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◀ *KEEP HIGH THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT.*  
*a sculptural fragment by Mumtas Dhrami.*



*There is no stronger army than the people armed and militarily trained and there is no more powerful weapon than the people's war in the flames of which any aggressor is burned and destroyed.*



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# THE STRENGTH OF OUR ARMY IS BASED ON ITS REVOLUTIONARY POPULAR CHARACTER

«RRUGA E PARTISË»

THERE IS NO STATE IN THE WORLD THAT DOES NOT HAVE ITS OWN ARMY, BUT THEIR CHARACTERS DIFFER, IN CONFORMITY WITH THE KIND OF STATE, AND THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ORDER WHICH THEY SERVE.

OUR PEOPLE'S ARMY HAS AN ESSENTIALLY PEOPLE'S CHARACTER, NOT BECAUSE IT BEARS SUCH A NAME, BUT BECAUSE IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA THE ENTIRE STATE POWER, AN ORGANIC PART OF WHICH IS THE ARMY, IS IN THE HANDS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE AND SERVES THEM ALONE, BECAUSE IT SERVES THE SOCIALIST SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORDER, TO DEFEND THE FREEDOM, INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE, WON WITH MUCH BLOODSHED AND SACRIFICE, TO PREVENT THE RETURN TO POWER OF THE OVERTHROWN OPPRESSORS AND EXPLOITERS AND TO BUILD A HAPPIER AND MORE PROSPEROUS LIFE FOR THE PEOPLE, AND THE COMPLETE SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST SOCIETY.

The armies of the capitalist and bourgeois-revisionist countries are not, and can never be, really people's armies, for in those countries the state power and the armies, like the socio-economic order, are not in the hands of the people, but in the hands of the bourgeois and bourgeois-revisionist ruling classes, to oppress and exploit the broad working masses of the country, as well as to gobble up the freedom and independence of other peoples, as the imperialist United States and the social imperialist Soviet Union, especially, are doing, in their desire to establish their savage domination throughout the world through violence and deception.

*«Rruga e Partisë» - Theoretical and political organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania.*

An army of liberated workers and peasants, an army of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, like our army, cannot be other than a revolutionary people's army, an army linked to the people, like flesh to bone, moulded with the lofty virtues of the heroic Albanian people, and, at the same time, of the triumphant proletariat, free from all the vicious features of the antipopular, reactionary bourgeois and bourgeois-revisionist armies. Our army has been created and raised as such by the people themselves in their blow to blow struggle with the external and internal enemies; it has been created, organised, educated and taught by the Party of Labour of Albania with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.

The whole strength of our army is based on its revolutionary people's character, and it gains this character from its organic connection with the people, from the proletarian leadership of the Party, and its proletarian ideological education with the Marxist-Leninist teachings of the Party, and comrade Enver Hoxha. It is precisely this connection, this leadership, and its education with these teachings, that make it invincible to the class enemies. «Outside this concept», comrade Enver Hoxha says, «there can be no invincible army. . . An army is invincible when it is an army of liberated workers and peasants, when it is an army of the dictatorship of the proletariat and when it is led by a genuine Marxist-Leninist party.»

The enemies would like our army to divorce itself from the people, that the Party leadership in it should be weakened and eliminated, that our army should not be nurtured with the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary teachings, so that its popular character would be liquidated and it would not be in position

**Our peoples's army has an essentially  
people's character, not because it has such a name,  
but because in the People's Republic of Albania  
the entire State power  
an organic part of which is the army,  
is in the hands of the working people and serves  
them alone, because it serves the socialist socio-economic order**

to carry out its great duties of the defence of the homeland, and be immediately destroyed in the face of imperialist and social imperialists aggression. In reality, the enemies not only have wanted this, but have also worked to bring this about.

Our Party has paid great attention to the unceasing revolutionisation of the army, along with the revolutionisation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the whole life of the country, not allowing its revolutionary people's character to be impaired.

The connection of the army with the people, the leadership of the working class Party in the army, its education with the Marxist-Leninist proletarian ideology, which give it its revolutionary people's character, have not remained abstract notions with us. They have not remained empty phrases, as is the case in the revisionist countries, where these great principles, formulated by the classics of Marxism-Leninism, are trumpeted only to conceal the abandonment of Marxism-Leninism, to deceive the masses, while in fact they act against these principles. Today, the soviet army and the other revisionist armies, are no different from the US army and other bourgeois armies, either in their reactionary character or in their oppressive and aggressive aims. While with us, the linking of the army with the people, the proletarian leadership of the Party in the army, the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary education, cannot be conceived otherwise than as materialised in practice. It is precisely this aspect that distinguishes our People's Army from any bourgeois-revisionist army.

The linking of the army with the people is embodied in practice in the fields of organisation and training and, in the concrete fighting duties, the defence of the homeland.

Unlike any capitalist and revisionist country, in our country the army is not divorced from the people. The People's Republic of Albania is a socialist country; it is, as comrade Enver Hoxha says, «the homeland of the entire people, therefore it must be defended by the entire people; for us defence must have the character of people's defence. Seen through this correct Marxist-Leninist prism, our People's Army is only a part of the armed people».

Our Party has constantly improved the implementation of the great Marxist-Leninist principle of the entire people being soldiers, of the arming and training of the whole people for defence. For this reason, with us the «army» has a much broader meaning than its classic meaning, indeed even broader than the notion of «the armed forces». Our people's army includes not only the soldiers and officers on active service, but also all the reservists and all the volunteer territorial self-defence forces, etc.

From the very outset our army was created, not as a special caste or stratum, but as an organic part of the insurgent people, of the people armed, organised and led by the Party, in the general people's uprising to win freedom, independence, and the people's state power. With the ever greater strengthening and consolidation of our socialist political, social and economic order the principle of the «soldier people», of the army as a part of the armed people, has assumed, and is continually assuming, a broader and deeper extension and concretisation. This is the opposite of what is occurring today in the capitalist and revisionist countries, where the army, the armed forces, are becoming more and more shut off, creating higher walls and wider gulfs between them and the people, so that

they turn into professional armies, into professional, salaried, armed forces. This tendency, the opposite of ours, is linked with the continuous development of the general crisis in those countries, as well as with the anti-Marxist principle according to which the fate of the war is allegedly decided by military equipment, atomic and nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons, missiles, satellites, laser rays, etc., a principle which is finding ever broader application with the imperialists and social imperialists. Here, we apply the immutable Marxist-Leninist principle, according to which the fate of the war is decided primarily by man.

The feature of an army divorced from the people, of a closed, permanent, professional army, has found its expression in the barracks army like the bourgeois and revisionist armies, for only such an army conforms to the oppressive and exploiting system. Basing himself on Marx and Engels, Lenin demanded «the elimination of the permanent army, its replacement with the arming of the entire people», «the liquidation of the barracks army and the creation of the free military school», «the destruction of the military caste», «the transformation of all the soldiers into citizens and of all the citizens, able to carry arms, into soldiers». Comrade Enver Hoxha has described the barracks army as suitable for conspiracies, for military putsches, like the one carried out by Khrushchov, with Zhukov's help, in the Soviet Union, when he surrounded the Central Committee of the CPSU with the army and seized the state power by force.

With us the Party has fought and crushed any inclination and spirit of the old bourgeois barracks army; it has always put into practice the teaching of the «soldier people», of the arming and training of the entire people for defence, of the free military school and is doing this ever more thoroughly. Our Party and people learned this great lesson in the National Liberation War.

Not only did our army emerge from the bosom of the people, as an integral part of the insurgent armed people, but it was entirely based on the people. It was not created in barracks and it never stayed in them. It was lodged, fed and clothed by the people. It seized its weapons from the enemy. Although poorly fed and clothed, with fewer arms than the enemy, with commanders and commissars who had never graduated from military academies, the majority of them with little general culture, such an army proved to be steel-like and invincible, capable of fighting and winning against enemies greater in numbers, dressed in the best, armed to the teeth, with officers and generals educated in military schools and academies.

Our Party and people will always carry out the instructions given by comrade Enver Hoxha, who demands that these teachings of Lenin's should always guide us in our work with the army, that we bear in mind these great principles to arm the entire people, to achieve what Lenin says: «Every soldier must be a citizen and every citizen a soldier».

The bourgeois and revisionist army cannot come out from its barracks, for if it does so, it grows weaker and weaker and disintegrates, because it is not based on the people. While in coming out of its barracks, our people's army in no way loses either its strength or its character as a regular, modern army, perfectly trained for fighting; on the contrary, it increased and further develops these characteristics, it

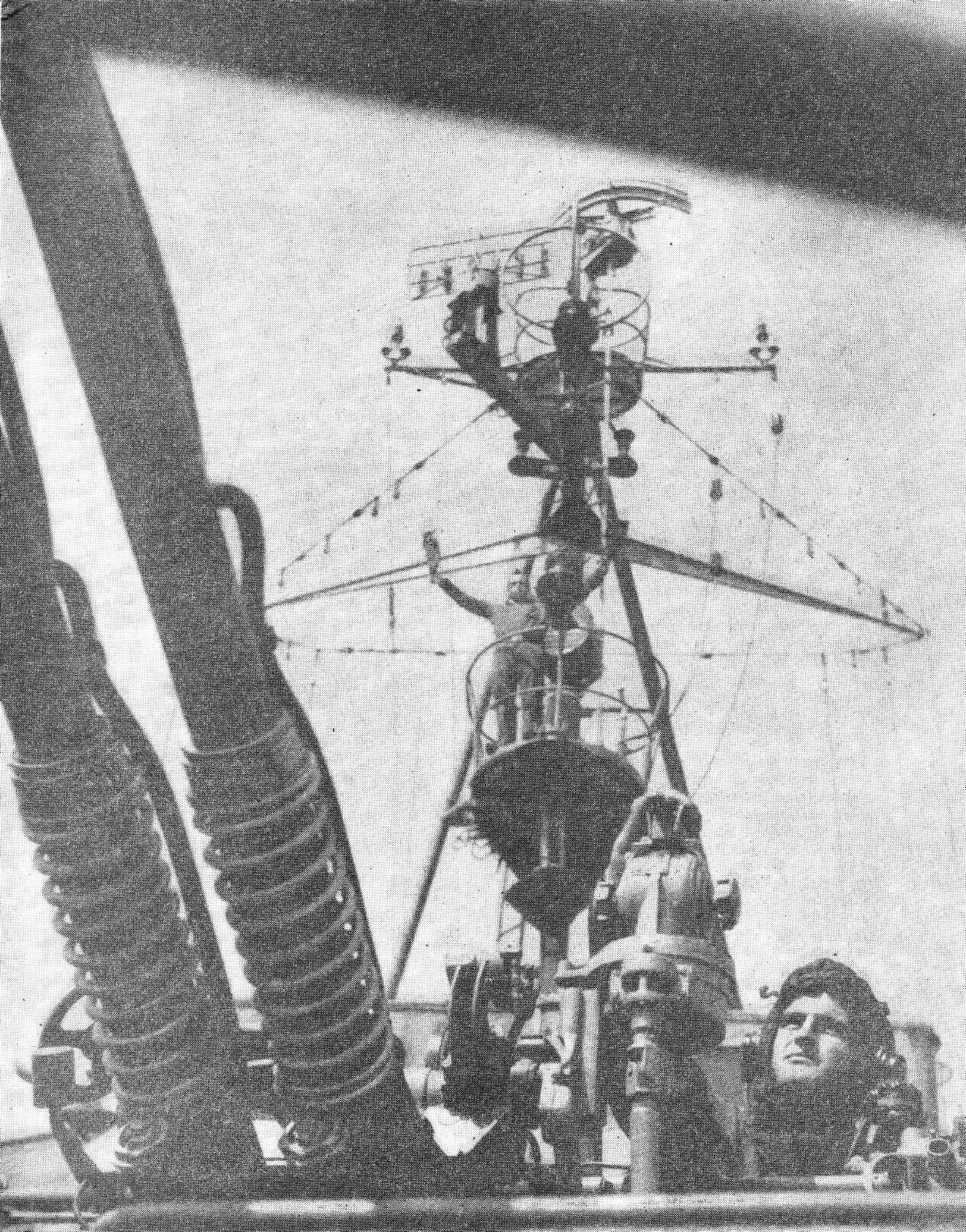
flourishes and grows continually stronger, preserving and always developing its invincibility. The lack of barracks did not hinder the Albanian National Liberation Army from turning completely into a regular and powerful army of the people and the new Albanian State of people's democracy. «A free military school», comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, «does not mean an amateur school, but military, in the full meaning of the word, with a proletarian discipline, with a high political and ideological consciousness, organised in units in such a way as to respond to the organisation of the army and where all the weapons and practices needed by the detachment are taught. The detachments should be organised in such a way that they carry out all the programmes laid down for the army, and effect at any time the liaison, coordination and creation in a record time, of concentration in large detachments ready for war».

The forms of organisation of the people's army, unlike the forms of the bourgeois revisionist army, also necessarily require other forms and ways of waging war, and consequently of the fighting preparedness. In case of aggression against the PRA the entire people, armed and trained to do battle with the aggressors and triumph over them, will fight. Thus, a people's army, as our army is, cannot wage other than a people's war, which is a war of the popular masses, built on the basis of the principle of selfreliance, a war of the entire people. The military preparation for such a war can never be limited to the active army. Not only does this preparation include the reserve army, the territorial volunteer self-defence forces in a word, all the «citizens capable of carrying arms», but it does not permit the slightest underestimation of the importance of the training of the reservists, volunteer forces, etc., which must be as sound, and as all-sided, as that of the active army.

The strategy and tactics of the people's war, its forms of fighting, are much richer, more varied and more flexible than those of any other war. It is a very dynamic war, it is frontal but also partisan, it leaves no corner of the country without turning it into searing flames for the enemy, and allows the enemy not a single piece of peaceful territory. It is waged on land, air, and sea, with all types of arms, it is waged in the plains and the mountains, it raises mountains even where there are none; it is waged in fortifications and open terrain, it is defensive, and even more, offensive; it is usually a protracted war, but with lightning blows, with fire and attacks and counter-attacks both from unprepared positions, and by means of dexterous and intelligent manoeuvring; it requires speed, surprise, broad initiative, masterly use of the terrain and the richest strategemes that might be born in the creative minds of the people and their revolutionary leaders.

It is difficult to fight a whole people. Therefore, the imperialists and social imperialists fear the people's war more than anything. That is why they strive in every way to undermine the preparation for defence and people's war of the people's and their armies which they plan to attack.

The allround preparation of the army and of the whole soldier people is not an easy job. On the contrary, it is very complicated, because the people's war is also difficult and complicated. This war requires not only bravery and self-denial, but also profound knowledge and high skill in orga-



nising, waging and leading the war, in the use of arms and fighting technique in general. It also requires thorough advance knowledge of the enemy, of any possible aggression, so as to be able to counterpose our revolutionary strategy and tactics to the strategy and tactics of the enemy, to make the position intolerable for the enemy forces, to set traps and drown them in their own blood. For this purpose our Party, and comrade Enver Hoxha, lay before our People's Army, before our whole soldier people, the task of thoroughly and persistently studying our people's military art, the art of the people's war, embodied in theses of the Defence Council, which are based on the Marxist-Leninist military science, the laws of war, the military line of our Party, the rich experience of our National Liberation War, and its further development in the post-war period.

The people's war brooks no ready-made schemes, formalism, routine and scholasticism, therefore, the preparation for such a war cannot be formal and scholastic either. Our people and our army fought and won in the National Liberation War with a high creative spirit, which the Party had instilled in the mind and heart of every cadre and partisan, of every people's fighter. The theses of the Defence Council cultivate this creative spirit. The training, which is constructed and carried out on the basis of the requirements of our people's military art, of the laws of war, which is free from formalism and routine, which has the revolutionary creative spirit blended into it, is never boring, it is interesting, and, above all, it teaches the art of people's war, so variegated and at the same time so complicated, in practice. The application of schemes and prescriptions outside our reality, outside the framework of people's war, causes incalculable damage to the preparation of the people for defence. Useless «spit and polish», work merely for show, deception, cause even greater damage. All these things are incompatible with the people's character of the army, they are typical only of the bourgeois revisionist armies.

The revolutionary education of our People's Army is expressed in the proletarian people's virtues and qualities of our officers and soldiers.

Above all, this education is apparent in the profound understanding that the duty of the defence of the socialist homeland is the duty above all duties. This understanding has its roots in the very reality of the rapid development of the country on the road of socialist construction, the allround progress and prosperity, the superiority of our socialist order over the capitalist order, as well as in the great ideological and political work being done by the Party with all our people, to make it clear to them and convince them that everything they are building with toil and sweat, they must defend with blood and sacrifice, that the P.R. of Albania is under a great and unrelenting threat from the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, that the US imperialists, the Soviet social imperialists, and other external chauvinistic reactionary forces, have their plans ready and are awaiting only the opportune moment to attack and destroy socialism in Albania, to enslave the Albanian people, to snatch from their hands the great and vital victories they have achieved under the leadership of the Party.

The profound understanding of the duty of defence is expressed in the tireless work the Party is doing with the officers and soldiers for their military and political preparation, in the work they themselves do in this direction, in the readiness displayed by every citizen to carry out military

service as an active soldier, reserve soldier, or a member of self-defence detachments, etc., in the sacrifices the whole of our people are making for defence. «There can be no People's Army without countless sacrifices», says comrade Enver Hoxha.

Laziness, sluggishness, lack of interest, apoliticism, are incompatible with the revolutionary, people's character of our army and our worker-soldier people.

In our country. The officer or soldier is first of all a political man, who stands loyal to the people, socialism, the Party, who knows and applies its decisions and directives and the laws of the State and the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha, who always wages the class struggle correctly, and, finally, who proves himself tireless in passing on his military, political, ideological, and theoretical knowledge to others.

Our army never remains politically neutral, as the capitalist want to present the armies of their countries. Our servicemen enjoy full political rights like all the other citizens because army and people are one, and have the same aim; the complete construction of the socialist society and communism, the defence of the socialist homeland. The people do not fear the army, nor does the army fear the people, unlike what occurs in capitalist and revisionist countries, where the people are afraid of the army.

Because the people and army are one, our army takes part in the entire political life of the country with equal rights, and considers the question of the political, economic, and cultural development of the PRA as its own, just as every citizen considers the defence of the homeland as his own concern. Every unit, detachment, and sub-detachment maintains close, daily reciprocal ties with the district, the city, the enterprise, the cooperative, the school of the zone or region where it lives and operates. They help one another to solve the political, economic, cultural and military problems. Before he is a good service man, every one of our soldiers is a good citizen of the PRA, who knows how to carry out in an exemplary way the duties with which he is charged by the constitution and laws, of the state and the directives and decisions of the Party.

The revolutionary people's character of our army is strengthened by proletarian virtues, such as unsullied love and aid for the comrade, socialist moral behaviour in society, communist honesty and justice. The vices of the bourgeois army, such as selfishness, pettiness, cronyism, stealing, lies, hypocrisy, slander and intrigue, servility, gambling, drunkenness and dissolute behaviour, are alien to our servicemen. Any manifestation of such vices is severely criticized and punished.

The virtues of loyalty, honour, the pure partisan morality, essentially communist, which characterized the Albanian National Liberation Army, constituted sound weapons to win the hearts of the people, who, by means of these virtues, made the distinction between the partisans and the reactionary brigand forces of «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legaliteti». Our Party fights to preserve and ceaselessly develop the revolutionary virtues of the NLA in the People's army.

Of great importance in defining the character of an army are its leading cadres, the officers. If the officers are and always remain revolutionary, loyal sons of the people, the revolution, socialism, and the cause of the proletariat, the army will always preserve its revolutionary people's character; otherwise it degenerates into a bourgeois-revisionist army, turns from a weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism

into a weapon of the counterrevolution of the bourgeoisie, into a reactionary antipopular army, as has happened in the case of the Soviet Army.

In the bourgeois armies the leading cadres of the army constitute a caste in themselves, the most privileged, the most fawned upon of the ruling class, because this caste is a watch-dog of the capitalist and revisionist order. While with us, the commanders and commissars are loyal sons of the people; the dictatorship of the proletariat has trained them itself, to serve the people, socialism, has moulded them with the proletarian ideology of the Party and with the Marxist-Leninist military science. The officers of our People's Army have the same rights and duties as all the citizens. They have no special privileges. They have great responsibility and render account for their entire activity to the people, the Party, the organs of the people's state power, and the soldiers.

The Party, and comrade Enver Hoxha, require the army cadres to be «in the first place very kindly men, sincere, frank and just towards the soldiers, to be modest and tireless workers, insistent and strict in demanding account, from themselves first of all, and then from the soldiers, without falling into arrogance, or, on the other hand, into sluggishness, opportunism, or liberalism». Entirely alien to our officers are the symptoms characteristic of the bourgeois and revisionist army, such as arrogance, domineering, haughtiness, remoteness from the soldiers, moral dissipation. Any such symptoms are most severely condemned as soon as they appear.

The Party is doing intensive work to preserve the army cadres from the ills and vices of the bourgeois and revisionist officers and generals. It teaches them never to think that they are immune from these evils, not to let themselves get rusty and spoiled, but to temper themselves continually as revolutionaries, win their authority through their work, ability and faultless behaviour and not through brutal and arrogant attitudes. «We must be modest with the soldier», comrade Enver Hoxha advises the army cadres, «so that he will be close to us; we must love the army so that the soldiers will love us, will become convinced of what we tell them and follow our lead». Harshness is shown only to the enemies of the people, of the Party, and of socialism.

The tempering of officers as revolutionaries is also assisted by their participation in productive labour for a definite time every year, just as all other cadres in our country.

As is known, rank was abolished in our People's Army some time ago. The Party took this decision precisely to eliminate any formal division between officers and soldiers, to prevent the creation of distance between the cadres and the rank-and-file fighters, to preserve the officers from the evils of arrogance, despotism, haughtiness, and conceit. Military rank was a vestige of the bourgeois armies and was in opposition to the mass line and proletarian democracy our Party applies both in the army and everywhere else. Comrade Enver Hoxha considers the opinion of the mass of the soldiers as a very great force. «Without you», he addresses the soldiers, «without your advice, without your opinions, without your experience, without your criticism, the officers would degenerate, become conceited».

Neither the lack of military rank nor the proletarian democracy impair proletarian discipline in anyway. They do not weaken our People's Army at all, do not hinder it from pre-

paring itself militarily and politically and fighting brilliantly against the enemies, on the contrary. Did the lack of rank and the development of revolutionary democracy hinder our National Liberation Army from waging its renowned heroic war and triumphing over the Italian and German occupation armies and the Ballist and Zogist forces? And in another war against the imperialist or socialist imperialist aggressors rank will play no part at all. «What do we want with badges of rank, says comrade Enver Hoxha. «Do we want to get caught up in brambles and thorns? We shall fight better without them. If need be, even without jackets, or boots, just as the partisans did yesterday». And further: «As you see, badges of rank play no role whatever in the revolution and in the war of the proletariat and the people. In the revolution the proletarians and the peoples fight without rank and triumph over the enemies with badges of rank and decorations. The proletarians and peoples fight and win without boots, with ragged clothes and empty bellies, whereas the army of the capitalist, which is quite unable to fight without those things, is defeated by us.

«What is it then, that makes revolutionary armies strong? It is that spirit, those laws of the revolution. . . , Marxism-Leninism and the Marxist-Leninist Party that educates them and leads them in revolution».

The Party demands that democracy and proletarian military discipline always go together and not only must they not oppose any other, but, on the contrary, each must help in the application and strengthening of the other. Democracy helps to make discipline really conscious. The Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat demand strict military discipline, but only conscious discipline, for only such a discipline, comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, «goes to the point of making the ultimate sacrifice: to die in defence of the homeland». «In the army», he continues, «orders are and always remain orders. They must be carried through to the end, but in the first place, they must be on the line of the Party, on the ideology of the Party, on the military road of the Party».

A powerful contribution to the continuous preservation and strengthening of the revolutionary virtues and qualities of the cadres and fighters of our People's Army is the great work carried out by the Party for their ideological and political education, which is closely linked and interwoven with the work for their military education. The study and assimilation of Marxism-Leninism, of the history of the Party of Labour of Albania, of the Party documents and comrade Enver Hoxha's works, closely connected with the revolutionary activity, is that great force which makes our army preserve and continually strengthen its proletarian character, which makes our cadres and soldiers remain always loyal to the people, the Party, and the dictatorship of the proletariat, purge themselves of alien remnants in their consciousness, defend themselves from the bourgeois-revisionist influences, and think and act always as revolutionaries, implementing the decisions and directives of the Party, and the teaching of comrade Enver Hoxha.

The leadership by the Party of Labour of Albania is a decisive factor which ensures both the organic army-people unity and the revolutionary education of the soldier people. In our people's army this leadership is realized through the Party branches, bureaus and committees, through the political commissars and all the communists.



*The gains of socialism with us are secure, for they are defended by the People's Army and the whole soldier people*

On this major question a very rich experience of more than 30 years has been accumulated, since the time of the creation of cells in the partisan çeta and companies, of bureaus in battalions, of political sections and Party committees in shock brigades and army divisions, since the establishment of political commissars in every formation of the National Liberation Army. At the time when this army was being organised, in summer 1943, comrade Enver Hoxha instructed: «Strengthen the organisation in the National Liberation Army (without Party organisations in the çeta there is no National Liberation War)».

The decisive role played by the organisations and the leading organs of the Party, the political commissars, and all the communists in the National Liberation Army, for the ideological, political, and military tempering of this army as an essentially revolutionary people's army, invincible in the battles with the savage fascist enemies and traitors and victorious over them; is well known.

After the war, the Party committees in the army were abolished, and from the year 1956 the political commissars, too. This does not mean that the Party leadership in the People's Army was eliminated, because the Party branches and bureaus always remained, besides the Political Department of the Army, which carried out the functions of a directory of the Central Committee of the Party. The abolition of the Party committees and political commissars resulted from a stereotyped application, not well pondered over, of organisational forms borrowed from abroad, for which, as comrade Enver Hoxha says, «were not only out-dated, but in the light of the events, we might say that they were also erroneous». This would have led to grave consequences had the Central Committee of the Party not taken timely measures. In March 1966 it took the historic decision on the recreation of the Party committees in units, detachments, and military institutions, as organs leading the entire work of the Party in the army, and of the restoration of the political commissars in the commands at all levels.

The re-creation of the Party committees and political commissars was aimed at ensuring the collective leadership of the Party work, of the fighting, ideological, and political preparedness of the army, and of the entire activity in the army, consequently, the strengthening of this leadership, the increase of the fighting capacity and readiness, the tempering of the revolutionary people's character of our People's Army.

The 5th and 6th Plenums of the Central Committee of the Party adopted other measures for the further strengthening and perfecting of the organisation and activity of the committees, political commissars, and the whole organisation of the Party in our People's Army. These measures create better conditions for the implementation of the Marxist-Leninist political and military line of the Party, its decisions and directives, comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, for the fulfilment of the duties and further tempering of the revolutionary people's character of the army. They ensure that «the Party in the army, – as comrade Enver Hoxha instructs, – must take the work properly in hand, carry out its norms, in the proper way, preserve the competence of every one and of every organ, and combine the political and military work in an harmonious revolutionary Marxist-Leninist unity... It must educate the soldiers and cadres and raise their political and ideological level, and must teach them how they should learn military art in general».

The Party branches always play a role of primary importance in strengthening the revolutionary consciousness of the communists and masses in the army. They ensure that every communist is a vanguard fighter, and from every view point, an example of a genuine revolutionary for all the non-party soldiers and cadres, for all the citizens in the zone or region where the detachment or unit lives and operates. They lead the entire political and military work in the subdetachment or the staff concerned, and demand account from all the communists, without exception, concerning the implementation of the Party Constitution, the directives and decisions of the Party. In the Party branch the commander and the commissar are equal with all the other communists. There is no military hierarchy in the Party and there can be none, nor can it be permitted that this hierarchy should influence the work of the Party organisations and leading organs in the slightest.

