

Albania today

POLITICAL AND INFORMATIVE REVIEW • TIRANA

Nr. 5, (12) 1973 • SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER

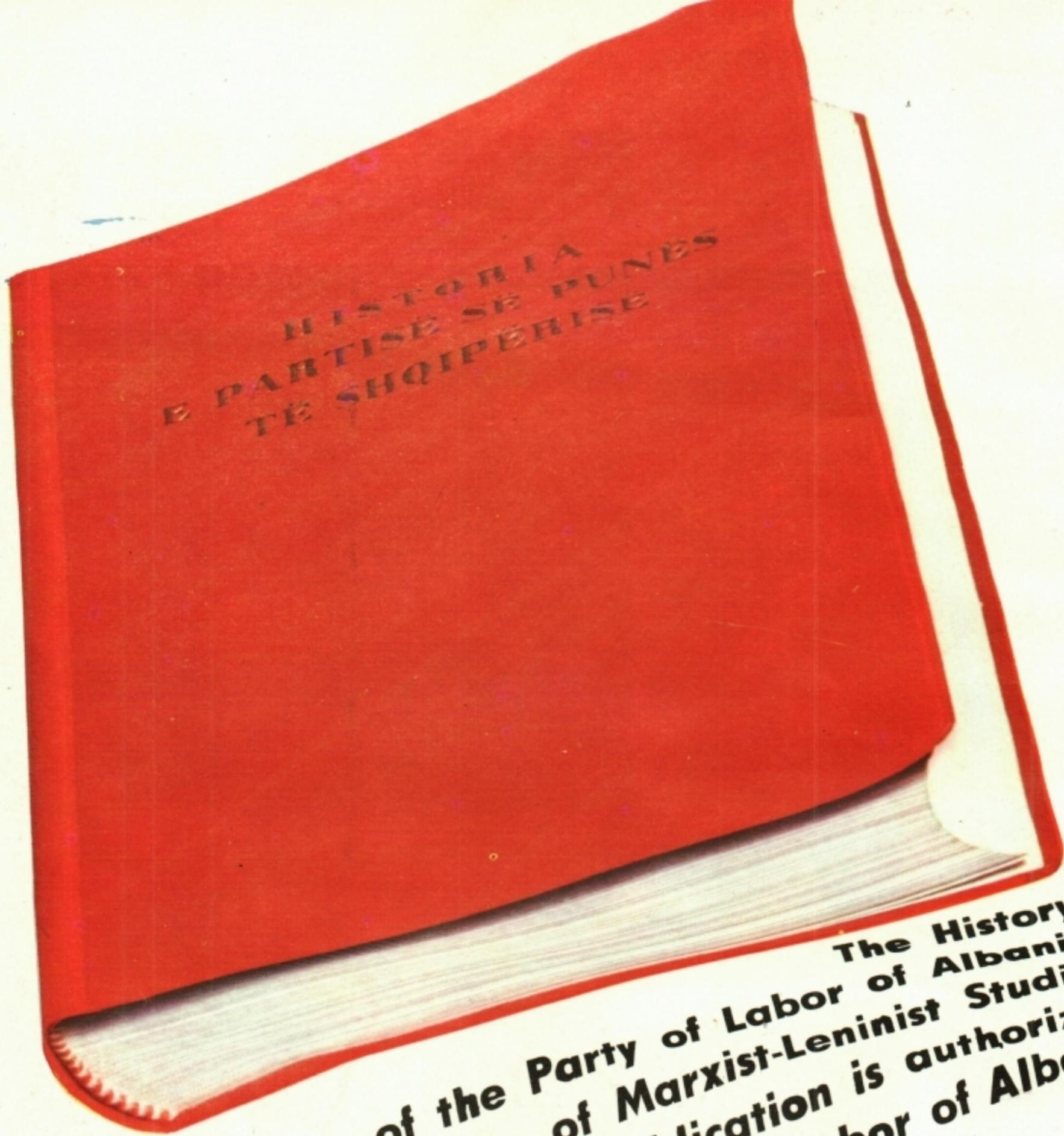
**Greetings to the 10th Congress
of the CP of China**

Democracy and socialism

Culture - property of the people

**Pacifist demagoguery
of the superpowers**

Against theoretical falsifications



**The History
of the Party of Labor of Albania
is prepared by the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies
and its publication is authorized
by the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania**

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BIBLIOTEKA KOMBETARE
TIRANE

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**On behalf of the CC of the PLA
Comrade Enver Hoxha greets com-
rade Mao Tsetung on the occa-
sion of the holding of the 10th
Congress of the C.P. of China**

**CC OF THE PLA
THE 10th CONG**

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA;
TO COMRADE MAO TSETUNG,

Peking

THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA AND THE ENTIRE ALBANIAN PEOPLE JOYFULLY RECEIVE THE NEWS ON THE HOLDING OF THE 10 CONGRESS OF THE GLORIOUS, FRATERNAL COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA. IN THE NAME OF THE COMMUNISTS AND OF ALL THE WORKING PEOPLE OF SOCIALIST ALBANIA, THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA, ON THIS OCCASION, EXTENDS TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA, TO THE 28TH MILLION CHINESE COMMUNISTS AND THE FRATERNAL CHINESE PEOPLE, BEST WISHES AND THE MOST FERVENT FEELINGS OF SOLIDARITY.

The Central Committee of the PLA extends the most cordial revolutionary greetings to the great Marxist-Leninist, comrade Mao Tsetung, on the occasion of his re-election as chairman of the Communist Party of China and wishes him as long a life as our mountains. The Central Committee of the PLA also extends its fraternal greetings to the new Central Committee of Communist Party of China, elected at the 10th Congress and composed of unflinching revolutionaries of three generations, loyal to the great cause of Marxism-Leninism and communism, to the line and ideas of chairman Mao Tsetung.

Your 10th Congress, a Congress of unity and victory, constitutes an outstanding event in the life of the Communist Party of China and of the international communist movement. It marks a new victory for the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line of Chairman Mao Tsetung, for the cause of revolution and socialism in China and the whole world.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, launched and led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung in person, which was crowned with the 9th Congress of the Communist Party of China, smashed the revisionist line of the treacherous Liu Shao Chi group, defended and strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat in China. Under the direct leadership of Chairman Mao Tsetung, the Communist Party of China also discovered and smashed the dangerous counterrevolutionary plot of the anti-party clique of Lin Biao, of this bourgeois careerist, conspirator, double dealer,

renegade and traitor. And now the Chinese communists and the fraternal Chinese people, armed with the teachings of comrade Mao Tsetung and with the experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, have gone to the 10th Party Congress with new magnificent victories in every field of socialist construction and of the defence of the country.

The People's Republic of China, a powerful socialist state with great international prestige and a great role, is making great progress in increasing the production of socialist industry and agriculture, in developing proletarian culture, advanced science and technology, in educating and tempering the new man. It has greatly increased its defence potential and also possesses nuclear weapons, which in its hands, are a safeguard for the peoples, and has prepared the whole country to resolutely meet and completely smash any aggression by the enemy. The fraternal Chinese people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, implementing the teachings of Chairman Mao Tsetung, are successfully and resolutely continuing the class struggle, the movement of struggle-criticism, transformation in the superstructure, the movement to study Marxism-Leninism and to criticize revisionism and the bourgeois world outlook, as well as the movements to improve the style of work, to promote production and prepare for the possibility of war. Thus, they are incessantly deepening the socialist revolution in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to further strengthen it.

Joyfully hailing these great victories, which at the same time are our victories and victories for the whole of progressive mankind, our party and people express the unflinching conviction that the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of China, which held its proceedings guided by the ideas and under the direct leadership of comrade Mao Tsetung, will open new brilliant prospects to the socialist construction and all-round strengthening of People's China.

The Albanian communists and the entire Albanian people, like all the genuine Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries in the world, see the great People's Republic of China as an impregnable fortress of socialism, a determined fighter against world imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, and against modern revisionism led by the Soviet social imperialist clique. In the face of the global counterrevolutionary strategy of both imperialist superpowers to divide and dominate the world, in face of their dangerous plots to quench the revolutionary and liber-

GREETINGS FROM THE CP OF CHINA

struggles of the peoples, in face of their policy of aggression, war and nuclear blackmail to subjugate and intimidate the freedom-loving peoples, the People's Republic of China stands invincible and smashes their criminal plans to smithereens.

People's China and the Communist Party of China are waging an indomitable struggle of historic importance against the sworn enemy of Marxism-Leninism, socialism and the peoples - Soviet social-imperialist revisionism, against its counterrevolutionary aims to undermine the cause of socialism and to enslave countries and their people. At the same time, they are taking every measure to smash any surprise attack by social-imperialism against the People's Republic of China. In this struggle against our enemies - the Soviet social-imperialist renegades - the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people will always be united as one, through to complete victory, with the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people.

The boundless loyalty of the Communist Party of China and of the People's Republic of China to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the constant and unflinching struggle they are waging against imperialism and modern revisionism, their determined support for the revolutionary and liberation struggles on all continents, are great factors in the present international situation and a powerful encouragement to all the revolutionaries and freedom-loving people everywhere in the world. The brilliant victories the fraternal Chinese people have achieved under the leadership of the Communist Party of China in the revolution, in socialist construction and in the international arena, are a vivid embodiment of the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the great and experienced revolutionary leader, comrade Mao Tsetung. Mao Tsetung has a powerful image in the world, as a beloved leader and teacher of the Communist Party of China and of the great Chinese people, as an outstanding theoretician of Marxism-Leninism, which he has creatively developed and enriched, as a great revolutionary strategist and staunch fighter against imperialism and revisionism. The Party of Labour of Albania, the Albanian communists and the entire Albanian people consider comrade Mao Tsetung a bosom friend and extend to him their warmest greetings, wishing him good health and a long life for the good of our common cause.

Between the Party of Labor of Albania and the Communist Party of China, between our two people and countries, there is a fraternal and sincere revolutionary friendship, close collabo-

ration in all fields and granite-like unity, which will continue to withstand all tests, and which grow and strengthen with every passing day. They are based on the firm foundations of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, on the joint struggle against common enemies - the imperialists and the revisionist renegades of every hue, in defence of Marxism-Leninism, for the victory of socialism and communism. Our party and people closely guard the friendship, collaboration and internationalist fraternal unity with glorious Communist Party of China and with the great Chinese people and consolidate them with every passing day, because they are a great source of strength and inspiration to us in our struggle, and an important factor for the unity of the whole international Marxist-Leninist movement. Our two parties and peoples, united closer than ever, are marching on the correct road and, as comrade Mao Tsetung has said, whatever happens in the world, they will surely stand together, fight together and win together.

Inspired by these ardent feelings of militant unity, the Albanian people and the Party of Labor of Albania, on the occasion of the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of China, wish their comrades-in-arms the great heroic Chinese people and the glorious Communist Party of China, new, still greater victories, under the farsighted leadership of the great Marxist-Leninist of our time, Chairman Mao Tsetung, in the construction of socialism and in the all-round strengthening of the People's Republic of China.

Long live the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of China.

Long live the great Marxist-Leninist and most beloved friend of the Albanian people, Chairman Mao Tsetung.

Long live the invincible internationalist friendship and unity between the two fraternal parties and peoples of China and Albania.

Glory to triumphant Marxism-Leninism.

On behalf of the CC of the PLA

First Secretary:

ENVER HOXHA

DEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIP IN SOCIALISM

Socialist democracy and proletarian dictatorship as two undeniable aspects of the socialist state. Bourgeois-revisionist democracy

and socialist democracy - diametrically opposed system. Freedom of the individual and discipline, persuasion and compulsion in socialism.

THE PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY HAVE CONTINUALLY BEEN AT THE CENTRE OF ATTENTION OF OUR PARTY. THEY ARE OF PARTICULARLY GREAT IMPORTANCE AT THE PRESENT STAGE OF THE REVOLUTION AND OF OUR SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION.

These questions mainly deal with the understanding and implementation of some essential rules and relations of our society and state, such as the relation between socialist democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat, between democracy and centralism, between the rights of the working people and their duties, freedom and discipline in all the main fields of social life, the combination of the method of persuasion with that of compulsion etc.

Necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its relation with socialist democracy

The question of the relation between the proletarian dictatorship and demo-

AGIM POPA - professor, specialist in problems of Marxist philosophy.

cracy is a great question of principle, as well as an acute current political question.

This question has always been one of the main aspects of the clash between the proletarian ideology and the bourgeois ideology, and of the political struggle between two opposing systems - socialist and capitalist. Even today bourgeois propaganda spreads the theories of "pure democracy", "supra-class democracy", and "democracy for all". On one hand it loudly proclaims the bourgeois order to be an order of democracy and allround freedoms; which allegedly serves all classes equally, while on the other, it continues to furiously attack the dictatorship of the proletariat, alleging that it is a denial of democracy and the freedom of the individual, an "oppressive regime". Marxism-Leninism has proved that it is an absurd and a great deception to speak of democracy or of dictatorship "in general", as "supra-class" or "above class", that it is not possible to

speak of "pure democracy" as long as different classes exist, but only of class democracy. The question must always be raised: Dictatorship of which class against which class? Democracy for whom?

