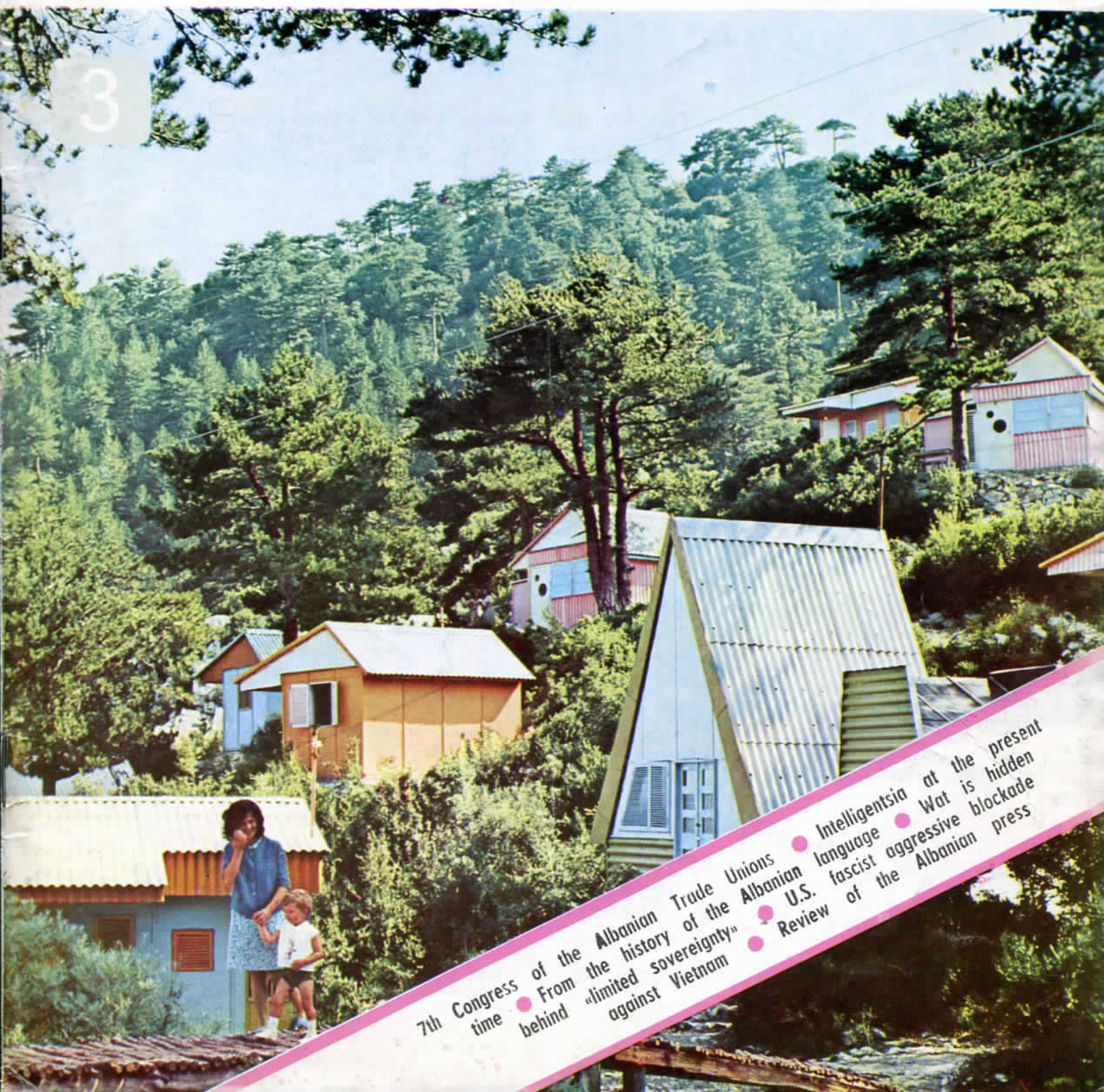


Albania today

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Albania today

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AND INFORMATIVE REVIEW

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The Seventh Congress of the Albanian Trade Unions

**Comrade Enver Hoxha
addresses the Congress on behalf of the
Central Committee of the P.L.A.**

**From the speech of Comrade
Enver Hoxha:**

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For me, as well as for the entire leadership of our Party and state, it is a great honour and a particular pleasure to find myself among you, comrades delegates, at this congress of your militant organization. Allow me to convey to all the delegates, to our heroic working class, the ardent revolutionary greetings of the Central Committee and the entire party and to wish you complete success in your work. This great assembly of the organization of the working class and the other labouring people of our country is being convened only a few months after the 6th Party Congress. At this congress, the Party took important decisions, laid down a major program of work, and assigned new tasks for the further material and cultural development of our society. Their realization will still further strengthen our country, Albania will march more rapidly on the road of its transformation into an industrial-agricultural country, the life of our people will become happier, and the complete construction of socialism will mark another big step forward. These brilliant prospects have aroused unprecedented enthusiasm and a new upsurge of activity and efforts among all our working people in town and countryside, in factories and mines. Our working class has set about work with fresh energies. It has undertaken and is carrying out many revolutionary initiatives to implement the historic decisions of the 6th

Congress of the Party and the tasks of the 5th five-year plan. The Central Committee of the Party is confident that the proceedings of the 7th Congress of the Trade Unions and the decisions it will take will give a fresh impulse to the many-sided activity of the trade union organizations and will raise higher the impetus and mobilization of the working class at work, its revolutionary consciousness and mass actions. Speaking of the great victories achieved by the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people in all fields of socialist construction, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: We are proud of our socialist industry, of our factories, combines and hydro-power stations that have been built with the golden hands of the working class and are being run and exploited by it with great dexterity and ability. In the socialist transformation of the countryside and the development of agriculture we also see the important contribution the working class has made and its valuable help to the progress of our decisive importance in all the great successes that have been achieved in the development of education and culture, in the revolutionization of the entire cultural life of the country. An important contribution to the attainment of all these important goals has been rendered by our people's intelligentsia, which together with all the working people, and under the leadership of the Party and the working class, has put all its

creative abilities at the service of the country and the cause of socialism and has worked tirelessly for the development and organization of production, the promotion of culture, education, science, etc.

Everywhere, all our activity and achievement bear the seal of the creative work and the inexhaustible energy, the intelligence and self-sacrificing spirit of the working class, they bear the seal of its revolutionary ideology.

In the complex and all-round struggle, full of difficulties and obstacles, that the working class, together with all the other working people, has conducted to overcome the backwardness inherited from the past and to build that socialist economy and culture which we possess nowadays, the working class itself has grown and been tempered. Its consciousness and organization have been raised to a higher level. The working class has grown more mature politically and ideologically, more prepared and more able to shoulder new important tasks and to better play its role and historic mission as the irreplaceable leading force of the entire life of the country, holding political power and the destiny of the country in its hands.

These results cannot be detached from the great leading and organizational work of the Party and its all-round activity to arm the working class with Marxist-Leninist theory, to raise its ideopolitical, educational and cultural level and to promote its professional competences. In the future, too, the Party will work tirelessly to uninterruptedly promote the education of the working class, to raise its militant spirit and to deepen its ideological and political tempering.

The carrying out of the great tasks that have been laid before us, is the continuation of the uninterrupted and self-sacrificing struggle which our people are conducting for the construction of socialism. The working class, with its Party in the lead, stands, as always, in the forefront of this struggle.

Every time the Party has laid down new tasks and has opened new prospects for the construction of socialism, Comrade Enver Hoxha said further on, what the working class says, its thought and activity, have always been of decisive importance for their realization. And this has not been accidental. It is the class, which, with its high revolutionary consciousness and spirit, with its creative and self-sacrificing work, promotes the triumph of our revolution, the construction of new socialist Albania. Therefore, the Party and the Government always feel it is indispensable to talk things over with you, comrade workers, and with the entire people; to solicit your advice on the problems raised by life and the socialist construction of the country, to look into them together and jointly find the most suitable solutions.

It is the right and task of the working class and its Party to ask of the party, state and economic organs, and all leading cadres, that they take all the necessary measures and organize work in such a way that the energies, efforts and abilities of the working people give the highest possible results.

For the organization and administration of our economy and the entire social life, the Party and state have made laws, have set up the necessary organs and vested them with adequate power. All these are indispensable and have their significance and importance. They should be rigorously carried out, for otherwise the road will be opened to anarchy, subjectivism, arbitrariness and spontaneity. But these laws and organs, however just and perfect, can never solve, by them-

selves, the great tasks set to us. Nor can these problems be tackled by inflating the apparatuses or by indulging in endless organizations and re-organizations.

The key to the improvement of work should be sought, first and foremost, in the strengthening of the consciousness of the people, so that they may correctly understand the tasks ideologically and politically; it should be sought in the strengthening of responsibility, discipline and control at work.

The working class is directly and vitally concerned in the increase of production, in the rapid expansion of the productive forces of society. For this, it is necessary, first and foremost, that the working class itself, each worker, should set the example of strong discipline, fight for organized work of high productivity and quality, and require the same of others, too, with the greatest rigour.

The Party demands that every one, workers and cadres, employees of the state and economic administration, achieve these essential features of a revolutionary method and style at work. Discipline and rules are encroached upon both by some workers and cadres. But the infringement of discipline by cadres is fraught with more serious consequences. Therefore, we should look into this problem with the greatest seriousness and demand the strengthening of order and discipline from the ordinary worker, the employee of the administration up to the leaders of the highest party, state and economic organs.

Just as the workers are required to produce in quantity, quality and at cheap prices, the same class rigour should be applied to the intelligentsia and other working people who should do good, high quality and effective work. This means that they should go about their work with high productivity, and not inflate apparatuses and gather in one place cadres and employees who do more to hamper each other than create. Heavy apparatuses and excessive links cannot serve the rationalization of work, the promotion of technology and production, and genuine scientific management.

Comrade Enver Hoxha sent on to deal with some questions relating to the sound organisation of the work for the solution of the great problems facing Albania. Further on he said: With us, in our socialist order, there are no contradictions between the masses and their state power. Our state is a state of the workers and peasants. Therefore the working class and the peasantry, the labouring masses, are interested in the continuous strengthening of the proletarian state, of their state power, through a persistent struggle against bureaucratic distortions and against people's weaknesses and faults. When the working class and the labouring people hold to account criticise and condemn bureaucratic procrastinations, disorders, irresponsibility, lack of control, and other shortcomings, and bring to account the employees of the state organs and apparatuses, they rise neither against the Party nor their state power. Through such revolutionary actions they do not «deny», do not «suppress» the administrative functions of the state, which are indispensable for the direction of the economy and society, but make the people who exercise those functions perform their duties better.