The closest auxiliary of the Party organisations in the implementation of the political and military line of the Party in the army is the organisation of the Albanian Labour Youth Union. Speaking of the important role of this organisation, comrade Enver Hoxha instructs the Party committees and organisations, and all the communists in the army: «If you do not attach due importance to this organisation, which should act in an energetic and revolutionary way on every occasion; this means that you do not attach importance to the education of the soldiers, that you do not properly understand the organised work either of the Party, of the youth or the army. Therefore, I once more recommend that you should pay greater attention to youth and its organisation in the army, the sole mass organisation you have, and what an organisation, one of the most heroic».

The great and decisive role the Party committees and organisations and the political commissars have in the army in no way replaces the other major role of the commanders and commands, the staff and the chiefs of various armed services in the army. It would be a mistake to think that the commands and staffs cannot give any order and cannot allocate any duty, without its first being decided in the Party branch or committee. The commands and staffs are obliged to carry out the decisions of the Party committees and organisations, but they have full competence and initiative to give orders and assign duties, to demand that they are performed to the letter, rendering account of their activity, later, not only before the Party, but also before the rank-and-file soldiers as well as before the higher commands and staffs. The Party committees and organisations, among other things, also have the duty of ensuring the complete execution of order which are in conformity with the line of the Party, with its directives and decisions, and those of the Defence Council. «Leadership through Party committees», comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, «in no way overshadows the major role of the staffs, nor the restoration of the political commissars the role of the commanders. On the contrary, they are placed in positions to contribute even more and do a qualified work, because, apart from the matter that the leadership is collective, which means more qualified, more sure, more correct, and with fewer mistakes, all their work will be permeated by a healthier Party spirit. The art and technique of the staffs and commanders will be more thoroughly moulded with political considerations and with the Marxist-Leninist ideological principles».

# BUREAUCRATISM - DANGEROUS ENEMY OF SOCIALISM

by FOTO ÇAMI

**Bureaucratism and  
bureaucrats  
are enemies of the  
people, of the Party and  
the People's Power,  
for they strive  
to restore those methods  
of management which  
are a characteristic  
of the old social orders,  
where a minority  
rules oppressing  
and exploiting the broad  
masses of the people**

IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM OUR PARTY AND PEOPLE HAVE HAD TO SURMOUNT GREAT OBSTACLES AND DIFFICULTIES, TO COPE WITH NUMEROUS ENEMIES, INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL, OVERT AND CAMOUFLAGED, TO OVERCOME PRESSURES, THREATS AND VARIOUS DANGERS. THIS ENTIRE PERIOD HAS BEEN AND REMAINS A PERIOD OF A FIERCE CLASS STRUGGLE WHICH IS WAGED ON ALL THE FRONTS AND SECTORS OF THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY, AND WHICH EXTENDS EVEN TO THE RANKS OF THE PEOPLE AND THE PARTY ITSELF. IN THE CONDITIONS OF SOCIALISM, TOO, THIS CLASS STRUGGLE REMAINS A LAW OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY, ITS PRINCIPAL MOTIVE FORCE DRIVING IT FORWARD TOWARDS COMMUNISM.

A great merit of our party is that, during its entire existence and in all its revolutionary activity, it has consistently upheld the line of the class struggle and has carried it out with determination and in a correct way, always relying firmly on the broad masses of the people and establishing a clearcut demarcation line between us and the enemies, between our ideology and the alien ideology of the exploiting classes. This is the fundamental reason why the revolution in Albania has always advanced, why the enemies have never been able to realize their counter-revolutionary aims, whether through the use of armed force or through the road of peaceful degeneration.

The objective conditions and situations in which we are living, as well as the events and facts of recent times, confirm that the class struggle continues fiercely, that the bourgeois and revisionist pressure from outside and inside is great, that the enemies have not given up the hostile

aims towards Albania and will not do so as long as they live. The 4th, 5th and 6th Plenums of the Central Committee of the Party, as well as comrade Enver Hoxha's recent speeches, once more forcefully drew the attention of the party and all the working people to the necessity of sharpening their revolutionary vigilance, increasing their fighting readiness and intensifying the class struggle in all directions, especially on the ideological front, as the main front of the class struggle in present-day conditions.

As pointed out by the 6th Party Congress, the class struggle in whatever form and in whatever field it is carried out-in the political, ideological, economic, cultural or military field, has to do with the question of state power, in the final analysis, is a struggle for the state power, for its possession, preservation, and consolidation. The question of state power remains the principal question of the socialist revolution even after its triumph, until

the complete elimination of classes and the construction of communism. It is the main weapon in the hands of the working class, the working masses and their vanguard, the party, for the realisation of the revolutionary transformation of society, for the defence of the victories achieved and for the continuous development of the revolution. Therefore, the defence and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the constant perfecting of it, in conformity with the changes which the life of the country undergoes, is the main duty facing the revolutionaries.

Bureaucratism with all its manifestations, such as technocratism and intellectualism, is one of the most dangerous enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The classics of Marxism-Leninism have stressed what a danger bureaucratism represents to the new state power of the working class, and have drawn attention to the need for determined struggle against it. But in the communist movement the seriousness of this danger was not fully appreciated till recently. The struggle against it was waged mainly by bureaucratic methods and through bureaucratic apparatuses. This is also the reason that this danger was not avoided in the Soviet Union, and bureaucratism, technocratism and intellectualism, became among the main sources of the bourgeois degeneration of socialism. There the bureaucrats and technocrats were transformed into a new bourgeois stratum, and, from servants of the people, they became their rulers, usurped the state power, and paved the way to capitalism and the transformation of the Soviet Union into a new imperialist power with pretensions to world hegemony and domination.

Analysing the causes of that counterrevolutionary change which occurred in the Soviet Union and in a series of other former socialist countries, the PLA has drawn lessons and conclusions of great value and has adopted a series of revolutionary measures to bar the way to the birth and spread of bureaucratism, technocratism and intellectualism. This problem has been elaborated and ever more deeply clarified in the party documents and comrade Enver Hoxha's works. We find in them a wealth of ideas and lessons drawn from our revolutionary practice and from the positive and negative experience of the

international communist movement. We must continually return to these ideas and lessons, for they arm us ideologically, help us to understand the problems thoroughly, to recognise the real causes of phenomena and the correct roads we must follow to carry our triumphant revolution always onward.

The party has stressed that it is important not only to understand the danger posed by bureaucratism and the need for a protracted and uninterrupted struggle against it, but also to understand thoroughly how it manifests itself, to grasp and discover all its aspects, and in particular to grasp and fight the essence of it. Some people have a narrow concept of the bureaucrat and bureaucratism, reducing the bureaucrat simply to a man who stays closed in his office, tied up in red tape, and bureaucratism as something manifested in piles of memos, fruitless meetings, solution of problems from the office, in inflated staffs, etc. Certainly, all these things are characteristic of bureaucrats and bureaucratism, but they are not all of it and not the main thing. All these things must be fought, but first of all we must fight the concepts which characterise the bureaucrat and constitute the essence of bureaucratism. These concepts are idealistic, reactionary, anti-revolutionary, anti-Marxist, inspired by the ideology of the feudal and bourgeois exploiting classes and serving them as a weapon to dominate the masses of the people, to oppress and exploit them. «Bureaucratism», comrade Enver Hoxha says, «is a form of thinking and acting in open opposition to the people, to their vital interests» (Enver Hoxha, Reports and speeches 1967-1968, p. 43).

Without continually and persistently combating these concepts in all their manifestations, which form the bureaucrats and bureaucratism we cannot eradicate either the bureaucratic practices or the bureaucratic organisational forms and methods and style at work.

But what are the concepts that underlie the bureaucratic thinking and acting? They are the concepts according to which it is the apparatuses and their employees that make the law, manage and command, dictate and decide every thing, while the broad masses of the people are only a blind mob which simply has to work and

produce under the orders and the dictate of the bureaucracy. The concept of bureaucratism are idealistic and reactionary from start to finish, incompatible with the nature of the socialist state, as a state of workers and peasants, which, in its entire activity, relies on and must rely on the masses, which is guided by the principle that it is the masses of the people who create, build, and transform the world and society and, consequently, that all the merits belong, in the first place and above all, to them and not to the individuals, however outstanding, learned, and able they may be.

Bureaucratism and the bureaucrats, comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, are anti-popular, are enemies of the people, the party and the people's state power, for they strive to restore those ways of management which are characteristic of the old social orders where the minority rules, oppressing and exploiting the broad masses of the people. With their concepts and practices they distort the profoundly democratic character of our state power and our entire socialist order, deform the norms and laws, which they see as orders from above to be carried out blindly. They ignore the voice of the masses, their opinions and criticisms, smother the revolutionary action of the masses, strive to impose themselves on the masses in the name of the state power and the law, behave arrogantly and despotically towards the masses, placing their «ego», their interests and privileges above every thing.

Mention should be made here, also, of the fact that, in face of the criticism and revolutionary action of the masses and the party, the bureaucrats and technocrats strive to conceal their real features. They come out with the banner of the party, but they act against the party; they pose as upholding the norms and laws of the State, but they distort them; they pretend to stand for the mass line, but they behave like bosses towards the workers, peasants, and soldiers; they say that they are for democracy, but they violate every democratic freedom, strangle every criticism of the masses. In all these ways they create a grave situation, cause discontent among the masses of the people, drive them into passivity and indifference, cool their enthusiasm for and divert them from

the revolutionary struggle, spread fear and distrust, discourage their initiative and independent action. All this cannot fail to impair the ties of the party and the State with the working class and the working masses, that strong unity between them which is the basis of the strength and invincibility of our socialist order.

All these things place before the party organisations and organs the great task of making the masses conscious of the necessity for the struggle against bureaucratism in all its manifestations, and of organising, mobilising, and leading them in this battle of vital importance to the defence and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The bureaucrats and technocrats are enemies of the popular masses, consequently the masses of the people are their irreconcilable enemies. This means that the only right and effective way to combat and eliminate these evils is for the masses themselves to rise, to take this historic struggle into their own hands and carry it through to the end. For this it is essential to develop the criticism and the control of the masses from below on a broad scale, to create all the conditions for the masses to express their opinions openly and unhesitatingly, to severely condemn any manifestation of revenge, arrogance, and domineering, to place all the cadres, without exception, under the control of the masses, to draw the broad masses into active management of State and social affairs.

Bureaucrats and technocrats think that nothing can be done without the apparatuses and without them, that they are destined to lead and manage, that they stand above others, that they alone, know about and understand affairs of state, science and technology, while others, the class and the masses, must simply obey them, submit to their orders, blindly do what they are told. And whenever any difficulty arises they see no other way of solution except by inflating their staffs, increasing the number of people in the apparatuses, for to them the apparatuses are everything. But the increase of the organisms and apparatuses whether necessary or not in-

creases the number of links and employees, increases the non-productive elements, hence the bureaucracy, which removes the state power and the management of affairs further from the masses and gives rise to arrogance, domineering, arbitrariness which are so harmful and condemnable.

This is why the party instructs us to return to the decisions adopted for simplifying the apparatuses and paper work, to see where we are concerning these decisions, and to take measures to carry them out thoroughly, to strictly observe the principle that our apparatuses, must be as simple and effective as possible, firmly based on the masses, and must actively draw them into the state activity. We must have as few people as possible on the pay roll, not only and simply for economic reasons, to have a less expensive apparatus, but especially to preserve and strengthen the democratic character of the people's power, to put in practice the great principle that the state power in our country emanates from the masses of the people and belongs to them, and that it cannot be realised without the broad and direct participation of the working masses.

Among the ugliest manifestations of bureaucratism in our times are technocratism and intellectualism. They are connected with the great progress of science and technology, with the development of industry and its modern equipment, with the increase of the stratum of intelligentsia. Technocratism and intellectualism are the two supporting pillars of bureaucratism which keep it alive, nurture and strengthen it. As the party has stated, they are a refinement of bureaucracy in conformity with the great role science and technology have assumed in the development of society, they are an expression of bourgeois ideology and policy at the present stage of the domination of monopoly capital.

The bourgeoisie and the revisionists have raised technocratism and intellectualism to a whole system, which is counterposed to the working class and the labouring masses. Their ideologists are striving to prove that in the conditions of the deve-

lopment of a great technical and scientific revolution, it is the scientists, technicians, and specialists who decide and determine everything, that nothing can be done without them. They fetishize the role of technology and negate the role of man, they fetishize the role of technocracy and negate the role of the masses as the decisive productive and creative force which promotes the entire development of society.

Our men and women, too, are not immune from the influences of this ideology. As a matter of fact, we sometimes run across such concepts in many fields of life: in production, education, the army and elsewhere, where some people, overrating their «abilities» and «skills» giving primacy to equipment and expertise, allegedly relying on the achievements of science, trample underfoot the revolutionary thinking and action of the working class and the working masses. They counterpose themselves to the masses with intellectual and technical despotism, strangle their creative initiative, ignore their opinions, remarks and criticism and impose their own will on them, thus placing themselves above the working class and the working masses. This is a very dangerous and harmful deformation of the relations between the cadres and the masses which should by no means be allowed, and which must be fiercely combated wherever it appears.

The party and the state power have done and are doing great work in training cadres equipped with high scientific and technical knowledge. They have created splendid conditions and possibilities for the cadres to extend their cultural horizons and raise their professional qualifications. Along with this, the party has done and is doing great work also for their ideological and political education, so that the cadres will be not only capable specialists in their professions, but, above all, consistent revolutionaries, political people, who will grasp and implement the party line and the teachings of Marxism-Leninism in all their activity. But, it seems, this work has not always been sufficient and at the necessary level, and that is why in some sectors manifestations of

bureaucratism and technocratism have appeared.

The party and the people's state power have a proper appreciation of the work of all the various cadres and specialists. They value highly their abilities and capacities, the great efforts they make, together with the masses for the socialist construction of the country. But they have not permitted and will never permit a few individuals to climb on the backs of the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and disregard their voice. The working class, is in power in Albania, the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the Party of Labour. The specialists and technicians are the auxiliary of the working class and their knowledge must be placed at the service of the people, the homeland, and socialism. They cannot make the law and impose themselves on the working class and working masses, but, like everyone else, must submit to the laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat which express the will of the working class, as the class leading the state and the whole society.

Bureaucratism and technocratism constitute a great danger to the cadres, but manifestations of them also infect the masses, for they sow in them passivity and indifference, the erroneous idea that «those at the top» know everything and that everything «depends on those above», cultivate the feeling of submission and fear, the lack of boldness and courage. It has been proved by numerous facts that wherever bureaucratism and technocratism dominate and are not combated, a situation of stagnation is created in which; although the people see that the party line and norms of the party are being infringed, the laws of the state violated, that unjust actions are being carried out, and the rights of the working people impaired, they do not speak up forcefully, and do not rise to put the bureaucrats and technocrats in their place. Therefore it is necessary to draw great lessons and improve our work, not only in educating the cadres so that they will always remain servants of the people, but especially in educating the working class and the working masses so that they will thoroughly understand

the danger of bureaucratism and technocratism and of how to fight them, become fully conscious of their position and role as masters of the country and develop the courage to rise in struggle against anyone who departs from the road of the party.

The great discussions in the party and the people about comrade Enver Hoxha's speeches «On the further revolutionisation of the party and state power». «The working class control», «Socialism is built by the masses, the party makes them conscious», and especially the discussions about the documents of the 4th, 5th and 6th Plenums of the Central Committee of the Party, clearly showed what great revolutionary energies exist in the masses, how powerful and correct is their judgement and what colossal results are achieved when the questions raised by the party become the concern of the masses.

The party demands that everything alien, which is opposed to the masses and hinders them from playing their great and decisive role in the entire life of the country, be swept away with an iron broom. The party organisations, all the communists, must be in the forefront of this historic struggle everywhere and all the time, and, by their example, courage, and spirit of principle, inspire, mobilize and lead the masses. As the political staff of the working class, the party has undertaken and realises the task not only of making the masses conscious, but also of organising them, throwing them into action, and leading them on the road of the triumphant revolution.

Bureaucratism is a dangerous evil from which the party, itself, is not immune. This danger becomes greater especially when the party is in power, when its cadres are vested with power and manage affairs in various sectors of life. The problem is that the bureaucratic and technocratic pressure on the part of state, technical, and other apparatuses, penetrates into the party too, through its people who work in these apparatuses. Besides this, there exists the great pressure of the capitalist and revisionist world surrounding us, there exists also the internal bourgeois pressure inherited from the past and which has not yet been eliminated.

The result of all this is that the class struggle must be waged fiercely even within the party, from the ranks of which emerge some people who submit to these pressures and capitulate before them, even going as far as to lose the qualities of a revolutionary and degenerating into anti-socialist elements, servants of the bourgeoisie and revisionism. The danger these people pose to the fate of socialism has been clearly proved by the bitter experience of the Soviet Union, where they destroyed the gains of the October Revolution and paved the way to the restoration of capitalism. This has been confirmed by the experience of our Party and country, too. In our country, however, the enemies have been unable to attain their counter-revolutionary aims, because the party has stood vigilant and has discovered their antipopular and anti-national plans and conspiracies in time and smashed them. Precisely from this experience we must draw great and important lessons.

We must never forget that the enemies always spearhead their attack against our party, against its leadership and its unity, against its ties with the working class and the masses of the people. Their aim is to paralyse and split the party, to divorce it from the people, divert it from its leading role and make it degenerate into a bourgeois and revisionist party. While our great task is to preserve and strengthen our party, to educate and temper it continually, to revolutionise it unceasingly, in order to make it invincible and unconquerable, capable of playing its leading role ever better as the surest guarantee for the continuous development of the revolution and the successful construction of socialism.

The party is the sole leading force of the State and of the entire life of our society. No duality whatsoever is permissible on this cardinal question. The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be conceived and realised without the undivided leadership of the revolutionary party of the working class. The party leadership is and must be everywhere, on every job, in every sector, in every cell of our socialist society. With us there are not, and there cannot be, two or three leaderships: An ideological leadership realised by the

party, and an economic, technical, administrative of military leadership realised by other organs. No parallelism or equals sign can be put between the party and the other state, economic, technical, military or social organs. The party leads and directs everywhere. This is the law of the socialist revolution. The party must be in command in every work, its policy must be in command in everything. Even the slightest weakening of the leading role of the party is fraught with great dangers. And in the process of socialist construction, not only does this role not diminish, but it constantly increases as the life of the country becomes more complex, and as the active participation of the masses in the historic activity increases.

It is of great importance to understand thoroughly that the party is not the leading cadres and the party apparatuses. The party is the great, organised mass of the communists. If we were to uphold the former concept it would follow that everything is done by the apparatuses, by a few people who are in the leadership, in the guiding organs. But in this way the true concept of the party as an organised vanguard detachment of the working class is deformed. The work of the Party is so vast that it could never be carried out by people on the pay roll, by inflating the apparatuses. This would only lead to the spread of bureaucratism in the party, which would smother it, sclerose it and make it degenerate. The work of the party must be taken in hand and managed by the communists themselves, who must rise to their feet, hold meetings, discuss, criticise, check, demand and render account, explain and argue, adopt decisions, in a word, they must act themselves, not wait for others to do their work and solve their problems.

The communists who work in the state, economic, or military organs besides being capable technicians and specialists, must be political men, first of all specialists in the line of the party such as to see all the problems of their sector of work with a political eye first of all, must always put in command, not the equipment or the weapon, but the man and the policy of the party because as communists they are responsible to the party, in the first place,

for the implementation of its line and policy in the sector where they work. And when they go to the enterprises, schools, or military units to check up and give assistance, it is required that they do not act as bureaucrats and technocrats who make contact only with the specialists, technicians and managers, but without fail they must make contact with the party in the district and at the base, with the working class and the working masses, must listen attentively to their remarks, criticisms and suggestions, place themselves always under the control of the party, the working class and the masses, must render account before them and seek their aid in solving the problems which are concerning them.

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The struggle against bureaucratism, technocratism, and intellectualism, is a protracted, complicated, and many sided struggle. It is a political and ideological, economic and organisational, cultural and administrative struggle. Therefore, in order to wage this struggle successfully it is not sufficient just to have correct concepts and use a correct method. For this it is also necessary to take organisational, economic, and administrative measures, so as to create the objective conditions which will make it impossible for bureaucratism, technocratism and intellectualism to emerge and spread, so that the cadres will always remain servants of the people, the masses will actively play their decisive role, and the party will always be revolutionary and in the lead everywhere.

Our party has waged and continues to wage this struggle in a frontal way, in all directions and with the use of all means. The supreme aim of this entire struggle is to ensure that the process of the socialist development of our country will never be transformed into a bureaucratic process but preserve and strengthen its revolutionary features, develop as a creative process, as a living deed of the working masses, led by the working class party, firmly based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

# GREAT DRIVING AND INSPIRING FORCE

**The writers and artists, feeling the warmth and continuous concern of the Party, surrounded by the love and respect of the people for their work, being aware of their lofty mission in our society as educators of the people, will create more powerful works, imbued with the lofty ideas of our glorious epoch and written in the pure and beautiful language of our people**

**by DRITËRO AGOLLI**

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA'S SPEECH ON LITERATURE AND THE ARTS DELIVERED AT THE SECRETARIAT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PLA ON DECEMBER 20, 1974, HAS INCREASED THE ENTHUSIASM OF OUR WRITERS AND ARTISTS, AS WELL AS THEIR DEEP CONCERN FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR LITERATURE AND ARTS OF SOCIALIST REALISM. THEIR CONCERN CLEARLY SHOWED THEIR CONSCIOUS RESPONSIBILITY AS ARTISTS AND CITIZENS TO ACCOMPLISH THAT LOFTY, NOBLE, AND REVOLUTIONARY MISSION WITH WHICH THE PEOPLE AND THE PARTY HAVE ENTRUSTED THEM AT THE PRESENT STAGE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR SOCIETY. AND THIS IS NOT ONLY THE CONCERN OF THE WRITERS AND ARTISTS, BUT OF THE WHOLE SOCIETY, BECAUSE LITERATURE AND ART ARE BECOMING MORE AND MORE A CONCERN OF EVERYBODY, AND THIS BECOMES A GREAT FORCE IMPELLING AND INSPIRING TO NEW WORKS.

This programmatic speech of comrade Enver Hoxha raises a series of theoretical and practical problems, such as those of the formation of a new world outlook and new concepts about creativity, about knowledge of life and about internal and external contradictions, the development of the various genres of our literature and arts, the relationship between folk art and cultivated art, etc. The foundation of comrade Enver Hoxha's speech was the Marxist-Leninist philosophy, while it was based firmly on our own soil. It is a further elaboration of the aesthetic thought which has emerged from the many-years' experience of our Party.

The ideas contained in this important speech are a great aid for the formation and education of creators with clear concepts and dealt with from the philosophical and theoretical angle, for in this way we shall further develop our revolutionary aesthetics and our literature and arts.

By going thoroughly into all these problems, broad horizons of creation are opened before our writers and artists, and at the same time great tasks arise for the present and the future, the accomplishment of which is the implementation of the decisions of the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party and the pro-

gramme of its 6th Congress on the development of our literature and arts.

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One of the important problems which the Party has always raised and which comrade Enver Hoxha dealt with extensively in his speech of December 20 last year, is that of the role of literature and arts in forming the new world outlook in our people and our society. This role is becoming ever greater in the present conditions of socialist construction in our country, when the class struggle is fierce and the external bourgeois-revisionist ideological pressure is becoming more sophisticated and savage. Many evils menace our man today: the reactionary ideologies, retrogressive cultures and arts, the remnants of the crumbling bourgeois and petty-bourgeois world, vices with conservative and bureaucratic tendencies, selfishness and gossip, liberal manifestations, ideological confusion, spiritual emptiness. Therefore, the literature and arts, which have man in the centre, must not only defend him from all these things, but must strive to make him conscious of the struggle against them, the struggle for progress. Together with all the propaganda and the entire work of the Party, they are a great force for the moulding of the new man. For this reason, the time requires militant works of lofty partisanship and fine artistic level. On this problem comrade Enver Hoxha says: «The Party must create in people and in society, that world outlook, those customs, those feelings, those tastes, those ethics, that revolutionary philosophy which will not allow either the revival or the spread of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois world outlooks» (Enver Hoxha «The writers and artists are the auxiliary of the Party in the communist education of our men and women», p. 8).

All this has to do with the lofty mission in our society of the writers and artists, who through their works, educate thousands of people day by day. They have always been conscious of this mission. The militant spirit of their works has already entered into the national character of our literature and arts and is part of our tradition.

Following the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, when the Party and society placed before our writers and artists other important duties to strengthen the proletarian partisanship and increase the revolutionary ideological tendency of the literary-artistic works in struggle against alien influence, a fierce ideological struggle as successfully carried out on the front of literature and arts, against liberalism and conservatism, against any alien manifestation in the sphere of artistic creativity, to assert and consolidate our literature and arts of socialist realism. Guided by the Party, our writers and artists achieved a number of successes in this struggle, doing tireless creative work with a high socialist consciousness. Within the short period of one and a half years, all our creators responded to the Party's call with militant works, condemning, with a consciousness as citizens, alien influences and concepts which had managed to penetrate into some creators and which had shown up in some works of ours, as a result of the external bourgeois-revisionist ideological pressure and the anti-Party activity of the enemies of the Party and the people, F. Paçrami and T. Lubonja. At this time, our literature and arts once again showed their force as a complete negation of the bourgeois and revisionist literature and arts, and as an affirmation of the new, of the revolutionary beauty, of socialism and communism. Our Party and people are justly proud of our literature and art of socialist realism, of our writers, artists, composers, painters, and sculptors, who, with their creations and works, have justified the trust which the Party and the people have in them, considering them as vanguard militants on the ideological front of our struggle for the construction of socialism. Loyal to the people and the Party, with their ideological maturity and with their professional abilities as artistic creators, they have provided and are providing every day, powerful educative works which constitute an irreplaceable spiritual nutriment for our working masses, showing that the main body of our literature and arts is really sound and that the regressive influences were only off shoots. This is shown by the novels

published after the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, such as «Awakening» by S. Spasse, «Nebi Sureli's awakening» by Dh. Xhuvani, «Through the barred pathways» by M. Kallamata, etc. It is shown by the poems «The Message» by Ll. Siliqi «We are going towards hundreds of centuries» by F. Arapi, the poetry cycles by F. Gjata, and I. Kadare, the films «White roads» by V. Gjika and «The youngest city in the world» by Xh. Keko, etc. For their militant spirit and the great role they play in the communist education of our men and women, mention must be made, also, of the two Radio-Television song festivals of the last two years. But one of the great achievements, which became a real centre of ideological and esthetic education of the masses, is the National Exhibition of Figurative Arts which was opened in the new gallery on the eve of the November festivals last year. It crowned with success all the efforts of our painters and sculptors to carry out the tasks laid down by the Party at the 4th Plenum of its Central Committee.

All these successes were not achieved spontaneously. They were ensured thanks to the correct leadership of our Party and the work of our writers and artists, who have continually responded to the instructions of our Party and have been on a common front with its propaganda to form the new revolutionary world outlook in people and society. However, we must never for a moment forget the lofty mission of the writers and artists in society, and we must not become intoxicated by the successes achieved.