There can be no "pure", "supra-class" or democracy "for all" in socialism either. In comparison with the capitalist society, democracy in socialism, while always remaining class democracy, undergoes a complete inversion: For the first time it becomes democracy for the working majority against the exploiting minority and various enemies of the socialist order, who are excluded from democracy and deprived of any freedom enabling them to fight and undermine the socialist order. The question of the relation between the dictatorship of the proletariat and democracy has been and remains one of the pivots of the historic polemics between Marxism-Leninism and opportunism and revisionism. Let us recall Lenin's fierce polemics with Kautsky and with the other renegade chieftains of the second International concerning socialist democracy, or the polemics between the Marxist-Leninists and the Khrushchevite modern revisionists and others about the

external and internal enemies of Albania and of our socialist order is to undermine and strike at our proletarian dictatorship, using every possible means to encourage its liberalisation, allegedly in the name of democracy and freedom, as a first step to weakening and then completely liquidating it. To this end they exert allround pressure - political, economic, military, diplomatic, ideological and psychological, on our country. «The bourgeoisie, reaction, the imperialists and the revisionists, - comrade Enver Hoxha says, - are labelling our home and foreign policies with a thousand epithets: «Stalinist», «iron curtain», «cold war, conservative, destroyer of religion and of longstanding traditions, etc». Highly praising the counter-revolutionary reversal and restoration of capitalism in the revisionist countries, they speak of «the triumph of socialism with a human face», with the aim of diverting our party and our country on to this path. Historical experience shows that the problem of socialist democracy and of its relation with the dictatorship of the proletariat must always be viewed in close connection with the class struggle.

The entire historical period separating the old (capitalist or feudal-bourgeois) society from the classless communist society is a period of uninterrupted class struggle in all fields of social life. This is, in essence, a struggle between the two roads - socialist and capitalist, on the question of «who will win». During this entire period the danger of the restoration of capitalism in one form or another continues to exist.

The fact that about 30 years have elapsed since the time of the establishment of the people's power and that the position of our proletarian dictatorship is very strong, at a time when the enemies of socialism in our country are very weak, in no way indicates that the class enemy has given up hopes and efforts to regain power. Nor do we imagine that, after almost 30 years of failure of the efforts of the external enemies to liquidate our socialist order through force and plots, that this objective has been abandoned. Nor do we allow ourselves to be deceived by their present tactics of smiles and «peaceful» rapprochement.

The socialist order is also threatened by the danger of peaceful degeneration or of «peaceful counterrevolution», under the influence of the pressure of bourgeois ideology and of the elements of petty-bourgeois spontaneity in the country and the

pressure of imperialism, of the capitalist and revisionist world from abroad (as was the case in the Soviet Union and in some other former socialist countries which took the road of capitalist restoration).

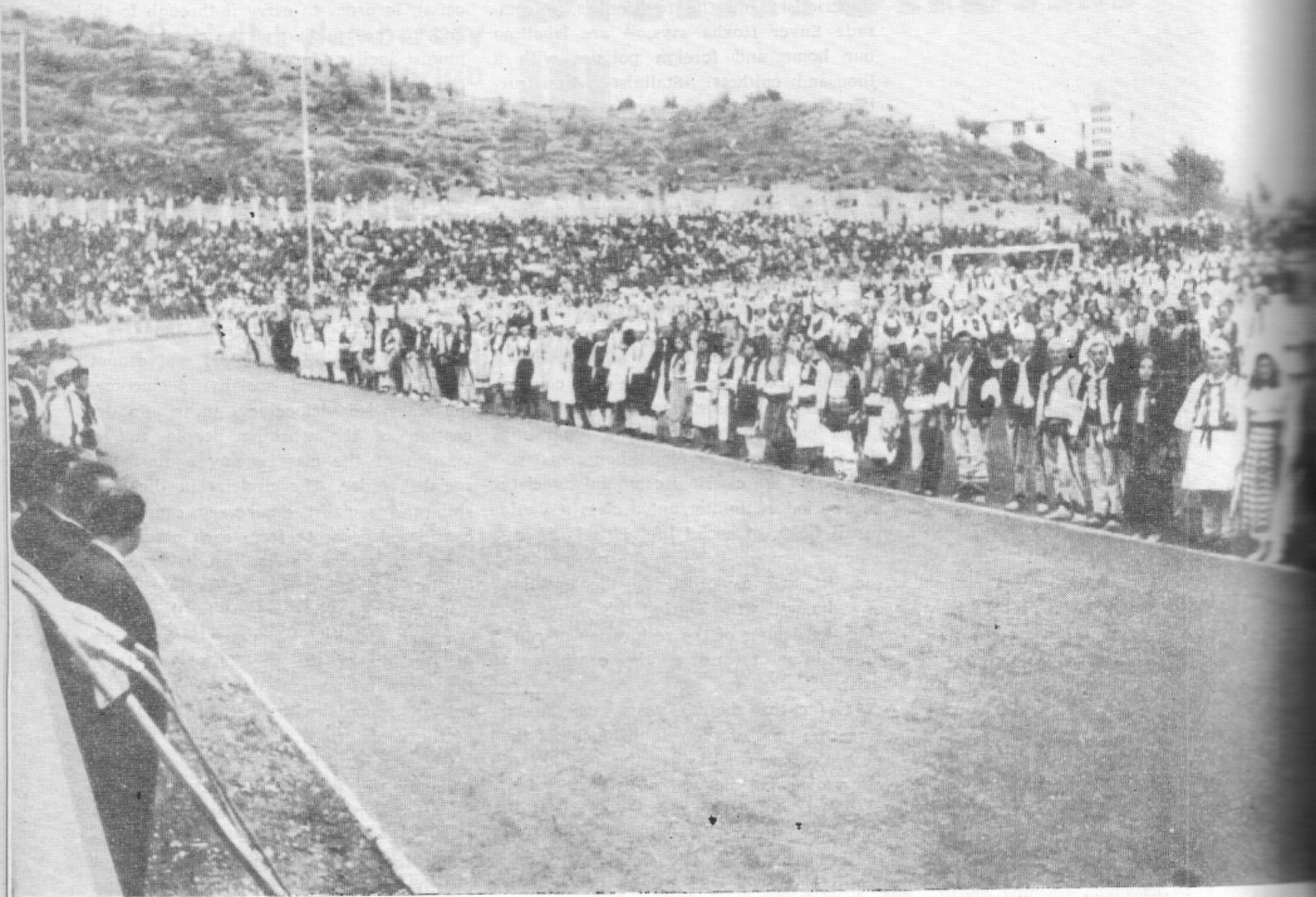
These dangers are in no way imaginary and theoretical, but real and active. To avert these dangers, to prevent these possibilities becoming reality, the steel-like dictatorship of the proletariat is indispensable, as the weapon of the socialist revolution (which begins solely with the seizure of state power by the working class), in order to carry it through to the end, to the building of the classless communist society; in other words, to ensure the complete and final victory of the socialist road over the capitalist road in the class struggle.

Socialist democracy, as an indispensable aspect of the dictatorship of the proletariat, must be viewed within these limits, in the framework of this class struggle to ensure the complete and final victory of the socialist road over the capitalist one, in the service of this struggle. Outside this framework and in opposition to this general fundamental objective, one cannot speak of any real socialist democracy, for otherwise «democracy» turns into deception of the working people and a weapon of the class enemy against the socialist order. The proletarian dictatorship and socialist democracy cannot be considered separate from each other, but should be seen as a single indivisible entity. As pointed out by comrade Enver Hoxha at the 6th Congress of the Party, «without socialist democracy there is no dictatorship of the proletariat, just as there can be no real democracy for the working people without the dictatorship of the proletariat».

On one hand, socialist democracy necessarily presupposes the dictatorship of the proletariat. Historical experience has shown that there can be no real democracy for the working people, without overthrowing the power of the exploiting classes, destroying the old state machine to its foundations, and establishing the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which suppresses any attempt at restoration made by the enemies of socialism and, at the same time is organized in such a way as to provide the labouring masses with all possibilities of taking an effective part in running the country; there can be no real democracy without liquidating the exploiting relations through the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and replacing them with socialist relations in

evaluation of Stalin and his work, which in essence have to do with the stand towards the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist democracy. The position of the Khrushchevite revisionists is essentially the same as that of the bourgeois ideologists. They speak of the transformation of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a «state of the entire people» and they present this as allegedly an extension of socialist democracy. In other words, the logic of the revisionists argues that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a limitation of socialist democracy, and the liquidation of the proletarian dictatorship an indispensable condition for the development and extension of democracy! Thus the proletarian dictatorship and democracy are brought into opposition to one another. These revisionist preachings aim at slandering the dictatorship of the proletariat, and concealing the real state of affairs in the Soviet Union under revisionist rule.

The question of the relation between the proletarian dictatorship and socialist democracy is not an academic discussion, but the object of a sharp political struggle which is very relevant



The photograph captures a significant public gathering, likely a protest or a large-scale demonstration. The participants, many dressed in white, are organized into a long, dense line that stretches across the width of the road and recedes into the distance. The setting is an open, paved area, possibly a wide street or a public square, with a hillside and buildings visible in the background. In the immediate foreground, a person is seen from the side, holding a long pole or stick, which may be part of the demonstration or a crowd-control measure. The overall atmosphere suggests a large-scale event of public importance.

A FOLKLORISTIC national festival was held in Gjirokastra from October 6 to 12. Folkloristic groups from all the parts of Albania took part in it. The festival was a live demonstration of the creative talent of our people in the field of the folk songs and dances on the sound national background.



all fields; without ensuring the state leadership of all the working people by the working class and its revolutionary vanguard - the Marxist-Leninist party, in the struggle for the complete triumph of the socialist road over the capitalist road through life and death class battles against all the forces, traditions and influences of the old society and of the capitalist and revisionist world surrounding us.

On the other hand, just as it is not possible to speak of socialist democracy without the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is not possible to speak of the dictatorship of the proletariat without socialist democracy. This is connected, above all, with the class character of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a state of the working class, in alliance with all the working people, a state of the overwhelming majority against the exploiting minority. In other words, without democracy for the working masses the very dictatorship of the proletariat loses its meaning.

Moreover, without consistently developing socialist democracy, the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be maintained and strengthened. «Our Party, — comrade Enver Hoxha stresses, — has never regarded socialist democracy from an empty, sentimental viewpoint, nor as a vain decoration, nor merely as a formal right of the working people», on the contrary it considers it as «a necessary and decisive condition for the existence, preservation and constant strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat». The strength of the proletarian state consists precisely in its close connections with the broad masses of the people, in the powerful support given to it by the working class and the other labouring masses. This is best confirmed by the historical experience of the proletarian dictatorship in our country. The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat here was able to successfully resist all the counterrevolutionary attempts to topple it, because the masses of the people took an active part in the struggle against enemy organisations and armed bands of diversionists, etc. Our country successfully resisted the hostile imperialist-revisionist blockades, firmly advancing on the road of socialism, because of its consistent application of the mass line, which was an expression of socialist democracy in action, and further steeled the unity of the people around the party and our proletarian state. Here bureaucracy has

been unable to take root and lead to the degeneration of the proletarian state, for in the struggle against it the party has successfully used the weapon of democracy, mobilizing the broad masses of the people.

Making the cause of the defence of the socialist homeland and of the socialist social and state order the cause of the entire people, and in conformity with this, ensuring the military training and arming of the entire people, which constitutes one of the most essential and vital aspects of effective socialist democracy, are the main guarantees of the growth and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat here. This is why the 6th Congress of the Party pointed out that the general road to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the entire socialist order, is the development of mass democracy. For this reason the continuous and consistent development of socialist democracy has always been a firm line of our Party.

The maintenance, strengthening and development of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a democratic state of the broad working masses with the working class at the head, cannot be conceived without the indivisible leadership of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class — the Marxist-Leninist proletarian party. We oppose the assertions of the modern revisionists, that the leading role of the proletarian party in the socialist state excludes socialist democracy, with the Marxist-Leninist thesis, fully confirmed by long historical experience, that leadership by the proletarian party is a decisive condition and one of the main guarantees for the very existence of socialist democracy. And contrary, to what the revisionists allege, the denial of the leadership of the proletarian party leads to undermining the leading role of the working class, to the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to the anarchist degeneration of socialist democracy itself.

The fact that in our country the dictatorship of the proletariat has always stood firm, and socialist democracy has been incessantly deepened and improved from one stage to another, is due above all to the fact that our Party of Labour has most consistently and creatively upheld the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism, and the leadership of the party here has always been at the necessary level in all fields of life.

Socalled bourgeois and revisionist «democracy» - a great deception

Corresponding to the rule of two opposing classes - the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, are two diametrically opposed systems of government. On the one hand we have the system of bourgeois «democracy» which constitutes the most sophisticated form of the exercise of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the working class and the other working strata, one of the greatest deceptions for the popular masses. As Lenin has said, «bourgeois democracy, although a great historical advance in comparison with medievalism, always remains, and under capitalism is bound to remain, restricted, truncated, false and hypocritical, a paradise for the rich, and a snare and deception for the exploited, for the poor» («Proletarian revolution and the renegade Kautsky». Collected works, vol. 28, p. 243).

On the other hand we have proletarian or socialist democracy, the only true democracy for the broad strata of the working people. Lenin pointed out that the state of the working class is one million times more democratic than the «most democratic» bourgeois republic.

The radical difference between bourgeois «democracy» and socialist democracy is clearly seen in many ways.

First, socalled bourgeois democracy is «democracy» based on the relations of exploitation of man by man, «democracy» which allows the capitalist to bleed the worker white, «democracy» which serves the maintenance of these relations of exploitation of the working majority by the bourgeois minority. And, as Lenin pointed out, there can be no equality between the exploited and the exploiters. «The exploiters - he wrote - inevitably transform the state (and we are speaking of democracy, i.e., one of the forms of the state) into an instrument of the rule of their class, the exploiters, over the exploited. Hence, as long as there are exploiters who rule the majority, the exploited, the democratic state must inevitably be democracy for the exploiters», (Collected works, vol. 28, p. 250.)