The Party has never permitted and will not permit in the future, any one, whoever he may be, wether intentionally or unintentionally, to place himself above the Party and the working class, to impose his will upon the masses, to trample under foot the state laws and the rights of the working peo-



Comrade Enver Hoxha addressing the working class Congress

ple or to disregard the voice of the masses. It is the duty of all the working people, especially the working class, to courageously raise their voice and sternly condemn any manifestation of bureaucracy, to place under their control the entire activity of state, economic and Party organs, of the communists, cadres and employees, wherever they may work, whether elected or appointed. The opinion that «there are people and institutions to judge their work does not represent the opinion of the Party. No unjust action can escape the eye and judgment of the working class, of the people. Bureaucracy crops up and becomes active in those places where the struggle against it is underestimated and relaxed. It is cowed when the voice of the masses is raised, when their control is exercised, when it is dealt powerful blows by the working class and its Party.

The great tasks laid down by the 6th Party Congress for the development of the economy and culture, and the many and complex problems that emerge from our impetuous development, comrade Enver Hoxha said further on, cannot be fulfilled and solved either by calling only on the conscience of the people or by taking only administrative measures. We should place the organization, management and planning of the economy on a more scientific basis so as to better harmonize the combination of social, collective and individual interests, always keeping in mind the knowledge and use of the objective laws of socialism. Our Party has always marched on this road, and it is for this reason that all these historic achievements have been attained and all these great prospects have been opened up. Now we are confronted with the task of the further improvement of our system of management of the economy, relying on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and on the experience we have gained during all these years of socialist construction.

The interests of our economy, of our working class and people, require that we not only produce as much as possible, but also that we produce by using the least possible amount of labour, material and financial means, to turn out better and cheaper articles.

After having spoken about the great achievements made in this direction, Comrade Enver Hoxha spoke of the tasks facing us in the future to increasingly raise the efficiency of the economy, to strengthen the efficiency and the self-supporting management of the enterprises and to further improve the use of economic levers. Life, the development of the economy and culture, our socialist construction, he emphasized, are characterized by their impetuous advance and by the great transformations and successes that are the fruit of the conscious and self-sacrificing work of our heroic working class, cooperative peasantry, people's intelligentsia, communists, and party and non-party leading cadres.

To this congress of the working class and all the working people comrade Enver Hoxha said were also invited many cooperativists, representatives of our peasantry. This is a very good thing, and demonstrates the strong and close alliance linking the working class with the peasantry. Or working class and peasantry will always march side by side, exchange experiences and help each other, because they follow the same road and have the same aim.

The peasantry are now faced with important tasks for the development of agriculture and the increase of agricultural

and livestock production, which are indispensable for the advance of our economy and the raising of the wellbeing of the people. The fulfillment of these tasks will be of decisive importance in fulfilling the whole five-year plan successfully. Conscious of all these tasks, our cooperative peasantry is working with fresh drive and enthusiasm to reach the targets assigned to them and to make our socialist countryside still more prosperous. In all their efforts our peasantry will enjoy, as always, the direct support and unsparing all-round aid of the working class.

Our industry is faced with numerous tasks in order to help the countryside. It should supply agriculture with more fertilizers, insecticides and herbicides, more machines and tools, more construction materials and mass consumer goods. The peasantry is right to expect great aid from the working class for the improvement of the organization and management of cooperativist economy and the strengthening of consciousness and of discipline and order at work. The Party is fully confident that the working class will honourably fulfil its obligations towards the peasantry and play, as always, its leading role in the construction of socialism in the countryside; just as the peasantry, on its part, will fulfil the tasks and the pledges it has taken before the working class and the labouring people of the town.

Your congress is convened at a time when great events are taking place in the world, which we cannot stand aloof from and feel unaffectedly. As always, our Party, government and the people as a whole, are analyzing with due care the development of the international situation, and are taking stands which conform with the defence of the freedom and independence of the country and the construction of socialism in Albania, and promote the cause of revolution and the liberation of the peoples throughout the world.

The international position of socialist Albania is strong and unshakable. As a result of its revolutionary activity and struggle, of its correct internationalist policy and determined anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist stand, our country has won the sympathy of the progressive and peace-loving people throughout the world, has made numerous and powerful friends who wish us well, and help us unsparingly.

The friendship and collaboration between the Albanian people and the Chinese people, between the two parties and governments, is strengthened with each passing day. This friendship is based and develops on the solid foundations of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, on the basis of our common interests and aims. Being such, it continues to resist all tests; it will be increasingly tempered for the good of our two peoples and the cause of revolution and socialism the world over. Our Party and people will always strive for the unceasing promotion and strengthening of the close revolutionary Albanian-Chinese links, their fruitful collaboration and mutual respect and fraternal aid.

The brilliant successes that the Chinese working class and people have achieved under the wise leadership of the glorious Chinese Communist Party and the great Marxist-Leninist comrade Mao Tse tung, are also our own successes. They fill

Comrade Enver Hoxha embracing the young pioneers who have come to greet the Congress.



our hearts with joy, and we wish our Chinese working class comrades and all the Chinese people new and greater achievements in the future in order to make great People's China an increasingly strong bulwar of revolution and socialism in the world, an impregnable base for the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples.

The Albanian working class, just like the entire Albanian people, are boundlessly joyful to see that over these last years, the revolutionary activity of the working people, together with their class consciousness, is rising rapidly in all the capitalist and revisionist countries.

While the bourgeoisie and the Soviet-led modern revisionists are in the grip of a serious crisis which has swept over the economic, ideological and political fields, the working class, in one place earlier, in another place later, here with greater determination, there with lesser force, is coming onto the battlefield and seeking to seize power and the role history has assigned it. There is no doubt that the intensity, fierceness and the degree of political and ideological awareness of the world revolutionary movement will mount and deepen. The revolution cannot be stopped either by bourgeois suppression or revisionist treason.

An irresistible tendency of contemporary history is the powerful movement of the peoples for national liberation from the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist yoke. The brilliant victories the vietnamese people have achieved in their struggle against US imperialist aggression once more shows that people who fight heroically for their independence are unconquerable.

It is more than a month now since the heroic fighters of south Vietnam have stepped up their courageous attacks, the biggest and most powerful since the great offensive of 1968. They have succeeded in liberating many cities and regions, in laying a merciless siege round the big US military bases and in causing the enemy incalculable damage. Washington's «Vietnamization» strategy has been deeply shattered, and by now, we can say that it has completely failed. It has been proved that neither now, nor in the future, can there be such a thing as «Vietnamization». There is only one way open to Nixon: to withdraw from Vietnam as soon as possible, to leave the Vietnamese and all the Indochinese to solve their problems by themselves, in a climate of freedom and complete independence from any foreign aggression and intervention. The persistence of the US administration to continue its military violence and political manoeuvres in order to achieve what it failed to achieve on the battlefield, are destined to fail shamefully as has been the case up till now. The continuation of the aggression can never prevent the Vietnamese people from liberating their country and realizing their national aspirations. The future of the Vietnamese and other Indochinese people is assured. They are building it now through their just struggle for freedom and independence, with their blood and innumerable sacrifices.

The Albanian working class and people, confident of their inevitable victory, will continue until the end to be at one with the fraternal Vietnamese people and will give them all-out support.

The Party and State leaders among the delegates to the Congress





The Albanian people give also unreserved support and are in full solidarity with the just struggle of the fraternal Palestinian and other Arab peoples against Israeli-imperialist aggression.

The struggle of the Vietnamese people, just as that of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America against imperialism, and first and foremost, against US imperialism, confirm that no plundering power, however big and strong, can halt the national-liberation impetus of the people, nor can it prevent the toppling of the old relations of imperialist dependence, oppression and exploitation.

The peoples of the world have risen and are resisting with determination the policy of violence and hegemony followed by the US imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists, the attempts they are making at expansion and to divide the world into zones of influence and the policy of dictate and arbitrariness of the two imperialist superpowers. The working masses particularly oppose the demagogy and deceitful slogans of the old and new imperialists, who, pretending they are concerned for international peace and security, seek to lull the vigilance of the people, to prevent them from uniting into a general anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist front and to disarm all their revolutionary opponents, ideologically and politically.

But the attempts of the US imperialists, Soviet social-imperialists and all the reactionaries cannot halt the triumphant march of the people of the world, of the international working class,

towards national and social emancipation, towards revolution. Socialism is the future of mankind, therefore it can neither be stopped nor evaded.

The great historic victories that are being won by the working people of the capitalist and revisionist countries in their struggle against imperialism and the national bourgeoisie are a further source of powerful inspiration, a further great encouragement to work with still greater enthusiasm in our country, to attain the targets assigned to us and to promote still higher the cause of socialist construction in Albania.

Allow me, dear comrade delegates, to avail myself of this opportunity to welcome the representatives of the trade unions of the fraternal countries and the revolutionary workers who are attending the proceedings of this congress, and through them, the working class and all the working people of the countries they have come from and to wish them successes and victories in the noble struggle they are waging.

The Albanian working class, all our working people, just as they have done until now, comrade Enver Hoxha said in conclusion, will strive to unceasingly strengthen the internationalist solidarity with their class brothers in the other countries and will resolutely support the struggle of the working people throughout the world against imperialism and capitalist exploitation and for national independence, democracy and social justice; for the final triumph of the great cause of proletariat - socialism.

Report Submitted by Comrade Rita Marko, President of the CC of the Trade Unions of Albania, at the 7th Congress of the Trade Unions of Albania

(S u m m a r y)

The 7th Congress of the Trade Unions of Albania, comrade Rita Marko began, is meeting a few months after the historic 6th Congress of the Party. The important decisions of the latter have met with the unanimous approval of our people and have mobilized the entire working class and labouring masses of socialist Albania. They will guide all the proceedings of our congress and will inspire us to analyse in an objective way the work done so far, and to set the new tasks of the working class and the trade unions in the struggle to further deepen our revolution, to build socialism and to defend our country.

The last five years constitute a period of profound historical transformations. The great process of the revolutionarization of the country, which is taking place and deepening under the guidance of the Party and according to comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, has raised to a higher level the leading and supervising role of the working class. This process has further strengthened the positions of socialism, the unity of the people round the Party, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the defence potential of the country.

This has been a period of major revolutionary initiatives and movements which awakened unprecedented creative energies among the whole people and, first and foremost, among our heroic working class, which stepped up the development of the productive forces, the improvement of socialist relations in production, the consolidation of the people's economy and the raising of the well-being of the masses. These historical achievements as well as the consistent struggle of our Party and people in defence of Marxism-Leninism, have enhanced the international authority of our socialist country.

The great revolutionary transformations brought about qualitative changes in the work of our trade unions. The scientific elaboration by the Central Committee of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha of a number of theses on the leading and supervising role of the working class, and their application, have enabled the trade unions to extend the sphere of their activity and to detect and fight certain manifestations of syndicalism, economism and officialism which were observed in their work.

