

Albania today

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A mathematic computer
centre has been opened under
the State University of Tirana

Young specialists help in the development
of production

National costumes





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«We cannot proceed rapidly ahead in any field without deep, realistic and perspective scientific studies which clarify the objectives we want to reach and the roads of their realization»

ENVER HOXHA

DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCES IN SOCIALISM IS A NECESSITY AND INDISPENSABILITY

DEAR COMRADES,
THIS OCCASION IS A GREAT JOY FOR OUR ENTIRE PEOPLE. WE HAVE GATHERED HERE FOR THE FIRST MEETING OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF ALBANIA. THIS WILL REMAIN A MEMORABLE DAY OF OUR NATIONAL CULTURE, AN HISTORICAL EVENT ON THE ROAD OF THE IMPETUOUS AND ALL-ROUND DEVELOPMENT of our country. The creation of the Academy is the realisation of the ambitions and efforts of the most brilliant minds of our people from our national revival up until today.

HYSNI KAPO: Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC of the PLA. Greeting delivered on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers at the first meeting of the Assembly of the Academy of Sciences of the PR of Albania.

That which was once dreamed of by the great Albanian scholar Sami Frashëri has become a reality in new socialist Albania under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania.

At this very solemn and moving moment it is a great honour for me to convey to the members of the academy and to all our workers of science, present and absent, the most ardent greetings and best wishes of the Central Committee of the Party, the Council of Ministers and comrade Enver Hoxha personally, for good and successful work in the development and progress of Albanian science.

The creation of an academy of sciences is an outstanding success for every country, but for us Albanians this is a particularly great victory. Only thirty years ago our country was markedly backward in all fields of life – economic, social and cultural. Organized scientific activity, even of individual talents, was almost non-existent. Even in the scientific study



At the meeting of the Assembly
of the Academy of sciences of the P.R.A. –
comrade Hysni Kapo
greeting from the rostrum of the People's Assembly

by **HYSNI KAPO**

of our language and history it was mainly foreigners who were involved. That we have managed in so short a period of time to create our own academy of sciences is a result of the new order established in Albania, it is a result of the action of the physical and mental energies released by socialism. This is an event which has been thought out and prepared, step by step, by our Party of Labour.

The development of science in socialism is a necessity and an indispensability deriving from its very nature. Socialism means the increasingly more complete domination of science over the forces of nature and society. It removes all the class, economic, ideological and political obstacles to the development of science and opens broad and boundless horizons to it. The socialist society is vitally concerned with profound acquaintance with the objective laws in all fields and human activities because its ideals cannot be realized without powerfully relying on science.



The founding of the Academy of Sciences is a direct consequence of the entire material and spiritual development of our society. Our economy has been transformed into a large diversified economy with a complex structure and a high standard technical base, an economy which relies on the science and technology of the times and which increasingly applies their achievements. Our young industry is developing in all directions; plants, combines, mines and hydropower stations have been set up and many others are under construction, while radical transformations have been made in our agriculture. All this testifies not only to the country's economic strength, but also to the great creative scientific power and possibilities of our men. Albania is today covered by a dense network of schools of different categories and levels, at the head of which is the State University of Tirana training thousands of specialists of numerous profiles every year. Now over 30.000 students attend the country's higher schools. These schools are reliable centres for training our future scientific cadres. Our Academy of Sciences is erected on a rich heritage. Operating today are 25 scientific research institutions which have in their fold hundreds of working people many of them holding various scientific degrees.

The creation of the Academy of Sciences was dictated not only by the level reached in our economic, cultural and scientific development so far, but also by the great tasks facing us for solution, by the bright prospects opened to our people and our country. Now our country is engaged on the road of its intensive socialist development. We are at a stage which requires the most rational use of the material and human resources, the increase of the effectiveness of work and a more qualified and scientific direction in all the fields of our socialist development. Science has a very great role in the attainment of these objectives. Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 6th Party Congress that under the present-day conditions "We cannot proceed rapidly ahead in any field without profound scientific realistic and prospective studies, which clarify the objectives we want to reach and the roads of their realisation." There is every condition in our country for science to develop freely and show the whole of its strength. It does not aim to serve the development of the productive forces alone, but as well, to serve the allround emancipation of the working people. In contradistinction to the capitalist countries, where science is used as an instrument to make profit, to intensify and improve the system of exploitation of the workers, for the oppression and subjugation of the other peoples, in the socialist country, it serves to raise the level of wellbeing of all the people, to facilitate the work of the people and general social progress on a national and international scale. In bourgeois society the noble mission of science is seriously distorted. It develops in an extremely contradictory way, in many cases being transformed from a product of human genius into a weapon for the extermination of man.

In Albania, science is not and will never be a privilege of the few. The people and science, the two great historic forces, which only yesterday were divided and separated, act together in the conditions of socialism, multiply the power of one another and promote the process of the development of society. With us, scientific thought not only becomes the property of the broad masses of the people,

but becomes rich through their creativeness. Just as in any other field, in scientific studies and research too, the active participation of the masses is a great question of principle, in the last analysis its correct understanding and implementation determines the development of science and technology in general.

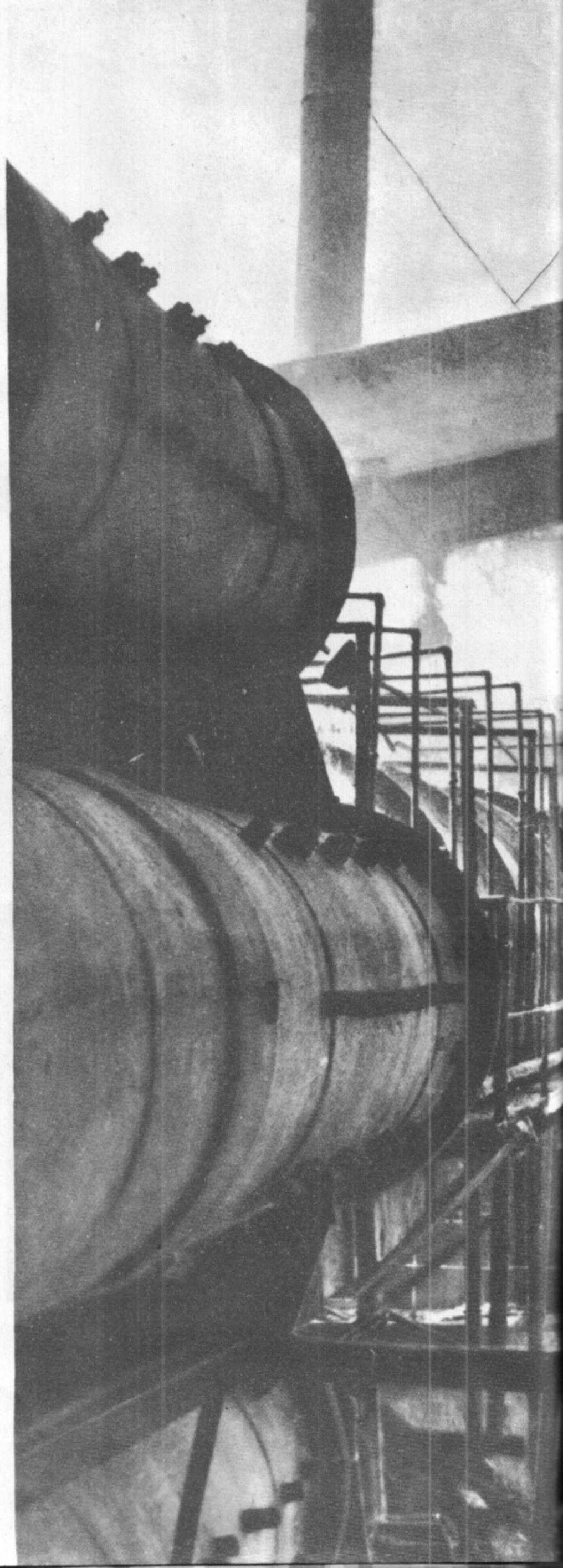
Scientific activity in our country is not a private affair of special individuals, or of a group or collective of given men. It is a very important sphere of the state activity which does not develop spontaneously, but according to a plan worked out in compliance with the interests of the state, the society and science itself. The state direction of science in no way limits the individual scientific freedom of the experimenter. On the contrary, the state management shows the scientist the correct road for his work to be of the most use to society.

The general theoretical and methodological basis of our science is the Marxist world outlook. This is one of the things which makes science in socialism superior, which gives it the possibility of being correctly orientated in the labyrinth of the unknown, of accurately interpreting facts and phenomena, of reaching indisputable theoretical and practical generalisations. No science can be independent of world outlook and ideology. If science is not guided by dialectics and historical materialism, then idealism, metaphysics and theology, which are the enemies of scientific truth and inhibit its progress, will replace them. In all of their activity our scientists are and must be characterized by the spirit of proletarian partisanship.

We have never considered the development of science as an aim in itself or as an ornament. It has developed and will always develop in close connection with life, with the practice of socialist construction. We are against science for the sake of science, against abstract theorisations, as well as against the vulgarisation and simplification of scientific work. The Party wants a most effective science which undertakes and settles important theoretical and practical current and perspective problems. It should look ahead more than backward, in order to extend the horizons of the future, as much as possible.

Our scientists are aware of the great sacrifices made by our people, small in number, for the development of science. In the future too, the State will not be sparing with the necessary and indispensable means needed for scientific studies and research in various branches. There is no doubt that all the workers of science will respond to these sacrifices and to this care with tireless, rapid and fruitful work. In the same way, there is no doubt that the whole of our society is realizing that the expenditure for science is expenditure for its own development and progress. These are investments of great advantage to the present and the future.

The development of science in our country is subjected not only to the general laws of socialist construction, but also to the particular laws of the development of the science and technology of production. Like-wise, it does not proceed as detached from the development of world science and technology. As a small country with limited possibilities, we are deeply interested in benefitting as much as possible from everything new and progressive of foreign science, from the speedy and effective mastery of all the successes and victories of world science and technology. Acquaintance with the victories achieved, their being spread and put into practice consti-





tute one of the important tasks of the Academy of Sciences. Our society needs its scientific and mass activity to be as broad as possible. The creation of the Academy of Sciences does not mean that from now on all the scientific work will be done exclusively by this institution. The Tirana University will remain an important scientific centre. The University, the other higher schools and various institutions of scientific research and studies which are not under the jurisdiction of the Academy and which involve numerous qualified cadres, will continue their scientific activity more broadly and intensively. The Academy has the task of coordinating the scientific problematic activity between itself and the various institutions and higher schools, as well as between them and the base on a republic scale.

A sure guarantee for the success of every scientific activity is the training, qualification and further qualification of the cadres. The effectiveness of scientific work is directly dependent on the professional level of the scientific workers, on their perspective, on how well they are able to march side by side the actual development of science and the demands of the times. In this direction we must fight against various prejudices and narrowmindedness, courageously blazing the path forward to find the shortest and most rational ways to solve these problems. The academy must proceed thoughtfully in this field and with a clear perspective plan. It must be aware of its great responsibility for the training of the present and the future scientific generation.

Wishing the Academy of Sciences of Albania the greatest possible success in its noble and illuminating work, the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers express their full conviction and confidence that it will honourably carry out its lofty tasks and that the scientific forces of the country, which have always been characterized by a lofty spirit of socialist patriotism, will put all their creative energies toward the elevation and the progress of Albanian science, to make our socialist fatherland flourish.

Science in the service of production.

In numerous work sites

where various industrial units are going up,

construction work cannot be carried

out without the necessary technical knowledge

Young Albanian specialists perfect their knowledge getting acquainted with the latest achievements of science and technology. This knowledge helps them in assembling the aggregates and complex machinery in the country's new plants



of production.
units are going up.
not be carried
any technical knowledge



ECONOMY AND SCIENCE



PLANNING

**The rate of development and the bright prospects of the Albanian economy.
Superiority of the Leninist method of planned management of economy.
Criteria and benefit of scientific socialist planning**

by ABDYL KELLEZI

BEFORE LIBERATION ALBANIA WAS THE MOST BACKWARD COUNTRY IN EUROPE FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF THE LEVEL OF ITS ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT. THE FEUDAL-BOURGEOIS RELATIONS OF production, the protracted Turkish occupation, the policy of partition pursued by the various capitalist countries with regard to Albania and, later on, the penetration of foreign capital into the Albanian economy, left the country with a very low level of development of the productive forces.

This backwardness was deepened still more as a result of the occupation of Albania by the Italian and then by the

German imperialists who, pursuing a scorched earth policy, inflicted colossal material damage on our country. During the antifascist war Albania, one of the smallest countries in Europe, suffered greater damage in relation to its population than any of the other countries which participated in this war.

Under these very grave and difficult economic conditions, our party and people began the great task of building new Albania on the road of its socialist and independent development.

Now, after 28 years of heroic struggle for the country's economic and cultural development, the backwardness of Albania

ABDYL KELLEZI: Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA, Chairman of the State Planning Commission.



is a thing of the past. Today Albania is beyond comparison with the level of its pre-liberation development. Suffice it to mention, for example, that in the year 1972 alone our industry, with the new branches it has created, produces in five days what it took the whole year to produce in 1938.

The Albanian people owe the magnificent successes that have been achieved in economic and social development, which from both the quantitative and qualitative viewpoint are very important for our country now and for the future of the complete construction of the socialist society, to the wise Marxist-Leninist leadership of the party and comrade Enver Hoxha who, since the very beginning, have consistently pursued and implemented the Leninist course of the development of a planned economy.

With the country's liberation, the party adopted a series of important revolutionary measures and prepared all the economic conditions for the planned development of the people's economy. With the nationalization of industry, banks and transport, with the implementation of the land reform and the establishment of the state monopoly on foreign trade, etc., the socialist sector of economy was created in our country and new socialist relations of production were born and began to develop, based on the socialist ownership of the means of production. The new mode of production and the newly established socialist relations of production created the ground for the operation of the new economic laws, including the fundamental economic law of socialism and the law of the proportional planned development of the people's economy. The operation of these laws raised the indispensable demand of the development of the people's economy on the basis of scientific socialist planning. Proceeding from the fundamental principle that there can be no political independence without economic independence, the Party and the Government paid great attention to the independent development of the Albanian economy.

From the beginning, preserving the fundamental direction of its strategy, the complete construction of the socialist society, the PLA worked out the general line that had to be followed and the economic policy that had to be realized,

in order to overcome the economic backwardness and the grave aftermath of the war, to ensure the construction of the economic base and the material-technical base of socialism. All these tasks found their reflection, analysis and concretization in the development of the economy on the basis of the general unified state plan. In this way, with the development of the productive forces, with the extension and uninterrupted improvement of the socialist relations of production, scientific planning was worked out and developed, becoming one of the most important means of ensuring the rapid growth and strengthening of the people's economy and culture. The planning of the people's economy in our country has gone through several stages, beginning with partial plans, followed by unified current plans and passing on to perspective five-year plans. The tasks of the unified plans, the methods and forms of the planned management and development of the economy have been different in the different stages of the construction of the socialist society. They have varied and have been improved and enriched as a result of the profound revolutionary changes that have occurred in the field of ownership, of the extension and improvement of the socialist relations of production, and of the specific conditions of the development of the productive forces.

The main tasks of the five-year plans for the development of the people's economy and culture have always had as their fundamental objective the economic policy of the party and the consistent implementation of this policy at the different stages of the construction of the socialist society.

The main task of the first five-year plan (1951-1955) was to overcome the backwardness inherited from the past, to transform Albania from the backward agrarian country it was in the past, into an advanced agrarian-industrial country, through the implementation of the policy of socialist industrialization in the specific conditions of the country developing the different branches and sectors of the economy at a more rapid rate during this period.

The successful realization of this objective raised as a necessity of the second five-year plan (1956-1960) the main task of developing agriculture at a rapid rate, parallel with the further development of

industry, through the organization of agricultural production on a socialist basis. Consistently pursuing the policy of the country's socialist industrialization, in the first place, through the development of the mining industry, the planned management of the people's economy during this period envisaged all the measures and indispensable means to ensure the revolutionary transformation of the form of ownership in the countryside. The liquidation of private ownership in agriculture was closely connected not only with the development of agriculture itself and its future, but also with the development of the people's economy as a whole. The mode of production in the countryside in that period had fallen into contradiction with the level the productive forces had reached and had become an obstacle to their further development.

The implementation of the party programme for the socialist transformation of the countryside was another very great victory of the general line followed by the party for the building of socialism in the countryside. With the fulfilment of this programme one of the most important stages of the building of the socialist society, that of the construction of the economic base of socialism in our country, came to an end. In this way, at the end of this period, the socialist ownership of the means of production became the dominant form not only in the town but in the countryside as well. Agriculture passed definitely onto the road of socialist development. In the year 1960, as a result of the collectivization of agriculture, the number of agricultural cooperatives in Albania reached 1,484, embracing 79 per cent of the cultivated area and yielding 48 per cent of the agricultural produce of the peasantry. With the construction of the economic base of socialism, the main tasks of the five-year plan have aimed at and continue to aim at the gradual solution, at a high rate of the problem of the complete construction of the socialist society, through the construction of its material-technical base. The great problems of this period became complicated and difficult as a result of the Soviet revisionists' betrayal of our people and our party. Their completely successful solution constitutes one of the most glorious periods of the construction of socialism in Albania. The process of the country's



socialist industrialization in this period is embarking on a very important road and is accelerated by the necessity of creating a diversified industry as independent of imports as possible, through bringing many raw material resources into economic circulation and raising the level of local processing. Agriculture is thus set on the road of its intensive development relying on an increasingly more powerful material and technical base, and the development of the other branches and sectors of the economy and culture is also intensified. Therefore our economy

in this period quickly begins the process of its general intensification ensuring the transformation of our country, in a short period from an agricultural-industrial country into an industrial agricultural one.

The fundamental task of the fourth five-year plan, laid down by the 5th Congress of the PLA, was to ensure the further development of the country's productive forces in order to speed up the complete construction of the material-technical base of socialism. This was achieved by continuing the process of the

Socialist scientific planning envisages the development of the productive forces standing on both feet: on industry and agriculture. Snapshot of ready made products of a section of the metallurgical plant of Elbasan



The scientific research work is a important factor in the development and increase of agricultural yields. A young woman specialist from the Agricultural Research Institute of Lushnja marking the progress of the plant in the field

country's socialist industrialization and by increasing industrial production through the fullest utilization of the productive capacities and through the construction of new projects, concentrating forces on a more rapid development of agricultural production, especially of the production of grain in the first place through the further intensification of agriculture. On the basis of the increase of social production, the material wellbeing of the people and their cultural standard was gradually raised, and the defence potential of the homeland was also strengthened. Parallel with this, the socialist relations of production were further improved on a correct revolutionary road, important steps forward were taken in gradually narrowing the differences between town and countryside, between the working class and the peasantry, between industry and agriculture, between mental work and manual work, the socialist revolution in the field of ideology and culture was further deepened, the dictatorship of the proletariat was strengthened, and the unity between the people and the party was further tempered, by waging a fierce and irreconcilable class struggle against the internal and external enemies.

The fulfillment and surpassing in many directions of the rate of the development of the economy and culture during the fourth five-year plan resulted in the country's economic and social development being realized at a higher and more stable rate. In comparison with 1950 (the year when the economy and culture of our country began to be developed on the basis of the five-year plans), in 1970 social production increased by 570% . Total industrial production for the same period grew 144% times and total agricultural production - 160% . In order to carry out the programme of construction work envisaged under the fourth five-year plan 320% more material and monetary means were invested than during the first five-year plan, or 44 per cent more than during the first and second five-year plans taken together. The national income in 1970 increased 390% over that of 1950. The general line pursued by the Party and the Government for the complete construction of the socialist society, and the consistent application of the revolutionary road of socialist planning in the process of the country's socialist construction, were and remain among the main

factors which, during the 1961-1970 decade ensured the complete triumph of our system of planned economy, in the duel with the savage imperialist and revisionist blockade. More than once during the 28 years of the country's socialist construction our Party and people have clashed with savage and rabid enemies who, through pressure and economic blockades, have sought to force us to our knees and obstruct us in our independent economic development on the road of true scientific socialization.

But the history of these blockades has shown that our enemies have always emerged disillusioned from these actions; that our economy, far from landing in chaos has emerged stronger by smashing the various blockades and has developed at an increasingly faster rate, indeed on many occasions the rate envisaged by the perspective plans for the development of the economy and culture has even been surpassed. Here are some of the main figures of the development of the people's economy and culture of our country following the blockade imposed by the Khrushchovite revisionists. In the year 1970, as compared with the year 1960, social production increased 120% , total industrial production, 150% , and total agricultural production, 80% . The national income for the same period doubled, the real income per capita of the population 20% , the goods turnover in retail trade 80% , and the goods turnover in foreign trade 80% .

These figures are an indication of the high rate of the development of our country in the period after the imperialist-revisionist blockade, of the vitality of our people's economy which was able to overcome each and every difficulty and to smash all kinds of blockades.

While developing the people's economy in a planned way, the PLA has elaborated the revolutionary principles of planning the people's economy and perfected them step by step. Always reflecting the requirements of the objective economic laws of socialism, the planning of the people's economy has been always characterized by a lofty spirit of revolutionary partisanship, by treating economic problems from a political viewpoint at every stage of development and by always placing proletarian politics in command. From the beginning, and in irreconcilable struggle against the viewpoints of the modern revisionists, the party has always

ensured the development of a centralized economy, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist principle of democratic centralism. The modern revisionists, in their efforts to put the economy on the capitalist road of development, have given up the principle of democratic centralism in the planned development of the people's economy. Renouncing the unified policy of prices and wages and passing over to the decentralization of investments and sources for financing them, the modern revisionists leave a loophole for the all-round decentralization of the management of the economy. As a result, the economy of the revisionist countries has landed in great contradictions which emerge in the field of the production and distribution of goods, contradictions which express the interests of the various social groups in these countries.

