the immortal memory and work of J.V. Stalin, express their firm determination to always carry out their national and internationalist duties, to fight through to the end against U.S.-led imperialism and against Soviet-led revisionism, to march always onward, towards new victories, under the allconquering banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.



Medical assistance for mother and child is guaranteed by law in Albania. In the photo: A young midwife in the children's consultation centre in Peshkopia

THE VATICAN - CENTRE OF ANTI - ALBANIAN DIVERSION

- Editorial of «Zëri i Popullit» -

THE NOISE OF THE OBSCURANTIST AND DENIGRATING CAMPAIGN LAUNCHED BY THE VATICAN AGAINST THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA AND THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE CONTINUES TO BE HEARD FROM ALL THE BELLS of the Holy See. Not only Radio Vatican continues to fume and rage from its angry zeal, but also many papers and organs of the press of the pontifical propaganda network are harping on the same tune.

The aims of this coordinated noise are not difficult to be understood. Proceeding from a pathological anti-communism, from the hatred for socialism and enraged by the magnificent successes of socialist Albania, the Vatican wants now to distort the Albanian reality, to present in a dark and completely false light the social and political relations existing in our country; it wants to deal a blow to the love, respect and sympathy of the progressive world for Albania.

But the pope and his apparatus, through this campaign, want to divert the attention and camouflage the undermining, diversionist and sabotaging activity the Vatican has carried and is actually carrying out against the People's Republic of Albania. The facts that speak about the hostile activity of the Vatican against the PR. of Albania are numerous, but here we shall confine ourselves to only some of them.

It has been spoken and written a great deal about the ties and collaboration of the Vatican with Italian fascism and German nazism. This is a truth confirmed by history and it has gone down to history as the most eloquent example of the reactionary, anti-popular and inhuman policy of this centre of dark obscurantism. Everybody knows how Pius XII and the Roman Curia had praised and defended Mussolini and Franco, Hitler and Salazar, the SS and the quislings, how they had blessed the fascist arms and prayed god for the victory of nazism. Everybody knows how at those decisive moments of the second world war, when the life and future of the peoples were questioned, the Vatican sided with the «nazi order», with those who wanted to turn Europe and the world into slaves of the Prussian barons. When the Duce's fascists attacked Albania and entered Yugoslavia, when the Hitlerites had occupied Paris and were terrorising London, when they put Ukrain on fire and destroyed Poland, when they asphyxiated with gas millions of jews and made the Greeks starve, the Vatican and its prelates showed no sign of worry. Their fascist conscience remained completely quiet even in face of the monstrous massacres of women, old folk and children of Oradour, Lidice, Borova, Rome, etc.

We would not mention these had the Vatican left this ugly memory of its acti-

vity to the past. We would also consider as its right the preservation of the nostalgia of the «beautiful times» of fascism and the care of the souls of its fascist friends whom the great anti-fascist war sent to the other world.

But the question is different when the Holy See still wants to gather the remnants and the former fascist criminals, agents and spies of all kingdoms and regimes and use them for political and diversionist aims against those countries and peoples where they have perpetrated the crimes.

Loyal to the old ties with Hitler's and Mussolini's fascists and their agents, now the Vatican is actively working to gather and nourish the Albanian fascists and war criminals and get them under its cassock to bewitch their souls and use them against the Albanian people. It is making great efforts to rally round itself all the factions of the escaped fascist criminals, ballists, zogists, former American and British agents, etc. The sole criterion for their choice is the enmity they had and continue to have for the Albanian people and their readiness to serve through to the end their imperialist boss to whom they have sold out their souls. This work is carried out for the Vatican by a man named dom Zef Oroshi who has begun his «religious» career as a diversionist launched in Albania. This so-called chief of the Albanian Roman

catholic mission to the U.S.A., blessed by the pope, closely collaborates with such war criminals as the former member of the «Balli Kombëtar» Rexhep Krasniqi, father Rexhep, etc., with whom they coordinate their hostile activities against Albania.

Recently, abusing of the religious feelings and carefully hiding its satanic aims, the Vatican is striving to extend its black network also to the Albanian emigration which has been spread throughout the world by the storms of the past ages. Its objective is, under the mask of religious concern and the care for the Albanian emigrants, to carry out among them a diversionist and undermining activity against the People's Republic of Albania, to hit their love for the motherland, to divert them from their patriotic activity and from the struggle against the enemies of Albania.

For this purpose, the Vatican has activated its old agents who have knowledge of the Balkans and especially of Albania. Such is cardinal Pigadelli, a former chaplain of the Italian occupation army in Albania, who has been appointed in the «Propaganda Fide» for the Balkan sector. In the same way it is seeking to find anywhere in some corner a «proper» clergyman to appoint him as his general delegate to deal with the «spiritual and non-spiritual» questions of the Albanians living in western countries.

Many high-ranking dignitaries personally, such as cardinal Villot, state secretary of the Holy See for external affairs, and cardinal Antoniutti who has been once in Albania and who claims to be acquainted with its affairs, have been engaged in choosing this «Albanian» apostolic delegate, and in assigning his functions. Their searches in the garbage of political refugees, former fascists and war criminals, continue but they have not found as yet a publicly uncompromised person for his hostility with regard to Albania and for his being dependent on the Vatican agents.

Meanwhile, the Vatican has long since cast its look on the Albanians of America and is flattering the idea of getting the Albanian orthodox church of the USA into its claws. In order to make probings to see how far this aim can go and what prospect can it have in the Albanian colony of America, the Vatican has also sent there special agents. But the patriotic Albanians of America have shown the right place to the «emissaries of the

pope» and have made them turn back to where they have come from.

Besides the old emigration, «his holiness» the pope is seeking to stretch his hand also to the Albanians who have emigrated from Kossovo. Through propaganda and other means, he incites their displacement from Kossovo throwing them on the cheap labour market of the capitalist world. Hidden behind an alleged charity association, a certain priest named Gjeto Radi has created a rallying camp in Italy, from where the Kossovo emigrants leave later on for the United States of America, Australia, Canada and elsewhere. The Vatican is striving to carry out an anti-communist and anti-Albania propaganda among the Kossovo people abroad. But the latter who have gone abroad to earn the daily bread for themselves and their children will never allow themselves to be deceived by some parcel of rags donated to them by the Vatican and fall into the latter's dangerous traps.

The diversionist activity of the Vatican against socialist Albania and its hostile stand towards the Albanian people are very broad and we would have still much to say. They in the Vatican should not forget that the archives of the bishops of Shkodra, Durrës, Lezhe, Kallmet are in the hands of the people's power. As the Vatican is now publishing its documents concerning the stand of the popes and high-ranking prelates of the Roman church during the second world war, and as it is interested in the dead souls, we may also publish them. Likewise, we possess numerous letters of the recent times sent to Albania in a subversive way and bearing the heading of the Holy See. Their publication would show that the affairs of the devil, the Vatican deals with at night are much broader and deeper than the affairs of god it deals with during the day. They will show that by means of the cross and the poison the Vatican has wanted to sabotage, undermine and overthrow our People's Republic, to turn Albania back to the old times of the rule of the beys, bayraktars, priests. But whatever the attempts of the Vatican and of any other enemy of the Albanian people, they will never manage to divert us from the socialist road. New Albania, that has been built by our people through blood and work, will always show them the right place and will cut their hands whenever they will dare to stretch them towards it.

to be an agent of the bourgeoisie and imperialism in the labour movement, to curb the revolution and to preserve and strengthen the capitalist order».