It is always necessary to remember that the wave of the influences of alien bourgeois-revisionist ideologies is everlastingly beating against our shores, that among the people of literature and arts, due to the delicate and sensitive nature of their social position and specific work they have, no one is immune from the influences of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, which not only surrounds us, but also attacks us incessantly. Therefore, we must cope with this attack every day and every hour, by going on the attack, by further intensifying the struggle against this ideology, putting aside our weakness-

ses of a subjective character, and correctly assessing the social mission of the author in the activity and life of the people. This requires a further strengthening of political tendentiousness in our literary-artistic creativity, rejecting those alien concepts which consider works of profound political content as agitation. Such a concept leads to bourgeois-revisionist «isms», to an art which is merely recreational and diverting, which is entirely alien to us. We shall always affirm that apoliticism is death to art, is a snuffing out of its lofty mission in the life of man. Cultural values cannot be created while being apolitical, and those who have thought of them as apolitical have failed. Our writers and artists are well aware of this; therefore they have always been political people and have militated on the line of the Party, which expresses and defends the interests of the people, the homeland, and socialism. They have regarded art as a social phenomenon, because it is created in the conditions of the life of society.

The Party has continually fought to form new and correct concepts about talent and art, the artist and the writer. True, talent is the special ability of man in his artistic creativity, but it is developed under the direct influence of social conditions. In this way, talent too, is the offspring of society. The bourgeois and revisionist theoreticians strive to deny the dependence of talent on society, to rear, in this way, artists indifferent towards the questions of the revolution. In our society we educate talents with lofty esthetic and social ideals, which helps them to get to know life with all its contradictions, with its beauties and difficulties, its joys and worries, and to have a clear view of the positive, the future. But the writers and artists of great or little talent need to educate themselves and form new concepts about their creativity, skill, and talent itself.

The raising of the Marxist-Leninist theoretical level of the artists has a direct influence on their creativity. Many things and phenomena in society cannot be understood without a theoretical formation. The very treatment of antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions of the typical and the individual, requires an all-

round Marxist-Leninist philosophical preparation, otherwise mistakes and distortions may result. With a thorough Marxist-Leninist theoretical preparation and a serious acquaintance with life we shall make no cession whatever to the theories and modes of reactionary art and culture. Our artist is not an «artist in himself». While creating, he addresses himself to his contemporaries and shares his opinions and feelings with them, revealing his world outlook and esthetic ideal.

Also with regard to research and experimentation in creativity we must form new, correct concepts. We shall carry out innovatory research and experimentation, for in this way we shall open new roads in literature and art. But in this experimentation the writers and artists must never forget their lofty social mission, the educative function and purpose of art. If they forget these, then they engage in idle experimentation and in petty themes useless to society. It is necessary to form strong convictions, both in experienced artists, and in the young ones too, that the social purpose of art and its militant spirit do not suppress artistic individuality, but on the contrary they liberate it and give it wings.

By delving deeply into the teachings of our Party, the works of comrade Enver Hoxha, the ideas of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, and the experience of progressive world culture, we shall always be able to distinguish what is real art and what external lustre or poison pill. Real art is that which expresses the ideals of the people and serves the people, that art which has had and will always have high esthetic requirements. These requirements must be observed, for without them it would be a formalistic art. But formalism is an attitude of disdain for the esthetic demands of the people, that is why strong convictions are required to always fight it, as well as any other «ism».

The problem of the mission of literature and the arts in our society is great and all-sided, from both the theoretical and the practical aspects. Therefore, it is necessary that it should be dealt with more extensively by theoreticians as well as by the creative artists themselves. This

problem is closely connected with, and inseparable from, our knowledge of life, because the more deeply we immerse ourselves in life the more true and militant our works will be.

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One of the major problems raised by comrade Enver Hoxha in his speech of December 20 last year, is the role of real knowledge of life on the part of writers and artists. He teaches us: However developed his imagination may be, a poet who does not know the reality cannot make up a powerful poem. If he combines his imagination well with the objective reality of his country, with the vivid life of the people and fights expressions full of pompous phrases in his writings, he, too, can become a talented writer» (Enver Hoxha, «The writers and artists are the auxiliary of the Party for the communist education of our men and women», p. 13-14).

Our writers and artists have always had this great problem at the centre of their attention, as it is vital to art. Getting to know life philosophically has to do with the Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge. We have often treated it in a practical way and in the majority of cases in a moralising spirit, agitating among the writers and artists about how they must go down to construction sites or agricultural cooperatives. The main thing is to create firm convictions among them that without knowledge of life there is no true literature or art either. All the best works of our writers and artists which have entered the golden fund of literature and art, are distinguished by their vital richness, their true realism, lofty communist ideals, national spirit, and so on. Those writers and artists who have failed, apart from their lack of talent and skill, have not known life, and have not made efforts to immerse themselves completely in the broad stream of it.

Knowledge of life means to live intensively with all the problems of our society - economic, political, ideological, cultural and artistic. Creative experience teaches us that the social and political activity of the writers and artists, their participation in the ideological struggle, their moulding with communist ideals, open to

them boundless horizons for healthy creativity.

From all this we come to a great truth: there can be no knowledge of life without ideological tendency. Ideological tendency opens one's eyes to see the tendencies of social development, which are embodied in the works of literature and art. We say this, because in some cases there are writers and artists who set out «to get to know life» in a factory or village without a definite aim, without a tendency. Knowledge of life becomes a spiritual necessity to a real author and he does not wait for others to moralize about it. Both earlier and now the writers, J. Xoxa and Dh. Xhuvani have been persistent in their demands to go to those places from which they have taken their subjects, otherwise they cannot create.

It is natural that the author goes down to the terrain for several reasons: to supplement the theme he has chosen, to verify things in the work he is writing, to refresh himself with new impressions, and to find themes from objective reality. Thus, getting to know life by going to the base is not a campaign or festival for show. It is done with a tendency and a definite creative aim. But knowledge of life is not limited just to the immediate needs of creativity. Linking with the life and struggle of our people must become a style of our artistic life, the nature of the work of our authors. When we have succeeded in making it a style we have truly scored a victory. Knowledge of life and being among people of work and creativity give powerful emotions and new impulses to creativity. Then the reader believes in the written work and has respect for the knowledge the artist gives him. The reader has the right to say about such an artist: «I believe him, because he knows what he is writing about».

Knowledge of our reality, and of the ordinary people of work and creativity is an acute problem, particularly for the young authors. We say this because in many of their creations in prose, poetry, painting, or sculpture, there is a narrow circle of themes, ideas, and opinions. In these works, one is aware of bookish artificiality and schematic colourlessness. There is a certain monotony and stereoty-

pism in the poems and stories we read in the press and books. The conflicts are often artificial and non-existent, figuration carries no opinions and is repeated from one poet to another, as if from the one head and written by the one hand. Therefore, it is essential that creative leave should be granted on the basis of more correct criteria and that the writers and artists go and spend their creative leave in the villages and agricultural enterprises too. The main thing is to form the conscious conviction that without the theme of the countryside our literature and art cannot be fully realistic. This will be attained when we have completely broken, among the ranks of the authors, the concept supported by the enemies of our Party and people, F. Paçrami, and T. Lubonja, that allegedly the theme of the countryside is not modern, because the future belongs only to the town. Such a concept is dangerous, anti-national, and anti-scientific.

The theme of the working class, too, despite the good achievements in recent years, is treated colourlessly, because the life of our workers is still known only superficially. We have few works as yet showing the process of the transition of the peasant or artisan into a worker, reflecting the great transformations which occur in his spiritual world. In some works, stories, or plays, the worker is reflected in the framework of a set scheme, a figure who bangs the desk with his fist in face of the manager, who shouts crudely in the name of the class. This is allegedly to show «the revolutionary spirit»; But the revolutionary spirit does not consist of shouting and banging the desk. Our worker is a cultured man because he is a bearer of the most advanced thoughts and ideas of society and the representative of the proletarian ideology. The emancipated woman, especially in plays, is reflected with the same schematicism. Usually she issues declarations before her husband and the society.

All these things show that the life of our men and women must be better and more thoroughly known by our writers and artists, that these must also study some of the processes of development of our society, of the allied classes, workers

and peasants, who, with the socialist transformations of the country, have undergone great changes in their life and psychology, gaining new moral and spiritual qualities. Therefore, knowledge of life must be accompanied with knowledge of our sociological and historical studies, and of the archives and other documents of the Party.

On the importance of getting to know life, comrade Enver Hoxha instructs us: «We must teach our young literary men and artists how to read the open book of the socialist life of our country, how to study and understand the content of this wonderful book. We must make them love every letter of this book of life, so that they see and feel the powerful pulse of the strength, feelings, and fiery desires of our people» (Enver Hoxha, «The writers and artists are the auxiliary of the Party in the communist education of our men and women», p. 15-16.

One learns from this «book of life» by living cheek by jowl with the people, sharing their joys and sorrows. A good artist is never a snob. He goes to work alongside the peasant and the worker, takes part in weddings and funerals, is gongs and condolences. If he knows how to sing he sings too, together with the peasants. Only in this way can he get to know the great soul of the people. This is necessary not only to the writer, but also to the painter and composer, to the singer and actor. We sometimes complain that there are paintings in which the figures of people and landscapes are like one another and lack individuality. We also complain that only two feelings prevail in the figures of compositions and portraits in figurative arts: joy or anger. With the joy they want to show happiness, while with the anger they want to present revolutionary determination. This is a narrow concept of life and a poverty of feelings. Feelings and thoughts cannot be reduced to routine schemes and stereotypes, and should not be presented in this way. The new types our life gives rise to are complex and cannot be reflected in art in any lifeless, schematic way, without their internal struggle. The exact and realistic reflection of these types has great values when it is done on the basis of the principle of proletarian partisan-

ship and does not violate the social mission and aim of art.

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The other important question which comrade Enver Hoxha dealt with in his speech is that of the harmonious development of the kinds and genres of our arts. In this particularly valuable document almost all the kinds and genres of our creativity are analysed, but most stress has been laid on poetry, dramaturgy, cinematography, and music. Pointing out the indisputable values in these genres, assessing the most outstanding creativity of our writers and artists, comrade Enver Hoxha raises major problems regarding both theory and creative practice, which have to do with the further progress of our literature and arts.

One of the greatest achievements of our creativity is the harmonious development of all its kinds and genres. With this we may state that our literature and arts are proceeding with sure strides towards complete maturity. A few years ago we were almost without the novel and opera, scenario and symphony, telefilm and operetta and many others. Leading the whole field of literature and arts was poetry, which has great traditions and outstanding representatives of the past and present. But in these last two decades other kinds and genres have blazed the trail, too.

The novel, which had been an entirely unknown genre in our literature, began to develop rapidly, giving broad tableaux of the struggle, work, and life, of our people. Its development increased the weight of our literature and added the epic and drama that the times demanded. In this way it filled an appreciable gap which was apparent in our art and showed that the possibilities and perspectives of our creativity are great. Today we may say that novel is one of those genres which are in the lead and play an important role in the people's ideological and esthetic education. A considerable number of novels which were entered in the contest on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution and which will be published,

will further enrich the fund of our militant prose of socialist realism.

Sure strides have been made, also, by monumental sculpture, which, based on the sound tradition represented by Odhise Paskali's work, has registered good achievements in recent years and has become one of the most popular arts. Our places, squares and streets through which history has passed are being gradually adorned with monuments of sound ideological and artistic values. The same can be said about all our figurative arts which are advancing rapidly to higher levels, improving both in content and in form. The National Exhibition of Figurative Arts itself, opened in honour of the 30th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland, is a testimony to the further progress in this field. Along with all our arts, instrumental and stage music has also advanced. Today we have our own symphonies, operas and ballets. A noted success, for instance, is the "Mountain lass" ballet by Nikolla Zoraqi, which has a marked national character and a healthy revolutionary spirit.

In general, all our literary and artistic genres are advancing harmoniously and preserving their sound national and socialist spirit.

Regarding the harmonious development of genres, comrade Enver Hoxha devotes special attention to poetry. In its entirety our poetry is proceeding on a correct road and is leading all the other genres of art. Following the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party our poets have created works militant in content and form. They have successfully combated the manifestations of obscure figuration and trifling petty-bourgeois themes which were noticed in recent years. As a result of these efforts, poetry breathes life more rigorously and is optimistic. However, there are many problems which are troubling poetry, too, at the present stage of the development of society. It is true that our poetry has made a great qualitative stride, but it must be said that some poets are not going beyond the level it has attained. Many poets, especially the young ones, have few thoughts about man and life in their poetry. Theme is a figurative enumeration of things

seen in life, a certain information with figures, and a lack of synthesis. In some cases poetry has begun to lose that little narration, that little content of verse, therefore it frequently becomes abstract and pompous. A poetic mechanism has been created and we strive to squeeze life into it, to include the minor things of reality. This mechanism hinders the writing of long poems, in particular, because it is impossible to confine this great poetical genre to mechanical schemes. Verses with a certain figurative trickery, might be included in it and create the false impression that it is poetry. In order to write powerful poems the poet must take part in the ideological struggle, be present and active in revolutionary social transformations and must not be a mere observer of events.

Young talents are of great national value. They are the future of our art, therefore the whole society must look after them, but the experienced writers and artists first of all. It is necessary to encourage them by publishing their good writings but also by making fair and constructive criticism. In this direction a great role in their ideological and esthetic education is played by lively creative discussions about the books and works of young authors, advice, and wise and patient teaching. Our literary press, the newspaper «Drita», and the review «Nëntori», are doing good work nowadays, with the new creative forces, in discussing their problems. This work, which is of to a goods start, must be deepened and enriched. On the other hand, in view of the need to educate new talents it would be a good thing to have mass publications about artistic skills and the most pressing current problems of our art and literature.

Poetry has always been followed by song. They are closely related and complement one another. We have beautiful songs based on the national background. The most striking of them have now been spread among the broad working masses of town and countryside. But, as is always admitted, our song needs greater artistic simplicity.

In the harmonious development of genres, marked weaknesses are noticed in our literary and artistic criticism. Of course

we cannot deny its achievements, following the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, in treating some fundamental problems of creativity, such as those of the national character, tradition and innovation, satire and humour, the typical and the individual, the positive hero, etc. Comrade Enver Hoxha points out that «our critics must be realist like the work they analyse, they must be simple, understandable, concise and understandable to the public» (Enver Hoxha, «The writers and artists are the auxiliary of the Party in the communist education of our men and women» p. 23).

In comrade Enver Hoxha's speech art is conceived as a great national wealth which is part of the work of society. But like any other wealth, it can be misused, it can fail to be well cared for. Criticism must not misuse this wealth, but must know how to assess it and keep it in good order.

Being aware of the weaknesses of our criticism and also the lack of critics, for they are few in number, it is necessary that the authors themselves should do more to write and give opinions. Their creative experience helps in giving correct and constructive thoughts about literature and art. Apart from this, more must be done to draw on the opinion of the broad working masses – workers, peasants, intellectuals servicemen, school pupils and students. This will enrich critical thinking, too. In this field, our literary press, the newspaper «Drita» and the review «Nëntori», could do better work, by regularly featuring the opinions of the masses.

It is known that we have no special schools for our critics. They are trained and educated by studying the experience of our Party on enriching theoretical thinking in the field of aesthetics and the arts. They are educated, likewise, by learning from the classics of Marxism-Leninism, and following, step by step, the process of the development of our literature and arts. It would be well to hold seminars and study courses for young critics, from time to time, to organise creative discussions in the editorial boards of the literary and artistic newspapers and those of other publications. These editorial boards must play the role of educa-

tors and inspirers of the young critics. Such activity would increase the number of collaborators and would enrich the press. Tirana University and the Academy of Sciences should give great assistance in training and educating literary, and art critics. These major centres also can broadly activate collaborators, particularly in the study of the problem of present day literature and art.

Many problems raised by the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha in his latest speech about literature and the arts require a profound theoretical treatment. Sometimes these great problems are simplified and taken narrowly, without broadly extending thinking from art to society and viceversa. Our criticism must learn from the Party documents to link the problems of art closely with those of our social development. This linking is often done in a simplified way and banalised with the day to day bureaucratic phraseology. We must not forget that the bureaucratic element is not only at an office desk, but is also at the desk of the critic, sometimes even at the desk of the writer and artist.

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Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech delivered at the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Party on literature and the arts, has opened to our creative artists new horizons of thinking and creation. The thoughts and directives of our beloved leader will give a new impulse to our literature and arts so that we take another qualitative leap on the road to the fulfilment of the great tasks laid down by the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party. Our writers and artists, feeling the warmth and continuous concern of the Party, surrounded by the love and respect of the people for their work, and being aware of their lofty mission in our society as educators of the people, will create more powerful works, imbued with the lofty ideas of our glorious epoch and written in the pure and beautiful language of our people. With these works they will bring new joys to their people and Party who take so much care for the flourishing of our socialist culture and arts.

# **TO CONTRIBUTE TO SOCIETY THE MAXIMUM OF OUR ENERGIES AND TAKE FROM IT THAT WHICH IS DUE TO US**

**by ABDYL BACKA**

**The principle of contributing to society the maximum of our energies and seeking from it as much as is due to us is a synthesis of the fundamental requirements for the construction and development of our socialist social order. The correct understanding and application of this principle runs like a red thread through the entire political, ideological, economic and social activity of the working class and the masses of other working people under the leadership of the Party**

OUR PARTY OF LABOUR IS GUIDED IN ITS ENTIRE ACTIVITY BY THE SUPREME AIM-THE BEST POSSIBLE FULFILMENT OF THE REAL MATERIAL AND CULTURAL NEEDS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE, THE CONTINUOUS AND GENERAL RAISING OF THE WELLBEING OF THE PEOPLE, AND THE EDUCATION OF THE NEW MAN WITH THE FEATURES AND VIRTUES OF COMMUNIST MORALITY. THE HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY IN OUR COUNTRY HAS FULLY PROVED THAT ONLY UNDER THE SOCIALIST SOCIAL ORDER IS POSSIBLE TO CONSCIOUSLY MANAGE THE PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF MATERIAL GOODS, AS WELL AS THE CARRYING OUT OF OTHER SOCIAL ACTIVITIES, ON A TRULY SCIENTIFIC BASIS, KEEPING THE WORKING MAN WITH HIS ALLROUND needs, in all the variations of daily economic and social life, always at the centre of attention.

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The increase of the needs and demands of the members of our society for material goods and various essential and cultural services is a natural and continuous process. This endless process of consumption constitutes the aim of socialist social

production. However, to meet the needs of the working people for personal and social consumption it is necessary, first of all to fulfill a series of needs of the enterprises and cooperatives, essential to ensuring the factors for the development of social production (working means, objects of work and manpower). Without ensuring these requirements it is impossible to ensure the fulfilment of the needs and demands of the working people. Thus, in the process of the development of the people's economy, in the process of the development of the branches of material production and the social and cultural sectors, as well as in the process of ful-

filling the material and spiritual needs of the working masses, there arise ever greater needs and demands for consumption of material goods and for vital and cultural services.

But when we raise and analyse the problem of needs and demands, whether for the development of extended reproduction or for consumption by the people, we are always faced with one simple but essential fact: With what do we fulfill the needs of production and the people? Where do we find the means and resources for their fulfilment?

It is clear that the material or spiritual needs are not an abstract notion, divorced from the material development of the society. Without material goods we cannot fulfill our needs; without producing means of production and consumer goods in increasingly greater proportions, of good quality and with the required structure we cannot consume use values in ever greater proportions, for purposes of productive consumption or non-productive consumption. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, «by acting on nature the working people get to know more and more about it, discover the laws of its continuous development and transformation, which they use to appropriate its boundless riches, and produce the material goods with which they fulfill both their needs for individual consumption and those of extended reproduction. This is a natural, uninterrupted, and endless process of production and consumption» (Enver Hoxha, Reports and speeches 1969-1970, p. 45-46). This is precisely the theoretical and practical basis of the constant instruction of the Party that before we demand from society we must contribute to it the maximum of our energies and possibilities.

This principle emanates from the requirements of the objective economic laws of the construction of socialist and communist society. It is, at the same time, a concentrated expression of the demands stemming from the general principles and methods of the organisation, management, and development of the socialist economy.

The aim of socialist production, which is to ensure the maximum fulfilment of the ever greater material and cultural

needs of the whole society, together with the means to achieve this aim, which is ensured through the ceaseless increase and improvement of socialist production, express the mutual relations between production and consumption. Consumption promotes production, while the latter constitutes the material basis of consumption. Any separate consideration of these two aspects of the fundamental economic laws is fraught with grave consequences for the socialist social order because it damages and hinders the revolutionary education of the working people, the development of extended reproduction and the very raising, in a correct way, of the wellbeing of the working people. The experience of socialist construction shows that without an allround, principled struggle for the disclosure and correct solution of the contradictions which emerge in the field of the economy, the increase of the general wellbeing of the people cannot be ensured. This is because in day to day life cases are not rare in which people are led by narrow personal interests, in which existence as a consumer is not connected with existence as a producer, so that the problems and difficulties of the creation of material goods, the problems and troubles of the people's economy are not properly recognised and understood, etc.

The principle of contributing to society before demanding from it, emanates also from the requirements of the relations of the distribution of the social product in socialism. The Marxist-Leninist theory teaches us, and the practice of socialist construction has confirmed that in the socialist social order, before arriving at the division of the social product among the members of the society to fulfill their personal needs, implementing the principle of distribution according to work, it is necessary to make some deductions (create special funds from the social product), without which the existence and development of society is impossible. These deductions from the total social product, Karl Marx wrote, «are an indispensable economic necessity, and their proportions must be set on the basis of the existing means and forces...» (Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, selected works, Vol. II.

Tirana, p. 13). The day to day practice of socialist construction shows that there cannot be incomes without production, the development of production and other social activities cannot take place without accumulation, there can be no increase of wellbeing without ensuring the necessary means for increasing the funds of individual and social consumption, without correctly harmonizing the ways and factors of the development of the social product, without ensuring that priority is given to the increase of the product for society over the product for one's self.

The content of the economic law of distribution according to work in socialism is also directly connected with the most complete application of the principle of contributing to society before demanding from it. And this is because:

**First**, this law requires that everyone contribute to society the maximum of his energy and abilities. In our society, the working people, as the owners of the means of production and of the social product itself, educated and tempered with the Marxist-Leninist ideology of the party, with the revolutionary spirit of the working class, direct their main attention and they must do this, to contributing to society the maximum of the effect of their work under the slogan: See wellbeing not only in ourselves, but in the first place, in the whole society. This automatically brings about the fulfilment of personal interest too, for in our country, where socialist relations of production have been established and are being perfected in a revolutionary way, and the exploitation of man by man has been eliminated, the proper harmonisation of social interests with individual interests is also ensured.

**Second**, the law of distribution for personal consumption requires that everyone be rewarded according to the quantity and quality of the work he does, always after the creation of the necessary funds for reproduction and social needs. Hence, every worker of material production must first contribute and then take to the extent allowed by the conditions and needs of society in any given period (always on the basis of a single criterion, the criterion of social labour). This is of principled importance, not only for the building and per-

fecting of the pay system, but also for its correct application, laying the stress on the fight against the petty-bourgeois concept and efforts associated with it, to contribute to the society less than one should, and to take from it more than one is entitled to.

Both the fundamental principles, and the general methods of the organisation, management and development of the socialist economy, are based on the necessity that first you must contribute to society and then demand from it. Thus, you must improve and raise to a higher scientific level the work for the drafting of realistic and mobilising plans; you must form a full concept in all the working people that the basis of the strengthening of the savings regime consists in the first place in the fulfilment of the tasks of the state plan in all the links of the structure of the people's economy; you must use the resources of labour economically and incessantly increase its productivity, you must use the material values frugally and raise the level of their profitable use; you must increase the production of products useful and advantageous to society and of good quality; you must increase the care and efforts for the use with high effectiveness of the accumulation fund in general and of capital investments in particular; you must increase the care and responsibility for the many-fold increase of the objects of socialist property, for their preservation and good administration—all these constitute the main directions, not only and simply for strengthening the savings regime, but also because by giving the maximum of our possibilities to society we are able to take more from it. It is understandable, that the more the work is organized in these directions, the more we give to society, the greater will be results in production, construction, services, and management, with the minimum of expenditure of social labour.

The analysis in general out-lines of the content of the objective economic laws of socialism, of the content of the general principles and methods of management of the economy, leads to the logical conclusion that before demanding from society everyone must make his own contribution, mobilizing his energies and possibilities

to the maximum. This analysis also leads to the conclusion that the work of people, educated with the working class ideology, under the leadership of the party, and the application by them of the requirements of the objective economic laws, constitute the foundation of the incessant economic and social development on the road of socialism. «To have more», comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, «you must produce more; to have good, beautiful and cheap things, you must work well, be disciplined at work, educate yourself, you must work eight hours, and even more sometimes, you must produce with good quality according to the assortments laid down and in the set time... you must realise the contracts, the obligations, the plans» (Enver Hoxha, Reports and speeches 1972-1973, p. 287).

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A general characteristic of the development of our socialist social order is putting the general and perspective interests, first, the allround mobilisation of the working class and the other labouring masses, under the leadership of the party, to contribute the maximum to society, to place their creative energies at the service of the cause of the construction of socialist society. This fundamental characteristic stands out in the rapid and nonstop development of all the branches and sectors of our socialist economy.

During the years 1951-1974 the population of our country increased on the average by 2,5-3 per cent yearly, while social production and national income 8-10 per cent yearly (about 3 times as fast as the rate of increase of the population), industrial production increased every year by 13,8 per cent, while the total agricultural production about 5 per cent and in recent years 6 per cent. Our industry is ever better fulfilling the great needs of the country for means of production. With our home products we fulfil 4/5 of the needs of the population for mass consumer goods. During this whole period 60-70 per cent of the increase of social product and national income has been ensured from the increased productivity of social labour.

Beginning from 1960, the net income, or socialist accumulation, has increased at a rate 30 per cent higher than the rate of increase of national income. From a norm of accumulation of 26-27 per cent in the years 1951-1960, in the period of the fifth five-year plan it has reached the level of 34-37 per cent.

Likewise the fund of consumption (individual and social) as compared with the year 1950, in 1973 increased 4,4 times over or 2,3 times faster than the increase of the country's population. In 1973, in comparison with 1960, the state expenditure on sociocultural measures has increased about 3 times. On the average 2-3 members of every family are working, while the participation of women in work, in the framework of the total number of the workers and employees, from only 4 per cent in 1938, increased in 1973, to more than 40 per cent. Today more than half of the population of the country live in new houses built during the decades of the people's state power.

All these facts speak of the high rates achieved and the correct proportions applied, in the economic and social development of the country on the road of socialist construction. They show that from one year to another, the intensive factors of development have gained superiority, that the rates of development of production exceed the rate of increase of the population several fold, thus ensuring the further increase of the wellbeing of the people. They show likewise, that the sources of socialist accumulation have been increased at a more rapid rate than the increase of material production, and that our socialist economy has created its stability and is continually strengthening it.

Our Party and people have set themselves great tasks and high objectives to march steadily ahead in the construction of socialist society. In this process, as comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, the victories and successes achieved must not become an excuse for self-complacency. Therefore it is logical, parallel with the successes, to look with a critical eye at the work, the shortcomings, the gaps, and reserves, to discover the contradictions of development and solve them in the right way.

The correct understanding and application of the principle of contributing as much as possible to society and taking from it as much as we are entitled to makes indispensable the further strengthening of the society's control, especially over the activity of officials and the use of material values in the social and cultural sectors, over the activity of the non-productive sphere and management of production in general. «Just as it is demanded of the workers that they produce in large quantity, with good quality and at low prices», comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, «with the same class rigourousness it is demanded that the intelligentsia too, and other working people should work with precision, high quality, and efficiency.» (Enver Hoxha, Reports and speeches 1972-1973, p. 95).