Speaking of the victories achieved by the working class and the whole people in the realisation of the fourth five-year plan, ahead schedule, comrade Rita Marko said further on: These achievements and the positive experience gained are at the basis of the grand new tasks set by the 6th Party Congress for the 5th five-year plan. The directives of this plan, which were discussed to an unprecedented extent by the broad masses of our workers, envisage the development of the productive forces at a rapid rate and constitute a further step forward towards building the material and technical bases of the socialist society. It is sufficient to mention that, in 1975, the entire industrial production of 1938 will be turned out in three and a half days.

Dealing with the extension and increase of the efficiency of direct control by the working class, Rita Marko said:

The teachings of our Party and comrade Enver Hoxha on the leading and supervising role of the working class and the methods and ways of carrying out the line of the masses, which have found full confirmation in life, constitute a very valuable contribution to the theory and practice of scientific socialism, and are a sure weapon in the struggle for the triumph of the revolution, for the establishment and preservation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the construction of socialism and communism. Our rapid revolutionary development and the subduing of the wild imperialist-revisionist tide, testify to the correctness of our party line, to the reality of our socialist homeland where the working class, under the guidance of its Party, directs the whole life of the country through the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its direct participation. They tear off the mask from the demagogy of the modern revisionists of all shades on the so-called «leading», «supervising», «self-managing» role of the working class in the countries in which the revisionists have seized power.

The recent years mark a major rise in the revolutionary activity of the working class and a further enforcement of its direct control. In the heat of the class struggle to build socialism, it is becoming increasingly conscious not only of its role as a decisive productive force but also of its political mission as a leading force in our country. On the other hand, our apparatuses and leading cadres are relying much better on the workers, live closer to them, listen more carefully to their needs and fulfil them better, in this way improving the relations between the cadres and the masses. Discussions on comrade Enver Hoxha's speech in the Mati district, which points to new ways of involving the masses in running the country, in working out, implementing and verifying the party directives in the campaign against manifestations of bureaucracy, have aroused a great response in the working class. This has also influenced the increase of the role and the enlivening of the life of the trade union organizations. Naturally, direct working-class control is a protracted historical process. It is conditioned by the degree of class consciousness, by the resistance offered by the survivals of alien ideology, by individualism, bureaucracy, etc.

Worker control, Rita Marko said further on, is the most effective form of the participation of the masses in running the country, an indispensable requirement for revolutionizing the whole life of the country, the sharp-edged weapon in the fight against bureaucracy.

Our basic task today is precisely to establish a full and all-round concept of worker control, to study carefully the problems and contradictions that emerge, and to promote the uninterrupted activity of the workers, so that the level of knowledge can be raised and worker control may delve deeper into the problems dealing with the party's political line, which is its fundamental objective. As comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized at the 6th Party Congress, «Worker control is not an administrative control over minor, superficial problems of the moment. It is the expression of the opinion and attitude of the working class towards key political, economic and social problems». The involvement of the masses as actively as possible and in broad proportions, in the solution of major state problems, training them to take part in running the affairs of the country, have been and continue to be the great objectives of worker control, a basic question of the role of the trade union organizations as schools of communism.

Our rapid revolutionary development has not only created new opportunities, but also demands that the workers should without fail speak out determinedly about everything. Worker control, which is advancing with sure steps along correct lines, is bringing home more and more strongly to the workers that they are the absolute masters of the country, refuting the erroneous concept that «state affairs are the concern only of officials». This is a major political achievement which makes the cause of revolution in Albania invincible. The thousands of workers elected to posts in the government and in the organizations of the masses, the thousands of persons engaged in discussions of problems and in worker control, are gradually delving deeper into the heart of problems, are exerting more influence in solving them and are themselves being trained as social militants. The massive control by the workers in Tirana, Korça, Vlora, Mat, Fieri, Pogradec, Shkoder, Përmeti, Durrës, Kruja, Rrëshen, etc., over specific problems within enterprises and between different enterprises, in commerce, education and culture, in the administration and public health, has given a great impetus to the work in these sectors.

But this is a many-sided process and develops in struggle against many obstacles, in particular against manifestations of bureaucracy. Our working class is well aware that the state apparatus is its keen-edged weapon in its struggle to build socialism; therefore, it is deeply interested in keeping it untarnished and in strengthening it so that its popular character may be preserved, and the revolutionary principles and the laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which express the will and interests of the working class, may be carried out without hesitation.

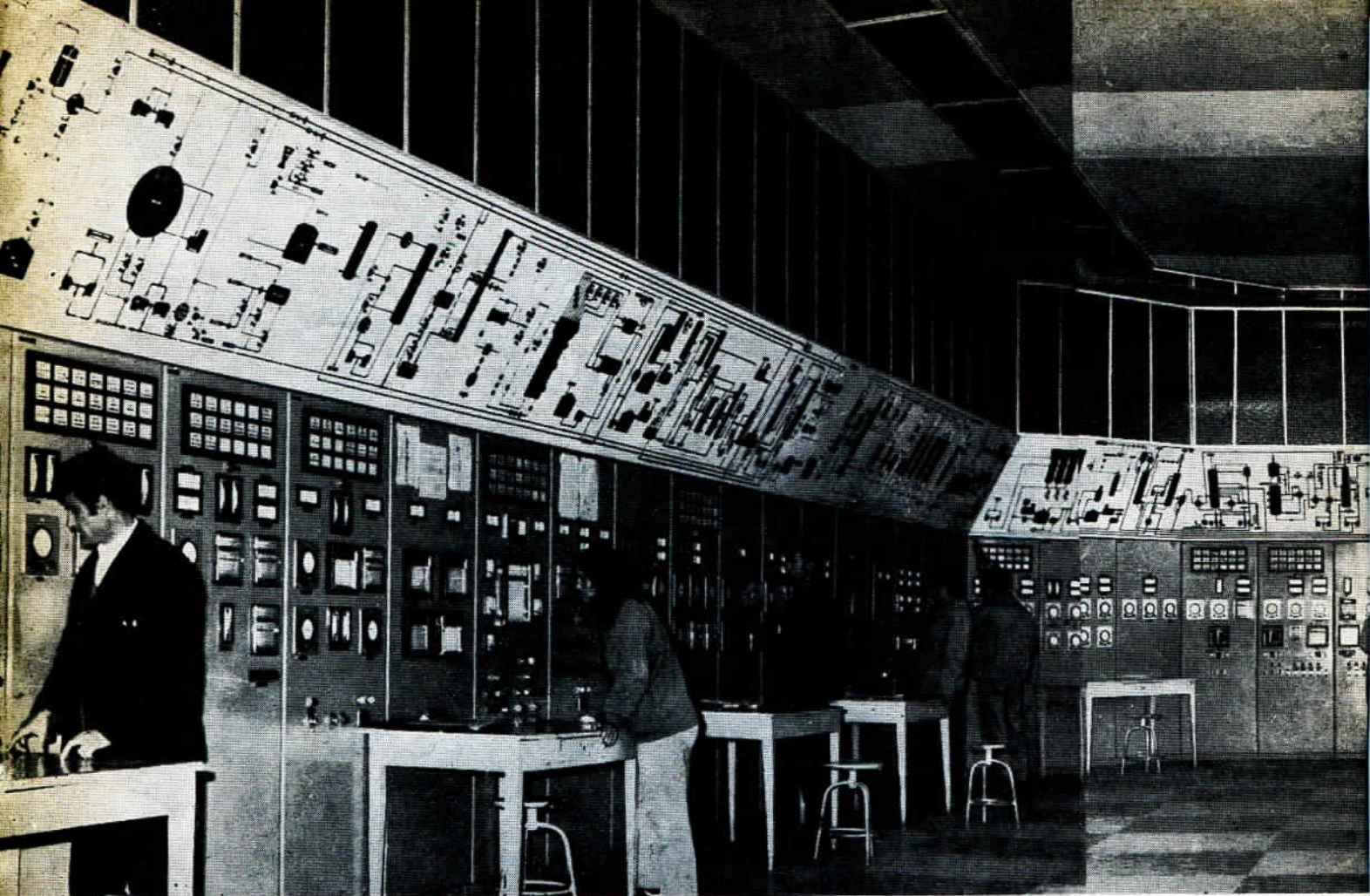
The steps taken by our party, especially those against bureaucracy, rid our life of many evils and multiplied the creative energies of our workers. But this does not by any means imply that the danger of bureaucracy has disappeared. Our workers should not only have a clear idea of the danger of bureaucracy, as a hotbed of the emergence of revisionism in theory, but they should view it as a tangible phenomenon. We should not think that we have such a tested party and government that the manifestation of bureaucracy can do us no harm, that the measures that have been taken have coped and done away with bureaucracy.

Comrade Rita Marko delivering
at the Congress the report of
the Central Council of the Al-
banian Trade Unions



On the contrary, at given stages, it crops up and acts powerfully, in various forms. We have learned from experience that bureaucratism as a concept, and in practice, cannot be fought against only by measures taken at the top but chiefly by the active operations by the working class and the masses, at the base. Only such an ideological interpretation as this will make our workers more vigilant, more aware and more attentive towards bureaucratic distortions, viewing not only the external manifestations and the narrow material aspect, but the very roots of bureaucratism. It goes without saying that to ensure the bold, firm and uninterrupted activity of the working class in the entire life of the country requires still more extensive work in imparting to every worker a

deeper ideological awareness of the party. State power is the greatest achievement by which the working class, headed by its party, builds socialism, protects the achievements that have been attained and promotes revolution. The class struggle between the two roads, which is also being waged in our country, is above all the struggle for state power. Therefore the preservation and consolidation of the state power, the rigorous application of its revolutionary principles, the improvement of the forms of management and organization of our state apparatus, are vital questions for our working class, which is prepared to make the supreme sacrifice in order to protect its state power. Thus, while fighting manifestations of bureaucratism, its highest objective is to further strengthen



and revolutionize its state power, to guard it against any alien manifestation, to urge the masses to take direct, more active and extensive part in running the country, factors which multiply the forces of our socialist state and forestall the danger of revisionist emergence and degeneration.