As a result of the renunciation of the Marxist-Leninist principle of democratic centralism in the development of the economy, in the revisionist countries the law of value has found a broad field of operation with all its destructive consequences for the economies of these countries. In this way the economy of the revisionist countries has now landed in real chaos, and such phenomena of the capitalist society as anarchy and competition have become common occurrences. Through its unified general plans our Party of Labour has aimed and continues to aim at developing an economy as independent and self-reliant as possible. In this whole process it has always been guided by the revolutionary principle of self-reliance. The application of this principle in planning the people's economy has made it possible for the internal resources to be used to the benefit of the construction of socialism, and for the broad creative action of the labouring masses, to ensure the highest possible rate of development of the people's economy and culture.

Broader and even brighter prospects have been opened to our people's economy and culture on the road of development on the basis of socialist scientific planning. The 5th five-year plan (1971-1975), which was approved by the 6th Congress of the Party, constitutes a great programme for the further development and strengthening of the different branches of the people's economy, on the road of the construction of the material-technical base of socialism.

The 5th five-year plan of the development of the people's economy and culture (1971-1975) constitutes a militant programme in the implementation of the general line of the PLA for the construction of socialism in Albania. The tasks of this plan are great, revolutionary, realistic and fully realizable.

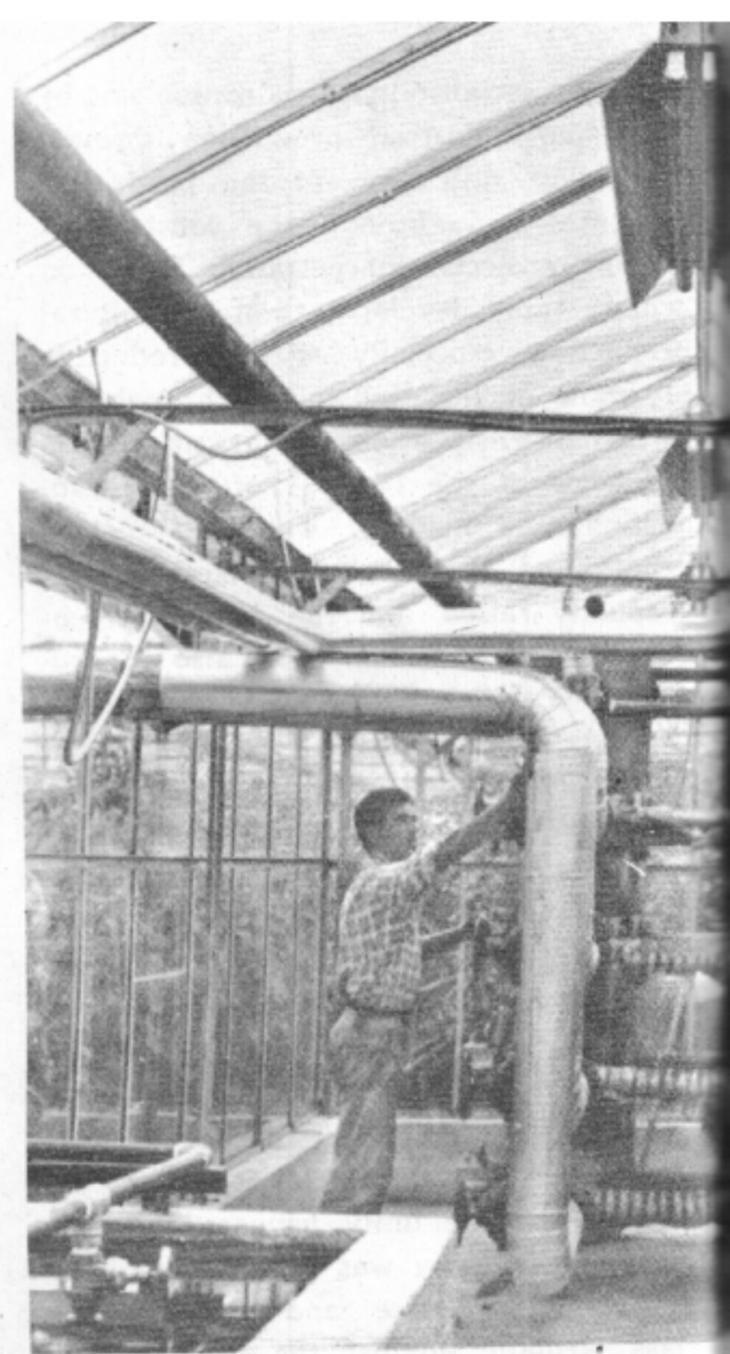
The political and economic greatness of this plan consists, among other things, in the unprecedentedly high levels to be reached by social production, in particular by industrial and agricultural production. Total social production in 1975 is envisaged to be 54-58 per cent greater than in 1970, total industrial production will increase by 61-66 per cent and agricultural production by 65-69 per cent. In order to cope with the country's economic development about 16.460 million leks will be invested during this period or 31 per cent more than the investments made during the 15 years of the first, second and third five-year plans taken together. There will also be a rapid growth of such branches of the economy and culture as transport of all types and, in particular, railway transport, communal services for the people, education, culture, health, etc. The living standard of the broad working masses will rise further and the real income per capita of the population will increase 14-17 per cent over that of 1970.

Under this five-year plan our country has entered a new stage of quantitative and qualitative development in which the accounts for many products are no longer calculated by tens, nor by hundreds of thousands of tons, but by millions of tons, billions of kwh, billions of leks of construction work, etc. The growth of production by such proportions and at such a scale testifies to the force and superiority of our socio-economic order, to the inexhaustible energies stimulated by the revolution and the construction of socialism. The period of time needed by the economically developed countries to attain such a rate of growth of production has been 3, 4 or 5 times longer than that necessary to increase our industrial production under the 5th five-year plan, without mentioning here the insignificant rates of increase and failures of these countries in the development of agricultural production.

During this five-year plan big projects will be built which, as regards volume of construction-assembly work, of cons-

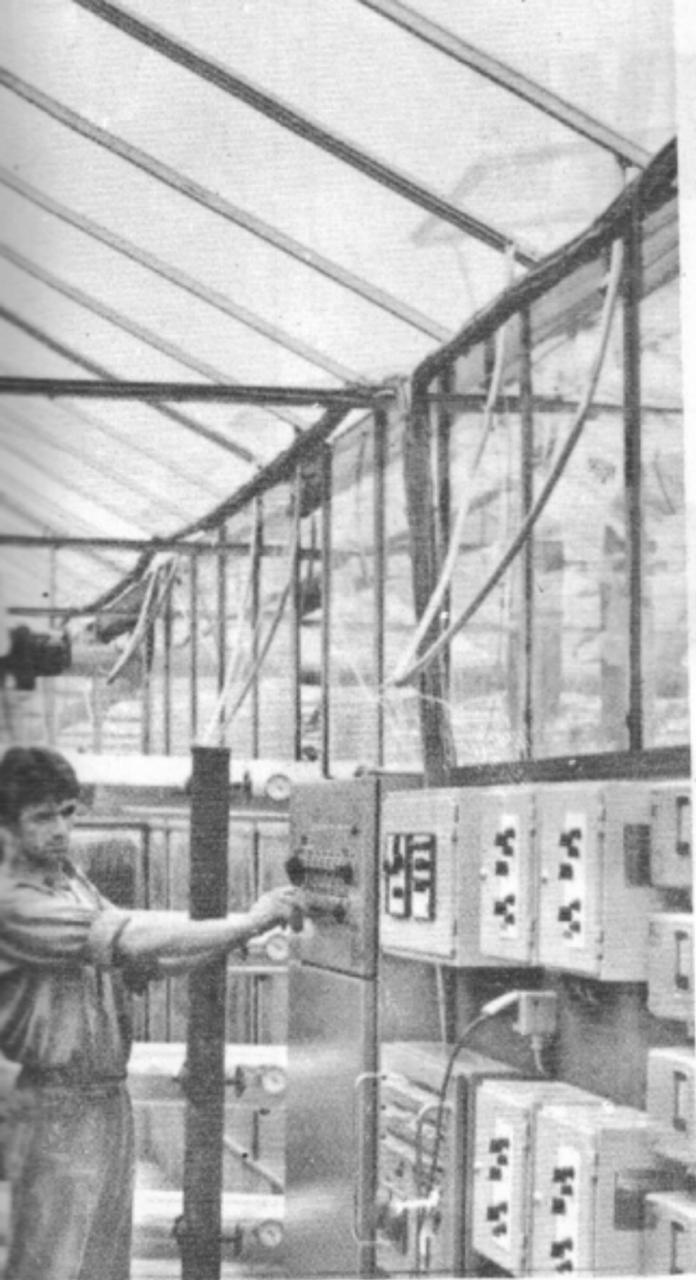
truction time, level of production technique and technology and productive capacity, rank among the advanced middle-sized or big projects of the world. At the end of 1975 our national industry will include such branches and works as ferrous metallurgy, a modern plant for the deep processing of oil, the Fierza hydropower station and hundreds of other important national and local units. Agriculture will take big and rapid strides in deepening the process of its intensification, new rail-roads will cross our country, new heavy tonnage ships will sail on the seas and oceans and various educational, cultural and sport institutions will be built in all parts of Albania. Indeed, the economic and social projects of the 5th five-year plan go beyond the boundaries of a period of five years since they will exercise a perceptible influence on the country's allround socialist development. They occupy an important place in the history of our socialist construction, for they will raise our ever triumphant development to higher peaks. During this five-year plan socialist Albania will be raised to a new level of its development from where it will emit still brighter rays, as a brilliant example of revolution and socialism in Europe and in the world. Another characteristic of the 5th five-year plan is the radical improvement of the structure of social production, giving priority to the development of the branches of production of the means of production, without neglecting the production of consumer goods. The 5th five-year plan will further strengthen our people's economy, standing firmly on both feet - the development of industry and the development of agriculture.

While resolutely following the course of the socialist planning of the economy, the Party continues to aim at raising and strengthening the degree of independence of the people's economy, at broadening the level of utilization of the material and labour resources and, by bringing new resources into economic circulation, at further increasing the economic efficiency of our socialist production, strengthening the material-technical base of socialism even further. In this framework, the 5th five-year plan is preparing favourable conditions for new and profound changes in our export-import structure and in the balance of payments of foreign trade, increasing the specific weight of



processed products for export and decreasing the specific weight of imported spare parts, tools and various materials, mass consumer goods, as well as some equipment, machines and complete industrial projects.

The economic policy of our Party of Labour, embodied in the consistent implementation of scientific socialist planning, fully meets the radical interests of the working class and cooperativist peasantry, the interests of the revolution and socialism in Albania. We are aware of the fact that the impetuous development of



our people' economy, just as heretofore, in the future, too, will be realized through the application of the Leninist method of scientific planned management. For this purpose the PLA has laid down the task that the knowledge and experience gained in this direction should be mastered and applied with a practical creative spirit, by the working masses.

The Party and comrade Enver Hoxha have pointed out and continually point out that in strengthening the management of the economy, the decisive role

belongs to the working masses. Under the wise leadership of the Party, they continue to be the main subject of our plans, of our system of scientific planned management of the economy. Therefore, the continual implementation of the mass line, the lively activation of the masses in the management of the economy, in compliance with the socialist unified planned management, remain the permanent and irreplaceable means for the successful construction of the socialist society in Albania.

The new five-year plan envisages a further modernization of agriculture. The cultivated areas in up to date glass houses have been greatly extended.

In the photo:
A snapshot of early vegetable products in the glass houses of the Shijaku cooperative



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THE OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE FACTORS IN THE REVOLUTION

**The correct Marxist understanding
and application of factors in the socialist
revolution and socialist construction.
The connection between the laws of history
and revolutionary initiative.
The role of the vanguard party in the
revolutionary movement.**

by FOTO ÇAMI

FOTO ÇAMI - Member of the CC of the PLA - specialist in problems of Marxist philosophy.

ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEMS OF REVOLUTIONARY THEORY AND PRACTICE IS THE CORRECT DIALECTICAL-MATERIALIST UNDERSTANDING AND APPLICATION OF THE ROLE OF THE OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE factors in the revolution and socialist construction.

This problem is very complex. It includes the relationship between matter and the ideal, between social being and social consciousness, the base and the superstructure, the economy and politics, theory and practice, the spontaneous movement and conscious and organized activity, etc.

Absolutizing one or the other side, in theory, leads either to vulgar materialism, to economism and the advocating of spontaneity or to idealism, subjectivism and voluntarism; while in politics it leads either to opportunism, reformism and revisionism or to adventurism, dogmatism and sectarianism. Viewed from this angle, this is a cardinal problem of vital importance for the victory of the revolution and socialism, a demarcation line dividing the materialists from the idealists, the Marxist-Leninists from the opportunists of every hue.

Marx and the historic merit of Lenin

Discovering the materialistic understanding of history Marx for the first time also correctly solved the relationship between matter and consciousness, the objective and subjective factors in the development of human society. With this great discovery he dealt a lethal blow not only to idealism in social life, but also to vulgar materialism. "The weapon of criticism", he wrote, "certainly cannot replace criticism by means of weapons, material force must be overthrown by the same means of material force; but theory, too, becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses" (*Marx and Engels, Works, vol. I, p. 406, Russian edit.*).

Marx and Engels lived at a time when the tasks laid down by the development of the labour movement and the elaboration of its ideology dictated the necessity, in the first place, of rejecting idealism, of arguing the fundamental materialist thesis that it is the conditions of the material life of society, it is the

mode of production, which is the decisive force determining the entire physiognomy and development of society, including the birth and development of social ideas and theories. Engels wrote, "Marx and I are ourselves partly to blame for the fact that the younger people sometimes lay more stress on the economic side than is due to it. We had to emphasise the main principle vis-à-vis our adversaries, who denied it, and we had not always the time, the place or the opportunity to allow the other elements involved in the interaction to come into their rights". (*F. Engels, Letter to J. Bloch, September 21-22, 1890*).

In the last years of his life Engels, in a series of letters, returned to this problem and strove to stress the active role of the subjective factor, of various ideas, parties and institutions, of the superstructure in general, criticizing vulgar materialism and economism. He pointed out, "The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure... also exercise their influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining their form". (*F. Engels, Letter to J. Bloch, September 21-22, 1890*).

But the evil against which Engels rose could not be averted. Opportunism, which was based precisely on vulgar materialism and economism, seized the second International. The theory of the "productive forces" and Bernstein's infamous slogan of "the movement everything, the aim nothing" became the basis of all the opportunist theories of the revisionists of that time which caused great damage to the working class revolutionary movement. What could not be done by Marx and Engels in their time, was done in the new historical conditions by Lenin. Imperialism, Lenin pointed out, is the "epoch when, according to the general admission of the Marxists, the objective conditions have already ripened for the destruction of capitalism..." (*Complete works, vol. 26, p. 119; Russian edit.*). Under these circumstances special importance was assumed by the role of the subjective factor which was elaborated by Lenin in an allround manner. In his work "What is to be done" and in many other works he scientifically argued the necessity and importance of the theory and party of the working class, forcefully stressing the thesis that without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement

and that the role of vanguard can be played only by a party which is guided by the vanguard theory. Lenin elaborated the role of the subjective factor in fierce struggle against the ideological opponents of Marxism, who saw the development of society as a peaceful and spontaneous-evolutionary process which occurred without the intervention of man; who said that socialism would be established gradually, by itself as an inevitable result of economic development, without the class struggle, without the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, without the leadership of the Marxist party. The historic merit of the exposure and destruction of the opportunism of the traitorous second International belongs to Lenin. For the first time in the history of Marxist thought Lenin discovered the ideological roots of opportunism, which reside precisely in advocating economism and spontaneity in the revolutionary movement of the working class. Lenin also waged a resolute struggle against the subjectivism and voluntarism of the Narodnik-petty bourgeois, anarcho-syndicalist ideologists, Trotskiysts and "left" opportunists who in fact negated the role and importance of the objective conditions and based everything on the will and consciousness of man.

In the present-day conditions the role of the objective and subjective factors has again emerged as a great and current problem, in that in theory and practice there are great distortions that harm the revolutionary movement. "Today", comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 6th Congress of the PLA, there has been a revival of the various theories which preach spontaneity in the revolutionary movement, which hold the role of the conscious factor in contempt, which negate the role of theory and of the party of the proletariat".

The modern revisionists, led by the Soviet revisionists, just as their predecessors - the opportunists of the second International, have in fact slipped into the theory of the productive forces, into economism and reformism. They seek to prove that present-day capitalism is being integrated into socialism, that the working class can embark on the road of socialism even within the framework of the bourgeois order, that the transition to socialism can be made by means of reforms, through a peaceful road and through

evolution, that the struggle for socialism can also be led by non-proletarian classes and parties, that socialism can also be built on the basis of other "socialist" ideologies which are not Marxist-Leninist ideologies, etc.

Some other ideologists from among the ranks of the "New Left" in Latin America and in Western Europe go even further. They rise against the necessity of introducing socialist consciousness into the working class and the labouring masses; they say that the vanguard role can also be played by an "active minority" which emerge as a ferment of revolution, that consciousness and organization are spontaneously acquired in the process of the struggle, they are opposed to the necessity of the Marxist party, to its leading role and to its being built on the Leninist principles. In order to justify these anti-Marxist positions, their partisans are striving to prove that Lenin distorted the Marxist concept of the relationship between socialist consciousness and the spontaneous movement, between the party and the masses; that he in no way complemented Marx's doctrine about the party, but created a theory of his own, which is allegedly not found in the works of Marx, but is in opposition to them. In the final analysis, Lenin's doctrine, they say, may be correct and necessary for the backward countries, but it is entirely unsuited to the present-day conditions of the advanced capitalist countries where the distance between the vanguard and the class has been and is being greatly shortened and where the class is in a position to acquire socialist consciousness by itself.

All this confusion places the necessity of intensive struggle to defend the Marxist-Leninist principles from the distortions of the various revisionists and opportunists on the agenda even today. As comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 6th Congress of the PLA, "The situation is such that the practical movement of the masses has advanced and continues to advance, while the subjective factor, consciousness, organization and their direction, in many countries has remained behind, and does not meet the tasks of the times". This is related, above all, to the out and out betrayal by the modern revisionists, which disorientated the ranks of the revolution ideologically and politically, and left the working class and the labouring masses

in many countries unarmed, without a revolutionary leadership. This vacuum is being filled and will continue to be filled with the creation and strengthening of the new Marxist-Leninist parties, which have the historic task of liberating the masses from opportunism and reformism and of leading them in the revolution.

Historic laws and revolutionary initiative

Analyzing the present situation in the world, comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 6th Congress of the PLA that not only is this situation developing in favour of the revolution, but also, that revolution is becoming the general aspiration of the peoples, that the road of the development of present-day human society is opened and determined by revolution.

This conclusion derives from the scientific analysis of the present-day reality in the world, from the very contradictions of the capitalist and imperialist system, which irrevocably lead the working class and the labouring masses towards the revolution as the sole road to eliminate oppression and exploitation, to transform the world on the new socialist and communist basis. Capitalism creates all the material premises and the social force capable of carrying out the proletarian revolution, but without the role of the conscious factor there can be no radical transformation. "Capitalism itself", Lenin pointed out, "creates its own grave-digger, itself creates the elements of a new system, yet, at the same time, without a "leap" these individual elements change nothing in the general state of affairs and do not affect the rule of capital" (*V.I. Lenin, Complete Works, vol. 16 "Differences in the European Labour Movement", p. 348*).

The reformists and modern revisionists, with their anti-Marxist "theories", are striving to prove that present-day capitalism can be transformed into socialism by a peaceful road, by means of reforms, by extending bourgeois democracy and its institutions, by gradually occupying important economic and political positions in order to later seize the whole power and ensure the tran-

sition to socialism. The philosophical basis of these theories is economic vulgar materialism which denies or underestimates the role of the subjective factor in history, the role of the class struggle and of the Marxist-Leninist party, which confuses the objective with the spontaneous, while from the methodological viewpoint they are a negation of dialectics and its replacement with simple evolution. The political essence of these theories is the fight against the Marxist-Leninist theory of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the preaching of the integration of capitalism into socialism. In order to make their reformist theories more convincing the Soviet and other revisionists badly distort even the notion of the revolutionary situation as the essential objective condition for the victory of the revolutionary situation is not created as a result of the sharpening of the social economic and political contradictions to the critical point, and it is not accompanied by the impetuous outburst of popular hatred. The working class, they say, can gradually extend the place d'armes of its offensive against the power of the monopolies by gradually removing them from key economic and political positions. In these circumstances, according to them, the revolutionary situation can assume the form of a chain of partial crises, reciprocally connected, extended in time and comparatively independent, where each of them leads to the occupation of specific positions, and taken together, they give us the revolution.

Thus, the modern revisionists see the revolution as a simple evolutionary process, as the totality of reforms. According to them, the demarcation line between the revolution and reforms has disappeared. In the present-day conditions, they say, democratic transformations and "structural" reforms are becoming stages on the road towards socialism, forms of the approach towards and transition to socialism.

While the modern revisionists, as right opportunists, hold to the issues of the day, to small economic demands, to the reforms and aims of the bourgeoisie and for their sake sacrifice the ultimate aim, deny the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, some "left" elements deny the necessity of the "back work", of the struggle for the econo-

mic, social and political demands of the working people, of legal work and of work in the organizations of the masses, they ignore the stages of the revolution, oppose various alliances, they are partisans of the immediate revolution, of the struggle for the seizure of state power and the establishment of socialism at one stroke.