ENVER HOXHA

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN THE SERVICE OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND REACTION

by **ADEM MEZINI**

THE RECENT COURSE OF EVENTS SHOWS THAT THE GENERAL CRISIS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM IS DEEPENING AND BEING MANIFESTED IN ALL FIELDS: ECONOMIC-FINANCIAL, SOCIO-POLITICAL AND CULTURAL-IDEOLOGICAL, as was also pointed out at the 6th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania. In these conditions the monopoly bourgeoisie is striving in every way to preserve and consolidate the capitalist order, to suppress the revolutionary movement of the masses of the people and to intensify their exploitation.

Great assistance has been and is being given to it by the modern revisionists, who, by their anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary course, wherever they ope-

rate, have become extinguishers of the revolution and of the national liberation struggle. But parallel with them, in conformity with the circumstances which have arisen, monopoly capital also continues to use its old and specialized agent – social democracy, in struggle against the working class. In these recent years particularly the activity of the socialist and social democrat parties has been intensified so much that their ideologists in the present period speak of their «flourishing» and «renovation», of the unprecedented force of «European democratic socialism». In their opinion the advent of some social democrat parties to the head of the state machinery testifies to the «beginning of the epoch of democratic socialism». In nine states of Western Europe the social democrats lead the government or participate in government coalitions in the capacity of «minor partners».

The Congress of the Socialist International which was held in Vienna in June last year can rightfully be described as a convention of leading political figures of the capitalist states. Taking part in it were 2 Chancellors, 5 Prime Ministers and about 20 Ministers from various countries. In some states the socialist or social democrat parties play the role of opposition parties and come to the head of the state machinery when the leading bourgeois parties are discredited before the masses of the people by their policy. Such is the case with the British Labour Party which for nearly three years has played the role of an opposition party. Stalin, characterizing the ideological and political mission of social democracy, in his article entitled «International character of the October Revolution», wrote: «Present-day social democracy is an ideological support of capitalism». Lenin was

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one hundred percent correct when he said that the present day social democrat politicians are «real agents of the bourgeoisie in the labour movement, overseers of the capitalist class from the ranks of the workers». Although almost half a century has elapsed, these definitions from the classics of Marxism do not lose their present relevance. The bourgeois features and the regressive role of social democracy are seen today in all the fields, but they are particularly evident in its stands towards the proletarian revolution and socialism and towards the national liberation struggles, in its solidarity with the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism and in its collaboration with Soviet social-imperialism and with the other revisionists.

«Democratic socialism» – creed of European social democracy

Bourgeois reformism, as a method of struggle of the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, continues to be used on a wide scale at the present time as well. A more complete expression of it is the theory of «democratic socialism», official theory of the Socialist International, in which one clearly sees the stand of social democracy towards the vital interests of the proletariat.

The foundations of this theory were laid at the beginning of the 20th century by the principal ideologists of opportunism of that time, Bernstein and Kautsky. But this theory assumed full shape after the second world war, in the fifties, during the theoretical discussions that were held in the fold of the socialist and social democrat parties. It was counterposed to the Marxist-Leninist theory for the building of socialism, the accuracy of which has already been proved by practice. Present-day social democracy has rejected even that camouflage used by its predecessors at the beginning of the 20th century, and considers Marxism as entirely outdated and unacceptable in our day. «Marxism as a theory... does not help us to take a further step, either in England or in France, or in partitioned Germany», the German social democrat R. Hardter says, while the leader of the German social democrat party Willi Brandt, in a speech delivered before German businessmen in 1971, stated: «Social democracy and communism are

incompatible» and «he who does not understand this and does not act in conformity with this should be told that there is no place for him in my party». But how do the leaders of social democracy understand «democratic socialism»? For them the problem of the transformation of society is, in essence, an ethical problem which has to do with the education and re-education of men and women in the spirit of socialism. In their opinion, socialism is attained only through «democratic channels», i.e. by means of the social and cultural-educative transformations of the bourgeois state and by the bourgeois governments. The leaders of social democracy also say that socialism can exist only «democratically» i.e. as an «harmonic unity» of all the social strata and groups, the capitalists included. It is not difficult to conclude from these ideas that social reformism, the attempt to replace the class struggle (particularly the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat) with minor reforms, has been and remains a fundamental feature of social democracy. The western socialists make a fetish of the bourgeois state (the reactionary character of which they hide), of bourgeois democracy which, despite its falsity, is proclaimed as pure and above classes and see in them everything necessary for the building of socialism. The proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat have been and remain unacceptable to them. Thus Brandt, speaking at the 1970 congress of his party, said that they should follow the policy of «practical reason and not revolutionary acrobatics». The meaning of this «practical reason» becomes still clearer if we bear in mind the ideas of another rightist socialist, G. Ortlieb, according to whom there was a proletarian situation (the existence of the proletariat as an exploited class) in Europe only at the beginning of the 20th century. At that time it gave birth to the class struggle, but these times are gone and now, according to him, we can no longer speak of either exploiting and exploited classes or of the class struggle. In the western societies, according to Ortlieb, the class struggle has been replaced with social partnership. But the very course of events proves the falsity of these ideas. The powerful strike movement conducted by the working class in the capitalist countries is the fullest expression of the class contradictions and of the fierce class struggle occurring

in the world of capital. Its proportions have shocked not only the monopoly circles, but also their agent - social democracy, since the strike movement is developing increasingly more frequently beyond its control and will. While negating the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat as the decisive factors to build socialism the leaders of social democracy consider the reforms and rights the working class can secure within the capitalist order as the magic wand which will lead to the transformation of society.

The idealization of reforms by the leaders of social democracy calls to mind one of Lenin's important teachings: "Reformism is the bourgeois deception of the workers who always remain wage slaves, despite partial improvements, as long as capitalist domination exists".

The socialist and social democrat parties have frequently come to power in the world of capital, but they have always shown themselves to be faithful administrators of monopoly capital. Their "socialism" has been and remains a myth of the opportunist propaganda with which they ideologically poison the masses of the people and divert them from the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist order.

Enemies of the peoples that fight for freedom and independence

The national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is one of the most important revolutionary forces of our times. It is a component part of the world proletarian revolution as long as it attacks and weakens imperialism and creates favourable premises for the victory of the proletariat in the developed capitalist countries as well. Therefore, the struggle for national liberation against colonialism and neocolonialism and the events occurring in new states cannot but draw the attention and interest of western social democracy. And life has confirmed that many of the social democrat parties have shown themselves to be determined partisans of colonialism and neocolonialism. It was precisely the French Government headed by socialist Guy Mollet that suppressed the just national liberation struggle of the Algerian people. It was also one of the organizers of the 1956 Anglo-

Franco-Israeli aggression against the Arab countries. Whether the Belgian socialists or the British labourites, the French socialists or the German social democrats, in their stand towards the backward countries they have always defended the interests of the monopoly circles of their own countries. It is precisely such a stand towards the national liberation movements and the oppressed peoples that has discredited the social democrats: therefore, at the present time, they are seeking to use new disguises and to find new ways to penetrate into the new states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. For purposes of deception the congress of the Socialist International, which was held in Vienna in 1972, condemned the neocolonialist policy of the developed capitalist states with regard to the backward countries. But resolutions are resolutions. Thus, for example, with regard to the course of events in Indochina they have acted like bourgeois pacifists, making no distinction whatever between the U.S. aggressors and the victims.

