

Albania today

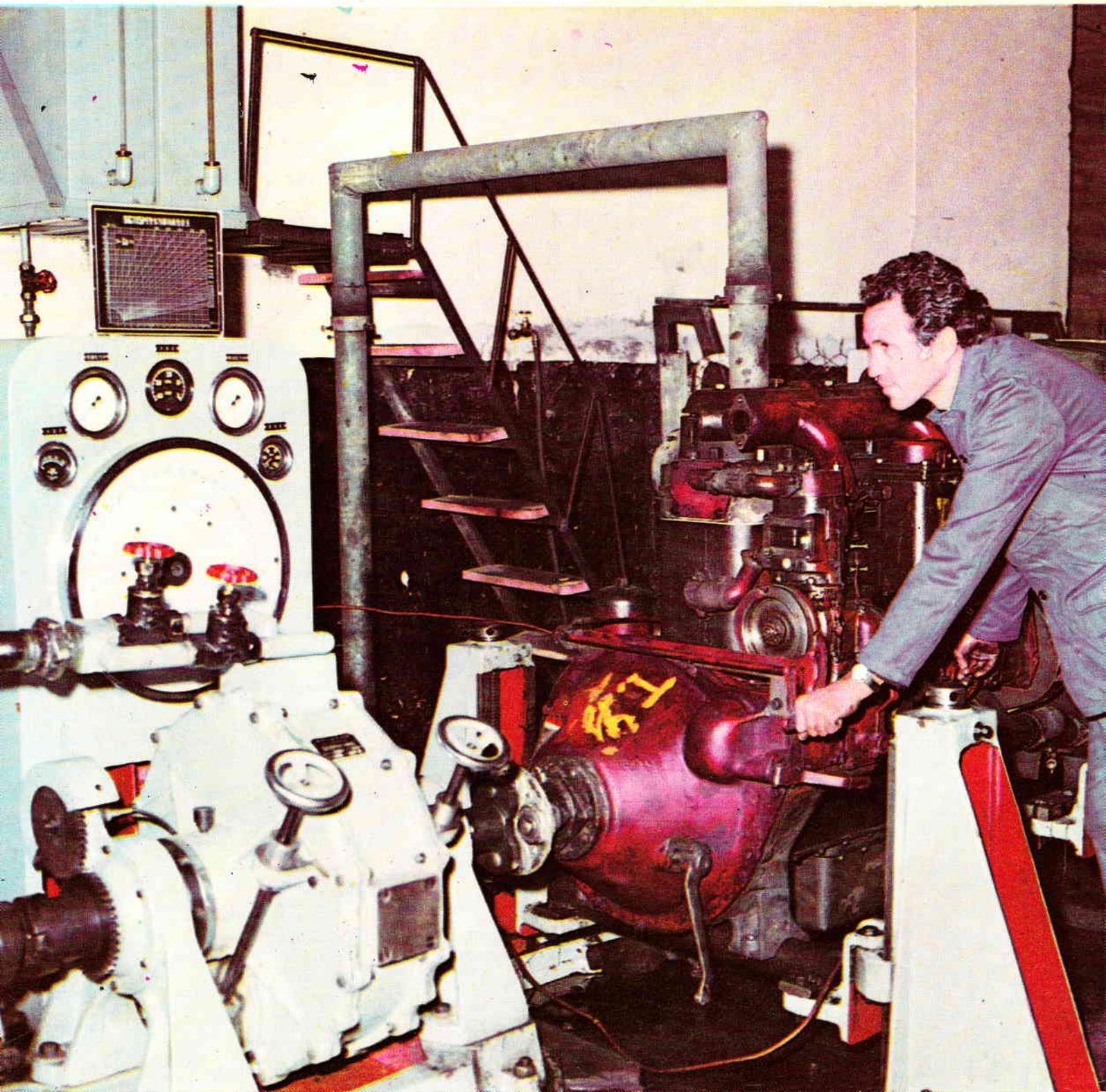
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THE FINE ARTISTIC TRADITIONS
ARE CAREFULLY PRESERVED AND DEVELOPED IN SOCIALIST ALBANIA.
ON THE FRONT PAGE: THE MYZEQE DANCE SKILFULLY EXECUTED BY THE GROUP
OF GIRLS OF THE HIGH TYPE COOPERATIVE OF POJANI,
ON THE WONDERFUL BACKGROUND OF THE BUTRINTI
LAKE, EVOKING A MOMENT FROM
THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF OUR COUNTRY.
THE ENVIRONMENT OF NEW ALBANIA IS ALWAYS FRESH, BEAUTIFUL AND ATTRACTIVE.
IT IS MADE SUCH ALSO BY THE TIRELESS WORK OF OUR MEN.
IN THE PHOTO ON PAGE FOUR: THE TERRACES OF THE RIVIERA
IN THE BEAUTIFUL ALBANIAN SOUTH, BUILT BY THE HAND OF OUR YOUTH.

A snapshot of the mechanical repair section at the machine and tractor station in Shkodra.





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THE WORKING CLASS A LEADING FORCE OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY

by RITA MARKO

With the triumph of the people's revolution in Albania the working class became the main leading force of our society. The role of the trade unions, as powerful levers of the party for the unity, education and mobilisation of the working people in all fields of the socialist construction of the country

RITA MARKO – Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA, President of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania.

Hektor Dulle: "The pick in one hand, the rifle in the other".



ASS OF ALBANIA - E CIETY

THE THIRD DECADE IS BEING COMPLETED SINCE THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE ALBANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (TODAY THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA), AFTER A HEROIC STRUGGLE AGAINST THE NAZI-FASCIST INVADERS AND THEIR LOCAL SERVANTS, LIBERATED THEIR HOMELAND AND ESTABLISHED THE PEOPLE'S POWER, THE POWER OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE LABOURING PEASANTRY. THE TRIUMPH OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION, WHICH IS ONE OF THE GREATEST VICTORIES IN THE LONGSTANDING HISTORY OF OUR PEOPLE, TRANSFORMED ALBANIA INTO A FREE AND INDEPENDENT COUNTRY, AND ITS PEOPLE - INTO ALLPOWERFUL AND MASTER OF THEIR DESTINIES.

THE ROAD TOWARDS NATIONAL AND SOCIAL LIBERATION WAS AS DIFFICULT AS ALSO HEROIC. ON THIS ROAD, THE WORKING CLASS OF THE COUNTRY, BEARER OF THE COMMUNIST IDEAS, CREATED ITS POLITICAL PARTY WHICH AT THE MOST DIFFICULT MOMENTS TOOK IN ITS HANDS THE DESTINIES OF THE COUNTRY.

«Our working class», comrade Enver Hoxha said at the first Congress of the Albanian Communist Party, «was small and heterogenous, but fully determined in the struggle against the invader and exploitation. Although small in number, it was the main pillar and the foundation of our Party. Since the early days of the struggle, it threw itself with determination into the war and fought with heroism and, with the forming of its Party, realizing its historic and leading role, it understood that the Communist Party of Albania was its organized vanguard detachment. Thus, the working class was the backing of our Party.» The strong reliance on the working class, in the specific conditions of our country, without industry, with very few small primitive factories, with few workers, tells of the correct orientation of the Albanian Com-

unist Party as a party of the working class, which in the heat of the struggle refuted the preachings of its enemies that in Albania «there is no proletariat», «the class consciousness is lacking», «there are no cadres», etc., and proved that the working class was the most progressive and revolutionary class.

By thousands were the workers who threw themselves into the national liberation struggle and from their ranks emerged the leading cadres of the war, devoted commanders and commissars. The great example of the communist workers, first hour and front rank fighters like Koçi Bako and Misto Mame, Koli Tupe and Shyqyri Ishmi and hundreds and thousands of others who sacrificed even their own lives, shows that the triumph of the people's revolution was achieved under the leadership of the working class headed by its political Party which, since the early days, placed itself at the head of the struggle and successfully mobilized the broad working masses and the other patriotic social strata which were for the attainment of independence.

In the great national liberation struggle, under the leadership of the Party, there was born and strengthened the alliance of the working class and the labouring peasantry, where the leading role was played by the working class, an alliance which constitutes the source of all the victories of our people.

Our Party was born and remained always as a party of the struggle for the vital interests of the working class and of all the working people, for the national interests of our people who saw in the Party and its programme the lofty ideals for which they had fought generation after generation, for this reason they linked themselves with it like flesh to bone. Herein lies the source of the revolutionary unity of

our people around the party which is the leader and organizer of all the victories achieved by the Albanian people.

With the triumph of the people's revolution the working class of Albania became the main leading force of our society. At this new stage the working class, with its party at the head, solved new, great and difficult tasks, it overthrew the whole old feudo-bourgeois structure and superstructure, it radically transformed the relations of production, it rebuilt the war-ravaged country and developed the country's economy relying, in the first place, on its own efforts. The deep socio-economic transformations, the nationalisation of the principal means of production without compensation, and other measures, resulted in that the state power and economy were placed at the service of the labouring masses, and thus they engaged in the road of the socialist construction of the country.

An important role in this period was played by the Trade Unions of Albania as powerful levers of the Party for the unity, education and mobilization of the working class of Albania in direction of the reconstruction of the country, in the field of economy as well as in the political, social and state life.

The historic experience of our country which before liberation was a backward country with marked remnants of feudalism, proves that the working class can seize power, preserve and consolidate it, even if it is small in number, if it is led by a revolutionary political party which faithfully implements the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The working class of Albania remained on the forefront of the struggle and took in its hands the management of the state, of the economy, culture and of the whole life of the country. As well it remains on the forefront of the great transforming and revolutionary constructive work, for the strengthening and further development of the socialist revolution. The working class, as the main political force of the country, with its leading and controlling role, as a class in power, has become the back-bone of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But in this case it is not merely a question of the fact that the workers are found everywhere, from the highest forums of the Party and the State and up to those at the grass-root level, where they have their say with maturity. This is only one aspect, which has its own importance. The main thing is that the party itself is a party of the working class, the state power itself is its own, that every decision, every law, every plan, is permeated by its ideology and its interests. From its very lofty mission, from the position it holds and the role the working class plays and will play in the construction of socialism and communism, originates the necessity for it to exercise the worker control, during the entire period of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our working class has exercised and continues to exercise this control through its Marxist-Leninist party and the people's power. But

it exercises it with every passing day better, more powerfully, with more effectiveness and directly, everywhere, over everyone and everything. And this is not only a right, but also its main duty with much responsibility for the present and the future, for the destinies of our uninterrupted revolution, of socialism and communism.

The teachings of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha about the leading and controlling role of the working class constitute a contribution of great value to the theory and practice of scientific socialism and they are a sure weapon in the struggle for the triumph of the revolution, for the establishment and preservation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. As the most effective form of the participation of the masses in governing the working class of our country exercises its direct control in various forms.

Conscious of the great tasks facing it, the working class, as the leading class in our country, it has thrown itself into offensive to realize the magnificent objectives which are concretely reflected in the five-year plans, in the increase of production, the erection of new projects, the increase of creative initiatives, the strengthening of the austerity regime, etc.

With its selfless work, the working class became not only an example but also a powerful and indispensable backing for the realisation of collectivisation in the countryside. As a result of the struggle and efforts of the working class and of all the labouring masses under the leadership of the Party, not only the centuries-long backwardness was overcome, the blockades of the imperialists and revisionists of all shades were defeated, but Albania has now entered the stage of the complete construction of socialist society. Our industry in 1973 turned out a production 86 times larger than in 1938. Now, in less than five days our country produces what was produced in 1938 within one year. Agriculture increased four-fold the pre-war production, etc.

Everything being done in our country serves, the lofty aim of the continuous rise of the wellbeing of the masses. Ours is the first country in the world which has abolished the taxation system, which does not know the phenomenon of the price rise, has eliminated unemployment, has ensured free medical care, etc. Education and culture have become a property of the masses. Great victories have been achieved in this field. Today in our country 1 out of 3 persons attends school. In the year 1972-1973 alone the State University of Tirana graduated about 4 times more than the number of cadres our country had before liberation, a very wide network of cultural institutions have been placed at the service of the working class for its education and rest.

The successes achieved by the working people of our country are great, and this because our working class has put its mass heroism, its creative and innovating spirit and everything at the service of the socialist construction of the country. «Whenever the Party has laid down tasks and has opened new prospects for the construction of socialism, — comrade

Enver Hoxha said greeting the 7th Congress of the ATU - the say of the working class, its thought and work have always been decisive for their realisation. And this has not happened accidentally. That is the class which, with its lofty and evolutionary consciousness, with its creative spirit and selfless work, triumphantly carries forward our revolution, the construction of the new socialist society».

Alongside the economic and cultural development of the country it became possible also for the qualitative development and the numerical increase of the working class. Its growth during these 30 years shows also the magnificence of the step taken by Albania. Now the number of our workers not only is almost 19 times greater than the number of the workers 29 years ago when their organisation, the ATU, was created, but the working class, united, organized, educated with the ideology of the party, tempered in revolutionary battles, with its lofty consciousness, with its control, ideology and example, gives the tone to the whole life of the country. Precisely while at work for the construction of socialism our working class grew and tempered itself. Today our worker is, above all, a political man, a militant of the party line, a man who places the interests of socialism above everything, courageous and ready to struggle under any circumstances for the general cause, a man of broad socio-political interests, with high skills and exigences in life, tireless, innovator and creative, a man of action who does not separate the word from the deed. Parallel with the development, extension and creation of new economic branches, there were born and grew up our men of new professions. From about 85 professions, and these mainly of the handicraft form, mentioned by the law on the categorisation of the workers in 1947, today it counts more than 2.000 main professions, and there are among them some which were not even known in the past. At the same time the working class is the inexhaustible source, reservoir, of cadres for the Party and the State. From its ranks there have come out skilfull specialists with higher and middle education, whose number in 1973 increased about 24 times.

A great importance has been attached by the Party to the further revolutionisation of the entire life of the country; with a view to strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, ensuring the freedom and independence of the country, carrying, out the revolution successfully through to the end. Our working class, under the leadership of the party, is struggling on the forefront against all alien manifestations and liberal stands towards them, against the imperialist-revisionist economic blockade, against ideological aggression and against the blackmail of military aggression. A powerful influence in this direction has been exerted recently by the decisions of the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and comrade Enver Hoxha's last year speeches. They rearmed the working class and the labouring masses and their trade union organisations and engaged them more extensively in the struggle against the bourgeois-revi-

sionist alien manifestations and influences for the defence of the homeland, so that our consciousness be always pure, proletarian; so that Albania be always red and a beacon-light of triumphant Marxism-Leninism.

The working class of our country and its trade unions as a component part of the multi-million army of the working class and of the world class trade union movement, educated and guided by the teachings of the Party headed by comrade Enver Hoxha, have taken an active part in the struggle, of the international working class always relying on the everlasting principles of proletarian internationalism and international solidarity of the working people.

A close militant revolutionary friendship and relations of fraternal cooperation based on the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism link our working class with the working class of great people's China and with all the revolutionary workers of the entire world.

In their whole activity, our working class and the ATU have worked for the strengthening of the militant friendship with the working people of Asia, Africa, Latin America and have powerfully supported the struggle of their working people for national and social liberation, against old and new colonialism, against US-led imperialism. At the same time they have carefully followed and have greeted and supported without reservations the great class battles of the workers in capitalists countries against exploitation and the monopolies and the power of the bourgeoisie considering them as a very important contribution to the great cause of the liberation of the working class from capitalist exploitation.

The working class of Albania and its trade unions, with the determined and principled struggle they have waged and continue to wage in the world trade union movement to preserve the anti-imperialist class unity among the ranks of this movement, to expose the opportunist, reformist-revisionists trends and the trade union reactionary chieftains, to support and back the new trade union class forces, have won the sympathy, solidarity and love of the working class and of the class and progressive trade union movement. They have frustrated the efforts of the Soviet revisionist trade union chieftains and their tool - the World Trade Union Federation who wanted to isolate them. On the contrary, our working class and the A.T.U. have increased the number of their friends, they have now numerous comrades-in-arms everywhere in the world, on all the continents. Today we maintain friendly relations and ties of fraternal cooperation with more than 210 national centres and trade union federations in 82 countries of the world.

Greeting the struggle and the victories of the working people of the whole world, we assure our class comrades, everywhere in the world, that our working class and its trade unions will be, as always, through to the end on their side in the noble struggle they are waging for the victory of the cause of the working class, for national and social liberation.





A special care is devoted to the training of new cadres, capable of skilfully operating the modern machineries of our young industry. The well trained cadres are a guarantee for a complete exploitation at full capacity of the new projects of the five year plan.
**In the photo :
The young women workers of the metallurgic combine in Elbasan**

THE LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY IN THE NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY

by **HITO ÇAKO**

THE GLORIOUS HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY, THE BATTLES WAGED BY IT AND ALL THE VICTORIES IT HAS ACHIEVED UNTIL FREEDOM WAS WON, IS INDIVISIBLE FROM THE HISTORY OF THE PARTY THAT HAS ORGANIZED AND GUIDED IT. BECAUSE THE PARTY HAS BEEN AT THE HEAD OF EVERY OPERATION AND EVERY VICTORY HAS BEEN BATHED IN THE FIRST PLACE WITH THE BLOOD OF THE COMMUNISTS. AS SOON AS THE PARTY WAS FORMED, THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND COMRADE ENVER HOXHA IN PERSON, SHOWED A PARTICULAR CARE FOR THE ORGANISATION OF THE PEOPLE'S ARMY, FOR THE BUILDING AND STRENGTHENING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S ARMED FORCES. AND THIS WORK WAS REALISED IN THE HEAT OF FIERCE BATTLES FOUGHT BY THE NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY. ENSURE AND ORGANIZE THE LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY SO THAT THESE PEOPLE'S ARMED FORCES SHOULD BE FAITHFUL TO THE END TO THE CAUSE OF THE PEOPLE AND OF THE REVOLUTION.

Assessing the Party organisations in the army as the determining leading and revolutionizing force of the partisan units, comrade Enver Hoxha said: «This army must be strong, capable of overcoming any obstacle whatever... There is need for as much political and organisational work as possible; we must have solid basic organisations with faithful cadres and capable of leading the national liberation movement».

Proceeding from this, the Party organisations built up their educative work with the communists and the partisans in order to have them clearly understand the struggle that had been engaged. The forms of work were of the most diverse ones, meetings to comment on works of a Marxist-

Leninist content, fragments from books dealing with revolutionary themes at free meetings and in individual work with the partisans. This ensured a general mobilisation in the struggle, inculcated in the men the spirit of sacrifice, bravery, inflexibility, mass heroism, honesty, sincerity, solidarity, etc.

The orientations of the Party given in this respect aim at deepening, developing and enriching still more the precepts of Marxism-Leninism about the struggle and the army in the concrete conditions of our country and at preserving their actuality for the continuous revolutionisation and perfecting of the Party work in the People's Army.

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extremely heavy, in order to bear it and to victoriously pass on the other side we must have solid shoulders, our Party must be organized and strong, our comrades must prove equal to their tasks from the political and military viewpoints in order to be able, at these difficult and decisive moments, to face any risk and orient themselves correctly.»

On this basis, the necessary lessons were drawn, shortcomings were criticized, tasks were established and the communists passed to concrete actions, the basic organisations of the Party were placed in increasingly more revolutionary positions.

During the National Liberation Struggle the Party taught its members to strictly apply the principle according to which any and every military action depends on the policy and ideology of the Party, for the political and ideological line of the Party is the backbone of every other military, organisational, economic and other activities.» «We must always bear in mind, comrade Enver Hoxha stressed, and see to it that the military line should not emerge above that of the Party, that is the Party members who hold posts of military responsibility in the unit must not fulfill only this task and neglect the other tasks entrusted to them by the Party».

In view of the strict implementation of these instructions a special attention was paid to the question of the continuous revolutionisation of the Party organisations in general staffs; the party members should ensure a profound political and ideological understanding of the tasks, a strict control on the work of each one in his own functions to implement the norms and the requirements of the Party in all fields of life.

The Party documents which hit the erroneous viewpoints noticed in some particular cases underlined: «The Party or the superior organ of the Party, applies the directives, the instructions of the Party, etc., through the cell in the general staff. The members of the General Staff are responsible for their work concerning the military line before the highest military command. The members of the General Staff who are also party members are also responsible for all their work before the Party... The comrades, members of the General Staff, must know that at the cell they are but rank and file members. They are responsible for their work before the cell, they are due to be disciplined and they must know that they cannot act without the consent and knowledge of the cell... The comra-

des must categorically carry out all the orders of the commander and of the commissar».

According to these instructions, the cells were leading, through the party members the entire ideological, political, cultural, military and technical, economic and organisational work to analyze and ensure the accomplishment of the tasks assigned by the Party. The Party members concerned themselves with the development of the initiative of the General Staff regarding the question of actions, they formed the leadership of the staffs to be able to lead the struggle, they raised and elaborated tasks in the basic organisation so that the Party members should be an example of bravery and discipline as well in battles as in the fulfilment of all the tasks entrusted to them by the military unit to which they belonged, they worked to raise and strengthen the authority of the command, of the general staff and its members.

As soon as the army was created the basic organisations of the Party and the cadres were continually told to struggle against bureaucratism, for a revolutionary style and method of work. Without struggling against bureaucratism, without struggling against arrogance and the divorcing of the cadres from the masses our army could not be raised and strengthened as a revolutionary army, as the armed hand of the people and the Party. Thus our army found its strength and its invincibility in its close ties with the people, as a condition which determines also its own character as a revolutionary army of the new type. For this reason, in every circumstance it has honourably performed its task, integrating itself with the people, contributing to the establishment of the revolutionary power of the national liberation councils and doing a big political work in the bulk of peasants and workers. These ties are still today the foundation of the proletarian morality of our army, the source of its strength and invincibility.

The setting up and functioning of the grass-root organisations of the Party, as the motive force of the entire life and activity of the Army, the appointment of commissars and vicecommissars as representatives of the Party in all the formations of the Army and the formation and strengthening of the political organs as organs of the political, ideological, educative work, were decisive measures which ensured the leading role of the Party and the indisputable pre-eminence of the proletariat in the people's armed forces.

During the National Liberation Struggle a particular importance has been attached to the inner life of the basic organisations of the Party and of the leading organisms, to the strict application of the Party norms, to the vanguard role of its members guiding themselves on the principle according to which the communists must be the first to pass to the offensive and the last to retreat, the first to sacrifice themselves and the last to have claims; to the strengthening of the party ranks with young elements, more determined, more faithful and more devoted to the cause of the Party and of the people.

It is the teachings of the Party and of comrade Enver Hoxha that have made the basic organisations of the Party so much combative and so much solid, organisations which led the struggle with wisdom placing at the head of this struggle the communists whose example was evident in all operations. When failings and weaknesses were noticed in the basic organisations of the Party, severe criticism and self-criticism against anyone and by anyone was in the order of the day.

To further animate the basic organisations of the Party comrade Enver Hoxha instructed: «The burden which weighs down on the shoulders of our Party is



The new soldiers, together with the modern knowledge of military art, get acquainted also with the rich fighting traditions of the National Liberation Army. In the photo: The veteran service man tells the new soldiers about the glorious road traversed by the National Liberation Army.

The re-establishment of the commissar's function in the commands of the Army detachments and units, the management of the Party work through Party committees at the present period is not «a simple return» to the forms used by the Party in the past; it is a question of more deeply perfecting, developing these forms of management in compliance with the new higher level reached by our army in its proletarianisation and modernisation and with

the tasks of the times it fulfills. In the period of the National Liberation Struggle the management of the Party work in the Army aimed at the forming of the political and ideological consciousness of the effective, at its mobilization to realize the requirements of the popular revolution, for the liberation of the homeland from foreign invaders and the establishment of the people's power. Different is the complex of the tasks of the Party

work in the period of the complete construction of socialist society. In this new period, further developing the precepts of Marxism-Leninism that it is easier to seize than to defend the power of the proletariat and carry socialist revolution forward, the subjective factors act as permanent decisive factors for the attainment of victory. At this new stage of the development of socialism in our country when we are geographically encircled from all sides by sworn imperialist and revisionist enemies, the question of the defence of the socialist homeland, of the constant strengthening and proletarianisation of the Armed Forces, the preservation of their ideological and military purity from the position of the bourgeois-revisionist ideology, the question of the continuous development of our people's military art and Marxist-Leninist military art assumes a particular importance. The struggle for the strengthening and deepening of the most correct proletarian concepts in our working people and military men, for their education with the teachings of the Party and of comrade Enver Hoxha, for the incessant strengthening of the Party, for the constant revolutionisation of the inner life of its basic organisations, for the construction and defence of socialism, for the strengthening of the composition of the Party and its leadership with working class elements is a fundamental requirement, a basic factor for the firm stability of our social and state order, for our increasingly greater successes in the building and defence of socialism, it is a guarantee that our Party, our people's Power and our Armed Forces will never change their deeply revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist character.

The managing of the entire activity of the units through the committees elected by the Party organisations and the re-establishment of the commissar's function in the structure of the organisations of the Army commands «does not reduce, but on the contrary, raises and still more strengthens the role of the commanders and staffs, because precisely by strengthening them as leading cadres and organisms the Party work also is strengthened. . . . the Party leadership is embodied, merged and strengthened through manysided and qualified work

By carrying out these teachings in all other spheres of life in our country, also in the field of training and educating our Armed Forces, in the field of the de-

velopment of our popular military art, we have achieved and continue to achieve great successes. Our socialist country has today armed forces ideologically and politically trained, equipped with the technique of the times and militarily prepared according to the requirements of our popular military art, to defend our socialist homeland from any aggressor or coalition of aggressors.

The successes achieved on all the fronts of the building and defence of socialism speak of the correctness of the principles and requirements of the military line of our Party, on which there have been cultivated the patriotism, courage and bravery of our men, their fighting spirit, the persistence to carry them out in practice under any condition and circumstance and to overcome with optimism every tide and storm wherever it has come and may come from. In this way, the effective of our people's Armed Forces, born in the heat of the National Liberation Struggle, like the entire soldier-people, has carried out in practice that Party instruction that when it is a question of defending the freedom of the homeland «better to die standing than live forced down to the knees». This has been and remains the motto of our life. The obstacles and blockades raised by the imperialist and revisionists today do not intimidate us, and they do not stop, and will never stop, our forward movement and development just as fascism and nazism thirty years ago could not stop and force us down to our knees although at that time people, under the leadership of the Party, had just begun to renovate their forces and set about the organized people's war to liberate their country, to become master of their own destinies, to establish their people's power and to build up their new life. Precisely because the line of our Party, comrade Enver Hoxha's light-giving teachings, have always represented the Marxist-Leninist truth in the conditions of our country, today, to the new extent of the aggravation of the international situation, our people stand firm, vigilant on the road of socialism and the revolution, ready to give the rebuff to anyone that would dare to touch the boundaries of our socialist homeland. The increase of the aggressiveness of the imperialists and revisionists does not show their strength but their weakness, the verge of the abyss where the imperialist system and its ugly offspring - modern revisionism, will be definitely buried.