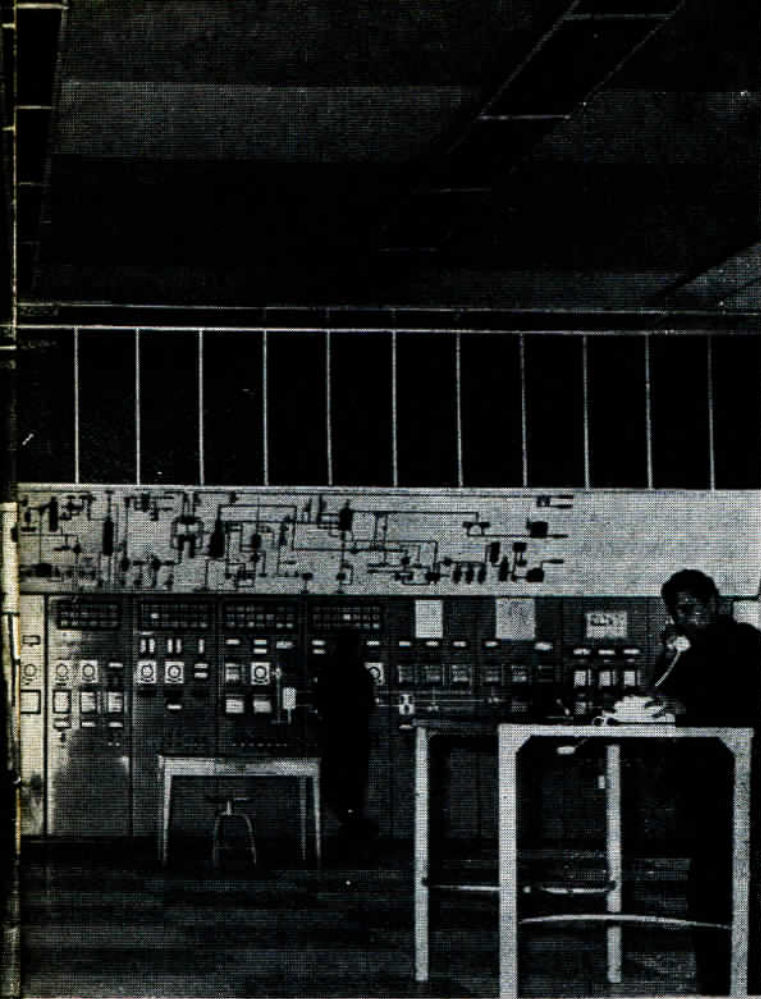
We need to devote special attention to clarify the concrete ways, methods and forms by which to mobilize our workers not only to carry out the directives of our party, but also to work them out and verify them in revolutionary practice. This requires that the workers should be informed regularly, openly and concretely, about the important decisions taken by the central organs, so that issues coming from the office may become the concern of the masses, so that the workers may occupy themselves not only with the problems of their own enterprises but also with the principal problems of the country. This will create conditions for worker control to act effectively where it is most needed.

Throughout its life, our party has consistently carried out the line of the masses, the method of consulting them and solving various issues together with them. At the present stage, however, it is necessary to raise this work to a higher level,

to do away with manifestations of formalism which still appear, to further clarify the role of the working class in working out the party directives. On more general issues, this is also being done at present. The broad public discussions on the five-year plan, on the further revolutionization of the school system and other, for which the other workers and working people made thousands of proposals were a brilliant example of the effectiveness of this course of action. But this method should not only apply to issues of national importance, to special decisions and laws, but also to issues of local importance. This has a two-fold advantage, because it rids the decisions of subjectivism, and makes the workers more duty-bound to carry them out. It is essential to get a profound grasp of the idea that the workers are not merely executors but authors of the party decisions, for worker control begins with the drawing up of the decisions, laws and plans of production.

This in no way implies that the discussions of draft-plans, decisions, etc., with the workers substitute for the administration, or deprive it of the responsibility of taking decisions. The trade union organizations should treat the problem of

The working class skillfully operating modern and complex machines



making the workers take part in solving state problems as a specially important matter of principle, because as Lenin stressed, «Our objective is that, once each worker has completed the 8 hours on his «job» in production, he should work at the tasks of the state without remuneration so that all may gradually learn to govern».

In carrying out the directives of the Party on establishing correct relations between the cadres and the masses, the trade union organizations have worked untiringly for the integration of the apparatuses and cadres with the masses, to have them live among them, render account to them and place themselves under their continuous control so that they always remain untarnished revolutionaries, loyal to the working class, servants of the people.

A lot has been done in improving the work of subjecting the activity of the apparatuses and cadres to the control of the working class.

In connection with this, comrade Rita Marko raised among other things the tasks facing the worker control in the implementation of the Party's directive for the apparatuses and cadres to render account in full and effectively to the wor-

kers, so that the working class may pass judgment on all their activity and on whatever takes place in the enterprise. Of special importance, he said further on, is the application of the party's orientation on the mass line in the appointment of cadres, by effectively subjecting the cadres to control, judgment and two-way dependence, so that their position may be determined not only by the higher organs but also by the workers.

Speaking of the extension and consolidation of parallel control and selfcontrol as the weapon of the ideological struggle within the ranks of the working class itself, comrade Rita Marko said: Our working class is characterized by its political maturity, by its unity with and boundless confidence in the Party, its high revolutionary spirit and loyalty to socialism, by its lofty spirit of sacrifice, by the creative spirit and proletarian simplicity which are manifested daily in numerous actions qualities which the Party has inculcated into our new worker. The movement «criticism, self-criticism, correction, tempering, and socialist consciousness», the holding of debates and confrontations with one another within the sectors and enterprises, the organization of control and confrontation

between collectives of different enterprises as expressions of self-control and parallel control of the class, have strengthened the demand for the mutual rendering of accounts and criticism and self-criticism among the workers. Our workers have broad interests and place the interests of the class above everything. In this sense, if the plan targets are not reached, even the best worker has responsibility, for each one is a member of the collective, and it is the collective that plays the decisive role, and is chiefly responsible for seeing that work proceeds as it should. A sentiment of this kind prompts the workers to take active part in running the enterprise, in concerning themselves with all the problems and in demanding more of their work-mates or of the director and a lot more of themselves.

Experience has shown that the great problems can be solved only if they become problems of the masses, if they become the object of control and self-control, the object of confrontation and debate within the ranks of the workers.

Comrade Rita Marko said further on that our working class is characterized by its discipline, order, organization, and good management, and it therefore has the task to create an environment in which each worker or manager carries out of his own free will the laws and regulations of the state and bears responsibility for what he does. The working class strives to establish an iron and conscientious discipline equal for all. It strongly upholds the application of measures of state and social coercion against people who perform legally and morally condemnable acts. The working class and the trade unions support control by the state because it also acts on behalf of and in the interests of the class, it is the control of its own state. It should not tolerate to seeing cadres and managers abuse their posts, indulge in arbitrary acts or anarchy and liberalism, but wherever necessary should use its dictatorship to establish perfect proletarian order and organization.

A particularly important feature of the control by the working class, the speaker continued, has been and remains its influence on the intelligentsia of the non-productive sphere and on the educational, cultural and service institutions. Contacts of the workers with the intelligentsia of education and culture and with the school youth are becoming more frequent. As militant organizations of the working class guided by the party, the trade union organizations, comrade Rita Marko said, have a special role to play in developing direct worker control and constitute one of the powerful levers of this control. Their task is to explain thoroughly and uphold firmly the teachings of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha in this field, to stimulate and inspire the performance of worker control.

Worker control is one of our major achievements. It is a sure guarantee of the preservation and enforcement of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the building of socialism. Further on, speaking of the raising to a higher level of the work for the communist education of the working class, he said: The period of revolutionary transformations we have passed through since the 6th Congress of the Trade Union of Albania has also brought about qualitative changes in the process of the education of the working class and in the whole educational activity of the trade union organizations. Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings on giving high priority to the Mar-

xist-Leninist ideopolitical formation of the working class on the basis of an organized system combining learning with revolutionary activity, the need of all to learn throughout their lifetime, the simultaneous education of the Party and of the working class and so on, opened up wide horizons for our educational work.

In summing up the positive experience accumulated in the field of the content, methods and forms of organization and management of educational work, we may mention certain of its features that have come to the fore during this period. On the basis of the development of the class struggle, the ideological and ethical education of the workers has been strengthened and broadened, and this has been expressed particularly by the enhancement of their militant spirit, by the marvellous results achieved in work, by the enforcement of the control and influence exerted by the working class on the whole life of the country, by the outburst of great creative initiatives.

The 6th Party Congress, comrade Rita Marko said, stressed the necessity of deepening the class formation of the workers, giving as always, high priority to the ideo-political education and arming of the working class with Marxist-Leninist theory and the teachings of the Party, closely linked with life and daily struggle.

The main objective of our educational work has been and remains the formation of our new worker with a high revolutionary spirit, an unflinching fighter for the implementation of the decisions of the party, an untiring militant, always alert in protecting the proletarian party and state, ready to make any sacrifice, to place the interests of our socialist country above everything, a man of revolutionary actions to overthrow everything old and alien which jeopardizes socialism, an innovator who thinks creatively in work and in life. Quite a different approach is taken by the reformists and modern revisionists who, like the bourgeoisie, considering the working class as a labour force and being afraid of it, have striven and continue to strive to divert it from the class struggle, and from political life, to draw it to economism, to create the opinion that theory and politics are not meant for the masses, that all the workers need is to receive an education which will qualify them to produce more.

Our ideological battle is waged on two fronts, both against the remnants of the old feudal, religious and petty-bourgeois ideology as well as against the influence of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology. Without this frontal struggle against all these alien ideologies, it is not possible to think of communist education, it is not possible to assert and temper the new features of proletarian morality.

Consolidating the role of leadership and control of the working class, accomplishing the complex tasks of the 5th five-year plan and extending the technical-scientific revolution, the speaker said further on, raise the objective necessity of the further raising of the technical-professional and educational level of the working class and of the workers as a whole. Our state has attached special attention to this and has achieved great success in this direction. Now the masses of young workers coming into production have schooling and qualifications of a higher level. Thousands of workers and cadres have been trained and qualified in part-time courses, in schools and in other which do not interrupt their work. The con-

struction of new projects has become a real school for turning out qualified workers. Today, some hundreds of thousands of workers attend various kinds of courses of qualification and over 90,000 workers attend schools.

Then comrade Rita Marko spoke of some questions related to the strengthening and further enlivening of the trade union organisation.

In their efforts to fulfil the tasks set by the party, he said, the trade union organizations have become stronger and more active. The revolutionary movements of the working class, the repeated mass actions and the debates in the organisations, have imparted dynamism and vigour to their life. The style and method of work in the trade union organisations have been improved. The mobilization of many thousands of activists from the sphere of production have made the trade union organizations more militant and more enterprising. After speaking of the tasks concerning this field in the future, comrade Rita Marko said:

The source of the authority, the strength and the successes of the work of the trade union organizations has been and remains the leadership of the Party, its life-giving teachings, its revolutionary policy, the constant concern of the Central Committee and comrade Enver Hoxha to strengthen the working class and its militant organization in all respects. The Trade Unions of Albania have always built their work on the teachings of the Party and have exerted all their efforts to solve the historic problems which the socialist construction in our homeland has raised.