Another typical example is the stand of social democracy towards the Near East problem. It always avoids an official evaluation of the situation in this region because the zionist circles take an active part in the Socialist International. Indeed the leader of zionism, Golda Meir, has taken active part in all the conferences and congresses of the socialist international in recent years and, from their rostrum, she has argued for Israel's aggressive policy towards the Arab countries. Her speeches have met the complete approval of the European socialists.

The leaders of social democracy, with a view to increasing their authority, are striving to extend their activity in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Quite significant in this direction is the hypocrisy of the British labourites who, at the annual convention of their party which was held last Autumn, approved resolutions condemning the racist regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia and demanding the suspension of arm supplies to Portugal, allegedly as a token of solidarity with the African people's struggle against the Portuguese colonialists. The labourites promised that if they came to power they would send observers to the national liberation movements in Africa. But rightfully the question arises: why didn't Harold Wilson's party adopt such a stand when it headed the government in the years 1964-1970? The African peoples do not trust

either the British labourites or the other social democrats. They clearly realize now that behind the "social democratic philanthropism" or the "socialist missionaries" stand the monopolies and banks of the big imperialist powers. Also, many of the chieftains of social democracy are compelled to recognize this truth when they admit that "with social democratic ideas we are not in position to solve the political problems of the third world".

The course of events and the lessons of history have strengthened the conviction of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America that only through a determined struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism (in whatever form they may appear) can genuine freedom and national independence be secured.

Alliance of renegades

Both modern revisionism and social reformism at the present time represent two regressive forces endangering the interests of the working class, of the revolution and socialism. Although they are separate organisations, it is not difficult to see that the ties and collaboration between them are strengthening and extending in the international arena as well. These ties are not accidental. The two forces are linked by their common ideological basis, since both revisionism and social reformism are manifestations of bourgeois ideology in the labour movement. Their tactical stands may differ on certain problems, but the strategy of the two sides has always had a counterrevolutionary character. The modern revisionists as well as the social reformists are supporters of the capitalist order, they counterpose themselves to and sabotage the struggle of the proletariat against the yoke of capital, and the struggle of the oppressed peoples for freedom and national independence.

Stressing the development of this process, comrade Enver Hoxha, in his report delivered to the 6th Congress of the PLA, said among other things: "With its theses of the dying out of the class struggle and of class collaboration under the mask of peaceful coexistence, with the illusions about the change of the nature of imperialism and about a world without weapons and without arms, with the fear of atomic weapons and thermonuclear war, with the preachings about the transition to socialism in a peaceful way, etc, etc.,

Khrushchevite revisionism has joined social democracy and transformed itself into a single counterrevolutionary current in the service of the bourgeoisie».

Since modern revisionism appeared on the stage, and in particular after the usurpation of the leadership of the CPSU and of the Soviet State by the Khrushchevite revisionists, the social reformist chieftains of the Socialist International supported and put themselves in solidarity with the revisionists' course for the bourgeois degeneration and restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and in the other countries of Eastern Europe. They encouraged the attacks of the Khrushchevite revisionists and of the other revisionists against Marxism-Leninism and they applauded the process of the restoration of capitalism in the countries where the revisionists are in power. Close contacts were established between the revisionist parties and the social democrat parties. The revisionist theoreticians have sought to justify this collaboration of the renegades to Marxism-Leninism with the argument of the alleged «changes towards the left» that have occurred in western social democracy. In their opinion, and in particular according to the Soviet revisionists, social democracy has «corrected» its previous position and in many directions it is adopting a «realistic and constructive stand» giving up its old positions. They take the foreign policy of the German social democrat chancellor Willi Brandt as a typical example in this direction. For the sociologists and the revisionist politicians the conclusion of the Bonn-Moscow and Bonn-Warsaw treaties and of the agreement on West Berlin was an important step towards detente, peace and European security.

But reality clearly shows that the social democrats have not changed «towards the left» and have not «corrected» their previous positions, but that the anti-Marxist line of the Soviet social imperialists has allowed the rapprochement and collaboration of the revisionist Soviet Union with the imperialist powers and, in this case, with west German revanchism, represented by Brandt. The Bonn-Moscow and Bonn-Warsaw treaties, the agreement on West Berlin and Brandt's «Ostpolitik» in general were made possible only thanks to the bargainings of the Soviet social imperialists with the Brandt Government, to the detriment of the vital interests of the German people themselves and of the other European peoples. Following the

example of and incited by the Soviet revisionists, the other revisionist parties, too, established close contacts with social democracy. In the world of capital these contacts are justified by the «need for unity of the proletarian forces in the struggle against the domination of the monopolies». Thus, in Italy the revisionists have made considerable efforts to link themselves and merge with the socialists. In France, in June 1972 the revisionist party concluded a joint government programme with the socialist party of Mitterand for the latest parliamentary elections. But, as appraised by the French Marxist-Leninists, «the Leftist Union» is nothing but a mouthpiece for the interests of the monopolies, irrespective of the fact that it includes people who call themselves communists or socialists.

In our day too the revisionist parties as well the social democrat parties have integrated themselves into the capitalist order. The principal social basis of social democracy is the old bureaucracy, while the principal social basis of the revisionist parties is the new bureaucracy which includes the functionaries of the apparatuses of the revisionist parties, the leaders of the trade unions and the mass organisations, the members of the parliamentary factions of the revisionist parties and others. However, with their slogans and their demagogical stands, they continue to deceive some detachments of the working class. For this reason the struggle against opportunism, in whatever form it may appear, whether as revisionism or as social democracy, has been and remains a fundamental task of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists.

Valid today even more than ever is Lenin's teaching: «One of the indispensable conditions for the preparation of the proletariat for its victory is the protracted, determined and merciless struggle against opportunism, reformism, social-chauvinism and the influences of the bourgeois currents of this kind, which are inevitable, as long as the proletariat acts in conditions of capitalism». Without this struggle, without the complete preliminary victory over opportunism in the labour movement there can be no question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only by uniting under the revolutionary banner of the Marxist-Leninist parties can the working class realize its historic world mission, the revolutionary destruction of the capitalist order and the construction of the new socialist society.

CHRO NI CLES

20th anniversary of the death of J.V. Stalin

The working people of our country have always highly appraised the historic work and merit of Joseph Stalin, loyal disciple of V.I. Lenin, ardent defender of Marxism-Leninism, undaunted fighter for the cause of freedom and independence of the peoples. With profound respect and gratitude they commemorated the 20th anniversary of the death of J.V. Stalin (March 5).

At various production centres and institutions of the Capital and other districts meetings were organized with the working people where they spoke of the life and activity of Stalin, outstanding leader of the Communist Party and of the first socialist state in the world, the successor of Lenin's work.

On the occasion of March 8

Many activities were organized in our country on the occasion of international women's day.