In our country the working people have been freed once and for all from any exploitation and this constitutes the basis of the foundations of real democracy for the broad masses of the people. This is a democracy which severely prohibits

anyone from exploiting others, and which serves the maintenance of the socialist relations of equality and social cooperation between the working people.

Moreover, in our socialist society a great persistent struggle is taking place to narrow and gradually eliminate other social inequalities, inherited from the exploiting societies, such as those between men and women (the struggle for the complete emancipation of women), between manual and mental work, between the town and the countryside, etc., which are also important expressions of the development of socialist democracy.

Second, bourgeois «democracy», as a form of the exploiting state, is based on the bureaucratic system of government, on a system which keeps the labouring masses as far as possible from the effective levers of the exercise of power (even in the most democratic bourgeois republics actual power is in the hands of the class of the bourgeoisie which exercises this power through the stratum of bureaucrats in its service, while the broad masses of the working people are divided from it by an insurmountable gap).

In fact it is not the socalled «representative organs» such as parliament that determine policy and exercise actual power (Lenin calls them «talking-shops»), but it is the bureaucratic apparatuses, fully controlled by the bourgeoisie. Bourgeois parliamentarism is one of the greatest deceptions by which the bourgeoisie preserves power intact in its own hands, at the same time creating the false impression of the participation of the working masses in government. As Lenin puts it, «the bourgeois parliaments are institutions alien to them, (alien to the working people- AP), instruments for the oppression of the workers by the bourgeoisie, institutions of a hostile class, of the exploiting minority» (Collected works, vol. 28, p. 247).

In our socialist society the situation is quite the contrary. The establishment of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat means the fundamental destruction of the bureaucratic system of government, characteristic of every exploiting state, and an organization of the state (the councils system) that makes it possible for the broadest masses of the working people to take effective part in running the country. This constitutes the radical difference between the state organisation of the socialist state and those of the exploiting states. Thus,

our state is profoundly democratic, not only in its class nature (state of the working class in alliance with all the working people), but also in the form of organization. The struggle against bureaucracy in our socialist society is not a struggle against a bureaucratic system of government, which does not exist here, but a struggle against bureaucratic distortions, a departure from the democratic nature of our state.

The profoundly democratic foundation of our state organization is expressed in all fields. It includes the implementation and continuous improvement of representative democracy (strengthening the role of the organs elected directly by the people, and placing the executive and administrative organs in effective dependence on them, the extension of the competence of the grassroot organs and the increase of their initiatives and self-motivation, etc.); the continuous development and deepening of the direct participation of the broad masses of the people in governing the country (through the systematic implementation of the method of consulting the masses on adopting and implementing decisions, and proving their correctness in practice, through the regular rendering of account before the masses by the administrative organs, and by the leading cadres at every level, through the exercise of control from below, above all through direct worker control over everyone and everything); the continuous increase of the role of the social organisations as tribunes of the voice of the masses, of their revolutionary self-motivation and direct control, etc.

Third, Socalled bourgeois democracy is entirely formal for the working majority because the working people have no practical material possibility to benefit from the democratic rights and freedoms proclaimed in the bourgeois constitutions (freedom of speech, of the press, of meeting, equal right to education, etc., etc.), or the benefit is so minimal that it does not endanger the rule of the bourgeoisie. Moreover, as Lenin said, «even in the most democratic bourgeois state the oppressed people at every step encounter the crying contradiction between the formal equality proclaimed by the «democracy» of the capitalists, and the thousands of real limitations and subterfuges which turn the proletarians into wage slavers. (Collected works, vol. 28, p. 246).

But, in our country democratic rights and freedoms are not only firmly guaran-

ted by law, but the necessary social and material conditions have also been created for the working people to **actually** enjoy them.

And this is the main thing. This is one of the essential differences between socialist democracy and the false bourgeois democracy. As Lenin pointed out: "... Proletarian democracy... has transferred the centre of gravity away from the declaration of rights and liberties for the entire people to the actual participation of none but the working people who were oppressed and exploited by capital, in the administration of the state, the actual use of the best buildings and other premises for meetings and congresses, the best printing works and the biggest warehouses (stocks) of paper for the education of those who were stultified and downtrodden under capitalism and to providing a real (actual) opportunity for those masses gradually to free themselves from the burden of religious prejudices etc. etc." (Draft Programme of the R.C.P. (B.), Collected Work, vol. 29, p. 109-110).

Now all the efforts of our party and state aim on the one hand, to make all the working people conscious in order to fully use their democratic rights and freedoms and on the other, to create the most favourable conditions to deepen these democratic rights and freedoms (ever better conditions are, for example, being created for the working people to benefit most extensively from the right to work in the job of their choice, etc., of course in conformity with the needs of socialist construction).

Fourth, even that incomplete democracy which the bourgeoisie allows the working people, is unstable and uncertain, for as soon as the bourgeoisie sees that it endangers its rule even slightly, it uses open violence (through the army, police, etc.) to eliminate the bourgeois democratic freedoms and institutions (such as the parliament,) and replaces them with open fascist-type dictatorships. "There is not a single state, however democratic, - Lenin wrote, - which has no loopholes or reservations in its constitution guaranteeing the bourgeoisie the possibility of dispatching troops against the workers, of proclaiming martial law and so forth, in case of a "violation of public order" and actually in case the exploited class "violates its position of slavery and tries to behave in a non-slavish manner. (Collected works, vol. 28, p. 244). Here in our coun-

try quite the opposite occurs because our Party consistently pursues the line of military training and arming the entire people. This constitutes one of the most important expressions of socialist democracy and the surest guarantee that nobody can impose on the masses of the people by means of violence and deprive them of their democratic rights and freedoms.

Fifth, There can be no real democracy and freedom for the working people in the capitalist society where the bourgeoisie, with its numerous and powerful means of ideological influence (such as the mass media, the bourgeois education system, culture and art, religion, the spreading of opportunist and pseudo-socialist trends spiritually enslaves the working people, strives to corrupt them in order to sidetrack them from revolutionary ideals and struggle, from the struggle to defend their real interests; and the more «democratic» the bourgeois society is in a particular country, the more sophisticated are the methods of the bourgeoisie to enslave the minds of the working people.

In our socialist country one of the most important aspects of democracy is the gradual liberation of the consciousness of the working people from the burden of the prejudices and poisonous influences of the ideology of the exploiting societies, instilling in all the working people the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and the socialist consciousness, which is the scientific expression of their vital interests.

The liberation of the consciousness of the working people from the ideology of the exploiting societies, such as religious dogmas and prejudices, from the old customs of the canon or from the idealistic world outlook, is in no way «violation of the freedom of conscience» as the reactionary propaganda of the bourgeoisie, the Vatican or revisionist propaganda strives to present the matter, but an indispensable condition for a really free consciousness of the working people for the effective development of socialist democracy. As comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 6th Congress of the Party, «the socialist revolution, during its triumphant march, cannot fail to cut off and eradicate, when all the objective and subjective conditions are ripe, all those strings which keep the masses tied to the old world and which hinder them from advancing».

Alongside the sham bourgeois «democracy», the Party of Labour of Albania has also exposed the dangerous revisionist speculations on the slogan of democracy.

On the one hand, it has rejected the liberal-anarchist preachings of the Yugoslav revisionists and their supporters, who oppose socialist democracy to proletarian centralism, which they equate with bureaucracy. In their opinion, the centralized leadership of the economy and of the whole life of society by the proletarian party and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat allegedly excludes democracy for the working masses, does not allow the real participation of the working people in running the country and places them under a new bureaucratic yoke. In opposition to the socialist system based on democratic centralism, they advocate a system in which the role of the party is reduced solely to a certain «ideological influence», where the state gives up the management of the economy and where the socialist state ownership is allegedly replaced with the «direct ownership of the working people themselves» of the means of production. The revisionist propaganda recommends as a model of such a «truly socialist» system the Yugoslav system of so-called producers «self-administration». But it has been proved in theory and practice that the implementation of such preachings of the revisionists inevitably leads to opening the doors to the free operation of the laws of capitalism, to the undermining of socialism, to the division of the working class, to the elimination of its leading role and to the loss of proletarian state power. The spreading of the liberal-anarchist trend, advocated by the present-day revisionists who capitalize on the slogans of democracy, in reality has nothing in common with proletarian democracy; on the contrary, it is nothing but a manoeuvre that serves to conceal the liquidation of proletarian democracy and the restoration of the bourgeois dictatorship in one form or another.

Equally demagogical and deceptive are the theories of the Khrushchevite revisionists on the so-called «state and party of the entire people» which they allege to be a further development of socialist democracy. In fact, the Soviet revisionist clique together with the «superseding» of the dictatorship of the proletariat has also

liquidated socialist democracy at the foundations. It has transformed democratic centralism into bureaucratic centralism, as a weapon of the rule of the new bourgeois class over the broad working masses.

In the Soviet Union and in other countries under revisionist domination it is not possible to speak of true democracy for the working people, because the party in power, which controls the state and the entire life of the country in a centralized manner, has ceased being a proletarian party and pursues an anti-proletarian foreign and home policy in the service of the new bourgeoisie and of its rule over the working people. There one cannot speak of socialist democracy because the working class and all the working people have been placed in the position of a mere productive force mechanically implementing the orders of the bureaucratic apparatuses from above. They are kept away from the effective levers of the exercise of power, of decision-making and deciding policy; they are deprived of the right of control over the bureaucrats and apparatuses, in other words they are excluded from effective direct participation in running the country. The replacement of democratic centralism with bureaucratic centralism, the raising of bureaucracy to a system is precisely that foundation which allows the privileged strata of the bureaucrats and technocrats, the worker aristocracy, the bourgeoisified intelligentsia and the military caste, which constitute the new bourgeois class, to exploit the work of the working people and to exercise their rule over them. Facts show that Soviet society is today under the heavy yoke of bureaucracy, that bureaucratic-state capitalism is a specific form of the rule of the new bourgeois class and of the restoration of capitalism in the revisionist countries. This essentially excludes socialist democracy.

Thus, the preachings and practices of the revisionists of the liberal-anarchist trend, and also those of the bureaucratic revisionists, although in appearance opposed to each other, have nothing in common with real socialist democracy and serve, in essence, the same counter-revolutionary end: the annihilation of the leading role of the working class, the degeneration and liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the socialist relations, the paving of the way to the restoration of capitalism.

Rights and duties, freedom and discipline in socialism

Guaranteeing the democratic rights and freedoms of the citizens, not only by law, but especially by ensuring the social and material conditions necessary for the broad masses of the working people to benefit from them in practice, constitutes, as we pointed out above, one of the most important aspects of socialist democracy, as well as one of its radical distinctions from sham formal bourgeois democracy.

But, just as they have democratic rights and freedoms, the working people at the same time also have duties towards the society and the proletarian state. These are two closely connected aspects. In our country, where the working people themselves, under the leadership of the working class and its party, have power in their own hands and are building socialism for themselves, the rights and duties of the citizens are essentially in harmony, just as individual interests, correctly understood, are in harmony with the social, collective interests.

In connection with this, our Party has always fought on two fronts, against two kinds of one-sided and incorrect stands: on the one hand, against the bureaucratic and rigid stands of some cadres and functionaries who do not take into consideration the rights and needs of the working people, adopt an arrogant stand and undertake arbitrary actions, stifle criticism, etc. It would not be realistic to think that these kinds of negative manifestations have come to an end and that the fight against them is no longer a problem.

On the other hand, in many cases we come across entirely wrong attitudes on the part of some working people who think that they have only rights and no duties at all; who raise their voice loudly when some right of theirs (or something which they think is their right) is infringed however slightly, whereas they elude their duties in a thousand and one ways. In other words, we have to do here with the tendency, which is entirely alien to the nature of the socialist relations and to communist morality, to take as much as possible from society, and give it as little as possible.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has called attention to this problem. In his speech «How must we understand and correctly

solve some questions of our socialist economy», delivered in February 1969, he says: «...When the working masses criticize and complain about shortages or poor quality of some products, they should understand that they themselves are responsible for this, that the culprits are among them, for in our socialist regime it is precisely the masses who produce and manage... But why are we so exacting as consumers, whereas when we are producers, when we work in the factory or in the field, we do not make the same demands of ourselves, and we do not strive persistently to ensure that every commodity that passes through our hands is produced quickly, while maintaining high quality and low costs? Every citizen should ask himself: Am I, and the collective where I work, in order?». The peasant, too, must ask the same question. The employee of the state, of the administration or the party worker, must analyse his own conscience... It must be made clear to everybody that when one makes demands on the society, on the state, one should first give, because where do we find the funds to ensure what is required in excess of the plan if the plan and pledges are not realized properly and to the extent required?» The Party teaches us that the dictatorship of the proletariat and its organs should rigorously defend the rights of the citizens, but at the same time it should ask everyone to carry out his tasks precisely, allowing nobody to demand his rights while neglecting his duties.

Carrying out duties with a high consciousness in our socialist society necessarily demands that everyone strictly implements proletarian discipline at work. This problem of discipline and of its relation to freedom in socialism is of great principled and practical importance. As Lenin said, dictatorship of the proletariat does not mean only overthrowing the old ruling classes, which has occurred in all revolutions, but it means at the same time the ensurance of order, discipline, labour productivity, accounting and control.