It is clear that one of the most characteristic features of the opportunists of all hues is the ignoring of the distinctions between evolution and revolution, between reforms and the qualitative leap, between the struggle for democracy and independence and the struggle for socialism, between the struggle for immediate day to day demands and the struggle for the fundamental objectives. The establishment of a correct relationship between these two aspects of the revolutionary process as well as distinguishing the marxist-leninists from the reformists and modern revisionists also distinguishes them from the left opportunists. The ideological roots of these two currents reside precisely in the unilateral treatment of the revolutionary process. In Lenin's words, they "constantly exaggerate, elevate to a one-sided theory, to a one-sided system of tactics, now one and now another "lesson" of this development. . . But real life, real history include these different tendencies, just as life and development in nature include both slow evolution and rapid leaps, breaks in continuity" (*Lenin, Complete works, vol. 16, p. 349, "Differences in the European Labour Movement"*).

A characteristic of the present-day revisionists, just as of all the right opportunists, is the philosophy of spontaneity, passivity, of observation that overestimates the objective conditions and waits with folded arms until all the factors of the revolution are ripe. These not only fail to show any concern for preparing, the subjective conditions, but, with their betrayal they have caused great ideological and political confusion. Even when revolutionary situations arise they do their utmost to curb the revolutionary movement of the masses, they prevent them from dealing the decisive blow to the ruling classes. Under the pretext of the lack of "objective conditions" and of the danger of adventurism, they act as servants of the bourgeoisie and are opposed to any revolutionary initiative and activity of the masses which

brings the revolution closer and speeds it up.

On this question, too, the Marxist-Leninists fight in two directions as well as fighting against the modern revisionists they also fight against the viewpoints of those representatives of "left" trends who are characterized by the overstimulation and the absolutization of the role of "subjective activity" in the transformation of reality and by the negation of the role of the objective conditions, of the real possibilities of the situation. These "left" trends see the will of the revolutionaries for action, their determination to throw themselves in to struggle irrespective of the conditions and situation, as the only determining factor. According to them, even if a revolutionary situation does not exist it can and must be artificially created by the "vigorous actions" of a militant group consisting of several armed, brave and resolute men. In fact this is a kind of theory of heroes, which denies the role of the masses of the people as the creators of history. A revolutionary is a man of action, he does not wait with folded arms for the "great day" of the revolution, but continually works for its preparation. The direction and forms of his activity must always respond to the objective conditions, to the actual situation. No transformation whatsoever which is not ripe both in objective reality and in the consciousness of the masses can be carried out. The tasks laid down can be solved successfully only when they meet the requirements of the historical development of each country and the level of the consciousness and organization of the masses. Otherwise, the revolutionary vanguard breaks from the masses and falls into adventurism.

Revolutions, the 6th Congress of the PLA stressed, are ripened by the situation itself while their triumph or defeat depends on the situation of the subjective factor. But this factor cannot be represented by only one group of men, however conscious and determined they may be concerning the revolution, indeed not even by the party alone. For this it is indispensable for the majority of the workers to understand the necessity for a turning point and to be prepared to throw themselves en masse into revolutionary actions, for the communist party to have ensured great support from the working class and the

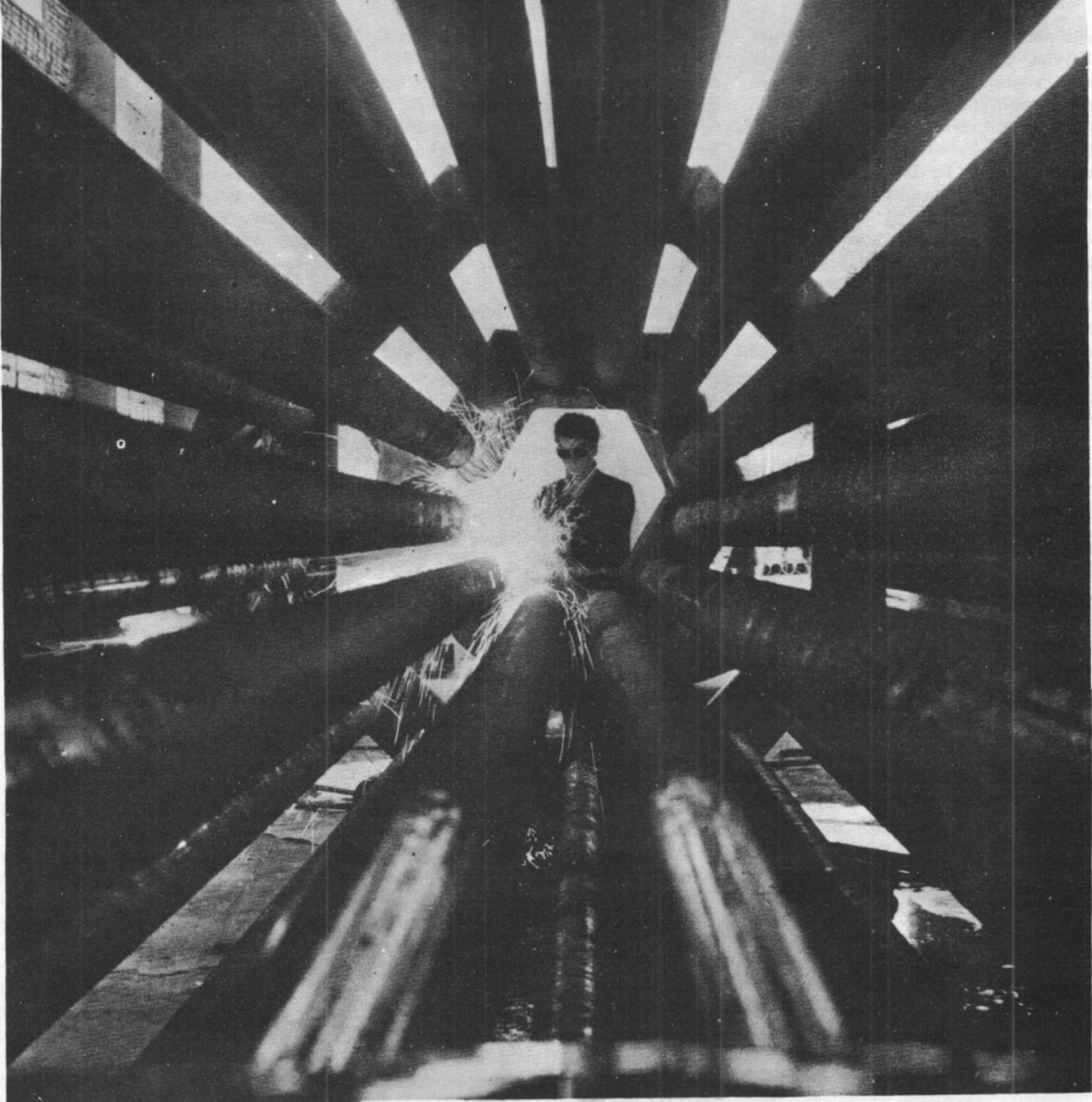
labouring masses, for the other sections of the working people, even when they do not give the party direct support for its entire line, to support it in certain sectors of the struggle.

"The subjective factor, comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 6th Congress, is not prepared only through the actions of a "focus" of guerillas, nor only through agitation and propaganda. For this, as Lenin and life itself teach us, it is indispensable for the masses to become convinced through their own practical experience".

Revolutionary movement and the party

The preaching of spontaneity, as the ideology of opportunism in the labour movement, is spearheaded, in the first place, against the necessity of the Marxist-Leninist theory and party. The modern revisionists are spreading the illusion that in capitalism especially in the developed industrial countries, socialist consciousness springs from the spontaneous movement itself, that the push towards socialism comes spontaneously from the development of the productive forces and from the change of the ratio of forces in the world to the detriment of imperialism, that in these conditions all sorts of parties and organizations, from the liberal-bourgeois and social-democratic parties to the national liberation fronts and the trade unions in the service of the bourgeoisie, can become the bearers of the ideals of socialism and the leaders of the socialist transformation of society.

In fact, some representatives of the "leftist" forces irrespective of their subjective aims and objectives, also stand on a position of advocating spontaneity. They negate the necessity of theory, scientific consciousness, they rise against Lenin's thesis that without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement, they deny the role of the vanguard armed with the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, they oppose the necessity of working out clear political programmes, scientific strategy and tactics. According to them the important thing is to start and carry out the revolution; while the question of who leads it: the Marxist-Leninist party or other po-



The working class is in the van of socialist construction.
Solderer proceeding with an assembly
of tubes at the metallurgical combine going up in Elbasan

litical forces, is of no importance. The revolutions, they say, are led by revolutionaries whether they adhere to the party or not, there are no mathematical equations equating the vanguard with the Marxist-Leninist party, the guerrilla is the party in embryo, the people's army will be the nucleus of the party and not vice versa, etc., etc. In the practice of our days too, life confirms great Lenin's conclusion that the roots, the ideological sources of opportunism, both right and left, reside in advocating spontaneity in the revolutionary movement.

In his report delivered at the 6th Congress of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that «it has already been historically proved that without its party, the working class, no matter what the conditions in which it lives and acts, does not become conscious by itself. That which transforms the working class from a class «in itself» into a class «for itself» is the party». Of course, a certain level of revolutionary, socialist consciousness does emerge from the objective conditions themselves or from the revolutionary struggle itself, but this is only a very low level; it is, as Lenin has called it, a trade-union consciousness. The high level of socialist conscience is not formed spontaneously, but by the Marxist-Leninist science and this is first mastered by the most advanced part of the class, which organizes itself into the proletarian party and then educates the entire class with it, clarifying the revolutionary aims and objectives, indicating the correct road for their attainment and leading it in its historic struggle.

The party is not only indispensable for introducing socialist consciousness into the working class and the labouring masses, for enlightening the various detachments of the spontaneous movement of the masses and for coordinating their actions, but to it belongs the leading role in the revolutionary movement, it is the theoretical, political and practical leading staff of the revolution in all its fields - political, ideological, economic and military. To deny the leading role of the party means to leave the working class unarmed before the bourgeoisie and reaction. History has provided no example whatsoever to show that the proletarian revolution can win and socialism be built without the communist party of the working class, without its leading role, let alone in opposition to the com-

munists. It can happen that, where the communist parties are weak or have slipped into revisionist and reformism, the lead of the revolution is taken by other political forces, but in this case we have to do with democratic or national liberation revolutions, which can be transformed into socialist proletarian revolutions only if the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party place themselves at their head.

To play its educative, organizing, mobilizing and guiding role the party cannot be just any sort of party. The role of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class can be played only by that party which is guided by the vanguard theory of the proletariat and which is built on the basis of the organizational principles of Marxism-Leninism. Lenin has the historic merit not only of having shown the proletariat that for its triumph it is indispensable for it to reinforce its unity of ideas on the basis of the Marxist ideology, with the «material unity of organization which makes compact the millions of working people in the army of the working class» (*Complete works*, vol. 8 p. 404), but also of having elaborated the organizational foundations of the building of the revolutionary party of the working class. In words, the Khrushchovite type revisionists uphold the Leninist norms and principles of party building, but in deeds, they have violated them, they have deprived them of their revolutionary content, they have bastardized them and caused them to degenerate into revisionist norms and they use them for their counter-revolutionary aims. Under the anti-Marxist slogans of «the party of the entire people» and the «mass party» they have liquidated the class character of the proletarian party, they have opened the doors to every opportunist, career-seeker and bourgeois intellectual; they have wiped out the distinction between the party and the working class and the masses.

The revisionist parties, as parties of social reform within the capitalist order, are organized in such a way that they are suited only to legal existence and activity within bourgeois legality. Just as Kautsky and company, the present-day revisionists, too, cannot imagine the party other than as a legal party. Even those few revisionist parties which in some countries, for historical reasons, are still

illegal, are seeking in every way to be part of bourgeois legality and to make common cause with the bourgeoisie.

In contradiction to these practices, Lenin stressed that only that working class party is worthy of its name which, when the necessity arises, is capable of passing into a state of illegality of combining legal work with illegal activity. Without complementing legal organization and activity with the creation of illegal bases, with illegal organization and activity, true revolutionary work cannot be done, the working class and the labouring masses cannot be prepared for the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Liberalism and legalism are the two most important organizational sources of revisionist degeneration and two fundamental features of the revisionist parties. They derive from the revisionist line, strategy and tactics of the «peaceful road». Departure from the ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism cannot fail to lead also to departure from the organizational principles of the building of the Marxist-Leninist party. Life has confirmed that the parties which slip into liberalism and legalism either degenerate into bourgeois parties of the social-democrat type, as is the case with the present-day revisionist parties, or suffer terrible disillusionment which costs the revolutionary movement dearly, as was the case of the communist party of Indonesia.

Some of the present-day revisionists in Italy, France and elsewhere go even further. They seek to prove that the Leninist norms and principles of party building have lost their value in our day; that they can still have value only for the backward countries, while for the developed capitalist and socialist countries they must be replaced with new norms and principles. They openly say that it is a question «not of some partial corrections of the Leninist model of the party, but of a radical change of the model itself», that «the problem must be totally re-examined and a new system of organizational principles must be determined».

They particularly attack the fundamental principle of party building - democratic centralism, which they see as the source of all evils, of bureaucracy and the degeneration of the party. They stand for a disintegrated party, without discipline

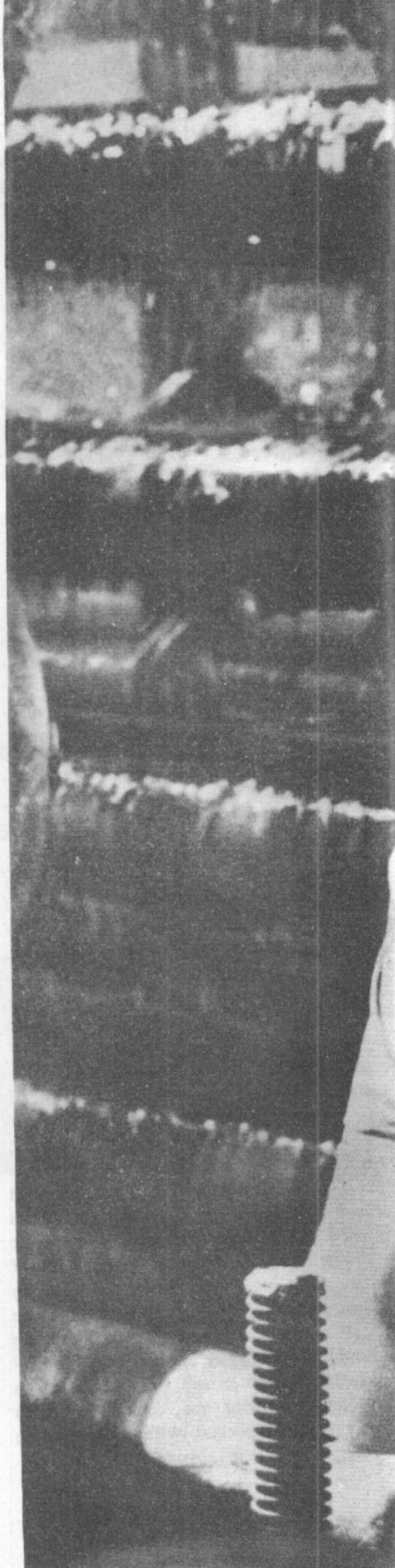
and unity of thought and action, for the complete freedom of factions and opposite lines, they conceive of the party as an inn with two doors, as a talking shop and they consider this as the climax of democracy.

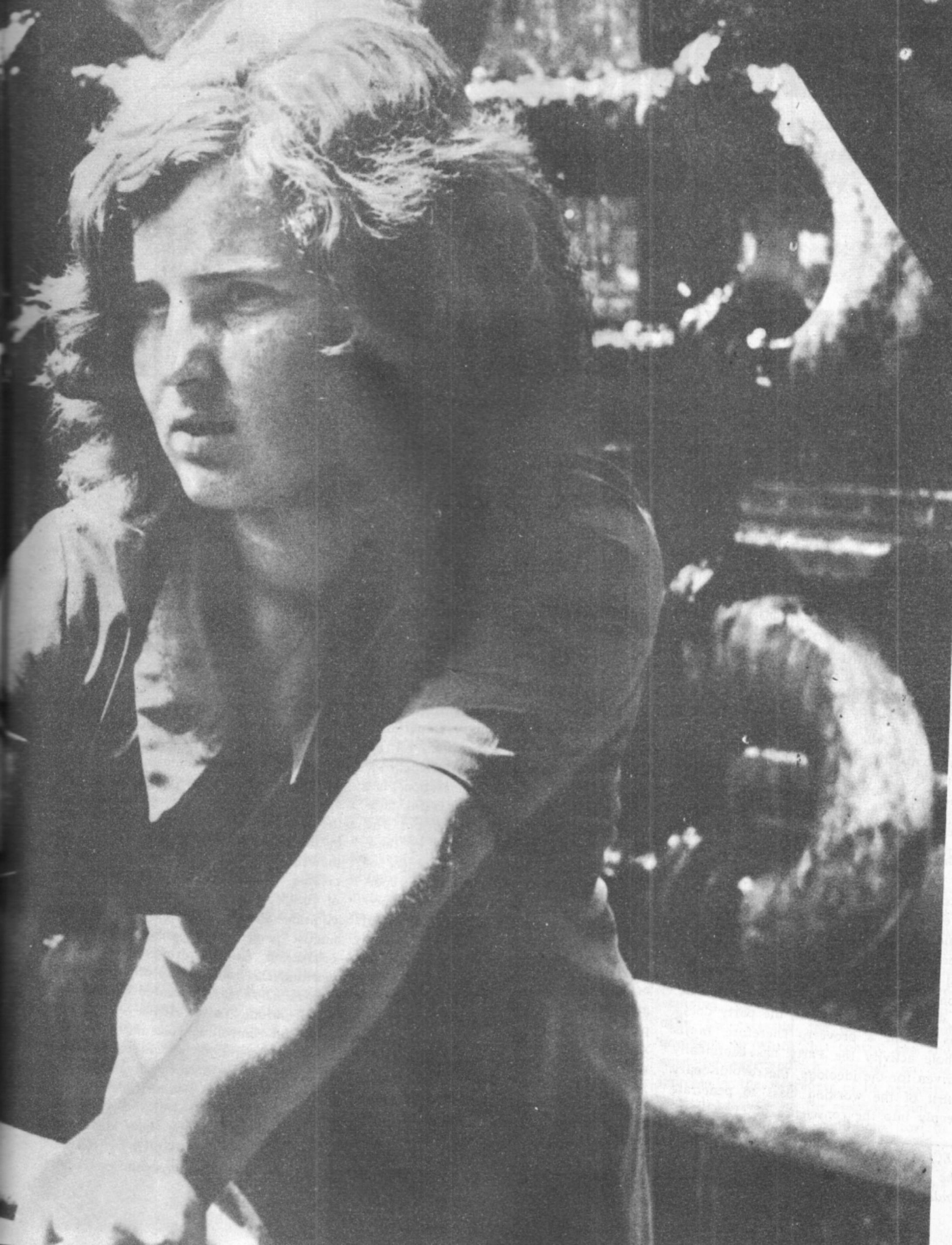
Centralism and democracy are two principles forming a single unity. On their basis are formed and tempered the unity of thought and action of the party which can play its leading role in the entire revolutionary activity. Centralism without democracy is transformed into a bureaucratic centralism which places the leadership above and in opposition to the party and the class, whereas democracy without centralism is transformed into dissolution, anarchy and confusion. The evil does not reside in the principle of democratic centralism itself, but in counterposing centralism and democracy. In life, contradictions emerge between these two aspects, but the whole point is to know how to overcome them, and to implement the principle of democratic centralism in compliance with the conditions in which the party acts, illegal, legal or semi-legal, in capitalism or socialism, with the stages of the development of the revolution and of the party

itself. The forms of realizing and combining centralism and democracy change, and they cannot fail to change, but the principle of democratic centralism always remains a basic and inviolable principle of the building of the revolutionary party of the working class.

Today, when the revisionist parties have departed once and for all from the position of Marxism-Leninism in all fields - ideological and political, economic and military, cultural and organisational, the Marxist-Leninist parties are the bearers of the proletarian ideology, of the revolution and socialism. Although still young in many countries, they are genuine revolutionary parties which have set themselves the aim of realizing the historic mission of the working class. Pursuing a correct strategy and tactics, closely linking themselves with the broad masses of the people and strengthening and tempering the unity of the thought and action of their ranks in struggle against any right or left opportunist influence, they will assuredly fulfill the present-day historic demand - the creation of the subjective factor indispensable for the revolutionary transformation of objective reality.

At the cooling section of the superphosphate plant in the new industrial town of Laç





WORKING CLASS CONTROL AND PARTY ORGANISATIONS

by PEÇI ORGOCKA

THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA AS A WORKING CLASS PARTY, HAS EVER SINCE ITS FOUNDATION, CONTINUALLY RAISED THE NECESSITY OF THE LEADING AND CONTROLLING ROLE OF THE WORKING class in all aspects of the country's life. The working class leadership and control have been and remain one of the fundamental requirements of the general line of our Party. Our Party, as the most conscious vanguard and organized part of the working class, has never placed itself above the class and the masses. On the contrary, it has led, educated and mobilized them for the victory of the revolution and the successful building of socialism through its example, through the formation of ideological and political conviction, not only by teaching the masses, but also through being taught by them. With us, the expression: "What the party says, the people do, - what the people want, the party does," has become a proverb. Therefore, in its whole activity the Party has continually striven for the ideology, the revolutionary spirit of the working class to penetrate deeply into the conscience of every com-

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munist, cadre and working person of our country. All this has contributed to the constant revolutionization of the Party and to the further strengthening of the party-class-mass relations.