Further on comrade Rita Marko said: The 6th Congress of our Party made a scientific summing up of the present world development. The period we have passed through marks a further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and revisionism, the extension of the revolutionary struggle of the working class, the intensification of the anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist liberation struggle of the peoples. The ratio of forces in the world has continually changed in favour of the peoples. The attempts of the imperialists and revisionists to turn back the wheel of history have failed. The trend of the present world development, comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized at the 6th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, is towards revolution and the triumph of socialism.

The unprecedented growth of the worker movement in recent years and its triumph in struggle against the bourgeoisie and monopoly capital in France and Japan, in America, Oceania, Spain and England, are not only an indication of the further aggravation of the basic contradictions between labour and capital but also of the raising of the class awareness of the proletariat.

Despite the fiendish efforts of the imperialists and revisionists, the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples has assumed wide proportions in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Neither Nixon's fraudulent tactics to vietnamize the war nor the barbarous bombardments against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam will ever succeed in suppressing the just liberation struggle of the undaunted Vietnamese people who through unparalleled heroism and in close collaboration with the peoples of Laos and Cambodia will carry the struggle to crush US imperialist aggression and liberate South Vietnam and the whole of Indochina through to final victory. The anti-imperialist armed struggles are profoundly shaking the US

domination and the reactionary cliques in Indonesia, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia and elsewhere.

The just and all-round struggle of the fraternal Palestinian and other Arab peoples against the Israeli aggressors, their US bosses and the Soviet social-imperialists is gaining momentum. All the imperialist-revisionist plots of the type of the «United Arab Kingdom» of Jordan, and all their pressure, will not be able to curb the spirit of these fraternal peoples united in their armed struggle to liberate the occupied areas, to smash Israeli, imperialist and revisionist aggression.

The African peoples who are still languishing under colonial and racial oppression have risen up. The armed struggle of the people of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bissau) against the Portuguese colonialists is assuming increasing proportions with each passing day. The peoples of Azania, Zimbabwe and Namibia have risen against their fascist-racist regimes. The struggle of the peoples of Oman, Dofar and other nations in the Persian Gulf is becoming more intensive. The progressive forces in Africa are becoming more and more aware of the danger of the policy of aggression and of the imperialist and revisionist neo-colonialism, and are increasing their resistance toward them.

The US imperialists and their allies do not feel quite at ease even in their «backward», as they have been accustomed to call Latin America. Resentment against Yankee imperialism has burst for as never before in these countries. The brave peoples of Brazil, Columbia, Peru and Bolivia, Venezuela, Ecuador and elsewhere are rising up in struggle against the domination of US imperialism and against local reactionaries. The great People's Republic of China is playing an increasingly important role in the international arena. The magnificent victories scored by the fraternal Chinese people under the guidance of Chairman Mao Tse Tung in the development of the great proletarian cultural revolution, in building socialism and in strengthening the defense potential of their country, the consistent policy pursued by the People's Republic of China in supporting the revolution and liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples, have greatly enhanced their influence in present world development.

The development of events is confirming that the world imperialist system is being eroded by irreconcilable contradictions. The monetary crisis is a typical manifestation of the process of disintegration which is taking place in the capitalist world, of the rivalry and decline of US domination. Their partners in the Kremlin are faring no better, since they are unable to subjugate the peoples who are at present geographically under their domination, either by the demagoguery of the «socialist community», of «socialist integration», or by the force of tanks.

Nevertheless the US imperialists and Soviet revisionists have not given their scheme for world domination and division of zones of influence. In spite of their partial divergences, the imperialist-revisionist alliance is gaining strength and has become the greatest threat to the freedom and independence of the peoples. Behind the screen of endless discussions on disarmament they are arming to the teeth, behind their «initiatives for peace» lie hidden their schemes of war and aggression. The aim of these ruthless enemies is to lull the vigilance of the people and take them by surprise.

But this will never happen. The peoples of the world have drawn the necessary lessons and have risen up in a determined struggle against imperialism and revisionism.

The Trade Unions of Albania have exerted every efforts to strengthen the fraternal friendship which binds our people with the great Chinese people, a friendship based on Marxism-Leninism and forged by our two parties and the great leaders, comrades Enver Hoxha and Mao Tse Tung in struggle against our common enemies, the US-led imperialists and the modern revisionists headed by the traitorous Soviet clique. It is with great satisfaction that we see the militant collaboration between the heroic working class of China and the working class of our country become stronger and stronger. Taking advantage of the presence of the delegation of the Chinese workers at this congress, we convey to the Chinese working class and the fraternal people of China as a whole our deepest gratitude for the aid and support they give to our country, and wish them further and greater successes in the struggle for the building of socialism and the triumph of revolution in the world.

Our working class and the Trade Unions of Albania have unanimously approved and firmly support the correct, principled and consistent foreign policy of our Party of Labour as well as the efforts of the government of the People's Republic of Albania to establish normal relations between the countries of the Balkans, the Mediterranean and the whole world, they support the revolutionary struggle of the working class, the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples, the open war of principle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction.

With this development of events in view, our working class is continually stepping up its drive in work, its vigilance, and military preparedness so that our country may stand, as always, an unconquerable bastion of the revolution which will smash every aggression from whatever direction it may come.

At the same time, our working class and trade unions have taken active part in the international class struggle. They have actively militated as its fighting detachment for the triumph of the great cause of the proletariat, relying, as always, on the important principles of proletarian internationalism and international workers' solidarity. Today, our Trade Unions maintain links with 130 national centers and trade union federations in 80 countries of the world. This is a living proof of the failure of all the attempts of the Soviet revisionists and the traitorous leading clique of the WFTU to isolate the Trade Unions of Albania, an indication of the sympathy and ardently support which our country enjoys among all the revolutionary peoples and workers throughout the world.

While hailing the struggle and victories of the workers of the whole world, we wish to reassure our class comrades present at this congress that, as always, our working class and its Trade Unions will stand to the end by their side in the noble struggle they are waging in Europe and America, in Asia and Oceania, in Africa and Latin America for the triumph of the cause of the working class, for the freedom and independence of the people.

Today, the revolutionary movement of the workers is on the rise. Their massive actions are being continually integrated into the struggle of the labouring peasantry, students and progressiveminded intellectuals, who feel confident of the victory of their cause when fighting under the leadership of the

working class. The struggle of the workers to secure economic concessions is being continually turned into a class struggle with political demands and in this process the forces are differentiated and the traitors exposed, while young revolutionary leaders emerge who are loyal to the end to the interests of the working class. The drive of the proletarian class struggle is gaining momentum even in countryside where the revisionists held sway, despite the difficulties it encounters.

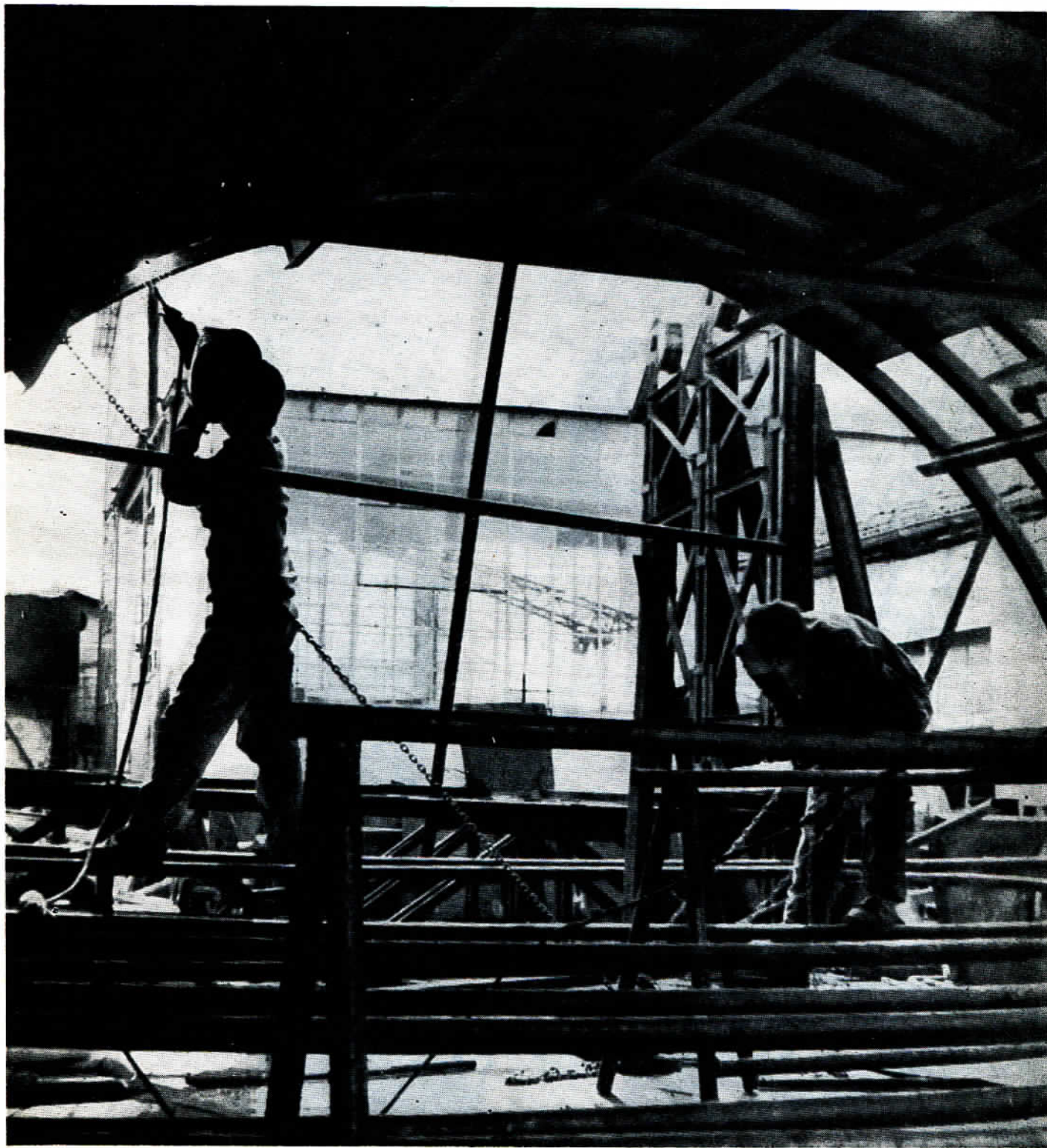
For the working class, for all those loyal to the proletarian revolution, the continuous enrolment of new progressive forces within the ranks of the international worker and trade union movement is a great achievement. Guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and by the genuine proletarian parties, these forces are engaged in a bitter struggle against the policy of the bourgeoisie, against the traitorous and splitting activity of the reformists and revisionists, as well as against the other enemies who hide their hostile, provocative and divisive features behind their ultra-revolutionary slogans.