As is known, in this respect we have to do with two fundamental features: **first**, the result of the socially useful work of officials and other working people of the non-productive sphere is the performance of various services, and not the creation of material values. Thus, we have to do with a field which does not create, but only uses material values and income. **Second**, from the very nature of their work, the working people of this sphere are more easily affected by the evil of bureaucratism and technocratism. Here, too society's control over the work of everyone is more difficult.

Marxism-Leninism, and the rich experience of the development of the class struggle in our country show us that here it is not simply a question of a rational and advantageous use of social expenditure in the non-productive sphere, but, in the first place, of maintaining the purity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of defending it from the danger of bourgeois degeneration, barring every way to the birth and development of bureaucratism. Therefore, in essence, this must be conceived as a continuous struggle against bureaucratism and its disastrous consequences for socialism.

A lesson of great theoretical and practical importance in this direction is provided for us by the powerful revolutionary movements which have burst out throughout our country for the purpose of carry-

ing out a consistent, resolute, and incessant struggle against bureaucratism, a struggle which is led by the party and is realized in a revolutionary way through the large-scale and effective exercise of direct working class control over all the links of managerial, scientific, and social activity. This experience shows once again that the fight against bureaucratism is a class struggle which has to do with the defence of the revolutionary character of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This revolutionary experience is demonstrating in a convincing way that it is only the persistence of the class and the determination of the party, which guarantee the successful carrying out of the struggle against bureaucratism. This struggle has been and is being waged, not only against the superfluous links and inflation of administrative apparatuses and institutions of the various links of management and service, but also against the idealist and individualist world outlook of the official, against the danger of his divorce and estrangement from the broad working masses, against concepts and practices leading to a life of comfort, against an unhealthy concept of wellbeing. In as much as all the links of the managerial structure and social and cultural activities are revolutionised and become lighter and more manouvable in the process of this struggle, in as much as the people's power is steeled and the class control over all the life of the country is strengthened in this same process, thereby opening wide roads to the revolutionary impetus of the masses and their creative spirit, it is clear that in the process of the struggle against bureaucratism, an even greater contribution to society will become possible, the economy will be further strengthened and the life of our people will become happier.

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The revolutionary application of the principle of contributing to society before taking from it, requires that we go more deeply into the question of what are the motive forces which impel people to work and create in a conscious way, to the advantage of society, guiding themselves, pri-

marily, by the supreme interests of the homeland and our socialist construction. Determinant in this field are the socialist character of the ownership over the means of production and of the relations of exchange and distribution stemming from this, the aim of social production, i.e. the economic results in which the owners of the means of production are directly interested, and the continued revolutionisation of the superstructure and of the whole life of the country.

The historical experience of the socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country, the bitter experience of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and other countries where the modern revisionists are in power, fully and clearly demonstrate that the motive forces which impel people in their socio-economic activity are of exceptional importance to the fate of the socialist social order. It is for these reasons that our party has always taken great care to preserve the socialist character of the relations of production pure and inviolable to harmonise correctly the ways of increasing the wellbeing of the people, and, in general, to correctly assess both the objective and the subjective factors, in our entire economic development. In this context, the problem of the proper combination of the material factors of work and production with the ideological and political education of the working people and with the use of the advantages that stem from the existence and development of the socialist social order, is of particular importance.

Since ensuring the conditions for the allround development of the members of the society is linked to a great extent with the fulfilment of their personal material and vital needs, it is understandable that the material-economic interest of the working people is a principal driving force to better work, and, consequently, also to greater results in every activity. The best possible fulfilment of the needs of the working people, in conformity with the concrete conditions, with the aims and possibilities of the society in any given period, has been and remains the supreme aim of the activity of our party. The level achieved, and that which will be achieved in the future, in the fulfilment of these

needs, is connected, in the first place, with the level of development of the productive forces and social production. Whereas the ways followed to ensure the wellbeing of the people are linked not only with the level of development of material production, but also with those ideological, political, and social objectives, which make it possible for the increase of the wellbeing of the people to serve always as one of the powerful components of the revolutionary education of the working people and the gradual solution of the great problems which arise in the course of the construction of socialist society.

Summing up the experience today shows that the fulfilment of the individual and collective needs of the working people, i.e. the increase of the wellbeing of the people, has been done in three main directions: First, by giving absolute priority to the employment of the able-bodied forces in socially useful work; second, by increasing the real wages of the working people, mainly through the reduction of retail sale prices, without neglecting the raising of their nominal incomes; third, by giving priority to increasing the fund of social consumption in relation to individual consumption. Figures show that during the 1951-1973 period, while the productivity of social labour increased about 4 fold, the per capita real income about doubled.

Such a course has served the uninterrupted and general increase of the wellbeing of the people, gradually strengthening the social character of the fulfilment of the needs of the working people through the narrowing of economic inequality between the peasantry and the working class, between officials and workers, and between various areas of the countryside. However, as the party has pointed out, much still remains to be done in this field, because in the present conditions there are still appreciable differences in purchasing power and levels of consumption between the countryside and the town, and within them. The party has laid down the task of not allowing great differentiations in the incomes between town and countryside and between workers and officials. In the future, alongside the increase of national income and the application of special mea-

asures, which result from the revolutionary proposals being made by the working people in the framework of the fight against bureaucratism, such as: the reduction of high salaries, the curtailment of inflated staffs, the abolition of unnecessary supplementary payments, etc., it will become possible to further reduce the differentiation existing in the pay system for some categories of working people, and the social character of the fulfilment of their material and spiritual needs will be further strengthened by way of the general increase of the wellbeing of the people. This is a correct Marxist-Leninist course which has been and is being consistently followed by our party. This course serves the development everywhere of the mobilizing force of the working people, serves their revolutionary education and the narrowing of the economic basis from which bourgeois elements might emerge.

It is important to have a correct understanding that in the conditions of the planned development of our people's economy and its centralized management it is necessary to establish and maintain correct connections between the increase of the productivity of social labour, on the one hand, and the increase of real incomes for the entire population, on the other hand. This is so because if we were to follow the practice of increasing nominal wages mainly in proportion to the increase of labour productivity in individual enterprises and in various branches of the economy, this would undoubtedly lead us to an excessive increase of the weight of material incentive and various bonuses from profit in the entirety of the sources of the forming of the average nominal pay, and the role of the tariff system of pay would gradually decline. Thus the distribution of the wage fund would become increasingly decentralised, weakening and causing the loss of society's control over the quantity of consumption.

Such a road cannot be followed and has not been followed in our country. That is a revisionist road. It is precisely this road that has been followed in the Soviet Union and in other revisionist countries, basing the formation of nominal pay and personal consumption more and more on bonu-

ses from profits realised under the slogan «the greater the profit the more the bonus fund increases». And here it is a question, in the first place, of a bonus fund as large as possible for the benefit of the revisionist managers. The consequences are known to everybody. In these countries, on the basis of the change in the content of the conditions of production, material interest and material incentive were absolutised, and a broad way was opened to capitalist relations of distribution, to the detriment of the working masses and to the advantage of the oppressing and exploiting classes, creating very pronounced differences in their incomes and life styles.

The more the differences among the working people in the distribution and consumption of goods are narrowed, on the basis of the principle of distribution according to work done, the more necessary it becomes to increase and strengthen the role of revolutionary motives and of other driving forces in our social order. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that this is of decisive importance for the fate of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist economic social order. Here is one of the main demarcation lines between the Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists, between the socialist social order and the bourgeois-revisionist social order.

The historical experience of the construction of the socialist social order, as well as the negative experience of the restoration of capitalism in the countries where the modern revisionists are in power, has raised this problem in a clearcut way. Here there is no middle course. Either correctly harmonise the material interest of the working people with the motives which promote social development giving ever greater priority to the latter, and thus advance towards the construction of socialist society, or give absolute priority to direct material interest and material incentive to the advantage of privileged groups and strata, thus extending the economic basis of the differentiation of distribution, and neglect, under-rate, let wither away, and reject, the motive forces of socialist society which are directly connected with the revolutionary class cha-

racter of the new socialist social order. If there is not a correct harmonisation of material interest with the revolutionary motives and the other motive forces of socialist society, and even more so, if priority is given to supplementary material incentives, then the way is opened to the capitalist degeneration of the relations of production, to the restoration of capitalism, as it occurred in reality in the Soviet Union and other countries where the working class state power was usurped by the revisionist cliques.

For these reasons, along with perfecting the relations of distribution, our party has always stressed the importance of the education of the working people with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, of their political and ideological tempering as genuine revolutionaries. In this context a major all-round struggle of great intensity is being waged against the petty-bourgeois mentality, against the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois remnants, and against the influence of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us: "... we must not imagine that, with the improvement of the living standard of the people, men and women become immune to these «evils»... together with abundance and wellbeing the Party must create in people and in society precisely that world outlook, those customs, those feelings, those tastes, those ethics, that revolutionary philosophy, which will not allow either the revival or the spread of petty-bourgeois world outlooks» (Enver Hoxha, «Writers and artists are the auxiliary of the party for the communist education of our men and women», p. 8).

The political and ideological education of people so that they thoroughly understand the party line, the waging of the class struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois remnants, as well as against the influence of alien ideology, socialist emulation on the basis of the permanent method of generalizing advanced experience, the perfecting and strengthening of the organisation and planned management of the economy, the strengthening of the working class control in all its forms and the consistent application of the requirements of the objective economic laws-

are some of the powerful, irreplaceable, motive forces in our socialist society. These forward driving forces which are embodied in the party leadership of the entire life of the country, impel people in the great work and struggle for the construction and consolidation of socialist society, as well as to prepare the ground for the new objectives to be attained in the future. Thus, with their work and sweat the working class and the masses of other working people, led by the party, contribute as much as possible to society in their own interests, in the interest of the consolidation of the happy socialist present and to guarantee the still happier future.

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The revolutionary principle of contributing to society before taking from it emerges and develops only in the conditions of the establishment and development of the socialist social ownership over the means of production, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. All the working people, both those of the sphere of material production as well those of the non-productive sphere, are interested in carrying this principle into effect. At the present stage of the complete construction of socialist society, the party has laid down the tasks of further strengthening the people's ideological and political education, constantly waging the class struggle to ensure the strengthening of our socialist social order, rapidly developing extended socialist reproduction, and increasing the general wellbeing of the working people. Precisely for this purpose the working class and all the working people of our country, under the leadership of the party, are successfully waging the struggle against bureaucratic manifestations, concepts, inclinations and practices; against the development of bureaucracy in the organisational and managerial activity of production, the state apparatus, the social and cultural sectors etc., and against its very harmful consequences.

# JUDICIAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE PR OF ALBANIA

**An historical look at the principles of construction and practical activity of the organs of socialist justice in Albania. Distinctive features of specialized organs whose duty is to apply socialist legality and defend the rights of the citizens and the interests of the dictatorship of the proletariat**

**by GRIGOR GJIKA**

## In the early years

1. With the victory of the National Liberation War, of the people's revolution, led by the revolutionary vanguard of the working class – the Communist Party of Albania, there was destroyed, together with the feudo-bourgeois state machine, also the old court of justice, there was in fact entirely abolished the reactionary law and legality. There was created in their stead the new people's tribunal, the new socialist law and socialist legality. Based on Marxism-Leninism, our Party pursued the sole correct road of the complete annihilation of the oppressive state and juridical superstructure and of the building of new organs on entirely different political and organisational principles and with aims and duties diametrically opposed to those of the organs of the overthrown regime.

The birth and development of the judicial institutions and of the new law in general, is linked with the birth and development of the new state of the dictator-

ship of the proletariat. The destruction of the state apparatus and the abolishment of the old law from the early days of the revolution was accompanied with the creation of a new state apparatus, with the creation of a revolutionary tribunal which was directed by men who had graduated the great school of the revolution, loyal sons of the Party and the state power who cherished everything gained in the struggle against the invader and the enemies of the people. Their strong and reliable backing which guaranteed the success in their work of great responsibility was the teachings of the Party, its proletarian ideology, the guiding ideas of the revolution, the new juridical norms and supervisions inspired by these ideas.

The organisation and activity of the tribunals, the forms and methods applied by the tribunals, prosecutor's and investigation offices since the first days of their birth were defined by principles sanctioned with new laws which were based on the revolutionary creativity of the masses.

Generally the Party, in working out its political line, has always proceeded cau-

tiously, it has neither shut itself in the shell of national features nor it has copied or mechanically used foreign revolutionary experience. It has always clearly realized that solely the Marxist-Leninist principles and the revolutionary experience of other communist parties do not provide a ready-made and complete political line. Therefore, it is necessary that the working class party should have amassed a great experience of its own, which is gained in revolutionary practice. For this reason, our Party, at the beginning of every historical period, has laid only the foundations of its general line, afterwards it has enriched and completed it in the practice of the revolution and socialist construction. 1) This fundamental principle has been applied also in the organizing of justice in our country, immediately after the triumph of the revolution, as well as in the other period of the development of our society. In this field, too, our State utilized the external revolutionary experience adapting it to the concrete historical conditions of the country.

2. The judicial system, as one of the active and powerful means to carry out

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the general political functions of the State, has undergone changes from time to time, in accordance with the current tasks which have been laid down in every transitory period, so as to increase their effectiveness in the realization of these tasks. Our tribunal, being one of the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has changed as far as the forms of activity and organisation are concerned, in conformity with the development of the state and the new tasks which have been set forth in different periods, but as to its class essence it has always remained as one of the strong means of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the struggle for the building of the socialist society. The changes have marked an allround and uninterrupted development, a further democratisation of these organs.

Immediately after liberation, our justice was faced with exceptionally important tasks. The enemies of the people and war criminals who had perpetrated grave crimes during the war, had organized, instigated and supported the savage fascist terror, deportations, executions, the sending of thousands of men and women to extermination camps, should be quickly and resolutely judged.

To verify the crimes of these traitors, by decision of the National Liberation Antifascist Council there was created in May 1944 a central commission under this council as well as branches of it in districts after the liberation of the country. The instruction of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania concerning the creation of these commissions, contains clear directives marking the road and principles on which their activity should be carried out. After the completion of the investigations, the main criminals were sent to a special court. Here the masses judged and stigmatized these traitors and exposed the entire fascist system.

Another not small number of culprits who had stained their hands with blood as collaborators of the quisling government and traitorous organisations of «Balli» and «Legalitet» were judged by the regular military courts which were created in January 1945.

The military courts had broad competences. They would judge all the acts directed against the National Liberation Struggle of the Albanian people, against the victories and interests of this struggle, the most important acts of the war criminals and enemies of the people as well as the penal acts (crimes) which by special provisions were left in their competence. There was sanctioned by law the principle of the right to defence for the accused, the principle of the discovery of objective truth, of the free evaluation of proofs. In finding out the truth the tribunal is not connected with any means of formal proof, but passes its sentence according to its free judgement. As far as the procedure of judging in these courts is concerned, this was required to be «quick, without many details but complete». They were, therefore, freed from the obligation to apply the bureaucratic, complicated rules of the previous procedural formalism, with which the trial was burdened and protracted and the people were kept away from the tribunal. Instead of the empty forms with which the activity of the tribunals was replete before liberation and which stimulated juridical bureaucratism and swindle, new forms were created ensuring the broad participation of the masses in administering justice, and guaranteeing the lawful rights and interests of the participants in the trial.

By the May 1945 law of the presidency of the National Liberation Antifascist Council «On the temporary judicial organisation», there were created the people's courts the competence of which included all the trials for crimes which by law had not been left for judgement to the military courts as well as the civil cases. This law reaffirmed some of the fundamental principles such as that of independence of the courts, according to which the courts, in examining and deciding the cases, are guided only by the law as an expression of the will of the working class and of all the masses, and in evaluating the proofs they act according to their internal conviction based on the class juridical consciousness, the principle of the equality of the citizens before the law, the principle of the right to defence, etc.

The defence of the new people's power from the attacks of the class enemies and other criminals was the first duty of our courts in this period. Also in the later periods of the struggle for the building of the country and the development of the socialist revolution, the transformation of Albania into an agricultural-industrial country, the completion of the economic base of socialism, the complete construction of the socialist society in the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist blockade and of the struggle for the further revolutionisation of the entire life of the country, our people's court has stood guard over our state and social order, waging an active struggle for the application of the Party line, the strengthening of legality, the education of the citizens with the spirit of love for the homeland, loyalty towards the cause of the people and socialism. The strength of our people's courts, their colossal influence on the masses to implant in them the Party ideology, the proletarian world outlook, stems from the truly democratic principles of their building and activity. The changes in their organisational forms, setting new tasks to them in various stages of the development of our society, have not changed their class essence as a powerful weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the cause of the building of our socialist society, they have not violated the principle of the participation of the masses in administering justice, but on the contrary they have enriched the content of their activity, they have strengthened their political character, revolutionizing the style and method of work, applying the mass line in new unprecedented forms.

The civil conflicts which arose in the first period were examined and solved by the people's councils. The competence of the councils in this field continued until June 1945, when regular courts began to function. As to the civil cases which were in suspense under the former courts, it was decided by special law of the presidency of the National Liberation Antifascist Council issued in May 1945, to solve them through arbitration. The arbitration college was set up under every court and was composed of one judge in

the capacity of president and the representatives of the litigant parties as members. A timelimit of 6 months was set for the conclusion of these cases at issue. The arbitration was not connected with procedural formalities or legal norms but would act according to its free thinking, on the basis of the new democratic spirit.

3. Like our entire socialist law, the penal and civil procedure, too, did not assume at once a definite form. They developed together with the development of our state. The system, forms and their institutions have changed, have been steadily elaborated and improved. The procedural form, as an historical category, has progressively moved, going from an incomplete to a more complete form, in conformity with the new requirements in every stage of the development of our state.

Of special importance to justice was the May 1945 law of the Presidency of the National Liberation Antifascist Council. On the basis of this law the legislation which was in power before April 7, 1939, being in principle antipopular, was considered as invalid and was replaced with the new juridical order based on the new democratic order, an expression of the victories of the National Liberation War, and on the constituent acts as the Declaration of the rights of the citizens of October 1944, and the other declarations, orders and laws issued by the supreme organs of the people's power. For the National Liberation War was a war not only for the liberation of the country from the invaders, but also a war which would annihilate any old juridical institution which was to the detriment of the complete emancipation and progress of the broad working masses in all fields of life – political, economic, cultural. The old law provisions could be useful in this context as auxiliary until new positive norms would be issued, and provided they would not come in conflict with the new order. As to the law provisions issued during the nazi-fascist occupation, these were completely wiped out without any reservation, for they were not laws of a sovereign state, but of a state occupied by the force of arms.

By this historic act which was in essence a revolutionary method to liquidate the forms, institutions and principles of the law of the old order, full competence was given to the courts and other organs of justice to act according to «the revolutionary juridical consciousness», «the new democratic spirit», «the fundamental ideas of the national liberation struggle», thus paving the way, also in form, for the creativity of the masses.

After the publication of the Constitution in 1946, which sanctioned some of the fundamental procedural principles, such as the participation of the masses in the judicial examination of the cases, the right to defence, the inviolability of the person and residence, judicial debate, judging in public, etc., a series of other acts connected with the organisation of justice and the way of proceeding, set down in greater details the forms of conducting investigation and judgement.

In the new conditions of the development of the state, in conformity with the tasks raised before the judicial and prosecution and investigation organs in view of the further strengthening of the revolutionary legality, there were approved the Penal Code in 1952, the Code of Penal Procedure in 1953, the law on juridical actions and obligations in 1956, the Code of Civil Procedure in 1958, etc. Thus, Albania became, within a short period of time, a socialist country with a more complete juridical and legal system.

### **Guiding principles of justice**

The activity of the court, prosecution and investigation organs is guided by a series of fundamental principles.

a) **Proletarian policy on the forefront:** The court organs, the prosecution and investigation organs are organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat and as every other organ they rigorously defend the interests of this dictatorship. Functional or organisational independence of these organs means that in exercising their functions they are free to decide upon their initiative, that other state organs have no

right to dictate to them adopting this or that stand or acting in a definite way concerning a case at issue, that they do not allow interference by other organs for motives having nothing in common with the collective interests, with the interests of the citizens defended by law. In performing their functions they act independently and are fully responsible for all the consequences from their decisions and acts if they are irregular and in conflict with the law. But it is unthinkable that they should have any independence from the Party line, which is a vital basis of all organs. The policy of the Party not only defines the general line in the sphere of the activity of these organs, but it also guides them in deciding on cases at issue, for the correctness of such a decision can be ensured if the political and ideological content of the law to be applied is clearly understood, as well as the political importance of the case under examination, if the socio-political conditions of the country, district and area are known and taken into consideration, if what is relevant, that which due to the tasks laid down by the party has been put on the forefront, is distinguished.

From the purely juridico-procedural viewpoint the judgement comes to an end with the passing of the court sentence, but from the political viewpoint the sentence is but a stage in the process of carrying out the tasks of great responsibility with which the court is charged as an organ of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In judging any concrete case the court must find out the causes and conditions in which the crime is committed and conflicts arise, it must investigate the personality of the defendant, the source of antisocial inclinations, discover the shortcomings and weaknesses in the work of state organs, social organisations, find out the responsibility of the official persons and third persons, the shortcomings in the struggle waged against alien ideology. Treating the case from this viewpoint provides to the court the necessary basis, correctly to set its future tasks on the front of the struggle for the prevention of crimes, to help the state organs and social organisation with a con-

crete material and appear before the Party with proposals concerning important social problems to which a solution must be given.

b) **Class struggle:** Justice can fulfill its aims if it is thoroughly permeated by the spirit of the class struggle. The class struggle objectively exists in our society. It imposes viewing the cases examined by the court through the prism of the class struggle, viewing the antisocial stands and manifestations which become a source of criminality and conflicts as aspects of this struggle, the evaluation of social danger of the crime and its author and the setting of the measure of punishment taking into account the situation of the class struggle, the tendency of its development, etc.

c) **Mass line:** One of the characteristic features of our socialist justice which multiplies its strength and effectiveness is the application of the mass line in new and more improved forms.

Some forms of the participation of the masses in administering justice are provided by law defining the functions and procedural position of their representatives. The law on court organisation of the PRA (Article 18) provides for the participation of assistant judges in judging cases, who, from the viewpoint of their procedural position, are judges with full attributes and equal to those of regular judges. The Code of Penal Procedure (Articles 52 and 53) provides for the institutions of the accuser and social defender who now are not seen in our judicial practice due to the ever greater extension and deepening of the mass line; the law on the Public Prosecutor's Office of the PRA (Article 13) provides for the institution of people's prosecutors who are elected in every village, city, city quarter and in every work centre and who perform special functions in judgements carried out in the courts of the villages, cities or city-quarters.

The new conditions of the further vigorous development of our State, which were created with the rise of the socialist revolution, imposed as an historical necessity a broader, direct and active participation of the masses in administering justice, in

new forms, unknown and unnormed by the procedural laws.

The activity of the state organs in administering justice is the main factor, but it is based on the masses, on the colossal force of their free activity. The activity of the state organs is one which is carried out in accordance with the law, whereas the activity of the masses in the field of justice is an activity which is not governed by laws and does not engender juridical relations. A fundamental duty of the masses in the struggle against the transgressors of law and of the norms of the communist morality is prevention, the increase of the educative effect of the judgements. Responsible for a correct decision of the case from the political and juridical viewpoint are the court, the investigator or the public prosecutor. They act in accordance with the law which is a concentrated expression of the Party line.

e) **Rendering of account:** The judges and assessors, as they are elected for definite terms, are duty-bound to render account before their electors (Article 21 of the law on court organisation).

In our country the working class is a leading class. Through the Party and the proletarian state it leads the entire life of the country, our democracy is a democracy of the masses, therefore everybody must submit to its criticism and control. For this reason the giving of account extends to all state organs and persons, including those who are not elected and irrespective of whether this task is envisaged by the law. Consequently, account is given also by the investigators and state prosecutors before the masses.

Account is rendered not only for the entire work but also for individual aspects of the work and for concrete questions.

f) **Socialist legality:** Socialist legality and the dictatorship of the proletariat are inseparable from one another. For this reason legality has always been in the focus of the attention of the Party which has raised it as its programmatic requirement. It has taken a series of efficient measures to ensure the observing of legality and has fought against any attempt aimed at violating and weakening it. The

determined blow and the measures adopted at the 9th Plenum of the CC of the Party in 1948 to liquidate the distortions of the Party line and the grave violations of legality which had occurred in that period as a result of the hostile activity of the Koçi Xoxe group, clearly testify to the special care and the determined stand of the Party in the question of the defence of socialist legality.

The principle of legality requires that the court, investigation and prosecution organs in their activity for the discovery, investigation and judgement of penal and civil cases, should respect the order set by law, they should adopt measures so that no crime whatever will remain undiscovered, no culprit escape his responsibility and no citizen be groundlessly placed before responsibility or subjected to any other unlawful limitation.

But legality has nothing in common neither with formalism which represents a distortion of the law because it divorces the form from the content, nor with the bureaucratic stand which makes a fetish of the form and transforms the activity of the organs of justice into a mechanical application of the form which deprives this activity of its political prospect.

g) **Discovery of truth:** This principle has an organic connection with the duties of our socialist justice. By its nature, the truth required in justice is an objective truth. As in everything else in this question, too, our justice proceeds from the Marxist-Leninist theory that the world and its laws can be known, that our knowledge verified in practice is a sure knowledge. There are no obstacles in this direction for the discovery of truth. The errors that might occur in the activity of our courts do not stem from the impossibility of these organs to find out the truth but from the practical difficulties of a subjective character and from their carelessness.

In this question our justice does not proceed from the bourgeois anti-scientific, idealistic and subjectivist concepts which are based on agnosticism, but from the theses of the Marxist philosophic materialism about the possibility of man's conscience to reflect objectively in a correct way the phenomena of the outside world.

Everything the court affirms in its decisions must be sure, fully proved in undoubted circumstances and facts excluding an opposite solution of the case. Maximum probability, which according to the bourgeois philosophy is the sole possible result in justice, represents one of the dangerous distortions by the bourgeois penal procedural theory which aims to legalize the unjust and groundless decisions serving their class interests.

h) **Free evaluation of proofs:** Closely linked with the truth, which is the object of the practical activity of the judges, investigators and prosecutors, is the principle of the evaluation of the proofs according to their inner conviction, based on the socialist juridical consciousness formed after the examination of the proofs in their entirety.

Any facts which may serve the court to find out the truth irrespective of the legal source from which may have been taken must be subjected to verification and only when the court has become convinced of their veracity it can base its decision on them. This fundamental thesis has a universal value for all kinds of proofs, for admission, the opinion of experts, etc. A criterion of evaluating evidence is the conviction of the court, while a criterion of the veracity of this conviction is its founding on objective facts. In this difficult process of finding out the truth the courts are guided by the socialist juridical consciousness which is the totality of their views, world outlook and convictions on what is just or unjust, moral or immoral. This consciousness is formed in the crucible of the class struggle, in revolutionary practice, it is nourished with the ideology of our working class and serves as a guarantee in realizing our socialist justice.

i) **The right to defence:** Our laws recognize and guarantee to the citizens participating in proceedings at law the defence of their rights and interests. The principles, forms and institutions applied by cadres with proletarian partisanship, with political and ideological clarity, are the sound foundation for the actual and practical ensurance of the guarantees envisaged by law.

A special place in the criminal trial is held by the ensurance of the defendant's right to defence which has been sanctioned also by the 1946 constitution. The broad volume of the rights the defendant enjoys to defend his interests is not in conflict with the interests of the society and the state, but on the contrary it is conditioned by and stems from them. The lawful rights and interests of the defendant, i.e. the interest of the defendant to be discharged from a groundless accusation, to respond only for the crime he has committed and not for any imagined graver crime, and pass on him, if declared guilty, a sentence in conformity with the degree of the social danger of the crime and his personality, fully comply with the interests of our state and society.