The establishment and strengthening of correct party-class-mass relations and their constant improvement constitute one of the questions of primary importance to the destiny of the revolution, for its uninterrupted development, to safeguard it from any danger and degeneration that may threaten it, for the successful building of socialism and communism. The place held and the role played by these factors, which constitute the subject of this process, especially their mutual coordination and interplay continues to represent a problem which has equally great theoretical and practical importance, a problem of concrete relations which are being established every day and every moment in all fields of life between the party, the class and the masses. These relations are in dynamic development, continually assuming new content and forms, just as our society is in constant development. But they are always firmly based on the permanent Marxist-Leninist principle which was once more stressed and analyzed by comrade Enver Hoxha in his speech delivered at the Plenum

of the Party Committee of the Mati district in March last year, that "socialism is built by the masses of the people, the directive is implemented by the masses of the people, the justice of the party is ensured through the participation of the people and the work for the correction of mistakes is also done with the people", while the "Party makes the people conscious".

Life itself, through a multitude of facts, has confirmed and reinforced the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist concept on the role of the working masses headed by the working class, as the creator of the material and spiritual blessings and as creator of history, on the leading role of the working class in the socialist revolution and construction, on the communist party as the vanguard, leading, organizing and inspiring force of the working class and of the other labouring masses. The ideas elaborated by our Party and comrade Enver Hoxha on the leading and controlling role of the working class in general, on its direct control in particular, as a continuation and creative elaboration of the Leninist ideas on the leading role of the working class with its Marxist party at the head, ideas which were distorted and adapted by the revisionists to their counterrevolutionary aims

«The placing of the entire activity of the party organisations and of the communists under the control of the working class and labouring masses is a question of great principled importance for the party to avoid separating itself from the class and the masses, remain revolutionary through to the end and serve the interests of the people loyally».

ENVER HOXHA

and actions, have to do with the significance, analysis and correct application of this concept, summing up the great positive experience that exists in this field, but also drawing lessons from the negative experience of the revisionist degeneration of a series of communist parties and countries where the revisionists usurped power.

In order to concretize and implement these ideas our party has adopted a series of revolutionizing and educational measures, in struggle and work, which are aimed at further increasing the role of the working class, at ensuring the necessary conditions for the uninterrupted growth of its participation and that of the other working masses in running the country, for the exercise of their direct control over everything and everybody, so that the working class continually sets the tone for the development of national life, to preserve intact its proletarian character and the dictatorship of the proletariat, to promote the socialist construction of our country. This very conception of the direct control of the working class, as control over everything and everybody, also extends it to the activity of the communists and cadres, of the party organizations and their leading bodies at all levels.

It is a fact that here the idea and practice of direct worker control have now taken deep roots. This control is also being increasingly understood, extended and deepened in the activity of the party organizations, of the communists and cadres, and has served and continues to serve the continuous revolutionization of the party and the whole of national life. The decisions of the 6th Party Congress, and the discussions by the communists and the working people of comrade Enver Hoxha's speech to the plenum of the Party Committee of the Mati district, opened new roads and horizons to the worker control over the activity of the party organizations. The ideological debate and mutual control, greatly contributed to the strengthening of reciprocal confidence, to the further strengthening of the party ties with the working class and the masses, to the further tempering of the party-working class-people unity.

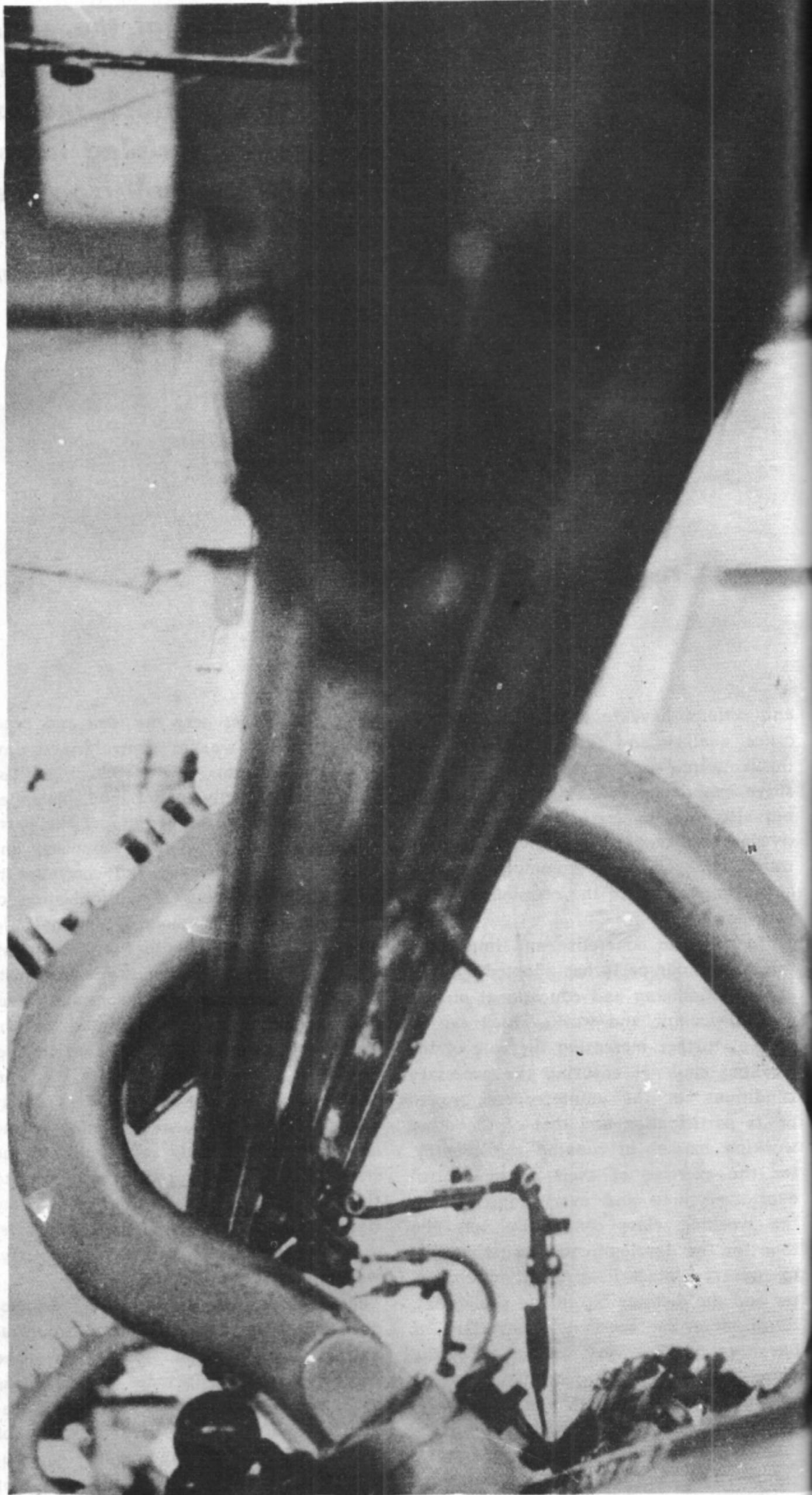
The object of the direct worker control over the activity of the party organizations is broad and touches on the main problems. It includes the questions of strengthening the vanguard and leading role of the party organizations, of their leading organs and of the communists, of the social makeup of the party, of admissions to the party, the stand towards

communists who make mistakes, questions of the extension and distribution of the party forces, of the election and appointment of cadres, the strengthening of the ties of the party with the masses, the improvement of the method and style of work of the leading organs and their apparatuses, etc. It is above all a political and ideological control which includes the key problems and extends not only to the external activity of the party organizations, but also to many problems of their internal life so that the party as a whole and each one of its cells should play its full role as organized vanguard of the working class. Of course the fullest and most effective exercise of worker control over the life and activity of the basic organizations and leading organs of the party, depends greatly on the party organizations and the working class itself deeply understanding, both politically and ideologically, the necessity, the possibilities and questions on which this control can and must be exercised; it depends on the increase of the awareness of its necessity. This also constitutes the starting point to create the necessary conditions for its realization, for the reconsideration of the past methods and forms of work of the party organizations, the communists, the

leading organs and their apparatuses, freeing them from any manifestations of routine, conservatism and bureaucracy which hinder the implementation of the revolutionary instructions of the party in this field.

The vanguard and leading role of the party does not exclude, but on the contrary, presupposes the working class control over its activity, a control which in turn does not weaken the vanguard and leading role of the party, but on the contrary, increases and strengthens it. Such are the dialections of things. The party, before being a vanguard and leader of the working class and the other labouring masses, is their offspring, a part of them, and therefore is also their permanent pupil. As such it voluntarily and conscientiously submits its activity to the working class control, just as the part submits to the whole, the more so when it is a question of a part of the part, as are the communists, the cadres, the organizations and individual organs of the party. The party is not afraid of this control, it openly submits to this control, because its policy, stands and actions are only to achieve but the other labouring masses. Only those who act in opposition to their interests are afraid of this control. But it is precisely to bar the road to any such action that this control is exercised. That is why the party insists on its realization and continuous strengthening and improvement.

The working class of our country is in a position, and in the future it will be in a still better position, to powerfully exercise its political and ideological control over anyone and anything, because under the leadership of and through the educative work of the party, it is continually raising its ideological level, its class consciousness, its feeling of responsibility as master of the country, as the leading force of the society. Of course we must take the working class as it is and we must fight to further temper its consciousness as the class in power which has the right to control the activities and behaviour of the communists as servants of the people. But this in no way means that the working class is not prepared to exercise its direct control over anything and anybody, up to the activities of the party organizations and organs, of the communists and cadres. Moreover, the level of its consciousness as the class in power rises still more





through struggle and action, through its increasingly broader participation in affairs which concern it as a class, which sets the tone for to the revolutionary development of the life, of the country. For the working class to effectively and constantly exercise its direct control also over the activities of the party organizations and the communists, it is very necessary that the party organizations themselves, their leading organs and the communists create all the necessary conditions for it to realize this right and task.

One such indispensable condition is that the working class have *the best possible knowledge of the line, principles and norms that guide the party in the development of its activity and internal life*, the knowledge of the basic principles of its class ideology, of the party documents and its constitution and comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings. «The worker» - comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us - «must conquer any fortress and, in the first place, the ideology of his class to which the history of mankind has assigned the leading role of the building of socialism and communism».

The measures adopted by our Party in this field have greatly raised the level of the working class consciousness. This is seen in the revolutionary impetus that has burst forth in the midst of the working class, in the fact that the working class is increasingly having its say on the great problems of the country's development, in its participation in governing, in the exercise of its control over anybody and anything, as well as over the activity of the party organizations. A brilliant example of the growth of the working class consciousness in exercising its control was the popular debate which took place in every work and production centre on the occasion of the discussion on comrade Enver Hoxha's speech delivered at the Plenum of the Party Commit-

Thousands of women are now working in the knit goods combine in Korça. This combine claims distinction for high quality of production.

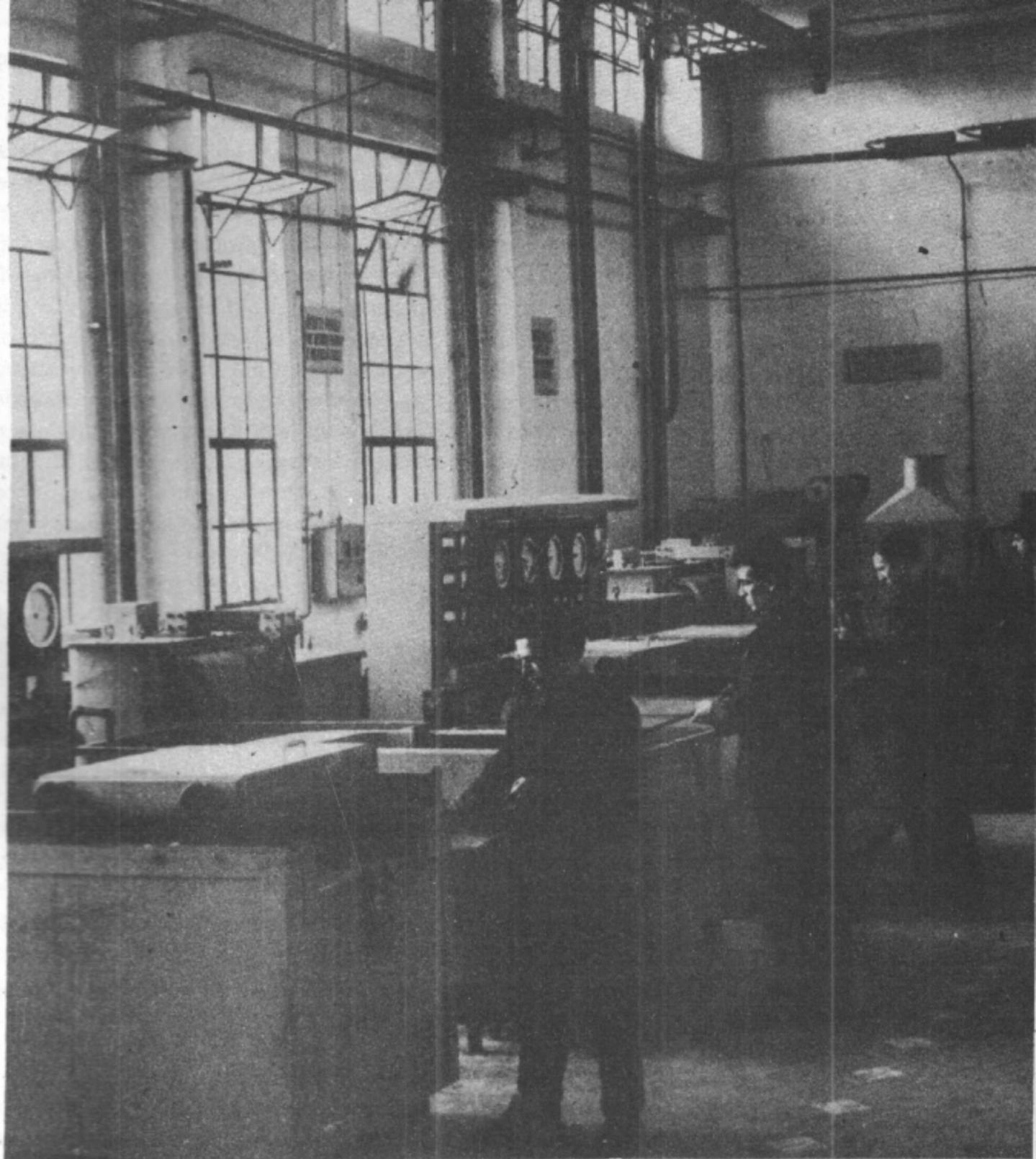
make use
of new apparatuses



Textile industry assumed a great development under the past five-year plan. A woman worker of the «Mao Tse-tung» Textile Combine in Berat at the spinning factory



engineering plant.
The workers of this plant have become
initiators of movements for the
improvement of the quality of
production and increase of assortments



tee of the Mati district. At these meetings the working class and all the other working people courageously had their say about everything; they discussed the problems with a great political and ideological maturity and with a healthy spirit of partisanship. In these discussions the workers made remarks, criticisms, proposals and also raised problems about the activity of the basic organizations, of the party committees, of the communists. From this debate, the meetings of all the basic organizations and the plenums of the party committees made generalizations and drew conclusions, made self-criticism concerning their shortcomings at work and adopted important decisions to further improve and revolutionize their method and style of work. What is important is that during this debate the working class and the other

labouring masses became more deeply acquainted with the directives and decisions of the party, with its principles and norms and learned better how to further strengthen their control over everything.

But for the working class to also effectively exercise its control over the activity of the party organizations and of the communists, *it needs to be fully informed not only of the decisions and directives, in general, but also of the activity of the party organizations and organs in particular*, to get deeply acquainted with the decisions which are adopted and the tasks assigned, so that it can strive both to carry them out in practice and to exercise its full control in order that they be realized in the most correct manner, to avoid any bureaucratic deformation and distortion during the

struggle and the work. In this field the party has amassed and elaborated a wealth of experience. During the whole of its life it has worked and striven to inform the masses fully of its key problems and, on this basis, to increase their creative activity. There are a great many forms and means by which the party, its grassroot organizations and organs inform the working class and the other labouring masses. The analysis and discussion with the working people of the decisions of the C.C., of comrade Enver Hoxha's speeches, information through bulletins, the central and local press, radio and television, various meetings, communication through letters, open meetings of the basic organizations and party committees about various problems, the organization of popular discussions, etc., are some of the most important forms used by the party and its organizations to inform the working class and the other working people of the most important problems concerning them. These and other means of information have helped the working people not only to become acquainted with the decisions, problems and concerns of the party organs and organizations, but have created better conditions for the working class and the other working people to also have their say with regard to the activity of the party organizations.

Of course, the party organisations and their leading organs also have internal, secret questions which must be strictly safeguarded from the class enemy. Liberal concessions and stands on these questions are harmful and they must be resolutely fought. But these questions are few, whereas the problems of which the working class needs to be fully informed are many. The activity of the basic organisations and party committees, the decisions they adopt, are questions also preoccupying the masses, and it is precisely these masses which, jointly with the communists, will materialize them, will carry them out in practice.

One powerful means of the exercise of worker control over the activity of the party organizations, of their leading organs and the communists is *the broadest possible and most effective drawing in of the workers' opinion about problems which they examine and solve.*

We have made continuous efforts to draw the workers opinion through various means and forms on many questions,

including those treated by the party organizations and their leading organs. A better job is being done especially in drawing in the opinion of the masses particularly during the campaigns for rendering accounts and elections to the party, for the drafting of agendas for theses and reports, for draft-decisions, for the preparation of discussions, for the elections of the leading organs, for admissions to the party. On these occasions, the working class and other labouring masses have a better say, they make remarks, criticisms and proposals, pass judgement about work and people, about the basic organizations and the party committees.

One of the party's internal problems over which the working class broadly exercises its control is that of new admissions to the party. Experience shows that this problem can proceed on a correct road only through the active participation of the working class and the other non-party labouring masses. The working class in general and every worker in particular is duty-bound to see to it that the party ranks include the most revolutionary, the most resolute, the most ideologically prepared and the most skilful individuals who work and defend the interests of the working class and socialism. In this field the party has a wealth of experience. Some of the forms of work to enable the working class to have a better say and more broadly exercise its control over the activity of the party organizations in the direction of party admissions are: open meetings of the basic party organizations, discussion by the youth organisations of recommendations of those youths who wish to enter the party ranks, hearing the opinion of the workers at the production centre where the person seeking admittance to the party is employed prior to his application being discussed and approved by the basic organization of the party, the placing of the probation period of the candidates under the full control of the masses. The party educates the workers to criticize the communists in their work centre if they do not work well with regard to party admissions, and when the party organization proves inactive and does not adopt measures to mend the situation, the workers are duty-bound and have the right to demand that this question also be discussed by the collective, indeed if measures

are not taken even after this, they should notify the higher party organs and make criticism in the press. Of course, the right to decide on whether or not to admit a working man to the party belongs to the basic organization and to the party committee concerned; this is one of their internal affairs. But the decision of the basic organization is more objective and more complete, when it also asks the opinion of the workers and the other non-party masses. In this way the mandate to join the party is given to the new communist by the non-party working people as well. This guarantees that the party ranks consist of the most worthy individuals, those who represent the interests of the class and enjoy the confidence of the masses.