We are all conscious of the fact that the class enemies have always aimed at creating ideological confusion and political disintegration as a means to neutralize split and subjugate the worker and trade union movement in the interests of the bourgeoisie. More or less in disguise, this activity has reached a peak of intensity during our days, and aims to divert the principal force of the revolutionary struggle, the proletariat and their class organizations. Our trade unions have exposed the fraudulent and hostile nature of the bourgeois and revisionist thesis according to which the technical-scientific revolution cures and reforms capitalist society, as well as the bourgeois tactics of carrying out new forms of economic corruption under the slogan of «concern for raising the well-being of the workers». It is clear that no technical progress can change the oppressive and exploiting nature of the capitalist regime; on the contrary, it makes the oppression and exploitation of the working class more unbearable. Such theses aim only at alienating the working class from its class and revolutionary struggle.

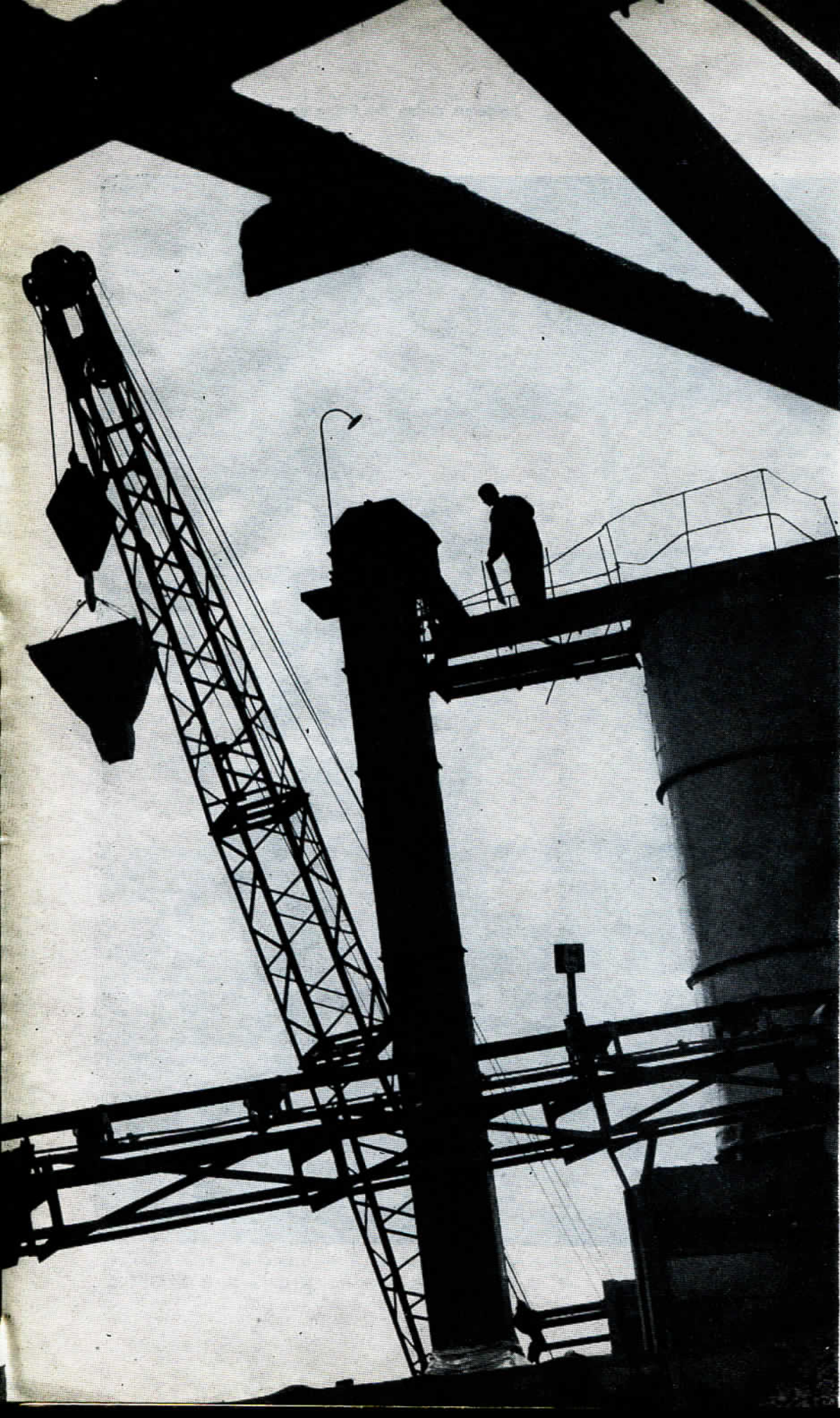
The renegade chiefs of the Soviet Trade Unions, and under their dictate, the present leadership of the WFTU are speculating especially with their theses on the complete «unity» of the trade union movement in every country. But there is no gainsaying the fact that the working class will have to pay a high price for such unity by giving up the principles of anti-imperialist class struggle and by plunging into the quagmire of reformism.

The working class is interested in unity, but this unity should be achieved in struggle and actions at the grassroots level in defense of the interests of the working class. The further differentiation of forces will appear in this struggle. As life itself has shown, the reformist and traitorous elements will be exposed as champions of the bourgeoisie and wreckers of the worker's movement, and will be isolated. Guided by the teachings of our Party, our working class and its trade union organizations have hailed and firmly upheld the new revolutionary forces which are continually rising and growing strong in the bitter class struggle of the workers. Now, they are doing much work within the ranks of the working class including the broad masses of workers enrolled in the existing trade unions which enables them to inspire the working

Solderers during the fitting up of a new industrial unit



The deep oil processing plant
in Ballsh is going up



class to revolutionary political actions, to train them for the major struggles and to expose the reformists, the bourgeois and revisionist agents and provocateurs. Their active participation in strikes and in the struggle of the working class for economic concession has given these actions a political and consistent character. Through their principled stand and loyalty to the cause of the proletariat, through their unwavering battle against the renegades from the working class, they will most certainly win the confidence of the majority of the class and will create the necessary conditions for uniting the working class in genuine class and revolutionary organizations.

We are glad to see these great lessons drawn from the experience of the workers' movement embodied in the revolutionary struggle of the trade union forces and the revolutionary workers.

Our working class and our trade union organizations are fully convinced that the international working class and the new Marxist-Leninist forces through the world, fighting against the bourgeoisie, US-led world imperialism, the Soviet-

led modern revisionists, and the reactionaries, will always march ahead towards further achievements, holding aloft the red banner of revolution and socialism.

In conclusion comrade Rita Marko said:

We are proud to have marched and to march ahead uninterruptedly under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and guided by the teachings of the Party, along the glorious road to socialism and communism.

The warmest sentiments of deep gratitude, of unbounded love and loyalty of our working class are again expressed today to our glorious Party of Labour and to our esteemed leader and teacher, comrade Enver Hoxha who, wisely, courageously and farsightedly, leads our revolution from one victory to another. Approving in full the Marxist-Leninist line pursued by our Party, and evaluating highly the results achieved, the working class and its militant organisations of the Trade Unions of Albania, holding the red banner of the Party higher and higher, are determined to march always in the front line of work and struggle.

On The Transformation Of Albania Into An Industrial-Agricultural Country

by **HEKURAN MARA**

The building of socialist society passes through stages, from lower forms to higher forms of social organisation. These stages are defined by the level reached in the development of the productive forces and the relations of production. They cannot be eliminated or bypassed in an arbitrary way.

The stage reached in economic and politico-social development has brought our country into the stage of the full construction of the socialist society. This stage represents a more or less long historical period in itself. It has raised before our Party new theoretical and practical problems of socialist construction in all fields of life.

With the entry into this stage, new experience of economic, social, ideological and cultural organization, management and development is being accumulated. A complex representation of the complete socialist society is also being worked out, which brings in new concepts relating to both the base and superstructure, the material and spiritual development of the society.

1.

In the many-sided and complex totality of the economic, ideological and social problems to be dealt with in the complete construction of the socialist society, the chief task is the completion of

the material-technical base of socialism, the securing of the all-round, harmonious development of the productive forces at a high rate. This derives from the Marxist-Leninist thesis, according to which the development of the productive forces constitutes the decisive factor for the progress of any society, and therefore also for the creation of those conditions which are required for the full construction of the socialist society, and later on of the communist society.

As a more immediate objective of the development of the productive forces, as the most condensed indication of it, is the task of transforming Albania from an agricultural-industrial country into an industrial-agricultural one. In compliance with this objective the 6th Congress of the Party laid down as a main task of the development of the economy under the fifth five-year plan: "To ensure the general strengthening of the people's economy on the road of turning Albania from an agricultural-industrial country into an industrial-agricultural country..." (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, p. 63).

The reasons for pursuing a policy which aims at such an objective have been stated and substantiated by the Party. Let us recall here some of the principal ones.

1. - First of all, the full construction of the socialist society necessarily requires a complex economic development of the

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This article discusses the necessity of transforming Albania into an industrial-agricultural country, the way of defining the economic features of a country and the role of heavy industry and agriculture in the profound economic transformation of the country

country. This is needed in order to increase the degree of independence of the economy, to strengthen unceasingly the socialist politico-social order, to raise the material and cultural standards of the people, to narrow the essential differences between the countryside and the town and to increase the country's defence capacity.

All these vitally important tasks cannot be fulfilled without having a diversified developed economy with industry, agriculture, building-trade, transport, social services, etc. The basis of all these branches, the most important factor for their maintenance and development, is industry.

2. - Another reason is that the People's Republic of Albania was born, is living and carrying forward the socialist revolution in a continuing situation of hostile geographical and strategic encirclement. This encirclement and the difficulties it creates have not been desired by the Albanian people, but were imposed on them by history.

Under these conditions our Party and our whole people have felt and experienced, have become convinced in life, in every forward stride they have made, that the preservation of the political independence they have gained, the determination and the struggle for socialism and the defence of the country, must necessarily be reinforced with economic

progress, with the development of the economy.

This circumstance has placed and continues to place a sole alternative before our country; to make all efforts, to use all means and resources in order to secure through our own forces the most vital, and most essential things for the building of socialism. It is self-explanatory that this task cannot be fulfilled if we have only a one-sided economy, without ensuring in the first place the development of industry.

To avoid any misunderstanding, we should stress that the guaranteeing and strengthening of economic independence is not a tendency to national self-sufficiency, to produce at home everything the economy and the people need. Nor does it lead to self-isolation, as the revisionists and the ideologists of the bourgeoisie claim, but on the contrary, it creates greater possibilities to extend economic exchange with the outside world.

3. - The population of our country is continually increasing. The opening of new places of work and the provision of employment for all those reaching working age constitutes a permanent task of socialist construction. And this task cannot be solved without having a complex economy and in particular a developed industry. Only on this basis can the number of people in employment be increased, both in the sphere of production and

in that of the service trades and other non-productive sectors.