The defendant's right to defence includes his right to contest or give the lie to the accusation or mitigate his responsibility for the crime he has perpetrated. With a view to realizing this, the procedure recognizes to him a series of rights, such as the right to take knowledge of the accusation he is charged with, adduce the proofs which he thinks will shed light on the circumstances of the case and help the investigating judge and the court in rightly deciding the case, to demand the exclusion of the investigator and the judge, to get acquainted with the documents of the case at the end of the investigations, take an active part in the examination of evidence during the trial, to appeal against the final decision, etc., etc.

These rights of the defendant are accompanied with the relative obligations of the court, investigation and prosecution organs. These are obliged to carry out full, objective and allround investigations, make clear all the circumstances of the case as well those which charge or exculpate the defendant, as those which aggravate or lighten his responsibility, they must ensure to the defendant conditions and possibilities to enjoy the rights recognized to him by law, attentively examine and meet the just demands of the defendant.

The Code of Penal Procedure of the PR of Albania has sanctioned **presumption of innocence** as a special guarantee for the

defendant. In Article 13 of this Code «the defendant is presumed innocent until his culpability is not proved». According to this principle, summoning a person before a court does not prejudice his culpability. Even after this he is considered to be innocent and if the competent state organs do not arrive to prove his culpability completely and undoubtedly, they must declare him also formally as innocent. The presumption of innocence is an objective juridical rule which defines on the one hand the procedural position of the defendant who has no obligation to prove his innocence and on the other hand the obligation of the investigation and court organs to prove the culpability of the person cited before the court. The shifting of the burden to prove on the defendant is impermissible.

Another important thesis stemming from the principle of finding out the objective proof is the interpretation of doubts in favour of the defendant. The court decision on the basis of which the defendant is declared guilty can be based only on facts and objective and sure circumstances. When there are doubts concerning their existence or no, it is impermissible that they should be taken as a basis to declare the defendant guilty.

As a complementary auxiliary measure in realising the defence of the defendant, the latter has the right to have a counsel for the defence during the court examination of the case.

j) **Active role of the court:** In the court examination equal rights are recognized to the parties so as to incite the debate and find out the objective truth. The court plays a leading role in this activity of the parties in case. It controls and complements the debate with its active participation and gives to the judgement the most convenient direction for the complete clarification of the circumstances and the right decision of the case.

In examining the civil cases the court is obliged to help the parties so that they should not be harmed by their ignorance of the law or by their lack of knowledge, and it has full initiative to obtain new evidence in addition to the one adduced by the parties.

Besides the principles explained above there are other known principles which are applied in realizing justice, such as: the ex officio proceeding, non-mediation, collegiality, public judgement, etc.

### **Court organization**

a) **Courts:** In the People's Republic of Albania justice is administered by the people's courts. People's courts are: the high court, the district courts, the courts of villages, cities and city-quarters.

The fundamental link of our court system is constituted by the district courts. These are competent to judge in first instance all the penal and civil cases, with the exception of a small number of cases which are left in the competence of the courts of villages, cities and city-quarters.

Under the district courts, appointed by the Presidium of the People's Assembly, there is a military college which judges in first instance the crimes committed by service men, as well as other crimes left by law in its competence.

The courts of villages, cities and city-quarters function in every village, city and city-quarter. They include one assessor judge presiding over the sitting and two social activists who are elected with open votes at the meeting of the people for a period of three years. These courts are competent to judge some penal cases of small social danger and some simple civil cases defined by law, as well as contraventions.

The courts of villages, cities and city-quarters are in essence social organisms, embryonic organisms of administering justice directly by the people. They are not mainly for repressive purposes. They represent one of the new forms used in our country to activate the masses in carrying out the tasks of the struggle on the ideological front, to educate the new man of our socialist society. A principal method in the work of these courts is the moral influence on the culprits, social criticism. When the court thinks that this aim has been attained it stops the case. In the oppo-

site case, it has the right to pass on the culprits a sentence of social rebuke or a fine of up to 1.000 leks. Likewise, these courts have the right to send the case for judgement to the district court when they estimate that the circumstances in which the act has been committed or the personality of the defendant bear witness to a degree of social danger which is characteristic of the crime and when penalties provided for by the penal code must be applied against them, as for all other crimes.

The high court is the highest link of our court system. It examines in second instance a part of the most important penal and civil cases which are judged in first instance by the district courts, as well as the cases judged in first instance by the military colleges under the district courts. It examines also the demands for the defence of legality.

The high court judges in first instance the most important cases, drawn by its president from the district courts.

The highest forum of this court is represented by its plenum which includes the president, the vice presidents and the members of the court. The plenum has several functions: As a special organ the plenum issues instructions on questions concerning the court practice, with a view to ensuring the correct and uniform application of the laws on the part of all the courts. As a court organ, the plenum examines the demands for the defence of legality against the penal and civil decisions of the colleges of the high court. As an organ with administrative competences, the plenum analyzes the activity of the courts as well as important problems connected with this activity.

Also the district courts and judicial councils under them act as courts of second instance. The district courts examine in second instance the complaints and protests against the decisions of the courts of villages, cities and city-quarters. The judicial councils under the district courts examine in second instance the complaints and protests against the decisions passed in first instance by the district courts, with the exception of those which are examined in second instance by the high court.

**Public Prosecutor's Office:** The Public Prosecutor's Office is an organ of the People's Assembly and its duty is to supervise the strict application of law by the Ministries, enterprises, institutions, organisations, official persons and citizens.

It checks the sub-legal provisions to see whether they are in conformity with the constitution and the law, it verifies the accuracy of the laws and demands their completion or modification.

In the administration sector it controls the legality of acts, orders and instructions without interfering in their administrative, economic, cultural and other activities.

In the court activity, the public prosecutor's office controls the legality of decisions and when estimating that these are contrary to the law or groundless, it demands their annulment by the court of second instance. The public prosecutor's participation in the proceedings at law is limited. He takes part in the judgement of civil cases when they are of a special social importance, and in criminal cases when the political importance of the case requires his participation for obtaining the maximum possible effects of the trial.

The public prosecutor has broad competences in the investigation of the cases. His orders and instructions are obligatory for the investigator. Some special actions, such as the decision on arresting, the indictment and the checking of the post and telegraph correspondence assume juridical power only with the public prosecutor's approval. He has the right to initiate the penal proceedings, to stop or suspend the case, to annul irregular actions of the examining magistrate, to turn back the case for a complete investigation by him.

The public prosecutor controls the penitentiaries, the observing of the norms which govern the living in these places.

The public prosecutor's office is an absolutely centralized and unified organ. The orders and instructions of the general public prosecutor are obligatory to all the district public prosecutors and the military

public prosecutors. The public prosecutors are appointed and dismissed by the general public prosecutor.

b) **Investigation:** Investigation is unified and concentrated in the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The people's police organs perform the functions of the investigation organs. They carry out the first urgent procedural actions, they detain the persons suspected of having perpetrated any crime and then they send the case to the examining magistrate for further judicial inquiries.

c) **Offices of juridical aid:** The bar as an organisation constituted by the voluntary union of the persons who exercised the profession of the counsel at law was abolished in 1967 and the offices of juridical aid were created. Practice had shown that the bar as a form of the organisation of the service of juridical aid for the citizens, socialist institutions, enterprises and organisations did not meet the requirements of our society at this stage of its development, it did not guarantee the proper fulfilment of its duties in the question of the defence of legality, the right and quick solution of the cases, in the struggle for the prevention of crimes and of other antisocialist manifestations.

The members of the office of juridical aid give to those concerned the necessary juridical aid in any form, notarial actions included.

The members of the offices of juridical aid can participate in the judicial examination of the criminal and civil cases. They may be assigned as counsels for the defence when: a) the defendant, due to physical or psychic shortcomings, is unable properly to realize his own defence; b) the defendant is under the age of 16 years; c) due to the character of the case or other circumstances the court deems the participation of the counsel for the defence necessary; d) the defendant is a foreign citizen. In the cases envisaged under the points «a» and «b» the participation of the counsel for the defence is obligatory and the defendant cannot renounce to him.

In civil cases the members of the offices of juridical aid may participate as representatives of the parties when: a) the party

is a foreign citizen, b) due to the character of the case or other circumstances the court deems this necessary.

The limitation of professional defence became possible due to the broad, active and direct participation of the masses in the judiciary inquiry and in the court proceedings, which further enriches and deepens the duel and ensures a free discussion and debate which are a powerful means to discover the truth. Likewise, the rise of the ideological, political and professional level of the examining magistrates, the strengthening of the public prosecutor's control over legality in the investigation activity, the active role of the court during the court examination, the requirement which is being realized in practice and according to which the realisation of the rights of the defendant and parties is not a matter regarding him alone but also the organs of justice, etc., are the main reasons that led to the limitation of the participation of the members of the offices of juridical aid in the court proceedings in the capacity of counsel at law or representative of the parties in the case.

As members of the offices of juridical aid can be assigned only persons having high juridical education. Their appointment and dismissal is done by the president of the high court. The dependence of these offices on the high court and their appointment and dismissal by the president of the high court has been established with a view to avoiding the possible influence of of the district people's courts under which they have been created and ensuring conditions for objectivity in accomplishing their functions, particularly in accomplishing their function of defence.

As a result of this court organisation and of the principles by which the organs of justice are guided, the overwhelming part of penal and civil cases end within one sitting, subjectivism in judging and deciding the cases is avoided and these organs are more closely linked with the masses, they are more engaged on the front of the ideological struggle for the prevention of crimes and other unlawful and anti-social manifestations.

# THE PRESSURES AND FLATTERIES DO NOT WORK IN ALBANIA

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

**The imperialists, revisionists and their allies must well know that the Albanian people and their Party have not been and will never be deceived by the traps into which they seek to draw us in order to strangle us more easily. They have been and remain sworn enemies of our country and socialism in Albania, enemies of Leninism, the revolution and the liberation of the peoples**

FOR A LONG TIME THE SOVIET PRESS AND THAT OF THE OTHER REVISIONISTS HAS BEEN PUBLISHING MANY WRITINGS DEVOTED TO ALBANIA. SOME ADVERTISE THE «ADVANTAGES» WE HAVE ALLEGEDLY HAD IN THE PAST FROM THE ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH THE COMECON COUNTRIES AND SUGGEST THE «EXTENSION OF TRADE» WITH THEM. OTHERS PRAISE THE ADVANTAGES OUR COUNTRY WOULD HAVE IF IT COULD FIND A «COMMON LANGUAGE» WITH THIS OR THAT STATE, IF IT WOULD CHANGE THIS OR THAT «FIERCE» STAND. SOMEONE STRIVES EVEN TO INDICATE WHAT SHOULD BE OUR DEFENCE POLICY AND ON WHAT WE MUST BASE OURSELVES.

Our people well know what lies hidden behind these «desires». Not once have they come across the hated and fiendish policy of the revisionists, as well that of smiles and flatteries, as also that of pressure and blockades. Our answer has been clear-cut and resolute. Albania has smashed out all their hostile tactics and actions and has reaped magnificent successes in the defence of its freedom and independence, in the building of socialism.

It has known and shown the place to Khrushchov and Mikoyan, who are known in the history of international policy as leaders traitorous to Marxism-Leninism and who by means of economic and political blockades sought to shut the mouth of and strangle socialist Albania because it had the courage and defended Marxism-Leninism with determination.

Albania is known, honoured and respected by the entire world. Its friends and wellwishers, who are counted by millions on all the continents, increase and multiply. Its international positions are firm and unbreakable. A great friendship, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism binds Albania with People's China.

The policy of our Party is a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist policy which is not

based either on conjunctures or the day to day needs. It is the policy of a free and independent socialist country, which defends its supreme interests with courage and determination, which fights and contributes with all its forces to the real progress and emancipation of the peoples, for the freedom and democracy of all countries.

We respect and honour those governments and countries which follow an independent and sovereign policy, in compliance with the interests of their people and general peace and security, which do not bow before the desires and dictates of the two superpowers. The People's Republic of Albania, supports all the correct stands in the international arena of the states or countries which fight for the preservation of freedom, independence and sovereignty, for their national or social liberation.

But there are small and middle-sized states which in fact do not have an independent policy and rely on credits granted by the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as on the vacillation of the policy of the two superpowers.

Our country pursues a policy which is quite the opposite of this. Its policy does not depend either on credits or trade. The

# OF THE REVISIONISTS

credits the People's Republic of Albania has received and the trade carried out by it, have not influenced, for a single moment and in any question whatever, its correct, principled and revolutionary policy.

He who thinks that Albania changes its Marxist-Leninist policy because it sells, so to say, one-thousand tons more chrome to any state or one-hundred tons less tobacco to another, greatly miscalculates and puts out his own eyes.

Likewise, he who thinks that Albania's policy in general and, the Albanian defence policy in particular, which has been based on the real Marxist-Leninist analysis to correctly and accurately determine who are its enemies, is based on the vacillation of the policies of various revisionist states, he too, will have put his fingers into his own eyes and blinded himself.

The defence of socialist Albania is based on the arming of the entire soldier people, on their determination to make any sacrifice and self-denial to preserve by all means and through to the end their freedom and independence, the gains of the people's revolution and the building of socialism.

Albania pursues a policy of good neighbourhood with various states, on the basis of the principles of non-interference, equality and collaboration with mutual advantage, as comrade Enver Hoxha has stated in his speech before the electorate on October 3 last year.

The People's Republic of Albania does not put in auction this Marxist-Leninist

and correct policy and does not make of it a matter of discussion. It does not spoil for any reason whatever the equilibrium of its own policy, but it does not allow that any state, known from its false propaganda, should let be interpreted, as if the aims of good neighbourhood of our country, are allegedly a result of a «thaw» of our attitudes, of some political or ideological change of the line of the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania. The more so there must not be entertained any illusions by those who do not wish good to Albania and who dream of easily imposing themselves on it through a commercial revisionist policy. «Our policy», comrade Enver Hoxha said in his October 3, 1974 speech, «complies with the interest of the peoples, not with those of the cliques and ideologies that oppress the peoples. It seeks friendship with the peoples, not with their oppressors. It is not a conjunctural policy, but a principled proletarian policy. It does not stem from behind-the-scenes secret diplomacy, from mysterious talks, from putting its own and other countries' interests up for auction. The policy of our country is not the policy of those states with a hundred flags in their pockets. Our People's Republic does not lower its flag either before blackmail and terror, or before the rouble and dollar».

New Albania, even when it was still young and not well consolidated was able to cope with the revisionist storms, the allround interferences and pressures of various enemies. Now it has greatly strengthened economically, and the more

so politically and ideologically. Therefore, it proceeds proudly on its road, convinced in its correctness and being sure that there is no force that can conquer it or make it change its political and ideological course.

As in the past, in the present too, its international spirit will not be quelled and it will never lack the feeling of militant solidarity with all those who are fighting for the revolution, socialism, national liberation and democracy. Albania has always given proofs that it defends the Marxist-Leninist friends with loyalty in their difficult times, considering this as a duty which strengthens the great and common cause of communism. Our country, with the blood of its best sons it sent to contribute to the liberation of fraternal peoples, has proved to what extent it is in solidarity with the peoples who were fighting against fascism and how it backed the common antifascist cause. In the future too, it will continue to proceed on this road with the same determination and with the same consistency.

The imperialists, revisionists and their allies must well know that the Albanian people and their Party have not been and will never be deceived by the traps into which they seek to draw us in order to strangle us more easily. They have been and remain the sworn enemies of our country and socialism in Albania, enemies of Leninism, the revolution and the liberation of the peoples. Our Party has made it clear that we shall never reconcile ourselves with them, we shall never be friends with them, but we shall be always enemies.

# FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY

## Close fraternal friendship

Towards the middle of June this year, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Cambodia, Sarin Chak, came for a visit to our country.

On June 16 he was received by the First Secretary of the CC of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha. During the reception, which passed in a very warm and friendly atmosphere, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Cambodia transmitted to the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania the message of the Head of State and Chairman of the National United Front of Cambodia, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, in which, on behalf of the people, the People's Armed Forces of National Liberation, the National United Front and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, as well as in his own name, he expresses his warmest thanks to the Albanian people, their Party and Government and comrade Enver Hoxha, for their great aid, encouragement, and enthusiastic support for the Cambodian people's struggle against aggressor US imperialism and the quisling Lon Nol clique, for their complete militant solidarity since the first days of the struggle, for their understanding and powerful backing for the determined and consistent line of the National United Front of Cambodia and the Royal Government of the National Union of Cambodia.

Comrade Enver Hoxha expressed to Foreign Minister Sarin Chak the fraternal feelings and warmest and most cordial greetings of the Albanian people, the Party of Labour of Albania, and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania for the heroic Cambodian people and their brave fighters, for the National United Front, the Royal Government of the National Union of Cambodia, and for his Excellency Samdech Norodom Sihanouk personally. He made a high appraisal of the uncompromising armed struggle which the brave and freedom-loving Cambodian people waged for five years in succession, under the correct leadership of the National United Front of Cambodia, against the US imperialist aggressors and their servants, and pointed out that the brilliant victory of the invincible Cambodian people in the battle field is of historic importance not only to them, but also to all the peoples who are fighting for the great cause of freedom and national independence, against imperialism and social imperialism.

Comrade Enver Hoxha wished the Cambodian people new victories in the defence and strengthening of the national independence of their homeland, as well as successes in the great work for the liquidation as soon as possible, of the aftermath of the war and the building of a new, prosperous and flourishing Cambodia.

## Manifestation of the fraternal and unbreakable Albanian-Chinese friendship

From June 14 to July 4, at the invitation of the Government of the People's Republic of China, a Government economic delegation of the P.R. of Albania, headed by the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the

PLA and first vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the P.R.A, Adil Çarçani, paid a visit to the P.R. of China.

During their stay in China the Government delegation met the Premier of the State Council of the P.R. of China, Chou

En-lai, and other leaders, visited work and production centres, people's communes and various institutions. During these visits, the delegation had warm and cordial talks with workers, commune members, teachers, etc.

On July 3 two agreements and two protocols were signed in Peking between the P.R. of China and the P.R. of Albania: An agreement on China providing Albania with a long-term interest-free loan, a protocol on China providing Albania with complete sets of equipment for projects, a protocol on China supplying Albania with general materials, and an agreement of goods exchange and payments for the period 1976-1980.

On behalf of the Government of the P.R. of Albania, the agreements and protocols were signed by Adil Çarçani, leader of the Albanian Government economic delegation and first vice-Chairman of the council of Ministers; and on behalf of the Chinese Government - by Li Hsien-nien, vice-Premier of the State Council.

The Albanian people learned with joy about the signing of these agreements. They consider them as a new manifestation of the fraternal and unbreakable friendship between the two peoples, the two parties and the two socialist countries.

Commenting on this event, «Zëri i Popullit» writes in its July 5 editorial:

«The warm and cordial welcome extended in the People's Republic of China to the Government economic delegation of the P.R. of Albania, headed by the member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and first vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRA, comrade Adil Çarçani, the meeting with comrade Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the P.R. of China, the warm and cordial talks of the delegation with workers, commune members, students and teachers, in all the centres they visited, are another testimony to the revolutionary friendship and close collaboration between our two peoples, two parties, and two countries.

In their struggle for the building of socialism, the defence of their freedom and the independence of their homeland, for the cause of the revolution and socialism, our people have always had the in-

ternationalist aid and support of the great Chinese people, with whom they are bound by an everlasting friendship. The new agreements signed in Peking on July 3 are another testimony to this friendship and militant unity between the two countries, a friendship and unity based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and foreged by our two parties and the beloved leaders comrade Enver Hoxha and Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

The new agreements between the Governments of our two countries have been signed at a time when our people, firmly united around the Party with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, have mobilised all their energies to carry out successfully the historic decisions of the 6th Congress of the PLA and to fulfill the tasks for the year 1975, the last year of the fifth five-year plan, and when they are preparing to begin the 6th five-year plan with new and multiplied forces. Thanks to the correct Marxist-Leninist policy of our Party, the selfless struggle and allround mobilisation of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and of all the working masses, great victories have been achieved in the construction and defence of socialism in Albania.

The Government economic delegation of the PRA visited the P.R. of China at a time when the glorious Chinese people, under the leadership of their Communist Party with comrade Mao Tse-tung at the head, have achieved brilliant victories in the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, destroying the two bourgeois-revisionist staffs of Liu Shao Chi and Lin Piao and the reactionary ideas of Confucius, when they have carried forward the cause of the socialist revolution and socialist construction and have further increased the defence capacity of their country. The great Chinese people, successfully realising the historic decisions of the 10th Congress of the Party and of the first session of the People's National Congress, 4th legislature, of the P.R. of China, have raised their socialist homeland to new heights and have mobilised themselves with all their forces to turn into reality the brilliant prospects opened to them by the Communist Party of China on the road of the revolution and socialism. These vic-

tories immeasurably gladden our people and Party who welcome them and assess them as their own victories. «People's China, under the leadership of its Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung», comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «has been transformed today into a powerful socialist State, with great economic and military potential and with high international prestige and authority. Our people and Party wholeheartedly greet these brilliant victories and hope that they will increase and multiply for the good of the fraternal Chinese people and the revolution in the world».

These allround successes and the determined struggle of great People's China for the cause of the freedom and independence of the peoples, against US imperialism, Soviet social imperialism and international reaction, have further increased its authority in the international arena. Our people and their Party of Labour, who are resolutely waging a fierce class struggle, on the national and international scale, against the blackmail, the fiendish plans and conspiracies of the internal and external enemies, are fighting in the same trench with the great Chinese people and their Communist Party against imperialism and revisionism, and making their contribution to the just cause of the freedom-loving peoples and the triumph of socialism and the revolution.

The visit of the Government economic delegation of the P.R. of Albania to People's China and the new agreements signed on this occasion between the Governments of the two countries, are a new and valuable contribution to the further development of the fraternal Albanian-Chinese friendship, which has rejoiced and inspired the real friends of the two peoples and has enraged the enemies, the US imperialists, the Soviet social imperialists, and all the reactionaries. Our people wholeheartedly greet the conclusion of these agreements, for they serve the deepening of this friendship and this collaboration between our two peoples, two parties, and two Governments, in the common interest of the sacred cause of the revolution and socialism. The agreements concluded in Peking these recent days once again express the will and aspirations of our two fraternal peoples to

# FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY

stand by one another, to fight and win together, to always promote the cause of the struggle against imperialism, social imperialism, colonialism and neocolonia-

lism, to score new and still greater victories in socialist construction in our two countries, for the victory of Marxism-Leninism».

## 32nd Anniversary of our people's army

On the occasion of the 32nd anniversary of the creation of our People's Army, various activities were carried out in all districts, of the Republic in work and production centres, military units, educational and cultural institutions, and agricultural cooperatives, devoted to the glorious road pursued by our People's Army under the leadership of the Party and General Commander, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

In Tirana, the capital of the PRA, the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, the Ministry of People's Defence, and the Tirana district Party Committee, organized a festive meeting on July 9, which was attended by working people from work and production centres, servicemen, veterans of the National Liberation War, working people of Government departments and central institutions of the capital, mothers and relatives of martyrs, representatives of the youth, and other invited guests. Also present were the member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Hysni Kapo, the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Minister of Internal Affairs, Kadri Hazbiu, the vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Chairman of the State Planning Commission, Petro Dode, and other Party and State leaders.

Also present was the military attaché of the embassy of the P.R. of China to the P.R. of Albania, Chang Siu Shang.

Those present were greeted by the vice-Minister of People's Defence and chief of the General Staff of the Army, Veli Llakaj, who pointed out among other things:

«Our heroic people, led by the glorious Party of Labour and comrade Enver Hoxha, with the new vigour and revolutionary impetus aroused by the historic decisions of the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th Plenums of the Central Committee of the PLA, have thrown themselves in great revolutionary

actions to achieve new successes in all the fields of construction and defence of the socialist homeland.

In the great, legendary struggle being waged by our Party, our people, and our People's Army, in a brilliant unity around the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, we are not alone. With us are all the revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists of the five continents, and, in the first place, the glorious Communist Party of China with comrade Mao Tse-tung at the head, the greatest friend of our people, the 800 million strong Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army, with whom we are bound by an unbreakable, evergreen friendship. There is no force that can conquer this internationalist and revolutionary friendship and solidarity. We remain firm as comrades-in-arms in the common trench of the world revolution, and, with the reliable compass of triumphant Marxism-Leninism, we shall achieve final victory over the forces of the bourgeois-revisionist darkness, which, caught in the grip of crises and antagonistic contradictions, are preparing for a third world war. Therefore, it is more than ever a sacred duty for every citizen-soldier of our socialist country to continually increase his revolutionary vigilance, to work with a high spirit of self-denial for the further strengthening of the defense capacity of our homeland. As instructed by our Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, every working man and citizen, wherever he works and lives, must consider himself a soldier of the people, a determined defender of our freedom, independence, and socialist gains.

With our heroic Party on the forefront, with the General Commander comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, always in revolution, always on the offensive in the great battles of construction and strengthening of the defence of the homeland!

## **Diplomatic relations of the PRA with other countries extended**

Consistent in its correct policy in international relations, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania is continually extending its relations with other countries, and particularly with the countries

which, thanks to their persistent struggle, are liberating themselves from colonial and neocolonial bondage.

Recently, following talks with the Governments concerned, talks which were

inspired by the common desire to develop ties of friendship and collaboration, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania established diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level with the Kingdom of Laos and the People's Republic of Mozambique. In this way, the People's Republic of Albania now maintains diplomatic relations with more than 70 countries.

## **Tens of thousands of school pupils and students in national and local actions**

After the successful conclusion of the 1974-1975 school year, the pupils and students of all the country's schools began their summer vacations. But a major part of them, inspired by the revolutionary impetus which has now encompassed our entire people for the successful realisation of the five-year plan, have expressed the desire to spend a part of their vacations participating in national and local actions.

Several thousands youth, particularly from the middle schools, have gone to work on the sites for the construction of

the new Prenjas-Guri i Kuq railway line and on that for the construction of the railway network within the metallurgical combine at Elbasan. Several thousand others have gone to agricultural cooperatives and enterprises to help the agricultural workers in harvesting the cereal crops and in other seasonal work, while others will work in terracing hilly and mountainous land on the coast and in remote areas of the country.

During the time they are taking part in these actions the youth will make their

contribution to the construction of the projects of the five-year plan and the timely fulfilment of the seasonal tasks in agriculture, and, at the same time, will carry out a series of cultural and artistic activities which will help in educating and entertaining the working people. The youth themselves will get to know each other better, will increase their love for the spirit of collectivism, and will be tempered and strengthened physically. The work in actions will also help the school pupils to become acquainted with work, a thing which will be very useful to them in life.

After their work on actions, tens of thousands of the school youth will spend happy vacations in camps and rest homes of a national and local character which have been opened all over the country.

## **An about 6.000-year old culture**

The time, when foreign specialists were writing that «In the field of prehistoric archaeology Albania is a blank white space» is past. Today Albanian archeological research and studies have attained scientific achievements, such that without knowledge and assessment of them, important problems of the prehistory of the Balkans cannot be solved correctly.

These achievements multiply our energies for greater successes, for new discoveries and facts which shed light on the secrets of the ancient culture of our people. They include the discoveries made in Dunavec, in the Korça area, whose culture belongs to the middle neolithic epoch, i.e. about 6.000 years ago.