In continuation of the popular debate "Equality throughout our socialist society", organized by a committee of the Albanian Labour Youth Union, the Presidency of the Council of the Albanian Women's Union of the Tirana district and the Palace of Culture of Tirana, various themes were discussed. Among those attending were working women, distinguished women activists, and school pupils.

As well, numerous activities and social evenings were organized in city quarters, work and production centres of various districts of the country.

Diplomatic relations established

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the Government of the State of Malta, guided by the desire to develop the ties of friendship and cooperation between them, agreed

to establish diplomatic relations and exchange diplomatic representatives at ambassadorial level.

Presentation of credential letters

On March 10, at the seat of the Presidium of the People's Assembly the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania, Haxhi Lleshi, received the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Iran to the People's Republic of Albania, Alinagi Said Ansari, who presented his credentials.

Present at the presentation ceremony were the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nesti Nase, the member of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Kahreman Ylli, the chief of the protocol department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Koco Priifti, and the deputy director of the second department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Abdi Baleta.

The ambassador was accompanied by the embassy adviser Abdul Husein Kafai.

Speeches were delivered by the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary. After the presentation of credentials Haxhi Lleshi and Alinagi Said Ansari had a friendly conversation together with Nesti Nase and Kahreman Ylli.

Festive meeting

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the creation of the heroic state security service, the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Tirana district Party Committee organized a festive meeting in the hall of the Opera and Ballet Theater on March 19.

The backdrop of the tribune was a poster: "State Security service, March 1943-March 1973".

Beside this was a bust of the beloved leader of the party and the people, comrade Enver Hoxha and a quotation from comrade Enver Hoxha, "The State Security service is the sharp and beloved

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weapon of our party, for it defends the interests of the people and the party». The meeting was attended by working people from production centres and various institutions of the Capital, veterans of the security service, parents and relatives of the families of martyrs, representatives of the mass organisations, young men and women, and others. Also present were Party and State leaders. The meeting was presided over by Kadri Hazbiu, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA and Minister of Internal Affairs. The speech on the occasion was delivered by Rexhep Kolli, member of the Central Committee of the PLA and vice Minister of Internal Affairs. Then, amidst the applause of those present, the floor was taken by Adil Çarcani, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA and vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers, who greeted the meeting on behalf of the Central Committee of the PLA, the Council of Ministers of the PR of Albania and the beloved leader of the party and the people and the founder of the state security service, comrade Enver Hoxha. The speech and the salute were frequently interrupted by applause and slogans for the Party of Labour of Albania and its Central Committee with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head. After the meeting an artistic programme was given for those present. Meetings devoted to the 30th anniversary of the creation of the state security service were also organized in other districts of the country.

Telegram

To his Excellency
SAMDECH NORODOM SIHANOUK
Head of State of Cambodia
Chairman of the National United Front of Cambodia

To his Excellency SAMDECH PEN NUTH
Chairman of the Royal Government of National
Union of Cambodia

It is a pleasure for us, on the occasion of March 23, the day of the creation of the National United Front of Cambodia, to extend to you and, through you, to the valiant Cambodian people, our most cordial greetings and congratulations on behalf of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, and ourselves.

Three years ago the Cambodian people, responding to the call of the lawful head of state, Samdech

Norodom Sihanouk, closed their ranks around the National United Front of Cambodia, created their national liberation armed forces and rose up with determination in a people's armed struggle against the traitorous Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique and against the US imperialists who organized the coup d'etat in Cambodia and carried out an open aggression against that free, sovereign and neutral country. During these three years the Cambodian people, under the leadership of the National United Front, with Samdech Norodom Sihanouk at the head, and of the Royal Government of National Union, in close solidarity with the other peoples of Indochina, have waged a heroic struggle and have inflicted heavy and continuous defeats on the US imperialist aggressors and the Pnom Penh puppets. Today they celebrate the anniversary of the creation of the National United Front of Cambodia with a series of very great and important victories in the military, political, diplomatic and other fields. Now, 90 per cent of the country is a liberated area where the people's power has been established. The struggle for the complete liberation of the country is being carried out successfully.

The Albanian people, who are following the struggle of the fraternal Cambodian people with special attention and admiration, greatly rejoice at the victories the Cambodian people have reaped and continue to reap in the battlefield, as well as at the continued strengthening of the position of the National United Front and of the Royal Government of National Union on the international arena as well as at home.

The Royal Government of National Union, which is the only legitimate government and the only representative of the true will of the Cambodian people, enjoys increasingly growing prestige and authority in the world. The Albanian people and their Government, as always, will resolutely support the just struggle being waged by the Cambodian people, and they are fully convinced that by carrying their armed struggle through to the end, always maintaining their high militant spirit, the fraternal Cambodian people will certainly win complete victory over the Pnom Penh clique, they will smash all the fiendish plans of the US imperialists and their collaborators, and they will certainly realize their lofty aspiration to build a free, independent, democratic and neutral Cambodia. We applaud the determined stand of the National United Front and of the Royal Government of the National Union of Cambodia to always promote the armed struggle of the Cambodian people to reach the only correct solution of the problem

of Cambodia, as set forth in the five points contained in Samdech Norodom Sihanouk's statement of March 23, 1970 and which are once more forcefully stressed in the declaration of January 28, 1973.

The Albanian people and their Government are very happy that between the Kingdom of Cambodia and the People's Republic of Albania there are close friendly relations which assumed a new development during the visit made to our country last year by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, and they wholeheartedly desire that these relations be strengthened and extended in the spirit of the joint Albanian-Cambodian declaration of June 27, 1972, in the interest of friendship and cooperation between our two countries, of our common struggle against imperialism and reaction. Assuring you once more of the continuous support and firm solidarity of the Albanian people and their Government, we wish you, the National United Front and the Royal Government of the National Union of Cambodia, new and still greater successes in the mobilization of the forces and energies of the Cambodian people, to crown their liberation armed struggle with complete victory.

ENVER HOXHA

First Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Party of Labour of Albania

HAXHI LLESHI

President of the Presidium of the People's
Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania

MEHMET SHEHU

Chairman of the Council of Ministers of
the People's Republic of Albania

Tirana, March 22, 1973.

At the embassy of the Kingdom of Cambodia

On the occasion of the 3rd anniversary of the creation of the National United Front and of the national liberation people's armed forces of Cambodia, the chargé d'affaires ad interim of the embassy of the Kingdom of Cambodia to the People's Republic of Albania, Isup Ghanty gave a reception at the embassy. The reception was attended by Nesti Nase, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Myqerem Fuga, Minister of Light and Food industry; Aleks Verli, Minister of finance, Ramadan Xhangolli, Secretary of the General Council of the Democratic

Front of Albania, Ndue Marashi, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Tirana district People's Council; Halim Ramohito, deputy chief of the Political Department of the People's Army, Ksenofon Nushi, vice Minister of Foreign Affairs; Vasil Kati, vice Minister of Trade; Misto Treska, Chairman of the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations With Abroad and others.

Also attending were leaders and members of the diplomatic representations accredited to the People's Republic of Albania.

The reception passed in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Meeting

Feelings of friendship and militant solidarity with the fraternal Cambodian people were once more exhibited by many students and lecturers of the History-Philology Faculty of the State University of Tirana at the meeting organized on March 23 in one of the auditoriums of the Faculty on the occasion of the 3rd anniversary of the creation of the National United Front and of the National Liberation People's Armed Forces of Cambodia.