A true socialist country can neither seek nor accept, as the solution to the task of employing the active population, the opening to men and women of the road of emigration to the capitalist world.

4. - However generous nature may have shown itself in providing a country with riches, these are only potential riches. They must be discovered and worked in order to be placed at the service of men and society, for their use.

We would point out in passing that our country has many natural riches. The present known volume of the industrial reserves of minerals which are extracted as well as the geological estimates of them, convince us that the extraction of these minerals in the future will certainly increase. In the long term, we do not exclude the possibility of discovering other useful minerals. The fuel and power resources are also sufficient to fulfill the needs of the development of the people's economy for a long period of time. All these factors make it necessary and possible to set up and develop a diversified industry in our country.

5. - The full construction of the socialist society necessarily requires the growth of the leading role of the working class in the whole life of the country, it requires its presence throughout the country as well as the increase of its specific weight

in the total number of the population. The accomplishment of this task, which has decisive importance for the destinies of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of socialism, is closely connected with the development of industry, with the raising of the ideo-political, educational and technico-professional level of the working class.

Thus, it is evident that Albania's transformation from an agricultural-industrial country into an industrial-agricultural country is not a subjective desire or a circumstantial ambition, but an objective historical tendency. This tendency is being successfully advanced by the Albanian people led by the Party. The achievements scored in this quarter of a century of socialist industrialization are great, while the prospects ahead are still brighter.

The developing countries which embark on the road of socialism, just like Albania when she embarked on this road, have to solve at the same time two closely connected problems - to build up socialism and to overcome the inherited backwardness. The successful and quickest possible solution of these two problems is dependent on the development of industry.

2.

The road remaining to be traversed in the socialist industrialization of our country is still a long one. The immediate target of this road is the transformation of Albania into an industrial-agricultural country.

In relation to this objective the question arises: To what extent must our industry develop before we can say that Albania has been transformed into an industrial-agricultural country? In order to help in answering this question and with a view to creating the clearest possible understanding of it, we can apply the criteria which are used in determining the economic features of a country.

Usually, the economic features (the extent of industrial development) of a country are established by using and harmonizing various economic indices. Among these indices we mention the principal ones: the specific weight of industrial production in the total volume of social production; the specific weight represented by the means of production in the total industrial production; the specific weight represented by various branches in the total volume of the production of

the means of production, and, in the first place, the specific weight of the machine-building industry, the specific weight of national incomes created in industry and agriculture; the specific weight of ready-made products, semi-manufactured items and industrial raw materials in the framework of the country's total export, etc. In establishing the economic features of a country great importance is also attached to the indices of industrial production, per capita of the population, of such products as iron, steel, electric power, coal, oil, cement, fabrics, shoes, etc.

Let us see how some of these indices stand in our country at the end of the fifth five-year plan:

In the year 1975:

1. - Specific weight of industrial production in the total industrial and agricultural production. 61.2%
2. - Specific weight of the production of the means of production in the total industrial production. 62.2%
3. - Specific weight of the production of machines-building industry in the total production of group "A". 19.6%
4. - Specific weight of the national incomes created in industry. 44.2%
5. - Per capita production of some principal industrial products:
 - Electric energy (kwh) 818
 - Oil (kg) 1104
 - Coal (kg) 511
 - Cement (kg) 410
 - Cotton and whollen fabrics (lm) 27
 - Shoes (pairs). 2

The level reached by the above-mentioned indices do not as yet allow Albania to be called an industrial-agricultural country at the end of the fifth five-year plan. She is coming very close to this objective which will certainly be reached in the near future. This is explained by the fact that under the fifth five-year plan our industry, besides its quantitative development, will also undergo important qualitative changes relating to the structure of the industrial branches and

of production. And it is precisely these changes, accompanied by the increase of the volume of production, which will determine in the final account the transformation of Albania into an industrial-agricultural country.

3.

In its Marxist-Leninist policy for the transformation of Albania into an industrial-agricultural country the Party has always aimed at the creation of diversified heavy and light, extractive and manufacturing industries; an industry capable of fulfilling the most urgent and most important needs of the population, of the country's economy and defence. Such an orientation has been and remains fully correct and valid, because it takes account of the country's economic and material possibilities, its riches, the experience gained and sources of work.

Within the development of industry priority has always been given to heavy industry, the production of means of production. The creation and development of the heavy manufacturing industry, without neglecting light industry, constitute the decisive stage of our socialist industrialization, and consequently also of the transformation of Albania into an industrial-agricultural country.

What are the distinctive features of the five-year plan in this field? The first distinctive feature is that, parallel with the extension of the mineral extracting industry and the fuel industry, under the fifth five-year plan new branches are being created and the existing branches of the heavy manufacturing industry are being expanded. Such are: ferrous metallurgy with a complete cycle; non-ferrous metallurgy (copper and chromium); deep processing of oil; the enrichment of minerals and combustibles, the mechanical and chemical industries.

These branches are of decisive importance to the further development of industry and of the whole of the people's economy; they open new prospects to the construction and strengthening of the material-technical base of socialism in our country.

The creation of new branches and the extension of the existing branches of the

The loading and unloading mechanisms greatly help the workers of the Durrës Port

heavy manufacturing industry raise the degree of independence of the economy and strengthen the economic independence of our country, ensuring the production of the things most necessary for reproduction and defence. They prepare the economy to better face any eventuality that may result from the constant political and economic pressure being exerted on our socialist revolution by imperialism and revisionism, that may come because of the geographical and strategic encirclement of our country, or as a result of the disorders and oscillations that occur in the capitalist-revisionist international market.

With the setting up of new branches of heavy industry, material-technical possibilities are created for the local processing of mineral and non-mineral raw materials (iron, nickel, cobalt, chromium, copper, oil, gas, phosphorites, salt, etc.). This will further increase the value of

these riches and will add to the possibilities for export.

In the near future, when the new projects are put into operation, our country will come out in the international market with new industrial products (nickel, cobalt, steel, chemical products, etc) which are in the greatest demand and which will ensure a greater income to the economy. The increase of exports will certainly be accompanied by the increase of the import of those commodities which cannot be produced or which it is not profitable to produce at home, whether they are commodities for reproduction or for wide-scale use.

The branches being created under the fifth five-year plan extend the material base to set up new branches of heavy industry and light manufacturing industry. On the basis of ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy the prospect of developing the machine industry, especially the produc-

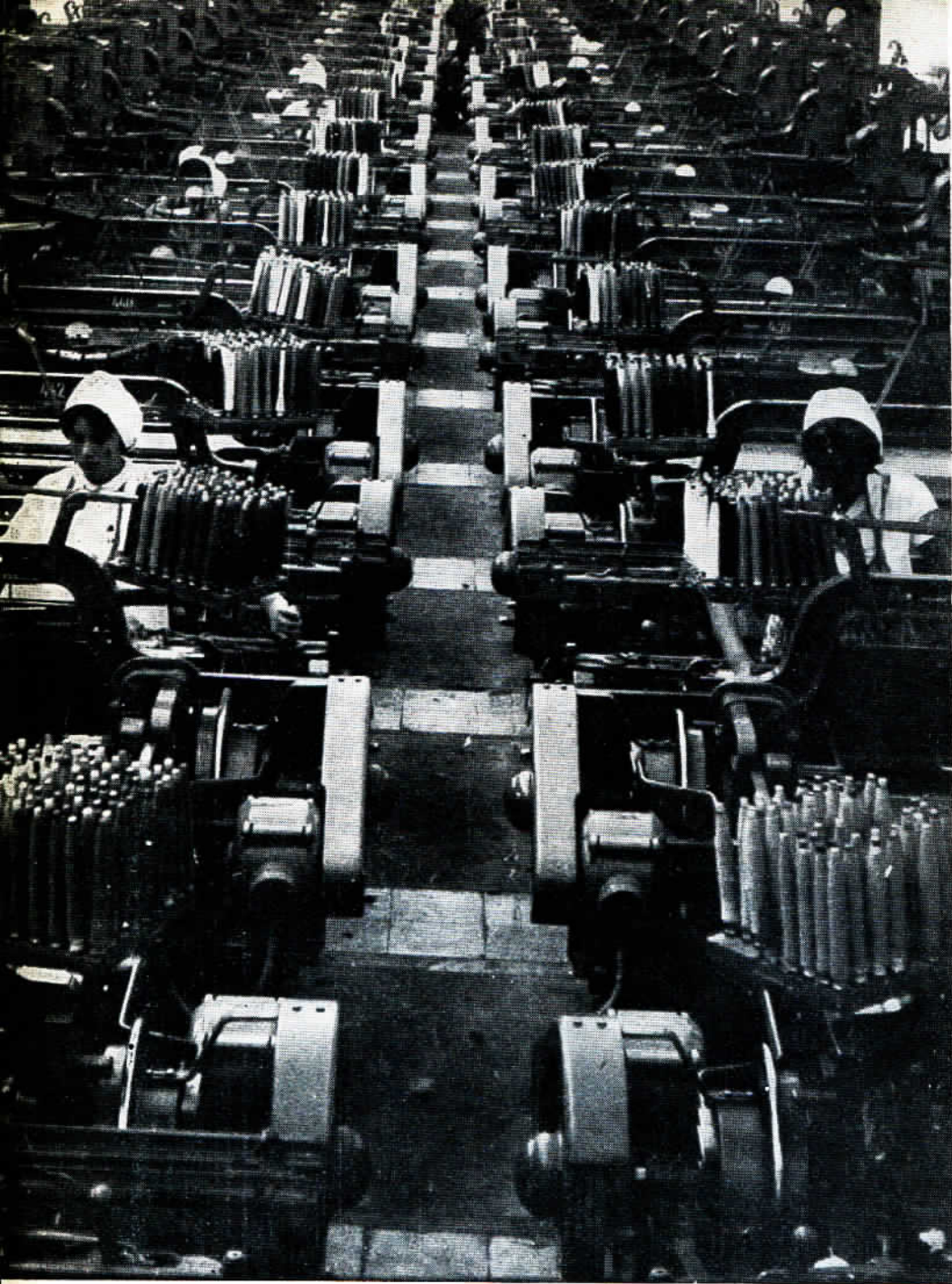
tion of machines for various economic branches, is opened up. On the basis of the deep processing of oil, gas and other local raw materials the prospect of developing petrochemistry (the production of synthetic fibres and plastic materials, etc.), is opened up.

The development of the machine-building industry and the chemical industry makes it possible to further invigorate the material base to come to the assistance of agriculture with farm machinery, chemical fertilizers, electric power, building materials, etc. This whole aid will give a fresh boost to the intensification of agriculture, to the approach of the countryside to the town.

The same can also be said of the other economic branches.