As a result of two years of persistent work a pre-historic dwelling place was uncovered on the bank of the Dunavec river, very near the place where it joins the Devolli river. The earliest strata of its existence are linked with the ruins of a prehistoric village, the huts of which had been erected along the river bank, not in the usual way, but on piles, vertical logs, supporting a platform of other horizontal logs, on which they erected dwellings with floors and walls plastered with clay and straw. The erection of these dwellings, called palafittes, required great work and toil, if we bear in mind that everything, was cut and shaped stone axes. The value of this discovery is increased also because

for the time being this is the earliest palafitte dwelling place known in Albania and the whole of the Balkans. Later, with the destruction of the palafitte, and apparently with the changing, of the direction of the flow of the river, they passed to another method of building houses right on the ground, but always first laying horizontal logs covered with straw mixed with mud, to provide a floor with the minimum dampness. Thus they preserved the old traditions gained from the experience of building the palafitte.

The rich and varied archaeological material that has been accumulated as a result of the excavation work, such as the collection of stone axes, various flint knives, various horn and bone tools, grind stones for grain together with other findings, create the features of the material





*It has become  
a tradition that with  
the end of the school  
year the school  
and student youth pass  
through national and  
local actions,  
where, by its work,  
is ideologically,  
politically  
and physically tempered*

# FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY

culture of Dunavec. But the culture of this prehistoric centre cannot be understood without mentioning the extensive production of pottery and cult objects. Black glazed pottery constitutes one of the most important features of the Dunavec ceramics. A special and principal category is the pottery with a rough surface (barbotine), which links it with the other cultures of the inner Balkans. The decorations of the vessels are of many kinds. The most common are relief decorations, those with incisions and grooves, while painted and pressed designs and some others, are less frequent.

Of special artistic value is the collection of small anthropomorphous figures made of baked clay. The treatment of the human figure is given in general lines, emphasising individual parts of the body. They include samples distinguished for their expressive presentation.

The discoveries in the Dunavec prehistoric site shed new light on a very important problem, i.e. the elucidation of relations between the Dunavec culture and the culture of the copper epoch discovered years ago in Maliq. Although these two cultures belong to different epochs, they are based on a number of important common elements which put them in relation with one another. First, comes the black ceramics in which, with regard to technique, some forms of vessels and ornaments present great similarity. This relation is expressed also by the technique of painting with grey and red paints. Finally,

mention must be made of the erection of palafitte dwellings both in Dunavec and Maliq, which could not have been accidental, but is an important fact testifying to the preservation of a tradition, and which once more expressed this cultural connection.

Of course, this totality of common elements testifies clearly to the preservation of a tradition both in the architecture of the dwelling houses and in pottery. This tradition is based on the preservation of the local ethnic element. These facts entitle us to think of an autochthonous origin of the culture of the copper age; they help us to follow the process of the autochthonous development of the prehistoric cultures of South-Eastern Albania, and to see here, the basis of an early neolithic substratum, which found development in the later prehistoric and protohistoric periods.

In relation to the linguistic data, the neolithic cultures discovered in our country, would correspond to the earliest Indo-European substratum and would support the opinion about its presence as far back as in the early neolithic period. Of course, the elucidation of such complicated problems shrouded in the mists of thousands of years is not a matter which can be settled by one, or even several excavation campaigns. The successes achieved, a better coordination of Albanological sciences, and the allround assistance of the Party in every direction are the guarantee of greater achievements.

## Beautiful manifestations of Chinese and Albanian gymnasts

A Chinese gymnasts team made a visit to Albania at the beginning of July.

The team was welcomed with love and warmth by the Albanian gymnasts. During their stay in Albania the Chinese friends visited work and production centres, agricultural cooperatives, etc., in many districts of the country. On this occasion they also gave joint performances with the Albanian gymnasts.

A beautiful performance was given by the Chinese friends and the Albanian gymnasts in the «Partizani» sports palace in

Tirana. The sports palace was filled to capacity. Among those present were the member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers Spiro Koleka, and the interim chargé d'affaires of the embassy of the PR of China to the PR of Albania Yeng Y Po. The performance was great success. Those present warmly applauded the gymnasts of the two countries. Comrades Spiro Koleka, Yen Y Po and other personalities complimented the gymnasts and posed with them for a photo.

**The present day Soviet State, as a collective capitalist, administers the means of production in the name and the interest of the new Soviet bourgeoisie. The socialist common ownership has turned into a state capitalism of a new type.**

**ENVER HOXHA**

# **THE SOVIET ECONOMY - A COMPLETELY AND DEFINITELY CAPITALIST ECONOMY**

**by ARISTOTEL PANO**

**LIFE, TIME HAS ALWAYS BEEN THE BEST JUDGE OF THE CORRECTNESS OF THE CONCLUSIONS OF OUR PARTY IN ALL QUESTIONS. IT HAS DEMONSTRATED THEIR INCALCULABLE VALUE AND HISTORIC IMPORTANCE. THIS IS JUST WHAT OCCURRED ALSO WITH THE CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING THE RESTORATION OF CAPITALISM IN THE SOVIET UNION.**

1

Without doubt the great ideological betrayal and the usurpation of the leadership of the CPSU by a group of traitors which took its open form at the ill-famed 20th Congress of the CPSU constituted the prologue to the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. This group of traitors, headed by Khrushchev, began the

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process of the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat that existed in the Soviet Union, into a dictatorship of the new Soviet bourgeoisie which began to emerge.

The entire superstructure of Soviet society degenerated. The former dictatorship of the proletariat was transformed into a savage fascist dictatorship of the new revisionist bourgeoisie, the socialist Soviet State was transformed into a social-imperialist state. Although the beginning of the process of the degeneration of the

Soviet superstructure was also the beginning of the restoration of capitalism, this degeneration of the superstructure could not advance itself without the degeneration of the economic base. Therefore, with the beginning of the process of the degeneration of the superstructure, the process of the degeneration of the economic base began, too. Here we have to do with a dialectical and complicated interaction of the degeneration of the superstructure and the base, where the one pushed ahead and impelled the other, until at last they assumed their complete capitalist form. Also in the question of the degeneration of the socialist relations of production into capitalist relations, just as our Party has pointed out in its docu-

ments, the treacherous Khrushchovian leaders exploited some shortcomings which existed, especially in the relations of distribution (the great discrepancy of salaries, which our Party has rightfully described as a dangerous evil).

It is known that capitalism is the highest and most general stage of commodity production. With scientific genius Marx proved in his work «Capital» that wherever commodity production becomes general and flourishing, there capitalist exploitation comes into being spontaneously. Therefore, in his work «Capital», Marx begins his whole analysis of capitalism «precisely with his analysis of the commodity. Defending and further developing Marx's economic theory Lenin underlined that:

«The essential features of capitalism, (author's emphasis) according to his theory, are: (1) Commodity production, as the general form of production. The product assumes the form of a commodity in the most varied organism of social production, but only in capitalist production is this form of the labour product general and not exceptional, isolated, accidental. (2) The second characteristic of capitalism is the fact that not only the product of labour, but also labour itself, i.e. human labour power, takes the commodity form. The degree to which the commodity form of labour power is developed is an indication of the degree to which capitalism is developed».

After the usurpation of the leadership of the Soviet Party and State, the Soviet revisionist traitors in a camouflaged way, created objective conditions for the emergence and development of the above two features in the Soviet economy. And in as much as any practical activity requires prior ideological preparation, after 1953, the first thesis attacked by the Soviet revisionists in the Marxist economic theory was that about commodity production and the law of value in socialism.

It is well known that Marxism-Leninism does not negate the necessity of the existence of commodity production after the seizure of state power by the working class. On the contrary, in the first stage, this form of production exists objectively, but being a «vestige» of capitalism, it is

never allowed to extend and flourish; on the contrary, with the extension and strengthening of the socialist sector of the economy, with the maturing of the socialist relations of production the sphere of commodity production and of the operation of the law of value is also narrowed and limited, until objective conditions are finally created for their complete liquidation. While they consider commodity production as inevitable for a certain time, the genuine Marxist-Leninist Party and the socialist state of the working class are also aware of the danger it conceals, and take conscious measures for the creation of the objective conditions for its final liquidation in the future.

But in opposition to all this, with the aim of concealing the process of the restoration of capitalism with demagogic phrases, after the year 1953, the Soviet revisionist traitors brought out the diabolical thesis that before they cease their operation, and in order to bring about this cessation, the old categories inherited from capitalism (thus including commodity production and the law of value) must be developed and flourish in a full and general way.

In the impossibility of presenting here all the «scientific arguments» for this diabolic thesis, suffice it to mention that in a camouflaged manner, it found its expression in the so-called «Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union», which was approved at the 22nd Congress of this party, which says:

«In communist construction it is necessary to fully utilize the commodity - money relations...» (author's emphasis).

As is seen, in opposition to the entire Marxist-Leninist theory, which stresses the indispensability of the limitation and restriction of commodity production during the transition to communism, the Soviet revisionists, as conscious traitors to Marxism wanting to conceal the process of the restoration of capitalism, speak of «full utilization» of commodity-money relations in communist construction. As to what is the meaning of the words «full utilization», this emerged clearly from all the practical economic measures they adopted, which are measures for the transformation of socialist production into ca-

pitalist commodity production. All the «theoretical» creations and practical measures of these renegades were blatant betrayal of the precepts of Marxism-Leninism which they claim they are «developing».

Here, concretely is what Lenin stresses:

«Marxism teaches us that the society, which is based on commodity production... at a certain level of development, inevitably, takes the road of capitalism». (author's emphasis).

And precisely the measures taken by the Soviet revisionists after the year 1953 in the economic field, along with the process of the degeneration of the superstructure, objectively created that certain level of development of commodity production of which brought about the birth of capitalism in the economy, which has now been completely and definitely formed.

All the concrete measures of the Soviet revisionists after the year 1953 in the field of the economy, which reached their culmination in 1965 with the so-called «economic reform», had one aim: the restoration of the capitalist economy of commodity production. Irrespective of «Marxist» phraseology with which these measures have been justified, or how their capitalist essence has been concealed from the working people, in essence they were measures for the reestablishment of capitalism which has now been completed. At various periods these measures have affected production, distribution, exchange, the management of the economy, etc., but in their entirety they express one thing: the degeneration of the socialist economy, the unlimited extension of the commodity-money relations, the creation of the economy of capitalist commodity production, the creation of conditions for the emergence and operation of all the categories of the capitalist economy which will be mentioned below.

The most important element in the whole process of the extension and flourishing of capitalist commodity production in the Soviet Union was precisely the transformation of labour power into a commodity. Marxism teaches us that «capitalism is that stage of the development of commodity production when even labour power, becomes a commodity». Precisely because

this process of the transformation of labour power into a commodity has been completed in the Soviet Union, it is understandable that we have to do here with a completely capitalist economy.

For labour power to become a commodity it is necessary for the worker to be divested of all means of production and be obliged to sell only his labour power. The process of divesting the Soviet labour force of the means of production, has been the very process of the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the new Soviet bourgeoisie. Thus, with the degeneration of the Soviet State, with its transformation into a dictatorship of the new Soviet bourgeoisie, the means of production too, which were state or collective farm property, were automatically transformed into property of the new revisionist bourgeoisie, which usurped the state power. The Soviet working class was deprived of the means of production, it no longer has anything to sell for its livelihood but its labour power, which like all the other factors of production, has been transformed into a commodity.

In order to become convinced that the character of the state property depends on the character of the state itself, on whose hands the state is in, suffice it to cast a glance on the present day reality of the western capitalist states, where state ownership has been extended in recent years. Nobody thinks of considering the state ownership existing today in the western capitalist states as socialist ownership, ownership by the workers. Why? Because state ownership is always the ownership of that class which holds the state power. And as long as the state power is in the hands of the bourgeoisie, of the capitalists, state ownership, too, is a form of capitalist ownership, is state monopoly capitalism.

In essence, we have the same thing also in the Soviet Union. It is not superfluous to note here that a century ago, in his work «Anti-Dühring», Engels pointed out that the character of state ownership depends on whose hands the state is in.

Of course, the transformation of socialist ownership into state capitalist ownership of a special type, and of labour po-

wer into commodity did not take place in the Soviet Union at the touch of a magic wand, but through a whole process of the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the new revisionist bourgeoisie.

Inasmuch as the processes of the degeneration of the superstructure, of the change of the character of ownership, of the transformation of labour power into a commodity, of the extension and flourishing of capitalist commodity production were completed, the process of the restoration of capitalist exploitation, too, in all its breadth and depth, was automatically completed in the Soviet Union. This was the inevitable result of the restoration of the capitalist commodity production. Here is what Marx teaches us:

«To the extent that commodity production develops in conformity with its inherent laws into capitalist production, to the same extent the property laws of commodity production are turned into laws of capitalist appropriation».

2

Now there is no doubt that the main form of capitalism in the Soviet Union is state monopoly capitalism of a new type. But this «new type» does not mean at all that we have to do with another essence of capitalism. The new type consists only in the way of its birth and its role, while as far as its essence is concerned, it is capitalism as in all the capitalist countries.

State capitalism in the western countries came into being mainly as a result of nationalisations with compensation carried out by the bourgeois state, whereas in the Soviet Union it came into being through the completion of the process of the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the new bourgeoisie. In the western capitalist countries, state capitalism plays a role dependant on private capital, as a tool of the latter, while in the present-day Soviet Union it plays the dominant and principal role.

But while stressing the fact that the main form of capitalism in the Soviet Union is state monopoly capitalism of a

special type, we must also mention the other forms of capital and capitalism existing there today.

As a result of the fat salaries which the new Soviet bourgeoisie receives in the state and collective farm sector, it manages not only to lead a fabulous life, but also to create colossal «savings» in the form of deposits, which, by means of interest, «give birth» to other money. Here it is not a question of denying the possibility of savings in socialist society. Naturally, parallel with the increase of general wellbeing, the working people also create savings in order to better fulfill their needs of consumption in the future. But when these savings belong only to «people with special abilities», when they stem from the exceptionally high salaries and bonuses they receive, and yield large sums of interests, they are no longer savings, but loan capital, money which gives birth to money.

Here is what Lenin says:

«The starting point of any capital, — both industrial and commercial—is the formation of free financial means in the hands of individual persons (the words «free means» should be understood as those financial means which are not necessarily used for personal consumption, etc)».

Today, the new Soviet bourgeois and a part of the worker aristocracy possess almost 60 billion rubles of deposits, bringing in 2 billion rubles interest annually, without even lifting a finger. The formula of capital, loan P-P', demonstrated by Marx a century ago, is precisely the formula of these «savings» of the new Soviet bourgeoisie.

But this is not the only form of private monetary capital possessed by the new Soviet bourgeoisie. There are also other forms, in the form of state obligations, insurance, etc. Finally, we cannot fail to mention another form of commodity production which gives birth every day to new capitalists in the Soviet Union, which involves the so-called «collective former's personal plot». No Marxist has denied that as long as the agricultural cooperatives are unable to fulfill some of the needs of their members, the cooperativists must have a personal plot of land for some

of their family needs. But when this «personal plot» is extended beyond measure and is used not for personal needs, but to supply the market, then it is turned into an economy of simple commodity production which, as Lenin has said, every minute, every hour, and every day, gives birth to capitalism. This is precisely the type of the economy of a large number of «collective farmers' personal plots» in the present-day Soviet Union. These «personal plots» today supply up to 60 per cent of the vegetables, 80 per cent of the fruit, etc., Therefore, as commodity production economies, they give birth to new capitalists every day.

## 3

The analysis of the capitalist character of the Soviet economy must be done not on the basis of external appearances, of the demagogy of the traitors to Marxism, of the laws and juridical forms which still preserve the «socialist» shell, but in the way in which the classics of Marxism-Leninism, the Party of Labour and comrade Enver Hoxha teach us, on the basis of the real economic relations.

Criticising the Narodniks, Lenin taught the Marxists:

«In order to define the «type» (of an economy – A. Pano) we must naturally, consider the principal economic features of an order and not its juridical forms». And the economic reality of the Soviet Union today is such that, without having in their pocket any deed entitling them to ownership of the country's means of production but thanks to their actual position, the new revisionist bourgeoisie use these means for the exploitation of the working class, for the capitalist appropriation of the surplus value created with the unpaid labour of the rank-and-file working people.

Just as all the other elements of the relations of production, the relations of distribution, too, have degenerated completely. Just for this reason, the new Soviet bourgeois can readily allow the workers to keep in a drawer the text of the Soviet constitution, which legally consecrates the right to common property, provided these bourgeois themselves keep hold

of the bank book in which the sums of deposited rubles continually increase.

The whole of the surplus value appropriated by the Soviet bourgeoisie assumes various forms. A large part of this surplus value, is transformed in various ways by this bourgeoisie itself, as the collective owner of the means of production, into capital of the form of state monopoly capitalism. This part, like the means of production, it owns as a class and not as individuals. Another part of the appropriated surplus value it distributes individually among the members of its class in the form of the fat salaries and innumerable bonuses, established for the new Soviet managers in recent years, which are constantly increasing.

Suffice it to compare the second part of the surplus value appropriated individually by the members of the Soviet bourgeoisie in the form of «salaries and bonuses» with the wage of a rank and file worker, to understand the entire exploiting character of the capitalist relations of distribution in the Soviet Union. Today the salaries and bonuses of the top Soviet managers (let alone the élite of the Party, State, army and science) are 15-20 times higher than the minimum wage of ordinary workers. Of course, in order to preserve its domination more easily. The Soviet bourgeoisie, by means of bonuses, also corrupts a small part of the working class, transforms it into an aristocracy of the working class, as is the case in any capitalist society.

But the entire system of distribution operating in the Soviet Union today, the colossal number of bonuses, which in some cases are entirely unlimited, have nothing in common with the socialist principle of distribution according to work, but under the label of the «recognition of the special merits of managers», serves the individual appropriation by the new bourgeois of a part of the surplus value produced with the unpaid labour of the Soviet workers. Precisely on this background we have the growth of the social contrast: On the one hand, the class of the new Soviet bourgeoisie, leading a fabulous luxurious life, and, on the other hand, the rank and file working people who live in such poverty that, as the So-

viet newspaper «Socialisticheskaya Industriya» unintentionally let out a few years ago, only now are they replacing their wooden spoons with metal spoons! It could not be otherwise. It is true that immediately after he came to power, Khrushchov promised golden spoons to everybody, but by the word «everybody» he implied only the new Soviet bourgeoisie, which became the masters of the state power and the means of production, while the others were reckoned to become, as they did, wage slaves.

The degree of exploitation of the workers in every capitalist economy is measured with the norm of surplus value, which represents the ratio of the surplus value to variable capital. The Soviet statistics of these categories still preserve the so-called «socialist» terms and falsify the amount of variable capital, by including the salaries of a part of the new Soviet bourgeois, which, as we said, represent a part of the surplus value. But even from those figures «fiddled» by the Soviet statistics, it emerges that the norm of exploitation of the Soviet working class in 1972 was 23 per cent greater than in 1960. Such is the «gain of the Soviet working class from the so-called construction of communism (read: restoration of capitalism).

4

The restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union also brought about the replacement of all the socialist economic laws and categories with the capitalist ones. The process of the restoration of capitalism extended over a number of years, which were also the years of the extension of the operation of capitalist laws and categories, until they reached their complete and final state.

The fundamental law of the present day Soviet economy is the law of drawing maximum profits. One of the aspects of its manifestation in practical activity consists in the fact that the entire activity of Soviet enterprises is evaluated from the main index, which is the so-called «profitability on funds» (read: profitability on capital). The Soviet revisionists may engage in demagoguery as much as they want, claiming

that the aim of their production has remained the fulfilment of the needs of the working masses, however it is not words that are important, but deeds. As long as the fat bonuses of the new Soviet managers depend only on the «profitability on funds», everybody understands that, in order to fill their pockets, they do their utmost, not to fulfill the needs of the economy and the working people, but to increase their bonuses. Their motto is precisely the old Russian saying, «Svoja rubashka blizhe k tjellu» (my shirt is closest to my body).

The only regulator of Soviet production is the law of value and market spontaneity. Volume of sales is the second index for evaluation of the work of soviet enterprises. But the volume of sales is directly determined by the situation of the market; therefore, it is precisely this market spontaneity that regulates Soviet production, and not the «plan» as they prattle. For sake of appearances the Soviet revisionists may play comedies and «criticize» the so-called «market socialism» of a certain Otto Schick, but they themselves have long ago established market capitalism.

The distribution of investments in the Soviet Union today, is done according to the so-called «normative coefficient of capital investments», which is nothing but a «socialist» label for the average norm of profit. The category of the capitalist price of production, for which the revisionists find a thousand and one «socialist» names and justifications, is operating in the entire Soviet economy. Through the decentralisation of prices, which are fixed by the enterprises themselves, «escalated prices», etc., etc., the free play of prices is fully operative, although in other forms. The capitalist category of interest on capital has been established in the entire economy.

The struggle of individual enterprises for the most favourable conditions for the creation of incentive funds, for the most advantageous credit and capital, for a more profitable structure of assortments, etc., is nothing but a form of competition operating in the capitalist economy. Through uniting, merging, and transferring the activities of individual enterprises, the Soviet revisionists conceal the processes of the bankruptcy of individual capitalist

enterprises, but in fact, this bankruptcy exists. Many Soviet enterprises today have landed in a bankrupt financial situation. During the 1965-1971 period, the bank loans alone not repaid on time by the enterprises increased 2,3 times. During the period 1966-1970, violation of the normal timelimit for the liquidation of obligations by Soviet enterprises increased by 25 per cent, while the total of all the obligations not paid on time increased by 78 per cent.

The complete restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union could not fail to bring about the fabulous enrichment of the new bourgeoisie, the impoverishment of the working masses, continuous economic failures, unemployment and crises, manifested in hidden forms, and other capitalist phenomena.

To show the disastrous consequences of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet economy, we shall mention only the marked decline of the rates of economic development in comparison with the time when socialist economy still existed. Thus, in comparison with the 1945-1960 period, the average rate of increase of national income in the Soviet Union in the years 1960-1965 dropped by 44 per cent, in the years 1965-1970 it dropped 35 per cent, and in 1974 it dropped 58 per cent. And it must be said that the rates of economic development calculated by the Soviet statistics contain in themselves the colossal increase, in recent years, of Soviet military production, and if this were excluded, the situation of crisis and the real Soviet economic decline would be even more pronounced.

All analysis of real facts shows very clearly that the Soviet economy today is completely and definitely a capitalist economy. It is precisely this economy which constitutes the basis of Soviet social-imperialism, which is characterized in the internal field by savage exploitation of the working people, by antagonistic class contradictions, by phenomena of decline and successive crises, unprecedented militarization, etc., while in the external field it is characterized by expansion, not only political and military, but also economic; by the exploitation of other countries, and primarily, of the East European «allies». —

VEHBI HOXHA, NDREÇI PLASARI

## THE ARMED UPRISING IN THE ANTI-FASCIST N

THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE HAVE LEARNED FROM THE MANY CENTURIES OF THEIR HISTORY THAT NO ENSLAVED NATION CAN WIN FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE, NO SOCIAL REVOLUTION CAN TRIUMPH WITHOUT FIGHTING, WITHOUT ARMED UPRISING.

MANY DIFFERENT OCCUPIERS, ONE AFTER THE OTHER, HAVE VIOLATED ALBANIAN TERRITORY, HAVE WANTED AND STRIVEN TO SUPPRESS AND EXTERMINATE THE ALBANIANS WITH FIRE AND STEEL. BUT THE AIMS AND EFFORTS OF THE OCCUPIERS HAVE ALWAYS FAILED FOR THE SOLE REASON THAT ON EVERY OCCASION THE ALBANIANS HAVE RISEN, SWORD AND RIFLE IN HAND, AGAINST THE FOREIGN ENSLAVERS AND THEIR LOCAL STOOGES; THROUGH ARMED STRUGGLE, BLOOD-SHED AND INNUMERABLE SACRIFICES, THEY HAVE NOT ALLOWED THEMSELVES TO BE WIPED OUT AS PEOPLE AND A NATION, UNTIL FINALLY, ON NOVEMBER 29, 1944, THEY SUCCEEDED NOT ONLY IN WINNING COMPLETE FREEDOM AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, BUT ALSO IN DOING AWAY WITH THE TYRANNY OF THE BLOOD-THIRSTY LOCAL TYRANTS AND RULERS - BIG LANDOWNERS, TRIBAL CHIEFS AND THE BOURGEOISIE.

Among all these armed struggles waged by the Albanian people, which have always been just liberation wars, the most glorious, the one that crowned the fiery aspirations and all the age long efforts of the Albanians for freedom, national independence and progress, is, without doubt, the Anti-fascist National Liberation War.

This war differs greatly from the previous struggles in its proportions, organization, content, and the forms and means by which it was waged. No struggle in the past has had such a level in any of these directions, such overwhelming and

creative force, such a profoundly democratic, popular, and revolutionary spirit, and, above all, such a triumphant conclusion of vital importance to the destiny of the homeland and the Albanian people. The lofty virtues of our people, their love of country, bravery, self-denial and fighting spirit, born and tempered in the course of their endless liberation struggles in the past, not only stood out more forcefully than ever before in this latest struggle, but were imbued with a new, profoundly revolutionary content.

The main factor that conditioned the high level of the armed uprising of the Albanian people against fascism and the traitors was the revolutionary leadership of the Communist Party of Albania, headed by comrade Enver Hoxha. Our people had known no such leadership in all their previous wars. It was this Party that gave the uprising its unprecedented revolutionary breadth and depth, that gave it

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(Report delivered at the National Conference of Studies on the anti-fascist National Liberation War of the Albanian people).

# OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE ATIONAL LIBERATION WAR

its perfect organization and ensured its final triumph over the fascist occupiers and the traitors. The Party knew how to assess correctly and to utilize the objective national and international circumstances that created favourable conditions for a powerful outburst of the people's uprising against the occupiers and the traitors.

Italian fascism aimed at eliminating the Albanian nation and italianizing Albania. Our people could never allow such a thing. They were ready to fight with all their strength against the foreign enslavers for freedom and national independence. In fact they began their struggle against the occupiers right from the first day of the aggression by the Italian army, in April 1939, and did not cease it for a single moment. This struggle was developed as a legitimate resistance against the foreign enslavers through antifascist demonstrations and protests, through strikes, sabotage and refusal to observe the laws and regulations of the occupation regime, in particular cases even by armed resistance.

The Albanian people were not to be alone in their struggle. The fascist states had invaded many other countries. Hitlerite Germany had attacked and aimed to destroy the first socialist state, the Soviet Union. The entire world was faced with the threat of fascist enslavement. To avert such a danger the nations and peoples of the world, had risen in a great anti-fascist international war, united in a big anti-fascist coalition to liquidate the fascist tyranny. The Albanian people found sure and powerful support in the anti-fascist

world war, the vanguard of which was the Soviet Union led by J. V. Stalin.

Relying on such favourable national and international circumstances, right from its founding the Communist Party defined the uprising against fascism as «the genuine road to liberation»<sup>1</sup> and laid down the task: «We must implant the idea of a general liberation uprising through joint actions. . . We must prepare the people politically and militarily for the general armed uprising, rallying all the patriotic and antifascist forces to the struggle»<sup>2</sup>.

While the general armed uprising was chosen as the main form, the other forms of the struggle, such as sabotage, economic and political strikes, anti-fascist demonstrations and protests, exposure of the enemy by word of mouth or through printed material, etc., were not neglected either. But the principal aim of all these means of struggle was the preparation of the people for the armed uprising.

The organization of the armed uprising also demanded, as an indispensable condition, the preparation of the armed forces, of the National Liberation Army. Without the creation of a genuine people's army, powerfully supported by the insurgent people, an army capable of dealing crushing blows to the enemy, of destroying the political order and the armed forces of occupation, a general armed uprising could not be thought of.

The general armed uprising, which was presented by the Party as «the genuine road to liberation» would be a component part of the people's revolution. As such it was organically linked with

the creation of the common National Liberation Front and with the establishment of the new democratic people's state power. At the same time, it would be the principal means for the triumph of this revolution, i.e., for the achievement of the strategic objective in the National Liberation War laid down by the Party.