Through this active participation and control, our working class sees to it that the party directive for the constant improvement and strengthening of the worker composition of its party be consistently carried out, as one of the indispensable conditions for it to always preserve its proletarian character. Our party has combined its worker composition with proletarian education. It has acted in this way because a worker majority does not always ensure the proletarian character of the party. Our party reserved its proletarian character even when its worker makeup was small due to the limited number of the working class itself as was the case at the beginning in our country. It filled this vacuum by the constant proletarian education of the communists and cadres. This is a great guarantee for the strengthening of the party and of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The party has given the directive that criticism of the communists and cadres who make mistakes should be made openly and before the working collectives. In any situation, it has not concealed the shortcomings and mistakes of the communists, but has exposed and criticized them both inside the party as well as before the workers. This has in no way lowered the authority of the communists, but on the contrary has greatly increased it. "The communist" - comrade Enver Hoxha says - "must undergo a double control, by the party and by the masses". Experience shows that when the shortcomings and mistakes of the communists, cadres or of some basic organization are discussed, with the working peo-

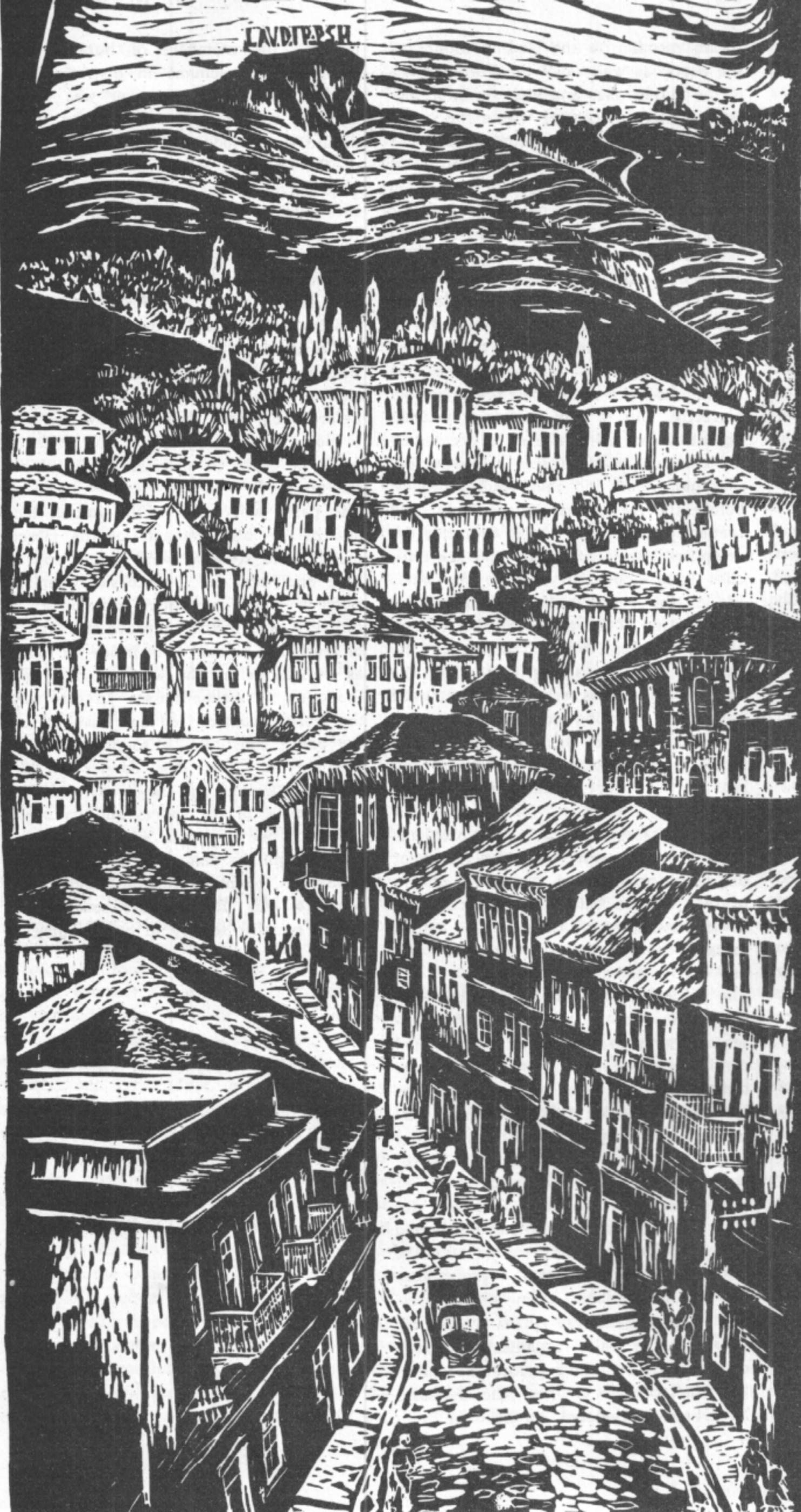
ple as well as at party meetings, this serves not only to correct those who make mistakes, but also contributes greatly to the education of the working class, it strengthens mutual confidence and control between the communists on the one hand and the non-party working people on the other hand. Discussion, criticism and self-criticism before the workers are more effective than when made behind closed doors at narrow meetings of an organization. Of course, such a practice does not liquidate the boundary between the basic organization of the party and the working collective. On the contrary, the workers, by their remarks and criticism, help and control the activity of the communists and the basic organization of the party at their work centre; they supervise the implementation of the decisions and tasks. This has resulted in the profound ideological conviction being created in the workers consciousness that the decisions adopted and the tasks drawn up have not only been formulated by the basic organizations or party committees, but are elaborated and adopted together with the broad and direct participation of the workers. In the process of the control over the implementation of the tasks, the working class in our country has waged and continues to wage not only a fierce struggle against any bureaucratic delays and manifestations which hinder the implementation of the decisions, but by its suggestions and proposals it has intervened and has also asked for the adoption of measures to mend and correct those things which have been proved by practice to be incorrect or incomplete. In this way the communists and the cadres, working and living among the workers, being together with them, and being in the forefront of the struggle for the practical application of the line of the party, of its decisions and directives, are not only leaders and teachers of the workers, but also their pupils, learning from them how to behave and work well, how to better serve the homeland, the people, and socialism. Suitable conditions are created for the working class to be educated with the spirit of direct control only when the party organizations and organs, the communists and the cadres come out and *systematically render account before the working people*. The rendering of account of the activity of every communist to the grassroot organization and of every

forum member to the leading organs of the party, as well as of the lower organs to the higher ones and vice versa, strengthens reciprocal control within the party. But the activity of the communists and cadres, of the leading organs and basic organizations is realized not only at meetings - and inside the party, - but also among the working class and the other labouring masses which are interested in the life of the party organizations developing on the basis of its principles and norms, in every communist and cadre actively fighting and playing the role of the vanguard, in the party line, decisions and directives being carried out correctly. This is why the most systematic and organized rendering of account by the communists and cadres before the basic organizations and their leading organs, before the masses, is indispensable. The rendering of account serves to better develop criticism from below and self-criticism from above, to animate the inner life of the party itself, to increase the participation of the masses in the solution of the problems which preoccupy the party. Experience shows that when the basic organizations render account well before the working collective, the workers put forward their opinions, make remarks and criticize shortcomings and set forth very constructive proposals. It is a positive fact that even in those cases in which the problems have not been solved by the forces of the party organization itself, the raising of the problem before the collective and its discussion by them has helped to carry the questions through to the end and solve them successfully.

The rendering of account before the working class and the other labouring masses serves to strengthen not only mutual confidence between the workers and the communists, but also the unity and ties between them. But this is realized well when the party organizations render account and report to the workers in enterprises not just on little questions or merely on some economic problems, but also on the main questions, including some problems that have to do with the internal life of the party organizations. «What organisational norm is transgressed, - comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, - when the basic organization comes out from time to time before the collective and reports on how the decisions have been carried out, on how the com-

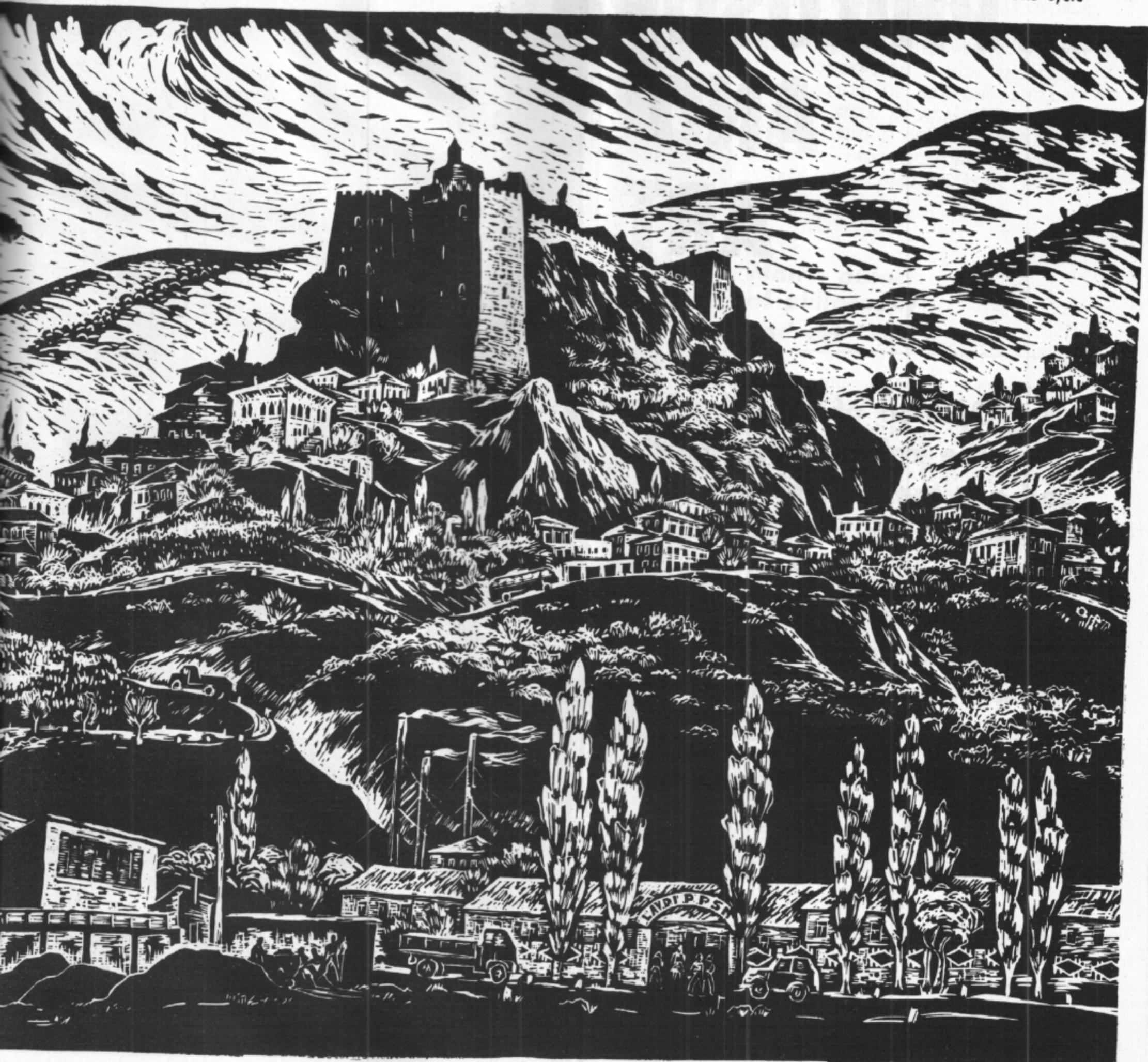
munists, the members (of bureaus and those of the plenums in districts have worked.» No norm whatever was transgressed, for example, during the mass debate which took place on the occasion of the analysis and discussion of comrade Enver Hoxha's speech delivered at the Plenum of the Party Committee of the Mati district where the party organizations, their leading cadres and all the communists not only listened attentively to the voice of the workers, their criticisms, remarks and proposals, but reported to them on the implementation of the decisions; they made self-criticisms on the shortcomings at work, rendered account before them and they are now striving to build a suitable method and style of work in order to successfully fulfill all the tasks.

The party will fight in the future, too, against the old remnants of the closed method and style of work which appear here and there in some basic organization, in some individual communist or cadre; it will further improve the system of rendering account both inside its ranks as well as before the working class and the other labouring masses. In this way the worker control, led and inspired by the party, constitutes a sound guarantee not only to avert the danger of the bureaucratization of the party, of the communists, of the cadres and its organizations, but it is also a powerful weapon to fight the danger of revisionist degeneration, to make reliable strides forward towards the complete construction of the socialist society in our country.



Gjirokastra is one of the most ancient and most beautiful cities of South Albania. Due to its antiquity and beauty it has been proclaimed a «city-museum» and therefore it has drawn and continues to draw the attention of our artists and writers.

The painter Dhimitraq Trebicka, director of the Tirana arts gallery, has executed a series of linoleum-engravings devoted to the «city-museum». The present issue carries two other views from this cycle



PHILOSOPHY AND ART

**Opinion of an Albanian specialist
on the relationship between philosophy
and art, their interdependence and reciprocal
influence. The connections of philosophy with
the problems of artistic cognizance and
creativity. Importance and role of
philosophy and art in the formation of the
world outlook and in the revolutionary
education of men**

by ALFRED UÇI

*ALFRED UÇI - professor, head of the chair of dialectical materialism at the
State University of Tirana.*





THE ENRICHMENT OF THE CONTENT OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL IDEAS OF OUR SOCIALIST ART HAS ALSO BEEN SECURED THROUGH THE FIGHT AGAINST THE CONCEPTION WHICH PROCLAIMS THE ENMITY OF ART AND PHILOSOPHY, AS WELL AS AGAINST THE CONCEPTION WHICH DOES NOT TAKE THE SPECIFIC DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN THEM INTO CONSIDERATION.

Man - object of philosophy and art

The scientific significance of the object of philosophy and art is one of the main premises to understand the complicated relations between them.

Under the influence of neopositivism, the opinion is wide spread in the capitalist countries that philosophy can preserve its cognitive function and prestige only if it is «freed» from humanistic problems, if it deals only with the methodological and logical problems of scientific cognition, if it is transformed into a science like all the separate sciences. This tendency of the «scientification» of philosophy, which is also supported by many present-day revisionists, has given the enemies of Marxism the opportunity to allege that the Marxist-Leninist philosophy is «deficient» because it allegedly ignores the problem of man and does

Students of the higher
Institute of Arts in Tirana

not serve as a philosophy of life. In their opinion, Marxist philosophy can fill its «vacuum» by combining itself with existentialism which claims to be the sole philosophy of life in our day. Philosophy has always concerned itself with the methodological, epistemological problems of scientific cognition. The Marxist-Leninist philosophy pays great attention to them particularly today when their importance has grown as a result of the rapid development of science. But philosophy, and even less Marxist-Leninist philosophy, has never confined its object only to the epistemological problems of cognition, it has fulfilled the function of a world outlook, it has been a humanistic discipline, it has been a philosophy of life because the problem of the relation of man with the world has been at the centre of its attention. No individual science can replace philosophy, supplement its function of understanding the world, or provide that type of integrated knowledge that philosophy gives us. Being a conception of the world as a whole and the place of man in it, philosophy also aims at being a conception orientating the attitude of man as a social being, his practical and theoretical activity, his behaviour and his social ideals. Philosophy is not only an epistemological ideal and a pure intellectual exercise of the mind, but it is also a profound reasoning about the problems which most concern man, it is also an ideal of the practical behaviour and attitude of man, a social programming of the most diverse kinds of human activity. Philosophy has always had a strong underlying social-emotional significance. There is not and cannot be any real philosophical and, at the same time, cold indifferent, apathetic conception about the problems and preoccupations of man. All these things are also completely true with regard to the Marxist-Leninist philosophy, which, also concerning itself with the methodological and logical problems of cognition, places at the centre of its attention the problem of man, the problem of the revolutionary transformation of the inhuman capitalist world, of the creation of communism. Any effort to estrange Marxist philosophy from these problems of the life of man weakens and paralyzes its active and transforming force. Comrade Enver Hoxha has criticized the position of the modern revisionists who

have reduced the Marxist-Leninist philosophy to simple logic¹, seeking to turn its attention away from social problems, from the discovery of those social-economic conditions which enslave man. The understanding of philosophy as a world outlook, as a philosophy of life, as humanistic discipline, also enables the close connection of art with philosophy to be understood. First, art is brought close to philosophy by the breadth of the phenomena of the reality it reflects. No phenomenon whatsoever in the world in its entirety – cosmic phenomena and life, the animal and vegetable world, historical events, – has been alien to art. In this sense, art has given man integrated knowledge, close to that which philosophy gives him. For this reason art and philosophy occupy a place in the conscience of every man. We can say that there is nobody without definite philosophical viewpoints, just as there is nobody in whose life art has left no traces whatever. Second, art is close to philosophy because it has always had man at the centre of its attention. However numerous the phenomena of natural reality that have been reflected in art, art is interested, in the first place, just as philosophy, in the problems of man as a social being, as a social personality; it is interested in the problems of his life, his work, his struggle, in the feelings, thoughts and spiritual world of man, in his aspirations, desires and objectives. Preoccupations, worries, joys, sufferings, in a word, anything truly human has never been alien to art. Not for nothing did Gorky refer figuratively to art as a «doctrine about man». The aesthetic value of every artistic work is directly connected with the degree to which man's life penetrates into it. Therefore, socialist art opens the doors wide to the Marxist-Leninist philosophy so that the whole humanitarian and humanist essence can penetrate it. Third, art is not only knowledge about the world, but it has been and remains, like philosophy, a powerful weapon for the formation of the personality of man and for his education, for the orientation of the whole practical and spiritual activity of man. With its emotive expressive and suggestive force, art is in a position to influence the orientation of the political and moral attitudes, the philosophical and aesthetic viewpoints of man. Art is not merely a reflection of

the world, but it is also an ideal. In art, reflection is mixed with imagination, life with ideal, facts with fantasy. Being cognition of reality, of life as it is, art is at the same time an appeal for a new reality, for what can be and must be, it is a beauty which draws us towards it. . . In this sense the question cannot fail to arise with art, as well as with philosophy: will they be weapons to keep man on his knees and enslaved, or become means to mobilize man in struggle for a better reality. Fourth, art, like philosophy, is a deep reasoning about the different phenomena of life. However broad the place of the figurative element in art, its main essence is created through the ideas and the thought it bears. Art aims at penetrating into the deepest aspects of life, into the core of phenomena; it aims at discovering the significance of the events of life, their meaning. Art cannot reach this objective without being based on the philosophical ideas of the times, which Marx called the «quintessence», «living spirit» of the culture of an epoch.

Aesthetic idea

The affinity of art with philosophy does not eliminate their essential differences. Art and philosophy have their specific form and content, they have their special language and logic. Art is not a pure and mechanical illustration of philosophy, nor a mere concretization of philosophical ideas. Therefore, the bringing of philosophical ideas into art contains in itself the danger of trampling on and mutilating the specific character of art, the danger of the philosophical ideas not being adapted to the language of art and remaining illustrative, schematic and aesthetically discordant. How can this danger be generally averted? In what way can philosophical ideas be transformed, within art, into aesthetic ideas? It is often said that the only condition for this is that the philosophical idea should become a figurative idea, because according to this conception, the only quality distinguishing art from the other forms of social consciousness is the figurative way of reflecting reality. This conception is not correct, first because it induces one to think that artistic mastering of reality is done in only one

manner – the figurative manner. If this were so, it would be impossible for philosophical ideas to penetrate into those branches of art (as, for instance, music) where the figurative manner of artistic mastering of reality is not used. In fact, the experience of the history of world art shows that a rich philosophical content has been brought into the field of music, just as in those genres of art that rely on the figurative manner of artistic mastering of reality. Of course, the various genres of art do not have equal possibilities in this respect.

Second proceeding from the importance of the concrete sensual reflection of reality in art, it is believed that the philosophical idea can be transformed into an aesthetic idea, only if it takes the shape of a stylistic figure, of a trope, of a symbol, simile, allegory, etc. It is true that philosophical idea frequently becomes aesthetic, being embodied in a stylistic figure. This road, however, is not the only one. Every type of art uses a special system or type of specific means for the transformation of ideas in general, consequently also of philosophical ideas into aesthetic ideas. In sculpture, for instance, the idea becomes an aesthetic idea if it takes the form of a plastic idea. Indeed, even in literature the philosophical idea does not necessarily become aesthetic in the form of a stylistic figure. The thoughts of Faust become aesthetic for us not so much due to their figurativeness as to their profundity and veracity. In Tolstoy's novel "War and Peace" there are entire pages full of philosophical reasoning which seem to belong to a philosophical treatise; however, they are aesthetically justified, they are not out of tune with the general artistic structure of the novel because they are a necessary philosophical reinforcement which motivates the thinking and actions of the characters, the viewpoints of the author about the meaning and logic of human history.

In the realm of literature, the aesthetization of philosophical ideas, or as it has become a custom to say, the "figurativeness" of these ideas, is acquired through very different ways and means, through the *aesthetic harmonizing of the formal and substantial aspects* of the artistic work. The ideas of the artistic work become aesthetic in one instance through narration, in another through suitable figures of speech or tropes, or through fables, and at still another time

through alliteration, through the skilful use of details, through the harmony of the whole with the parts. Ideas also become aesthetic due to their profundity, consistency and logic, through the combination of factual veracity with imaginary invention, at one time by describing tableaux and events and at another time by giving rational syntheses, by preserving the resemblance to the phenomena of reality and on other occasions through grotesque means or allegories and symbols, sometimes by means of a sharp dialogue and at other times through lyricism, figurative, sensual concreteness and on other occasions by throwing the essential aspect into relief, etc.

If we leave aside the countless concrete means which are used to bring an aesthetic content of ideas into art then we can conclude that art is distinguished from philosophy, first, because there is only room in it for those philosophical ideas which reflect the *aesthetic aspects* of human life. The philosophical ideas of art become aesthetic only if they model the beauty and majesty of the phenomena of reality, the comic or tragic aspects of life, the base and ugly phenomena of the world.

Secondly, art expresses the inner world of living man through the unity of its emotional and intellectual aspects. The artistic work has no authentic aesthetic value when it is filled with empty philosophic reasonings, devoid of any emotional feeling and element, when the philosophical ideas flow in it as cold constructions of the mind, calculated with accuracy like mathematical formulas and equations, when they are not wet with the tears of the soul and are not warmed with the heat of the heart. Philosophical reasonings, even about the beauties of life, i. e. about the aesthetic phenomena of reality, however correct and profound they may be in the field of art, cannot assume the *perpetuation* of the beauties of life; consequently, separate from feeling, the emotional element, from the joy that the beautiful gives us and from the majestic, from the sorrow that tragedy gives us.