In these conditions the instructions of the Central Committee and of the beloved leader of our people and Party for the strengthening of the army, of the grass-root organisations of the Party and of all their life, as a fundamental condition for the success of the work in every sector resound today, too, with all their force in the same way as resounded the instruction comrade Enver Hoxha gave to the communists of the Berzeshta battalion when he wrote to : «If you, Party members, do not work as you should therein, that battalion will remain a battalion on paper: if you do not politically and militarily raise the partisans you are leading, that battalion will be unable to perform the mission entrusted to it by the people... He that does not perform his duty as a true soldier of the Party, he has betrayed our Communist Party and our people. The Party comrades must be on the front ranks of the struggle, of sacrifice».

As scientific conclusions proved in the popular armed struggle of a people small in number but heroic, who clashed with and won against many times superior enemies and today are triumphantly marching onward for the further deepening of the socialist revolution in all fields of life, comrade Enver Hoxha's works, his light-giving ideas and teachings, irrespective of the time at which they have been written, preserve the permanent effect of the most powerful weapon in our hand, in the hand of every worker, peasant and soldier, school pupil and student, to always carry onward the cause of socialism and communism. They are a Marxist-Leninist scientific synthesis of the great revolutionary experience of our Party, of our people and their armed Forces in the three greatest class battles: in the struggle for the liberation of the homeland, for the building of socialism and the defence of the victories of Marxism-Leninism and of the socialist revolution.

The teachings of the Party and of comrade Enver Hoxha about the people's armed struggle, about the questions of the army and the defence of the homeland, are an invaluable treasure for all the cadres of our army and our people's power, for the entire effective and the people's volunteers, they are the foundation of our Marxist-Leninist popular military art, of the constant development and perfecting of the armed forces of our socialist state.

WELLBEING FOR ALL THE WORKING PEOPLE

by **DERVISH GJIRITI**

Building the socialist society is inseparable from raising the wellbeing of the working people. This wellbeing is conceived and realized for everybody, not just for a few, for ever and not temporarily. Raising it is achieved by harmonizing present and future interests, personal interests with those of the whole society, the interests of the group with those of the collective

THE ENSURANCE OF WELLBEING FOR THE BROAD WORKING MASSES IS A FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION OF THE GENERAL LINE AND OF THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF OUR PARTY. THIS CARE IS NOT A SUBJECTIVE DESIRE, BUT AN OBJECTIVE NECESSITY, ORIGINATING FROM THE SOCIALIST MODE OF PRODUCTION, WHERE THE ENTIRE DEVELOPMENT OF MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL LIFE HAS MAN AND HIS NEEDS AS ITS CENTRAL FOCUS. «THERE IS NOTHING MORE SACRED AND NOBLE», - COMRADE ENVER HOXHA HAS SAID, - «THAN TO TOIL, USE ONE'S TALENT AND SHED ONE'S SWEAT FOR SOCIALISM AND THE HOMELAND, TO MAKE THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE HAPPIER, RICHER AND MORE JOYFUL».

Wellbeing is the concrete expression of the operation of the fundamental economic law of socialism, a law which began to operate with the establishment of the political power of the working class, and of social ownership over the means of production. Historic experience has shown that there can be no question of the wellbeing of the working people, or of raising it or stabilizing it, without overthrowing the old capitalist order, without effecting radical revolutionary transformations in the structure and superstructure of society, without establishing and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and social ownership over the means of production, and without preserving its socialist nature. Only socialist relations of production and their constant perfecting pave the way to the realisation of wellbeing for all the working masses. The rising material, cultural and spiritual needs of the working people, cannot be fulfilled outside these relations, detached from the steady development of the productive forces and from the entire cultural and social development of the country. At the same time, the revolu-

tionary experience of socialist construction has shown that wellbeing, which expresses the totality of material, cultural and spiritual conditions, cannot be ensured without the material basis, without self-reliance, without relying on the inexhaustible energies of the people, and on all the natural resources of a country. If the formation and correct use of this material basis does not exist, there can be no question of a general, constant rise in wellbeing.

Efforts to raise the wellbeing of the working masses in Albania began with the liberation of the country. We inherited from the past a backward, ravaged economy, plundered by foreign invaders. Under these conditions, it has not been easy to create the basis of wellbeing from the beginning, to raise it and, at the same time, to struggle, against the imperialist-revisionist encirclement. The deep transformations in the economic basis, and setting up an adequate material and technical basis, carrying out at the same time intense ideological and political work with the labouring masses in order to get them to understand the actual conditions of the country and

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without neglecting the production of consumer goods. This development has made possible the high rate of increase in the national income, the increase of consumer demand and the increase of goods turnover. The plans for economic development, worked out with the broad participation of the labouring masses, have ensured correct links among all aspects of extended socialist reproduction, among production, distribution, exchange and consumption. Without these links there can be no question of raising wellbeing.

By setting mobilizing tasks, ensuring these links in a planned way and struggling for their preservation and implementation, it has been possible to achieve a number of good results and objectives in all the sectors of our people's economy. The wise and farsighted policy of the party in the field of the distribution of national incomes, in prices, wages, monetary circulation, etc., has meant that in every period, and from one period to another, a gradual rise in the wellbeing of all the working masses has been ensured. On the other hand the correct distribution and re-distribution of national income, on the basis of a single unified plan, is indispensable for the dynamic development of the economy, and the steady rise in the wellbeing of the people. Decentralisation of the management of the economy, and the distortion and shifting of the economic role of the state, paves the way for anarchy and competition, and has negative results for the wellbeing of the working people.

The socialist order, as the experience of our country confirms, makes possible a rapid rate of economic development, and rising wellbeing. But this cannot become reality by itself, without the role of the subjective factor, without a correct Marxist-Leninist policy, without relying powerfully and consistently on one's own forces. The party has educated the working masses with the correct concept that wellbeing rises on a material basis, and that it is not donated but acquired by the work and the sweat of the people themselves, developing and securing the independent action of the people's economy, fulfilling and overfulfilling the state plans, reducing production costs and raising labour productivity.

Wellbeing is raised parallel with the ful-

filment of the tasks laid down by the socialist construction of the country. Socialism and wellbeing are organically connected. Without correctly understanding this connection, without conceiving and implementing wellbeing from a revolutionary position as wellbeing for everybody and not for a few, for always and not temporarily, for the present and the future, for the working people of both town and countryside, and for those in the highlands as well as the plains, steadily rising wellbeing cannot be ensured. Only in the socialist state can we speak of the realisation of the interests of the working class, where the interests of the entire people are merged, or the harmonisation of present interests with future ones, of personal interests with those of the society, of group interests with those of the collective ones.

The correct line pursued by our party for the steady, sure raising of the wellbeing of the people has been fully approved by the working masses of town and countryside, which have struggled with all their energy to implement this line. This has been expressed in the numerous undertakings of the working people and their total mobilization to fulfil the set objectives ahead of schedule.

The experience of our socialist construction has also proved that the process of raising wellbeing is an uninterrupted process which is based on the objective economic laws of socialism. Our party has never treated the raising of wellbeing as separate from the economic conditions and possibilities of the country, or from the process of socialist construction. The adoption of measures for raising wellbeing without taking into consideration these conditions, would have had political and socio-economic repercussions, because the raising of wellbeing does not comply with arbitrary, subjectivist, voluntarist or spontaneous actions. It is achieved only on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory, and knowledge of the laws of the objective development of our society, because on this basis the steady, consistent development of the socialist economy is effected. As a consequence of this correct general line of the party, in struggle to realize intensive, great tasks, there have been many initiatives by the working people to strengthen the political, economic and military

the ideo-political and socio-economic content of wellbeing, have been of decisive importance. Otherwise we could neither ensure the formation of the material basis nor effect the correct distribution and use of national incomes.

It is necessary to point out that the raising of wellbeing could not be realized without constantly ensuring from the beginning, the planned organisation of the economy, on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism. It is precisely such planning of the economy which mobilizes the creative energies of the masses and the country's material and financial resources towards concrete objectives, and thus guarantees the gradual but-steady raising of wellbeing.

The plans for our economic and cultural development have been based on the care of the party for wellbeing. They have set concrete objectives in the field of production, distribution and use of material wealth; the productive forces have developed, and the socialist character of the relations of production has deepened. All our one-year and five-year plans have reflected, in a concentrated way, the requirements of the fundamental economic law, together with the demands of the other objective laws of socialism. The planned, proportional development of the economy has ensured the rapid growth of social production, in the first place of the production of the means of production,

potential of the country. They show that the working masses have worked resolutely to raise their wellbeing. Only by working selflessly have our people achieved brilliant victories in all fields. Without this mobilisation, all those deep, thoroughgoing transformations would not have taken place within a very short period of time and all those important measures taken in the field of wellbeing would not have been possible. The increase in social production and national income, the real incomes of the population, the number of people employed, the personal consumption fund and social consumption fund, the growing consumption of the main products per capita of the population, the radical improvement in housing and living conditions, the raising of the educational level, the setting up of a health service for the population and of artisan, transport, and other public services, the increased population and the prolongation of the average life expectancy - these are some of the indices showing the increase in the wellbeing of the working people.

The level, structure and dynamic of social production and national income characterizes in a concentrated way the development of productive forces and the raising of the material and cultural level of the population. By 1972, as against 1938, the national income was 9.6 times larger, total industrial production was 78.3 times greater, and total agricultural production was 3.4 times greater. In a detailed way, the growth of industrial output is seen in the following data: By 1972 the production of oil had increased 68.4 times compared with 1938 and 3.1 times compared with 1960. The production of chromium had grown 76.8 times over, compared with 1938, and had doubled compared with 1960, the production of electric power had increased 136 times against 1938, and 5.6 times since 1960; the production of the chemical industry had increased over 3,000 times since 1938 and 21 times since 1960; the production of the engineering industry had increased over 220 times since 1938 and over 10 times since 1960; the production of the food processing and light industries had increased over 50 times since 1938 and about 3 times over compared with 1960, and so on.

These data of industrial development show rapid rates of increase in production. Because the exploiting classes, and the exploitation of man by man in our country, have been done away with, the increase of production has directly served to raise the wellbeing of the working people.

Parallel with the increase in social and industrial production, increasing national income and, in particular, its planned use, have also been ensured. Under the first five-year plan (1951-1955) 25.6 per cent of the national income was used for accumulation, under the second five-year plan this figure rose to 27 per cent, under the third five-year plan it reached 28.8 per cent, under the fourth five-year plan it rose to 33.9 per cent and under the current five-year plan, the fifth, (1971-1975) the share of national income used for accumulation will increase to 34-37 per cent.

These data show that the accumulation norm has been in the rise. It has made it possible to ensure the realisation and raising of wellbeing, not only for the present but also for the future. This is understandable, because if we do not invest today we cannot ensure wellbeing for the future. But, the increase in accumulation has not been effected to the detriment of consumption. Alongside accumulation there has been a constant increase in the consumption fund during the entire period of socialist construction.

Consumption has increased rapidly. During the 20-year period 1950-1970 the consumption fund has increased by an average of 7 percent every year, at a time when the country's population has grown on average by 2.8 per cent every year. Thus, the growth of consumption has been 2.4 times faster than population growth. This has made it possible not only to keep up with the natural growth of the population, but also for consumption per capita to grow perceptibly from year to year.

During our entire 30-year period of constructing the socialist society, an improvement in the structure of consumption by the working masses has also been ensured by extending commodity-money relations, and gradually narrowing the sphere of direct consumption, especially for the

peasantry. This is seen in the fact that the increase in retail trade has been higher than the increase in individual consumption. Thus, by 1972, compared with 1950, individual consumption had increased 4.5 times, while goods turnover had grown over 9 times. This has been a correct trend. The increase in the consumption fund has resulted from increased participation in work, a rising average wage and peasant income, etc. But the reduction of prices for mass consumer goods has also had an influence. Thus, from 1950 to 1970, 14 reductions in prices of mass consumer goods have taken place. This meant that by 1970, as against 1950, the real wage of working people had risen by 64 per cent and the income of the peasantry by 72 per cent.

One of the other main aspects that has conditioned the raising of wellbeing for the present and the future is the preservation of correct proportions between the increase in production of the means of production (subdivision I) and that in production of mass consumer goods (subdivision II). This proportion has conditioned the whole socio-economic development of our country. By 1970 the production of the means of production had increased 71.4 times since 1938, 16.6 times since 1950, about 3 times since 1960 and over 2 times since 1965. The production of consumer goods had increased over 55 times since 1938, about 14 times since 1950, over 2 times since 1960 and over 1.5 times since 1965.

If the law of priority for production of the means of production had not been implemented consistently, the rapid development of the branches of the people's economy would have been impossible. Consequently, the very process of the rise in the wellbeing of the working masses would have been hindered and the harmonisation of present interests with future ones would have been damaged. By upholding the law of priority for the means of production, the increase of consumer goods has been ensured. Today our country fulfills the major part of its needs for mass consumer goods from home production, and this proportion keeps increasing. By 1972, as compared with pre-liberation, the production of some articles per capita of

the population had increased as follows: cotton textiles 70 times, edible fats 3.5 times, cheese 40 times, sugar over 10 times, rice over 7 times, etc.

In thirty years, the population increased 2.2 times and the working class grew about 20 times. About three-fifths of the population were born, grew up and have been educated in the years of the people's power. The average life expectancy has reached 68 years, as against 38.2 years in 1938. From 1950 to 1970 a total of 191,000 apartments and houses have been built, which now house half the country's population. Education and health care are free for the entire people. The state spends a quarter of its budget annually for social and cultural projects. In 1972 about 700,000 people were attending schools, which shows that one out of three people is studying. Over 32,000 people were receiving higher education, of whom 10,000 were girls.

In 1970 the taxation system was abolished, the complete electrification of the countryside was completed in 1971, and in 1972 the pension scheme was established in the countryside too. The network of trade, socio-cultural institutions, services, etc., has been extended to the countryside. More villages have been connected with highways and a number of measures have been taken to provide good water supplies. By 1973 all the villages in Albania were connected to the telephone network.

Favourable measures have been taken in the highland areas too, through the distribution and re-distribution of national incomes through the correct price policy, credit and other economic levers. Thus, important steps have been taken to narrow the differences between the countryside and the town, and within the countryside.

All this sums up the indices of wellbeing; these achievements have been reached at a time when, in the capitalist and revisionist countries, unemployment, economic crises, rising prices, speculation, inflation, and falling living standards are permanent phenomena of economic and social life. The poverty of the working people is a typical social phenomenon of capitalism. In our country an end has been

put once and for all to poverty, together with the capitalist mode of production. This is a great historic victory of our people, led by the party.

In view of the rise of wellbeing in Albania, we have consistently implemented the slogan «Think, work and live like revolutionaries». This has been raised as a militant banner in the steady development of our revolution, and it underlies all the activity to raise the wellbeing of the working people in town and countryside. Life has proved that without being guided by this slogan, without thinking, living and working like revolutionaries there can be no question of secure, general wellbeing. Any departure from this stand would be a source of evils. Any stand opposed to the revolutionary one is entirely alien to general wellbeing. This was best shown by what happened in the Soviet Union and in the other countries of Eastern Europe where the modern revisionists encouraged bourgeois degeneration and anti-socialist stands. They aroused an individualist spirit, petty-bourgeois egoism, the psychology of private ownership, and narrow personal interests, and paved the way for bourgeois relations of production, thus renouncing wellbeing for all the working people. These pseudo-revolutionary stands have led to a widening gap between the wellbeing of the working masses and the bourgeois and revisionist stratum in power, which lives in great luxury, divorced from the people.

Our Party of Labour, remaining loyal to the precepts of Marxism-Leninism, educates the working people with correct concepts about wellbeing, and takes concrete measures, particularly in the field of relations of ownership and distribution. It has carefully improved all the aspects of relations of production so as never to allow them to change their socialist nature. Here we have always struggled to improve the management and organisation of the economy. In the field of distribution we have struggled against having great disparities in wages, but not for levelling them. The socialist principle of the remuneration according to work has always been correctly implemented. Differentiation has been made on the basis of the quan-

tity, quality, kind and importance of work, the qualification of the working people, etc., but we have not allowed great differences in the standard of living between various classes, groups and strata of the society to emerge. We aim in fact at continually narrowing such differences as do exist.

Improving the wages system, raising the skills of the working people, increasing labour productivity, etc., have brought about the narrowing of differences in the distribution of material wealth. There has been a rapid increase in the social consumption fund, thus fulfilling many needs of the population, for instance for education, culture, health, etc. This fact has contributed to the increase of the real incomes of working families, because the social fund is distributed according to need and not according to pay. The increase in the social consumption fund has been faster than the increase of the nominal wage. Struggling against exaggerations and against the bourgeois and revisionist concept of living, we have striven with all our energies incessantly to improve the life of the entire people. In this process we have used both material incentives and moral incentives. Gradually, the moral incentive has become major factor, a motive force in all activity and in all fields of social development.

Our new man, tempered with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, with political and ideological consciousness, has struggled with all his energies, urged on not by extra pay but on behalf of the ideal and interests of socialism, the homeland and the people. When we say that in our country, in the efforts to raise wellbeing, the ratio between material and moral incentives has changed a great deal in favour of the latter, this of course does not mean that material incentives are neglected. The establishment in the first place of moral incentives, without negating material incentives, shows the strengthening and development of a socialist consciousness among the working people of town and the countryside. These changes in world outlook have made our people not only think and work like revolutionaries, but live like revolutionaries, too. This consciousness is being constantly streng-

thened and tempered. Our people, powerfully relying on their own forces, realize that their wellbeing cannot be attained without struggle and efforts. They correctly assess collective interests, and understand ever more correctly the question of wellbeing. Most of the working people, in their daily economic, social and cultural activity, are not urged by their narrow individual interest or by personal glory, but by the collective interest, which makes possible the realisation of their personal interests, too. This shows the qualitative leap in the mind, consciousness and activity of our working people. It is of major importance and shows the correct understanding of the nature of wellbeing in the socialist society.

Our continuing socialist revolution ensures allround transformations also in the national way of life especially that of the family and the individual. This is only natural. The socialist way of life cannot fit in with the remnants of the old world in the consciousness of men, backward concepts and customs, or the bourgeois and revisionist way of life. The radical changes made in our country in the way of life have been a consequence of socio-economic, demographic, educational and cultural changes and development. Thus, the way of life as an integral part of the entire life of the socialist society, has developed steadily in close connection with our revolutionary ideology. The spiritual world of man, emancipation and personal happiness and family life have never been detached from socialist ideology. During the development of the way of life many new problems have arisen and been solved, material, spiritual and cultural demands have increased and the concept of cultured living in all its aspects has been extended. In course of this process, intellectual development has been achieved, and the environment has changed in the home and at work.

The development of the socialist way of life in our country has been attained in struggle against bourgeois influences and way of life, against liberal stands and against passiveness and tolerance. Thus, the struggle for the socialist way of life has been treated as an important aspect of the struggle on the ideological

front. In changing the way of life an important role has been played by the ideological struggle against religion, backward customs and old traditions. To show the importance of these efforts, suffice it to say that without the struggle that has been waged against backward customs and religious prejudices, it would have been impossible to achieve all these changes in the way of life because backward customs in the past were closely interlaced with the way of life. Religion had poured its poison into the joys and sorrows of man. The socialist way of life has been put into practice in struggle against religious prejudices and old, backward customs, and in struggle against the concept of being contented with little. There has been implanted in the working masses the idea that being contented with little does not contribute to active participation in work, it does not ensure economic development and progress and, consequently, it becomes an obstacle to raising wellbeing.

As well, there has been implanted the idea that income must be used correctly, taking care of the needs for food, clothing housing and hygiene. We have thus aimed at conceiving of wellbeing in an extensive, complex way, for it has to do with the fulfilment of material, cultural, spiritual, health and service needs; in other words, it has to do with the fulfilment of all daily economic and social needs.

When we look in this way at the wellbeing of the Albanian people today after thirty years of struggle and efforts, we can see, it is higher than yesterday, and tomorrow it will surely be higher still. This is the sure and brilliant future of our people. This is the logic of the dynamic development of our life. Everything that has been achieved in the field of wellbeing shows how much a people, even one small in numbers as our people, are able to realize, when they embark on the road of socialism and proceed on it with determination, led with loyalty by a Marxist-Leninist party, such as the Party of Labour of Albania. This is because the socialist order paves the way to a happy and joyful life for all the working masses.



The working class heroism is a source of inspiration for the creative activity of our painters. The painter Pandi Mele reflects in this picture the determination of the working class to put in practice the teachings of the party

SOME PROBLEMS OF CONTEMPORARY FOREIGN LITERATURE

Scientific session at the State University of Tirana

THE HISTORY AND PHILOLOGY FACULTY AND THE FOREIGN LANGUAGES FACULTY OF THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF TIRANA, IN COLLABORATION WITH THE ALBANIAN WRITERS' AND ARTISTS' UNION, RECENTLY ORGANIZED A SCIENTIFIC SESSION DEVOTED TO SOME CURRENT PROBLEMS OF CONTEMPORARY FOREIGN LITERATURE.

THE WRITER AND CRITIC DALAN SHAPLLO, HEAD OF THE CHAIR OF LITERATURE OF THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF TIRANA, DELIVERED A REPORT ON «THE MAIN TENDENCIES IN CONTEMPORARY FOREIGN LITERATURE». NEXT TEN PAPERS WERE GIVEN BY LECTURERS, WRITERS AND CRITICS ABOUT A SERIES OF CURRENT PROBLEMS AND PHENOMENA IN FOREIGN LITERATURE TODAY; THOSE CONTRIBUTING INCLUDED DRITËRO AGOLLI, PRESIDENT OF THE ALBANIAN WRITERS' AND ARTISTS' LEAGUE, VITORE BALLVORA, DEAN OF THE FOREIGN LANGUAGES FACULTY AT THE S.U.T., AND OTHERS.

Those who presented papers, basing themselves on the principles of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics, the teachings of the Party and of comrade Enver Hoxha, according to the directions of the IVth Plenum about these problem, managed to delve deeply into some of the most essential aspects of the literary trends and creativity of the 20th century.

Seeing the literary process of our time as a process which develops in continuous struggle and clash between progressive art and regressive art, and concentrating on some of the most important phenomena of the 20th century, the session did not ignore progressive authors and pheno-

mena, but paid more attention to problems which are connected with modernism and decadence with the sources of reactionary, idealistic trends, or with some of the principal manifestations of revisionism in literature, as well as with bourgeois-revisionist theories about the study and criticism of literature.

All the documents of the session underlined the idea that the reactionary bourgeoisie, the imperialists, and the revisionists, are using revisionist decadent literature, in all its aspects, as one of the most effective ways to poison the social consciousness of the broad strata of the people in their own countries, and as one

of the most dangerous weapons of ideological aggression. The session's documents were permeated by the idea of finding out the reactionary social and political essence and significance of the bourgeois art schools and cliques, especially when, at first glance, they seem to be proceeding from «left» positions, and make themselves out to be expressing revolt against bourgeois society and its foundations.

The session touched upon the main tendencies of contemporary foreign literature; its development was seen as a reflection of the class struggle in art, with its specific means and forms. Progressive literature was seen as an expression of the interests of the people, and progressive forces which represent these interests, through the contradictions characterizing it in the conditions of the present-day bourgeois society. It was obvious from some papers that existentialist writers such as Sartre, Camus, Ionesco, etc., go still further than their predecessors of the end of last century, presenting life as a shocking nightmare, as a tangled skein of relations which cannot be unravelled.

studies, and their idealistic and reactionary essence was shown.

Here we give our readers a summary of the report and of some papers delivered at this session.

The problem of a Marxist-Leninist evaluation of the main tendencies of 20th century foreign literature, especially of the most typical phenomena related to our time, Dalan SHAPLLO said, is, of course, a difficult and broad one.

The situation of literature and of theoretical and aesthetic thinking, on a world scale, is characterized today by a fierce ideological and aesthetic struggle, by the struggle between socialist realism and realism on the one hand, and modernism, decadence and revisionism on the other. The road towards progress, towards the art of socialist realism, is of course not even nor everywhere the same: it is characterized by contradictions, zigzags, and disturbances; but what is important is that progressive, revolutionary art is developing and is finding its way; this is the future, the road of the genuine people's art.

However, in the period of the intensification of class struggle, there is increasing pressure from alien ideology and the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, and for some subjective reasons, as pointed out by the IVth Plenum of the CC of the PLA, in our literature and art, too, there have been signs, particularly in recent years, of alien modernist-decadent and revisionist influences. The manifestations of modernism in content and form, in various genres, are a direct influence of western modernist trends and an echo of revisionist works, they come about also as a consequence of insufficient ideological and aesthetic formation, a too superficial knowledge of the principles, of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics, as well as of the formation of anti-realistic literary trends, and the failure to understand the harm they do. Therefore, it is necessary that these problems should be dealt with in order to bar the way to such influences and to understand them better as the offspring of a society and ideology incompatible with ours, which have as a common platform an idealistic philosophy, and aesthetic principles of formalism and subjectivism.

In all the main documents of the Party, particularly those from the IVth Plenum, along with problems of our culture and art, attention is also paid to problems of the stand towards foreign literature and art, both of previous epochs and of the present day. The stand is clear and defined: We are for everything progressive, democratic and revolutionary from foreign culture; we critically appraise it, and we must not fall into either xenomania or xenophobia.

World masterpieces have been translated and published in our country. Foreign literature is studied in secondary school and above. The Marxist interpretation of this literature keeps deepening, but there still remains a lot to be done.

Literature born in class society, in the conditions of great ideological clashes and the expression of varied world outlooks, must be analysed as to its values and its limitations, and its principal features must be dialectically defined.

In the current situation, when pacifist illusions and the spirit of conformism, pessimism and scepticism are reigning in the bourgeois world, while many intellectuals are unable to find a way out of contradictions and, wittingly or unwittingly, become the tools of the bourgeoisie, various trends of the anti-realistic, modernist or pragmatist schools have arisen.

The realistic works of the present century, which keep on developing, according to the historical and social circumstances and the world outlook of the authors, up to our own time», D. Shaplllo says further on, are characterized by the continuation and deepening of the realistic tradition of the nineteenth century, and description of the actual situation of society and class relations. The protests, the social elements, the great themes of capitalist exploitation and resistance to it, the figures of workers or intellectuals from the fold of the people, who fight for the interests of the people, continue to increase and take a greater place in the subject matter of novels and plays. Through these works, one can get to know the real situation in bourgeois society in many countries of Europe and the world, the cynicism, spiritual and moral degeneration of the proprietors and bankers, and the democratic tendencies of the common man, the man of the people. The class

At the same time decadent literature comes out in open contrast with the historic optimism of the revolution and the working class. The anti-historical essence, modernism, and pragmatism, it was pointed out at the session, characterize current revisionist literature especially in the Soviet Union.