This iron, conscious proletarian discipline is indispensable in the socialist society, and particularly in the specific conditions of our country, for several fundamental reasons: to ensure the constant increase of labour productivity as the decisive material factor for the victory of the new socialist order over the old bourgeois order; to completely overcome

the backwardness inherited by our country from the past in the field of the productive forces and in attitudes to work; to curb and repel the pressure of the wave of petty bourgeois spontaneity and petty-bourgeois attitudes; to cope successfully with the hostile encirclement and the eventual imperialist-revisionist blockades.

However, in practice we come across attitudes in various working people, which testify to an incorrect, anarchist-petty-bourgeois understanding of democracy and freedom in socialism. Thus, there have been cases of violation, by many working people, of proletarian discipline at work, in production and study, as well as liberal stands towards these negative phenomena. There are cases of violation, by various working people and managers, of the discipline of the plan in regard to quantity, quality, time and range of products, of financial discipline and of scientific and technical discipline, etc.

Proceeding from this, the party sets as a primary task the establishment of strict discipline during work time and the determined eradication of petty-bourgeois concepts about joint work, and of liberal stands towards them bearing in mind Lenin's instruction that «we must learn to combine the «public meeting-democracy of the working people - turbulent surging, overflowing its banks like a spring flood - with iron discipline while at work, with unquestioning obedience to the will of a single person, of the soviet leader, while at work» (The immediate tasks of the Soviet Government. Collected works, vol. 27 p. 271).

Sound proletarian discipline is also required in implementing all aspects of the plan (such as quantity, quality, cost, range and production time). Here, too, we apply the principle of free democratic discussion of all features of the draft-plan, with the participation of all the working people, and after its approval strict discipline in its application without allowing any violations at all.

One of the most important aspects of proletarian discipline at work is the introduction everywhere of high standards of discipline in the scientific and technical fields. But in order to make the introduction of such discipline possible, it is necessary for the working people to seriously set themselves to study, using leisure time for this purpose, with sound proletarian discipline. But in this field

we still have many shortcomings. Comrade Enver Hoxha has more than once called attention to this. He says: "We must recognize that in our country we still study little, we do not make efforts to discover the best methods of study, we do not rationally utilize the time at our disposal or use the available means properly to get the maximum use from them. Many individuals think that, being under a socialist regime... they can go ahead with very little or no reading at all, being content with that limited knowledge which justifies them staying in their job and drawing their pay". The general conclusion is that we must not allow any kind of speculation on and abuse of socialist democracy and freedom which would weaken and violate iron proletarian discipline, particularly in the conditions of the hostile imperialist-revisionist encirclement in which our country finds itself.

But as Lenin pointed out, this must be conscious discipline, for only conscious discipline can be really steel-like and serve the unity of all the working people in the struggle to build socialism and communism. He saw in this one of the radical distinctions of the socialist order from the capitalist order, where discipline at work is based on hunger, or from the feudal order where the discipline of the whip ruled.

From this point of view, alongside the measures to strengthen discipline from above, parallel worker control and self-control play a decisive role in educating the working people in the spirit of conscious proletarian discipline.

In the present day conditions this should be one of the fundamental objectives of this self-control of the masses.

Socialist democracy and free creativity in the field of culture, science, literature and the arts

The implementation of socialist democracy necessarily includes, as one of its important aspects, free creativity and discussion in the field of culture, science, literature and the arts. Our Party has viewed this, in conformity with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, not only from the angle of ensuring the democratic rights and freedoms of the citizens in a truly socialist society, but also as

necessity and a decisive condition for the development of culture, scientific thought and artistic values and, alongside these, as a main way to solve the non-antagonistic contradictions which emerge in this sphere. But at the same time the Party fights and takes measures to ensure that free scientific, cultural and artistic discussion and creativity always develop in the spirit of socialism, relying on the proletarian world outlook, on the Marxist-Leninist science, so that they serve to strengthen socialism and not to undermine it.

One of the main objectives of the class enemy, particularly at the present stage and in the present-day conditions, is the encouragement of liberalism, under the pretext of «democracy» and «humanism», the weakening of our dictatorship of the proletariat in the sphere of spiritual life. The class enemy strives in the most diverse ways to alienate our men of culture, science and art from their class position and proletarian partisanship. It opposes socialist realism and partisanship in the realm of letters and art, allegedly on behalf of «free creativity»; it opposes guidance by the Marxist-Leninist proletarian world outlook in the field of science, encouraging formalism, technocracy and bourgeois objectivism in this field; it demands the mitigation of the ideological struggle against alien remnants in the consciousness of the working people - religion, backward customs, and petty-bourgeois attitudes, and encourages reconciliatory stands towards them. At the same time the class enemy exerts pressure on us to open the doors to the penetration and influences of alien ideology, to the imitation of the forms of bourgeois culture, allegedly on behalf of the new, of the modern.

The negative manifestations and phenomena that our Party has criticized, particularly in recent times, in some spheres of our cultural-artistic life, and liberal stands towards these phenomena testify, among other things, to a wrong understanding of the question of the relation between the freedom of conscience and of creativity, and the dictatorship of the proletariat, they testify on an incorrect liberal-anarchist understanding of socialist democracy.

The Party will continue to adopt measures to prevent alien manifestations in the ideological field, and will continue to severely criticize those who make mistakes or take a wrong line. And this in no way

means the violation of socialist democracy. Comrade Enver Hoxha says in connection with this: "... When we criticize the shortcomings noticed in the field of culture, there are people who, unable to abide criticism, call this «censorship». But will our Party, its leadership and the people allow all sorts of rubbish to come into the light? No, certainly not... Our state is a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and this has a broad meaning. The dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership of the working class, of the party, includes the field of culture, of course acting with specific methods and means, and taking into account the nature of the present contradictions in this field. Therefore we say to those who accuse us of «censorship»: If they act to violate the dictatorship of the proletariat, then the latter strikes at them».

The method of persuasion and compulsion in socialism

The Party forcefully raises today, as an acute problem, the question of correct relation between persuasion and compulsion in the fight to eradicate some alien manifestations and phenomena which are noticed in our social life.

The question arises: could it be that in forcefully stressing the necessity to fight against liberalism, and to strengthen proletarian discipline in all fields, the Party gives up the method of persuasion as the main method in relations with the masses? Absolutely not. The firm line maintained by our Party in the present circumstances is that the method of persuasion is the main method. Comrade Enver Hoxha says in connection with this: «We shall never give up the policy of persuasion and deep continuous political work with the people. First and foremost, we must work to educate our people ideologically, with the Marxist-Leninist theory of our Party. In no case do we abandon this road, which is the main, decisive one».

This is connected first of all with the fact that administrative measures serve mainly to liquidate external negative phenomena, but are not sufficient to eradicate the root of the evil, which is hidden in the alien concepts of people. These can be eradicated only through persistent persuasive work, to make the working people conscious of their interests, rights and duties in socialism.

The method of persuasion as a main method also stems from the fact that the struggle against negative phenomena is a struggle among the people, against alien influences in our men and women, in the working people themselves. The improper use of administrative measures is fraught with grave consequences for the socialist order, for it leads to the bureaucratization of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the deformation of its essence as state power of the working people themselves under the leadership of the working class, and it impairs the monolithic unity of the people around the party and the people's power.

But what does applying the method of persuasion mean?

On the one hand, it means the necessary explanation of every orientation and directive of the party, every duty laid down, every law regulation and order issued by the state, in order to convince everyone of their ideological and political correctness.

On the other hand, as Lenin and Stalin forcefully stressed, it requires that the masses should be given the possibility of becoming convinced, through their own practical experience, of the correctness of the line, directives and stands of the party, of the duties the state lays down, etc. However, this persuasion of the masses by actual experience should not be understood passively, but should be achieved through actively mobilizing the working people to fulfil the tasks laid down, so that through the lively struggle and efforts to carry them out their correctness may be proved in practice, and corrections made where necessary. But although the party considers the method of persuasion as the main one, this should not be absolutized and taken to extremes, and it should not be a cause for speculation. Facts show that there are still wrong and onesided liberal concepts on this question.

It is important to understand correctly that the method of persuasion in socialism by no means excludes compulsion. Here is what Stalin says in connection with this: «Leadership is ensured by the method of persuading the masses, as the principal method by which the party influences the masses. This however does not preclude, but presupposes, the use of coercion, if such coercion is based on the confidence and support of the majority of the working class for the party, if it is applied to the minority after the party has convinced the majority» (Stalin, On

the Problems of Lennism ch. V). It would be utopian to conceive socialist society without the use of compulsion. Why is this indispensable in socialism?

First, compulsion is indispensable in the class struggle to suppress the efforts of the overthrown exploiting classes or their remnants, as well as of the various anti-socialist elements, to restore their rule or to damage our socialist order. The proletarian dictatorship uses suppression and violence against such elements.

Second, Compulsion is still necessary in socialism even among the working people themselves. This is connected first of all, with the fact that in the historical period of socialism, up to communism traces of the exploiting societies remain. Marx pointed out that many economic, moral and mental aspects of the society still bear the seal of the old society from which it has emerged. What are these traces which necessitate the use of compulsion? Here are some of them:

As Marx and Lenin pointed out in the stage of socialism the habit of working without any kind of compulsion is not yet a rule for everybody, and only in communism will work become a prime vital necessity for all.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism point out that in socialism, where the principle of remuneration according to work is applied, compulsion is still necessary towards those people who violate this principle, striving to get from the society more than they give it and more than they are entitled to.

Another reason why compulsion is still necessary in socialism is that as yet not everybody here implements, without compulsion and without special organs of compulsion, the rules and norms of social coexistence, something which is completely achieved only in the conditions of the communist self-government of the working people, in other words, only in communism.

For countries with pronounced petty-bourgeois characteristics, in particular Lenin stressed the necessity of compulsion to curb the wave of petty-bourgeois influence. «This elements - he wrote - operates from within, and takes advantage of every manifestation of disintegration, of every weakness, in order to bribe, to increase indiscipline, laxity and chaos... And the fight against this element cannot be waged solely with the aid of propaganda and agitation, solely by organizing competition and by selecting organizers.

The struggle must also be waged by means of coercion. (Collected work, vol. 27, page 265-266).

In compliance with these teachings of Marxism-Leninism, our Party, alongside the method of persuasion which is the principal one, also resorts to the method of compulsion, but always, in every specific case, makes the distinction between enemies, whom it strikes at mercilessly, and working people who make mistakes. Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, we must never give up the policy of persuasion and explanation, but the dictatorship of the proletariat and our ideology do not allow us, in this fierce stage of the class struggle, in this capitalist encirclement, to employ only this form of education, toward those who break the laws, toward those who have no qualms about leaving work whenever they like or coming back when they like, since nobody asks them where they were, toward those who do only as much work as they feel like and still receive full pay or who damage collective socialist property and escape with nothing but a self-criticism».

It must be pointed out that the administrative and coercive measures used by our proletarian dictatorship towards those working people who violate our laws, or who do not carry out their duties, also have an educative effect. It is important, as we mentioned above, not to allow any kind of abuse and arbitrariness in the application of coercive measures, and they should always be accompanied with persistent work to persuade people.



CULTURE - PROPERTY OF THE ENTIRE PEOPLE

by THIMI TASE

In socialist Albania, special care has been devoted to our artistic and cultural heritage, to discovering the value of our ancient culture, to vigorously developing culture and transforming it into property of the entire people. The 4th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, which was held last June, dealt with the problems of deepening the ideological struggle against alien manifestations and against liberal stands towards them; it attached importance to the question of correctly appraising the progressive traditions and cultural heritage of the Albanian people, and of properly developing our national culture on a sound popular and socialist basis.

This article treats some aspects of the achievements in the field of culture



Pupils of the «Sami Frashëri» school

OVER THE CENTURIES, THROUGH CONTINUOUS EFFORTS AND STRUGGLES, THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE CREATED THEIR NATIONAL ART AND CULTURE, AN INVALUABLE TREASURE WHICH IS ZEALOUSLY PRESERVED AND ENRICHED GENERATION AFTER GENERATION. CONSIDERING ITS AREA, 28.778 KM², ALBANIA IS ONE OF THE RICHEST COUNTRIES OF EUROPE IN CULTURAL MONUMENTS. It boasts 8 important ancient cities, 75 fortresses, and several hundred dwelling houses, bridges and other characteristic constructions of great artistic value, which constitute a precious collec-

THIMI TASE: Journalist.



...ing the quality of the products they themselves have made at the production base of the school

tion of archaeological, architectural and historical monuments.

Further testimony to the ancient culture of the Albanian people is found in the great wealth of our ethnographic traditions. The numerous national costumes with their variety and tasteful decoration, the silk embroideries, the carpets and rugs with national motifs, the artistic silver filigree, work and pokerwork, the characteristic houses with their interesting architecture and with rooms full of ornamentation, including carved wood work on doors, windows, cupboards, tables and chimneys, the fine and noble virtues of the people such as their hospitality, their word of honour, their bravery and their traditional customs, bear witness to the

original talent and the artistic spirit which the Albanian people have cherished and preserved generation after generation. The Albanian people's art is very rich and is characterized by its great variety. Every region and indeed every village, has its own distinctive features. Today the department of ethnography, in the Institute of History and Linguistics, has a collection of 22,240 objects, including 8,440 photos and slides, 600 planimetries, maps and various drawings and 13,200 other exhibits.

Albania is an inexhaustible treasury of folklore, which shows the talent and genius of the Albanian people. The archives of the Institute of Folklore hold over 1 million verses, 7-8 thousand pages of prose, about 40,000 proverbs and 12,000

riddles, and about 10,000 tape recordings of homophonic, polyphonic, instrumental and dance melodies. Out of this wealth of material, 45 volumes, with a total of 12,000 pages, have been published.