Art models the spiritual world of man with that mixture of feeling and thinking which occurs in the ordinary life of every man. Therefore vital veracity is a fundamental condition for ideas to become aesthetic. The General of the novel "General of the Dead Army" by Ismail

Kadare is inclined to philosophize and this inclination is not artificial or framed up for this "military" nature, because the author has really placed him in a situation (collecting the bones of the slain soldiers) in which he cannot fail to philosophize. This inclination to philosophize would have been false had the General appeared in another situation, in a situation of commanding, instructing, ordering the operations of a living army. The closer the idea to life, the more concrete, the more tangible indeed the more figurative, the more lively it will be, and on the other hand, the farther the idea from life the more abstract, the more rationalistic, the more artificial it remains. In order to prevent truth in art from being cold, it must be connected with the world of the aims, aspirations, hopes and ideals which arouse the hearts of men and inspire them. At times efforts are made to deny the necessity of aesthetizing philosophic ideas in art under the pretext of the so-called "drama of ideas", "drama-thesis" or "novel-concept", which are allegedly built without characters or subjects. Indeed, Brecht's dramaturgy is mentioned to support the so-called "drama-ideas". In reality, there can be no drama adhering to the laws of art and not having personages – characters and subject, just as no artistic drama with characters and subject can fail to be a drama of ideas. In western countries, that literature which has given up characters or subjects in novels and drama, has eventually been crowned with the "anti-novel" or with the absurd theatre and with dedramatized cinematography. As far as Brecht's dramaturgy is concerned, its originality does not lie in some one-sided anti-artistic rationalism that turns his dramas into "dramas of ideas" but in that permanent presence of thinking, of the ideas of the author in the whole structure of the work, in the whole movement of the characters and vital situations, which grip the spectator and win him over to their side.

Third, art presents aesthetic ideas at the level of and according to the structure of the ordinary conscience of man. At this level the political or philosophical, moral or scientific ideas do not exist differentiated and separated from one another. Art aims at presenting mankind characters, their manners, actions, vital situations in a most fully concrete way, as if they were living and real. There-

fore, the movement of man's thought as a part of his spiritual world, is presented by art in that form which occurs in the actual life of man, in his ordinary consciousness without submitting it to the theoretical-scientific consciousness in which the philosophical, political, juridical, and moral ideas are differentiated, in which they are organized into a system of abstractions, made objective by means of a special language, the language of science, and substantiated with specific logical arguments and methods. Of course art does not lack abstractions which is present in the artistic generalization. If it completely lacked abstraction, art would be unable to play that great epistemological role it plays: it would not be a reflection of the typical and essential aspects of life. But abstraction in art is always one side of artistic generalization, which constitutes an inseparable unity of thought with impressions, with vital concrete impressions which it acquires from the emotional perpetuation of reality and with which it expresses this reality according to the structure and level of ordinary conscience.

Indeed, even when the artistic work deals with a person who is a specialist philosopher, a professional philosopher, (Voltaire's «Candide»), his philosophical ideas must also assume the form of aesthetic ideas.

Philosophy and the problems of artistic cognition

The influence of philosophy on art is realized in different ways. Philosophy exerts its influences on art, as on science, through its general method of cognition. The artistic appropriation of reality is a process of cognition. In art the process of cognition is not a passive, mechanical reflection of the phenomena of reality, of the events of life, in the brain of the artist, but it is an active and complicated process influenced by many factors, including philosophy. In the process of the artistic cognition of reality there arise many problems of a methodological, epistemological character which influence artistic creativeness. For this reason aesthetics has also been called «applied epistemology».

Philosophy, as a methodology and epistemology of cognition, has left indelible

traces on the artistic creativity of every epoch. Thus, for instance, we cannot understand the various currents of the decadent bourgeois art of the epoch of imperialism if we do not understand their connection with bourgeois philosophy. The philosophical concept of positivism, that cognition is merely an enumeration of facts, that it is entirely reduced to sensual empirical experience, directly stimulated naturalist inclinations in the bourgeois art of the 19th and 20th centuries, the tendencies to give up artistic generalization, to make art a mere quantitative recording of the details of reality. The positivist way of thinking exerted strong influence on the onesidedness of the post-impressionists who advocated that painting ought to present what appears to the eye, the vision given to consciousness, detached from the object. That onesided, and sickpsychologs which guides artistic knowledge into an endless delving into the indeterminate intimacies of the spiritual world of the individual, behind which the totality of characters is lost, and the microscopic analysis of conscience which loses its unity, was developed in the bourgeois art of the last century under the influence of subjective idealism which, with the exception of the ego, the consciousness of the subject, negates any other reality. The founders of abstractionist painting considered this as a logical result of «energetic» philosophy which proclaimed matter, objective reality as non-existent, which considered things to be «an energetic state» of the conscience. Philosophical Freudianism paved the way to all the psychoanalytical experiments of the decadent bourgeois art which view the ugly aspect as a biological law of life; it centres the attention of the artist on the description of all sorts of perversities, bestial passions, barbaric instincts and social pathology, pathological deformities of the psyche, alogisms, and delirium.

There are also numerous epistemological and methodological problems of artistic appropriation, which are met by our artists and writers too in their creative activity. Relying on Marxist-Leninist aesthetics and philosophy, our writers and artists have found new, original solutions to the epistemological and methodological problems of creativeness, and with them they have been able to develop the innovating spirit of the artistic culture of our people.

Of interest is the research of our writers to combine the point of view of the author with that of the artistic characters, the presentation of reality according to his objective logic with the method of narration serving the increase of artistic expressiveness, the conditioning of narration and composition with the rational logical forms of reflection, the continuity and objective reality of time and space, the relation of the formal and substantial expressive element in the artistic figure, the relation of the descriptive and psychological, epistemological and evaluating, creative and transforming element, the relation of the emotional and rational element, the ways of affirming the aesthetic social ideal of the author, the role of poetic pathos in the affirmation of this ideal, the truth of fact, historical truth and artistic generalization, etc.

Philosophy as the essence of art

Philosophy does not penetrate artistic works only indirectly, through the epistemological and methodological problems of creativity; it can also penetrate them directly, first, when the artist reflects the philosophical ideas of an epoch or of a group of men. For this reason there are «philosophical» genres which have specialized mainly in the assimilation of philosophical ideas. The dramas of Sophocles and Shakespeare, Dante's «Divine Comedy» and the dramaturgy of Corneille and Racine, Voltaire's «Candide» and «Zadig», Goethe's «Faust», the novels of Dostoevskij, of Camus or Thomas Man, I. Kadare's «General of the Dead Army», etc., present actual philosophical problems. The artistic works which aim at presenting broad tableaux of life, presenting the spiritual world of man in an allround way, cannot fail to have a philosophical essence. On the other hand, an individual artistic work can exist even without directly treating philosophical problems, while the art, in general, of a society or of a class cannot fail to mirror the struggles of the philosophical ideas of the time.

The fact that in its entirety our socialist art is becoming more philosophical tes-

ties to the real progress of the socialist artistic culture of our country. Artistic works which deal with philosophical problems not few, in our art and the interest of the artists in the reflection of the struggles of philosophical ideas is increasing. Certainly, the further flourishing of our art does not depend only on the enrichment of its philosophical content; this is only one way, for in art there may be excellent works without any purely philosophical content. Second, philosophy penetrates the essence of the artistic works as an inseparable element of the assessment of the vital artistic material, which is expressed in

the artist's judgement of life, of facts and of the significance of the events of reality. The axiological evaluating stand of the artist is stimulated by the totality of his ideological viewpoint. But philosophy, with its function of world outlook, leaves indelible traces in the general orientation of the artist's assessment. By its interpretative force, by its function of world outlook the Marxist-Leninist philosophy is an irreplaceable weapon in the axiological orientation of our socialist art. The Marxist-Leninist philosophy gives our artists that view point which is indispensable for the assessment and interpretation of reality accord-

ing to the socialist ideology, to occupy a revolutionary consistent position in the complicated process of the class struggle. The Marxist-Leninist world outlook becomes a positive factor in the creative activity of our artists when it is adapted to the specific nature of art and does not remain an external appendage of it, but becomes the natural spirit and internal life of the language in which art speaks. F. Engels pointed out that the ideological tendentiousness of any truly artistic work ought to be naturally expressed through the system of the artistic figurative depiction of reality.

THE AGREEMENT CONCLUDED BY PARIS AND THE CEASE-FIRE ESTABLISHED IN VIETNAM HAVE Brought GREAT GOOD TO THE WORLD OVER ALL. THE QUESTION IS NOT WHETHER TO GET ACCUSTOMED TO IT, BUT WHETHER A WAR HAS ENDED WHICH HAD LASTED FOR THE INTERNATIONAL YEARS FOR ALMOST TWENTY YEARS, AND WHICH HAD CAUSED A DEEP SCAR ON THE CONSCIENCE OF ALL THE PEOPLE ON THE EARTH. THE HISTORICAL AND MOST IMPORTANT ABOUT THIS EVENT IS THE GREAT AND VICTORIOUS DEFEAT OF US IMPERIALISM. THIS IS WHAT WAS FIRED AND BURNED. THE UNITED STATES WAS COMPULSED TO WITHDRAW FROM VIETNAM AND TO END THE HOSTILITIES AND PARTICIPATION IN THE VIETNAM WAR. A GREAT VICTORY FOR THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE AND FOR ALL THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD WHO ARE FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE AND FOR THE DEFEAT OF THEIR IMPERIALISM AND TRICKS. THE AGREEMENT HAS BEEN CONCLUDED, BUT THE STRUGGLE OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE WILL CONTINUE. THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE WILL NOT ONLY THE PRESENT GENERATION WHICH KNOWS AND LIVES IT, BUT ALSO THE NEXT GENERATION WILL SPEAK OF IT WITH GREAT PRIDE AND ENTHUSIASM. IT WILL ALWAYS BE A GREAT INSPIRATION AND A FINE LESSON TO THE FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY AND JUSTICE. THE LEGENDARY STRUGGLE OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE WILL REMAIN A BRIGHT EXAMPLE OF THE HEROIC RESISTANCE AND THE GREAT VICTORY OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE FOR

Editorial of the "ZERI I POPULI"

GRAVE DEFEAT FOR U.S. IMPERIALISM

Editorial of the «ZËRI I POPULLIT»

THE AGREEMENT CONCLUDED IN PARIS AND THE CEASE-FIRE ESTABLISHED IN VIETNAM HAVE FOUND A GREAT ECHO THE WORLD OVER. CERTAINLY, THE QUESTION IS NOT MERELY TO GET ACCUSTOMED to the fact that a war has ended which had dominated the international arena for almost thirty years and which had, in a certain way, become an integral part of the daily life of all the people on the five continents. The essential and most important thing about this event is the great and irrevocable defeat of US imperialism - this is what was fixed and sanctioned. The United States was compelled to withdraw from Vietnam and to end the most shameful and barbarous war in its history. This is a great victory for the Vietnamese people and for all the peoples of the world who are fighting for freedom and independence and for the defence of their sovereignty and rights.

The agreement has been concluded, but the echo of the glorious liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people will resound powerfully throughout the centuries. Not only the present generations which knew and lived it, but also the coming generations will speak of it with admiration and enthusiasm. It will always be a great inspiration and a rare lesson to the fighters for freedom, democracy and progress. The legendary struggle of the Vietnamese people will remain a brilliant example of the firm determination and unprecedented courage of the people of a small nation to rise up and oppose a very

much stronger enemy, equipped with the most modern weapons, a barbaric and cynical enemy ready to commit any base crime.

The Vietnamese people astonished the world with their extraordinary resistance to suffering, toil and sacrifice, with their maturity, wisdom and clarity of thinking towards those objectives which they sought to attain.

The most barbarous hordes invaded Vietnam, the most modern and most powerful arms ever seen on battlefields were used against the people of this country, the most sophisticated and diabolical strategies and tactics were applied. But all this failed to shake the determination of the Vietnamese people, failed to bring them to their knees. Vietnamese people were burned and killed, but others rose continually, more powerful and more determined, from the ashes and ruins, to hit back and destroy the enemy.

The struggle of the Vietnamese people became a banner of the Leninist thesis that imperialism and its allies can never give freedom, sovereignty and independence to the peoples. They must fight for them with rifles, with weapons, and defeat the enemy on the battlefield.

The great lesson which heroic Vietnam taught the world is that it smashed all the myths created about US imperialism, about its strength and invincibility, about atomic blackmail and the terror of modern warfare. The Vietnamese people, for years running, successfully coped with the barbarous aggressions of the United

States and inflicted great defeat on it; they compelled it to return to where it came from.

Now the US propaganda and those who support it are striving to interpret the cease-fire in Vietnam as a result of the United States so-called desire for peace and of Nixon himself being a man of peace. But no matter how great the noise, reality cannot be changed. The Americans were defeated in Vietnam and they were compelled to withdraw from there as a result of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people. US imperialism played all its cards, and lost them all. The war in Vietnam caused America its greatest political, economic and military crisis ever seen. It caused rebellion and movements in American society, which hit directly at the foundations of the strength of US imperialism. Not only did world public opinion condemn the US imperialists, but even the closest allies of the USA began to leave America on its own in Vietnam and even to withdraw solidarity with it. US imperialism was completely isolated and all fingers were pointed at it, stigmatising it as an aggressor and murderer and putting it in the pillory. Nixon, against his own desire and with great reluctance accepted to withdraw from Vietnam. He remained a barbarian through to the end, and tried up till the end to win the war through barbarity. The unprecedented criminal air-raids carried out on his order in December and January put the final seal on his countenance as a consistent reactionary, and on his policy as a thoroughly aggressive and expansionist one. Nixon has been and always remains a man of war.

The Soviet revisionists, too, have begun to make a noise about the cease-fire in Vietnam. They are seeking to present the matter as if Soviet aid has been the decisive factor in the results achieved by the Vietnamese people and the defeat inflicted on the US imperialists. This claim is as ridiculous as it is diabolical. As always, but now more than ever, they are seeking to poke their noses into the affairs of Vietnam and to profit from the blood shed by the Vietnamese people. But it is well known what the "Soviet aid" has been and what role it has played. The Soviet policy in Vietnam has been a policy of pressure and of undermining the struggle, it has not been aimed at helping the Vietnamese people, to achieve complete victory over the enemies, but at

helping Nixon to "withdraw with honour" from Vietnam. The Soviet attitude towards Vietnam has never gone beyond the framework of the joint Soviet-US policy for the preservation of the zones of influence and the division of the world. From the time the Khrushchevites came to power until the present the Soviet leaders have given much proof to show that they have sacrificed the interests of Vietnam in favour of US imperialism, in order to gain US compensations for itself in other zones and spheres.

It is true that the Soviets have given some weapons to Vietnam, but it must be said first and foremost, that it was the Vietnamese people who carried out the war. In addition to this, these weapons have never in any case whatsoever cast even the slightest shadow on the Soviet-US relations. The Soviets have given their "aid" to avoid being exposed, to preserve their facade as a socialist country, to polish their so-called anti-imperialist policy and to prevent having to align themselves publicly with the United States on the question of Vietnam.

Their claim that their aid has been a decisive factor in the development of the Vietnamese war, clearly reveals their aim to become partners in the arrangement of the questions emerging from this war, to interfere in the domestic affairs of Indochina, to extend their hegemonistic influence.

However the conclusion of the cease-fire in Vietnam does not mean at the same time, a guarantee of peace in that country; it does not mean the guarantee of freedom and independence for the Vietnamese people. The Thieu clique, incited by its American bosses, is loudly shouting that it does not intend to observe the conditions of the agreement. The statements made by the Saigon puppet president clearly reveal that he is making preparations for provocations, that his terror against the population of South Vietnam and especially against the activists and sympathizers of the Liberation Front will not cease, but on the contrary will be further strengthened. On the eve of the cease-fire the Saigon administration intensified its persecution and reprisals against the progressive and democratic elements: it adopted brutal measures to prevent any manifestation of the freedom of opinion of the people, any political activity. Thieu, this hangman of the Vietnamese people

and sold-out tool in the hands of foreigners, howls that he will kill the communists just as before and that the people must act in South Vietnam as he wants them to and as he says. He does not admit the existence of the Provisional Revolutionary Government in South Vietnam and demands that others submit to his arrogance. All this shows that as long as the criminal Thieu clique remains in Saigon, there will be a great threat to the Vietnamese people; and there can be no guarantee of peace and security in South Vietnam.

The Vietnamese people are aware that US imperialism is perfidious and that it may again return to South Vietnam. In 1954, too, the United States pledged to recognize the independence and sovereignty of Vietnam and not interfere in its domestic affairs. But it is well known how it respected its commitments and how it acted. They are also aware that the US imperialists will do their utmost to keep Thieu and his regime alive, they will strive to protect him from the people's hatred at any cost and will strive by all means to prevent his collapse and liquidation. But there is no doubt for their freedom and independence, who have shed so much blood, will drive the foreigners and traitors out of their country, that they will always enhance their vigilance and will not lose their perspective. Under the new conditions the people of South Vietnam will know how to fight with the same determination and wisdom which characterized them before in order to completely win their freedom and national independence, sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity, their right to self-determination, free of any foreign interference in their fate, they will know to firmly take up arms and not withdraw even an inch from the positions gained.

The Albanian people, just as always, in the future, too, both in good times and bad, will be on the side of the Vietnamese people, they will always be in solidarity with their liberation struggle. The Albanian people, just as all those who have suffered together with the Vietnamese people, who have fought for the triumph of their just cause, wholeheartedly wish them complete victory over US imperialism and the treacherous Thieu regime, that they live in freedom, independence and united in their long suffering homeland.

NEOCOLONIALISM IN AFRICA

by PASKAL MILO

U.S. imperialism cannot live without economic expansion, without political intervention and military aggression, without oppressing and exploiting other peoples. The present-day U. S. neocolonialist policy in Africa, to which this study is devoted, is also an example of this expansionism

At the present time U.S. imperialism is the main support of the exploiting colonial system and in the lead in applying the policy of neocolonialism. After the second world war the U.S.A., as the biggest power of the capitalist world, aspired to the creation of a world empire under its domination. One of the links in the realization of this plan was the intensification of the U.S. colonial expansion in the colonial and former colonial countries. The African continent, just as Asia and Latin America, was from the very beginning transformed into terrain where U.S. neocolonialism was implemented with the whole range of its ways and means. The United States of America penetrated into Africa later than the other imperialist powers, but the rate of its political, military, economic and ideological aggression was so rapid that it not only caught up with but also surpassed its partners in its expansion and influence in this area. Numerous events and facts give a clear picture of the tactics being used by Washington to realize its strategic aims in the African continent.

Africa in Washington's plans

After the second world war, while enslaved Africa was struggling to get rid of the chains of centuries of colonial slavery, in Washington they were mapping out plans to recolonize that continent, at present no longer by the force of arms, but through other weapons in the arsenal of neocolonialism – political, economic and ideological aggression. The African policy of U.S. imperialism reflects a series of foreign policy doctrines, new and old, from president Truman's period to our day.

Washington's various political doctrines and concepts have revealed the real aims of the global strategy of U.S. imperialism in Africa. Almost every president who has come to the White House has proclaimed a doctrine of his own on Africa. Certainly, being offspring of U.S. monopoly capital; the doctrinaires of Washington have changed only the forms,

tactics and methods of realization of the same policy – the re-enslavement of the peoples of Africa. During the period of the presidents Truman and Eisenhower the United States of America had not yet openly manifested its neocolonialist ambitions towards Africa. At this time it gave a very powerful support to its European partners – Britain and France. With John Kennedy's advent to power the U.S. African policy became very active. Adapting himself to the new situation and to the change of the correlation of political forces in the world, Kennedy paid great attention to penetration into Latin America, Asia and Africa. «The important battle-field today» – Kennedy pointed out at that time – «is the second half of the globe, Asia, Latin America, Africa and the Middle East... This is a battle to gain people and territories, in which we cannot fail to adopt a stand.» In Washington they forcefully propagated the so-called «reciprocal ties» of the developing countries with the capitalist countries, which in a camouflaged way were aimed at realizing U.S. penetration into the continent. With Johnson, the U.S. African policy openly revealed its real neocolonialist objectives which came to the fore with the events that took place in Ghana, with the intervention in the Congo, Sudan and in other African countries. In its essence, this policy was a component part of the aggression of U.S. imperialism against the peoples, and in Johnson's time it was expressed in the unprecedented escalation of the war in Vietnam, in the interference in the internal affairs of the Dominican Republic, in Panama and in the allround support and backing to the Israeli aggressors against the Arab countries. An integral part of the «Johnson doctrine» became the so-called concept of the «method of selecting» in the African countries, worked out by the former U.S. ambassador to Ethiopia, Corry. This policy offers «U.S. aid» to those African countries in which the United States of America has great interests, such as in raw material resources or in territories for the creation of military bases. «The United States of America – the American review «Africa Today» writes – gives aid to those countries to which it is tied by special interests».

The policy of «differentiated method» has also been pursued by the present U.S. president Nixon. This was also confirmed by the fact that Rogers visited 10 African states in February 1970. 45 of all the U.S. military attachés on the continent as well as nearly all of its military advisers and specialists are stationed in these countries. At the present time U.S. imperialism follows the course of the military and political strengthening of the colonial and racist regimes and maintains open ties with these regimes. Nixon himself, speaking before the U.S. Congress on questions of foreign policy, declared that «proceeding from our special interests we must come to the assistance of our friends in Africa.»

U.S. imperialism in our day is the main enemy of the national liberation movements of the oppressed peoples of Africa and of the other peoples that are following the road of independent national development. Suffice it to stress that in the period between 1947 and 1965, in its relations with the new developing countries, including the African countries and the peoples waging struggles for national liberation, the U.S.A. has spent 20 times as much on subversive aims and the suppression of the liberation movement than on «economic aid», whereas between 1957 and the end of the 70's the diplomatic corps has grown almost 7 times.