Also present at the meeting was the Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of the Embassy of the Kingdom of Cambodia to the People's Republic of Albania, Isup Ghanty.

Similar meetings were held in other work and production centres.

Plenums

The Plenum of the Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions held its proceedings on March 25. The proceedings of this Plenum were based on the directives of the Party and the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha to raise high the moral image of the working people at work, in society and the family and to strengthen proletarian discipline at work, in order to make the life of the trade union organisation more vivid and militant, and a place where the revolutionary thought of the working people should burst forth. Besides the members and alternate-members of the Plenum, taking part were also the chairmen of the district trade union councils and other guests. Many speakers took the floor at the Plenum bringing the experience of the activity of the

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trade union organizations concerning these problems, in order to further promote work. The Plenum was also addressed by the President of the Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions, Rita Marko. He appraised the work done so far in these directions and stressed the tasks facing the trade unions to further develop and deepen their work in the struggle for the further revolutionisation of the whole life of the nation.

At the conclusion of its proceedings the Plenum approved a decision concerning the problems that were discussed.

On the same day the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Albanian Labour Youth Union was convened.

As well as the members and alternate members, also attending were first secretaries of the district ALYU Committees, workers of the apparatus of the ALYU Central Committee and other cadres of the youth organisation.

The Plenum discussed problems of the further strengthening of the work for the revolutionary class education of the youth and the further improvement of its moral-political figure.

After the discussions about these problems, the Plenum set the main directions of the organisation's work for the future.

On April 3 the plenum of the General Council of the AWU was convened. - The meeting was attended by the members as well as by chairmen of the AWU councils of various districts of the country. The Plenum discussed the problems set forth by comrade Enver Hoxha in his recent speeches and set the main future tasks for the AWU organisations as the further strengthening of political and ideological work for the revolutionary class education of the masses of women, the further improvement of the moral-political figure of women, the more active participation of women in social productive activity, the strengthening of proletarian discipline and of the struggle against conservatism, liberalism, indifference and other manifestations of petty-bourgeois psychology. At the same time, the Plenum set the task of increasing women's role in all fields of life, and of raising women's educational, cultural and technico-professional level. It also pointed out the need for continually extending the activities of the AWU organisation at the grassroots level, and extending the participation of women in undertakings of a political, economic and social character, in order to meet the 7th Congress of the AWU with as many successes as possible.

The Plenum was addressed by the President of

the AWU General Council, Vito Kapo, and by many other comrades.

At the end of the proceedings of the Plenum the floor was taken by the member of the Central Committee of the PLA, Nexhmije Hoxha.

Reception

On April 2 the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Albania, Nesti Nase, received the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Nguyen Van Thu, and the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of South Vietnam, Nguyen Xuan Long, at their request. Ambassador Nguyen Van Thu and ambassador Nguyen Xuan Long reported on the development of the situation in Vietnam during the 60 days that have elapsed since the signing of the agreement on the ending of the war and the restoration of peace in Vietnam, on the continuous and serious efforts of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and of the provisional revolutionary Government of South Vietnam to observe and implement this agreement, as well as on the grave and systematic violations of its fundamental provisions by the US imperialists and the Saigon puppet regime which acts incited and supported by the United States of America.

Ambassador Nguyen Van Thu, on the instruction of his Government, handed over the declaration of the Government of the DR of Vietnam, dated March 30, 1973, which severely condemns the continuation of the interference of the US imperialists in the internal affairs of Vietnam and their military engagement in South Vietnam and in Indochina, as well as the war-mongering acts of the Saigon puppets against the people of South Vietnam and their liberation forces.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nesti Nase, severely condemned the continuation of the interference of U.S. imperialism in the internal affairs of Vietnam and the aggressive acts of the U.S.A. and the Saigon puppets, which are aimed at preventing the Vietnamese people from fully realizing their lofty aspirations and at preserving an antipopular reactionary regime in South Vietnam in service of the neocolonialist aims of the U.S.A. He assured ambassador Nguyen Van Thu and ambassador Nguyen Xuan Long that the Albanian people, the Party of Labour and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, as always, will be in complete solidarity with the fraternal

Vietnamese people and will support them with determination in their just struggle to realize their sacred cause. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nesti Nase, expressed the firm conviction of the Albanian people, of their Party and Government, that the heroic Vietnamese people, in North and South, who by their long years of armed struggle reaped magnificent victories over the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their Saigon servants, will certainly destroy each and every plot and intrigue of their enemies and will win final victory over the U.S. imperialists and their tools.

The Shanghai acrobatic troupe began its tour of Albania in March

On March 26, at the Palace of Culture of the Capital, the Minister of Education and Culture, Thoma Deliana, received the Shanghai acrobatic troupe of the People's Republic of China, headed by the member of the standing Council of the Society for Friendship with Abroad, Juan Tung Lin. Also present were the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China to the People's Republic of Albania, Liu Jen Hua, and other embassy officials.

The reception passed in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Greeting the creation of the Academy of Sciences

Scientific institutions and scientists from foreign countries have greeted the creation of the Academy of Sciences of the People's Republic of Albania.

The message sent by academician Miron Nicolescu, President of the Academy of Sciences of the Socialist Republic of Rumania, reads as follows:

"On the occasion of the creation of the Academy of Sciences of the P.R. of Albania, on my part, as well as on behalf of the Presidium and of all the science personnel of the Academy, I have the pleasure to extend to you the best wishes for successes in the accomplishment of your noble mission for the development of the science and culture of the People's Republic of Albania".

Professor Mihnea Gheorghiu, President of the Academy of Social and Political Science of the S.R. of Rumania, says in his congratulatory message: "I express my conviction that the creation

of the Academy of Sciences of the P.R. of Albania will contribute to the development of the scientific relations and cooperation between the men of science of our two countries".

The message of greetings of the President of the Academy of Sciences of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Kim Ung Sam, sent on behalf of all of its scientific personnel extends ardent congratulations on the creation of the Academy of Sciences of the P.R. of Albania, and expresses the conviction that the scientific cooperation between the two academies of the two countries develop in the future.

Messages of congratulations have been received from the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, from the higher pedagogical school of Gjakova, and others. Messages of ardent congratulations have been sent to the Academy, to its President comrade Aleks Buda, as well as to the members of the Presidency, by academician E. Kouduraki Secretary-general of AIESEE (International Association of South-East European Studies under UNESCO), by professors C. Gellner, V. Dumitrescu, P. Gheorghiu of the Bucharest University, Prof. C. Kastelan, Director of the Centre of South-East European Studies in Paris, N.G. Hammond, professor at the University of Bristol in England; academician J. Irmsher from the German Democratic Republic; professor H. Olberg of the University of Innsbruck, Austria, professors V. Georgiev and J. Dujchev of the Sofia University; professors R. Ratichich, D. Redich-Miochevich, A. Shipchevich of the University of Zagreb, Yugoslavia, and others, as well as by many individuals, scientific workers from among the Albanians living in Yugoslavia, from Kossovo and Macedonia.