This valuable, progressive art of our nation - as comrade Enver Hoxha has said - is an object of legitimate pride to us, it is our contribution to the treasury of progressive world culture. Thus, the Albanian people, like all other peoples, by developing their national art and culture, have contributed at the same time to enriching the treasury of world culture. Though small in number, they have nurtured a comparatively large number of men who, by their activity, have claimed distinction in the fields of art and cul-

ture, science, philosophy and literature. In the XIVth and XVth centuries Albania became the cradle of distinguished master builders. Architecture developed rapidly, as, parallel with it, did sculpture and painting. The fame of Albanian masters such as Progon Zguri, Pjetër Dahni, Sinan Orga, Koxha Kasem, Meremetci Mustafa Aga, Sedef Qar Mehmet and in particular Miho Tivarasi and Andrea Alekski went far beyond the borders of this country. They were in demand in every part of the Balkans and the Turkish empire, and they have left their indelible mark everywhere in houses, temples, bridges and fortresses.

The list of the Albanian artists and masters of this period is by no means confined to the names mentioned above. According to the Dalmatian historian, professor Gelecich, during the 14th century, from one region of North Albania alone, there emerged forty or more distinguished painters. A large number of works which are today considered Dalmatian, professor Gelecich points out, were treated by Albanian masters. This multitude of masters of art and culture do not spring out of nowhere, as an isolated phenomenon, but were born and trained on Albanian soil, which influenced the development of their talent, they were nourished by the ancient traditions of Albanian culture. The fact that there were not merely one or two but a whole pleiad, shows that we are dealing with a manysided flowering of the country's culture in that period.

With the occupation of the country by the Ottoman hordes the atmosphere that had favoured the development of national art and culture disappeared, many distinguished Albanian figures left their homeland and went to Dalmatia and Italy. From them emerged three generations of artists of Albanian origin who won renown in the «Golden period» of Venetian architecture and sculpture. Among them the «dynasty of the Albanesi Of Urbin» played a very important role in the intellectual, artistic and political life of Italy for more than two centuries. From generation to generation such famous sculptors and architects emerged from this family as Francesk Albanezi, his sons Gjon

and Jeronim and the nephew Francesk, who embellished Vicenza, Padova and Venice with their works.

In this period a whole pleiad of humanists carried out their immortal activity; they distinguished themselves at that time in various fields of literature and sciences in many cities and cultural centres of Europe. The works of Marin Barleti, Marin Becikemi, Gjon Gazulli, Levond Tomen, Maksim Artioti and others enriched the European culture and science of the time.

Among the outstanding figures of Albanian culture who made their contribution to the treasury of world culture were Jan Kukuzeli, a coryphaeus of Byzantine music; Sami Frashëri, one of the greatest Turkologists; the artist of genius who performed on many stages of the world, Aleksandër Moisiu; the writer, translator, historian and music critic, Fan Noli, and others.

The numerous invaders of our territory have continually tried to denigrate or eliminate the cultural traditions of the Albanian people, the national spirit of their art and culture. History has shown that this was one way in which they tried to implement their cultural aggression and to subjugate and assimilate the Albanians. For centuries on end they denied them everything, scorned their history, ignored their centuries-old and persistent struggle for freedom and independence. For centuries in succession Albania was denied not only its right of existence as an independent state, but as well the cultural level of the people was called into doubt. Bourgeois writers described Albania as an impenetrable mountainous oasis, inhabited by ignorant and savage tribes. This is why today the discovery of an Illyrian settlement for example is an event of great importance testifying to the spiritual revival of a people and to their determination to defend their history, just as the construction of a new hydropower station shows their resolve to defend their future.

The ancient walls of Albania's fortresses, amphitheatres and temples are not only wonderful to see, but they are also indictments of all the invaders who denied the Albanian people their connection with and contribution to the treasury of

human culture. In the present-day conditions the two superpowers have intensified their ideological pressure in order to interfere in the internal affairs of the small countries, to compel them to accept their dictate on international questions and to impose their way of thinking and living on other nations.

Today the bourgeois propaganda raises a hue and cry about the so-called «internationalisation» of culture and art, it prattles that «the stage of national schools has passed». This is aimed at opening the way for ideological diversion in order to destroy the culture of other peoples. Hence the struggle to preserve the national features of art and culture, to develop and enrich popular culture becomes even more imperative today.

Thus literature and art in the People's Republic of Albania has developed in struggle against alien ideological influences, old and new, conservative and modernist, preserving their national seal, expressing the consciousness of the Albanian people, and accurately reflecting the most important historical stages they have gone through, the heroic present, the same future.

In the years of the People's Power literature and art have kept pace with the development of the entire life of the country, with the deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution, thus making a large contribution to the strengthening and education of the new man, to the enhancement of our socialist culture. Art and culture in socialist Albania have developed on a national basis. The People's Power not only liberated the inexhaustible forces of the people's talent and genius from the chains of foreign invaders, but made national culture the property of the entire people.

Under Albanian law the monuments of culture in Albania are held in common by all the people. They are protected and preserved by the «Institute of Monuments of Culture», but their best protection is the broad working masses themselves who are aware of their value and importance.

The People's Power has attached special importance to collecting the ethnographic and folklore treasure and to placing it in the service of the working people. Ethno-

graphic museums have been set up not only in Tirana and other cities, but in many villages of the country too.

Considering folklore as something belonging to the entire people, a very large number of contributors from various professions are involved in work in this field. The collection, research and study of the people's creativeness are done in an organized and planned way.

The first step taken by the People's Power toward spreading art and culture as broadly as possible among the masses was to create the necessary material base. Before liberation there were very few cultural institutions in Albania, being only a few cinemas, two museums and five libraries throughout the whole country. Theatre, opera, acrobatic performances, variety shows, houses of culture, etc., were entirely unknown. The few institutions that did exist catered to a very small audience.

Since liberation a broad and unified system of cultural, artistic and educative institutions has been formed. In 1972 the number of cinemas, not including those in agricultural cooperatives, was 6.5 times greater than in 1938. In this period, for the first time, a series of professional artistic institutions were created, such as drama and puppet theatres, opera theatres, acrobatic and variety shows, etc. In 1972 there were 7 times as many such institutions as in 1950. Besides this, thousands of artistic collectives of art-lovers have been formed at work centres, villages, schools, units of the people's army and so on and they continually give performances for the public.

The professional artistic institutions and their artistic collectives, including the opera and ballet, go on tour not only to the cities, but also to villages, work centres, military units, hospitals, schools, etc. There are now 8.4 times more libraries than before liberation, not including the many libraries set up at every industrial enterprise, school and institution. The number of books in the people's libraries has increased over 89 times; they are available to every citizen free of charge. In Albania books are not read by intellectuals alone or confined to school environments; they have entered factories and

plants, agricultural cooperatives, city apartments and highland houses - the masses of the people have become avid readers. During the first 13 years of the People's Power (1945-1957) as many books were published in Albania as during the four centuries, between the first publication in the Albanian language in 1555, and 1944. Book circulation in comparison with the pre-war has increased 40 times. As a result today there are 4 books printed for every person in the country. The «Mihal Duri» printing establishment in Tirana prints 65 newspapers and reviews has increased almost 20.5 times and 9.8 times respectively over that of 1938. Today they are distributed to the most remote areas of the country.

The various museums and house-museums which have been set up in the countryside and in cities are very valuable in the cultural and patriotic education of the labouring masses. In comparison with only two museums before liberation, Albania now has 1,470 museums and house museums. Every day thousands of young men and women visit them to learn about the past of our people and about their culture. The various groups of workers in art, culture and people's creativeness find inspiration in the artistic traditions of the people.

After liberation, a new type of cultural institutions came into being - «red corners» or cultural clubs at the work places themselves where cultural activities are carried out with the working collectives. Thus today, as well as 41 houses of culture in cities, 442 houses of culture in the countryside and 1,423 smaller cultural centres, there are thousands of these «red corners» actually within work centres in the cities. Thus Albania, once a country with no cultural institutions and with an illiteracy rate of over 80 per cent, today has a cultural institution for every 650 inhabitants. This broad network of cultural educative institutions which carry out mass cultural work in areas where the people live and work, is one of the most powerful media of the ideological and cultural revolution. At these institutions the working people can read books, attend concerts, talks and various lectures, participate in various acti-

vities to develop their talents, see exhibitions and learn how to live a cultured life and how to spend their leisure time in a cultured way. They have every access to the halls, equipment and instructors. To encourage and develop children's talents, numerous activities are organized at the young pioneer's palace, sports grounds, cinemas, etc, which have been set up in every city. Various activities are organized in all the schools of the country, too, from the elementary to the higher ones.

In all the industrial enterprises, economic and cultural institutions in the countryside and cities, in schools and in army units, there are organized classes for Marxist-Leninist education, as well as activities to popularize achievements in technology and production methods, culture and science, hygiene, and so on. In the years of the People's Power art and culture have been transformed from a profitable business into a powerful method of educating the working masses. To enable all the working people to follow the cultural life of the country, the state has set token prices for tickets for professional artistic performances, defraying the main expenditure for the development of art and culture. A cinema ticket costs between 1.5 and 2 leks, while block bookings and tickets for children cost 0.5 leks. Tickets for professional artistic performances including opera and ballet, cost 2-3 leks.

As a result, there are 18 times as many cinema goers than before liberation, while there are 10 times as many spectators in audiences of professional performances as in 1950.

Entry to museums, art galleries and the main archaeological centres is free of charge. All the cost of activities in the houses and centres of culture and in the young pioneers' palaces is defrayed by the state and the trade unions. There is no tax on the radio and television sets, in use by working people in every part of the country. Books, newspapers and magazines are no longer a source of profit for the owners of the printing and publishing establishments as was the case before liberation, but are a powerful method to educate the working masses and raise their cultural level. They are sold at very low prices so that everyone can afford them. This is

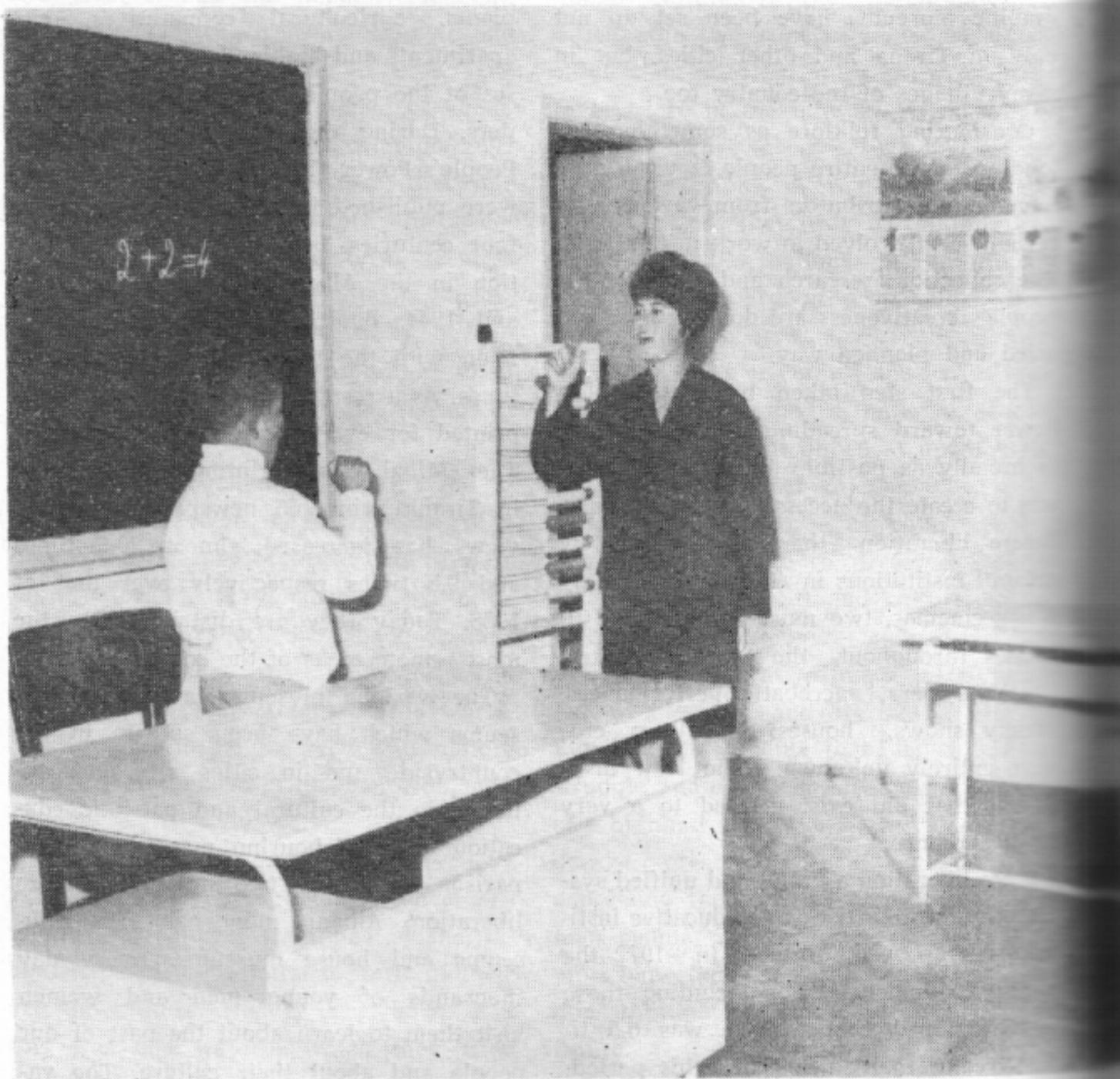
why, despite the large number of books published in our country supply is not yet able to keep up with the rapidly increasing demand.