A number of papers looked at some of the roots of modernist trends, their philosophic foundations, and their concrete manifestations in aesthetic works and credos. They showed the evolution of the authors who passed over the positions of socialist realism, such as Paul Eluard. The papers on methodological problems in study and criticism revealed the formalistic essence of the present-day bourgeois-revisionist theories, their complete departure from the principles of realism and socialist realism and their decline into liberal bourgeois positions, allegedly on behalf of the struggle against dogmatism, hence the removal of any boundary between realism and antirealistic trends. Attention was paid to the structuralist theories, which today occupy a significant place in bourgeois-revisionist literature

struggle is at the heart of many works, although it is not always interpreted correctly, historical perspective is often missing.

Despite the diversity of form and evaluation, the main principles of progressive realistic literature remain and are increasingly instilled: Thus in many realistic works, life is faithfully reflected; man is at the centre, as a social being, of course with his own psychological individual world, but in the first place, shown in his relation to society. We find the embodiment of the ideas and tendencies I mentioned in works by 20th century authors such as London, Galsworthy, Cronin, Dreiser, Thomas Mann, Feuchtwanger, Kazantzakis, etc., and in specific books by authors whose work is full of substantial contradictions, such as Ersking Caldwell, William Saroyan, Arthur Miler and many others.

A very powerful trend that takes precedence over progressive literature is socialist realism, which found a clear and full embodiment in Russia, in the conditions of the birth and victory, in 1917, of the proletarian revolution with Maxim Gorkiy as its founder, under the ideological direction of the Party of the Bolsheviks; but it had earlier roots, in the labour movement of the various countries of the world, in the songs of the Paris Commune, in the novels of Jules Vallès or Léon Cladel, Heine's poetry and in other manifestations of communist sentiments.

Besides works by Gorkiy, Mayakovsky, Ostrovsky, Furmanov and other Russian revolutionary authors, which, we know and value, socialist realism found its expression in separate works or the whole output of authors like Barbusse, Nexo, Roland, Paul Vaillant-Couturier, Fuçik, Vapcarov, Brecht, John Reed and Ralph Fox, as well as in many other authors, some of whom defended the cause of communism and the antifascist struggle not only by their work, but also by laying down their lives, and thus became an example of resistance and heroism. The great Chinese writer Lu Hsun passed from realism to a revolutionary position. He managed to give realistic, profound pictures of the misery of the poor, and

of their resistance. The poetry of the peoples of Africa and Asia, work by Vietnamese authors, inspired by the protracted, heroic struggle for freedom, work by Latin Americans such as the outstanding Chilean poet, Pablo Neruda, who died a few days after the fascist coup d'état which took place in Chile, poems permeated by profound feelings and imagination, like those of the Greek poet Iannis Ritsos, and many others, all known in our country – this whole body of work testifies to an anti-imperialist feeling, to democratic, popular or even socialist objectives, it expresses the indignation of the peoples towards the imperialist aggressors and their plans, and is part of the sound, positive tendency in current world literary development.

The transition of some well-known authors from troubled surrealist, futurist and other positions to revolutionary, antifascist positions is a characteristic of the twentieth century. Such an example was provided by Mayakovsky, who became one of the best known, most inspiring poets of the revolution. There was Paul Eluard, who emerged from the surrealist fog in order to become a resistance poet with socialist ideas; and Garcia Lorca, whose poetry and creative work kept on developing, with a powerful emotive charge. The work of these and other authors has its own contradictions and contains vague, incomprehensible figures, and surrealist subjectivism, but we can take from it and appraise what is positive. There have been and there will be similar transitions for those artists who have something realist at the heart of their work and who are attracted by the sound forces.

The antidemocratic and antisocialist elements are vested with a sophisticated idealist philosophy, which, as comrade Enver Hoxha says, we must reject, thus continuing our Leninist stand; these are expressed, in our century and earlier through the literature and artistic trends of impressionism, expressionism, futurism or cubofuturism, symbolism, imagism and hermetism (which is more than a trend, it is a tendency to camouflage ideas in a subjectivist way); surrealism, abstractionism, cubism, existentialism, etc. If we

look at them historically, through some representatives such as Verlaine, Apollinaire, Picasso, Salvador Dali, Ungaret, Sartre, Camus, Kafka, Cvetajeva, Pasternak and many others, we can get a very general idea of the decadent, pessimist essence and the formalism that reign in all these. Their main inclination, to one extent or another, is the fantastic and distorted reflection of the world of shadows, instead of actual phenomena, and the anxiety of the isolated and oppressed man; the feeling of alienation and inability to solve the complicated problems raised by society; the deformation of reality, and the creation of arbitrary figures without an inner logical connection, based on associations of ideas which express chaotic, delirious situation. Another characteristic of all these «trends» according to the various schools and authors, is the distortion of the actual forms and dimensions of life, replacing them with random subjectivist ties, conventionalism, and symbolism, which surpass all measure and cause art to submerge in agnosticism, revolving within the consciousness and subconsciousness, without seeking anywhere in society, outside the individual, the causes of internal disturbances, despair, disillusion, suicides, prostitution, and terror in the face of death.

Marxist criticism, represented by Gorky, Vorovsky, Barbusse, Lunacharsky, has explained the social origins of the modernist decadents, putting aside their preachings and illusions and showing the real nature of this intelligentsia. The artists of this category, often talented and famous, represent petty-bourgeois, wavering, conformist strata which begin with desperate protest and end with complete moral depression. Very often their stands are openly anti-communist, and opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are submerged in pacifism and in vanity and they have no confidence whatever in harmony, in the beautiful, in human happiness.

Dealing with the formalist works of Proust and Cocteau, Barbusse described their mastery as «the virtuosity of jugglers», and speaking generally about this kind of literature, which was in oppo-

sition to the proletarian revolution, he said, in his book «Russia»: «They represent a society reduced to the last degree. Every work of theirs is... a tombstone, epitaph for that society».

From the time of Barbusse onward, modernist art rolled down a steep road confirming what this revolutionary had said. Existentialism, as one of the most wide spread philosophical and literary trends in the western world, represents an extreme individualism. As long as the world is in chaos, the existentialists say, you can know and foresee nothing. «We do not believe in progress», Sartre declares. The existentialist works are permeated by a hopeless tragic spirit and a fantastic mysticism; their heroes are often cowards, since the base and the good have no distinction for the existentialist writer. Theirs is an art which openly preaches the philosophy of decline, humiliation and fear, thereby defending the bourgeoisie and trying to bar the way to the development of society.

The trashy, pornographic literature, a commercial literature, produced for mass consumption, tries to «sweeten» bourgeois life, the American way of life, it aims to cultivate the feeling of erotic euphoria, racism and a dissolute life without troubles, hence it brings out stereotyped novels and films with stale conflicts, happy endings in the fold of the bourgeois family, reconciliations between generous bosses and needy workers, unconvincing love affairs or fantastic adventures which befuddle the minds of the youth in the bourgeois and revisionist countries. The false hero in this kind of trash is the embodiment of a disgusting pragmatism.

Another problem connected with the ideological essence of decadent and formalist art is that of the artistic means used, a form which suits the content and thus arrives at great exaggerations and extravagances. The influence comes in the first place from the content, but the alien content also penetrates the form, which expresses the spiritual world enfolded in that artistic cloak, and hence it cast shadows and distorts the content itself.

In close connection with modernism, there has developed, especially in recent

decades, the revisionist tendency in literature and the arts, now the dominant trend in the Soviet Union and elsewhere.

There were in fact revisionist features in Soviet literature even before the Khrushchevite clique came to power; certain conditions, had been formed, with the bureaucratisation of the intellectuals, and their divorce from the popular masses, so that revisionism would then find the way open to lead Soviet literature towards modernism and degeneration. But the literature of the period of Lenin and Stalin, especially that born in the conditions of the revolution, with its great theme, and later on with the theme of the patriotic war, etc., was in the main, in its most important manifestations, a literature of socialist realism, with a sound revolutionary content which preserves its values even today.

It is characteristic of some Soviet, French and other authors who before had written good works (although sometimes, in their works, revolutionary tendencies were interwoven with revisionist or modernist ones which would rear their heads later on) that they later passed over to entirely revisionist or decadent positions: some such authors were Ehrenburg, Sholokhov, Yevtushenko, Solzhenitsyn, Aragon, Roger Garaudy and many others.

The principal manifestations of revisionism in Soviet literature are expressed in the falsification of history, the complete denial of the revolutionary period, the tendency toward deheroization, and the cult of the intimate world full of disillusionment and spiritual mutilations. Bourgeois pacifism and objectivism can be seen in many revisionist works about war; there is also an evident, pragmatist inclination to praise and justify everything which has to do with the revisionist policy and with great-Russian chauvinism.

The road of the falsification of history and the denigration of the revolutionary reality, started by Ehrenburg with his short story «The Thaw», by Sholokhov with his «The fate of Man» and by other authors, is being continued today by Solzhenitsyn and others. In his works, such as «One day in the life of Ivan Denisovich», «Cancer Ward», etc., and recently in «The Gulag Archipelago», Sol-

zhenitsyn slings mud at the revolutionary reality, he openly denigrates socialism, and the great figures of Lenin and Stalin, expresses hatred for everything socialist, and shows his sympathy for religion, for the Russian churches, for a kind of mysticism where the soul of this author seeks to find rest; he also sings praises to treachery towards the homeland. Solzhenitsyn, as a literary phenomenon, is the product of the definite revisionist situation created in the Soviet Union. His work expresses that revisionist tendency which reigns in contemporary Soviet literature, but this author surpasses the demagogical limit which characterizes revisionist policy and art in general; he goes beyond certain limits dictated and demanded by the present revisionist leaders, who want to hide the truth and preserve themselves, even by speculating with their political demagogy. But it is clear that both the Soviet revisionist leaders and Solzhenitsyn in essence stand in the same positions of treachery and complete bourgeoisification.

Soviet literary works of recent times, devoted to the second world war, are dominated by the spirit of defeatism and deheroization.

In France, too, one sees the revisionist tendency in literature with authors such as Aragon and others, and the open defence of «limitless realism» made by Garaudy and supported, in fact if not in word, by Aragon. The current work of this author has submerged in the modernist labyrinth; he has returned to his earlier surrealist position. One of the latest novels by Aragon, «Real End» is a typical expression of modernism in prose, the dismemberment of the hero, and the depiction of a character from different artistic angles, allegedly to give its opposing aspects. In this novel and in other novels from his final creative period, Aragon plunges into subjective lyricism, thus continuing the formalist road of Proust and others, and giving up the requirements of the novel itself, which cannot develop outside narrative or outside the objective reflection of reality.

The struggle between realistic, progressive literature, the literature of socialist realism, on the one hand, and decadent,

modernist, revisionist literature, on the other, is a protracted class, ideological and aesthetic struggle, and therefore the Party calls on us not to consider ourselves as immune but to enhance the revolutionary tradition. We are direct heirs of the advanced national and international heritage. Comrade Enver Hoxha says «we value only revolutionary, progressive and democratic foreign art, whether from the past or of our own century».

True art is that which, through the centuries and today, in our own time, reflects the struggle for freedom and progress and the feelings, thoughts and spirit of the people.

The future belongs to literature which is of the people and the revolution, literature with great ideals, with a mission to show the truth and to raise men and women in the struggle against all that hinders their development, happiness and rights. The future belongs to socialist realism.

In her paper «*Distortions of the principles of realism in current bourgeois and revisionist literary theories*», Vitore BALLVORA, dean of the foreign languages faculty, dealing with the many discussions about the problems of realism in our time, said: closely connected with the stand towards realism as an artistic method, and with its evaluation, there are a series of fundamental aesthetic questions, such as the evaluation of the classical literary heritage from a contemporary position, the evaluation of the artistic works of the 20th century in relation to the best achievements of classical art, and the theoretical prognosis of all artistic development in the future. She pointed out that discussions about the concept of realism have taken place previously, but in the present conditions, the struggle of the reactionary forces against realism has taken on new proportions, and has become a real campaign against the social and aesthetic foundations of the whole of progressive art.

In this last decade, 20th century art has been sharply divided into democratic realist art, and modernist art for the elect. Various bourgeois theoreticians and critics are doing their level best to argue the historical validity of replacing realism

by other, modernist trends, which are «innovatory» and «relevant», and therefore must occupy the main place in the artistic life of the 20th century. In their opinion, realism is not in a position to provide an artistic description of present-day reality, because it always seeks to discover the essence of characters and the logical connection of social phenomena; in the modern world, these are merely an illusion, while the modernist trends and schools are supposed to be based on the great changes that have occurred in the life of the society and the consciousness of men, as a consequence of the great discoveries of sciences and technology.

In the 20th century all sorts of trends have emerged which are counterposed to realist aesthetics; however, irrespective of their pretensions to ultra modernism, the foundations of these trends are an endless repetition, with different variants, of familiar theses promulgated long ago about the closed nature of art, and its divorce from reality.

There are some theoreticians who openly state that art, by its very nature, has an antirealist character. Hence, for instance, the theory of «psychic distance» of Edouard Ballou, who declares «either art or realism... There is no third possibility». In this way, art is completely divorced from real life.

The theories about the obsolescence of realism seem to be counterposed by some other theories which are based on the idea of nondifferentiation of the contemporary literary process, and the elimination of differences among current literary trends. Such a view has been clearly expressed, in particular by the theory of so-called «limitless realism» about which a great deal of fuss was made some time ago.

According to this theory, the limits of «realism» must be boundlessly extended, so as to include all the various artistic phenomena of our time, without taking into consideration their ideological and artistic peculiarities. The real aim of «limitless realism», whose theoretician is Roger Garaudy, is to adapt the criteria of realism to the standard labels of modernist art. This theory proceeds from the thesis that there is no non-realist art, as long as all art aims at the truth; thus it refutes the

concept of «realism» which is totally identified with the concept of «art». The concept of the synthesis, and merging of realism with modernism, in a kind of «new realism», is unacceptable, because its main objective is to reject the basic criteria of realism, and it tendentiously ignores the continuous struggle of realism with modernist trends, which is an undeniable fact of our time».

Vitore Ballvora further said: Characteristic of realism, unlike the other trends of the past and present, is the fact that it concentrates its attention on the description of the most essential aspects of reality; The realist writers think historically which enables to reproduce the rhythm of life, the contradictions of reality and the depth of the internal psychological world of man. The various kinds of modernism proceed from anti-historic principles; they do not accept the dialectic development of human society, and as a consequence the concrete social, historical and individual particularities of life remain outside their conception.

Recently, R. Garaudy has written a lot about myths, and every great work of art is seen by him as one of these myths. He has emerged as an apologist for mythology, the most outstanding representative of which, in his opinion, is Kafka. The myth is treated by 20th century writers not as an historic category, «a stage in the development of artistic thinking», (Hegel), but as a form of intuitive thinking, a kind of logic, which is a constant characteristic of the nature of man. The artistic symbol in the work of the realist writers is based on reality itself; it does not fetishize and does not falsify some special aspects of reality alone, but takes it as a whole; while in the work of the modernists, there is no connection of symbols with life, which is conceived of by them as a chaos, whose special elements and parts can never make up a whole. The mythological works of modernist art contain a subjective and fantastic presentation of the world, based on situations entirely unreal or irrational, while recent bourgeois aesthetics uses the term «the realism of hallucinations». Garaudy flagrantly violates the principles of Marxist philosophy and aesthetics about the pro-

cess of cognition and art, when he states that «to demand, on behalf of realism, that a work should reflect the entire complex of reality, describe the historic road of the epoch or of the people, and show the main direction of their development and the prospects for the future, means to put forward not aesthetic but philosophic demands».

We find an elaboration of the thesis of artistic integration, and the synthesis of realism with modernism, in the works of the Austrian theoretician Fischer, who proceeds from the idea that both in the capitalist society and in the socialist society, the same law of the alienation of the individual operates, and does not view art as an ideological structure, thus he arrives at the conclusion that realism and modernism alike have the objective of reflecting this permanent conflict of the individual with the society, because, in his opinion, these are always opposed to one another, as two hostile forces. This eliminates the difference between realism and modernism, draws them closer together and unites them. Divorcing art from the sphere of ideology is the doctrine of all the anti-realist trends, which see art as immanent and independent of class ideology. Thus, if some literary men and theoreticians categorically negate realism, others who call themselves «Marxist» do the same thing in different ways.

The speaker then said that «there is little difference between these theories, and the new aesthetic programmes and platforms promoted in the revisionist countries. Striving to argue for a so-called «modern style» and «real innovations», the Soviet revisionist theoreticians speak of a «style of the epoch». By this «new style» they imply modernism and go as far as not to accept the connection of the creative style of the author with his ideological position, or in some cases openly justify the idea of the coexistence of bourgeois ideology and socialist ideology in art, just as Fischer does.

Besides its open appeals against realism, revisionist criticism also uses other, more sophisticated means and forms; for example, it considers realism not as the main road of the development of true artistic creativity, as a higher school of

the aesthetic assimilation of reality, but as a «methodological episode», as one of many literary trends which have each in turn ceded place to one another. There is also the thesis of the sterility of reality, as a trend with meagre, limited artistic means.

In fact, the creative development of realism as an artistic method does not exclude, but presupposes the diversity of artistic forms and means. The innovation of realism has always consisted in artistic acquaintance with, and generalisation of, the new phenomena of life, never in mere manoeuvrings with form and means.

In the 60', the 'method of micro-realism' and the theory of «deheroisation», was spread. There also appeared the so-called «critical trend» which was considered as a «new epoch» and which denigrates the time of Stalin, and the past generations; these are opposed to the contemporary «angry young men» who view everything around them with contempts and distrust it all, aiming at a comfortable, petty-bourgeois livelihood, without sacrifices or lofty ideals. The heroic theme was proclaimed to be invented, and it was replaced by abstract humanist motifs.

The many discussions about realism in Soviet criticism had as their main objective the legalisation of the new formalist literature which was developing in that country. This literature, which had nothing in common with the literature of socialist realism, was taken under the wing of the official critical circles. New means and arguments were found for its approval. Thus, the thesis was spread that in the countries where socialism has triumphed, literature must give up dealing with socio-political and moral problems, because these are dealt with by the organs of power, concerned, whereas literature must preserve only its aesthetic function. Thus literature loses its educative and political functions; it is isolated from the ideological struggle, and the criterion of the beautiful is proclaimed to be its main criterion, divorced from social and moral problems. Such a platform has nothing in common with progressive literature, and is very convenient for formalist literature of various shades, along with which we must rank contemporary

Soviet literature, the «innovation» of which is nothing but a complete violation of the basic principles of the method of socialist realism, which have emerged from the world experience of the revolutionary art of the proletariat, and have been elaborated by Marxist-Leninist aesthetics.

Muzafër XHAXHIU devotes his paper to «Bourgeois individualism in decadent literature»: Individualism is a philosophical ethical category, the value of which has changed through the centuries, he says. With the disintegration and disappearance of the ancient tribal society, individualism broke the bounds of the primitive patriarchal community and paved the way for the development of the productive forces. With the birth of the first capitalist relations, individualism emerged as a new feature of the stratum of the bourgeoisie, which struggled for the affirmation of the individual personality in society, according to personal merits and abilities, in struggle against the privileges and prejudices of caste.

«Contemporary individualism, as a philosophical and ethical concept, is merely an aspect of bourgeois reactionary ideology, but it is a basic aspect, and is also connected with many other reactionary concepts and theories. It is from bourgeois individualism that the Nietzschean doctrine of the «superman» originates; he isolates himself from the crowd or rises above it to lead it, like Pan with his flock. The individualism of the Nietzschean «superman» goes so far as to place the hero above all social and moral constraints, and allow him to do everything the crowd not be permitted.

Individualism in literature and the arts, as a programmatic inclination and with set objectives, appeared mainly at the time when bourgeois capitalist society was entering the imperialist stage. Individualism in the art and literature of this period appeared as a decadent, sick psychology, which paved the way for a savage and cynical morality. This kind of individualism has nothing in common with the individual revolt of the heroes of Goethe and Schiller, Shelley and Byron, Georges Sand and Stendahl who were seeking to blaze a path and assert them-

selves in the period of the rise of the bourgeoisie as a class.

«Reaction has always instigated and nurtured individualism, in the face of its fear of the unification of the popular forces, and their struggle to defend the interests of the oppressed and exploited classes. Individualism in literature destroys the social hero and replaces him with a sensual relationship established between the individual and life. The existentialists and other decadents in literature and the arts state that man is a being independent of society, and consequently, we would add, he must strive in life to build his existence as it best suits him, at times violating, aggressively and arrogantly, the interests of others, and at time enclosing himself in a world of misery and anxiety, in order not to be «compelled to live always under the gaze of others», as Sartre says. Replete with such individualist heroes, who drag themselves along like worms in an existence as miserable as it is reactionary, are the works of Sartre, Camus, Kafka, Robbe-Grillet, Becket, Ionesco, Bataille, Blanchot, Butor, Sarraute, Joyce, etc.

Even though the theories of individualism in art are often served up in sophisticated, philosophical terms, it is clear that they serve the bourgeoisie, because they seek to quench any spark of revolt against injustice and oppression, preaching relativism, pessimism, nihilism, and surrender to savage, bestial instincts.

When Goethe wrote his «Faust», almost 200 years ago, he included in the make-up of the hero the pathos of the struggle to serve mankind, and the beauty of sacrifice on behalf of the victory of science over dogma. But the decadent writer Paul Valery, who has been described by a French critic as the «classical» poet of the bourgeoisie, in the «period of its decadence», in his work «My Faust» shouts with the mouth of the character Faust: «Breathe and feel, this is the masterpiece of my art... I exist... I breathe and see... This is the classical century of the art of existing...»

The titanic efforts of Goethe's Faust to reject the philosophy of passive admiration have been replaced in Valery's Faust by a narrow circle of the subjective feel-

ings of a mean individualist, who calls the fact that only he exists «an actual wealth» and concludes with a Philistine shout: «I need nothing more».

It is not by chance that we get the theory of «the human conditions» invented by the decadent theoreticians, according to whom the important thing is not social reality, but the particular human condition; in other words, it is the «small individual world» in which man lives, isolated from society.

The hero is not consistent in his actions, but changes according to circumstances and instinctive impulses. Resting on these creative principles, Sartre says that a primary characteristic of the present-day novel is the fact that the actions and mental state of the hero are unpredictable.

Decadent literature has today become bogged down in a morass infected by the most reactionary ideas. Although posing as non-aligned art, it is strongly connected with a speculative philosophic stand which serves the bourgeoisie. Behind every apolitical position of the decadent writers is hidden the political tendency to camouflage the reactionary essence of a literature which seeks to create the illusion that it stands above classes and outside history, and it concerns itself more and in fact solely with the fate of the individual. Albert Camus writes, «It has become customary to call the historic events, the great deeds, love, important. But historic events have no importance whatever for the individual man. For the individual it is more important to describe how he speaks in a nasal way, his habit of stroking cats, whistling in the bath...», etc.

The decadents seek to liberate man from his social dependence, and to treat him as merely a bio-psychological being. The actual causal relations between phenomena seem to Sartre to be fetters on the feet of the imprisoned man. But how can a man liberate himself from them? — Consider their existence as unreal and do as he pleases. Such is the philosophy of Sartre and of all the decadents, who seek to include the heroes of their works in the closed circle of individualism, and to isolate them from reality, which frightens them so much.

Ilia LËNGU, delivered the paper «Man and his alienation in the works of J.P. Sartre»: Long ago, the bourgeois ideologists speculated with the term of alienation, taking advantage of the fact that this term has been also used in the classics of Marxism-Leninism. We meet the word «alienation» in the very first writings of Marx. He took it from Hegel and Feuerbach, but he gave a new, materialist content to this concept and divested it of its idealist and abstract interpretation. Marx indicated that alienation is an expression of the contradiction of society at a given stage of its development.

Alienation appears with the birth of private ownership and of the antagonistic classes, when social relations are spontaneously formed and escape from men's control. Marx says that as a result of alienation, «work is no longer the fulfilment of the need to work, but only a means for the fulfilment of other needs, which are not the need to work», i.e. the fulfilment of purely biological needs.

Man, according to Sartre's existentialist vision, lives in the fold of a world with which he can have only hostile relations. Man is not seen as a social being, in relation with the society in which he lives, but in himself, facing «existential problems». As long as everything is absurd, Sartre reasons, then the individual must act in absolute freedom, and have the «authenticity» of his acts as a basic principle. Thus, according to existentialist logic, irrespective of the social conditions and objective circumstances, it is up to man himself (who has unlimited freedom, according to Sartre) to lead an «authentic» existence justifying his absolute freedom in the fold of an absurd world, where he is allegedly «condemned to be free», according to a paradoxical formula of Sartre's. This arbitrary, voluntarist freedom is a deceptive illusion, because instead of social liberation it raises to a «supreme value» the «authenticity» of the individual, and allegedly this authenticity gives the highest meaning to his existence. According to this idealist mystification, ignoring and despising objective circumstances are sufficient for the individual to feel himself free, or, according to Sartre, to live in an «authentic» manner.

One characteristic of these individuals, isolated from society (in an entirely arbitrary manner), is solitude and the lack of communication, which, according to Sartre, are permanent and eternal features of human nature. Moreover, in the presence of people who at first sight are more closely related to them, Sartre's heroes still feel isolated. Nobody can come to their assistance. Sartre strives to present the communist militants, too, in this manner deforming, in a reactionary way (although he seems to present things "objectively" the image of the communist, and the genuine militants of the French resistance.

It is only "natural", according to the sophist logic of existentialist philosophy, that man should be a failure. "The history of a life, whatever it may be like, is the history of a failure", Sartre arbitrarily "states", and says that morality "must remind us of our powerlessness". All the heroes in Sartre's works tiresomely repeat the tragic refrain of their failure. Here is what Mathieu says concerning the future of human society: "Mankind will continue not to get anywhere, and the same men will ask themselves the same questions, and the same lives will fail". Mathieu's petty-bourgeois logic, defined by Lenin with the greatest accuracy, causes him, as well as almost all the heroes without personality and schematic (although they speak the existentialist language of Sartre's works beautifully), to attribute their failure to the whole of mankind, thus making reactionary generalisations in an arbitrary way.

The existentialist vision of man and society is reactionary. Instead of antagonistic class contradictions, Sartre speaks of hostile relations in general. "Hell is other people", he says in one of his dramas, negating, in an arbitrary and reactionary way, the class solidarity of the broad working masses, who are in struggle, everywhere and continually, to liberate themselves from capitalist exploitation.