For the same reason also, the National Liberation Army would be set up as a regular people's revolutionary army, since only such an army could carry out such important strategic tasks as the complete liberation of the country by its own efforts, the victory of national independence, the establishment of the people's democratic state power, and become the armed support of this state power. There can be no lasting state power, including the revolutionary state power, without armed support.

In the concrete circumstances, our general uprising would not be an immediate outburst, and the regular National liberation Army would not be formed all at once, just as the people's democratic government would not be formed at once. These objectives would be achieved step by step. The uprising would be a more or less protracted people's armed struggle. The partisan movement, the guerilla units, «the war waged by detachments as the truest expression of the will of the Albanian people to be liberated from fascist slavery and to live free»<sup>3</sup> would serve a real basis for the preparation of the general uprising and the creation of the regular liberation army.

The armed uprising was a very difficult task. Our Party clearly understood that the armed uprising constituted a task of very great responsibility. It could not be trifled with. Consequently, it demanded extensive thorough, and all-sided preparation. Its organisation required political clarity, determination, and maturity, great care and patience, tireless political and military work. Once begun it had to be carried right through to the end. Any wavering, opportunist stand, just as any sectarian and adventurist stand, would lead to the failure of the uprising.

The armed uprising needs arms, funds, cadres, great experience. The Party chose the only correct revolutionary road leading to victory: it called on the people to throw themselves immediately into the fight, being in the forefront itself, and to secure everything needed for the armed uprising – arms, cadres, experience, and everything else, in the heat of the struggle.

First of all, the armed uprising demanded the political preparation of the masses of the people, strong reliance upon them for the combat actions and the fighters that would carry them out, a steel-like bond between the leading body of the uprising and these masses. At first such a reliance and bond were limited. In this direction, too, the only way was to begin the combat actions, immediately, to begin the political preparation of the people for the uprising by fighting the enemy, and to establish sound links with the masses in the heat of the armed struggle.

So the Party did not and could not wait. «The infant that was born from the womb of the people on November 8, 1941 in Tirana», says comrade Enver Hoxha, «did not wait even for a single day, but raised its iron fist and struck mercilessly at the fascists and the traitors»<sup>4</sup>.

Of course the choosing of the road of armed struggle by no means meant that the slogan of the general uprising was to be launched immediately. «The general uprising, as stated above, would be prepared step by step and would constitute the final state of the armed struggle.»<sup>5</sup>

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As is said in the «History of the PLA», the armed uprising as a people's war, and the creation of the people's armed forces as a regular army of the Albanian

people, went through three main phases which were determined by the development of events and things.

In the first phase the foundations were laid for the general armed uprising and the organization of the regular National Liberation Army, the general moral-political and military preparation of the masses of the people for the uprising was achieved.<sup>6</sup>

The first school for the armed uprising were the guerrilla units, which were formed at the end of 1941 and the beginning of 1942 in the main cities of the country, while from the beginning of 1942 they were active in all the cities and in many of the occupied regions.

The guerrilla units carried out various small-scale combat actions: killed fascist leaders, officers, N.C.O.'s, and spies, burnt and destroyed depots and other objects of the enemy; seized arms and other material useful for the liberation war, freed political prisoners, etc.

It is of great importance that no action was carried out without the approval of the party regional committee and without being studied with the greatest care. Actions were carried out in order to achieve political gains first of all, and then military and material gains. According to this criterion, combat actions, while harming the enemy, first of all established new links between the Party and the masses. Therefore only such actions were carried out but as were acceptable to the masses, that fostered in them love for and confidence in the Party that organised and led these actions. The careful choice, the perfect organisation of the combat actions of the guerrilla units, and the leadership of the party organisation, gave their actions a character different from those usually carried out by anarchists, putschists, adventurers, and bandits of various types.

Unlike adventurist and terrorist actions, with the impression they made and the influence they exercised on the people and among the enemy ranks the actions of our guerrilla units, however small as fighting actions, had the importance of a battle. As comrade Enver Hoxha says, «they were an inseparable part and the beginning of the armed uprising», «from which the genuine leaders of our people emerged»<sup>7</sup>, «they were linked with the aspirations of the masses and were an expression of the determination and confidence, not only of the Party, but also of the people, in final victory»<sup>8</sup>.

The guerrilla units were set up in the cities. This was not accidental. This happened because at the beginning the Party's links with the masses of the people were almost entirely with those of the towns. Without the support of these masses the guerrilla units could not have been formed and neither could they have carried out their combat actions so successfully. In fact the actions were not just the deed of the members of the guerrilla units, but of the masses of the people who protected and defended the fighters of these units at every step, regardless of the dangers.

But while creating the guerrilla units, the Party always had in mind higher forms of the armed struggle – partisan units. «The comrades should not have a shallow grasp of «the question of guerrillas», it instructed. «Wherever possible partisan units should be formed... without waiting for another directive for the formation of the units»<sup>9</sup>.

The formation of the units was linked, first of all, with the creation of the bases of the Party and of the National Liberation War in the countryside.

The countryside, specially in our conditions, was of decisive importance to the uprising. Without arousing the peasantry against the occupiers and the traitors there could be no talk either of the general armed uprising or of the triumph of the revolution.

The peasantry made up the overwhelming majority of the population of the country, therefore it would also be the «source of the main forces of the present war», the Party instructed<sup>10</sup>.

But it was not only for this reason that the peasantry had to become the source and the main force of the liberation armed struggle. Apart from this, in its bosom it preserved very deep patriotic traditions, a fighting spirit and great revolutionary energy gained during the centuries in the struggle for freedom, independence and land. It hated the fascist occupiers and was burning with desire to see Albania free and independent.

There was also another reason that increased the importance of the decisive role of the peasantry; the geographical factor. The bulk of our countryside is mountainous. The mountains preserved very favourable conditions for the people's partisan warfare. As comrade Mehmet Shehu says, «our mountains have always been the principal ally of our people»<sup>11</sup>. In the Anti-fascist National libera-

tion War, too, our mountains became the principal base of the uprising, the secure nest of the partisan fighters, because, in the first place, the population of the mountain regions linked its fate with the Communist Party, joined the National liberation Front, and showed unprecedented readiness and self-sacrifice in struggle, sparing nothing for the victory over the foreign enslavers and the local traitors. This does not mean that the Party did not attach any importance to the plains. On the contrary, it kept the peasantry of the plains in the centre of its attention, just as it did the population of the mountains and the cities, and had established bases for the development of the uprising in the plains as well.

It was not easy for the Party to win over the countryside. The main thing was that the Party was convinced that the masses of the peasantry would embrace its line on the National liberation War and would turn into a great decisive force of the armed uprising. Comrade Enver Hoxha instructed the Party to address itself especially to the village poor, the semi-proletarians, of whom there were many in our country. We should mobilize the peasantry around our Party, since only our Party is a fighting party and the peoples today want to fight<sup>12</sup>.

First of all, the peasantry was convinced of the correctness of the political line of the Party, of its ability to lead the struggle, and accepted the Party as its leader, on the basis of its deeds. Such deeds, which exercised a great influence among the peasantry, as well as among the entire Albanian people, were the courageous actions of the guerrilla units and, later, of the partisan ceta, the unprecedented heroism of the communists in these actions. The Albanian peasant has an especially great and profound respect for valiant people, for he has always had valour in his veins, just as he has honour. Such brave and courageous people, honest and determined fighters against fascism, as the communists, who, at the same time, emerged as the most resolute defenders of the interests and rights of the peasantry, could not fail to arouse their love and trust.

In this way, the Party gradually won the confidence of the peasant, and set up its bases and those of the National liberation War in the countryside. From the spring, or particularly from the summer, of the year 1942, the centre of gravitation of the uprising shifted to the country-

side. The countryside became the principal base of the uprising and the peasantry became its main force. This occurred precisely when the Party had won over the peasant masses and had prepared them for the liberation armed struggle.

On this basis the partisan units were set up, and increased rapidly. By the end of 1942, they numbered about 30, with more than 2,000 fighters in their ranks. The first nucleus of the partisan units consisted of communists, communist youths, sympathizers, workers and students from the towns trained in the guerrilla war, whom the Party sent to the mountains to organise the armed struggle. These nuclei were increased with the admission of the peasants. The countryside became the source and base of the partisan units. At the same time workers, artisans, students and teachers were sent from the cities to join the partisan units.

The regular partisan units were the embryo of the regular National liberation Army. But in addition to the regular units village territorial ceta on a voluntary basis, were formed. They were armed detachments for the people's self-defence and served as a powerful reserve of the regular partisan detachments, both for combat actions and for the replenishment of their ranks with new fighters. The total number of the people who militated in the territorial volunteer units was three-four times greater than that of the partisans of the regular units. In the spring of 1943 the total number of fighters of the regular partisan units, the volunteer units and the guerrilla units, had reached about 20,000. Through the setting up of the territorial units in every liberated village and region the Party carried into life the idea of the arming and participation of the broad masses in the armed uprising, the idea of the people's liberation war. The most typical examples of the embodiment of this idea, which demonstrated the ever-mounting people's uprising were the combat actions in Skrapar (September), in Peza (October) and the Gjorm Battle (December 1942).

The partisan units carried out intense military and political activity; attacked and destroyed military posts and small garrisons of the enemy, and fascist punitive forces, attacked enemy columns, destroyed or impeded enemy communication, cut enemy telegraph and telephone lines, burnt depots and other objects of the fascists, tracked down spies, etc. Above all

they aimed at clearing entire mountain regions and zones of the enemy, in order to set up free bases for the partisan movement. Without such liberated regions and zones they could not live and carry on their activities. Besides the combat actions carried out in Skrapar, Peza, and Mesaplik (Gjorm), in 1942 and at the beginning of 1943, a great influence was exercised on the broadening of the armed struggle by the 24 July action for the destruction of the enemy telegraph and telephone lines throughout the country, some heroic actions in the cities, and the battles of Voskopoja, Snosëm, Patos, Libohova, Rrogozhina, and Selenica, etc.

It is of importance to stress that all the military actions of the units had a great political meaning. They undermined the occupation regime, mobilized the people in struggle, aroused the confidence of the masses in their own efforts, enhanced the authority of the Communist Party.

But the units also carried out direct political and organisational work of extraordinary importance. They carried out large-scale political activities to clarify the people, propagated the line of the Party and the political program of the Peza Conference, ensured the unity of the peasantry in the National Liberation Front, destroyed the old state machinery of the fascists and traitors and helped the peasantry to build the new democratic state power of the national liberation councils. In collaboration with these councils they maintained order and tranquillity in the liberated areas, in this way also carrying out important functions of the state power.

In this way the new Albanian army, which was being built in the fire of the National Liberation War, was born and strengthened as an army of the people, an army of the revolution, a defender of the vital interests of the workers, peasants, and all the democratic revolutionary forces. For the first time, the masses of the people saw in the partisan detachments their own army which was being created and increased from their flesh and blood. That is why they gave this army their all-round support and aid.

From the military viewpoint, the combat actions of the units were actions on a tactical scale. It was still not possible to speak of our operations. However, the sum of the combat actions of the partisan detachments, adding to them the actions of the guerrilla units in the occupied

towns and areas, gave results of a strategic scale, such as the general insecurity and concern caused by these actions among the ranks of the occupiers and traitors, the disorder and confusion brought about in the entire military-political and state system of the enemy. A strategic result of the combat actions of the partisan units was the setting up of the bases for the organization of the regular people's army, and the political and military preparation of the people for the general uprising.

In order to cope with the incontainable general rise of the armed struggle of the Albanian people, the Italian fascists organised a whole series of operations of various levels, employing large, regular military forces and accompanying these operations with savage terror in towns and regions. However, nothing could quench the flames of the uprising which was spreading at lightning speed.

With the proliferation of the units their organization and armament also continued to improve. In the course of the struggle they gained valuable military and political experience. The need arose to merge two or three of them into larger formations, into partisan battalions, which began to be set up from May 1943. With the creation of the battalion it became possible to carry out combat actions more coordinated and on a larger scale, with the participation of several units and battalions, as well as to undertake some military operations such as the second battle of Selonica in April, the Leskovik battle in May, in the context of which the first blow against the German army was struck at Barmash of Kolonja. It became possible to cope successfully even with the large scale operations carried out by the Italian Army, such as the Peza and Mallakstra operations in June 1943.

It is of importance to emphasise that with the shift of the epicenter of the uprising to the countryside, the Party further developed and strengthened the insurgent movement in the cities as well, linking it organically with the uprising in the countryside, as a single uprising. Although occupied, in the years of the National Liberation War our towns were seething with the revolutionary movement, with the combat actions of the guerrilla units which made the cities unsafe for the enemies and always kept high the morale of the population not only of the towns but also of the village, which kept the links

of the Party with the masses strong, and strengthened their general confidence in victory.

In the second phase the armed struggle was turned into a general people's uprising and the National Liberation Army was organized<sup>13</sup>.

There was no force that could extinguish the flames of the liberation armed struggle that had engulfed the whole of Albania. The impetuous development of this war at the end of 1942 and at the beginning of 1943 showed that it was progressing with sure steps towards a new phase, the phase of the general people's uprising. «The National Liberation War», comrade Enver Hoxha stressed in February 1943, «is gradually assuming a general character. Fascism is being dealt heavy blows both in towns and countryside»<sup>14</sup>.

This situation was taken up for examination at the 1st National Conference of the CPA, in March 1943, which, on the basis of the analysis of the concrete internal circumstances (the impetuous extension and deepening of the liberation war) and external factors (the turning point brought about in the course of the Second World War by the historic victory of the Red Army in Stalingrad), seized as the main link, on the question of the organization of the general uprising, and launched the slogan: «To go united towards the general uprising»<sup>15</sup>.

In order to carry out the general uprising, the Conference decided to organize «the regular National Liberation Army from the partisan and volunteer units» as «the terrible force against the occupiers and the sure and powerful guarantee of the liberation of the people»<sup>16</sup>. At the same time ever broader masses of the people had to be drawn into the armed struggle and particular attention devoted to the «large-scale mobilization of the peasant masses» and the youth «as the inexhaustible force of the National Liberation War»<sup>17</sup>.

This decision found its complete implementation in the summer of 1943, when the Party considered that all conditions were ripe for a general outburst of the people's uprising. The Party itself, the partisan detachments, the broad masses of the people were by now prepared for the general uprising from every point of view - political, moral, military, organisational. In July, 1943 the regular partisan detachments had about 10 000 fighters in their ranks, organized in 22 battalions and a

great number of partisan units. Not less than 20 000 other armed fighters were included in the territorial volunteers detachments of the liberated zones and the guerrilla units of the occupied towns and regions. The liberated zones included more than half the total area of the country. In these zones the political power of the national liberation councils had been established. Hundreds of other councils carried out their activity in the occupied towns and zones.

In these conditions, the Central Committee of the Party proposed to the General Council the formation of the General Staff and the organisation of the partisan and volunteer detachments and battalions into a regular National Liberation Army. The decision of the General Council on the creation of the General Staff was announced on July 10, 1943, the first decision of the General Staff was on the formation of the Albanian National Liberation Army (ANLA).

The founding of the General Staff and the decision it adopted on the formation of the National Liberation Army laid the foundations of the regular Albanian People's Army. In this way conditions were created for a reliable leadership of the general armed uprising that had begun in Albania, for a more thorough going and extensive implementation of the laws and rules of the people's war.

Terror stricken by the people's general uprising, in July 1943 the Italian occupiers proclaimed all the territory of the «Albanian Kingdom» an operational zone.

In accordance with the concrete conditions, the structure of the ANLA, in the second phase of the uprising, was:

- The General Staff, which had as its task to organise and completely transform the Albanian National Liberation Army into a regular army, to carry out the centralised strategic and operative leadership of the general armed uprising, and at the same time to work out the tactics of this uprising.

- The staffs of the groups (Regions) and of the Ist Operative Zone had as their task to lead the partisan armed forces of the region (zone) in compliance with the orders and instructions of the General Staff.

The armed forces in the regions and zones were of three kinds:

a) partisan units, battalions, and (later) regular partisan groups;

b) volunteer territorial units and battalions (of self-defence);

c) regional commands, local commands, partisan guards in villages which made up «the military administration of the rear».

- The shock brigade was the largest formation and embodied the road chosen for the gradual transformation of the ANLA into a regular army through the merging of partisan units, battalions and groups into brigades. Unlike the units, battalions and groups, the brigade was not a regional or zonal unit but an operative fighting unit at the disposal of the General Staff. It fought, moved, and manoeuvred, through all the regions of Albania as the need arose.

The General Staff mapped out a special plan for the gradual merging and organization of the units, battalions and groups into brigades. The Ist Brigade, which was formed on August 15, 1943, as comrade Enver Hoxha himself wrote on the occasion of its formation, «had the appearance of a truly regular army». «This marks a date in the history of our movement», he added, «and this example should soon be followed in all the regions of the country»<sup>18</sup>.

After the founding of the General Staff the liberation armed struggle took a more organised, more extensive and sterner character, arousing all the masses of the people. This was expressed in fierce clashes, not only on a tactical and operative scale, but also on strategic scale, between the ANLA and the insurgent people, on one hand, and the Italian army, that was living through its last days, on the other. Such were the battles of the second Malakastro operation, the attacks on the fascist garrisons in Mat and Dibër, the battles in Konispol and Kardhiq, in the region of Vlora, in Vithkuq, and in Reç of Shkodra.

The capitulation of fascist Italy on September 8, 1943 and the entry of the German nazi invaders into Albanian territory found Albania in this situation of a general people's uprising and life and death battles of the people against the enemy.

The new invader was faced with heavy attacks by the National Liberation Army and the Albanian insurgent people, everywhere, in Pogradec, Xhyrë, Konispol, Çepo, Drashovica, Kruja, Derven, and on all communication lines, attacks which isolated the groupings of the German army

and forced them to seek shelter in garrison and fortified strongholds. The guerrilla movement in the cities assumed an unprecedented impetus.

In order to get out of this situation of encirclement, which was extremely dangerous for its troops, the German occupiers together with the entire internal reaction - the Ballists, Zogites, and all the quislings, undertook a general offensive consisting of a series of operations throughout the country with the aim of annihilating the ANLA, the National Liberation Front and the councils and establishing the nazi-reactionary regime everywhere.

In the winter of 1943-1944, the armed uprising, the National Liberation Army, as well as the National Liberation Front and the state power of the national liberation councils, underwent their most difficult test, faced the greatest dangers of the entire period of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War. Through these tests and dangers they showed themselves invincible, emerged victorious over so strong and savage an enemy as the nazi German army together with the reaction overwhelming superiority in weapons and war material.

The general offensive of the enemy failed completely. The general uprising of the people became even more widespread, the ANLA grew stronger. In May 1944 it had in its ranks about 35 000 fighters incorporated in 9 shock brigades and many partisan battalions, without reckoning the territorial volunteer detachments and battalions or the guerrilla units of the occupied towns and regions. The setting up of large military units in accordance with the general plan was continued without interruption in the heat of the war.

The war waged by the ANLA through the territorial volunteer detachments and the guerrilla units in the winter of 1943-1944 constituted, on a regional and zonal scale, a successful and profoundly manoeuvrable defence of an operative character, with numerous counter-attacks of a tactical character on the front, the flanks and in the rear of the enemy operative forces. On a national scale, this war constituted a strategic defense which inflicted heavy losses on the enemy, and, as a consequence, brought about the balancing of forces and the seizing of the operative initiative by the ANLA. In March-April-May of 1944, our army, went over from de-

fense to strategic counter attack, which prepared all the prerequisites for a general strategic offensive of the ANLA and the insurgent people and created the possibility of convening the historic Congress of Përmet which solved the question of the state power in favour of the insurgent people.

Both the operation and strategic defence and the strategic counter-offensive were carried out on the basis of the instructions of the Communist Party of Albania and of the General Staff, and were directly led by them.

In the third phase the people's general uprising led to the ejection of the occupiers and the complete liberation of the country, the annihilation of the reactionary organizations and forces which were tools of the occupiers, the complete destruction of the state apparatus of the fascists and traitors. The ANLA was totally transformed into a regular army of the Albanian people and state of people's democracy<sup>19</sup>.

While laying the foundations of the new Albanian state of people's democracy, the anti-fascist National liberation Congress of Përmet, decided that the ANLA should be transformed into a completely regular army of that state through the incorporation of all detachments, battalions and groups into brigades, of the brigades into divisions, and of the divisions into army-corps. The high command of the ANLA was unified through the nomination of the General Commander and the appointment to this task of Comrade Enver Hoxha, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Albania, Chairman of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Committee (the provisional revolutionary government), founder and organiser of the ANLA, who, until the convening of the Congress, had carried out the functions of political Commissar of the General Staff.

Along with the plan to improve the organization of the ANLA, the General Commander, with great mastery and revolutionary farsightedness, mapped out the strategic plan of the general offensive for the complete liberation of the homeland and the consolidation and extension of the democratic people's state power throughout the country. At the same time this plan was aimed at defeating the objective which the Anglo-American governments and the Anglo-American Mediterranean Command wanted to achieve, of rescuing

the reactionary forces of the Zogites and Ballists from destruction and preventing the triumph of the people's revolution.

The second general offensive which the German occupiers and the traitors undertook against the ANLA in June 1944 did not prevent the implementation of the plan of the General Commander, mapped out according to the decisions of the Plenum of the CC of the Party and the Congress of Përmet. During this offensive the ANLA proved that it had attained the level of a regular army, both from the military and from the moral-political view and it compelled the forces of the nazis and traitors to retreat with great losses.

After the smashing of the enemy general offensives of the winter and of the June 1944, the balance of forces changed in our favour. In such a situation, the ANLA, powerfully supported by the insurgent people, upon orders of the General Commander, went over from temporary strategic defence to counter-offensive, and then to general strategic offensive. On the eve of the liberation the ANLA which had reached 70 000 fighters, had been transformed completely into a regular army of the new Albanian state, with a sound organisation and high morale, armed with all kinds of weapons seized from the enemy, equipped with capable and experienced military and political cadres loyal to the people.

With the complete transformation of the ANLA into a regular army there were no more regional or zonal partisan detachments and battalions. All the detachments were incorporated into brigades, the brigades into divisions, and the divisions into army-corps. For this reason the regional and zonal staffs were no longer necessary. Therefore, they were abolished by order of the General Command.

Using the countryside as its base, such an army was quite able to drive the occupiers out of the country, to destroy the armed forces of the traitors and liberate all the cities and the entire country on November 29, 1944, without the need for the Red Army or for any other friendly army, to come to Albania to give us direct aid.

In this way the ANLA and the insurgent Albanian people not only achieved the complete liberation of the country and the triumph of the people's revolution through their own forces, but were also able to dispatch beyond the border of their coun-

try more than 20,000 fighters who fought heroically, together with the Yugoslav NLA, for the liberation of the peoples of Yugoslavia and the Albanian brothers of Kosova.

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It is a characteristic fact that the ANLA, which had to be, and was, gradually transformed into a regular army, a condition indispensable to performing the great strategic tasks it had been charged with by the CPA and the General Staff, carried out these tasks while relying mainly on the tactic of partisan warfare.

Our army was obliged to employ such tactic and not that of frontal war because of the superiority the enemy enjoyed in numbers and weapons. The skilful use of the tactic of partisan warfare in accord with the conditions of the country, neutralized the superiority of the enemy and created a complex superiority for the insurgent people, made the piecemeal annihilation of the enemy forces possible, and avoided heavy losses among the revolutionary forces; in other words, made it possible for a small nation like ours to fight and defeat a bigger and more powerful enemy. For this reason, time after time the CC of the CPA, the General Staff reminded the staffs of the detachments and units of the ANLA that «we must avoid waging largescale frontal warfare and holding the front at any cost»<sup>20</sup>, that «the tactic of our war continues to be the same as previously, i.e. guerrilla (partisan) warfare»<sup>21</sup>.

The partisan warfare employed by the ANLA, which carried out not only tactical and operative tasks, but also important strategic tasks, in this way, differs from the warfare of an auxiliary character carried out behind the enemy's lines by the partisan detachments of other countries in coordination with the operative and strategic plans of the commands of the regular troops fighting on the front. The war waged by the ANLA is an original partisan war. It was conducted without any dependence on, or coordination with, any other front of the Second World War, either from the operative or strategic angle, and, even less, from the tactical angle. It coped with quite independent tasks which were defined by the CC of

the CPA or the General Staff, and no other body.

The use, for the reasons we mentioned above, mainly of the tactic of partisan war does not mean that our National Liberation Army did not know, or did not employ at all, the tactic of frontal war or elements of this tactic. In particular cases it also waged frontal war, when it considered it possible and indispensable to hold certain objectives or lines, or not to allow the enemy to recapture them, either for a given time or permanently. The elements of the tactic of frontal war became more pronounced as complex superiority was gained over the enemy, who saw the ground slipping from under their feet, up to the battle for the liberation of Tirana, in which the principles and rules used over all were those of frontal war, but of a frontal war into which elements of partisan warfare were organically blended.

The partisan warfare of the ANLA was outstanding for its spirit of attack and the uninterrupted character of its combat actions, for the speed of its movements and the masterly use of rapid manoeuvring, of the use of surprise attacks, the great initiative of the commands of all instances, and the perfect use of the terrain.

Of extraordinary importance, as the main factor, together with the masterly use of the tactics of partisan warfare to neutralise and overcome the superiority of the enemy, to inflict heavy losses on, or to annihilate their forces and to achieve victory over them, was the high morale of the partisan fighters, which was the source of the invincibility and the unprecedented heroism of the ANLA. On every occasion, in every clash with the enemy, the partisans had incomparable moral superiority over the enemy. This boundless moral force had its foundations in the high level of consciousness of the fighters. They knew what they were fighting for, they had the feeling of sacred duty towards the country and the revolution, deeply rooted in their hearts, and not only towards revolution on a national scale, but also towards the international revolutionary movement, towards socialism. They had grasped, in essence, the correctness of the political line of the Communist Party, were fully aware of the difficulties, privations and sacrifices demanded by the war, and they had unshakeable confidence in the victory of the just liberation war

of the Albanian people. Therefore, every cadre and every rank-and-file partisan was ready to lay down his life for freedom, for the country, for the revolution, and for the Communist Party.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu has summed up the principal qualities and virtues of the ANLA in the following way; 1) the readiness of every fighter to lay down his life for the defence of the country and the freedom of the people; 2) his boundless loyalty towards the Party, its Marxist-Leninist line, and communism; 3) his confidence in himself, in his comrades, confidence in the victory over the enemy, however powerful they might seem; 4) his profound hatred for the enemy and boundless love for the people; worthy conduct towards the people and spiritual communion with them; 5) the comradely and fraternal relations between the cadres and the rank-and-file partisan fighters, eliminating any distance between them; 6) the spirit of attack; the uninterrupted combat activity over the whole period of war; strong and conscious discipline; mobility, rapidity, accuracy and resilience in combat actions; 7) the unyielding spirit in the face of any obstacle, difficulty, or serious situation in the course of war, however extreme; courage and dauntlessness in face of death<sup>22</sup>.

All these qualities and virtues are, in fact, elements of the communist morality which the Communist Party had implanted deep into the hearts and minds of the fighters of the ANLA. The Party and the General Staff devoted particularly great attention to the revolutionary ideological education of the National Liberation Army. The main reason for this was that this army was called on not only to serve as a decisive weapon to achieve the strategic objectives of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, which was a great people's revolution, but also to defend the achievements of this war and to develop them further on the road of socialism.

Of extraordinary importance for the successful development and the triumph of the general people's uprising was the uncompromising and principled revolutionary stand of our Party towards the policy and activities of sabotage and hindrance pursued by the Anglo-American military missions and the Mediterranean High Command, which did their utmost to protect the bases of the reaction, and demanded under various pretexts that the general uprising in Albania should begin

only when the landing of the Anglo-American forces was to take place, and, consequently, when the command of these forces issued such orders.