Another factor enabling art and culture in Albania to have become the property of all the working people is that they are of an essentially popular character, have a socialist content, reflect the interests and aspirations of the masses of the people and cater to the needs of all categories of working people and to all ages. The popular character of our art and culture is evident in their profound ideological content, in their revolutionary spirit reflecting their efforts to contribute to building the new life. The revolutionary spirit permeates the whole of our artistic activity, from amateur performances to those of professional troupes, from children's books to local papers. The art and culture of new Albania hold the heroic activities of the people in great esteem and have become a medium expressing the opinions of the working people, a mass forum inspired by the revolutionary spirit of the time. Being based on life itself, always drawing inspiration from the vigour of work and creating characters by proceeding from a national basis, our socialist art and culture have acquired new features in content and in form and have become more understandable and tangible.

The trends of decadence and pornography and the cult of murder and violence, characteristic of many countries, are alien to Albanian stage and cinematographic art. This is so because Albania has liquidated the social basis of these phenomena, which begets and nourishes the degeneration and dissolution of society and especially of the younger generation, the increase of prostitution, crime and other black stains of capitalist society.

Albania's literature of socialist realism has an essentially popular character directed to the masses of the people and not just to an elite. There is no place in Albanian publications for yellow novels, for idealist pornographic and reactionary literature which have become a source of degeneration and immorality, instigating and encouraging crime and gangsterism in many countries of the world.

With us, works of art and culture, whe-



ther literary, figurative or musical, are extensively discussed by the masses of the people in the press and at various meetings of artists and writers with workers, peasants, students and others. It has become a common practice for our performance halls, after the premières, to turn into lively meetings where the audience appraises the performance. When new literary works appear public meetings are organized with the author. This not only contributes to the further development of art and culture but at the same time maintains the purity of our national art and culture, protecting it from being diverted by the imperialist-revisionist ideology. The history of the development of art and culture in socialist Albania has proved that the bourgeoisie and the revisionists have always sought to divert them from developing on the road of socialist realism, to undermine their national basis. The imperialists and revisionists use all sorts of methods in an attempt to have us imitate alien models, follow the old and new decadent and

modernist trends, and copy the present-day bourgeois and revisionist fashion art.

As comrade Enver Hoxha has said, to implement their ideological diversion the bourgeoisie and the revisionists «have set up a very powerful industry to poison public opinion, an industry which has more capital invested in it and more people engaged in it than the biggest branches of the economy».

The main objective of the imperialist-revisionist ideological diversion is to cause the degeneration of the socialist order and to overthrow the people's power through a peaceful road. «... Pressure and ideological struggle prepare for and precede a possible military attack», comrade Enver Hoxha has said.

Thus at the first signal given by the Party of Labour of Albania the masses of the people rose up, discovered, criticised and cast away some alien manifestations in the healthy body of our art and culture. This has greatly contributed to the deepening of the ideological and cultural revolu-

THE ANTI-ALBANIAN ACTIVITY OF THE REACTIONARY CLERGY

by VIRON KOKA

The profoundly repressive role of the reactionary clergy throughout Albania's history has placed religion and religious institutions in opposition to the vital interests of the Albanian people.

THERE ARE CIRCLES IN THE WEST TODAY WHICH ARE EXTREMELY CONCERNED ABOUT THE FACT THAT IN ALBANIA THE CLERGY, RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS AND RELIGION NO LONGER EXIST. THIS FACT, WHICH CONSTITUTES ONE OF THE MOST OUTSTANDING FEATURES OF NATIONAL HISTORY AND A BRILLIANT VICTORY OF OUR PEOPLE ON THE ROAD OF PROGRESS, IS INTERPRETED AS A MANIFESTATION OF THE PEOPLE'S TRAGEDY AND ALMOST AS A FOREWARNING OF THE APOCALYPSE. THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE IMPERIALIST BOURGEOISIE, WHO FOR A LONG TIME FISHED IN TROUBLED WATERS BY USING RELIGION AND THE CLERGY, IN ORDER TO SERIOUSLY HARM THE COUNTRY, ARE LOUDLY CLAIMING THAT IN OUR COUNTRY FREEDOM OF thought and conscience has been trampled under foot, and the democratic rights of the people have been violated. What «democracy» and «freedom» the forces of reaction have in mind, is no secret to us. It is obvious to us that the toppling of the old world in this nerve centre of the globe remains a heavy blow to them. Historically, the clergy and religion were one of the stronger pillars of the reactionary order, the main backing of the activity of the imperialist powers against Albania. They constituted a tumour on the body of the socialist nation, and had it not been removed through a radical operation the nation would suffer from a grave illness and would not be complete master of its own destiny. This bold operation was carried out by the people themselves under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist party at the stage of the

deepening of the socialist revolution.

The progressive forces of the country had long dreamt of liberation from the parasitic leeches and befuddling opium of religion. The epoch of victorious socialism could not endure such an anachronism, a medieval-capitalist remnant, which was an obstacle on the road of development.

In the period of the great socialist transformations, where everything was transformed, from socio-economic relations to ideological relations, it was impossible to preserve for long institutions and ideologies that belonged to the old order. Such a revolutionary transformation was not aimed solely at religion and religious institutions, but at all the relations and concepts inherited from the old order. Albania does not need the capitalist-revisionist models of the coexistence of religion with the bourgeois or pseudo-socialist «civilisation», or those of pseudo-humanism. The capitalist and revisionist countries, will never reach genuine civilization and humanism, since (among

other things) they reconcile themselves with such an obscure, regressive and anti-popular force as religion and the reactionary clergy.

Socialist Albania also had another strong reason to get rid of the reactionary clergy and the religious institutions. This was that the reactionary clergy, particularly the Roman Catholic clergy, were sworn enemies of the socialist order and people's power and carried out uninterrupted activity against them. The reactionary clergy, and in particular the Roman Catholic clergy, who were infuriated at the victory of the revolution and the successes of socialist construction, turned into a savage opposition force and declared war on the new order. The Roman Catholic clergy took an active part in organizing plots and in the subversive activity against the PRA, they provided aid and shelter to diversionists, and transformed churches into arsenals to be used against the state power. In the struggle against the reactionary clergy, the religious institutions and religion, the people could not fail to take into account this odious activity. But this struggle of the popular masses in general was not waged by violence, but mainly through ideological means. It was waged just like all the vigorous activity of the people to build socialism. The people impatiently awaited the day when they could express their wish to close the chapter of religion in national history. The masses of the people conducted an open

VIRON KOKA: Longstanding scientific collaborator at the Institute of History under the Academy of Sciences of the PRA.

dialogue with the clergy and demanded that they deceive them no longer. They called for the closing of the religious institutions and warned the clergymen to give up their parasitic life. Violence was used only against those clergymen who were carrying out hostile activity which was punishable by law.

The liquidation of religion and of the religious institutions was a logical result not only of the operation of the objective laws of the socialist order and of the strengthening of the historical creativity of the people, but also of the entire national history of Albania. Albanian history has been full of negative and very harmful activity by the reactionary clergy against the people and the nation, and the struggle of the masses of the people and of their progressive-minded representatives against this reactionary activity. At the time when the Albanian nation was born and when great efforts were being made to consolidate it, to strengthen national consciousness and create the first independent Albanian state, the clergy wanted to perpetuate the division of the country into three religions and thus to create the possibility to have the embryo Albanian nation annihilated by foreign powers. At the beginning a very negative role was played by the Moslem clergy who were closely connected with the Ottoman invader, who fiercely opposed everything Albanian and who could not endure the mention of the names of Albania and

van of the Ottomanizing policy and zealously accompanied any punitive expedition against the people and the national movement. The Moslem clergy, in order to poison national consciousness, filled the country with Turkish language schools, and at the time when efforts were being made to encourage Albanian writing and to establish an Albanian alphabet, organized a savage campaign against the patriots and those who were attending the Albanian language school, proclaiming these things as «deeds of the devil» and insisting that the Albanians should learn only Turkish and write in the Arabic alphabet. The intrigues of Shehu-Islam and his followers cost the country dearly and their negative results were felt even after independence. Also assisting the Moslem clergy and the invaders were the reactionary Orthodox clergy who, under the shadow of the cross, carried out frantic anti-national activity in favour of the Megali Idea and of the Istanbul Patriarchate. This clergy with typical medieval and obscurantist features became a savage persecutor of Albanian patriotism and of everything progressive. The hated countenances of bishop Jakov and company recalled to the people later the grave wounds caused to them at that time by the Orthodox clergy together with the invaders, as well as the unmatched barbarities of the Greek chauvinists in the southern regions. Also to the advantage of the Ottoman occupiers and imperialists were the actions of the Roman Catholic clergy who strove to undermine the struggle for national liberation, to weaken the popular uprisings and prepare the ground, through imperialist expansion and the strengthening of their influence, for the nation to be annihilated in the future.

The Roman Catholic clergymen had a bad reputation in Albania from that time. The Albanian patriots gave them the label of «black ravens» since they were carrying out only dark deeds and were striving to darken any prospect of the nation developing and advancing.

The people opposed the satanical clerical plans and activities with their struggle for unity and the struggle for national liberation. Alongside the outstanding patriots some patriotic clergymen also contributed to this struggle; such as Papa Kristo Negovani, who sacrificed his life for Albania and fell victim to chauvinistic and clerical savagery.

After independence, the most dangerous and the most harmful activity against the Albanian people and nation was carried

activity was most dangerous as it was more organized and was backed up and financed by imperialist states such as Austria-Hungary, Italy, the Vatican, etc. During the first world war when the country was occupied by the Austro-Hungarian armies, the Roman Catholic clergy proclaimed the occupiers as saviours of the country. In connection with this, Gjergj Fishta wrote at that time: «With the entry of the soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian empire to Albania the day of freedom is starting to dawn for the wretched Albanian people. And with the rays of this freedom this people today have a prosperous life in which to realize their desires». The Roman Catholic clergy, after the destruction of Austria-Hungary turned towards Italian fascism and intensified their anti-national splittist activity to prepare the conditions for aggression and the liquidation of independence. Reactionary clergymen like Gjergj Fishta, Dom Lazër Shantoja, Anton Harapi, Gaspër Thaci, Bernard Palaj, Pal Doda, and others, by their own admission, took care of «building the bridges» which were leading the country towards imperialist slavery. In their correspondence and secret meetings with Italian fascist officials, they used to say openly that a free and independent Albania was something absurd. Therefore they sought the inclusion of the country under the yoke of Italian domination. They demanded this allegedly for the good of the Albanian Catholics who were persecuted by other religions and the Zog regime, as well as for the good of the development of the country. At the beginning of the 30's Gjergj Fishta met the Italian Minister in Albania, Koch, and appealed to him for Italy to occupy the country. Koch himself testified to this: He told me: The hopes of the Catholics are pinned on Italy at this moment. Italy must be convinced that Albania cannot survive with its own forces because it lacks viability, no regime can ever be kept up without foreign support... The only viable possibility for Albania, according to the judgement of Gjergj Fishta who appeared to speak on behalf of his order, was that Albania should be placed under the mandate of Italy.

The hierarchy of the Roman Catholic clergy, the most active part of the «fifth column» in Albania, did all they could to pave the way for the fascist aggression. Gjergj Fishta and company, were shouting anathemas against the Albanian nation, which they alleged was unworthy to exist, as it was covered by the «savage»,

«Asiatic» Moslem mass, and at the same time, almost with tears in their eyes, they were asking their Rome bosses to bury this nation as soon as possible, and did not fail to prepare the coffin zealously. Among the people they used the language of Tartuffe and spread pseudonational propaganda.

The reactionary clergy still further intensified their anti-national activity, particularly when the Albanian communist movement emerged and the class struggle at home was aggravated. The Catholic review «Zani i Shën Ndout» stated in 1936 that the fight against communism was an imperative demand for Catholicism. This was said to be a demand of the nation. «The Albanian nation will stand guard, will keep its eyes open and will always be prepared to fight against communism as the worst enemy of the homeland. We shall fight against communism with words, with our pens and with deeds...»

The Catholic clergy received clearcut

directives from the Vatican and the government of Rome to strengthen the fascist propaganda and increase the preparations for the occupation of the country, as a counterpoise to the revolutionary movement. The Catholic clergy became principal agents and most active collaborators of the Italian legation in Tirana. Other fascist agents vested with the cloak of Catholic missionaries and functionaries were sent to Albania. Calumnies and grave offences were aimed against the nation by such Jesuit prelates as Cordignano and Valentini, diehard agents of Italian imperialism. In 1937 the Albanian Christian-Democratic Organization was secretly created in Albania and carried out intense fascist activity. This organization, which was directed by Anton Harapi maintained regular contacts with the Italian consul general in Shkodra, Salvatore Meloni, from whom it received instructions. On the threshold of the occupation, the Christian-Democratic Organization instruc-

ted the Roman Catholic clergymen, wherever they were, to keep in close touch with the people and sabotage the resistance put up against the occupation. In the days when Mussolini's troops attacked Albania, the Roman Catholic clergy strove to undermine the popular resistance in the northern part of the country and they welcomed the fascist troops with enthusiasm, proclaiming them liberators and saviours. The Catholic organs noisily trumpeted that the fascist regime was precisely what Albania needed, and would allegedly ensure it freedom and progress. In the days of the occupation, the Catholic review «Hylli i Dritës» and others published a series of euphoric articles saying that «the soldiers of Rome have set foot on the land of the Illyrians to bring them joy, and that «the day of April 7 marks the beginning of a new and prosperous epoch for the Albanian people».