Sartre was compelled to admit the failure of the existentialist doctrine and the sterility of its principles. "We find out, when we come to write our will, that we have done nothing", he says, after becoming "convinced", that "he had fallen

out of history" and that he was "a voice in the wilderness". "Our good will serves nobody" he says. Either Sartre is behaving very naively when he admits such things (and in that case it is ridiculous to pretend, as Sartre does, that he knows Marxism and wants to "enrich" it) or else he does not wish to state openly that his philosophy, irrespective of what he wants, comes to the assistance of bourgeois ideology, diverting the broad masses from acute socio-political problems and from the true road to social liberation. In either case, Sartre's political confusion is very surprising, and difficult to believe. . .

The existentialist interpretation of alienation is idealistic because it shifts the problem from the concrete socio-economic plane (where alienation assumes its real significance) to an abstract plane outside social relations in set conditions in space and time.

Irrespective of his alienation in the capitalist society, man is not as Sartre strives to present him in his works. Man has always been counterposed to the process of alienation, which is never absolute. The class struggle is eloquent proof of the resistance of the broad working masses, which are fully in a position to put an end to alienation by struggling for the construction of a society which eliminated the economic basis and the cause of alienation, i.e. private ownership over the means of production.

It is not surprising that the bourgeois ideologists insist so much today on the alienation of man in general, in whatever society. Instead of antagonistic class contradictions and class struggle, they strive to raise the problem of alienation, but, of course, depriving it of its socio-economic essence.

Jordo BULO, in his paper "On the idealistic essence of methodological concepts of contemporary bourgeois literary studies", says: The crisis that has today gripped bourgeois literary studies is a part of the general crisis of bourgeois ideology in our time, when the imperialist bourgeoisie is in the grip of sharp contradictions, and by using various forms of its ideology, is striving to lengthen the life of the capitalist social system, diverting

the masses from the revolutionary struggle and suffocating any form of social and scientific thinking which helps them to get to know the objective reality and the laws of its development.

Despite the great diversity of the theoretical and literary schools of contemporary bourgeois literary studies, and despite the nuances distinguishing them, they are all based on a common methodology, on idealistic reactionary philosophical concepts.

The formalists of various kinds, the structuralists, the followers of neocriticism, of neo-Freudianism, of the new mythological school and all the other schools, unite in their general tendency to isolate literary work completely from each and every historical, ideological and social reality, and to study it outside any objective situation. By this effort to deprive literature of its ideological content and significance, the formalists in fact reduce it to the level of the applied arts, of an ornamental art, because they deny its ideological essence, which is the source of its aesthetic value.

Avoiding the study of the development of the literary process in its socio-historic contexts and concentrating on the interpretation of phenomena, on the "immanent" analysis of the structure of literary works, bourgeois literary science conceives of the development of literature as merely an uninterrupted exchange of "systems of formal means". Consequently, for contemporary bourgeois theoreticians, there is no objective law of literary development whatsoever. This development is due only to the manifestation of new talents which "renovate the routine systems" of the old means of expression.

Such an anti-historical and anti-scientific conception causes literary studies to be studies in name only, because like any such field, they have the task of discovering the laws of the birth and development of the phenomenon which is their object of examination.

The correct approach to literature and the arts develops in struggle with the idealistic concepts of contemporary bourgeois and revisionist literary thinking. Albanian studies, as instructed by the 4th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, are duty-bound to strengthen communist partisanship and

to improve its own Marxist methodological foundations, so as to contribute properly to the qualified leadership of literary development, and nip in the bud any negative phenomena of this development, particularly formalistic influences, both in literary practice and in critical judgement.

Refik KADIJA, in his paper "The intellectual revolt and bourgeois individualism of the "angry" heroes", says in part:

The angry young men is a collective term conventionally applied to a group of young English writers in the period after the second world war, who in fact belong to various literary trends, but who in their work express the attitude of the new petty-bourgeois intelligentsia towards the existing reality in the 50's. They were called "angry" after the play "Look Back in Anger" by one of the most typical representatives of this group, the playwright John Osborne, after its first performance in London on May 8, 1958.

The lack of any ideal for which it would be worth struggling, and the lack of political and social interests, changed the protests of the "angry young men" right from the beginning into a stream of vain vituperations, into an "indirected, incoherent and ineffective rebellion" as another English writer, J. B. Priestley, says. Their angry tirades had no effect on the foundations of the bourgeois order. The bourgeois individualism that characterized the world outlook of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intelligentsia to which these writers belonged did not allow them to clearly understand, or orientate themselves in the complicated political atmosphere of the post-war period; it prevented them from forming a clear idea of against whom they should raise their voice of protest. As a critic says, they made themselves out to be "liberated from every political conviction, philosophical world outlook, social ideal or moral system". Their revolt had a nihilist, metaphysical and defeatist character.

Irrespective of the manifestations of their revolt towards the bourgeois order, all the "angry" heroes, without exception, are connected with that order through a certain *sympiosis* (coexistence of two op-

posite things - R.K.), and through their egocentrism and bourgeois individualism, which leads them to defeatism, conformism and political neutrality, and puts an end to their "anger" through reconciliation.

The hero of John Osborne's drama "Look Back in Anger", Jimmy Porter, as a young man with frustrated plans and without ideals, a man without any future, is not only unable to find even one sole answer to any of his many "whys", but also negates any positive ideal for social progress in a nihilist and defeatist manner. "It seems to me that the men of our generation are not in a position to die any longer for good causes", he says. "... There are no more good and courageous causes... No, there is no longer anything my friend..."

The conclusions of the novels by Kingsley Amis, are also defeatist. The egocentric interests of his heroes strangle and suffocate every feeling of anger. Amis concludes his Fabian pamphlet "Socialism and the Intellectuals" with the following words: "The best and most trustworthy political motive is *personal interest*". This individualist idea also permeates his novel "Lucky Jim".

Charles Lamley, too, the hero of John Wain's novel "Hurry on Down", is connected with the bourgeois reality by the indissoluble bands of the same narrow personal interests. What he strives to do is to remain entirely outside any class structure, take life as it comes, lead a care-free life and at the same time find a comfortable niche within bourgeois society; he wants from now on "to travel without a passport" but always within the context of the environment which surround him.

Towards the end of the novel, when he is alone, he thinks: "Neutrality; he had found it at last. The continuous struggle between him and society had ended in a draw".

Thus, at last Lamley found what he was looking for: political neutrality, complete conformism, reconciliation with the bourgeoisie.

The symbiosis of the "angry young men" with the bourgeois order appears still more clearly in John Braine's "Room at the Top". The focus of all the efforts of Joc Lampton, the hero of the novel,

is material success. He is well aware of what he wants, and he wants it with a savage desire: a good position, expensive shirts, and a rich girl. He loses no time but immediately manoeuvres within the narrow circle of these demands. Lampton manages to marry the daughter of the richest industrialist of the city, and get a job in her father's firm, realizing at the same time that he has sold himself out so far that there can no longer be any about face. Now he feels the proper contempt of a self-complacent man for the young people of his class, whom he has abandoned once and for all. In his headlong rush to achieve personal wellbeing this «angry» young man not only consciously allies himself with the bourgeois order, but this becomes the sole aim of his life. Like all the other «angry» heroes, Lampton, too, is an individualist, without ideals and without serious aims in life; he is an offspring of the bourgeois order, and a projection of the world outlook and interests of the author himself.

As is to be expected, in their later works, all the writers of the «angry» generation generally, depart from even such limited positions of non-conformism; the «enraged», heroes have been gradually replaced with «tamed» heroes. What united these writers was precisely their similar heroes. With the elimination of the «angry» hero from their works, these writers broke the sole connection which had grouped them under the «angry» label.

Palok KRAJA, in his paper «Neototalist tendencies in Soviet criticism» says: Long ago, Soviet criticism expressed «regret that the classics of Marxism-Leninism had not bequeathed to us a treatise, a complete system of views about literature and art. Now they have replaced this expression of «regret» with concrete efforts to create such a system, of course in accordance with their own views. This aim was partly served by the discussion in the 60's about structuralism. The Soviet revisionists, on the pretext of appropriating the achievements of bourgeois studies, raise the problem of the possibility of applying structuralism as a new method in the study of literature, which they utilize without openly negating the Mar-

xist-Leninist methodology from the theoretical viewpoint. Only a few, like J. Lotman, did not restrain themselves, and went beyond these limits, proclaiming that «it is a question of a new world outlook» (J. Lotman, lectures on structural poetry, 1964, pp. 10 and 12).

Structuralism does not constitute a unified trend. Thus, while the structuralist of Prague boast that «the principal merit of structuralism consists in the fact that it ignores content», J. Lotman and his followers pretend to study the structure which implies a given content. In theory they are opposed to formalist structuralists, basing themselves on the Frenchman Claude Lévy-Strauss, according to whom structure presupposes content. But in practice, in their concrete analyses, formalist tendencies are accentuated, as a line and not as partial manifestations. In other words, structure consists in elements seen in an abstract way, divorced from content. The structuralists pretend to analyse structure, which in their opinion embodies «metaliterary» elements such as the attitude of the writer, the socio-historical conditions in which the work was written, etc. However in concrete analyses, this thesis of theirs is forgotten, and the work is treated in a formalist manner.

Instead of viewing the work in close connection with the socio-historical conditions, it is taken as isolated; instead of studying it totally, they study its parts, and even that is done in a formalist way. This also occurs with those structuralists who concentrate on the subject and the development of events in a work. It is obvious that they are not concerned with the subject as an element of the content or with its function as a means of displaying the nature of the characters and their links, but, are interested only in the plot the development of events as an outline, viewed in a formalist way. For instance there are Kzhizhanovski's outlines to which those of Zhalkovski, Sheglov, etc., have been added.

The formalist character of their analyses stems from their very method, for they see the structure as a form viewed from within. Thus, it results that the structure defines the content, and is primary.

Some students, adopting a critical stand

towards openly formalist tendencies, accept structuralism as an additional method for the study of literature which, in their opinion, can be applied to the rhythmic organisation of the verse, the field of stylistics, etc. If we accept it as an additional method, this would mean reconciling ourselves with the formalist interpretation of literature and with the interpretation of the figures as symbols, as signs which can be conceived of divorced from their function as content; this is incorrect, because distinctive feature, for example, of the elements of the form is the transmission of the artistic content.

The participants in the discussion on structuralism got the impression of a vigorous development of theoretical, literary thinking. The opponents of structuralism get hold of the weak aspects and in this way they prove it that it can develop even better, when it is completely erroneous ideologically.

The structuralists themselves are on the offensive. Camouflaging their views with Marxist phraseology, they rise against those who follow the traditions of the historical concrete analysis. Their opponents are depicted as self-complacent students who oppose development and hence are proclaimed to be dogmatic.

The Russian press itself is compelled to admit these manifestations of decadent art and criticism. «The efforts to rehabilitate modernism and formalism, have been manifested not as partial mistakes, but as tendencies», the review *Russk. Literatura*, 1973, 3, p. 21, points out.

It is understandable that a Marxist study of literature cannot admit conceiving the literary work as an autonomous world isolated from reality. Moreover, the very elements of the work are not conceived of for a single moment as separated from one another; the form is always defined by the content.

By throwing into relief these formalist and reactionary tendencies, we learn to delve deeper into the ideological and artistic values of our literature, and we can conceive more clearly the devices today used by the bourgeoisie, in order to pass over in silence and deform the ideological and artistic content of progressive literature.

FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY

8th SESION OF THE 7^h LEGISLATURE OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY

On June 18-19, the 8th session of the 7th legislature of the People's Assembly held its proceedings. Besides the deputies, the session was attended by invited guests, including working people from work and production centres and various institutions of the Capital, cooperativists, Heroes of the People and Socialist Labour, activists of mass organisations, etc. In the presidium of the meeting were the first Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Enver Hoxha; the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Haxhi Lleshi, the Chairman of the Council of

Ministers of the P.R. of Albania Mehmet Shehu, and other Party and State leaders. The session was also attended by heads and officials of the diplomatic representations accredited to the People's Republic of Albania. The session held its proceedings according to the following agenda:

- 1) Report of the Council of Ministers «On the further strengthening of the savings programme in the economic and social activity of the country.

- 2) Draft-law on the modification of Article 44 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania.

3) Approval of decrees issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

On the first item of the agenda the floor was taken by the vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers Xhafer Spahiu who, on behalf of the Council of Ministers of the P.R. of Albania, presented the report

«On the further strengthening of the savings programme in the economic and social activity of the country».

The second item on the agenda was reported upon by the chairman of the Juridical Commission of the People's Assembly, the deputy Aranit Çela, and for

the third item on the agenda the floor was taken by the secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Telo Mezini, who presented the decrees issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly. The deputies unanimously approved the decisions concerned on every item of the agenda.

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the June 1924 Revolution, various activities took place, such as jubilee meetings, scientific sessions, and conferences in work and production centres and cultural educational institutions.

The General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, the National Committee of the Albanian People's War Veterans, the Academy of Sciences of the P.R. of Albania and the Council of the Democratic Front of the Tirana district organized a jubilee meeting which was attended by working people of production centres and various institutions of the capital, veterans of the National Liberation Struggle, participants in the 1924 Revolution, and young men and women.

The speech on the occasion was delivered by the member of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Tirana district Democratic Front Council, Ndreçi Plasari. After having analyzed the specific historic conditions in which the June 1924 Revolution was carried out, comrade Ndreçi Plasari dwelt on some aspects of the activity of the Democratic Government headed by Fan Noli. He said among other things:

The victory of the revolution was welcomed with a great joy throughout the country.

Unfortunately, the government which emerged from the revolution proved unable to serve it or put in practice its own programme and promises.

While the government was hesitating to implement its programme a powerful movement emerged from below – the movement of the peasantry and city rank-and-file, which insistently demanded the fulfilment of the promises. At the head of this movement were revolutionary democratic elements, rallied around the «Bash-

50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1924 REVOLUTION

kimi» society. This movement exerted a powerful pressure on the government. The government, however, instead of submitting to the will of the popular masses and frightened by the revolutionary impetus of these masses, threw itself into antipopular actions. It lost the support of the peasantry which constituted the principal motive force of the democratic revolution, because it did nothing to free them from chains of feudalism. The radical wing of the government was unable to divorce itself from the reformist methods, and it did not forcefully contribute to compel the government to carry out its programme. Nor did the branches of the «Bashkimi» society, which stood at the head of the masses movement, go any further than protest rallies and meetings; they were not in a position to transform the movement into an armed uprising to seize the land and realize the democratic rights envisaged in the government programme.

Thus, the government lost the support of the peasant masses, as Fan Noli himself was to admit later on, because it was unable to implement the land reform and eradicate feudalism.

The loss of this support greatly weak-

ned the government and the revolution in general. In this situation the counter-revolution reared its head.

The popular masses, although dissatisfied with and disillusioned by the government, proved ready to fight the counterrevolution. But they were unorganized and unprepared for such a struggle, and they lacked revolutionary leadership, therefore they could not resist long. The resistance was sabotaged by the reactionary high officials and army officers who were not purged from the state apparatus and the army with the triumph of the revolution. In this way the counterrevolutionary hordes occupied Tirana in December 23. The government was toppled and the revolution was suppressed.

The light of freedom, democracy and social progress, which appeared for six months on the Albanian horizon, was put out without being able to penetrate deeply into the political, economic, social and cultural life of the country.

The light of the June Revolution went out, but its repercussions remained and will remain for centuries in the history of the Albanian people.

After having spoken of the objective and subjective causes of the failure and

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suppression of the Revolution, comrade Ndreçi Plasari continued:

From the positive and negative experience of the June Revolution, lessons were drawn by the coming generation of revolutionaries, the Albanian communists, who placed themselves at the head of the democratic movement for national and social liberation from the middle of the 30's.

Lessons were particularly drawn by the Communist Party, the leader of the great antifascist National Liberation Struggle. In this struggle not only the gaps in the June Revolution filled and its errors and shortcomings eliminated, but the Party raised to a very high level the skilful application of the objective laws of the revolution and of Marxist-Leninist principles, in conformity with the specific national and international conditions.

The Communist Party of Albania, with its founder and teacher, comrade Enver Hoxha, at the head, implanted a patriotic and revolutionary consciousness in the hearts of men and forged a monolithic unity of the insurgent Albanian people around it, as a leading core previously unknown in the history of the liberation struggles in our country. It organized the general popular uprising and created the National Liberation Army as a regular army of the Albanian people, who were thus in a position not only to drive out the fascist invaders and destroy the home reaction by their own forces, but also to ensure an invincible armed defence of their victories from the inevitable blows of internal and external enemies. It smashed and eradicated the old feudal-bourgeois state power, erecting on its ruins an entirely new revolutionary political power, and building the new Albanian state of people's democracy.

It is now thirty years since liberation and the triumph of the popular revolution. This period of the triumphant march forward in the entire life of our country tells us many things. Above all, it shows that the historic victory of November 29, 1944 was not the end of the revolution in general, but only of a stage of it, of the antifascist, antiimperialist, democratic stage. That victory constituted at the same time the beginning of the proletarian so-

cialist revolution, as a direct continuation and as a component, organic part of the same revolution which began under the leadership of the Communist Party in the antifascist National Liberation Struggle. In uninterrupted continuation of the revolution the economic foundation of feudalism and the bourgeoisie, was destroyed in Albania, and the economic basis of socialism was built both in town and countryside, while now we have embarked on the new stage of the complete construction of the socialist society. The revolutionary reversals and transformations that have been made in Albania within this 30-year period would under different conditions have taken several centuries.

The thirty years that have elapsed since the November 29, 1944 victory show also that no enemies, however great, fierce and powerful that they may be, are able to suppress the triumphant revolution, even in a little country like Albania, when the revolution is guided by the revolutionary party of the working class, when this leadership preserves and strengthens the steel-like ties with the broad popular masses and makes its political line and the revolution itself a concern of these masses, on the basis of the deep convictions and fulfilment of the demands and desires of the masses, the defence of the interests of the working people, when it implements the principle of self-reliance without underestimating the support of the international revolutionary forces and when the leadership of the revolution and the masses making it do not bow before difficulties and obstacles, especially before the inevitable pressure and activity of the internal and external class enemies. This explains the failure of all the numerous plans and efforts to annihilate the gains of the revolution and overthrow the socialist order in Albania made by the exploiting classes of the country, the feudals, bayraktars (chiefs of clans) and the bourgeoisie, as well as our external enemies, the American, British and other imperialists, the Greek monarcho-fascists and the Yugoslav revisionists, and finally the Soviet social imperialists and their lackeys.

Recalling today the events of the June 1924 Revolution and the names of the great patriots connected with these events,

such as Avni Rustemi, Fan Noli, Bajram Curri, Luigj Gurakuqi, Riza Cerova, etc., the teachings of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha and the teachings of history about the preservation and constant development of the victories achieved are increasingly more instilled in the minds and hearts of our people.

Comrade Ndreçi Plasari concluded:

United as one around the Party, our people have set about vigorous work and allround revolutionary struggle to meet the 30th anniversary of liberation and the triumph of the People's Revolution with fully realized plans and tasks, with the greatest possible successes and victories,

with high preparedness to defend the gains of the Revolution and the socialist Homeland and with firm confidence in Party line and in comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, which lead the country with wisdom, revolutionary determination and courage towards the high peaks of progress and socialism.

On May 21, 1974 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Albania handed the embassy of the Italian Republic the following note:

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Albania, on behalf of its Government, notifies the Embassy of the Italian Republic to transmit to its Government the following:

On May 21, 1974 a grave provocation of the fascist type was carried out against the Embassy of the People's Republic of Albania in Rome by terrorist elements who placed a number of bombs in the Embassy garden. As a result of the explosion of one of them, major material damage was caused. A situation of insecurity and danger to the lives of the Embassy's personnel continued for several hours because of the other three unexploded bombs.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania energetically protests to the Government of the Italian Republic about this grave crime against the Embassy of the People's Republic of Albania and its personnel. This terrorist act, committed with premeditation, which only by mere chance failed to cause victims among the diplomats and other embassy officials who at the time of the bomb explosion were performing their usual functions, constitutes an ugly provocation directed against the People's Republic of Albania, and a flagrant violation of all the known norms and rules of international law on the security of the inviolability and normal activity of diplomatic representations.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania deems it necessary to point out that the latest attack on the Albanian Embassy buildings in Rome is

PROTEST BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE P.R. OF ALBANIA ADDRESSED TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ITALIAN REPUBLIC

neither an accidental nor an isolated event. In the past, and particularly during the year 1973, the personnel and buildings of the Embassy of the People's Republic of Albania in Rome have been the object of repeated attacks and provocations, organized for definite purposes. The Albanian Government long ago drew the Italian Government's attention to the organisation or allowing of these grave acts, pointing out its responsibility for the consequences deriving therefrom.

It is particularly to be pointed out that despite the continuous warnings and demands of the Albanian Government, the Italian Government has not taken the necessary measures to bar the way to such acts and provocations, to protect the

lives of members of the staff, or to guarantee the normal activity of the Embassy of the People's Republic of Albania in Rome. The events of May 21 this year clearly show what grave consequences can be brought about by the continuation of this impermissible stand on the part of the Italian official authorities. Such events cannot fail to influence the relations between the two countries negatively.

The question arises for the Albanian Government: Is the Italian Government sincerely committed to the normal development of these relations or will it continue to adopt stands which favour the fascists and other dark forces in Italy which do not like the development of

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good neighbourly relations between Albania and Italy, continually organize slanderous, hostile campaigns against the People's Republic of Albania, and go as far as to undertake provocative, terrorist activities against its diplomatic representation.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania, once more pointing out the grave and very dangerous character of the terrorist act of May 21, 1974 against the Albanian Embassy in Rome, charges the Government of the Italian Republic with responsibility for this; it

demands the severe punishment of the culprits and the adoption of the necessary measures to ensure that such acts are not repeated in the future, so as to secure the lives of the personnel of the Embassy of the People's Republic of Albania, and its normal activity. The Albanian Government expects the Italian Government to notify it as soon as possible about the measures adopted by the Italian Government to fulfil these demands, and reserves its right to undertake any other steps which it may consider necessary.

Tirana, May 21, 1974.-

ASDREN'S MORTAL REMAINS RETURN TO THE MOTHERLAND

Our people, educated with the teachings of the Party and of comrade Enver Hoxha, love and respect their writers and artists. They highly appraise their works in the service of the Homeland. This care was expressed in bringing the mortal remains of the patriotic and democrat poet Aleksandër Stavre Drenova (Asdren) from the S.R. of Rumania to our country.

The coffin containing the remains of this worthy son of our people was taken to his native village of Drenovë with honours by the population of Tirana, representatives of the state and cultural and educational institutions, school pupils, students and service men. A funeral ceremony was organized in Drenovë. On behalf of the Albanian Writers' and Artists' League, the meeting was addressed by the League's president, Dritëro Agolli.

The coffin was placed beside the poet's bust, erected in his memory. As the band

played the national anthem, wreaths were placed on the grave on behalf of the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Albanian Writers' and Artists' League, the Academy of Sciences of the P.R. of Albania, the National Committee of the Albanian People's War Veterans, the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations with the Outside World, the University of Tirana, the Institute of Literature and Linguistics, the «Naim Frashëri» Publishing House, the National Library, the Korça District Party Committee, the Executive Committee of the District People's Council, and the Embassy of the People's Republic of Albania to the S.R. of Rumania, on behalf of the Albanians residing in Bucharest and also by the poet's nieces, mass organisations, institutions and economic enterprises of the Korça district, the 8-year school of the city of Korça bearing the name of «Aleksandër Stavre Drenova», etc.

The development of agriculture over these 30 years is shown in the construction of a large number of reservoirs and artificial lakes. Work on these began in the year 1959. Today their number stands at more than 500.

The Thana reservoir in the Lushnja area and that of Kurjan in Fieri are the biggest ones. For their construction the builders removed several million cubic metres of clay and dug hundreds of kilometres of canals. The Kurjan reservoir irrigates over 6,000 hectares of land in the Fieri area. The Thana reservoir, which takes water from the Devolli river, irrigates over 3,500 hectares of land in the Lushnja area. Their great usefulness was seen from the beginning in the increasing yields of agricultural crops. The productivity of maize was increased three-fold, and for some other crops it increased even more.

After the 60's the construction of a series of other projects began, such as the Shtodri reservoir in Shkodra area, which now irrigates over 2,200 hectares. When it is finished, it will irrigate 3,500 hectares of land. For the first stage of this project the State spent over 25 million

In struggle to carry out the great tasks set by the Central Committee of the Party for the further revolutionisation of education, the teaching and research workers of Tirana University have scored a new success. They have concluded the great scientific undertaking of the compilation of new texts. This undertaking involved the vast majority of teaching and research staff, as well as over 150 specialists and cadres of production in various occupations. Likewise, young teachers, too made their contribution to this undertaking. During the work on compiling the texts, they have made great efforts to ensure that the texts are of the highest scientific level, thus corresponding better to our socialist reality and the successes we have achieved.

560 basic and supplementary texts have been compiled, as against the planned 376. The supplementary texts are the guiding texts for exercises and laborato-

RESERVOIRS AND ARTIFICIAL LAKES FOR IRRIGATION

leks, and a whole complex of fine projects was built.

In the Durrës district the Tarini, Borça, Çallek, Rubjeka and other reservoirs were constructed, these irrigate the major part of the lands of the Shijak and Durrës plains, with an area of 7,000 hectares. Other reservoirs which are under construction in that district will further extend the irrigated area.

Broad land areas are irrigated through reservoirs in the Gjirokastra, Tirana and

other regions, too. The Doftia reservoir, which is fed by the Suha river, in the Gjirokastra area, irrigates over 5,000 hectares of land. Almost half this area is also irrigated by the Tapiza reservoir in the Tirana area.

Through reservoirs alone, over 115,000 hectares of land are irrigated today in Albania, as against a total of 29,000 hectares irrigated at all before liberation. Many of these reservoirs serve as fish nurseries, and quick growing fish are put into them for this purpose.

COMPILATION OF NEW TEXTS CONCLUDED IN TIRANA UNIVERSITY

ry work; most of the younger teaching and research workers at the University have contributed to them.

The texts are of good quality, and mark a new success in Albanian science and education. They are closely connected

with the work for the building of the socialist society and they bear the seal of Albanian thought and ideas. Most of these books bear the signatures of our writers and other scientific workers.

**FROM
THE LIFE
OF THE
COUNTRY**

30 RESEARCH PROJECTS IN THE FIELD OF VETERINARY MEDICINE

The scientific workers of the Veterinary Research Institute are working on 30 topics this year, connected with the investigation of infectious diseases, the improvement of vaccines and serums, diagnosis, some preventive measures such as para-tuberculosis vaccination of cattle, the study of infectious bronchitis in poultry, dictocaulosis in sheep, etc.

Under the guidance of the Institute, the national undertaking of the mass investigation of tuberculosis in cattle and brucellosis in cattle and sheep, as well as improving livestock health, is continuing.