The Pentagon also shows special interest in Africa. Its strategy and tactics in Africa are closely connected with the general course of the foreign policy of the United States of America and with the strategy of NATO. As Breton wrote in his summary «African independence», «the United States is now interested in the military strategic potential in the south of Sahara». Africa occupies an important place in the strategic plans of the aggressive North Atlantic bloc. A special council on Africa has also been set up in the NATO bloc. The council drafts and works out plans for subversive activity against the small African countries. The Pentagon generals have worked out the concept of «defensive bridges from the North to the South of the Atlantic»; indeed, they have also drafted the creation of a «South Atlantic Union» with the participation of Brazil, Argentina and the

South African Republic. The military plans of U.S. imperialism in Africa are also closely connected with the Middle East strategy. «The Middle East» – the chief of the White House, Nixon, declared – «is of great and vital importance to the United States of America and Western Europe not only for its oil, but also for the fact that it is the door to Africa and the Mediterranean Sea». The United States of America has a broad network of military bases throughout the whole continent.

The economic and military aid which is given to the Portuguese colonialists to suppress the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) is given in exchange for the use of the numerous military bases and airports in those countries. In our day, when first-rate importance is attached to the military activity of the underwater fleet, strategic aviation and nuclear missiles, the Pentagon devotes special attention to the exploitation of the many islands situated around the African continent. The island bases on the Atlantic and Indian oceans are aimed on the one hand at compensating for the loss of the imperialist bases in the independent African countries and, on the other hand, at watching the important sea route from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. The United States of America, in NATO's name, is exploiting the strategic airports of Portugal on the San Tomé and Príncipe islands, and is making great efforts to create military bases in the western part of the Indian Ocean in the vicinity of Africa, on the Diego Garcia, Fargunar, Aldabra, Seychelles, etc.

The interests of the monopolies above everything

In accordance with the laws of the development of capitalism in its highest stage of imperialism, U.S. imperialism, reaching a definite stage of its economic development, was necessarily compelled to cast its eyes beyond its national borders. The economic expansion of U.S.

capital extended to the underdeveloped countries in search of new markets, raw materials, cheap labour and suitable ground in which to invest profitable capital. By its very nature U.S. imperialism is unable to live without exploiting other peoples, without economic expansion. At one time the former U. S. president Eisenhower said: «We know that we are connected with all the free countries not only by a noble ideal, but by necessity... we need markets in the world, for the surplus production of our farms and factories... Likewise, the same factories and farms need raw material and products from distant countries.» In our day too Washington is following such an economic strategy on the African continent, clearly determined by the interests of big U.S. capital. U.S. economic expansion in Africa today has three main characteristics. **First**, an increasingly greater extension in comparison with the other western partners. **Second**, the rate of U. S. investment in the African countries is much higher than that of its competitors. **Third**, the United States of America directs the lucrative investment of its capital to particular spheres and especially to the exploitation of strategic-military materials. The geographical extension of U. S. economic expansion has included every extremity of Africa, all the areas whether under the influence of Britain, France, West Germany or Portugal. In the merciless struggle imposed by the capitalist order, powerful U. S. capital has penetrated into the portion of its partners, thus sharpening the inter-imperialist contradictions for markets and spheres of influence. Statistical analysis shows that Africa has been transformed into an important sphere for investments on the part of the U. S. monopolies. While during the 60's direct U. S. investments in the African continent were 900 million dollars and the United States held third place following Britain and France, in the year 1972 these investments amounted to over 3 billion 500 million dollars and it took first place as to the sum of investments, leaving Britain and France behind. In fact, these investments are much larger if the U. S. capital being poured in to Africa through various West European

companies is also included. The investments in South Africa alone reach the sum of 750 million dollars, about 40 per cent of the total U.S. investments in Africa.

The exploitation of the main raw material resources and especially of strategic-military materials is one of the objectives of the United States of America in Africa. It is known that the U. S. A. has almost no bauxite, manganese, cobalt, or chromium. Some new U. S. industrial branches are greatly dependent on the precious minerals of Africa. Annual supplies from Africa meet about 50-65 per cent of the import demands of the U. S. economy for chromium, about 50 per cent for manganese ore, 40-50 per cent for cobalt, some 50 per cent for industrial diamonds, etc. In recent years the United States of America has getting about 30 kinds of mineral substances from Africa. U. S. imperialism has acquired the right to exploit diamonds in Angola, while in Namibia it has control of the country's metallurgy through two capitalist companies. The United States of America gets copper from Zambia, Mozambique and Gabon; it gets zinc from Ghana, the Congo (Kinshasa), the South African Republic and Morocco, and lead from Sierra Leone. More than one-third of the U. S. imports of chromium come from the South African Republic. To fulfil its needs in this direction, the U. S. Congress has approved a law permitting U. S. industrialists to import chromium ore from Rhodesia at a time when a decision has been adopted in the UNO to boycott trade with the Smith regime which pursues a savage policy of racial discrimination.

In the recent years the main field of U. S. investments in Africa has been that of the oil industry which includes about 50 per cent of the total sum of investments on that continent. As a concession for the exploitation of oil U. S. monopoly capital has received an area of 120.000 sq. km. in Mozambique. The «American Gulf Oil» company takes over 20.000 tons of oil daily from the coastal areas of Angola and Mozambique. In Mozambique 9 more American companies are engaged in prospecting for and exploiting oil and natural gas. About 44 per

cent of the oil which is consumed in the South African Republic is in the hands of the American companies «Mobil» and «Caltex». The U. S. monopolies and, concretely, the «American Pacific» company, have begun sinking oil wells on the coast of Natal province of South Africa in search of oil and natural gas. U. S. capital has also stretched its tentacles to Cameroon and the Ivory Coast. Among the U.S. firms that have penetrated most into these countries are «Ford», «General Motors», «Dow Company», and «National City Bank of New York».

The increase of capital investments in Africa has brought very great profits to the U.S. monopolies. The U.S. monopolies have drawn almost 500 million dollars net profit from their investments in the oil industry. According to the «New York Times», the «Newman Mining Corporation», which is engaged in the exploitation of the natural resources of Namibia, and the other U.S. companies draw in an annual profit of 27 per cent of invested capital, while in South Africa the U.S. monopolies get profits of 29 per cent of invested capital. This big flood of profits from the African continent is the reason for the expansionist economic policy pursued by U.S. imperialism in Africa. The above facts refute all Washington's demagogy about the role and mission of the U.S. monopolies in Africa, to «aid» the backward countries. Not aid, but plunder – such is the essence of the entire economic strategy of the United States in Africa.

Neocolonialist ideological diversion

Another very important component of the aggression of U.S. neocolonialism in Africa is its ideological diversion. A series of special institutions, as well as many official and non-official organizations are operating to realize ideological expansion on the African continent. The ways and means Washington uses to ideologically work on the Africans keep increasing and being modified in accordance with the changes that occur in Africa.

Promoting the ideological diversion of U.S. imperialism in Africa today are a series of so-called non-official institutions and organizations all of which engage in activities whose every aspect serves the realization of given objectives of Washington's ruling circles. In the United States of America there are more than 700 organizations, allegedly non-official, which deal more or less with Africa and its problems, while 40 of them specialize completely on Africa. Among the principal ones is the Afro-American Institute. This institute maintains very close ties with the African section of the State Department, and its budget of 10 million dollars is financed by the U.S. government itself. The ideological moulding of the African youth and especially of the student youth is in the centre of the activity of this institute. On the initiative and with the support of this institute, African students are given the right to study in American colleges and universities. This institute also takes great interest in the mass media in the training of African journalists, etc.

Many other organizations, such as the American Committee for Africa, the Society for U.S. – African problems, African Culture group, the Society for African problems, et., are propagandists and purveyors of the most reactionary ideas, either directly or indirectly, concerning Africa and the course events in that continent in our day.

The arsenal of weapons for the implementation of ideological expansion in Africa also includes the activity of various «philanthropic» funds which have long since proved to be instruments of the foreign policy of U.S. imperialism. The «Ford Fund» which started its activity in Africa in the year 1961, spends about 10 million dollars a year, not including a further 13 million dollars for studies on African problems. Another such fund is linked with the name of the American multi-millionaire Rockefeller who finances institutions and universities engaged in the study of various African problems.

The so-called «peace corps» is widely spread throughout the African continent. Through it the U.S. imperialists, under the guise of «aid», of propagating «the American way of life», are seeking to

facilitate their expansion, to impose on the African countries the road of development which meets the U.S. interests. Although Washington has made great efforts in recent times to «modernize» and camouflage the neocolonialist character of the «peace corps», this organization continues to be a weapon of U.S. ideological aggression, and there is nothing in common between its noise and their practical activity in Africa.

Another extremely powerful instrument of the ideological expansion of the United States of America in Africa is the mass media, such as the press, television and radio stations, the cinema, etc. Distinct from all these means is the United States Information Agency (USIA) which has about 70 information centres in Africa. Through its broadcasts and propaganda, as the former director of the Information Agency, Merok, has also stated, this agency seeks to propagate «the road which the government of the United States wishes Africa to follow in deciding on its own fate». The broad extension of the foreign press and especially of the American press not only serves the ideological moulding of the population, but also hinders the development of the African national press. The United States of America, besides directly propagating information through its own means, is also dishing up materials to many editorial offices of African national newspapers and reviews, materials which frequently take considerable space on the pages of the African press. This occurs because the mass media and especially the press agencies in Africa are taking their initial strides and on many occasions, the press is in the hands of foreign specialists or of men recruited into the service of U.S. imperialism.

The ideological aggression of U.S. imperialism in the African continent is also realized through various spheres of social activity, such as the trade unions, the church and science. The trade union movement in Africa represents a considerable force in the African peoples' struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism for real political and economic independence. The African trade unions have started to play an increasingly important role in the development of the social-economic processes which are occurring

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in the African countries. In order to realize its objectives in the African trade unions, U.S. imperialism has also placed the chieftains of the U.S. trade unions at its service. Conditions have been created to the American Trade Union (AFL-CIO) in a series of African countries for its counter-revolutionary activity. In order to strengthen its positions in the African trade union movement the AFL-CIO has created the Afro-American Work Centre (AAWC) in New York, aimed at «preserving and strengthening the free trade union movement in Africa». In the whole of their activity, the reactionary American trade unions always have in view the realization of the interests of the United States which aim at undermining the genuine trade union movement of the African workers. For the ideological remoulding of the Africans, Washington attaches importance to the activity of the clergy. For this purpose in recent years the ranks of the U.S. missionaries in various countries of Africa have been greatly increased. The American Roman Catholic missionaries, hiding themselves behind various «philanthropic» institutions, such as schools and hospitals, directly contribute to the ideological remoulding of men. Indeed, the American church also has control of a series of mass media, such as newspapers, radio stations and film companies. In order to reinforce its ideological expansion in Africa, the United States of America also enjoys the aid of science in various fields and especially in the social field. American universities have been transformed into big research centres on various African problems. According to data of the «African Research Bulletin», in 1969 in the United States of America there were 34 university centres for the study of Africa, with about 150.000 books, 20.000 documents on Africa and more than 500 newspapers and periodicals published on that continent. At the present time some 1.500 works on African problems appear in the United States annually.

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In its efforts to recolonize Africa, U.S. imperialism has run into the active resis-

tance of the African countries. The African peoples are faced with the task of defending their freedom and independence won with sacrifice from foreign colonialist at great cost. This sacrifice has not been made for the sake of replacing one foreign domination with another, but for the sake of the great ideals of freedom and independence. Proceeding from this position a great many African countries have undertaken a series of measures which have been counterposed to the U.S. interests and are aimed at putting an end to the U.S. penetration. U.S. imperialism has been the author of the policy of war and aggression, of plots, the intervention in Libya, in the People's Republic of Congo, Somali and Guinea. Today, the United States of America, in word and deed, is the guarantor of the reactionary and racist regimes of Africa, and the most determined crusader against the liberation movements of the enslaved African peoples. All this cannot fail to leave traces in the consciousness of the African peoples who have realized that the «helping hand» proffered by Washington aims at leading them back to the period of colonial slavery. This is why the Africans have begun to act against the penetration of imperialism into Africa. In 1969 Libya liquidated the big U.S. military base in that country. Other countries, such as Sudan, Somali and Zambia, have adopted various measures, including the nationalization of the foreign imperialist banks and companies. Seven West African countries have created an Economic Community to prevent the penetration of foreign capital. In the ideological field many African countries such as Tanzania, the Central African Republic, Somali, etc., have prohibited and seized American reviews and newspapers; they have taken the mass media into their own hands. But in order to fully liquidate the political, economic and ideological expansion of U.S. imperialism in Africa, the struggles of all the African countries must be coordinated. Only resolute measures against the rule and penetration of neocolonialism and particularly of the American neocolonialism, in Africa, can create favorable terrain for the free and independent development of the countries of that continent.

National conference of the Physical Culture and Sports Union of Albania

On January 16 the 3rd Conference of the Physical Culture and Sports Union of Albania held its proceedings in one of the halls of the Palace of Culture in the capital. This was a very important event for the physical culture-sport movement in our country. The Conference was attended by over 400 delegates elected by the Union's regional conferences: workers, cooperativists, school pupils, students, military men, outstanding sportsmen as well as by cadres of the party, state and mass organisations and by other guests from the various districts of the country.

Party and State leaders also attended. The chairman of the Committee of the General Council of the Physical Culture and Sports Union of Albania, Veis Lelo, delivered the report: "For greater steps forward in the mass and qualitative development of physical culture and sports".

The member of the Central Committee of the Party and Minister of Education and Culture, Thoma Deliana, greeted the Conference on behalf of the Central Committee of the PLA and of the Council of Ministers of the PR of Albania.

At the end of the proceedings the Conference elected its leading organs. Veis Lelo was elected chairman of the General Council of the Physical Culture and Sports Union of Albania.

First meeting of the Academy of Sciences

On January 25, the first meeting of the Assembly of the Academy of Sciences of the People's Republic of Albania opened in the hall of the People's Assembly.

This first historic meeting of the Assembly of the Academy of Sciences was attended by the members and alternate members of the Academy, heroes of socialist labour and other vanguard workers, scientific workers of various institutions, of education, culture, art, representatives of the Party and State in the districts, and of mass organisations and other guests. Comrade Enver Hoxha and other party and state leaders also attended. On behalf of the members of the Assembly of the Academy of Sciences of PRA, the meeting was presided over by professor Eqrem Çabej. Elections to the organs of the academy followed. Elected to the presidium of the Assembly of the Academy were: Aleks Buda, Androkli Kostallari, Bedri Dedja, Eqrem Çabej, Foto Çami, Kolë Popa, Mentor Përmeti, Petrit Radovicka and Stelanaq Pollo. Aleks Buda was elected president of the Academy of Sciences of the PR of Albania. Kolë Popa and Petrit Radovicka were elected vice-presidents, and Bedri Dedja was elected scientific secretary.

The president of the Academy of Sciences, Aleks Buda, delivered the speech of the occasion.

The floor was then taken by Hysni Kapo, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, who greeted the meeting on behalf of the Central Committee of the PLA, the Council of Ministers of the PRA and comrade Enver Hoxha personally. The greeting is carried in this issue of the review.

Declaring the meeting closed, the president of the Academy of Sciences of the PRA, professor Aleks Buda, said among others: "Allow me, on your behalf, to express profound gratitude for the greeting and congratulations presented to our new Academy by comrade Hysni Kapo on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, the Council of Ministers and comrade Enver Hoxha personally. Our new Academy, and each one of us, will preserve the warm and wise words of the Party as a valuable treasury of advice which will accompany and instruct us during the whole of our activity. They once more testify to the paternal care which the Party and the Government have shown and continue to show for our science and

its workers, we have been deeply moved by the great honour paid to us today by the leadership of our Party and people's power with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head with their attendance at the first meeting of this higher scientific institution. We heartily thank them, as well as all the other comrades who honoured us by attending this meeting.

With the lofty feeling of responsibility as citizens and men of science, we promise the Party and the Government, with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, that our science workers, including the members and alternate members of the Academy of Sciences of the PR of Albania, will fight with militant spirit of partisanship against any tendency to see the Academy as merely formal and not a working body; we shall fight against any manifestations of "academism" which are in deep opposition to our Marxist-Leninist conception of the scientific work and functions of the academy, to promote Albanian science as a progressive science in the service of the allround development of our People's Republic, of the economic prosperity and cultural flowering of our ancient yet always young nation, in the service of the communist education of the masses of our people.

At the end of the proceedings, Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, had a very cordial conversation with the presidium and the members and alternate members of the Academy of Sciences.

Reception at the CC of the PLA

On the afternoon of January 26, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Enver Hoxha, received the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, Nguyen Van Thu, and the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of South Viet Nam, Nguyen Xuan Long, at their request. Present were

Behar Shtylla, member of the Central Committee of the PLA; Nesti Nase member of the Central Committee of the PLA and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Agim Popa, director of the Foreign Department of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania.

Ambassador Nguyen Van Thu, at the instruction of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Workers Party and of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and ambassador Nguyen Xuan Long, at the instruction of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, informed comrade Enver Hoxha of the agreement on ending the war in Viet Nam.

Comrade Enver Hoxha highly appraised the glorious struggle of the Vietnamese people against the US imperialist aggressors and their tools. He pointed out that the Albanian people, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, who have continually and unreservedly supported the protracted and heroic liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people, in the future, too, will always be in solidarity with their just cause. The reception passed in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Relations of the University extended

The activity of the State University of Tirana has continued to increase. Important changes have been made in the structure of the school year, in the teaching plans and curriculums, in teaching methods, etc. This development has been accompanied by a perceptible growth of research and scientific activity. Parallel with the increase of this activity the University's relations abroad have also been extending continually. It realizes those relations through the direct ties maintained by the University and its institutions with educational and scientific institutions abroad as well as through

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the plans and agreements our country has concluded with other countries. These ties include various activities, such as exchange of various specialists to exchange experience, specialization, delivering lectures, etc. For years our University has maintained direct relations with the Academy of Sciences of China and very fruitful scientific cooperation has developed between us. The agreement on scientific cooperation with the Chinese Academy of Sciences has made it possible for our University to train a considerable number of cadres in various fields of science. Under this agreement the Chinese Academy of Sciences gives our University great assistance in laboratory equipment and scientific literature. In this framework, the two institutions exchange a considerable number of scientific workers to learn from each other's experience.

Since 1970, our University has maintained direct ties with the University of Prishtina. Through the protocols on educational and scientific cooperation that have been signed by the two universities some 30 of our University professors deliver complete courses of lectures to students of the Prishtina University. Every year a considerable number of education and scientific workers are exchanged to become specialized and gain experience, to carry out scientific research as well as to hold series of congresses and special conferences with university workers. Also the exchange of scientific literature between the two universities has been continually growing.

An agreement on educational and scientific cooperation was recently signed between our University and the University of Shkup. It envisages the exchange of a number of education and scientific workers for lectures, exchange of experience and scientific research, as well as an exchange of scientific literature. The institutions of our University are members of and take part in the activities of several international scientific organizations, such as the International Organisation of South East European Studies (AIESSE), the international Organisation of Onomastics, the International Association of Hydraulic Research, etc. Likewise, many workers of the University have taken part in inter-

national scientific congresses, conferences and colloquia where, with their reports, communications and discussions they have made known the results of our science.

In order to have a clearer idea of the University's relations abroad suffice it to mention that during the past year alone our University received more than 200 foreign scientists, and about 160 education and scientific workers of our University went abroad for experience, specialization, scientific research, to take part in international scientific conferences and congresses, etc.

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRAZIL

Telegram

Dear comrades,

With deep sorrow our party and people recently learned of the loss of the outstanding revolutionary fighters and leaders of the Communist Party of Brazil, comrades Carlos Danieli, Lincoln Oeste, Luis Guilhardini and Lincoln Roque, who heroically laid down their lives for the freedom, independence and social rights of the Brazilian people. The barbarous murder of these fighters for freedom is a desperate act by the fascist regime to hinder the development of the revolutionary struggle of the Brazilian people. The Albanian communists and people sympathetically follow and unreservedly support the just struggle of the Brazilian revolutionaries and forcefully condemn the acts of terror undertaken against them. We express our firm conviction that the barbarous and desperate acts of the fascist dictatorship, which faces inevitable defeat, will never be able to stop the ever rising tide of the revolutionary armed struggle of the Brazilian people, and that thousands of other fighters will

take up the banner of the comrades who fell gloriously on the battlefield and will lead the sacred cause for which they gave their lives, to victory.

ON BEHALF OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE P.L.A.

First Secretary
ENVER HOXHA

Tirana, February 3, 1973.

Third plenum of the C.C. of the PLA

The third Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA was convened on February 5-6, 1973 under the chairmanship of comrade Enver Hoxha, first Secretary of the CC of the PLA. It heard the report of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA "On the fulfilment of the plan for 1972, the main tasks for 1973 and some problems of the further improvement of the management of the economy", delivered by comrade Adil Çarçani, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers. The Plenum broadly discussed the report and unanimously approved it.

The Plenum decided too that another secretary be added to the Secretariat of the Central Committee. Comrade Petro Dode was unanimously elected secretary to the CC of the PLA.

At the end of the proceedings of the Plenum comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the CC of the PLA, made an important speech.

New publications

During the current year the "Naim Frashëri" publishing house will print more novels, short stories, volumes of poetry, stories, dramas, etc., etc., which treat diverse themes and ideas from the reality and life of our country. "Winter of Great Solitude" is a political novel by Ismail Kadare treating the Soviet revisionists' treachery and the correct revolutionary stand of our Party. The author throws into relief comrade Enver Hoxha's figure and the invincible party-people unity.