Anton Harapi, explaining the importance of this event to the Roman Catho-





Fascist elements and counterrevolutionary organisations use churches as asylum bases for their criminal activity. In many cases churches had been transformed into ammunition dumps by reactionary priests. In the photo: Snapshot of a part of armaments hidden in the sacristy of a Roman catholic church in Shkodra, and three priests collaborators of a criminal organisation

The war criminal, reactionary Pater Anton Harapi, one of the members of the quisling Regency under the nazi occupation of the country, holding an intimate talk with the commander-in-chief of the German occupation forces

lic clergy gathered in Shkodra, told them that «what we did was not in vain, but from now on we must be careful to be more vigilant and to support all the actions of the Italian government and army».

At this time the fascist occupation was also welcomed by the head of the Moslem community, Bexhet Shapati, who proclaimed fascism as the saviour of the country.

The Roman Catholic, Moslem and Orthodox hierarchies made haste to hand over the Albanian royal crown to the king of Italy, Victor Emmanuel III. They helped to consolidate this regime and to implement the fascist plan to rob the country of its status as a nation. The Roman Catholic clergy carried on intensive fascist propaganda. Lazër Shantoja excelled in this; he was always claiming that «the light in Albania has always come from Rome». At the time when the national liberation struggle of the Albanian people broke out in Albania and spread rapidly under the leadership of the Albanian Communist Party, the reactionary clergy carried out intensified activity in bringing together and organizing the forces to oppose this struggle. They strengthened the ties with the fascist regime and established relations of collaboration with the traitorous organisations of Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti. The Roman Catholic clergy was most active at this time. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said that «when Albania was languishing under the heel of the bloody fascists, and the people were fighting for their liberation, the main Catholic clerics seized the banner of anti-Albanianism and showed themselves to be very active in the war against the Albanian people. They got important political positions with fascism and Nazism, and threw themselves with the greatest savagery into the war against the people». The Roman Catholic clergy as well as the other clergy helped the quisling governments in adopting draconian measures against the national liberation movement.

In addition to the anti-communist propaganda they conducted among the people, they strove to mobilize non-politically minded people from among the ranks of the peasants and mountaineers into the formations of the quisling governments and traitorous organizations. Concerning the collaboration of the Roman Catholic clergy with Balli Kombëtar, the Catholic clergyman Rrok Gurashi said: «We established contacts with the Balli Kombë-

tar organization and sent our representative to it because, in the first place, we had been ordered by the Pope to collaborate with any anti-communist organization and, in the second place, both sides were interested in organizing and better coordinating our forces in order to wage a great struggle until the Albanian Communist Party and the Albanian national liberation movement were completely destroyed.

Following the capitulation of fascist Italy and the occupation of the country by the German armies, the reactionary clergy immediately took the side of the new invaders. They started a frantic propaganda campaign in the press in which they sang the praises of the German occupation.

This propaganda aimed at convincing the people that the German army was not an army of occupation, that it would remain in the country only temporarily, that it would not violate the independence of the country and that it would protect the religions and would contribute to the elimination of the communist danger. The Roman Catholic clergy themselves now changed their tune and began to insult the Italian invaders whom they had praised to the skies a while before. When it became obvious that the German invaders would not remain long in Albania due to the powerful blows being dealt them on all fronts, both within and outside Albania, the Roman Catholic clergy attached themselves to the Anglo-American agents sent to the country and flirted with them, hoping that this would save them and the existing order from the catastrophe which was threatening them as a result of the great national liberation struggle led by the PLA. At the time when the national liberation struggle was raging and was wiping out the remnants of reaction, the Roman Catholic clergy, in their desperate situation, strove to mobilize the last remaining forces, to arm their partisans and to save what could be saved. But nothing came of this. The storm of the revolution was powerful, and there was no way of salvation open to reaction. In the great national liberation struggle, shoulder to shoulder with the people, patriotic clergymen like Baba Faja Martaneshi took part, along with other clerics, who linked their fate with that of the people and the revolution. These clergymen used their position and influence for the salvation of the country from fascist slavery so that the country should see

better days. Right from the beginning they opposed the reactionary clergy and other reactionaries and after liberation they adopted a correct stand and enjoyed the esteem and respect of the people. The opposite was done by the reactionary clergymen. The latter, particularly the Roman Catholic ones, hoped to protect themselves in the future, too, and by their ability to adapt themselves to the new circumstances, to cope with the consequences of this great revolution. The Roman Catholic clergy thought that the storm which was sweeping over Albania would be something temporary. They hoped the sky would be clear again under a new fascist regime. These hopes were nourished by the Anglo-Americans. With hatred for the people's power and the new order in their hearts, and with the hope of one day seeing Anglo-American uniforms on our coasts, the Roman Catholic clergymen declared war on the new People's Republic. This war, as always, was secret and no distinction for bravery could be claimed. But, it ended not as the «cunning fathers» were dreaming of, but according to the desires of the people, who are determined to follow their road of socialist construction and ensure independence. The revolutionary people, consistently advancing on the road of social progress, wiped out for ever the clerical «rag» which «had mouldered in temples», as the writer Migjeni put it, and are realizing the great dream of the Albanian revolutionaries for complete social and spiritual emancipation. Now that the nation has been liberated from the peddlers of religious opium and from the Pharisees and sellers of flags, who did not hesitate to stoop to anything at the people's expense, it is easier for it to flourish and prosper.

It is clear why the Vatican and imperialist reaction are so concerned about what happened in our country; precisely because Albania, by its example, showed that the old world and the capitalist-clerical barbarity can be liquidated not through idle talk and preachings, but by deeds. The united imperialist-revisionist front found religion and the reactionary clergy a convenient Trojan horse to take the fortress from within. And when this Trojan horse was smashed to smithereens along with their plans, shouts and threats were heard, aimed against the People's Republic of Albania. But these do not intimidate our people, who are determined to continue on their road.



«The comrades»

(From the linoprinting cycle by the painter Pandi Mele)

FALSIFICATIONS AND THEORETICAL SPECULATIONS

the reactionary
character of the
bourgeois theories
about socialism and
of the revisionist
concepts about the
«developed socialist
society»

by LIMAN DACI

MORE THAN HALF A CENTURY HAS ELAPSED SINCE THE BIRTH OF SOCIALISM. MARXISM-LENINISM HAS ARGUED SCIENTIFICALLY, AND HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE HAS CONFIRMED, THAT SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM ARE BUILT AND DEVELOP AS A NATURAL, OBJECTIVE, HISTORICAL PROCESS. THIS PROCESS TAKES PLACE IN STRUGGLE WITH ALL THE OBSTACLES AND DIFFICULTIES OF GROWTH, AND ALL THE OBSTACLES WHICH THE AGGRESSIVE AND REACTIONARY FORCES ON A NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SCALE TRY TO CREATE. WITHIN A SHORT PERIOD OF TIME, IN STRUGGLE WITH ENEMIES AND NUMEROUS DIFFICULTIES, SOCIALISM ACHIEVED GREAT RESULTS IN ALL FIELDS OF SOCIAL LIFE, THEREBY BREAKING THE IRON CURTAIN OF THE SOCALLED «VITAL» ORDER OF THE CAPITALIST «PARADISE».

The successes of socialism have always aroused the bourgeoisie, which has always attacked it through various ideological diversions in defence of capitalism and imperialism. Bourgeois propaganda has proved itself particularly active and persistent during these last 20 years. Bourgeois sociologists, referring to what occurred in Yugoslavia, in the Soviet Union and in the other countries where the revisionists are in power, in their attempt to distort the main tendencies of development at the present time, particularly the relationship between capitalism and socialism, declare that human society will not proceed towards socialism and communism, but towards the so-called «industrial» and «post-industrial» society, in which «the best features of capitalism and socialism» will allegedly merge. According to the

bourgeois sociologists, capitalism and socialism are not lawful, successive stages of the development of human society, they are not two opposing socio-economic systems, but different stages of development which have many things in common and which can be incorporated into the so-called process of evolutionary integration and of their merger into a single socio-economic order - that of the contemporary society of converged social systems. Beginning from the years prior to the second world war, and particularly after this war and up to the present, a large number of bourgeois authors, such as L. Mises, P. Lerner, U. Luxe, J. Shumpeter, J. Elliot, A. Gruchy, P. Samuelson, G. Grossman, and others, proclaiming the alleged similarities between capitalism and socialism, have continually spoken about their so-called comparative and similar contemporary «economic system». One of the bourgeois theories is that of the «pyramid» in contemporary socio-economic development.

According to this theory, the pyramid is based on all the existing economic systems, which, as a result of development, gradually come closer to one another. The process of integration continues up to their complete merger into a single converged system, which represents the apex of the pyramid, and thus also the apex of the socio-economic development of human society. The new, final economic system, rising over capitalism and socialism, according to the bourgeois authors, is nothing other than a «mixed economic system», a new economic model which allegedly corresponds to the contours of a mature contemporary «post-industrial» society.

What absurdities are hidden behind the so-called comparative «economic system» and how far they are from socio-historical reality, is clearly seen from the classifications made by some presentday American bourgeois authors. Some authors speak of four «economic systems»: capitalism, fascism, «socialism» (including the Scandinavian countries, Australia, India and Britain) and finally «communism» (including the true socialist countries and the revisionist countries); some other authors speak of three «economic systems» (See: Samuelson, «Economics», N.Y. 1967, p. 780; A. Gruchy, «Comparative Economic Systems», Boston, 1966, p. 19). There are also cases in which they do not speak at all of economic systems, but of «econo-

... speak of socialism in general, of Scandinavian socialism and the labourite variety in particular, of the Yugoslav, Czechoslovak, Soviet and other revisionist «socialism», putting them on a par with scientific socialism. The bourgeois authors distort the fundamental problems, the socio-economic essence of capitalism and socialism, the process of their birth and development. They do not see social progress as a natural historical process of development from a lower to a higher stage, from a lower to a higher level, from a lower social order to a higher one, in conformity with the objective laws of economic development, but as a «universal» process of development, dictated by external «universal» laws, some of which originate from man's biological nature, and others from his mystic (divine) nature. In other words, the bourgeois authors do not see contemporary socio-economic development as a specific socio-historical development, but at times as a fatalistic natural development and at others as a divinely pre-determined development, but always within the eternal framework of capitalist development. Such were the old traditional bourgeois concepts, and such are the present-day liberal bourgeois concepts. They are echoed by the modern revisionist authors.

Modern revisionists are falsifiers of the Marxist-Leninist theory of contemporary socio-economic development

The revisionist views about contemporary socio-economic development are not a haphazard system of anti-Marxist views, a haphazard form of opportunism, but a definite and sophisticated system of views, a definite form of opportunism within the worker and communist movement, in complete enmity with Marxism-Leninism, but camouflaged with its banner in order to fight and revise it, to replace it with bourgeois liberalism. Of course, present-day revisionism has fully merged with reformism and together with contemporary bourgeois sociology they constitute the essence of the anti-Marxist-tribe of our time on questions of contemporary socio-economic development. By presenting capitalism as «changed», and claiming that socialism has «altered», the bourgeois sociologists, the reformists and modern revisionists distort the historical perspective of social development.

... historical development of the 20th century, to contemporary historical knowledge, to the successes of archaeology and ancient history, which have already given very useful materials about thousands of years of the history of mankind, some revisionist authors arrive at the conclusion that the time has allegedly come to work out «new» «improved» concepts of socio-economic formations, modes of production, and the stages and degrees of development of human society.

Considering the Marxist concepts on socio-economic formations as almost bankrupt from the historical viewpoint, presenting the vast historical knowledge of Marx as almost primitive, and confounding socio-economic relations and technical, technological, ideological and psychological ones, some revisionist authors question the traditional Marxist views about the productive forces and the relations of production, about the connections between them, about the mode of production, the socio-economic formation and society as a whole. They directly raise the problem of revising the existing Marxist methodology, the historical synthesis and development of human society (See «Izvestia ANSSR. Seria ekonomicheskaya» Nr. 3, 1971, p. 82).

The revisionist interpretations of socio-economic development abandon the Marxist-Leninist line of development, the sources of socio-economic development, the mutual ties between the productive forces and the relations of production, the contradictions between them, etc. And all this is done in a premeditated way, in order to replace the Marxist-Leninist theses on the classification of the socio-economic formations of the development of human society with revisionist theses.

«It seems», one of the revisionist authors writes, «that the time has come to pass from the chain of five or six links of formations (pre-class society, the slave-owning mode of production, the Asiatic mode of production, the feudal, capitalist and communist modes of production) to a richer chain» (See «Izvestia AN SSR. Seria Ekonomicheskaya», Nr. 3, 1971, p. 82 and «Voprosi Ekonomik» Nr. 7, p. 152).

The revisionist authors are trying, parallel with the new vertical classification of the development of human society according to socio-economic formations, to make another «new» horizontal classification, of the development of every socio-economic formation, by which they mean the inclusion of several «progressive epochs», of several modes of production

...mies» directed by «tradition», «market economy», and «guided economy» (See G. Grossman, «Economic Systems», p. 14).

The diversity of the classifications of «economic systems» does not worry their authors, provided the main objective is achieved – to discredit the Marxist-Leninist theory of socio-economic development, to weaken the actual confrontation of capitalism with socialism, to blur their real features and the distinctions and boundaries between them, as two opposing socio-economic systems.