Recently for the first time in this country, diseases have been diagnosed which gravely affect animals and poultry, such

as «Aujeshi» in pigs, and «Mycoplasmosis» and infectious bronchitis in poultry. Studies are now underway, to discover ways of combating these diseases.

At the same time the staff of the vaccine production section of this institute are working on antibiotics which will make it possible to combat a series of animal and poultry diseases. In order to cope with the campaign for investigating tuberculosis and brucellosis, measures have been taken to increase the number of diagnostic and preventive measures, such as anti-TB vaccine, the anti-brucellosis vaccine, brucelar diagnostic antigens, etc. This year 30 per cent more antibiotics will be produced than last year.

AFTER TEN YEARS OF WORK

In the framework of the studies that have been carried out by the Seismological Centre, under the Academy of Sciences, to define Albania's seismological area on the scale 1 : 500.000, the work «Catalogue of Albanian earthquakes for the 1800-1970 period» is being concluded and will soon be sent to the press.

This work contains systematized, detailed data about the earthquakes which have occurred in the last 170 years in our country, such as the date and time of occurrence, the coordinates of the epicen-

tre, its force in focus and epicentre, the depth of the focus, the consequences it caused and other seismological parameters. The work presents the various laws of the relations between seismological parameters.

The compilation of this work has taken several years, and made use of a very large body of material, including other 300 different volumes, almost all the data of instrumental recordings, for the 1900-1970 period, of Albanian earthquakes recorded by the seismological stations of

various European countries, the contemporary press reports, chronicles, archives and data from expeditions carried out for this purpose. The accumulated information has been analysed according to the

most modern scientific criteria, and computers were used for this purpose.

This work will be the basis for the definition of Albania's seismological area on the scale of 1 : 500.000 and will help

in the adoption of more effective anti-earthquake measures in our construction work.

The work will also be useful to a large number of readers and students.

During four months of this year alone, the agricultural machinery plant in Durrës, produced and distributed 620 different machines, mainly of new types, to assist agriculture. This is a success in the efforts being made by the working collective to give agriculture allround aid in fulfilling the great tasks assigned to it.

Along with production, the plant itself has grown. At the present stage, production is constantly rising. The new machines with which agriculture is being supplied are considered as quite usual by the young workers, and it is only through the veteran workers that they learnt that instead of the present-day plant there were formerly a few small workshops which produced mainly various types of screws. After liberation large workshops were built and supplied with new machinery. Thus, for the first time the repairing of tractors in Albania began, and parallel with this repair work, the first threshing machine of the «Adriatic» type was constructed. This was followed by dozens of other threshing machines, which have since paved the way for diversification in the plant.

With the extension and specialisation of the various sections under the fifth five-year plan, the workers themselves and the engineering and technical personnel took a number of initiatives in order to place production on sound scientific foundations. Thus, while continuing the work for the further deepening of specialisation during the current five-year plan, the collective designed and built through its own efforts a series of land levelling machines, grain drying installations, milling machines, maize sowing and maize husking machines, grain ventilators, etc. From its establishment up to now this plant has produced about 30 per cent of all the country's agricultural machinery.

The setting up of the steel smelter, the new boiler department and some power-

FROM SCREWS TO AGRICULTURAL MACHINES

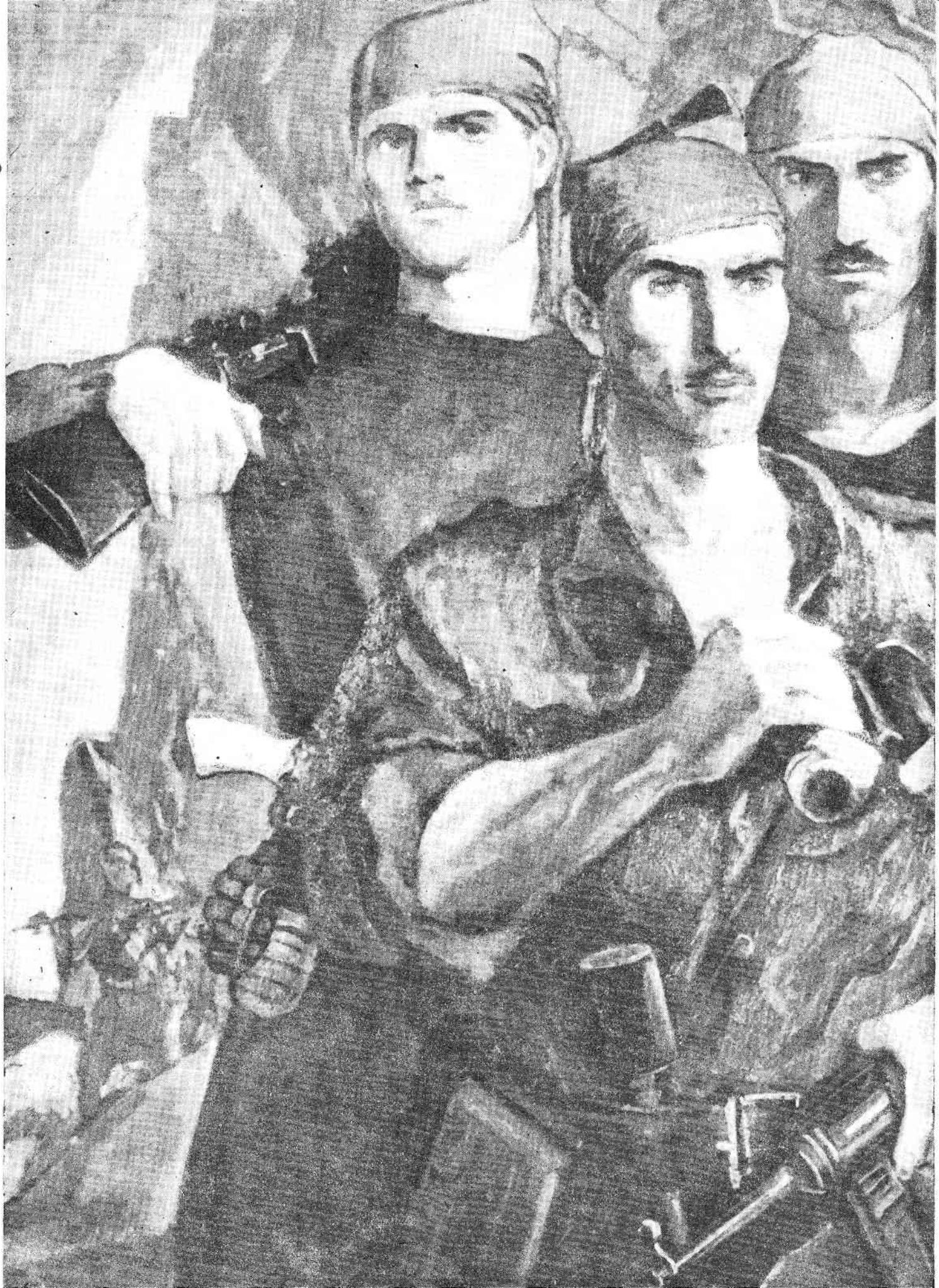
ful presses paved the way for a qualitative improvement in the production of various spare parts, and so helped to prolong the life of the agricultural machines. Recently, the working collective experimented with and began producing two-row maize sowing machines, pulled by animals, for use in the country's highlands. These have a labour productivity twice that of the one-row types produced so far. The collective also began the serial production of 4 and 6 row sowing machines, an additional improvement over the previous types. The new machine not only weighs 20 per cent less and needs no operator but also ensures the sowing of seeds for any method of land preparation. This same plant has built the first model of a maize sowing machine combined with a chemical fertilizer distributor, and in the coming year it will experiment with the construction of 2,4 and 6 row maize sowing machines which have devices for spreading chemical fertilizer together with the seeds. This year the plant will turn out a rotary trencher and a posthole enlarger, machines which are in great demand. This year, the workers have also pledged to produce 34 new items for the country's agricultural machines, spare parts for ploughs, self-propelled combines, etc.

The technological and construction bureau, drawing on the workers' creativity,

have worked out a broad programme of work for designing and experimenting with other new machines. This year, combination grain cleaners and graders with a capacity 10 times greater than the ventilators previously produced are being designed, along with new types of ploughs and other devices.

The plant's chief engineer, Dhimitër Olldashi, said: «We have great prospects ahead of us. We have worked out a special plan for the next five year period which, in conformity with the technological possibilities, includes the types of machines to be produced. Most attention will be given to the production of ploughs, which are still imported from abroad. Parallel with this we shall expand the production of spare parts, and also continue the production of agricultural machines, harrows, pastholers and son on, all items, which are now imported.

Small and large scale mechanisation of the plant's technological processes is also being considered. The erection of the new foundry with a large productive capacity, the construction of its machinery and equipment with our own forces, the establishment of the spare part heat plastic section, the power sub-station, the compressor shop, and so on are some of current, major problems on which the plant's personnel are now working.





*Sali Shijaku,
the vanguard of the
«Revenge» partisan Battalion (oil).*

THE NATIONAL QUESTION AND REVISIONISM

**The revisionist
theorizations concerning
the national question,
and their application
in practice.**

Brezhnev's thesis on

**«one single Soviet people» is by no means a «contribution»
to Marxist-Leninist theory, but an invention by the revisionists
in order to camouflage their efforts to impose
the Russian language and culture on the peoples of other nationalities,
a characteristic feature of any occupier**

MARXISM AND REVISIONISM ARE TWO OPPOSED IDEOLOGIES. THEY EXPRESS AND DEFEND THE INTERESTS OF CLASSES WHICH HAVE NOTHING IN COMMON AND WHICH ARE IN MUTUAL STRUGGLE AND ANTAGONISM. THE CLASS WHICH IS ARMED WITH MARXIST IDEOLOGY STRUGGLES TO OVERTHROW THE SOCIETY OF OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION, AND CONSTRUCT THE NEW SOCIETY, FREE OF OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION AND WITHOUT CLASSES. THE OTHER, WHICH IS ARMED WITH THE IDEOLOGY OF THE REVISIONISTS, STRIVES TO CONSOLIDATE THE CAPITALIST ORDER OR TO RETURN IT WHEN IT IS OVERTHROWN. THAT IS WHY WE SAY THAT MARXIST IDEOLOGY PLAYS A PROGRESSIVE ROLE IN THE LIFE OF SOCIETY, WHILE REVISIONIST IDEOLOGY PLAYS A REACTIONARY ROLE.

Between these two ideologies from the time of Marx and Engels, and continuing to the present day, a struggle has been waged which is connected with the fate of the working class, capitalism, and socialism. The need to prepare the working class and the labouring masses to destroy the exploiting order and build up the new order means that struggle against any

alien, hostile ideology, the revisionist ideology included, is indispensable. The struggle against revisionism has its own specific features, inasmuch as its ideologists «swear by all their gods» that they are successors to Marx, quote the classics of Marxism, etc. etc. For this reason the revisionists are deceivers and demagogues, yet despite their great failures both

in theory and in practice, they continue to find a certain «market» for their obsolete, rotten line.

In this article we shall try to present some of the revisionist theorizations concerning the national question, which are trumpeted as a «further development of Marxism» and its application in practice. These theorizations were served by the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the creation of the USSR. On this occasion the Soviets approved «the resolution on the preparations concerning the 50th anniversary of the USSR». This «resolution», as well as the anti-Marxist report delivered by Brezhnev at the XXIVth Congress of the CPSU, have served as a source for the revisionist scribblers to write a multitude of articles about the «successes» of the Soviet revisionist party and the «colossal changes» in the field of na-

man is liquidated and new social relations are created. For the first time in history, this was proved in the Soviet Union. The building of socialism in that country, with its many nations and nationalities, had the result that parallel with the elimination of social and political oppression and exploitation, national oppression and exploitation were also eliminated. In the Soviet Union new relations were established both between men and between nations and nationalities, thus turning that country from a «prison of nations» into a community of free, equal and sovereign nations. This was one of the most brilliant victories of socialism in the USSR.

Unfortunately, this progressive process, which was realized under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party with Lenin and Stalin at the head, was interrupted with the advent of the Khrushchevite revisionists to power. These enemies of the working class organized and led that counterrevolutionary change which made possible the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. With the restoration of capitalism, oppression and exploitation, and the antagonistic contradictions that characterize it, re-emerged. This oppression and exploitation and these antagonistic contradictions became a reality in the relations among nations too.

But all this does not hinder the Khrushchevite revisionists from presenting the situation as if nothing bad has occurred in the Soviet Union, and that the latter is developing, according to Lenin's instructions, on the road of «communism». Dealing with «theoretical problems» of this society, the Khrushchevites are attempting to prove that today in the USSR, the relations among nations and nationalities have entered a new stage, so that there have emerged some phenomena which belong to the period of the construction of the classless society. Raising these «problems» and treating them as they please, the Khrushchevites aim to achieve the following objectives; 1) to deceive the masses, nations and nationalities of the USSR, and 2) to justify theoretically the need to «merge» the nations, which in fact is expressed in the policy of russification, and thus of denationalization, pursued by the new Kremlin czars.

In their many articles, the Soviet scrib-

blers dwell on the words uttered by Brezhnev at the XXIVth Congress of the CPSU; «... during the years of socialist construction in our country there has emerged a *new historic community of men – one single Soviet people*». (Italics mine – B.H.) This thesis of Brezhnev on the «single Soviet people» is offered to us as a «contribution» by him to «Marxist-Leninist theory» «The single Soviet people» is allegedly a new historic community of men, and the highest of all the communities that have existed so far. Society knows various communities of men, beginning with the tribe and ending with the nation. The creation of a new higher community is an invention of the Soviet revisionists.

If we examine the numerous articles by the Khrushchevites closely, we will see what the «single Soviet people» means. It appears to be identical with the Russian people. According to these writers, at the present stage of the development of the USSR, the differences between the nations and nationalities continue to diminish and disappear; thus all the nations are acquiring common features – those of the Russian nation. As well, the Soviet Republics themselves have lost their national character and have been internationalized. Thus, the decision on the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the USSR reads: «Now the working people of each Republic constitute a collective of many nations...»¹. But things do not end there. In these multinational Republics, the main role is allegedly played by the Russians, with their culture and language. Here is what A.A. Soliev writes: «During the direct participation of the Russian people in the life of each Republic, and the day to day contact with them our nations come to know and increasingly appropriate the rich Russian culture.»².

The aim of the entire propaganda fare in connection with the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the USSR is to prove that national differences are disappearing, and to argue the need to merge all the nations into one single nation. However, since for the time being they cannot deny the existence of nations in the USSR, the revisionists, when speaking of a «single Soviet people», say that it is «a single multi-national Soviet people». This «single multi-national Soviet people»

by **BUJAR HOXHA**

tional relations in the USSR. All this noise has been made in order to camouflage the failures of the Soviet revisionists in this field, too. In the Soviet Union, the old relations of oppression and exploitation have been restored in every aspect of social life, including national relations.

The question of the birth of «one single Soviet people» and the role of Russian language and culture

Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin argued that with the overthrow of capitalism and the building of the socialist society, the exploitation and oppression of man by

has, in their opinion, more common features than the nations and nationalities of the USSR have differences. By mentioning these «common features», the Khrushchevites are striving to prove that the nations of the USSR have begun to merge. One of these common features is allegedly the Russian language, which has already become, they say, an «international» language of the nations and nationalities. The Khrushchevite revisionists proclaim that the mastering of this language by the other nations and nationalities is a necessity for the development of the Soviet society towards «comunism». Thus they strive to justify their policy of denationalizing the non-Russian peoples. «The use of the Russian language», A. A. Soliev writes, «everywhere in the country (in the USSR, B.H.) is conditioned above all by co-existence with the Russians and by the role of their language, which ensures the mutual communication of the many nations with different languages. Its use is for us a vital indispensability and a daily necessity»³ (Italics mine, B.H.).

Precisely on this basis, there has emerged the theory of relinguism. According to this theory, the non-Russian nations, parallel with their mother tongue, also use and speak Russian, which is made the principal language. In order to argue the view that the Russian language is the most important language, the Khrushchevites point out that in the first place, the Russian language gives the non-Russian nations the opportunity to *understand the achievements of world culture better and to express their victories more accurately*, inasmuch as the languages of the small nations are allegedly unable to meet the demands made by current development. Hence the conclusion drawn by them that the small nations ought to master the Russian language. Also it is not difficult to understand from this that the languages of the non-Russian nations are of a lower rank, are second rate.

However the Khrushchevites do not confine themselves to that. In order to back their chauvinistic thesis about the vital need for all the nations and nationalities of the USSR to master the Russian language as their primary language, they strive to prove that knowing Russian gives the

non-Russian nations the opportunity to think more accurately, more scientifically. Thus, the very ancient well-developed languages of the non-Russian nations are supposed to be a hindrance *in expressing one's self* clearly and, accurately, and also in thinking scientifically and accurately. This is the root of the theory of bilingual thinking, in the mother tongue and in Russian, where «Russian thinking» is supposed to predominate. Finally, the ideologists of the russification of the Soviet Union, and the denationalization of the nations there, consider that another very important factor, which makes the study and use of the Russian language indispensable is the need to master «the very rich Russian culture»; mastering this has already become, they say, «a vital necessity for the non-Russian nations».

These theorizations prove that the new Kremlin czars are determined to russify the non-Russian nations, but are camouflaging this policy. Thus, they make out the study of Russian, as the primary language of the non-Russian peoples, to be a voluntary choice of these peoples themselves, not something imposed on them. In order to prove this, they give some «objective reasons», for instance, the fact that in the USSR, the majority of the population is made up of Russians, that the Russian language is spoken by the major part of the non-Russian population in all the republics, etc., etc. The Soviet writers do not say how many Russians living in the non-Russian republics have learned and speak the local language. History proves that the occupier has always striven to impose his language on the oppressed people, but he himself has not even attempted to learn the local language. This is a characteristic feature of any occupier.

In the Soviet Union, there is no equality in the field of language, just as there is no equality in the other relations between the nations. Real equality in the field of language is not created by statements and empty words. It emerges as a result of the equality which exists in other fields of social life, in the political, economic, cultural and other fields. As such equality does not exist in the Soviet Union, then there can be no talk about any equality in the field of language.

Language is an element, a feature, of each nation. Without language there can be no nation, although that is not the only feature which determines it. The exploiting classes knew this in the past and know it today too. *That is why they have always begun the policy of denationalizing a people* by attacking their language. On the one hand, they have striven to lessen the use of the language of the oppressed nation, and on the other they have done their utmost to ensure that *their* language is used as much as possible, compelling the oppressed people, by various methods, to learn it, as is the case in the USSR. That is why we frequently find in history cases in which, among the main demands of the national movement, the question of the study and use of the mother tongue and the development of national culture figures largely.

We must not conclude from this that the national question of the oppressed nation is solved by fulfilling these demands. History proves that the exploiting class of the ruling nation often does *not* deny the oppressed nation the use of its language, or schools, newspapers and other institutions in its mother tongue. Indeed, this was sometimes allowed, though certainly not for all nations, by the Turkish empire. The Austro-Hungarian empire went even further. But despite this, in both these empires, the nations were not free. Not for nothing did Lenin and Stalin fight and expose the ill-famed opportunist theory of the «educational and cultural autonomy» of the Austrian social-democrats, such as Bauer, Roener, etc., which allegedly solved the national question of the oppressed nations. Lenin and Stalin worked out the principles on the basis of which the national question was solved in the land of the Soviets, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was created. The «Declaration of the rights of the peoples of Russia», which was approved by the 3rd. Congress of the Soviets of the worker and soldier deputies of all Russia, held at the beginning of the year 1918, proclaimed *the equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia, the right of nations to self-determination up to separation and the creation of an independent state, the abolition of all and every kind of national privileges*

and restrictions, and the free development of the national minorities and ethnic groups which lived on the territory of Russia. Today all these principles have been violated by the Khrushchevite revisionists.

Internationalization of social life and the national question

For long time now, the Soviet revisionist press has treated the question of the factors in the internationalization of social life, and their operation under the conditions of socialism, in a particular way. Their objective is to prove that the factors in the internationalization of social life lead, in the USSR, to the rapprochement and merging of the nations, as they understand this.

A great concentration and internationalization of the economy begins right from the advent of capitalism. With the emergence and development of capitalist relations of production, nations emerge and national cultures are formed. The great concentration and internationalisation of the economy does not lead these national cultures, which develop in the fold of capitalism, towards a merger with the culture of the bigger nations, as the ideologists of the exploiting classes are trying to prove. The theory of the internationalization of national cultures is aimed at proving the inevitability of such a process. Comrade Enver Hoxha exposed this theory at the 4th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, and showed its danger. He says: «The imperialist bourgeoisie has always striven to denigrate or eliminate the cultural traditions of the smaller nations, and the national spirit of their art and culture. This is one of the ways it practices cultural aggression and the subjugation of the peoples. The bourgeois reactionary concept about the «internationalisation» of culture and art, and the idea that the stage of «national schools» has been already evercome, aim at eliminating the cultures of other peoples»⁴

This is precisely the aim of all the fuss being made in the Soviet Union about the great role of Russian culture, and the

necessity of its being mastered by other peoples. In the opinion of the Soviet revisionists, this culture together with the Russian language has become a vital necessity for all Soviet men and women. Things have gone so far that right now there is a tendency not to see a national language and culture as a distinctive feature of a nation. Here is what V. Zh. Kelle writes: «The sphere where national differences are preserved longer than any other thing is livelihood, national traditions, customs etc.»⁵. Hence, the national language and culture will disappear before these traditions and customs, which are allegedly sufficient to distinguish one nation from another. Therefore the Khrushchevite revisionists take the Russian language and culture to be one of the important factors contributing to the internationalization of social life in the Soviet Union.

The aggression of the Soviet revisionists in the field of culture also rears its head in science. Science is mentioned as one of the factors in the internationalization of social life. But science, in their opinion, can be promoted by the great nations who have so much potential, whereas the small nations must learn that they have to get it from the big ones. Allegedly, science can be taught best of all by the Russians and the Americans. Thus, in this field, too, they seek to establish their monopoly, and to tie the hands of other peoples. This is thoroughly reactionary view.

The various nations all make their contribution to science, because science develops on a given national ground and it is precisely this ground that allows us to carry out studies at the level of contemporary science. Therefore we can say that the hegemonistic policy of the Soviet revisionists is reflected in the field of culture and science.

In the Soviet Union the internationalization of social life is reflected in many ways. In the first place it finds its expression in the subjugation of the non-Russian nations, and in their national repression, which is mirrored in national antagonisms. Then, the policy of internationalizing culture is reflected in the tendency to proclaim the Russian culture as an all-Soviet culture, and the Russian language as the language of the Soviet Union. This is why

we say that the phenomenon of the internationalization of social life in the Soviet Union, as in any other capitalist country, is utilized to hinder the development and growth of the non-Russian nations and their cultures. The thesis that in the Soviet Union a unified economy has been created is used to prove the inevitability of its reflection in all spheres of social life, and in the creation of one single Soviet people, one Soviet man, one Soviet language and one Soviet culture. If this goes on, it will not be long before, during future censuses in the Soviet Union, people will be compelled to declare that they are «Soviet», not according to the nation concerned.

Proletarian internationalism and the national question

The principles of proletarian internationalism were formulated by Marx and Engels. They have shown the international nature of the proletariat as a class, and have expressed this in the «Manifesto of the Communist Party» with the words: «Workers of all countries, unite».

To characterize the idea of internationalism means to point out its many aspects and, above all, its world outlook, in its political and ethical aspect. This has been forcefully stressed by Lenin, who, when opposing the principle of internationalism to bourgeois nationalism, says: «Bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism are two incompatible, hostile slogans which respond to two class camps throughout the capitalist world and express two policies (moreover, two world outlooks) on the national question».

In every aspect of the national question, proletarian internationalism is the opposite of nationalism, beginning with overt chauvinism and ending with its camouflaged forms. Nationalism is alien to the proletarian ideology. It divides the forces of the working people of various countries. Lenin has more than once pointed out that the international interests of the working class stand higher than the interests of individual sections of the working class. Internationalism shows us the road leading

towards the rapprochement, union, solidarity, and mutual assistance of the working class and all the labouring masses. But proletarian internationalism does not deny national distinctions. It does not exclude national differences and therefore it rejects any kind of national nihilism which does not accept national distinctions, and does not take into consideration national differences. A world outlook which ignores national forms and relations, and detaches itself from the actual basis of the life of a nation, affects national feelings and stimulates nationalist attitudes. Therefore, we are against such nationalism and national nihilism alike.

Proletarian internationalism does not allow specifically national features to be absolutized, because such absolutism means renunciation of the class proletarian stand in the field of national relations. We know that the absolutism of national theories nourishes the remnants of nationalism and, what is worse, creates suitable grounds for revising Marxism-Leninism as an internationalist theory. The revisionist theses of the «pluralism» of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, and the possibility of the existence of various «Marxisms» in various countries, or even within a country, stem from the absolutization of distinctive national features. All this is done to limit the labour movement within a country and, consequently, to divide the international labour movement. The partisans of these anti-Marxist theses seek to deprive the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of its internationalist character. We reject such a view, when we say that the Marxist-Leninist doctrine is one and indivisible. At the same time, Marxism-Leninism, as an internationalist doctrine, must be implemented in a creative manner, in conformity with the specific historical conditions of various countries. This means that we are also against dogmatism which does not take these conditions into account.

The indispensability of the unity of the international labour movement, which is an expression of the idea of proletarian internationalism, is connected with the other principles of Marxism-Leninism, such as, for example, the correct solution of the national question. This solution is directly realized with the establishment of

complete, actual equality between nations, granting them the right to self-determination up to separation, and so on. Therefore, this idea also combats chauvinism and nationalism, which are enemies of the working class.

But the principle of proletarian internationalism is not just a slogan used as propaganda. In connection with this, Lenin stresses: «The essence of internationalism does not consist in «proclamation», but in knowing, even in difficult times, how to be an internationalist in deeds». Thus, a major distinctive feature of proletarian internationalism just as of Marxist-Leninist theory, is the idea that words must not be separated from deeds. This means that internationalism is not just an idea, but also an actual practice. The unity of word and deeds is an indispensable condition for putting into practice the principle of proletarian internationalism. We say this because even a slight separation of theory from practice, word from deed, impairs the confidence of the peoples. This is just what is happening in the Soviet Union today. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «the present Soviet leaders have replaced proletarian internationalism with big state egoism and chauvinism». The tendency towards national oppression and chauvinism is opposed by the revival of nationalist trends; this has become a reality in the USSR.