First Symposium

The first national symposium on palaeontology was held in Paos. It was organized by the Palaeontology Cabinet of the Oil and Gas Institute in Fier in cooperation with the Palaeontology Cabinet of the Geology and Mining Institute of Tirana.

Attending were personnel of the palaeontology service of the State University of Tirana, of the Oil and Gas Institute, the Geology and Mining Institute of Tirana, workers of the local geological service, cadres of oil enterprises, and others. Also present was the vice-President of the Academy of Sciences of the P.R. of Albania, Petrit Radovicka.

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The Albanian press extensively commemorated the 5th centenary of the birth of Nicolaus Copernicus, the discoverer of the heliocentric system of the earth. In connection with this anniversary the newspaper «Mësuesi», organ of the Ministry of Education and Culture of the P.R. of Albania, writes among other things: «The theory of the outstanding Polish astronomer on the heliocentric system marked a decisive turning-point in the natural sciences. By placing the sun in the centre of our system and the earth and other planets as bodies moving around the sun, Copernicus, said Engels, in his «Dialectics of Nature», carried out «a revolutionary act by which the natural sciences proclaimed their independence. The liberation of the natural sciences from theology dated from this act... and since then, science has advanced at giant strides. «His contemporaries Giordano Bruno and Galileo Galilei had the theory and viewpoints of Copernicus as a banner of battle.»

■
The newspaper «ZËRI I RINISË», organ of the Central Committee of the Albanian Labor Youth Union, in an article devoted to this anniversary, writes in part: «The great philosophical importance of the system of Copernicus is that he lowered the earth to the unprivileged position of all the

other planets. The thought that God had put the earth as the centre of the universe had to be eliminated together with God. The latter should have no place in the world or in the consciousness of man. By launching the very important idea of the unity of the world, that is, that the sky and the earth are subject to the same laws, Copernicus up-ended the foundations of the religious world outlook of the Middle Ages and paved the way for the real scientific world outlook.»

■
«ZËRI I POPULLIT», organ of the Central Committee of the P.L.A. in an article entitled «The expansionist aims of the Soviet revisionists in Latin America», writes: «now it is not only American, West German and Japanese capital which is striving to exploit the riches of Latin America, but it is also the new Soviet capitalists who are vying with the former to seize the oil, copper, tin, zinc, manganese, cocoa and coffee of these countries. Neocolonialist forms, expressed in capital investments, in credit «aid», in the dispatch of specialists, in mixed companies, etc., are today being used by the Kremlin rulers too. Camouflaged under the cloak of being a «socialist» country, which has allegedly undertaken the internationalist duty of aiding the developing countries, the presence of the

Soviet revisionists in this area as new colonizers, is becoming increasingly stronger. Both the US imperialists and the Moscow revisionists, the newspaper continues, speak today of «a new stage of Latin-American society», of the «transition from the stage of traditional society to the industrial-type society», from the agrarian stage to the industrial one, of a «second industrial revolution» taking place in these countries, etc. The aim of all this euphoria is to justify to Latin American public opinion the penetration of their capital which bears the label of «development». On the other hand, the Khrushchevite revisionists as well as the imperialists, by propagating the «new society», the industrial-type society, are seeking to arouse illusions that deep social economic progress can be achieved through the technical-scientific revolution, thus negating the need for social revolutions, for class and liberation struggles.

The revisionists are becoming propagators of the reformist theories of «peaceful evolution»; they and their followers, the Latin American revisionists, propagate the «democratization of the social apparatus». But the Latin American peoples, who have known the Yankee exploiters for more than 100 years, have also begun to become aware of the expansionist aims of the new Soviet imperialists. In the broad movement against reaction and imperialism, the reactionary and reformist theories are

being exposed with every passing day. The new Marxist-Leninist parties in various countries of Latin America are taking up the cause of the struggle of the working class and of the broad labouring masses of Latin America for real national liberation and social progress and carrying it onward».

■
«The Czechoslovak people do not allow themselves to be deceived by the revisionist commotion», is the title of an article from «ZËRI I POPULLIT» about the activities which took place in Czechoslovakia on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the February 1948 victory of the Czechoslovak people, activities which were also attended by the chieftain of the Soviet revisionists Brezhnev.

«The course of events in these recent years has clearly shown that Czechoslovakia has been placed under the complete political, economic and military control of the Soviet social-imperialists», the newspaper writes. «The Hussak clique does no more than carry out their will in foreign policy as well as in domestic policy. Brezhnev's visit to Czechoslovakia was to remind it that it must consistently continue this road in the future too. The Czechoslovak people, however, have not reconciled themselves with this situation nor

will they. They have not allowed nor will they allow themselves to be deceived by the promises, high-sounding words, parades and stagings of the type carried out recently which aim at lulling them to sleep and making them weaken their vigilance. The day will certainly come when they will have their say and, through struggle, they will drive out the occupation troops of the Soviet social imperialists from Czechoslovakia, and regain their stolen freedom, they will overthrow the ruling revisionist clique and will restore the victories of socialism in their country».

■
The newspaper «DRITA», organ of the Albanian Writers and Artists Union, commemorated the 3rd centenary of the death of Molière, whom it describes as one of the greatest comedy playwrights of all time, with a long article.

«Molière was of those who was not blinded by the luxury and festive life of the Versailles of Louis XIV, the newspaper writes. He realized that this was only the décor. The backstage, the French reality, was in very great contrast with this décor. It was sufficient to depart a little from Versailles to see the stark reality.

The article continues: With his comedies Molière created immortal characters that have

become symbolic. But at the same time these were not stereotypes, lifeless objects, but vivid personalized beings.

Molière's work is made known in Albania through various publications, and through his plays which have been staged. Thus, as far back as April 1947 the People's Theatre has performed the comedy «Tartu-fe» directed by Sokrat Miho. Likewise, in February 1963 the stage director Pandi Stillu put on the comedy «Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme». Other plays by Molière, such as the comedy «l'Avare» have been performed in various theatres of the country such as the «Migjeni» Theatre of Shkodra and the «A. Z. Çajupi» Theatre of Korça.

■
The same newspaper has devoted commemorative articles to the progressive Brazilian writer Lima Barreto (1881-1922) and to the 40th anniversary of the death of the English writer John Galsworthy, as well as to the 75th anniversary of the birth of Bertold Brecht whom it considers as one of the greatest communist artists of our century. «By his allround artistic creativeness Bertold Brecht not only reflected great problems of our epoch but also made an outstanding contribution to its revolutionary interpretation and transformation», the newspaper writes. «He was the first to

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courageously introduce the ideas of Marxism-Leninism into the theatre».

■
In an article entitled «Sabre-rattling again», the newspaper «Bashkimi» comments on the successive manoeuvres of the NATO military forces and those of the Warsaw Treaty.

«The systematic sabre-rattling in Europe does nothing but tears off the mask of the imperialist-revisionist pacifist propaganda, the newspaper writes. The peoples of Europe, the majority of whom have the threat of one or the other superpower, hanging over their heads, are becoming ever more convinced that peace and security in Europe cannot come as a result of the policy and the political, military and economic presence of the superpowers; they will be achieved only through uninterrupted and unwavering struggle against the hegemonistic policy and activity of the aggressive blocs, directed by the United States of America and the Soviet Union, only when there is no foreign soldier and no foreign base whatsoever in the countries of Europe».