The Central Committee of our Party and the General Commander, comrade Enver Hoxha, accepted, neither orders, control nor strategy, imposed from outside. They implemented only their own policy and strategy. They gave and implemented orders without asking permission from any foreigner.

The Anglo-Americans over-estimated the importance of their supplies of arms, clothing, and footwear, and tried to use them to exert pressure on the General Staff of the National Liberation Army so as to force it to accept their policy, strategy, and supervision. The Central Committee of the Party, the General Staff and the General Commander, had never counted on waging the war with the weapons and other material that might be sent from abroad. They never accepted any interference and any political or military condition in connection with the possible supplies of the Anglo-Americans, and did not interrupt their armed struggle against the occupiers and traitors, even for a moment, when the Anglo-American Command threatened that it "would cut off all supplies". Comrade Enver Hoxha, in a letter addressed to Baba Faja on November 21, 1943, writes: "The friends' (the British officers) that have come there, are up to all sorts of trickery. They want to poke their noses into the affairs of our army... Do not let yourselves be deceived by their promises... They have plenty of word, but nothing comes of them. They are giving no aid in money. The aid they have given up to now is ridiculously small."<sup>23</sup>

The Party and the General Staff had made every cadre and rank-and-file partisan fighter deeply aware that only self-reliance would ensure the victory of the uprising, of the people's revolution.

On the basis of this principle, all the big and difficult problems of the people's armed struggle were solved, such as the training of the military-political cadres, equipping the army and the insurgent people, supplying the fighters with arms, ammunition, clothing and footwear.

The Communist Party and the General Staff possessed no ready-made military cadres, no military school to train officers. There could be no question of using the officers of the old army. The overwhelm-

ing majority of them were serving the occupiers and the reaction. There was no other way but to train the commanders and the political commissars in the heat of the stern struggle against the enemy, selecting them from among the ranks of the workers, peasants and patriotic intellectuals, from the most honest, the bravest, the ablest partisans, devoted to the people and the revolution.

With the uninterrupted growth of the National Liberation Army, the need for cadres constantly increased too. Some partisan staffs and commands, faced with such a necessity, asked the General Staff for commanders and commissars. Here is the answer to such a request, sent to a battalion command: "These requests astonish us greatly. It seems to us that you have not as yet understood that the battalions and detachments are the genuine source for commanders and political leaders... These leaders emerge in the process of struggle and battle"<sup>24</sup>.

The commanders and commissars of the National Liberation Army that emerged in the heat of the revolutionary war proved fully capable of successfully solving the difficult tasks of the organization and development of the armed uprising.

Although lacking sufficient schooling and military training, these sons and daughters of the people proved more capable than the Italian and German officers and generals who had graduated from high military schools and academies, and defeated them.

For the arming of the army of the insurgent people the main way was to seize weapons from the enemy in actual battle. As far as food, clothing, and footwear, were concerned, the partisan fighters had to rely on the aid of the population.

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Like the entire Anti-fascist National liberation War, the peoples general uprising was carried out and triumphed under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania. The creation of the National liberation Army was the deed of the Party. It was created, organized, and led directly by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania, its General Secretary, comrade Enver Hoxha. All the problems of the uprising, all the questions of the structure and internal life of the libe-

ration armed forces, of the strategy, operative actions and military tactics, were solved in compliance with the instructions and teachings of the Party. Comrade Enver Hoxha, who was the Political Commissar of the General Staff and, later, the General Commander, mapped out every plan, every instruction, and important order issued to the National Liberation Army, himself directly leading the entire party work in the army. Every member or candidate member of the Central Committee was deeply engaged in the solution of the problems of the general uprising. Likewise, through the regional (zonal) staffs, the Party regional committees had all the activities of the armed struggle in their respective areas.

The Party led the army through the party cells in the detachments and companies, through the party bureaus in battalions through the political sections, and then, the party committees, in brigades and divisions. The communists were the heart and the brain of the Albanian National Liberation Army. They were outstanding, not only as dauntless fighters but also as political leaders, as untiring organisers and propagandists, as teachers of the partisan fighters and the masses of the people, setting the example in coping with complicated situations, with the extraordinary difficulties of partisan life. All of them fought with determination and relentlessly to have the party line, its directives and decisions, carried out to the letter.

An extremely important role in carrying out the party leadership in the army was played by the political commissars who were recognised by all as the representatives of the CPA in the detachments and units and answerable, more than anybody else, for the implementation of the political line by all the cadres and fighters.

But by no means a small role in effecting the party leadership was played by the commanders too, the majority of whom, in the heat of the liberation war, became party members and were tempered as revolutionaries determined to fight for the cause of the people, the Party, and communism.

So boundless was the love for the party and so great was its authority in the ANLA, so deep was the conviction in the correctness of the political line of the Party, in its wise leadership, that every cadre and partisan was fully aware that he could

march on the correct road, towards final victory over the enemy, only on the basis of the directives and teachings of the Party.

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The people's armed uprising in the Anti-fascist National liberation War was developed on the basis of the general Marxist-Leninist laws and principles on the revolutionary armed struggle. At the same time it bears the imprint of the peculiarities that derive from the concrete internal and external conditions in which it developed, from the genius of our Communist Party, from the creativeness and sacrifice of the masses of the people, from the farsightedness, the revolutionary wisdom, and leading ability, of comrade Enver Hoxha.

The extremely rich experience of our people's general uprising, of our National liberation Army, is an inexhaustible source of valuable lessons for the liberation of revolutionary Albania, military art and for the further development of Marxist-Leninist science, for the political and military preparation of the armed forces and our people as a whole to defend their freedom, independence, and socialism, against the savage enemies of our country and people and all mankind, the US imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists.

Among the many lessons, the first lesson

is the sound, undivided, and effective leadership of the Party. This leadership is the main source of the heroism and revolutionary selfsacrifice of the Albanian people against the occupiers and traitors, and of their historic victory in this war. It is the principal factor in the extent, breadth, and grandeur of the people's general uprising in the Antifascist War. The very creation and organisation of the ANLA as a regular revolutionary army, and every victory and success attained by the ANLA over the occupation armies and the reactionary forces, has its roots in the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Party and in its wise leadership.

Today, too, such a leadership is the principal guarantee of the honourable fulfilment of the lofty duty of the defence of our socialist homeland, of the all-round political and military revolutionary preparation and of combat readiness of our armed forces, of our soldier-people.

The second lesson is the steel-like army-people party unity. In this unity lay the entire strength of the National liberation Army, of the insurgent people, and of the Party itself.

It is precisely this unbreakable unity that is the foundation of the strength of our soldier people, the guarantee of our victory over any enemy that might dare attack the People's Republic of Albania and endanger the great achievements of the people's revolution and socialist construction.

Another lesson is the high morale of the fighter of the National Liberation Army and the entire insurgent people, a morale that had its foundation in the profound political and revolutionary consciousness of the masses, in their unshakeable confidence in the correctness of the political line and in the ability of the Party in leadership.

Today, also, the high patriotic and revolutionary consciousness of the masses of the people, their socialist moral qualities, their determination to march on the road of the Party, are among the principal factors in the defence of the Party, are among the principal factors in the defence potential of the homeland and a guarantee of the victory over the imperialist and revisionist aggressors.

A very important lesson that emerges from the experience of the general uprising in the Anti-fascist National Liberation War is that through the people's liberation war, a small nation can fight and triumph over a more powerful enemy.

The Anti-fascist National liberation War is, indeed, a great treasury of experience for the people's war our nation may be obliged to fight against the imperialist and revisionist aggressors to defend the socialist homeland and to win final victory over them, regardless of the fact that a future people's war for the defence of the country will be at a much higher level from every point of view.

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## THE KOREAN PEOPLE WILL SMASH THE AGGRESSIVE PLANS OF WASHINGTON AND THE SEOUL CLIQUE

*«ZËRI I POPULLIT», organ of the C.C. of the PLA*

Twenty-five years have passed since the day the US imperialists unleashed their barbarous and perfidious aggression against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. This aggression was not a fortuitous action. It was carried out on the basis of a premeditated plan, in the framework of the aggressive global strategy of U.S. imperialism.

But in those difficult days the valiant and freedom-loving people of the DPR of Korea did not bow to the brute force of the enemy. Led by the Party of Labour of Korea with comrade Kim Ir Sen at the head, they rose up, arms in hand, to defend the freedom and independence of their homeland, their own people's state power, performing rare feats of heroism. At the most difficult moments in their history the Korean people had their neighbour, great People's China of Mao Tse tung close beside them. Fully solidarizing with the just cause of the Korean people, the courageous Chinese people's volunteers fought bravely in the same trenches with them against the US aggressors. This is a brilliant example of proletarian internationalism which with the blood shed in the struggle against their common enemies, further strengthened the militant friendship and fraternal solidarity between the Korean and Chinese peoples.

All the efforts of the US impe-

rialist aggressors to occupy the DPR of Korea suffered ignominious defeat. The Korean people's victory over the aggressors was a confirmation of the historical truth that no enemy, however big in numbers and however armed, can conquer a brave and freedom-loving people who fight with determination to the end for their just cause.

The course of events shows that inspite of the successive defeats they have sustained in Korea, and at present in Vietnam and Cambodia, the US imperialists, in rivalry with the Soviet social imperialists, have not given up their aims and efforts for expansion and hegemony on the Asian continent.

During his visit to Seoul last year, president Ford reaffirmed «that the United States would hold to its commitments» towards the Pak Chen Hee clique, while Kissinger declared that «the USA is prepared to defend its interests in Korea», i.e. to continue its aggressive policy towards the DPR of Korea. The chieftains of US imperialism are now making open threats. Ford himself, and the US War Secretary, Schlesinger, cynically declared that «the USA cannot exclude the possibility of the use of nuclear weapons, against North Korea. «The aggressive hostile activity of US imperialism against the Korean people is all-sided. It keeps

South Korea under occupation, it has turned it into a colony, into a place of violence and terror, and into a base from which it carries out aggressive actions, one after another, against the DPR of Korea, incites and encourages the traitorous Pak Chen Hee clique to new adventures, and is doing its utmost to put into practice the «two Koreas» plot, to sabotage the proposals of the DPR of Korea for the reunification of the country. But Washington's threats of war do not intimidate the Korean people. The DPR of Korea has resolutely exposed and condemned the aggressive acts of the US imperialists and their Seoul puppets. The Korean people are determined to destroy all the plans and conspiracies of these savage enemies.

As in the difficult days of the open US aggression against the DPR of Korea, the Albanian people are in solidarity with the Korean people's just struggle against US imperialism and the Pak Chen Hee clique. They fully support the legitimate demand of the Korean people for the immediate withdrawal of the US troops from South Korea, their struggle for the realisation of the national aspiration – the reunification of the country, which must be solved by the free will of the Korean people, without any interference whatever from outside. —

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## VICTORY OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF THE VALIANT PEOPLE OF MOZAMBIQUE

*«BASHKIMI», central organ of the Democratic Front of Albania*

June 25 of the year 1975, will go down in the history of the freedom-loving African people of Mozambique as a memorable date which consolidates the victory won with bloodshed, in a blow for blow struggle against the Portuguese colonialists. On that day, solemn manifestations were organised in the capital of Mozambique and the independence of Mozambique was finally proclaimed.

During more than 5 centuries of colonial rule, the people of Mozambique fought continually against the savage yoke. But the struggle of the people of Mozambique attained organised form 11 years ago, with the creation on September 25, 1964 of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique, which placed itself at the head of the armed struggle. At the start the Front had about 200 fighters, but their ranks kept increasing and their actions became ever more powerful.

During 10 years of war, the patriotic forces killed more than 16.000 Portuguese colonialist soldiers, shot down 96 aircraft, and destroyed over 2.000 military vehicles. In the course of the fighting, the liberation forces were transformed into a powerful army, which within a short period of time, liberated an area of

200.000 square kilometres with over 1 million inhabitants.

The people of Mozambique have won their political independence, but they are always vigilant to defend this victory achieved at the cost of bloodshed. In recent times the colonialists and their servants organized a number of dangerous counterrevolutionary plots. Wide ranging activity against Mozambique has been carried out by the racist regimes of South Rhodesia and South Africa, incited by US imperialism, which dreams of turning Mozambique into a colony of its own. Likewise, dangerous plots against Mozambique are concocted by the Soviet revisionists who pose as friends, but who have never for a moment ceased their disruptive activity, or their efforts to get this country into their grip. The people of Mozambique are becoming ever more aware that their political independence, won with blood, cannot be complete and cannot be consolidated if they do not attain their economic independence, if they do not restore the economy left in backwardness and destroyed by the colonialists and international monopolies, by their own efforts. The people of Mozambique have set about the work for the strengthening of the country's agriculture and industry, for the

schooling of the people left in complete darkness by the colonialists, for the revival and development of their national culture.

The winning of freedom by the people of Mozambique constitutes a great encouragement and a further impulse for the liberation struggle of the peoples of Rhodesia, South Africa, South west Africa and the other peoples fighting for freedom. The example of Mozambique which won freedom through the barrel of the gun, and the great and fresh examples of the peoples of South Vietnam and Cambodia, are a great encouragement to all the freedom-loving peoples and a crushing blow for the world gendarmes - the US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists.

On this memorable day for the valiant people of Mozambique, our people wholeheartedly rejoice over this victory achieved in struggle and extend to them their most ardent greetings. The Albanian people express their profound conviction that the people of this long-suffering country will always stand vigilant, always ready to defend the victories achieved with so much blood and sacrifice against the intrigues and plots of the imperialists and colonialists of any hue.

**press review****ISRAEL'S AGGRESSIVE ACTS  
CANNOT SUPPRESS THE PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE***«ZËRI I POPULLIT»*

The Israeli zionists continue to deepen their criminal activity against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples.

Israel's repeated attacks on the Lebanon are part of the series of activities Israel has undertaken to impose its conditions on the Arab people, to compel them to accept the present situation in the Middle East, the continuation of the occupation of Arab land and the denial of the rights of the Palestinian people. Tel Aviv is seeking to attain these aims both by the force of arms and by diplomatic methods.

Israel's aggressive policy is backed and encouraged by the activity of US imperialism as well as by that of Soviet social imperialism. The zionists manoeuvre according to the situation created by the diplomacy of Washington and Moscow and they exploit the rivalry between the two superpowers in the Middle East for their own ends. US imperialism and Soviet social

imperialism have engaged in a political and diplomatic struggle, at times open and at times under cover, for the strengthening of their positions in the Middle East. The two sides dish up their plans «for a settlement, offering one to counterpose the other. They are doing their utmost to divide the Arab people, to drive wedges between them, trying in this way to undermine the Arab United front for the liberation of the occupied territories and the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people. In particular they are doing everything they can to obscure the Palestinian problem, to impose their imperialist plans on it. For this purpose, by creating divisions, by inciting the Zionist aggressors and activating the Arab reaction, they are trying to disrupt the Palestinian resistance and place it in a seemingly hopeless situation, so that in the end the Palestinian people will be forced to capitulate and accept the anti-Palestine condition worked out

long ago by Washington, Moscow and Tel Aviv.

To the Palestinian people the way is clear. They are capable of rejecting any imperialist plan, as they have done before, and no sort of pressure can intimidate them. They are unconquerable and are fighting arms in hand for the return of the homeland of which they have been robbed. Their history is a history of struggle, of super-human efforts to exist, refusing to yield to any kind of pressure. They do not pin their hopes for salvation on the machinations of their enemies who have always striven, either with artful smiles or brute force, to bury them. They see the road to victory, to the restoration of the rights they have been denied, in the continuation of the armed struggle. The spokesman of the Organisation for the Liberation of Palestine declared recently that the Palestinians «must continue the fight to regain their rights, with all their might».

**THE PEOPLES ARE DETERMINED NOT TO SUBMIT  
TO THE THREATS OF US IMPERIALISM***«BASHKIMI»*

Following the irreparable defeat US imperialism sustained as a result of the people's war of the heroic Vietnamese and Cam-

bodian peoples, Washington is seething with rage. It drives it crazy to see how greatly the peoples are inspired by the victories

of Vietnam and Cambodia, how the wave of the revolution and antihegemonism in the world has extended, how much the posi-

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tions of US imperialism have been weakened, how thoroughly the satellite regimes and puppets in all parts of the world have been terrified, and the military alliances and blocs manipulated by the USA are disintegrating. Therefore, to conceal this real weakness of US imperialism in the face of the wave of the revolution and the liberation struggles in the world, Gerald Ford, Henry Kissinger, or Schlesinger are making one threat after another, sometimes against their allies in Europe and Asia, and sometimes against the developing countries.

The United States is very greatly worried that the rich oil resources of the Middle East and the other regions of the world which it continues to exploit, might slip from its grasp. There-

fore, the USA is concocting plots and intrigues, offering aid, using arms sales, prodding its obedient tools such as Israel, and even threatening to resort to the force of arms and occupy the Middle East areas which are rich in oil. The US imperialists are accompanying these threats with the strengthening of their bases and their naval presence in the Indian Ocean, with the creation of bases in the immediate vicinity of the Arab oil wells, and with the intensification of their plots to penetrate as deeply as possible into the Arab countries. All this has a single aim: those Arab countries which are not deceived must be compelled by means of force and threats, to give up their struggle against the predatory US aims.

But the threats of US imperialism do not intimidate the

peoples of the world, who saw once again in the example of Vietnam and Cambodia, that real strength is not on the side of US imperialism or Soviet social-imperialism. Real strength is on the side of the peoples who are determined to win and defend their freedom through the barrel of the gun. It is significant that the blows that the peoples of the world are dealing the expansionist objectives of Moscow and Washington, are becoming even heavier and the tide of revolution and liberation struggles is rising.

The peoples are determined to prevent the two superpowers from fattening themselves at the expense of the freedom, sovereignty and wealth of others, determined not to submit to pressures and threats, but to fight against the two superpowers with courage and determination.

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## «MILITARY INTEGRATION» — IS CONSCRIPTION OF VASSALS BY THE SOVIET BOSS

*«LUFTËTARI», organ of the Ministry of People's Defense*

Hardly a day passes without the advertising agents of Soviet social imperialism pouring out ink and paper to paddle the «values» of «integration», the «socialist community», etc. The Kremlin is doing its utmost in this way to build up the idea of «complete military integration» in the framework of the aggressive Warsaw Treaty, which is a component part of total integration. To justify this, there is no lack of «theories» although they are re-

miniscent of the «theories» of Goebbels speaking about the axis, and those of the US imperialists about NATO. Under the mask of the «defence of the interests of socialism» and «the revolution in danger», the Moscow rulers are working for the complete integration of the armies and the military policies of their satellites.

In order to subjugate their «allies completely, they have sought to effect changes in the structure of the Warsaw Treaty,

and have decided to add a clause to the rules of the General Command, under which all the members are obliged to take part in the activities of this organisation. Likewise, as is known, they have demanded the creation of «special joint detachments» made of individual contingents set apart from the armies of the member countries of this Treaty, whose duty is allegedly «the collective defence of the cause of socialism». This demand arose

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precisely when the Soviet social imperialists occupied Czechoslovakia and were seeking to use the troops of the revisionist countries as cannon fodder in their aggressive actions. Necessarily, this envisaged the complete integration of armies, as well as the discussion of their military policy about the vassal countries. There were objections, the contradictions became more profound, but the Soviet revisionist Marshals, hungry for power and «space», did not stop, they insisted on carrying on to the realisation of this plan. And now special mobile detachments of this Treaty, have been created, which have carried out exercises in the German Democratic Republic, and have shifted and moved troops from one country to another. In fact, such detachments are an international gendarmerie under the Soviet command, intended to act and undertake aggressions wherever the Kremlin czars desire. Likewise, they have also begun the unification of the fleets, particularly in the North Sea.

In the realisation of their objectives of «integration» the Soviet social imperialists resort to most diverse forms, including some of them in the rules, while for the others, by using one or the other satellite country which seems to them as more «obedient», and thus telling the remainder: «Here is the model, proceed on this road!» Many military cadres of the Warsaw Treaty are trained in Moscow, but so that the burden of expenditures will be borne by the

«allies», they have begun to organize military schools in other countries, too. The costs of setting up and maintaining the schools, as in many other fields, are defrayed by the vassal countries, while the management is in the hands of the Soviet Generals and Marshals. In fact the programmes are signed and sealed in the War Ministry of Moscow.

Moscow is toiling unceasingly to strengthen the occupation of its dominions to the maximum, so that the complete domination of the Soviet Generals over the governments of these countries will not be infringed and to avoid any centrifugal tendency that might appear in some vassal state to link itself, outside Soviet control, with the imperialist countries of the West. That is why the Soviet troops have been increased in the vassal countries by another 100.000 men, together with 2.000 tanks of the «T. 62» type, etc.

The Soviet Union has compelled its vassals to increase their budgets in order to cope with the expenditure for the Soviet occupation troops. This means that the military expenditure for the maintenance of the Soviet troops comes out of the toil of these peoples, and at the same time, their markets are emptied to supply the Soviet army.

In the direction of the preparations for war, too, the Soviet social imperialists have greatly increased their joint manoeuvres in the framework of the Warsaw Treaty. In these manoeuvres,

which are commanded by senior Soviet officers, they carry out aggressive actions, exercises in offensive and paratroop fighting. Indeed the Soviets have sought to increase the joint military exercises, especially those which the Warsaw Treaty carries out on the territories of satellite countries. During the past year, the aggressive Warsaw Treaty organisation held 18 military exercises, of which 12 were carried out in direction of South East Europe and the Balkans. Thus, the aggressive aims of the Soviet social imperialists towards the Balkan countries are quite clear.

In order to strengthen their military machine, the Soviet social imperialists have set many branches of the economies of the vassal countries, on the road to militarisation. They also exercise control over their military products. Under the cloak of «cooperation», the Soviet Union not only loads the enormous cost of strengthening the military machine, on to the other countries of the «socialist community», but it also imposes on them the type and quantities of arms and means they must produce.

As a result of all this enslaving policy pursued by the Soviet Union towards the vassal countries, all their armies have been put «under arms», using them for Soviet hegemonistic aims. Of course, this imperialist process has not been and is not being carried out smoothly, but with numerous internal and external contradictions. In this context, Moscow is doing its utmost to quell any opposition. For exam-

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ple, Hungary, as it has more Soviet than Hungarian troops on its back, wants to reduce its expenditure for the upkeep of the Soviet occupation army. It has also asked that the Soviet Union provide supplies for them itself, because this is a burden on the Hungarian market and economy. Moscow does not like such reactions, therefore it is strengthening its fascist diktate over these countries.

This situation confirms the assessment of the relations between the Soviet master and its vassals, which comrade Enver Hoxha made once again on October 3 last year. The Soviet Union needs such tyrannical power over the Warsaw Treaty countries in order to have them as co-adventurers and their troops as cannon fodder in the aggressions it is preparing. But the aggressive Warsaw Trea-

ty is nothing but a pack of mercenaries without ideal, and as such it will share the same fate as that of all the other aggressive imperialist armies or blocs. Neither the complete military integration of the troops of the Warsaw Treaty countries nor anything else, will save the Soviet social imperialists from the punishment to which the revolutionary peoples and history have sentenced them.

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## **THE STRUGGLE FOR COMPLETE SOVEREIGNTY OVER NATIONAL RICHES — AN IMPORTANT PHENOMENON OF THE PRESENT DAY INTERNATIONAL SITUATION**

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The struggle of the peoples of the developing countries for real national independence and complete sovereignty over their natural resources has put them in direct confrontation, not only with the old colonialists and exploiters, but also with today's neocolonialists and exploiters, the US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists. Under the guise of «aid», «support» and «collaboration», the two superpowers are savagely plundering these countries, plundering their natural resources, oil, minerals, agricultural raw materials, and labour power. They are competing with each other to monopolise the principal world markets of raw materials, to establish their political and economic domination over other countries.

Every year the United States, with a population totalling less than 6 per cent of the world's population, consumes about 40 per cent of its raw materials and energy resources. According to official statistics, the US economy secures at least half of such important raw materials as aluminium, mercury, chromium, etc., from other countries. Through international monopoly companies, the USA has under its control the major part of the production, transport, and trade in the raw materials of the developing countries, on which it has imposed exploitation by means of low prices and non-equivalent exchanges. For these purposes it has put into operation particularly the export of

capital and military «aid» and credits.

Through the above methods the United States had interfered and is interfering in many countries of the world. This interference is very intensive in the Latin American countries. Out of the 77 kinds of strategic materials which the USA obtains from other countries, 33 per cent come from the Latin American countries. According to the statistics, private US investments alone in Latin America total 18 billion dollars, an increase of several fold over 1946. The profits drawn from these investments are 5 times greater than those from investments in the USA itself.

On the same barricade with

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the imperialists, as plunderers of the peoples and the developing countries, are the Soviet social imperialists. For several years they have been implementing a broad and escalated expansion in various regions of the world: in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America. They use various forms and methods of open and camouflaged interference, from investment of capital, granting of credits, selling of arms, unequal trade exchanges, down to political interference and direct military aggression.

To see the extent to which the developing countries are plundered by the two superpowers and other imperialist powers, suffice it to mention that from 1961 to 1972 due to unequal trading prices alone, these states have robbed the developing countries of a total of 98,3 billion dollars, plus a further 23,3 billion dollars during the years 1971-72.

In face of this situation the peoples of the developing countries are enhancing their vigilance, are rising with ever greater determination in the struggle for their legitimate rights, to ensure and defend their full sovereignty over their national economies, natural resources and the products of their labour. They are understanding more and more clearly that after winning their political independence, they have to fight with the same determination to liberate themselves economically from the control of the great powers and foreign capital, to break the chains of the old and new economic de-

pendence, in order to guarantee and consolidate their political and economic independence and their national sovereignty.

The struggle of the people of the developing countries to attain complete and effective sovereignty over their own national riches and natural resources and to establish a just order in international economic relations, is an important phenomenon of our time. This struggle is bearing with increasingly greater force on present-day international life and is exerting a positive influence on the progressive tendencies of present-day world development, for the strengthening of the independence of the peoples and their social progress. «The revolution, the struggle for political and economic independence», said comrade Enver Hoxha in his October 3 speech, «constitute an irresistible historical process».

In these recent years, many of the developing countries, exercising their national sovereignty, have carried out measures which have made it possible for them to take effective possession of many of their economic and natural resources, thus liberating themselves from control and exploitation by foreign monopoly companies.

In their struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism and the hegemonism of the two superpowers, the strengthening of national unity has emerged as an important task for these peoples. The effectiveness and positive results achieved by the oil producing countries, which are

coordinating their actions and efforts through their joint organisation, OPEC are already well known. The benefits of the creation of joint organisms are likewise well known.

The aspirations of the developing countries to real national independence and ownership of their own natural resources, their struggle and efforts for the realisation of these aspirations, have encountered the open opposition of the imperialist powers, primarily of the two superpowers - US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. While posing as supporters of the developing countries, the imperialist powers do their utmost to sabotage the efforts of these countries for freedom and national independence, for their independent political, economic and social development. Alongside with political pressure and blackmail, imperialism and social imperialism also make extensive use of demagoguery, with a view to restraining and extinguishing the struggle of the freedom-loving peoples and sovereign countries.

From their years of experience of the struggle for emancipation and independent economic development, the peoples of the developing countries are becoming increasingly aware that the triumph of their just cause rests in their own hands, that they have to fight and adopt independent decisions, on their own initiative, and in exercise of their sovereignty, while strengthening their unity. This is the road to ensure their national independence and sovereignty. —

*A view of the city-museum of Gjirokastra. The ancient fortress of the city.*



**Albania  
today**

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