Proletarian internationalism is the principle of our ideology and the policy of every genuine Marxist party in the field of national relations. In the conditions of capitalism, this principle finds its expression in developing the solidarity of the proletariat throughout the world, in assisting the world proletariat and in help being given to proletariat of the capitalist countries by the proletariat of those countries where they are in power, and vice-versa. In the conditions of socialism, this principle finds its expression in the actual establishment of the equality of nations, in the establishment of friendship among the peoples, in the development of relations of collaboration and mutual assistance among nations, and in the right of nations to self-determination, up to separation when the state is multi-national. Formally, the Khrushche-

vite revisionists accept this right, but in reality they make impossible to realize. This right to self-determination, up to separation, as well as the other rights which are stipulated in the Soviet constitution, are formal, because since it was usurped by the Khrushchevite revisionists, the Soviet state can no longer express the interests of its working masses and nations.

However, the Soviet leaders swear by all their gods that they remain «loyal» to proletarian internationalism, that they «aid» the revolutionary movement of the time, the newly liberated nations, etc. They use this slogan in order to camouflage their expansionist and aggressive aims, and to deceive other people. In reality, their whole practical activity shows that the Soviet revisionists have long ago given up this great principle of the labour movement, just as they have given up the Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

The Khrushchevite revisionists use this principle for their chauvinistic and aggressive aims and put all sorts of interpretations on it. Thus, any principled stand adopted towards the Soviet Union, exposing its aggressive, reactionary nature, is denounced by them as a betrayal of proletarian internationalism. The state interests of the Soviet Union are made out to be the common interests of the international labour movement. The new Soviet-U.S. agreements reached in recent years, particularly during Brezhnev's 1973 visit to the U.S.A., which aim at securing the domination of the two superpowers in the world, are presented as if they were made for the good on mankind. Criticizing the «proletarian internationalism» of the Soviet revisionists, our party has continually pointed out that the Soviet revisionist leaders seek to speculate and to impose on the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces the wrong concept that allegedly the stand taken towards the Soviet Union is a basic criterion, a «touchstone», of proletarian internationalism, and that the entire struggle and all revolutionary actions must be submitted to the interests of the Soviet Union and to its policy. «The speculations about the past and the use of theses which were once correct», comrade Enver Hoxha points

out, convince nobody today, when the Soviet revisionists have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and have transformed the Soviet Union into an imperialist country. Today, the stand taken towards the Soviet Union does once again constitute a criterion of proletarian internationalism, but in the opposite sense to that in Lenin's and Stalin's time, when it was the centre of world revolution, and its base. Today, the revolutionary and internationalist is he who fights the Soviet revisionist, exposes their betrayal, and opposes their anti-Marxist and imperialist policy and line with all his energy»⁶.

«Soviet democracy, democratic centralism and the sovereignty of the Soviet Republics»

The Khrushchevite revisionists have long made a great fuss about the essence of the Soviet order, the consistent implementation of the principle of democratic centralism in the relations among nations, and the sovereignty of the Soviet Republics. They go so far as to present the current Soviet reality as the most perfect in the world, and even attack Stalin for allegedly not having observed «Leninist principles in relations among the nations».

Let us first of all see what the Soviet democracy has been reduced to in this respect. It is a democracy, but as a form of the contemporary exploiting state, it is a tool in the hands of the new exploiting class, to oppress and bring to heel the working masses. The content of Soviet democracy radically altered after the counterrevolutionary turning-point organized and realized by the Khrushchevite revisionists. In these conditions it becomes clear that there can be no talk about putting the Leninist principle of democratic centralism into practice. Is there centralism in the Soviet Union today? Yes, there is, but it is bureaucratic centralism. In order to justify the necessity of strengthening this centralism, the Khrushchevite revisionists resort to all sorts of practices and arguments which make the right of the Federated Republics to withdraw

from the USSR, a right which formally remains in the Constitution of the Soviet Union, completely useless and unrealizable.

Let us consider the relationship of democratic centralism and Soviet federalism. Before the counterrevolutionary turning-point, this relationship in the USSR was correct, because it was based on Marxist-Leninist theory. After the degeneration of the Soviet State into a capitalist state, this relationship ceased to be correct. The question of the independence and sovereignty of the Federal Republics is in contradiction with the centralism which the Khrushchevite leaders are constantly strengthening. To justify this, the Khrushchevites admit that in the co-operation of these two principles, «democratic» centralism (really bureaucratic centralism) and Soviet federalism, the first principle becomes increasingly more important, because with the development of the USSR towards «communism», national differences become smaller or are «extinguished». From the reasonings of the Khrushchevites there clearly follows this anti-Marxist conclusion of theirs about the future of federalism and centralism in the USSR: The principle of federalism is temporary and transitory, whereas the principle of centralism is permanent.

Even if the Soviet Union were a socialist state, there could be no talk for the time being about the extinction of national differences, i.e. of nations, when capitalism continues to exist in the major part of the world. Marx, Lenin and Stalin teach us that we can talk about the extinction of nations only when communism has definitely triumphed on a world scale. But even at that stage of the development of human society, we must not think that the extinction of the nations will be realized through the assimilation of the small nations by the big ones, and that the languages of the big nations, which they call «international», will become world languages. This is advocated by the Khrushchevites for the Soviet Union, when they give the Russian nation, and Russian language and culture, the major, decisive place in that state. The classic writers of Marxism-Leninism have argued that in the communist society,

when distrust, hatred, national and social oppression and exploitation will have disappeared once and for all, nations will gradually be extinguished, and the language through which men all over the earth will communicate will not be Russian, English, or any other so-called international language. The historic experience shows that the aim of imposing the language of the big nation on other peoples is an expression of the policy of assimilation and denationalization. It is also opportune to point that the nations will not disappear by growing weak. The extinction of nations is realized through their all-round strengthening and flourishing. This very Marxist-Leninist thesis is fought by the Khrushchevite revisionists.

The Khrushchevites argue that it is necessary to reinforce centralism and extinguish federalism both in matters dealt with by the central power, that is by Moscow, and in matters dealt with by the federal or autonomous Republics. The central power solves the most important problems, those of «general», «common» interest, etc., whereas «the federal or autonomous Republics and the other regions», V. M. Chikvadze writes, «solve in an independent way affairs of local importance»⁷.

In the same spirit they examine the relationship of the sovereignty of the Union of the Soviet Republics with the federal Republics. It is worth mentioning that the Khrushchevites raise the question of the sovereignty of the federal Republics for propaganda purposes alone, as in fact there can be no talk whatever about their sovereignty. As long as an exploiting class is ruling in the Soviet Union, as in any other capitalist state, that class exercises sovereignty. As to what extent the Soviet Federal Republics are sovereign, this is clearly seen in the role played by the communist parties of those republics. The Soviet press says that the communist parties are the leading and guiding force in the Republics. This is not so. The parties in the Federal Republics are in reality completely dependent on the centre, Moscow, and do nothing but carry out its instructions and orders. Whenever Moscow does not approve of them, the leaders of these parties are removed; they are

discharged without any consultation whatsoever with the members of the said parties, which is another proof that the Soviet Republics are not sovereign. Therefore we say that there is no equality among the Soviet Federal Republics in either state affairs or party affairs, and that without this equality the republics can never exercise sovereignty. The proclamations on sovereignty are purely formal. We may rightfully say that as long as the most elementary principles of federalism are violated in the relations among the Soviet Republics and the parties which allegedly lead them, there can be no talk of any kind of sovereignty belonging to them.

It is interesting to note that recently Soviet publications have shown a tendency to truncate and distort the concepts of «federalism» and «federation». Thus, we read in the «Brief Political Dictionary»: «Federalism – 1) a form of construction of the multinational state on principles of federation. 2) A political trend aimed at the establishment of the principles of federation».

«Federation – 1) Union of states into a federated state (for example, Russian F... – RSFSR)»³⁾

Another proof of the lack of sovereignty on the part of the Soviet Republics is the fact that some other East European states, which do not belong to the USSR, and which are members of the aggressive Warsaw Treaty, are not sovereign. The revisionist theory about «limited sovereignty» is itself a clear expression of this situation. Consequently, in such a state, every policy, including national policy, every action in every field, is determined by the interests of the ruling class.

tions are established among nations, diametrically opposed to those existing in the conditions of the exploiting order. It follows also that this class loses its power and capitalism is restored, the old international relations, characteristic of the given country, are also restored. The experience of the Soviet Union once more proves that never, in any country, can an exploiting class solve the national question of the oppressed nations.

Lenin, exposing the expansionist, aggressive and imperialist policy of czarist Russia, once described that Russia as a «prison of nations». With the triumph of the great October Revolution, this «prison of nations» was wiped from the face of the earth. With the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, the old expansionist, aggressive and imperialist policy, has revived and Lenin's words sound extremely pertinent, but they become: «The Soviet Union is a prison of nations». Will this «prison of nations» be permanent? Certainly not. When the working class of that country, which has such marvellous revolutionary traditions, takes political power into its hands, it will wipe out all the evils of capitalism and, together with them, will destroy national oppression and exploitation.

1) *Pravda* March 22, 1972.

2) *Voprosi filozofii* Nr. 4, 1972, page 23.

3) *Idem*, page 29.

4) E. Hoxha. *Deepen ideological struggle against alien manifestations and liberal stands towards them*. Page 28.

5) *Voprosi filosofii* Nr. 12, 1972, page 34.

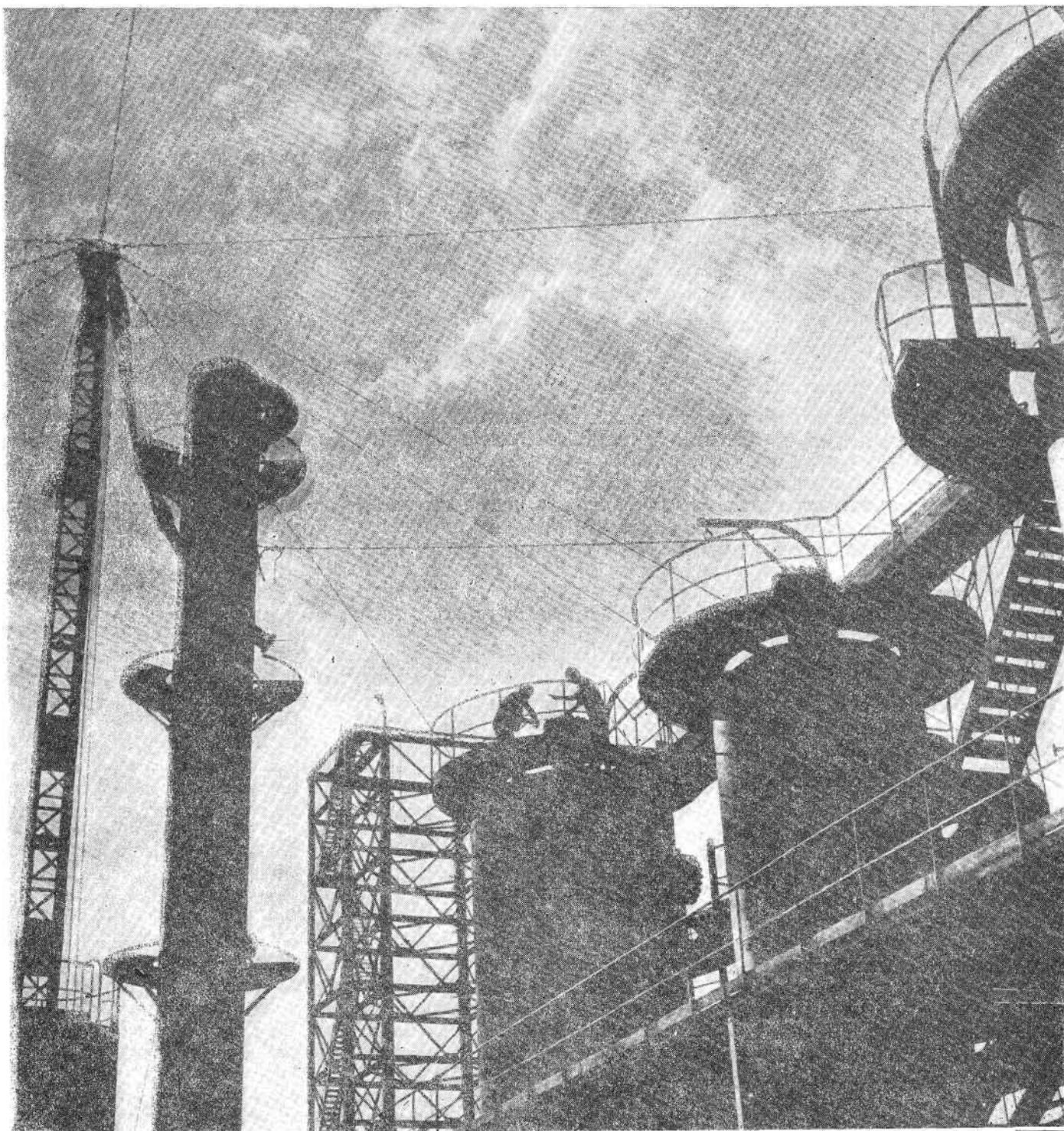
6) E. Hoxha, *Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, 1971, page 24*

7) *Voprosi filozofii* Nr. 8 page 20, 1972

8) *Kratkij političeskij slovar*, p. 358, Moskva 1969

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Some conclusions can be drawn from the experience of the Soviet Union in the field of national relations. It follows first of all that with the triumph of the working class and its party, armed with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, new rela-



A partial view of the construction of the urea plant in Fier.

«DEIDEOLOGISATION», OR REIDEOLOGISATION?

by **SERVET PËLLUMBI**

FOR SEVERAL YEARS NOW IN THE WEST THERE HAS BEEN PROPAGATED THE CONCEPT OF THE «END OF IDEOLOGY», WHICH PROCLAIMS THAT IDEOLOGY AND THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE HAVE BEEN OVERCOME, AND ARE NOW ANACHRONISTIC AND MEANINGLESS. THIS CONCEPT, WHICH IS CONSIDERED TO BE ONE OF THE BEST PUBLICISED «INNOVATIONS» OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGISTS D. BELL, S. LIPSET, G. SHILS AND A. SCHLESINGER, THE FRENCH SOCIOLOGIST AND ECONOMIST R. ARON, AND OTHERS, IS BEING EXTENSIVELY USED IN THE PRESENT-DAY IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE, IN ORDER TO CONCEAL THE AIM OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND ITS IDEOLOGISTS WHO WANT TO FIND NEW IDEOLOGICAL WAYS TO DEFEND THE CAPITALIST ORDER AND TO FIGHT AGAINST SOCIALISM, THE REVOLUTION AND MARXISM-LENINISM.

«Deideologisation» and some features of the ideological struggle in the present conditions

— Life is constantly confirming the fact that in the world today, great contradictions and confrontations exist on an international scale and that the accumulated forces of imperialism, revisionism and reaction are now confronting the forces of socialism and the people's front, led by the international working class. It is characteristic that while the forces of imperialism, revisionism and reaction are becoming increasingly bogged down in political, economic and ideological crisis, the forces of socialism, Marxism-Leninism, and the peoples are growing stronger; this indicates that «the tendency of present world development is revolution and the triumph of socialism» (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, 1971, p. 10).

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Bearing in mind that this general tendency of world development is of special importance, *first* in order to understand correctly the ideological struggle which is being carried out on a world scale, its intensification in the present conditions, and the causes of the profound crisis that has engulfed the entire mental world of current bourgeois and revisionist ideology (this crisis is merely a reflection of the deep and general crisis of imperialism). And, *second*, it is important to understand correctly the process of the current formation of a common ideological front, under the banner of anti-communism, which is aimed at waging a concentrated struggle against socialism and Marxism-Leninism. This front includes both the bourgeois and socialdemocrat ideologists and the reformists and revisionists of all shades, overt and covert. They are all uniting, and building a common barricade based on their identical counterrevolutionary strategic aims, and their desire to destroy socialism and strangle the revolution.

In order to attain these objectives, the ideologist of anticommunism are continually changing their tactics; they are making efforts to «reformulate» the main the-

ses, theories and slogans of previous anti-communist movement, with a view to adapting them better to current conditions and requirement making them more «sophisticated», giving them a «scientific», «impartial» aspect, etc. Offshoots of these objectives and tactics are seen in such theories as those on «the industrial society», «the stages of economic growth», «convergence», «deideologisation», etc., which have emerged almost at the same time, have the same objective, and complement one another. The essence of all these is the «theoretical» argumentation of the practice of «conserving» capitalism, and the effort to create a «positive programme», a «new ideological model», to serve as an alternative to the Marxist theory about social progress, which proves the inevitability of the revolutionary substitution of capitalism by a higher social order, by socialism. This is why the monopoly bourgeoisie and the bourgeois states and parties, give these «modern», «liberal» theories of anticommunism such great publicity, and place plenty of finance and propaganda media at their disposal. It is no accident that these theories increasingly fill not only the pages of special theoretical books and reviews, but also the speeches of the heads of the bourgeoisie, daily newspapers, radio and tv programmes, literary works, etc.

All this shows the intensive ideological pressure, always growing and appearing in «new» forms, exerted by the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists against the revolutionary movements, socialism, and Marxism-Leninism. This ideological pressure, which also appears under the

The ideologists of anti-communism are making efforts to «reformulate» old theses and theories, with a view to adapting them to the conditions and requirements of the time. One result of these efforts is the «theory of deideologisation», the reactionary and antiscientific character of which is well shown in this article

guise of «deideologisation», constitutes a serious danger in the present conditions, and we must fight against it with particular insistence and for a long time, until it is completely defeated. «The current situation» comrade Enver Hoxha says, «makes it still more imperative to intensify this struggle, which is of historic importance».

These distinctive features of the present ideological struggle are important, in order to understand the real essence and objectives of the anticommunist theory of the «decline of ideology» («deideologisation»).

What lies behind the concept of «deideologisation»?

The founders of «deideologisation» are striving to kill two birds with one stone: they want to rescue bourgeois ideology, which is experiencing a deep crisis, by reformulating it, and also to fight Marxism-Leninism and discredit it, by presenting it as a variant of subjectivism and dogmatism, thus as onesided and without value in the present conditions, when the technical and scientific revolution is taking place in the world. This aim becomes quite obvious if we take even a general look at the «arguments» used by the founders and zealous propagators of «deideologisation».

They proceed from the thesis that every ideology is, allegedly, a distorted reflection of reality, an illusory consciousness, that emerged in pre-industrial society, and therefore can no longer serve either as an

orientation for practical activity or as a source of intellectual values, as a source of knowledge. In this case the whole of their criticism is directed against the revolutionary ideology of the working class, against Marxism—which is proclaimed to be obsolete, illusory, etc. For this purpose, the advocates of «deideologisation» openly falsify the theses of the classics of Marxism about ideology, and allege that Marx and Engels themselves wanted to end ideology.

As a matter of fact, Marx and Engels, in their work «German ideology», do speak about the «end of ideology», but in this case, —and they have given this particular emphasis—they had in mind the bourgeois idealist ideology, the system of ideas of the declining classes who are not interested in the scientific reflection of reality, since it is against them, and thus they, present actual relations as «inverted, as in the dark chamber of a camera» (K. Marx, F. Engels — German Ideology, Albanian edition 1972, p. 28). In this sense, the disappearance of the antagonistic classes, the overthrow of capitalist relations, and the elimination of the conditions which give birth to the distorted, illusory reflection of reality, were seen by Marx and Engels as the end of illusory consciousness, as the end of anti-scientific ideology. They wrote «... All the forms and products of consciousness cannot be eliminated by means of spiritual criticism... but only by the practical overthrow of the actual social relations from which all these idealist absurdities stem (Ibidem, p. 51-52).

But at the same time, the classics of Marxism pointed out that the illusory,

distorted reflection of reality is not a property of all human thinking, or of every kind of ideology. Guided by this principle, and basing themselves on everything positive created by previous human thought, Marx and Engels created the scientific, revolutionary ideology of the proletariat; its merger with the revolutionary movement of the masses, and the transformation of its ideas into a material force, were seen by them to be an absolutely necessary condition for the liberation of the masses from oppression and exploitation and for the victory of the communist society.

In contrast with all this, the theoreticians of «deideologisation», by taking disconnected sentences from the work of Marx and Engels, are striving to equate bourgeois idealist ideology, which is a distorted reflection of reality, with the scientific ideology of the working class, the influence of which is becoming increasingly more powerful, so as to proclaim later that «every ideology has lost its capacity to convince», that today «the end of ideological enthusiasm has come», etc.

It is not difficult to understand that their aim is, in the first place, to discredit Marxism-Leninism, to present it as something that cannot serve as a guide for mass political actions, and that is allegedly «incompatible» with the development of science at the present time. They also aim to keep the working class, the main force of the revolution, away from politics, away from the Marxist-Leninist ideology, so as to disorientate it, and not allow it to acquire its political consciousness and understand what it represents

and what role it must play in relation to the other labouring masses, thereby hindering the process of unifying the strength of the peoples into a single revolutionary trend. All this confirms what V.I. Lenin has said: «When the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie on the workers begins to decline, to be undermined, to grow weak, the bourgeoisie, everywhere and always, resorts to the basest lies and calumnies» (V.I. Lenin, vol. 20, Albanian edit. p. 560).

To camouflage this, the theoreticians of «ideological disarmament» are striving to present their struggle against Marxist-Leninist ideology as a struggle to discover the scientific truth, which is allegedly darkened by ideology. Their favourite slogan is: «Science denies ideology». Continuing the traditions of neopositivism, they advocate the so-called principle of «freedom from value judgements». The social sciences, in their opinion, must be based purely on facts; they must be «neutral» and must not make political, ideological or moral value judgements, because in this way would allegedly depart from the «scientific» path.

In reality, the slogan of «freedom from value judgements» is a present-day variant of bourgeois objectivism, part of the bourgeois ideology, which aims to lure the intelligentsia, in particular the creative intelligentsia and youth, by means of so-called «intellectual freedom». In fact, practice shows that it is impossible to live in society, to live in the conditions of allround class struggle, and be independent of it. Indeed, the very presentation of social facts and giving, on this basis, the simplest recommendations, is impossible, without the study having had a prior aim, and this aim cannot fail to bear the seal of the class which the researcher represents. Thus, the advocates of «deideologisation» may present their views as a purely theoretical and scientific discussion, but in reality they pursue essentially ideological and reactionary aims, for the defence of the capitalist order. These aims become more evident when they pass from general judgements about ideology to concrete problems, and when they declare that in the «industrial society» social problems are solved not through mass movements inspired by ideology, but through «social engineering» the concrete programmes and partial reforms of bourgeois governments and

the recommendations of experts who, allegedly; «know only their job, and are indifferent to political and ideological problems». By this, they aim to present the bourgeois state as an organ of the «meritocracy», i.e. they claim that it is composed only of specialists, experts, competent and practical men who occupy their posts due to their scientific «merits» and abilities irrespective of their origin and class views.

In other words, it seems as if in the capitalist countries there is no longer a ruling political force and no ruling class to realize its dictatorship through the state, because the state has allegedly become a «committee» to manage the common affairs of the entire society! In reality, in the capitalist countries, particularly, in the USA, Britain, Japan and other major states, never has the state power been so concentrated in the hands of the financial oligarchy as it is today. It is true that the capitalist state attracts a large number of specialists to manage state affairs, but power is in fact in the hands of a few people who represent the financial oligarchy. Thus, in the USA, according to the figures given in the book, «The Managers» (published in the USA in 1971), it emerges that power in fact is concentrated in the hands of 180 people. The use of computers, and of mathematical methods and models, in the field of management, does not change the class essence of the bourgeois state, the main duty of which is to increase the power of a handful of exploiters to rule over and oppress the overwhelming majority of the population, the broad working masses. Therefore to pretend in these conditions that the main political problems have been solved, and that ideology has been replaced by technology and «social engineering», as the propagandists of ideological disarmament do, means to whitewash state monopoly capitalism with a view to proclaiming it to be everlasting.

Further deepening this thesis, which absolutizes the role of technology and technocrats in the life of society, the bourgeois ideologists say that «the industrial society has worked out a new way to deal with social problems, the technical method», to which they counterpose to ideological method. The absolutisation of the technical aspect of social problems reflects the manifest tendency in the practical activity of the bourgeoisie, the

parties, the bourgeois state and the bourgeois scientific institutions, to present the acute social problems, the deep contradictions which corrode the capitalist countries, as purely technical and administrative problems. By this they aim, on the one hand, to minimize the acute social problems, and, on the other, to create the illusion in the masses that, because these problems «have a purely technical and administrative character» they will be solved through the development of the technical and scientific revolution, improved management, etc. without any need for class struggle or revolutions.

In the conditions of the technical and scientific revolution, according to the American sociologist D. Bell, people's social position, particularly that of the youth, changes quickly; for them to orientate themselves correctly, they must liberate themselves from ideology, assimilate new values which are «not ideological», an take on «social flexibility» which means, in other words, conform with the existing order (See D. Bell. «Technocracy and Politics», «Survey» 1971, v; 16, NR. 1).

In this way, presenting «the technical treatment» of problems as their sole motive, and as a «new value», the bourgeois ideologists aim to manipulate people's consciousness, to turn them into obedient robots, without high ideas in life and to cultivate in them a feeling of apathy towards every useful socio-political activity. This makes the «purely technical treatment» of problems a treatment which directly serves the interests of the bourgeoisie.

Therefore in rising against the ideological treatment of problems, the theory about the «end of ideology» aims as promoting opposition to the treatment of problems from a class position by the proletariat, at hindering the formation of class consciousness in various strata of the working class, and at presenting the struggle of the labouring masses as meaningless, and «harmful to the interests of the nation», because it allegedly hinders the development of the technical and scientific revolution, the realisation of government programmes and reforms, etc., etc. Indeed, some American sociologists are striving to present the fact that the USA has reached a higher level of economic development in comparison with other countries, as a result of the

«sceptical attitude of Americans towards ideology», and of American pragmatism. The American sociologist A. Schlesinger says, «Empirical, practical, pragmatic ideas» have been more vital here. («America» Nr. 94, Russian edit. p. 14).

The bourgeois ideologist recommend this «American experience» as a model for other countries, particularly for the developing countries. For this purpose, they are making a lot of fuss about the programmes of the American presidents: «The War on Poverty», «The Great Society», «The new technological policy», etc. The theoreticians of de-ideologisation, distorting the class essence and nature of these programmes, are striving to put the achievements of science and technology at the service of the neocolonialist policy of the USA. They present American policy as based on the concern to help the underdeveloped countries in solving their problems with the scientific and technical aid of the USA. «The interests of mankind» former US president Nixon, declared in his speech to Congress of February 25, 1971, «can be secured only with the aid of the maximum exchange of information». Nixon's «technological» policy, and its propagation as an example of de-ideologisation, in fact aims to camouflage the policy of aggression, oppression and exploitation, the neocolonialist policy, pursued by US imperialism towards other peoples and countries. The interference in the internal affairs of other countries, the building of a large number of military bases at many points of the globe, the threats and blackmail with regard to other countries, are by no means purely «technological» problems.