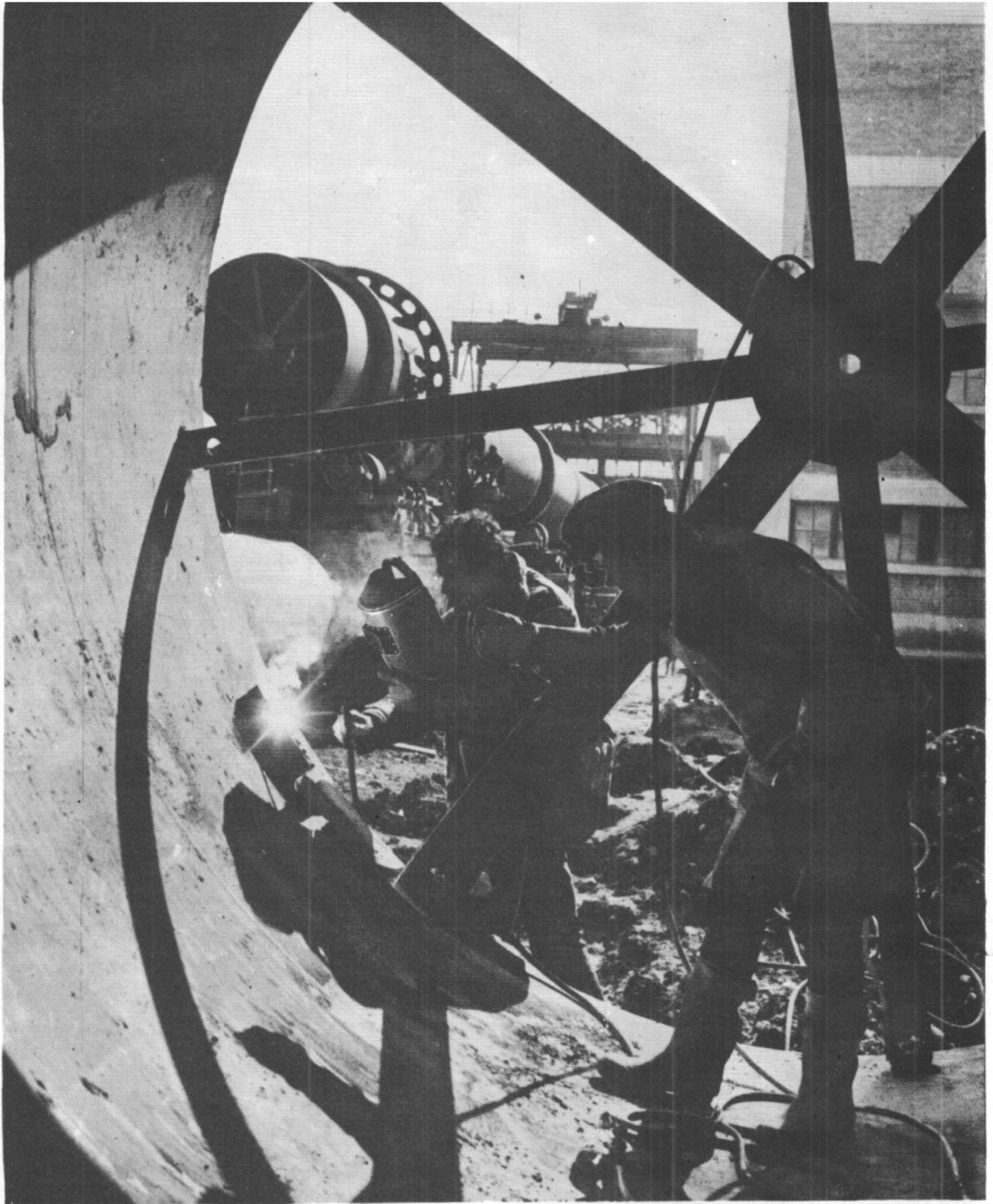
This year this publishing house will also put out the satirical novel "Comrade Zylo's Brilliance and Youth" by D. Agolli, which attack manifestations of bureaucratism in our country. Another satirical novel is "The Village Between the Waters" by K. Jakova. M. Kallamata's novel "His Majesty" will be added to the works which satirize and hit out at the anti-popular and obscurantist Zog regime while S. Andoni has again written about the national liberation struggle in his new novel "Notes written at Night". Readers will also have novels by F. Arapi, GJ. Zheji, S. Drini, K. Kosta.

In addition to the works of asserted authors such as Dh. Shuteriqi, T. Laço, S. Andoni, etc., volumes of short stories and narrations by new authors, such as N. Lera, I. Ponari, G. Pritti, L. Pajo and B. Muço will also be published. Of course, these are not the only authors who will come out this year with new works in prose. Selected novels by the authors Ismail Kadare, D. Agolli, A. Abdi-hoxha, N. Pritti, F. Gjata and M.S. Gurra will be republished. Selected volumes of poetry will also be published. Two new volumes of poetry will come off the press before long. One is a collection of poetry by Majakovski, appearing for the first time in our country, and the other is an anthology of creations by Kossovo authors. Thus, one after the other many poetical works by affirmed poets as well as by new ones are appearing. Many of these works are in the process of being printed, while others have already come off the press and the "Naim Frashëri" publishing house is continuing to receive new political works.

Literary critiques by D. Shaplo, A. Kallulli and K. Bihiku will also be published. As a work of theoretical-scientific character «Bourgeois philosophy, esthetics and art of the 20th century» by A. Uçi will treat problems of contemporary foreign literature. «Through literary Centuries» is a volume of historic and historic-literary studies written by Dh. Shuteriqi. The proceedings of the scientific session held on the occasion of the 125th anniversary of Naim Frashëri's birth will be put out in a special volume.

This year, the number of translations of novels by foreign authors will be greater than in the past.

There will be a wider selection of translated works published this year both from classical literature, and contemporary literature, with more correct proportions being established between them. During 1973 over 12.000 pages of foreign literature will be put out. This is a considerable growth as compared with the past year. In addition to works being published for the first time in our country by authors such as T. Hardy, N. Kazantzakis, Juvenal, E. Poe, J. Kavabata, T. Dreiser, E. Hemingway, G. Simenon, E. M. Remarque, C. P. Snow, E. Verhaeren, A. Chekhov, V. Hugo, J. London, etc., works by Dickens, Hugo, Tolstoy and J. London, will be republished.



View from the construction work of a project
of the Five-year plan

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On January 7 the newspaper «ZÈRI I POPULLIT» published an article exposing the demagogical offensive recently launched by the US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists to create the false impression that Europe and the whole world are entering an epoch of detente, stable security and peace. «The chiefs of the two imperialist powers, Nixon and Brezhnev – the article says – solemnly declare from the rostrums of meetings and conferences that «the world is today entering a great epoch of peace», that «the world is ushering in a new historic stage», that of «stable peace» and «security». Together with this the entire imperialist-revisionist propaganda has risen in a powerful chorus claiming that from now on «wars will disappear from the life of the peoples» and that «a generation of peace», a Europe, and indeed a world, is being built in which «the only wars that may be carried out will be those for the establishment of prices». «But», the article continues, «all this is a fiendish manoeuvre to lull the vigilance of the peoples and divert their attention from the operation of the Soviet-US alliance against them, from the expansionist policy the two «superpowers» are pursuing in all parts of the world; it is a smokescreen to camouflage their coordinated attacks on the peace, freedom and sovereign rights of the peoples, to make them pawns in the two «superpowers» game of secret diplomacy. After quoting numerous facts which show that the two

superpowers do nothing to ensure peace and security, but on the contrary are feverishly preparing for fresh adventures, the newspaper points out that this activity, which is carried out in conformity with their policy of dictate, interference and aggression, is fraught with serious dangers to the sovereign peoples and countries.

«The history of the two world wars, the article continues, shows that the imperialist powers have always accompanied their frantic race of militarization and policy of expansion with false propaganda on disarmament; that they have prepared war through their secret talks and their predatory secret alliances, camouflaging this whole activity with numerous pacifist slogans and activities, in order to unexpectedly confront the peoples with aggression as a fact. This road is being followed today by the US imperialists and the Soviet revisionist imperialists».

«ZÈRI I POPULLIT» writes in conclusion: «Peace is a great age-old and natural aspiration of the peoples, but they cannot and do not expect it as a gift from the imperialists and social-imperialists, the most savage and perfidious enemies of their freedom, independence, peace and security. The peoples are well aware that peace and their security cannot be achieved by being drawn into the deceptive whirlpool of the peaceful slogans of the US imperialists and the Kremlin social imperialists, but by taking the cause of peace into

their own hands and defending it with a determined struggle against their aggressive expansionist policy».

«An expression of solidarity with the just struggle of the Arab people» – this is how «ZÈRI I POPULLIT» describes the severance of diplomatic relations by Chad, the People's Republic of Congo, Nigeria and Mali with Israel: «The severance of diplomatic relations with Israel by four African states is a victory in the political field, especially for the Arab people», the newspaper wrote on January 10. «It is an expression of the justice of the cause for which they are fighting, of the support and solidarity of the African peoples for their just struggle. Above all, this act testifies to the constant strengthening of the unity between the African peoples and the Arab people, in their common struggle against US-led imperialism and neocolonialism, and is a practical realisation of the anti-zionist stand in support of the struggle of the Arab people, adopted by the Organisation of African Unity in June last year, as well as of the determined exposure of the Israeli aggres-

sors at the United Nations by the majority of the African states».

In a lengthy article published on January 11 the newspaper «LUFTËTARI», central organ of the Ministry of People's Defence of the PR of Albania, writes about the role of the Soviet naval fleet in the realisation of the political-military strategy of the Soviet revisionist clique: «Determined to extend its influence and defend the interests of the Soviet Union as an imperialist superpower in every region of the world, the newspaper writes, during the last decade the Soviet revisionist ruling clique has attached great importance to the development of the various armed services of the armed forces, as means of strength and blackmail for the realisation of these hegemonistic aims.

After giving details about the growth of the Soviet naval fleet and its activity on the seas and oceans, the newspaper writes: «The Soviet naval fleet is a weapon for the realisation of the expansionist and hegemonistic policy of the Soviet revisionist clique and poses a serious danger to the

freedom and independence of the peoples of the various continents. But the peoples of the whole world, being well aware of the mission of the imperialist fleets and the «gun-boat diplomacy» which both imperialist powers are seeking to implement throughout the globe, have raised their voice of protest and are having their say ever more powerfully. They are protesting against the presence of the fleets and military bases of the superpowers in other countries as well as in their own countries, which have been ensured there through imperialist «aid» and machinations. On the road of the struggle for the realisation of their aspirations and will for the defence of their independence and rights, in the future the peoples will undertake still more concrete and energetic actions in order to compel the superpowers to withdraw «to their own territory», the article concludes.

«Neither the violence nor the demagoguery of the ruling clique can suppress the struggle of the Polish proletariat» - this is the title of an article published on January 12 by the newspaper «Puna», organ of

the Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions. «The beginning of the new year in Poland», the article says among other things, «was characterized by a broad campaign by the Polish revisionist clique, demanding that the working class submit to the clique in power. Appeals of this kind express an important feature of the social and political life of present-day Poland, and precisely the constant alarm and fear of the ruling circles of the Polish revisionist bourgeoisie, in face of the ever rising discontent and hatred of the working class and the other labouring masses. The contradiction between the interests of the working people and the new bourgeoisie which oppresses them is coming to the surface, now in one form and now in another, and the polarisation of the forces in the Polish society, forces counterposed to one another, is an obvious process. Neither violence, nor arrests and other forms of government pressure on the one hand, nor the socialist slogans and masks used by Gierk and his clique, on the other hand, have been able to mitigate the conflict between the revisionist bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

The article then given concrete data taken from the Polish press itself which points out the falsity of the official statements of the revisionist clique about the alleged elevation of the living standards of the working people, and which shows the rise of prices, the

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rise of taxes and the deterioration of working conditions. «Parallel with the oppression by the country's new bourgeoisie», - the article continues - «the oppression and exploitation by the western capitalists is also beginning to weigh on the shoulders of the Polish working class. The Gierak clique has concluded about 200 agreements of cooperation with Italian, West German, American, British, French, Belgium and other capitalist firms. The western monopolies profit a great deal from cheaply exploiting the labour power in Poland and this clearly speaks of a discriminating situation in these ties between the Polish revisionists and the western capitalists. One cannot fail to mention there the exploitation of Poland by Soviet socialimperialism, exploitation which hits the working class».

The newspaper writes in conclusion:

«This entire reality is well understood by the Polish working class, for it is they who are experiencing it, and that is why their hatred keeps growing. The protest of the working class against the revisionist clique has been expressed in various forms».

The newspaper «Bashkimi», central organ of the Democratic Front of Albania, on January

14 published an article entitled «The appetite of the zionists, and those who feed them» which comments on the recent Middle East events and especially on the bandit-like attacks of the Israeli aggressors against Syria and the Lebanon, as well as on their eviction of the Arab inhabitants with a view to annexing their territories. «The Israeli zionists would be unable to act as arrogantly they have, and to continue to do so, had they not had the allround aid and support of the US imperialists, the newspaper writes. It is a fact, it writes, that the tense situation in the Middle East has been created precisely by the unscrupulous intervention of the two imperialist «superpowers». The successive peace plans, from Sisco's and Gromyko's plans during the past years, to the fuss which has been made continually, and at present too, about the «partial solution» of the conflict, have in fact served the American and Soviet efforts to preserve their strategic positions. It is the Israeli aggressors alone who have profited and continue to profit from them».

The article shows concretely how the two «superpowers» incite and support the zionists in their despicable performance to the detriment of the Arab people. «The compliance of the activities of the two «superpowers», to the detriment of the just cause of the Arab people and Israelis aggressive acts which are under by their shadow, the article points out,

are becoming increasingly clearer and are being felt and understood more and more in the Middle East. This does nothing but further increase the indignation of the peoples against the US imperialists, their tools in Israel and their collaborators - the Soviet social imperialists, sham friends of the Arab people».

The newspaper «ZËRI I POPULLIT» of January 21 commented on the annual conference of the Socialist International which held its proceedings in Paris a few days ago and which was attended by a number of representatives of the socialist and social-democratic parties, including some heads of government such as Golda Meir and others.

Facts cited in article expose the false slogans, about peace and socialism which were heard so much at the conference, and points out that, in reality, its organizers acted as apologists for the imperialist policy, set the new coordinates of their policies in service of the bourgeoisie in conformity with the present political situation and worked out their tactics against the struggle of the

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working class and the labouring masses which have risen against capital to fight for their rights.

"The imperialist spirit of Atlantism has long ago «seized», social democracy, the article says. This was again manifested at the Paris conference. Social-democracy is tied with numerous strings to the most aggressive circles of the bourgeoisie, to NATO and US imperialism, which is best shown for example by the policy of Brandt's Social-Democratic Party. Brandt's representative was the first to respond to the American request for the increase of military expenditure at the December NATO session in Brussels. The article continues:

"The social democrats have applauded the Soviet-US deals and have contributed to the convening of the Helsinki conference which is a plot against the real security of the European peoples. You find them today in chancellery cabinets, in the headquarters of bourgeois states, where the socialist parties play the game of changing the guards in power, in conformity with the situation, interests and objectives of the monopolies". The article writes in conclusion:

But one thing cannot be forgotten: the social democrats, in spite of their support by the modern revisionists, their common ideological basis having created the conditions for their merger, cannot escape the sad fate of all those who have opposed the new, progress, the tendency of world

development, revolution and socialism. In its efforts to save the capitalist system from crisis, social democracy itself has landed in crisis and is being increasingly exposed. This is shown by its ever greater isolation which goes parallel with the deepening of the general political, ideological and social crisis of the world capitalist system".

In an article published on January 19 the newspaper "Bashkimi" commented on the provocations of the racist regime of South Rhodesia against the Republic of Zambia. The article points out the unilateral measures taken by the Salisbury government to close the border and block highways and railroads, as well as the aims for which these measures were adopted. But things are not going the way the Ian Smith racists would like, the newspaper writes. The wave of popular hatred in South Rhodesia has grown from year to year. Thousands of fighters from the fold of the 5 million people of Zimbabwe are fighting, arms in hand, for their freedom and independence, against racist domination. The South Rhodesia racists are fighting against the

correct stand of the African peoples, and of the people of Zambia in particular, on African questions and on support to the liberation struggle of the other oppressed African peoples. Indeed, in Salisbury they claim that the liberation struggle of the people of Zimbabwe has one of its bases in Zambia. It is not difficult to understand that behind these actions lurk the hand and support of the whole of African reaction and international imperialism. As, shown by the events to date, the racist regimes in Africa have been and remain tools of the policy of the imperialist powers and with their support they carry out diversion and provocations to divide and subjugate the new independent African countries. The newspaper writes in conclusion: "In the situation which has arisen, the Government of Zambia has taken a series of measures to defend its independence and to cause the failure of the blockades imposed by the racists. The people of Zambia are not alone in these efforts. They enjoy the support and solidarity of all the peoples and especially of the African peoples. This solidarity was once more powerfully expressed recently. Tanzania and other countries offered to assist Zambia to transport its goods abroad. Many African heads of state and organizations have expressed their full solidarity with Zambia and have severely condemned the measures of the Rhodesian racists and their supporters."

«Nixon's demagoguery and economic violence and their consequences at the expense of the working people» this is the title of an article published on February 1 by the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit». The article comments on Nixon's message to the American Congress by which he demands the prolongation until April 30, 1974 of the timelimit of the operation of the «Law on economic consolidation» which is the lamb's skin with which are clad the emergency measures proclaimed by the president of the United States in August 1971.

«The maintenance of the American economy for a long time in the conditions of the state of emergency and the application from time to time and in an escalated manner of the coercitive measures with an internal and external effect, as the present measures are, now that Nixon has put on the White House cloak for the second time, the article says, by no means testify to the «consolidation» but to the economic weakening of the United States, to the crisis in which the U.S. economy and finances have landed, to its general political, social and moral crisis. In the final analysis, they are an authentic testimony to the failures suffered by Nixon's «new economic policy» and in general by his economic doctrine.

The spearhead of this policy, of this doctrine and of the emergency measures, is directed in the first place against the American rank and file wor-

kers, it weighs down on their social, economic, educational and health conditions, it directly affects their living standards».

Then the article quotes actual facts testifying to the weakening of the U.S. economy, such as the increase of unemployment, the rise of prices, the growth of the deficit of the foreign trade balance, the devaluation of the dollar, etc.

«In their desperate efforts to come out from this situation, the article continues, the Yankee imperialists have had and continue to have also the assistance of the Moscow revisionists with the purchase of large contingents of grains and other products in the United States, with the investment of U.S. capitals in the Soviet economy, and in other forms».

And the article adds:

«The Wall Street monopoly circles, which have lost the one time hegemonistic positions in the world capitalist market, are seeking to come out of the difficulties demanding from others the removal of currency restrictions and a more liberal participation of the investors in the monetary market of the United States. But these demands are fraught with eventualities and uncertainties. To adjust its trade balance the United States must stabilize its payment balance, it must stop the rise of prices and the lowering of the purchasing power of the dollar which brings about in an inevitable way the deepening of inflation.

The situation of the U.S. eco-

nomy, in general the economic conjuncture of the United States, gives no hope whatever for optimism and for such a prospect.

On February 6 «Zëri i Popullit» carried an article entitled «Visits which reveal again the perfidious nature of U.S. imperialism». In this article the newspaper comments on the visits made by the vice-president of the United States of America, Spiro Agnew, on instructions of president Nixon, to some countries of South-East Asia. It points out that the aim of these visits is to assure the reactionary cliques of that area of the U.S. imperialism's backing even after the Paris agreement.

«As soon as he arrived in Saigon, the newspaper writes, Spiro Agnew made haste to bring «the ardent greetings of the U.S. president» to hangman Thieu and to express the position of the United States on «some key elements of the agreements» (Paris agreements), stating that the United States of America recognizes the government of the Republic of Vietnam (Thieu's) as the only legal government of South Viet-

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nam and that it does not recognize to any foreign army the right to remain on the territory of South Vietnam, although it is well known that the only foreign armies in that country are the aggressive armies of the United States and its allies. At the same time Agnew demagogically said: «We shall do everything required by the agreements».

And the article further says: If all these Agnew's statements and actions are closely connected with his visits to Pnom Penh, Bangkok and Vientiane, with the tête-à-tête talks with the traitorous and reactionary cliques of these countries and with his statements during this tour, in which there was fully

confirmed the «loyalty» of the United States towards them and concrete pledges were assumed to help them politically, economically and militarily, the article further says, the fiendish aims hidden behind this trip come still more clearly to the fore.»

The newspaper writes in conclusion:

«Everything tells about the fact that the policy of the United States of America remains consistently reactionary and deeply aggressive and expansionist. Everything speaks of the perfidious nature of U.S. imperialism. But there is no doubt whatever that the heroic Vietnamese people who by their courageous and legendary strug-

gle inflicted a heavy defeat on U.S. imperialism and reaped a great victory, in the future too, with their determination, vigilance, courage and unconquered valiance will smash out all the tricks, conspiracies and aggressive plans of the United States and its tools. Likewise, all the other peoples of Indochina and South East Asia that have suffered or are suffering from the U.S. aggression or neocolonialism and who now see Nixon's emissary, Agnew, passing by there as a herald of new misfortunes and plots, there is no doubt that they will know how to defeat all the intrigues and aggressive plans of the U.S. imperialists and their servants.»

ILLUSTRATIONS:

Pages 3,4 ATSH; 6, 8, 16, 17, 18, 26, 29, 32, 35 Meksi Xhufka; 10 Pandi Cici; 12, 20, 21, Jorgo Manoli; 15 Niko Xhufka; 16 Sejfulla Nelaj; 40, Simon Xhillari.



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