■
«ZËRI I POPULLIT» devoted an article to the conclusion of the elections in Chile. It describes the election returns as a result of the struggle of the progressive forces which are fighting to defend their na-

tional sovereignty and interests.

«The Chilean people, the newspaper continues, are faced with a protracted course of struggle against the overt and covert enemies who want to rob them of their gains, or to prevent them from further consolidating and promoting them. They will have to fight against domestic reaction, keeping in mind that it still constitutes a majority in the parliament, that it will never give up its efforts to regain its lost positions, and that in these efforts it will also have the support of the covert reactionary forces. Yankee imperialism, too, will in no way reconcile itself to the loss of its hegemony in Chile and will do everything in its power to have its one-time privileges restored. There is no doubt that the labouring masses and the progressive forces of Chile will not give up their struggle halfway, but will intensify it with every passing day, to defend their national sovereignty and interests through to the end».

■
The newspaper «DRITA» devoted a long article to the 90th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx – the founder of scientific communism. The article reads in part:

«In art and literature, too, Marx expressed and consistently defended the revolutionary and progressive position of the working class. Developing

everything positive and rational in the development of pre-Marxist aesthetic thought with a critical eye, together with Engels he formulated the fundamental principles of Marxist aesthetics. For the first time, in a principled way, from the position of materialist dialectics, they solved the main question of aesthetics, the stand of art towards reality. Marx pointed out that art must implement the principle of the historic and concrete treatment of phenomena, that art must be permeated with a deep ideological content, with the truthful and concrete artistic depiction of reality. At the same time Marx fought and refuted idealist aesthetics which treated and considered art as an embodiment of everything ideal, outside objective reality, detached from and independent of social relations and the class struggle. He severely condemned art which distorted reality, which preached class peace, severely criticized liberal literature, absence and poor quality literature, the vulgarisation of art, the various idealistic theories of «pure» art, of «independent» art, or of «art for art's sake», etc. Defending the foundations of realist and revolutionary art, Marx always defended the idea of militant and revolutionary humanism, of the humanism that expresses and defends the interests of the working class. Thus, he highly appraised the art that treated the great social movements, the art devoted to the great fundamental

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questions concerning the masses, the arts of great and truthful social, ideological content.

The defence of the revolutionary position in art and literature is connected with the defence and the consistent and revolutionary application of the fundamental principles of Marxist aesthetics. Departure from this position and these principles always leads to revisionist and anti-Marxist positions. This happened with the modern revisionists who, just as in all other directions and fields, in the direction of art and literature, too, departed from the Marxist principles, from the principle of proletarian partisanship, from the principle of socialist realism, revolutionary humanism, reducing the Soviet art and literature to a tool of the new Soviet imperialist bourgeoisie which advocates bourgeois pacifism and abstract humanism, which justifies and conceals the aggressive and hegemonistic policy of the Soviet revisionists».

■
«The Soviet economy in the grip of difficulties» is the title of an article from the newspaper «ZĒRI I POPULLIT» which comments on the data of the communique of the Central Board of Statistics of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet revisionist leaders themselves.

«Although they speak of «brilliant successes» and «high rates» — the article says among others — the difficult situation in

the Soviet economy has caused concern among the Kremlin leaders. Such an economy is not in a position to provide them with the profits they want. Economic difficulties and insufficient supply, on the other hand, cause dissatisfaction among the labouring masses and the aggravation of contradictions between them and the new revisionist bourgeoisie. Therefore, in order to come out of the situation which has arisen, the Kremlin chieftains, on the one hand, ask for and receive loans from the West, and, on the other hand, are adopting administrative measures towards some subordinates whom they want to blame for such a situation. But it is clear that it is not individual persons who are to be blamed for such a situation, but the revisionist course of the restoration of capitalism, the antipopular economic policy carried out by Brezhnev and company. On the other hand, running into debts with the imperialists has never saved any debtor. On the contrary, the imperialists give dollars in order to gain, in order to have each dollar invested in the Soviet economy return several other dollars secured from the plunder of the natural riches of the country, and from the wanton exploitation of the Soviet working people.

■
Commenting on the resumption of the SALT talks on March 12, 1973, the newspaper

«BASHKIMI», in an article entitled «Talks which serve the aggressive aims of the two superpowers», writes: «The four years of the top secret SALT talks between the United States of America and the Soviet Union have been years of the intensification of the open and secret Soviet-U.S. collaboration. The secret SALT talks have helped in levelling many real contradictions between the two superpowers.

The fanfare attributing these talks with aims of «peace» «disarmament» etc., the newspaper continues, is only a demagogical facade to conceal the truth from the peoples. This is shown by the fact that, although they have a lot to say about «peace» and «disarmament», in reality, the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as the aggressive blocs they are leading and ruling, have increased their military budgets as never before, and the armaments race continues. The one of May last year on Even some agreement, such as the one of May last year on the partial limitation of strategic arms has done nothing towards disarmament, but merely allows the two superpowers to avoid superfluous expenditure for obsolete arms. Its demagogical character becomes even more evident when people know that a technical stage has been reached which allows the two superpowers to considerably increase their fire power with less equipment. Thus, a numerical reduction does not prevent them from

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preserving and increasing the fire power of their strategic arms».

■
In an article entitled «Foreign exchange crisis - a ferment of the general crisis of capitalism» the newspaper «ZËRI I POPULLIT» writes: «The present-day crisis is a profound and all-round crisis which continues to seriously shake the whole of the capitalist world. Analysis proves that the foreign exchange-financial crisis of capitalism has an objective character, it is a process which takes place objectively, outside the desire and will of the ruling classes and of the capitalist rulers. It is not and can by no means be a result of the errors of this or that government administration in the political, monetary and financial policy, in that of investments or credits, in trade or industrial policy, in fiscal and customs policy, in military policy or in other fields, as many of the ideologists of the U.S. bourgeoisie and their supporters want to present it. Thus, the crisis has not and cannot have either a subjective origin or a subjective character, although the subjective factor exerts its own influence. If it were such, it could be overcome through the same measures of subjective character.

First and foremost, this is an aspect of the general crisis of capitalism, it is a ferment of the latter, as it is also a ferment of the general crisis in

the sense that it further aggravates it. Under the blows of the foreign exchange-financial crisis, the general crisis of capitalism has deepened and continues to deepen with every passing day. The capitalist relations of production have become a great obstacle to the free development of the productive forces. Objectively, antagonism between these two aspects of the capitalist mode of production has reached an unprecedented level. This contradiction will be solved by the proletarian revolution, when the subjective factor has reached maturity and complete consciousness of the task it must accomplish.

When we say that the present-day crisis has shaken and continues to shake the political and economic alliances of capitalism we mean that it has resulted in tension in all kinds of interimperialist relations, tension perhaps without precedent since the end of the second world war. In spite of the compromises being reached, the contradictions in the imperialist camp are inevitable.

The capitalist powers are doing everything in their power to find a way out of the situation. They may reach compromises, but no compromise can stop the objective process of the continuous deepening of the general crisis of capitalism».