Moreover, proclaiming that social problems have been solved in the USA, «as a result of American pragmatism» and of government programmes, is a distortion of reality with base propaganda motives. Experience has confirmed the opposite and shown that the acute social problems, the deep internal and external contradictions, in which imperialism has been submerged, continue to worsen. According to the admissions of American economists themselves, 33 million people in the USA live in poverty or close to it. In 1972, the most developed capitalist countries included over 10,648,000 unemployed, while in 1974, according to forecasts in the USA, 5,5 per cent of the labour force

will be unemployed; in Britain, Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, etc., the number of unemployed is expected to double. If we set these figures alongside the great economic crisis, which is steadily widening and deepening, the foreign exchange currency crises, the rising inflation, and the constant rises in prices and taxes, which are such a burden on the working masses!) it is clear how groundless and unreal are the declarations about «the solution of all social problems under capitalism»!

In reality, the working masses in the capitalist countries do not trust the statements of the lackeys of the bourgeoisie and they are intensifying from one year to another, their struggle against capital, oppression and exploitation. During the January-October 1973 period alone, in the main capitalist countries, over 44 million people took part in the strike struggle, while in the USA during the first 9 months of 1973, there were 4,300 strikes. It is characteristic of strike struggle, that now it is increasingly involving not only the working class, but also other sections of the population, which were previously considered to be «integrated» into the capitalist system. In addition to the quantitative growth of strikes, one notices also their development in depth, and their connection with political demands; thus they are playing an important role in forming the political and class consciousness of the working people.

All this shows that the illusions about «harmony» between labour and capital, the «share» of the workers in capital and the proclamation of social problems as purely technical and administrative problems which have allegedly been solved, already does not correspond to reality, but is merely a tactic of the bourgeoisie, in the present ideological struggle. The social problems, contradictions, and wounds of imperialism cannot be wiped out by any progress in the field of science and technology; they can and will be solved only by the proletarian revolution, inspired by Marxist-Leninist ideology.

In search of «new» means and slogans

The theory of de-ideologisation is a «new ideological programme» which demands only that bourgeois ideology give up

some obsolete principles and schemes, so that it can be «reformulated» and adapted to present conditions, and thus become more effective in the struggle against socialism, the revolution and Marxism-Leninism. This was expressed quite clearly by R. Aron, as far back as 1965, in the article «The industrial society, philosophy and ideology» in which he says that «anti-ideology does not disarm the West in the face of communism, but gives it its best weapon».

In other words, the theory of de-ideologisation is by no means a negation of bourgeois ideology, but its affirmation and reconstruction; it is a manoeuvre to camouflage the fact that the bourgeoisie has created a giant apparatus of ideological influence, through which it exerts extraordinary ideological and psychological pressure on people's consciousness. The ideological defence of capitalism, particularly in the last decade, has become one of the greatest preoccupations of the international bourgeoisie and its servants. But it is characteristic that bourgeois ideology defends itself today under the slogan of the «negation of any kind of ideology», this shows the deep crisis which has engulfed it.

In fact, bourgeois propaganda, continuing its previous traditions of the struggle against revolutionary movements and against Marxist-Leninist ideology, has set to work to make black white, claiming that the desires and dreams of the rank and file are realized, and presenting capitalism as changed, more progressive, more liberal, giving people more freedom, more rights, etc. Encouraged by some temporary successes in the ideological disorientation of the masses, the international bourgeoisie is today exerting great ideological pressure, conducting a «sophisticated» propaganda campaign, and making maximum use of its latest technical means, particularly those for gathering, processing and spreading information, such as radio, television, the press, films, advertising etc. The bourgeoisie strives to have people constantly submerged in a sea of bourgeois propaganda, and surrounded by a mass of phrases, catchwords and slogans, so that at every step of their life, they submit to the ideological and psychological campaign carefully prepared by the bourgeois sociologists and psychologists.

The general strategic direction of bourgeois ideology is anticommunism, the ma-

nipulation and disorientation of the consciousness of the masses; its favourite methods are social demagoguery, misinformation, falsification of facts, magnifying unimportant events, for the sake of sensation, silence or minimizing of unfavourable events, propaganda to disorientate public opinion, working out and spreading gossip accompanied by the formula «according to usually well-informed sources» etc. In order to control the thoughts of men and to manipulate their consciousness, the bourgeoisie, as admitted by the western press itself, makes use of the latest technical means, from telephone tapping to lie detectors. The American press itself has recently admitted that about 90 million Americans are on the files of the FBI and their views have been recorded on tape. One constantly hears advice such as that of the British physiologist, D. Carey, who says that chemical substances introduced into the water supply into food, or spread on the earth, can act on millions of people and make them obedient robots, while the victims will be completely unaware of what is going on!

In this way, it is absurd to think that the bourgeoisie, which is prepared to use even the most criminal means to defend its own rule, would renounce ideological defence and ideological struggle, and disarm itself ideologically. The real objective of «de-ideologisation» is «freeing» the masses from the influence of revolutionary ideology, and then «re-ideologising» them, instilling in their consciousness standard concepts, tastes and feelings worked out by the «industry of souls» for which the bourgeoisie does not spare its capital. This objective of the bourgeoisie has been clearly expressed by the American professor G. G. Lodge, who, adopting a critical stand towards the concept of de-ideologisation, says that the policy of the USA requires a «strong ideology», it must continue its previous traditions, it must be ideologised and re-ideologised (See G.G. Lodge-Ideology, Interests and Foreign Policy in the 1970's, «Vital Speeches of the Day», January 1, 1971, p. 182.). At first sight, the concepts of «de-ideologisation» and «re-ideologisation» are mutually exclusive, but in fact they express the same thing: the bourgeoisie's desire to adapt its ideology to the present conditions, and the search for new ideological means to disorientate the masses, and defend the capitalist order.

Theory of de-ideologisation as a means of ideological aggression

The theory of de-ideologisation is not intended for home consumption alone. It is directed, above all, against the socialist order, and serves as a means of ideological aggression. This aim is openly declared by some of the founders of this theory «By the expression «the end of ideology» says the American sociologist, I. Crystal, «Bell implies above all the failure of the socialist ideal».

To «argue» this, the bourgeois ideologists make use of the treachery of the revisionists, and they present it as a «failure» of the «Marxist forecast about the future of the capitalist countries». Likewise, they strive to present the degeneration of the socialist order in the Soviet Union and in the other formerly socialist countries as the end of Marxist-Leninist ideology, the end of the communist ideals. «The bourgeois ideologists», comrade Enver Hoxha says, «deliberately try to present the revisionist betrayal as a failure of socialism and Marxism-Leninism, as if communism is unable to provide a positive alternative for the solution of the problems of the world today» (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, p. 212.).

The revisionist treachery and the integration of the socialdemocratic parties and the revisionist parties with the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries, is an actual fact. But by no means does the conclusion, drawn, by the ideologists of the bourgeoisie, follow from this, about the harmony between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat which has allegedly been realized in contemporary capitalist society. Moreover, the degeneration of socialism in some countries and the zigzags of the world revolution are by no means the end of socialism and Marxism-Leninism. As comrade Enver Hoxha stated at the 6th Congress of the PLA, socialism exists and develops as a theory and practice. The growth of the revolutionary movements everywhere in the world, the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists against modern revisionism and the creation almost everywhere of new Marxist-Leninist parties and groups to which the future belongs, shows the vitality of Marxism-Leninism and its inexhaustible force. The international working class and the revolutionary peoples are becoming convinced, in practice and in the crucible

of the class struggle, that only by arming themselves with Marxist-Leninist knowledge, with the Marxist way of conceiving and solving current problems, can they play their decisive role in history, transform the world in conformity with their revolutionary interests and build socialism and communism.

While the theoreticians of «de-ideologisation», presenting socialism as the «worst variant of industrial society», are striving to justify and instigate any process which could lead to the weakening of the leading role of the party and of Marxist-Leninist ideology in the socialist countries, presenting this as a process of de-ideologisation, an «indicator of progress» and, of «modernisation»! As long as any ideology is alien to society and to the development of science and technology, they say, then the demand to get rid of the Marxist-Leninist ideology must become a natural one for people, in the socialist society, and this feeling must be supported and instigated from outside

Such a way of raising the problem brings out very clearly the anticommunist character and the practical results which the theory of de-ideologisation wants to attain. The internal corrosion of Marxism its division into all sorts of variants, «evolution» in the field of ideology, and the political organisation of the socialist society, political pluralism, i.e. the creation of other political parties, the allround liberalisation of social life, etc., are «recommended» by them as steps towards the liberalisation of the economy, and the transformation of socialism into an «industrial society», i.e. the restoration of capitalism. The liberalisation of socialism, through the intensification of exchanges with the West, the assurance of a broad movement of people, ideas, and information, the well-known American anticommunist Z. Brzezinski says, will «chip away at the more outmoded areas of the communist doctrinal edifice and this will bring about, in his opinion, the invisible process of philosophic reconciliation. (See «Foreign Affairs», July 1973 p. 721).

All this shows that imperialism, in its struggle against socialism, pins its hopes on internal degeneration, on people's ideological and political degeneration, on the wavering unformed elements who can be deceived by the phrases of bourgeois ideology about democracy, freedom, general

equality outside classes, the capitalist «paradise», etc. This is why the imperialist bourgeoisie exerts continuous ideological pressure on the socialist countries, using for this purpose all the modern technical means, its entire ideological arsenal and all the old and new anticommunist theories.

In this respect, bourgeois ideology is assisted by the modern revisionists. The most extremist revisionists, such as R. Garaudy, E. Fisher, P. Vranicki, S. Stojanovich, etc., come out openly against Marxist-Leninist ideology; they divide it into numerous variants, according to the model of current bourgeois philosophy and sociology, advocate that «every country must have its own Marxism», and separate Marxism as a science from Marxism as an ideology. The Marxist-Leninist world outlook is considered by them to be of no importance for the communist party and its members, who, in their opinion, can hold any kind of world outlook whether idealist or materialist.

The Soviet revisionists, however, adopt a more sophisticated stand on this question. They pose as «defenders» of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, and the criticize all those «ultras» who come out openly for the revision of Marxism-Leninism; they also criticize, in general terms, the bourgeois theory of de-ideologisation. But if we leave aside their demagogy and consider their practical activity, it follows that they, just like the other revisionists, apply the practice of de-ideologisation, i.e. the practice of eliminating Marxist-Leninist ideology as a motive for human activity and place the purely «technical» treatment of problems (i.e. the bourgeois treatment) in command. Their aim is to cultivate political apathy, lack of interest in acute social problems, withdrawal into the shell of professional and personal interest, etc., in the masses. In the field of social sciences, like the bourgeois ideologists, the Soviet revisionist philosophers propagate «neutrality», the drowning of great social problems in the sea of small, concrete studies, on the example of bourgeois empirical sociology and the introduction of special methods and indeed of special terms from the natural sciences, in philosophy and sociology, with the aim of calling in doubt gradually replacing Marxist categories and the entire Marxist dialectical method. In the Soviet press and publications, there is a great deal of talk about a «re-appraisal» of current bourgeois phi-

losophy, about the various trends of bourgeois ideology, etc.

Thus, it says in the «Philosophical Dictionary» that many western socialists, especially the young ones, «adopt a critical stand towards capitalism», and that «in recent years many of them have shown an increased interest in Marxism and in Marxist sociology»²⁾. Also G. L. Bjelkina says approximately the same thing. «The bourgeois philosophy», she writes «often without being aware of it, has absorbed many elements of Marxist knowledge»³⁾ The conclusion drawn by some other Soviet revisionist authors is that they must take everything positive from bourgeois sociology and philosophy, and that such views must be considered from «purely professional» positions, not from ideological positions.

Their aim is to sow ideological confusion to disorientate people's minds and to manipulate the masses according to the ideological concepts and standards created by them, and by current bourgeois ideology, which is being given a free field of penetration and action. It could not be otherwise: the practice of the degeneration of socialism requires, sooner or later, theoretical reflection and ideological camouflage, too. What is more, the alliance and collaboration of Soviet social imperialism with US imperialism requires «ideological coexistence», ideological «convergence», and «the philosophy of peace» of which Brezhnev spoke extensively at the world peace congress, held in Moscow at the end of October 1973.

Directly echoing some of the «arguments» of «de-ideologisation» Brezhnev made out that all the social and ideological problems that have preoccupied the peoples have either been solved or no longer have their previous importance, that today mankind is faced with such «non «ideological» problems as: the defence of the environment, the elimination of hunger, and of diseases which are today incurable, the possession of the riches of the worlds ocean, and the problem of energy reserves. He connects the solution of these problems only with the preservation of peace, on which «the future of the whole of mankind, the future of the whole planet, depends». In this way, Nixon's «technological policy» and Brezhnev's «philosophy of peace and historical optimism» complement one another. Their essence is to proclaim as valueless the laws of the development of society, and in particu-

lar the law of the class struggle, of social revolution, etc., and replace them with abstract preachings of peace, and with their sham historical optimism». According to these concepts, «reason and confidence are triumphing in the world» and the «time has come» to do away with ideological «barriers», i.e. to give up Marxist-Leninist ideology! This is why, in the present conditions, the bourgeoisie and the revisionists act jointly, in alliance with each other; they echo each other's views (though keeping up appearances) and together they exert great and general ideological, political, economic and military pressure on socialism, on the revolutionary movements everywhere in the world, and on Marxism-Leninism.

The practice of the ideological struggle confirms the conclusion of the 6th Congress of the PLA, that the bourgeois and revisionist ideologies have a common counterrevolutionary objective and that the theories and practices of modern revisionism serve as fuel for the bourgeois theories of anticommunism, while the latter serve as a theoretical source of the concepts, «theories» and practices of modern revisionism.

In these conditions, the Party of Labour of Albania attaches special importance to the struggle both against bourgeois ideology and against revisionist ideology, and considers the continuous tempering of ideological vigilance and the militant spirit of the people to be an active method of barring the way to the penetration of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, so as to persistently fight their disorientating influences.

1) According to the British review «The Economist» (29.XII.1973) the rates of increase in the prices of consumer goods during the year 1973, in the main capitalist countries, were 2-3 times higher than their average annual increase during the 1955-1972 period.

2) *Filozofskij slovar* Ed. M. Rozenthal, Moscow 1972 p. 385.

3) G. L. Bjelkin—*Filozofia Marxizma i Burzhuaznaja «Marxologia»*, Moscow 1972 s. 10).

FURTHER EVIDENCE OF THE EXPANSIONIST AND HEGEMONISTIC AIMS OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS

Article from «ZËRI I POPULLIT»

FOR THE THIRD TIME WITHIN TWO YEARS, THE CHIEFTAINS OF US IMPERIALISM AND SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISM HAVE MET AT THE SUMMIT LEVEL. WASHINGTON'S AND MOSCOW'S PROPAGANDA HAS TRIED TO PRESENT THE NIXON-BREZHNEV MEETINGS IN ROSY COLOURS, AND ATTRIBUTE TO THEM THE BEST AIMS FOR STRENGTHENING PEACE, ACHIEVING DISARMAMENT, DETENTE, ETC. BUT THE PACIFIST DEMAGOGY WITH WHICH THE SUPERPOWERS HAVE TRIED TO FLOOD THE WORLD HAS BEEN UNABLE TO WIPE OUT THE SINISTER SHADOW CAST BY THE SECRET SOVIET-US DIPLOMACY.

The facts have proved that Soviet-US collaboration like the rivalry between the two superpowers, has done great damage to the cause of the progress of the peoples, and general peace. For a long time now, this collaboration and rivalry have been keeping the world in great tension and under continuous threat and blackmail.

In the joint Soviet-US communiqué signed in Moscow after the first Brezhnev-Nixon meeting in 1972, many fine words were said about the «peace-loving» aims of the USA and the Soviet Union, about their efforts and aims «to find ways to solve international problems», «strengthen the collaboration between states», and remove hot beds of war, for a «generation of peace» etc. Such lulling words were repeated at the Soviet-US summit in Wa-

shington last year, and they reoccur in the new communique. But what does the reality show?

The Nixon-Brezhnev meetings have served not the cause of peace, but that of war. It is a fact that after every meeting, the tensions in the world have become greater, as have the threats and dangers to the peoples. Peace has not yet been secured in Vietnam, in Cambodia or in the Middle East. With the knowledge and incitement of the superpowers, recently in Asia and Africa, and even in Europe, which had been considered as a relatively quiet area, a series of new quarrels and conflicts have erupted, which pose the danger of greater, broader escalations and clashes. The armements race is being intensified, and it is speedily reaching the

point where it is impossible to control. Last October, Nixon ordered a state of alert in the US army, pushing the situation to the brink of an armed clash with the other superpower. This was convincing proof that the Soviet-US agreements have not sidetracked the adventurist policy of the two superpowers, nor the danger of the outbreak of a world wide conflagration.

The Nixon-Brezhnev meetings and the Soviet-US agreements do not mean a «guarantee to the peoples» or a «victory for peace as the imperialist and social imperialist chieftains declare, but dangers and threats to the peoples and greater plots against various countries by the imperialist aggression; they have not reduced and will not reduce the pressure of the superpowers on the small and middle-sized countries; as they have not averted and cannot avert the interference of the imperialists and social imperialists in the internal affairs of others.

The policy of expansion and aggression and the efforts to establish world domi-

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nation which the superpowers follow is not a fortuitous, temporary course. It is a consequence of their imperialist nature and system and will remain unchanged as long as they exist as imperialist powers.

The political, economic, military, scientific and other agreements that were concluded lately in Moscow between the two superpowers, like the previous ones, are an expression of their efforts to appear before the world with a common front, in order to establish their imperialist law everywhere. They are a series of concrete measures and engagements to increase pressures on other peoples (so as to limit to the greatest possible extent the peoples' rights to take an active and equal part in international relations), to gain privileges in international trade and exchanges, and to preserve for themselves the right of dictate and arbitrary decisions in the world affairs.

The conclusions of the latest Brezhnev-Nixon meeting, both those announced and the secret ones, fit in with the continuous

efforts of both sides to strengthen the existing global Soviet-US agreement for the preservation of the status quo, the preservation of the imperialist relationship in their respective spheres of influence, the defence of neocolonialism, etc. They aim at hindering, at all costs and by every means, the political, economic and social emancipation of the peoples.

Now it is clear that all the Brezhnev-Nixon meetings and the agreements that have been concluded were aimed in particular at strengthening US domination in Western Europe and Soviet domination in Eastern Europe. The alleged objectives of «detente in Europe», «the balanced reduction of military forces» and the conference on «European security» itself which are so well advertised by both sides, are nothing but mechanisms to strengthen their domination in their own spheres of influence, and efforts to transform them into bases of exploitation and military fortresses.

Nixon frequently bangs the table and demands more obedience and submission,

from his Atlantic partners just as Brezhnev arrogantly insists on the strict implementation of «limited sovereignty».

The ill-famed Article 4 of the treaty on nuclear arms signed in Washington last year, now made worse by implementing it, as was the case in the Middle East, remains in force. With the new agreements concluded in Moscow, stronger and broader bases are created for it. There is no doubt that in the future the fields in which the superpowers will try to implement their arbitrary decisions and dictate will include all spheres of international activity, and the entire world.

The bilateral economic, military, scientific and other agreements which the USA and the Soviet Union are rapidly concluding, surpassing every expectation, are creating a great community of imperialist interests. Both superpowers aim at securing a monopoly of raw materials, and becoming arbiters of their prices, defining through so-called loans, credits, technical aid, scientific consultation, etc., the degree

and direction of the economic and political development of each country. By imposing a joint embargo on new scientific discoveries, they want to establish a kind of technological neocolonialism over all the world and to use modern science and technology as a new way to dominate the people economically and politically.

The close ties the US and Soviet trusts are establishing with each other, the emergence of big Soviet-US joint business, which is expected to reach a value of tens of billions of dollars annually, will hit first and foremost the East European revisionist countries, they will face a reduction in the supply of Soviet raw materials, which constitutes the basis of their economic activity. But the European, Japanese, and other economic partners of the USA will not find the doors of American markets so widely open to receive their goods as they have done so far.

At the new Soviet-US summit meeting, as expected, a great fuss was made about disarmament. Now it has become the custom that at each of their meetings, the chieftains of the White House and the Kremlin announce a new agreement about banning nuclear tests, or work out some general principles by which they ought to be guided in their attempts to achieve the so-called limitation of offensive strategic arms. Such are the agreement on the partial prohibition of underground nuclear tests, that on the limitation of anti-ballistic missile systems, and to obscure statements about the efforts for disarmament in the future. But the world must not allow itself to be deceived by these.

The brilliant sentences Nixon's and Brezhnev's speeches contains and the communiqués they release after their meetings, cannot hide the obvious truth that the armaments race is being extended and deepened, and that the superpowers are not disarming but are in fact constantly increasing their arsenals of all types and calibres of arms.

In June 1963, the Soviet Union and the USA concluded the so-called «partial nuclear test ban treaty». According to this treaty, tests had to be stopped, but within eleven years they had carried out more than 400 known tests of new nuclear

weapons. In 1972, Nixon and Brezhnev signed the agreement on «strategic arms limitation», which was, as they called it, the first result of the SALT talks. But after the signing, both superpowers, did not limit their race in this field, but increased it. They hastily developed the MIRV strategic missile system, and used ten warheads instead of one. The USA raised its 1974-1975 military budget to 90 billion dollars, which is the biggest military budget in American history. But the Soviet Union does not lag behind Washington. According to unofficial data, its actual military budget amounts to 90 billion dollars this year. In Europe alone, the USA and the Soviet Union maintain hundreds of thousands of troops, tens of thousands of tanks, and thousands of aircraft. To this day, not a single soldier has left and not a single cartridge has been removed, but Soviet-US chanting about the reduction of their military presence on this continent has multiplied enormously.

Who can believe, under these conditions the sugar-coated words and the empty Soviet-US statements about their efforts and good intentions to solve the problem of disarmament, the limitation of strategic weapons, the reduction of troops in Europe, etc. Their nonsense about disarmament, both past and present is aimed at arousing sham hopes, at deceiving the peoples, and at slackening their vigilance. What the superpowers want to achieve is not disarmament, but their armed control over the world and the intensification of their military threats and atomic blackmail towards others. Armaments and military power constitute the main pillar on which their policy of economic expansion and political hegemony is based.

The meetings between Brezhnev and Nixon have drawn attention not only to their international consequences, but also to the influence they have had in the internal development of the Soviet Union and in the promotion they have given to the further capitalist degeneration of all of Soviet life. Brezhnev and his circle have to a very great extent pinned their hopes for economic development on «detente» with the United States, and on re-

ceiving mass credits and technology from the United States.

But the loans from the USA will bind the Soviet Union to America for many years. In order to ensure the billions of dollars offered, the Soviet Union is compelled to make one concession after another, which is humiliating not just for a great power like the Soviet Union, but for any state whatsoever.

Being aware of the weak Soviet position, the US senate is demanding that the Soviet Union change its emigration laws, before the ratification of the Soviet-US trade agreement signed by Nixon in Moscow two years ago. Brezhnev has promised to give exit visas every year to 45,000 Jews, to allow them to go to Israel, but this figure is still considered insufficient by the US senators and congressmen.

But even if the question of supplying Israel with manpower from the Soviet Union is settled just as the US ruling circles wish, before opening their purse, they will make new conditions. They have already begun to say that if the Soviet Union wants to profit from the credits, it must recognize the USA's demand to maintain a set superiority in strategic weapons, and pledge that it will not strive to bridge a certain technological gap existing in nuclear weapons. The demand, too, for the free circulation of information, people and ideas, required from the Soviet Union as a condition to conclude the so-called European security treaty so much desired by it, is of this nature.

The concessions made to the United States by the revisionist leadership are doubtfully received by the Soviet people, who are realising that the Soviet position with regard to credits, loans, technical and scientific collaboration, etc., is that of a beggar, and that the weight of foreign presence in the Soviet economy is not being compensated for by a suitable Soviet counterbalance in the West. Marked dissatisfaction has been aroused too by the way in which Brezhnev's leadership dealt with the Middle East problems, where Soviet prestige has received serious damage.

Brezhnev's flattery of Nixon, the highest representative of US imperialism, and the

praises the Soviet propaganda has devoted to the «good aims» of the USA, cannot remove the bitter taste left in the mouths of Soviet citizens by the visit of the US president. The reek of the plots, intrigues, bargainings and adventures cannot be kept bottled up within the walls of the Kremlin or at Oreanda. No demagogu whatever can convince the rank and file Soviet people that collaboration with U.S. imperialism is the road which will lead the Soviet Union towards happiness, and the world towards certain peace.

Nixon's visit to Moscow, as was envisaged, began and ended with great noise and advertisement. This has always characterised the meetings of the US and Soviet chieftains, but this year both the US president and the secretary general of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union particularly needed to present themselves to their internal and external publics in strong positions and with stable authority. Nixon is concerned with Watergate, and wants to show American citizens that he may not be worthy of his country any longer, but others want him, his friends and rivals, the NATO allies and the Kremlin leaders. Brezhnev, too, who has put all his money on «détente», is interested in concluding as many agreements as possible with America and the West, even if they are increasingly more formal so as to use them as evidence of a policy which is being successfully realised.

But certainly it is not these personal interests that have defined the results of the meeting, nor do they define the development of Soviet-US relations in the future. It is the joint counterrevolutionary interests of the two superpowers which compel their chieftains to meet and talk, to agree and plot against others. Khrushchev or Eisenhower, Kosygin or Johnson, Brezhnev or Nixon, it is all the same; they all work to extend the expansion and hegemony of US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism over the world.

Certainly, between the two superpowers, great, savage and irreconcilable imperialist contradictions exist, as do frenzied rivalries and deep perfidies. These were noticed also at the latest Brezhnev-Nixon meeting, at which not everything passed smoothly, many efforts to agree and many

projects failed, and new seeds of quarrels and clashes were sown. But in fact it is characteristic of the two superpowers that while strongly vying with each other, they come together, and plot and collaborate against the revolutionary and national liberation movements of the peoples; they sabotage socialism and are opposed to the revolutionary ideology of the working class and they support reaction and hinder the progressive development of human society.

The meeting between Nixon and Brezhnev, and the new agreements concluded between them, serve this broad counterrevolutionary activity of the two superpowers. They create new dangers for the peoples, and constitute a great threat to their freedom and independence and to their peace and general security. This is the main reason that Nixon's visit, despite the pacifist, euphoric light in which Moscow and Washington tried to present it, has been followed by great doubt and distrust all over the world.

The US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists want to make the latest agreements concluded in Moscow sound hopeful. In particular, they are trying to nurture illusions that the détente between the Soviet Union and the USA and the increase of Soviet-US collaboration, will solve all the problems of the world. But the peoples will not fall into this trap, and will not be deceived by imperialist-revisionist demagogu and false slogans.