These bourgeois authors do their utmost to demonstrate the alleged similarity of capitalism and socialism. They leave no stone unturned. They turn to human nature, to biology, physiology, and psychology, to bourgeois humanism, to reactionary historical and sociological theory, or anything that can serve them, in order to oppose Marxism, to justify the great social ills of present-day capitalism and to obscure and depreciate the superiorities of socialism. The bourgeois authors speak a lot of the «industrial» and «post-industrial» society which is based on the great modern production of machinery, on the technical-scientific revolution, and on the latest word of science and technology, but they say nothing about the running sores of capitalism, about the great social conflicts to which it has given birth, about the poverty and misery of the working masses,

within the same socio-economic formation.

In reality, the mode of production and the socio-economic formation are not identical notions. The mode of production is a narrower notion and represents the unity of the productive forces and of the relations of production, while the socio-economic formation is a broader notion which also contains the mode of production and represents a given historical type of society, an organic unity of the mode of production (economic base) and its superstructure. The mode of production underlines the socio-economic formation.

The Marxist-Leninist theory, through the concept of the socio-economic formation, discovering both the general sociological laws of the development of human history and the specific laws of the development of every socio-economic order, arrives at the conclusion that the history of mankind is nothing but the history of the birth, development and regular replacement of socio-economic formations. World history testifies to the existence of five modes of production and five socio-economic formations: primitive community, slavery, feudalism, capitalism and communism. The sole prospect of mankind is communism – the communist mode of production and the communist socio-economic formation.

The correct understating of this historical process of the development of human society has not been an easy task. It is the great historical merit of Marx and Engels, that they correctly penetrated for the first time into this historical process, that they discovered the scientific materialist theory of social development, the basic material factors of the development of human society.

The Marxist, materialist understanding of the development of human society has been one of the brilliant discoveries of scientific thought. Chaos and arbitrariness, that had dominated in the views about history and politics, till that time, – Lenin said, – were replaced by an amazingly complete and harmonious scientific theory which shows that «from one form of social life, as a consequence of the growth of the productive forces, another, higher form develops» (Lenin, Works, vol. 19, p. 5).

The theoretical heritage of the classics of Marxism-Leninism about the development of human society is a powerful means to expose the distorted bourgeois-

revisionist ideas on the development of human society and the communist mode of production. Marx and Engels have the great historical merit of profoundly and scientifically analysing capitalist society, forecasting the birth and development of the coming classless society, and discovering the main laws of transition from capitalism to socialism and of the development of the communist society in its two stages. The special merit of Lenin and Stalin consists in that, proceeding from the analysis of capitalism in its last stage, imperialism, and from the historical experience of the development of capitalism in Russia and from that of the early years of the building of socialism there, they creatively elaborated and further developed the theses of Marx and Engels about scientific socialism and communism.

Many modern revisionist authors have now opposed the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of socio-economic development with their reactionary concepts about the development of human society in general and the development of the communist society in particular. Taking positions opposed to Marxism-Leninism, some modern revisionist authors, predict in an entirely erroneous way the essence of the communist socio-economic formation, its historical development. The fundamental idea in their theories is that of the acceptance of many modes of production within the communist society, of the existence of essential differences between them, and particularly between the socialist mode of production and the communist modes of production. And all this is done to indicate that two different socio-economic formations exist.

The reactionary character of the revisionist views on socialism

For years now in Soviet revisionist literature the notion of the «developed socialist society» has been used. The content the Soviet revisionist ideologists give to this notion and the aims they pursue have now become clear, and recently in the revisionist press many anti-scientific views about socialism, have been openly expressed, which revise the fundamental theses of the Marxist-Leninist theory on the socialist and communist mode of production. The revisionist views about socialism have always been inspired by various bourgeois schools of theoretical eco-

nomics. The views of the bourgeois economists of all times have been the bridge of transition from the extreme rightist and open forms of bourgeois ideology in the struggle against socialism to the masked opportunist forms within the international worker and communist movement. In fact, this constitutes the process of transition from the open fight against socialism to the masked, opportunist and revisionist struggle.

Among the ranks of the Soviet revisionist ideologists and those of other revisionist countries many reactionary ideas about socialism have spread and developed. Irrespective of their evolution, they are in the final account the embodiment of the anti-scientific Lassalian concepts about socialism, they are a derivative of the theoretical preachings of Bernstein, of the Russian «legal Marxists», of the «economists», Mensheviks, anarcho-syndicalists, «centrists», Browderists, Titoites, Khrushchevites, and others.

The present-day revisionist views on socialism have their source in some fundamental theoretical platforms based on abstract metaphysics and formal logic, identical with the bourgeois ones, within the framework of which they attack and distort scientific socialism and its economy.

Holding one-sided metaphysical views on the development of socio-economic phenomena and processes in socialism, firmly standing on the ground of ontological metaphysical objectivism, of abstract speculative idealist panlogism and bourgeois economic psychology, the modern revisionists rely in the first place on the traditional bourgeois concept of «economic liberalism», which worships and proclaims as sacred and eternal the unlimited domination of private ownership. According to this concept, socialism is unnatural and allegedly represents an alien external force which seeks to dominate economic phenomena, processes and laws. It is implied that in these circumstances, the birth and development of socialism in our century is an anomaly of history, a mistake to be corrected. The modern revisionists base themselves on the vulgar concept of the «productive forces», according to which the productive forces alone play an absolute role in the development of human society. Inasmuch as the present-day technical-scientific revolution raises the need for the rational use of the productive forces, allegedly the necessity also inevitably arises for the merger of the two great

processes of their arrangement - of the social with the private one, the organized with the spontaneous, the socialist with the capitalist.

Finally, the revisionist views are based on the concept of «market socialism» which rests on competition and anarchy, the market of commodities, capital and labour.

The origin of all the revisionist distortions of socialism and their main theoretical backing is the old vulgar theory of the productive forces. Proceeding from this theory, the question of the development of the productive forces in socialism is made exceedingly complicated, and leads the revisionist authors into a blind alley. In their opinion, socialism has not and will never have its own material and technical base, at any stage of its development. This means that, having an inadequate material and technical base, socialism is characterized by profound contradictions between the advanced political power and the relations of production which forge ahead, and the productive forces which lag behind for a long time.

Comparing the development of the productive forces in socialism and in capitalism, distorting the facts about the present-day development of the large-scale production of machinery and of the technical-scientific revolution in the developed capitalist countries, some revisionist authors, with premeditated purpose, imply that as far as the level of the development of the productive forces, and of the material technical base is concerned not only has socialism been inferior to capitalism in the past, but it will remain so in the future, thus losing historical perspective in comparison with the capitalist so-called «post-industrial society».

In reality, the development of the productive forces in capitalism at the present time is extremely contradictory. In the developed capitalist industrial countries deep divisions and aggravated antagonistic contradictions have been created between the productive forces and the capitalist relations of production, as well as within them. These divisions and contradictions will develop still more, until the complete destruction of capitalism. The end of capitalism, as Marxist-Leninist theory teaches us, comes not from the non-development, but from the development of the productive forces. This development, however, comes into deep antagonistic contradiction with the character of the

relations of production and when this contradiction reaches its climax the end of capitalism arrives.

Upholding the vulgar «theory» of the productive forces, on the basis of a whole system of erroneous concepts, the revisionist authors attack the main foundations of the Marxist-Leninist political economy of socialism, and completely distort the concept of the socialist mode of production and of the socialist relations of production. They assert that socialism is characterized by «immaturity» and «complete undevelopment», and that it permanently lags behind capitalism. They assert that socialism is typified by the heterogeneous and differentiated character of the relations of production, by the social differentiation and inequality of the various social groups of the working people and individuals in production and distribution, which goes as far as the presence of the exploitation of man by man. (!) In these conditions, in their opinion, the socialist socio-economic relations have something in common with the relations between labour and capital, they resemble each other in the economic inequality in production, in the inequality of distribution, in the domination of individual economic interest and in the division between people. And this occurs, one of the revisionist authors writes, because in socialism «... the productive forces are characterized by very different levels of development in the separate spheres, branches and links of production and social labour... The level of the socialist development of the productive forces constitutes the material base of the differentiated situation of the working people as regards the use of the means of production». (Ja. Kronrod, «Laws of political economy of socialism», 1966 Russian edition, page 301).

As far as the mechanism of economic functioning is concerned, according to the revisionist authors, socialism is characterized by the alleged existence of pronounced essential contradictions and inequality between people in production, between the consciously organized character of their activity on the scale of the whole society and its spontaneous character on the scale of each individual enterprise, between the direct economic links by means of the plan and indirect links by means of the market, between the aim of the entire society for the fulfilment of the needs of the people and the aim of every enterprise, collective and individual for personal profit and enrichment, for

personal wellbeing and prosperity. They raise in a very distorted manner the problem of the labour force in socialism. In conformity with their anarcho-liberal concepts on this question, the revisionist authors bring up the question of the individual employment of and private control of labour power in socialism, and proceed from this to raise the problems of unlimited individual economic freedom, according to the anarcho-individualist model of the socialist society. In their opinion, labour power in socialism comes close to the state of being a conventional commodity which is freely bought and sold just as in capitalism. And this is done to give theoretical justification to the revisionist practice of the sale and purchase of labour power, of the free hiring and dismissal of workers by the managers, of the creation of a relative surplus population, which is occurring in the Soviet Union and in other countries where the revisionists are in power.

Of course, central to all the revisionist distortions of socialism are the distortions of social ownership of the means of production. According to the revisionist authors, ownership in socialism embodies two-fold and contradictory relations: on the one hand relations of «appropriation-possession» and on the other hand relations of «appropriation-use», of the means of production. In the first case we have a formal equality, while in the second case a factual inequality of people in regard to the means of production. They imply by this that it is a mistake to proclaim social ownership of the means of production as an equal right of the entire people, for this right is allegedly limited.

The revisionist authors deliberately treat socialist ownership as a two-fold and contradictory relation in order to artificially divide all the socio-economic relations in socialism into two groups of relations: those of formal equality and those of actual inequality. In the former meaning of ownership «the whole society» is presented as owner, and in the latter the «enterprise», the «collective» and the «individual». Inasmuch as the means of production and the products created by them are effectively appropriated by those who dispose of and use them, the former meaning of ownership remains an abstract, formal idea. Consequently, society remains an owner without property. Real owners of the means of production, in the opinion of the revisionist owners, are the enterprises, the collectives and the differentia-

ted and unequal individuals. As a result, according to them, socialism is a mode of production where there is no kind of socio-economic equality and where relations of inequality are present everywhere, both in production and in distribution, which creates the basis for the existence of all the other political and moral inequalities in socialism.

In fact, this situation accords with the revisionist reality, with the character of ownership and socio-economic relations in the revisionist countries. The decentralization of the means of production in these countries according to the anarcho-syndicalist ideas of «worker self-administration», the transformation of ownership by the entire people into group ownership, the return to private ownership of a considerable part of the means of production, their free sale and purchase, constitute the road followed by the process of degeneration of social ownership into capitalist ownership of a special kind, and of the socialist relations into capitalist relations, in these countries. The real owners of the means of production are now the privileged people and strata, the groups of bureaucrats and technocrats, high ranking white-collar workers, the new bourgeoisie, the revisionist state and all those who exploit the working class and the other labouring masses. In these conditions socialism has been transformed into capitalism, which we actually find today in the Soviet Union and in other countries where the modern revisionists holds way.

The revisionist ideologists are seeking to justify this switchback to capitalism, with all the associated phenomena, by presenting them as characteristics of socialism. But can the questions of social injustices and inequalities in production, or of antagonistic social contradictions, be raised with regard to socialism? Socialist production is social production, organized on the basis of social ownership of the means of production, on the basis of the division and co-operation of labour, on the basis of the social use of the means of production. Anyone can be freely linked with them and use them freely, according to the agreements with the entire society and in conformity with its interests. Here it is not the isolated subject, but the unified social organism, the socialist society in general, that decides. The working people are equal in regard to the means of production and the products produced. They have equal possibilities to pro-

duce for themselves and society, equal rights to work and pay guaranteed by the state. The socialist society continuously takes measures to narrow and eliminate essential differences in work, to increase the mechanisation of work and the level of qualification of the working people, to improve their working and living conditions, to protect their health, to implement safety measures, to eliminate occupational diseases, etc. In all branches and sectors the distinctions between manual work and mental work are gradually being narrowed. Everywhere the working class has direct leadership through its party and state. All this clearly shows that in socialism complete socio-economic equality in production exists, and equal social ownership of the means of production. Social equality in production creates all the possibilities for narrowing the essential social differences in other fields. The relations of equality in production gradually penetrate into distribution, narrowing the differences and inequalities, increasingly making socialist distribution conform to socialist production, ever better adapting the relations of distribution to the relations of production.

The nature of the relations of production determines the nature of the relations of distribution, the relations of equality in production gradually narrow, and finally eliminate the relations of inequality in distribution. Being aware of and developing this dialectical process of the development of the relations of production, the PLA has intensively organized the struggle for the revolutionisation of the whole life of the country. The narrowing, and later, the elimination of the essential socio-economic differences between the groups of working people constitutes the main objective and the pivot of the Marxist-Leninist economic and social policy of the PLA, as well as its great contribution to the defence, creative application and further development of the Marxist-Leninist economic theory of socialism and its successful and final construction. Socialism and communism are not built according to subjective desires and schemas, but according to the objective laws of socio-economic development. With capitalism, with this last antagonistic socio-economic order, the «pre-history of human society» ends, while with communism, with the higher and most progressive social order «the real history of mankind» begins. And socialism opens this history.