■
«The Soviet revisionists continue to supply Israel with man-

power» is the title of an article from «ZËRI I POPULLIT» about the mass emigration of jews from the Soviet Union to Israel. After quoting figures and concrete facts showing the concern of the Soviet leaders themselves to send as many emigrants as possible to Israel, the newspaper writes: «The policy of free jewish emigration pursued by the Soviet Government and which is greatly on the upsurge precisely now when a series of plots are being framed up against the Arab people, and particularly against the long suffering Palestinian people and their resistance, is discrediting the Soviet revisionists in the eyes of the Arab people as never before.

«With its proposals for a peaceful solution, the United States of America aims at guaranteeing the presence of Israeli zionism. The Soviets on their part, are supplying the aggressors with manpower at a time when the United States is giving them military and economic aid», the Kuwaitian newspaper «Al Rai Al Am» writes. The Arab people have always seen the USA as a declared and dangerous enemy, while they are stigmatizing the Soviet Union as a «cunning friend», just as dangerous to their interests and fate. The Lebanese newspaper «Al Hait», scornfully rejecting its false mask of a «friend», justly writes that «while the USA is giving Israel military aid and «Phantom» planes, the Soviet Union supplies it with manpo-

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wer, technicians and scientists. The one provides Israel with money, while the other reinforces it with men». The newspaper exposes the collaboration between the United States and the Soviet Union and concludes by equating the enemy and the sham friend of the Arab people. This is a natural expression of the awakening and hatred which is more and more engulfing the Arab people with regard of the Soviet revisionists, whose treachery towards their interests is now becoming increasingly more evident and flagrant».

■
The newspaper «PUNA», organ of the Central Council of the Albanian Trade-Unions, has written an article devoted to the day of solidarity with the people of South Africa. The article, entitled «The freedom-loving people of Azania will triumph over the racists and colonialists», after speaking about the hideous massacre of March 21, 1960 in Sharpeville tells of the fierce oppression of the black population by the South African racists and the struggle the people are waging for their freedom and rights. «In pursuing its racist policy of apartheid, the article says, the fascist Vorster regime is greatly encouraged by the unreserved support of the imperialist powers, in the first place of the NATO powers which are interested in the maximum exploitation of the great mi-

neral and agricultural riches of South Africa. Thus, in these recent years, American, British and West German capitalist monopolies have greatly increased their economic penetration into the Republic of South Africa and their export of capital.

The African people of Azania are very much aware that the aid and allround support being given to the white racist Vorster regime by the imperialist countries are aimed at further oppressing and enslaving the people, at further plundering their riches. They understand too that this support also aims at keeping this fascist regime in power in order to use it as a watch-dog against the freedom and independence of the other freedom-loving African countries, to preserve and perpetuate their dominating neo-colonialist positions throughout Africa. The people of Azania are fighting for their rights and to seize political power by overthrowing the present Vorster fascist clique and its imperialist supporters by revolutionary violence».

■
The newspaper «ZËRI I POPULLIT» carried an article entitled: «The Vatican and the fascists will never get their hands on Albania» The article says: «For some time now the Vatican has been launching fierce attacks against the People's Republic of Albania, cursing it for the «great sin» which the working masses of the country

have allegedly committed by rejecting religion and the religious institutions of their own conviction and free will. But recently the rage of the prelates of the «holy see» turned into a broad campaign of slander and fabrications, aimed at misinforming public opinion and turning it against our country. Their radio and the high ecclesiastic hierarchs accuse us of religious terrorism, they charge the Albanian authorities with having allegedly ordered the murder of a former Roman catholic priest who, according to them, was a «real saint». With sobs and tears they tell us that the pope himself is praying day and night that «the soul of god's faithful servant from Albania may rest in peace in paradise».

It is not difficult to understand the motives and aims that have incited the Vatican to throw itself against Albania. Ever since the liberation of our country the Vatican has taken under its protection all the Albanian quislings and war criminals punished by our people's justice, all the spies and diversionists of foreign powers captured and dealt with by our state organs and the whole of our people, all the counterrevolutionaries, reactionaries and other remnants wiped out by our people's revolution. It is doing the same thing now with regard to the spy, thief and bandit Shtjefen Kurti, who, three years ago, received the punishment he deserved for his crimes. The Va-

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tican has opened the old books and is seeking to find «martyrs», but it does not turn the rest of the pages too, to see how its agents turned churches into secret arms depots, how they created bands of diversionists and centres of spies.

The Vatican, the article continues, alongside the U.S., British and other imperialists, and in close collaboration with them, has organized intense hostile activity against our country and has conducted wide propaganda activity for the overthrow of the people's power and the restoration of the past regimes. We have seen its men in our people's courts and there has been almost no case where the threads of the numerous plots framed up against people's Albania by the imperialists had not been tied up with the Vatican too. The Vatican and its popes were the ones who blessed and sang hymns to Albania's occupation by Italian fascism, and joined the Hitlerite campaign for the occupation of Europe and the world. At that time they said nothing about the crimes committed by Mussolini and Hitler, just as they say nothing now about the crimes of U.S. imperialism and of the other fascists. It is no accident that the current slanderous anti-

Albanian campaign has also been joined by the Italian neofascist party, MSI. Both sides, it seems, the «Holy See» and the remnants of the black shirts, have a great longing for Il Duce's time. But the Vatican and the fascists will never get their hands on Albania. The Albanian people have long ago shown them their place, and they stand always vigilant and ready to smash any aim and attempt to stain the good name of the People's Republic of Albania, to exert influence on it or to violate its sovereignty. We categorically and resolutely tell these fascists to keep their hands off Albania.

The pope and his friends may ring all the bells of the world and call all the saints and gods of this or that world, to their assistance but they will never be able to divert socialist Albania from the correct road on which it is marching. Ours is not a country which fears pressure and bows before the slanders and fabrications of the enemies.

The Vatican slanders us and invents all sorts of absurdities because it refuses to accept the fact that in Albania religion has been rejected by the working masses themselves, that here for the first time, religion has definitely lost its battle

in the ideological and spiritual field, which the church considered its impenetrable fortress. It is enraged because it refuses to accept that the victories of the Albanian people in the fight against religion and the liquidation of the religious institutions are a great example, for they are a courageous act which shows how the popular masses can get rid of ages of religious obscurantism.

In the slanderous propaganda campaign of the Vatican and of the Italian neofascists, the article concludes, one cannot fail to notice, in addition to what we mentioned above, that this campaign is also aimed at hitting the relations of good-neighbourliness existing between Albania and Italy, at impairing the friendship that has been established between the Albanian people and the Italian people. We see and understand that the authors of this campaign are men who have nothing to do with the Italian people, towards whom we nourish feelings of respect and sympathy. And we are convinced that this dirty campaign will be rebuffed by the whole of Italian democratic public opinion and by all the upright and progressive men and women who hate and reject the jesuit-fascist devilries and plots of the Vatican.

PHOTOS:

P. 6, 23 Pandi Cici; 7, 18, 52 A.T.SH.; 28, 32 Meksi Xhufka; 38 Sejfulla Nelaj



On the second cover
the oil tableau

«Our land» by the painter Zef Shoshi

On the third cover two aspects from the new ballets
by Albanian composers.

«The lass of the mountains»

and «The fishermen's family» which have begun
to be performed on the stage
of the Opera and Ballet Theatre.

On the fourth cover a fragment
from the mosaic

«The highlanders training in shooting».





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