The progressive revolutionary people, and the broad working masses of the world, just as yesterday, so today, too, are faced with the same tasks; to raise high the vigilance and resolutely fight against the aggressive policy and activity of the two superpowers, to expose the plots and intrigues and smash the reactionary plans of the superpowers, and to defend the rights and life of their countries from the predatory and enslaving aims of the US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists. The dangers which the hegemonistic and expansionist policy of the superpowers present are great, but the strength of the peoples is boundless. It is fully capable of smashing every plot and every aggressive plan of the enemies of peace and of the freedom and independence of nations.

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STEPS TOWARDS STRENGTHENING THE NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

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

The sixth special UN session on problems of development and raw materials, which ended its proceedings not long ago, showed that the struggle of the developing countries is being increasingly more guided by the aim of lifting the heavy load of economic debt towards the imperialist countries or international monopolies, a debt which has dictated to one extent or another their internal and external political stands and solutions too. The developing countries have used various forms and means to take possession of their national riches, so as to exploit them independently and in their own interest.

The nationalisation of foreign monopoly capital is an effective way of getting possession of national riches. By this measure a heavy blow is dealt to foreign capital at home, and natural resources are placed at the service of independent political and economic development, and the strengthening of national sovereignty. For these reasons, this idea is now taking root more strongly in many of the countries engaged in winning complete economic independence. Various countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America have implemented nationalizing measures through which foreign capital in those countries is either fully expropriated or is limited. Likewise, there are the nationalisations of some oil companies effected in the Arab countries or elsewhere.

Latin America has currently been transformed into a hotbed anti-Yankee activity. For a long time, under the slogan «America for the Americans» and then «America for the USA», the Yankee imperialists and their monopolies have economically and politically dominated the countries of the green sub-continent, dictating policy to them and frequently interfering in their internal affairs, up to the toppling of governments considered «undesirable» by Washington. In these recent years, in such countries as Chile, Peru, Panama, Venezuela, Ecuador, Mexico, Colombia, Costa Rica, etc., the holdings of some foreign companies have been nationalized, or they have adopted measures which limit foreign capital, or do not allow its further penetration into the key branches of national economy. The U.S. imperialists are doing their utmost to intimidate and compel the countries and peoples of Latin America to give up the exercise of national sovereignty over their natural resources and economies. The USA threatens these countries with reprisals and other criminal acts against all those who would expropriate North American investments, and it has put these threats into practice.

The developing countries are increasingly more feeling the need for and usefulness of collective action in their struggle against their common enemy - old and new imperialism. They have undertaken collective ac-

tion, and have strengthened their unity and solidarity against imperialist seizure and control, especially by the two superpowers, of their riches and resources.

Collective actions have been carried out by the African, Latin American and Asian oil producing countries, especially within the framework of OPEC. The oil struggle and embargo against the USA and other supporters of the Zionist aggression against the Arab countries was a bold action of great importance, both economic and political. This bold action resulted in a serious upheaval not only in the former metropolises of the colonies, but also in the present citadel of international imperialism, the USA. The struggle and use of the oil weapon by the Arab countries increased confidence in their own forces and possibilities in the developing countries, showing them clearly that force is defeated by force and active moves. Summing up the political and economic oil struggle, the representatives of the developing countries who took the floor in the UN debates appraised it as a very positive experience, and called for stronger unity among themselves.

Unity and the coordination of struggle and efforts are a powerful weapon to help the developing countries to attain their national objectives. United and in solidarity with one another, they are in a position to defeat any kind of economic and political threat. Events show that the

peoples have arisen, more determined than ever to realize their cherished aspirations to freedom and independence. An important

role is being played by the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to take their fate in their own hands

and to become masters of their countries and riches, eliminating any external interference and control.



RACISM IS STILL A MAJOR EVIL IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

«BASHKIMI», central organ of the Democratic Front

The first slaves bought in Africa were taken to America 350 years ago. Thus, alongside the barbarous extermination of the native Indians, there began one of the most shameful periods of the exploitation of black people as beasts of burden, and the most savage racial discrimination. But even now, after more than three and a half centuries, although the word «slave» does not exist in the American constitution, there exists in essence the same situation: people are divided into «black» and «white». In the USA the unwritten laws of racial discrimination and savage exploitation, laws which are based on the capitalist system itself, as an oppressive and exploiting system, are in full force.

Racism is an offspring of the bourgeois order. In the USA it constitutes one of the typical examples of the cynicism of US imperialism. American racism was born along with the bourgeoisie, with U.S. imperialism; it developed with it and will disappear only when US imperialism disappears. US racism is an integral part of the socialled «American way of life».

The USA is populated by people of various races: Europeans, Africans, Indians, Asians, Portoricans, etc. But the unwritten law of racial discrimination sti-

pulates that the white is master, and superior to all the other races. Despite the demagogical fuss of the rulers, and although the American constitution expressively states that «all men are by nature free and equal», this racist law is preserved and defended by the American system of government, by the ruling and racist circles. This policy, helps the business and monopoly circles to exercise, alongside the exploitation of white workers, a still more savage exploitation of the so-called «coloured» workers, making them the object of double exploitation.

«In the USA», – the French newspaper «Le Monde Diplomatique» writes, – «the black people are entirely neglected. In his messages to the Congress, Nixon does not mention the blacks at all. The funds assigned for black people in the federal budgets are constantly diminishing. . . .»

Nixon was asking the Afro-Americans to improve their lot by themselves; in other words, to continue living under the same conditions of savage racial discrimination. Nixon's scornful statements differ a great deal from his demagogical declarations made during the election campaign, where the list of promises was very long.

«Consequently», – «Le Monde Diplomatique» further continues, – «the Afro-Americans are at the bottom of the ladder in per capita income; they constitute the largest number of unemployed, and their ghettos have not yet disappeared».

According to official American sources, 12.3 per cent of black women and 10.2 per cent of black men are jobless in the United States. In fact, the actual percentage of black people unemployed is much greater, and comes to 31 per cent of the able-bodied black population. In the big American cities more than a quarter of the black labour force has no chance of finding work. In Detroit, for example, the percentage of unemployed black people is 29.2, in Chicago 28.2, in Newark 28.3 in Milwaukee 26.8, in Kansas City 24.3, and so on. Black people are the last to be hired and the first to be fired. Even those blacks who are employed are very badly treated and are subject to great inequality. Blacks are paid less than whites for the same work. Blacks make up the majority of the army of 23 million American poor. One out of three black families lives in complete poverty, while over 2 million black Americans suffer from malnutrition.

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STRENGTHENING DICTATORSHIP OF THE NEW CZECHOSLOVAK BOURGEOISIE

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

Measures are being taken in Czechoslovakia to «strengthen order and discipline» and «combat anti-social elements better». Therefore, special attention is being paid in Prague to the strengthening of the organs of the dictatorship of the new Czechoslovak bourgeoisie. They have begun a great purging campaign among the ranks of the revisionist party, the managers of economic enterprises, and in literature, art, music, etc. Likewise, there was published recently in the official gazette the new law approved by the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly on «national security troops» which include the state security service and the police. Two weeks before the convening of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly to approve this law, there was a session of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, which examined state security problems. And, as usually, when the bell rings in the Kremlin, it is immediately heard in the satellite countries, including Czechoslovakia».

The provisions of the new law stipulate that in order to «defend the social system» and avert the danger of «violation of public order», the national security troops be given extraordinary powers and competences with regard to anyone who acts against or does not agree with regime in power. The concern of the Czechoslovak rulers to strengthen their power and ensure

the stability of the present regime was clearly expressed by Husak at the latest plenum of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak revisionist Party, held recently when he stressed that «it is an urgent need in our political work with the masses to eliminate the hostile influences in the minds of the working people».

The fact that those in Prague are speaking out and are being forced to take measures to strengthen the revisionist apparatus of violence and control clearly shows that there are objections, discontent and disintegration among the ranks of the revisionist Party and the state organs. In order to «meet the situation more quickly, and in an active way», as Husak demanded at the latest plenum, the aim is, in the first place, to settle accounts with all those who do not reconcile themselves with the political line of the Prague revisionists. And these are not few in number. About 15 per cent of the members of the Czechoslovak revisionist Party take no interest whatever in the problems of the organisation to which they belong, while more than onethird of the grass-roots organisations of the Party have never met in a period of 6 months. Under cover of verifying documents, mass expulsions from the party are being made. Over the last five years alone, 64,000 members have been expelled from the

ranks of the Czechoslovak revisionist Party, including a large number of workers.

The national dignity of Czechoslovakia has been trampled on by the Moscow revisionists. Czechoslovakia is being treated as a province of the new Kremlin czars, as a country with which discriminatory relations have been established for years. The Czechoslovak people cannot reconcile themselves to the occupation regime and the policy of subjugation pursued by the Czechoslovak vassal bourgeoisie towards its big Soviet controller. They are experiencing all the consequences of such a situation, and they cannot fail to express their disapproval and discontent. The great purges being effected in the various economic enterprises of the country have a marked political character, because it is not a question of individuals but of many people who are opposed to the economic plunder by the Soviet social imperialists and to domination by the new Czechoslovak bourgeoisie.

The further strengthening of revisionist police control, and of «order and discipline» in general, is closely connected with the strengthening capitalist exploitation of the Czechoslovak working people. The country's economy, rebuilt on capitalist lines, is facing serious difficulties. Moreover, under the cloak of «economic integration and the socialist international division of

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labour», it is being integrated into the Soviet economy and is becoming an appendage of it. Czechoslovakia, like the other countries belonging to the Council of Mutual Economic Aid (COMECON), is obliged to give the Soviet Union, in the form of credits and investments, billions of rubles for the construction of industrial units and the exploitation of iron, natural gas, oil, etc., on Soviet territory. In the years 1960-1970 alone, it was obliged to give the Soviet Union credits and investments to the value of 2 billion rubles, for the exploitation of iron, oil, etc., and these obligations are

greater in the current five-year period. The expenditure of large financial means by Czechoslovakia in this direction has not developed its economy, on the contrary, it has led to increased profits for the Soviet capitalists.

The Soviet revisionists, in the framework of «cooperation» and «integration», have under their control and directly exploit the national riches of Czechoslovakia. Thus, for example, the Czechoslovak mines which produce the strategic substance of uranium are in the hands of the Soviet social imperialists. Such a policy has led to failures and to increased economic dif-

ficulties. The share of Czechoslovakia's industrial production in COMECON is declining. In 1960 Czechoslovak industrial production accounted for 7.5 per cent, by 1970 it had fallen to 4.2 per cent and shows a tendency to decline further, at a time when the Soviet Union's share in the industrial production of COMECON is continually growing. At the recent plenum of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak revisionist Party, the Prague chieftains were compelled to admit their great economic failures and weaknesses; they even talked about stringent, urgent measures.

■ EVERY DOLLAR OR RUBLE OF «AID» — A LINK IN THE NEOCOLONIALIST CHAIN

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

A characteristic feature of the developing countries at the present time is their struggle and efforts to overcome the difficulties, backwardness and poverty inherited from the past, to oppose the open plunder of their riches by the imperialist powers, and to place their economic and political independence on sound foundations.

These efforts by the developing countries, which are an objective necessity, directly affect the interests of the imperialist powers, especially the neocolonialist policy of the two superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union. According to their imperialist interests, these countries must stay backward, for only in this way can they provide the covered raw materials and a reliable market for selling

stock-piled and making profitable investments. Moreover, by preserving or taking over the key sectors in the economies of these countries, by keeping them economically dependent, the neocolonialists can plunder the natural resources and exploit the labour of the peoples of the developing countries, and also the political independence of these peoples remains on paper. This is the reason, as stated by a number of representatives of these countries from the UN rostrum, that the victory of political independence was not accompanied with radical changes in the economic field, and today it still keeps the forms and methods of colonial plunder.

Understandably, this policy is neither accidental nor random. The struggle to ensure maxi-

mal profits, without stopping at evil-doing, violence, deception or terror, expresses the most essential aspect of capitalism. Marx has characterized the essentially predatory nature of capital in his monumental work «Capital» when he quotes a 19th century writer: «Ensure 10 per cent profit and capital can be used wherever you like, with 20 per cent profit it assumes vitality, with 50 per cent it is ready to do the impossible, with 100 per cent it violates all human laws, with 300 per cent there is no crime it cannot perpetrate, even one which carries sentence of death». Lenin, analyzing the essence of imperialism, showed that one of its essential features, which emanates precisely from this thirst to secure maximum profits, is the export of

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capital. «As long as capitalism remains capitalism», — Lenin points out, — «the surplus capital is not used to raise the living standards of the masses in a given country, as this would mean a diminution of profit for the capitalists, but, on the contrary, to increase profit, exporting capital abroad, to backward countries. In these backward countries the profit is usually great, as there is little capital, land is comparatively inexpensive, wages are low, raw materials are cheap...» The need to export capital emerges from the fact that in some countries capitalism «has matured» and capital does not find (despite the backwardness of agriculture and the improvement of the masses) fields in which it can be «profitably» used. Many facts emerging in recent years show this feature of capital clearly. According to calculations, the annual profits of the imperialist states from the economic exploitation of the developing countries amount to 18-20 billion dollars a year. To show how much the developed capitalist countries profit from granting so-called «aid», suffice it to mention that 10 per cent of the US budget comes from the developing countries, and that with the profits from agreements with

these countries, the USA, France, and the Soviet Union have covered the deficit in their trade balance or balance of payments for several years. Indeed it can be said that the credits and investments the industrialized capitalist countries grant to the developing countries have been plundered from these countries and are given to them in the form of «aid» in order to further intensify this plunder. Thus, for example, according to figures in the western press, in 1972 direct US investments in other countries were 3.3 billion dollars, while income from investments abroad was 10 billion 400 million dollars, i.e. over three times as great. Likewise, the Indian reactionaries, over the 1971-72 period, received from the Soviet revisionists a loan of 233,500,000 rubles, at a time when they were obliged to repay to the Kremlin old debts which, together with interest, amounted to 409,100,000 rubles. As comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «these modern bandits get the capital with which they seek so «generously» to «help» the other «backward» peoples «by terribly exploiting their own working class and the other peoples.

In these conditions, the peoples understand the danger presented by their falling into the

trap of imperialist-revisionists propaganda, in the UNO or outside it, about the advantage they allegedly get from «fraternal aid», or from the application of «development programmes» or «economic and technical collaboration» with the industrialized countries, the «building of joint enterprises», etc. The facts ever better show that every ruble or dollar of «aid» is nothing but a means of economic penetration, of gobbling up the natural resources of the developing countries, to hinder their independent development, and to undermine their freedom and independence. In other words, they are links in the neocolonialist chain. They also show that the Party of Labour of Albania has acted correctly, by continually upholding the principle of self-reliance. «The «aid» of imperialism and social imperialism», comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «means selling our country to them, allowing the imperialists and revisionists to invest their capital in Albania so as to suck batten on our people, so that we become satellites of the big monopolies and metropolises, and adopt their degenerated way of life so that the consumer society with its attendant evils could be established in our country».



THE DEGENERATION OF YOUTH — A LOGICAL CONSEQUENCE OF SOCIAL DEGENERATION IN THE REVISIONIST COUNTRIES

«ZËRI I RINISË» organ of the CC of the ALYU.

The western journalists who go to Moscow, Budapest, Warsaw or Prague, point out that

now there is no difference in the fashion, or habits of the youth in these cities from those

in the western countries. Long hair, hippies, the return to primitivism, to the time of the pri-

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mitive community, hooliganism, prostitution, drugs – all these are being steadily introduced into life and culture in revisionist countries. In particular these evils have infected the youth of these countries.

In the hotels of Warsaw, such as the «Europeiski», prostitutes are always present to amuse foreigners. Indeed, they are protected by law. Prostitution, the AFP agency writes, has become a business in itself, and the centre of a flourishing black market.

In the «Europeiski» hotel, or the «Maxim» or «Adria» clubs in Warsaw, rock music resounds and dissolute dancing takes place to such an extent, the tourists are surprised that the Polish Capital continues to bear the name of «socialist»...

Contact with western tourists, the showing of degenerate films, radio and television programmes have made the youth of these countries still more dissolute, and have pushed it further toward corrupt western culture and the imitation of the American way of life. The many tourists who come to the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, bring with them not only the latest degenerate fashions in clothes, but also plenty of records of deafening music.

In Hungary things have gone so far that the composers have begun to write pieces which are executed before the public with plates, kitchen utensils and various objects which fall on the stage. The «melody» of this constitutes the «originality» of this music. There are other composers who instead of proper notes use for «originality» an astronomy map projected on a paper with lines. The height of the notes, one of these modern Hungarian composers says, is set by the position of the stars and their nuances must come out in proportion with the intensity of the light of each star shown on the astronomy map...

There are many such absurdities which are becoming quite fashionable in the revisionist countries.

All this environment yields its bitter fruits, particularly among the youth. It has been officially admitted that in Poland there are 30,000 drug users. The figures are still higher in Czechoslovakia, the same thing occurs in the other revisionist countries. Drug-taking is associated with hooliganism and crime. In Czechoslovakia, for example, criminal gangs and groups of hooligans, called «jit», spring up like mushrooms. To be able to enter these groups

one must spit at a teacher.

The gangsters of Moscow, Warsaw or the other capitals of Eastern Europe are now worthily competing with their Chicago or New York partners. The same forms of gangsterism, the same forms of robbery, the same terrorisation of the population exists as in the large cities of «western culture».

The difference between the East and West perhaps exists only in the published figures. The FBI publishes, several times a year in the United States, increasingly more alarming figures about the growth of criminality and gangsterism among the young, in the Soviet Union, Poland or Hungary these figures are kept closely guarded in the safes of the Home Ministry; and the press carries only expurgated data. But what the press publishes is of little importance. It is a fact, and it cannot be concealed, that the revisionist cliques which have usurped power in the Soviet Union and in the countries of Eastern Europe have, parallel with the restoration of capitalism, infected the youth of these countries, pushing them increasingly toward the dissolute American way of life, toward degenerate western culture.

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NIXON'S VISIT TO THE MIDDLE EAST — A NEW EXPRESSION OF THE ANTI-ARAB AIMS OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

At the height of the Watergate scandal, when his former Ministers and advisers are being con-

demned as deceivers and falsifiers and when the president himself is being told to appear

before the court for swindles and thefts, Richard Nixon left for a one-week tour of the Mid-

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dle East. The government plane, with the symbol of the American eagle, which holds in its claws the arrows and the olive branch, will take him first to Cairo, then to Saudi Arabia, Syria, Israel and, finally to Jordan.

The defeated strategists of his staff who prepared this tour do not conceal their hope that the president's «pilgrimage» to the Middle East, as well as his visit to the Kremlin czars one week later, will give to their boss enough of a boost to let him drag on till the end of his presidential term.

In this grave personal situation, and amid the great difficulties America is experiencing, Nixon needs some internal or external «successes», however small they may be, so as to divert, even temporarily, the attention of the American public from the compromising tapes of the White House, from inflation and the energy crisis, from quarrels with the allies, and other problems which currently dominate the political life of the United States. In other words, he seeks to avail himself of any opportunity to present himself as «the powerful head of a powerful country», still capable of steering America through the savage storms that have overtaken it.

But in visiting the Arab countries, Nixon does not aim only at improving his shaky position in the White House. In the first place he aims to promote the objectives of US imperialism, and to serve its aggressive and expansionist policy.

Nixon goes to the Middle East with the aim and hope of disrupting the Arab anti-imperialist

forces, and strengthening there the position and influence of US imperialism.

To reach these objectives he will not fail to pour out a stream of promises, and also to wave dollars. But the interests of the Arab countries can never be reconciled with those of the United States. US imperialism instigates and supports Israel to occupy and annex foreign territories, while the Arabs struggle to defend and liberate these territories. The Americans seek to plunder Arab oil at their ease, while the Arabs want to take this colossal wealth into their own hands and use it to help their economic development, strengthening and progress. The United States seeks to maintain at all costs its military bases and strategic positions in the Middle East, while the Arab people seek to free themselves completely from any foreign interference and influence; they seek to establish their full sovereignty over every span of their national territory, and to avert and eliminate any threat to their freedom and independence. The ruling circles of Washington are on the side of Israel and, together with it, work to destroy and bury the great rights of the Palestinian people. At the same time, the Arabs wherever they are, consider the realisation of the national aspirations of the Palestinian people as sacred and as an objective which they are prepared to bear any sacrifice to attain.

Nixon and the other top bosses of imperialism seek to divert the Arab countries from the world anti-imperialist front, to weaken unity and collaboration

with all those who are opposed to the expansionist policy of the two superpowers, and to make them hostile to those who support the liberation, anti-colonial, democratic and other struggles. For the Arabs, staying in and collaborating with the united ranks of the world anti-imperialist progressive forces is a condition of their existence as free and independent countries, it is a condition of the realisation of their great national aspirations.

The pressure, intrigues and various manoeuvres of US imperialism and of the Soviet social imperialists and their allies are many, but the forces of the Arab people too are great and inexhaustible. They can cope with the anti-Arab policy and activity of US imperialism, of Soviet social imperialism, etc., by counterposing the unity of all their forces, and struggling with all their means, through to the end, for the attainment of their lofty national objectives; they can cope with them by hitting out at and smashing the dangerous illusions which their sworn enemies seek to spread, and by defeating any attempt, wherever it may come from, to cause disruption in their ranks.

In this just struggle, just as up to now, they will always have the support and solidarity of all the progressive peoples of the world, of all the democratic and revolutionary forces. These, along with consistent and determined struggle against the Zionist-imperialist aggressors and the other overt and covert enemies, are a great guarantee for the attainment of their final victories, for the ensurance of a really free and independent life.

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ACTIVATION OF FASCIST CRIMINALS — A GRAVE NEW DANGER TO THE ITALIAN PEOPLE

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

Reports from Italy tell of a grave crisis and a general worsening of the situation which has engulfed all the sectors of the country's life. Inflation has reached its highest level since the end of the second world war and the value of the lira has fallen by 18 per cent within a year. Prices grow at an unrestrained rate — by 20 per cent a year. The foreign trade deficit is calculated in billions of dollars and grows at an astonishing rate every month.

In this grave situation of crisis, what threatens Italy most is fascist activity, the threat posed by the new blackshirts to throw the country into chaos as like that at the beginning of the 20's, which contributed to Mussolini's advent to power. The violence of the neofascists is extending and being escalated with a great speed. Their crimes are innumerable. With iron bars and sticks, they attack the peaceful masses in the streets of the cities and villages, they blow up trains, and place bombs in public houses, they kill and abduct people, they plunder and threaten. The climax was reached in Brescia some time ago when, as a result of the explosion of bombs placed by neofascists while a popular demonstration was taking place, 6 persons were killed and 94 others were injured.

The increase of fascist criminal activity in Italy is also connected with the grave defeat suffered by the reactionary and

obscurantist forces in the referendum on divorce. It is also a reaction to the victory scored by the broad popular masses, an effort to have revenge and to menace the working people. By means of terror, the reactionaries seek to intimidate the masses and hinder them from forging ahead on the road of their political and social emancipation, to disorientate and subjugate them. With savage and barbarous methods, the fascists and all the other reactionaries seek to turn the country back to regimes and systems that have been condemned by history, to keep it bound by medieval rules and laws, materially exploited and spiritually oppressed.

The new disciples of the Duce are openly vindicating Mussolini and his regime, and are also implementing the forms and methods he used to come to power. A wide network of semi-legal, semi-illegal fascist organisations has been set up in many cities and their numbers keep increasing. The grave economic situation and political instability constitute a suitable environment for this development of their forces, just as criminal activity further deepens and extends the crisis.

The fascists have also their legal party, the Italian Social Movement, which is represented in parliament, publishes newspapers with all the slogans of the Duce, brings together all the old and new blackshirts on the squares of cities, covers the

walls with posters and calls for new marches on Rome.

The fascists' plan, which they are implementing with great strictness and persistence, is now clear. By means of their allround criminal activity and political terror, they seek to create a general chaos, an atmosphere of fear and uncertainty, and then pave the way for themselves to take state power. They have even started to claim this power, presenting themselves as the «strong hand», the only one capable of preserving the order which they themselves disturbed, of re-establishing the peace destroyed by their squadrons, of eliminating the crime which they instigate.

But what draw one's attention especially to the increase of fascist criminal activity in Italy is the fact that the fascist organisations enjoy broad support from powerful political forces, including big capital, which instigate and arm them and get them out in the streets. The Italian press openly writes about these connections which also constitute the strength of the fascists, and speakers at the forums of various parties mention them without concealment.

The fascists have openly set up real military camps where they train their assassins and criminals; they have set up large arms depots in cities, capable of arming whole brigades; they have special flats and villas for illegal meetings, and well

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equipped laboratories to produce forged documents, currencies, etc. Despite this, an astonishing slowness and slackness is shown in the discovery and capture of the fascist terrorists. For the fascists, all the bounds of tolerance and mercy have been surpassed. Many crimes of theirs have been denounced but the most surprising fact is that no fascist has been punished. Moreover, the Italian press points out that the police and judicial organs have not taken even the slightest trouble to follow up leads and see where the connections of the fascist organisations lead and what ties there are between their legal and illegal organisations. The former head of intelligence and chief of general staff of the Italian army, General Di Lorenzo, after the discovery of his plot for a coup d'état, was not punished but was even allowed to be elected as parliamentary deputy of the neofascist party, and propagandize and struggle for fascism from the parliament benches. His friend, prince Borghese, after having been unmasked as the founder of several

clandestine fascist terrorist organisations lives «illegally» in the villas around the Lake of Guardia and comes and goes in Italy with facilities which are not enjoyed even by diplomats. A judge or prosecutor has demanded that the fascist head of the Italian Social Movement, Almirante, be deprived of his parliamentary immunity, with a view to judging him for organizing and instigating fascist criminal and terrorist activity; but he remains undisturbed, firmly seated in parliament. The big industrialists and bankers who finance the fascists are known, but they have not been touched at all.

Fascist criminal activity has met with a great deal of resistance from the majority of the Italian people. A great wave of indignation and protest has swept over the whole of Italy, from North to South. The labouring masses, those who knew Il Duce and who suffered under his regime, those who paid dearly for his adventures, have risen and are demanding the punishment of the fascists and the prohibition of their activity.

The rank-and-file are showing their determination to struggle against the fascists, and not to allow them to promote their monstrous plans. Millions of Italian antifascists do not want the dark fascist past repeat itself; therefore, they rightfully demand and insist on quick, determined action to denounce and prohibit fascism and to expose those who are hiding behind it.

The fascist danger in Italy, as admitted by the local press and by many political figures, is not inevitable. Despite the dangers and threats, despite the heavy crises that have engulfed the country, despite the many difficulties facing them, the Italian antifascists, the Italian people, cannot allow themselves to be discouraged, or to submit or withdraw from the struggle to defend their rights, freedom and future, so as not to allow fascism to conquer them again. In this struggle and in these efforts they will have the great antifascist support and solidarity of all the democratic and progressive forces of the whole world.

Snapshot of a fruit and vegetable shop in Tirana.



Albania
today