All the above factors arising from the creation of new branches of heavy industry, when taken together, in the final account extend the possibilities for the





A front view of the weaving section of the «Mao Tse-tung» textile combine in Berat

Such modern lodgings are found today in the agricultural cooperatives of a high type. They create conditions for a scientific maintenance of livestock

future increase of production at home and the import from abroad (in exchange with export) of more commodities for widespread use.

The prospects which the fifth five-year plan opens to the industrialization of our country are great and bright. They bring joy, enthusiasm and inspiration for creative work, for a new revolutionary impetus, to the Albanian workers, cooperativist peasants, intelligentsia, the whole of the Albanian people. At the same time it is of great importance to stress that with the fifth five-year plan the industrialization of our country enters its most important stage. This stage is also accompanied



by certain difficulties which characterize it and which are conditioned by the following circumstances.

First, during the fifth five-year planned period new big projects of the heavy manufacturing industry will be constructed which, in terms of the volume of construction and assembly work, surpass any project previously constructed in our country. Their construction will require the expenditure of considerable material and financial means, and the construction itself will last for a comparatively long period of time (4-5 years). Within this period the invested means are not in circulation.

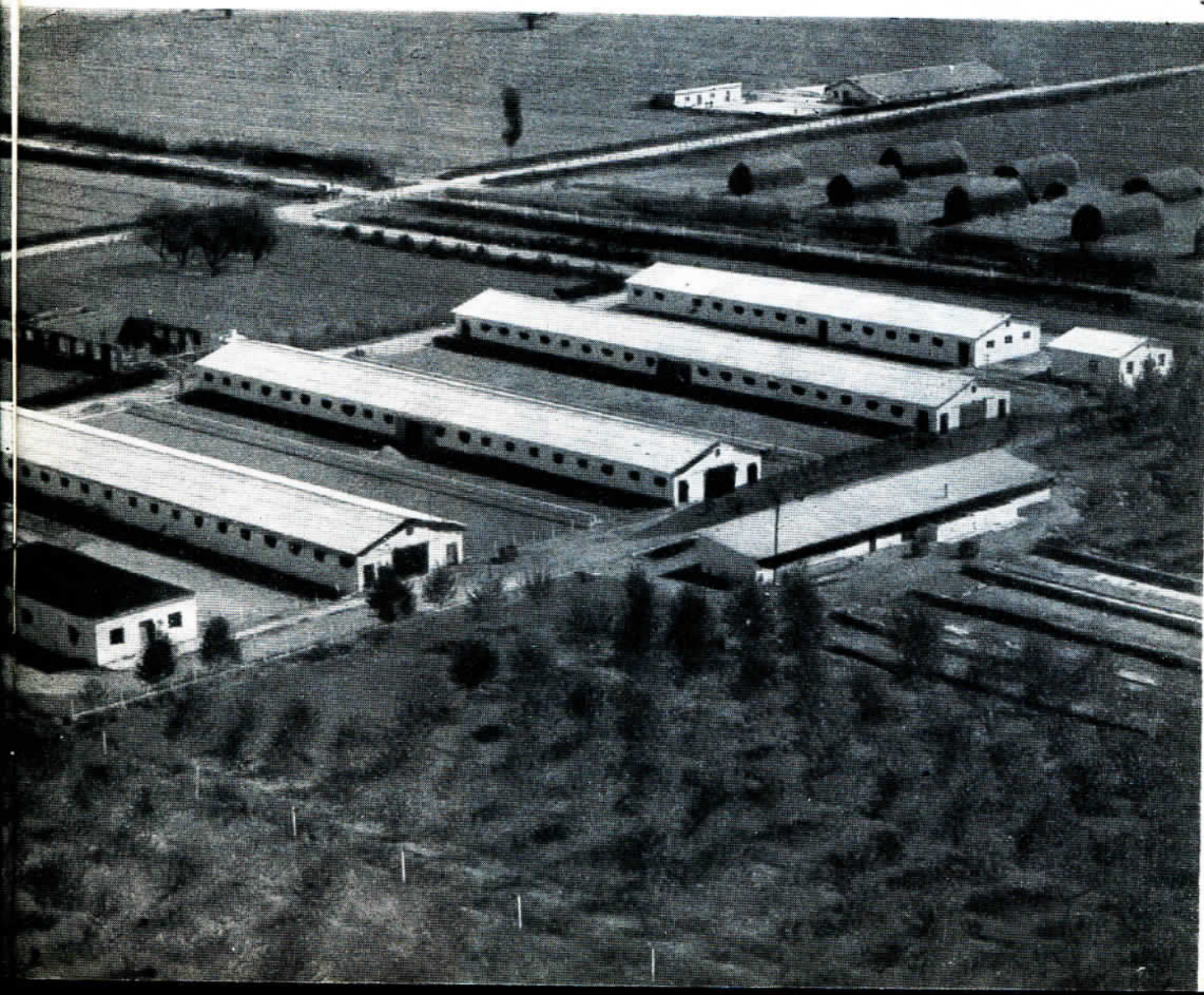
Under the fifth five-year plan 65-70 per

cent of the total sum of the investments earmarked for use in the people's economy will be used in industry. This represents the greatest specific weight of the investments used in industry in comparison with all the previous five-year plans. The overwhelming majority of these investments will be used for the development of heavy industry.

Second, the concentration of the principal material and financial means of accumulation in heavy industry limits to a certain extent the possibility of using considerable means at the same time for the development of light industry, agriculture and other branches of economy and ser-

vice trades. This is a price to be paid for the setting up of heavy industry at a fast pace, an exertion of efforts to be made today for the sake of the future, so that in the future agriculture and the other branches of the economy may develop more speedily and the wellbeing of the labouring masses may increase more rapidly.

Third, during the period in which projects of heavy industry are constructed large investments are made while no ready-made production is undertaken. The tens of thousands of workers engaged in the construction of these projects work, receive their pay for the work they do,



come to the market and purchase mass consumer goods (foodstuffs and other articles). This cannot fail to create temporarily some difficulties of growth. To overcome them it has been envisaged to increase the production of mass consumer goods at a fast rate. Therefore, the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the production plan for such commodities is of great importance. Every overfulfilment of the plan creates new possibilities to successfully overcome those difficulties which may arise as a result of the accelerated development of heavy industry. As a result, the increase of the production of mass consumer goods during one

year or during the five-year period cannot be used only to cover the existing fund of the wages of the working people, but a considerable part of it will be used to cover the wages of the workers drawn into the construction of the heavy industrial projects. In addition, the construction of new heavy industrial projects gives rise to the necessity of consciously making some reduction in the use of reproduction materials (iron, cement, electric power, etc.) and labour power for the other economic branches (agriculture, construction of dwelling houses, communal services, etc.).

For this reason we understand the great

importance of the completion of these projects within the set timelimit or ahead of schedule, of their construction with the planned investments or with less investments and labour power, by economizing as much as possible. Any shortening of the period of the completion of these projects and putting them into operation will add to our economy production worth millions of leks over and above the plan while any saving in the investments earmarked for their construction will release several millions leks which could be used for the development of the other branches of the economy or of the sphere of services. Any extension of the timelimit set for the construction as well as any exceeding of the planned investments creates new problems for the economy, and aggravates the difficulties of growth.

4.

The transformation of socialist Albania into an industrial-agricultural country and then, in the more distant future, its aim to be transformed into an industrial country, is an historical tendency. But the other aspect of this question remains equally correct and legitimate: the absolute necessity of our country to also have a developed agriculture.

Today the majority of the country's population lives in the countryside and is engaged in farming. In the future the number of the peasant population may decrease. This decrease will not be effected forcibly and spontaneously, according to the model of the capitalist countryside, but it will be conscious, organized and planned according to the interests and needs of the proportional development of the economy, the building of socialism and national defence.

The decrease will be conditioned by and depends on such economic and social factors as: the increase of labour productivity and agricultural production, the replacement of labour power with mechanical means, the extension of the sphere of services in the countryside, the employment of the natural increase of the popu-

The workers of the «Nako Spiru» wood combine in Elbasan built up also this crane which contributed to the increase of production



lation in the city, the opening of new places of work in the other branches of the economy, etc.

Under the above conditions, the economic and social development of the countryside, the growth of its material and cultural wellbeing, and the increase of the incomes of the peasantry, depend in the first place directly on the development of agriculture. The ensuring of foodstuffs for the population, as well as of some raw materials used by the light and food industries, also depends mainly on this development. Agriculture, the countryside, constitutes one of the most important spheres of use for industrial products, for construction and transport.

As a consequence, although industry is already playing the leading role in our diversified economy, a role which will become still more accentuated when Albania is transformed into an industrial-agricultural country, agriculture always remains a necessary basis of the people's economy. Therefore, the standing of our economy on both feet, on industry and agriculture, is a permanent and not a temporary task of a given moment or stage of the country's economic and social development.

For our agriculture to fulfill its role in the totality of our people's economy as well as possible, it should be continually intensified in the lowlands, in the hills and highlands. For this purpose the Party has worked out in detail an extensive long-range programme which includes the raising of the yields of agricultural crops and of the productivity of livestock; the extension of the arable land area, by opening up virgin lands on hill and mountain slopes, the placing of the whole work of organization and management of agricultural production on a more sound scientific basis.

The strengthening of the material and technical base for modern intensive farming, accompanied by the strengthening of the whole socialist order in the countryside, will still further advance the development of the productive forces in agriculture. This will also raise agricultural production to the degree and proportions required by Albania's transformation into an industrial-agricultural country.

Industry will give a great assistance to the agricultural cooperatives for the strengthening of their material-technical base

* * *

The task laid down by the 6th Congress of the PLA, of proceeding more rapidly on the road of the transformation of Albania into an industrial-agricultural country, opens a great new prospect to the development of our economy, to the full construction of the socialist society and the increase of the defence capacity of our country. It has aroused enthusiasm in the working class, the peasantry and intelligentsia, and inspires them to new deeds, to tireless creative work, to a new revolutionary impetus.

The courage and heroism, the technico-

scientific knowledge acquired by our cadres, by our working people, closely inter-related with the correct Marxist-Leninist leadership of our Party, will help to overcome any difficulty that may arise along the road. Therefore, our working people, with great confidence and firm determination, have mobilized themselves everywhere to carry out in practice, fulfil and overfulfil the production plans. Albania's transformation into an industrial-agricultural country will be another great victory, another immortal action of the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Party in our history of socialist construction.



The Intelligentsia And Its Present- Day Role

by **BAJRAM ABDIU**

**The class nature
of the intelligentsia.
The falsity of the
bourgeois-revisionist
preachings about the
changes of the
functions of the
intelligentsia and
about its decisive role
in society**

A fierce and irreconcilable struggle is being waged between the Marxist sociologists and the bourgeois and revisionist ones, about the problem of the class nature of the intelligentsia, its position and role in society at the present time.

The bourgeois and revisionist sociologists advocate that at the present time radical changes have occurred and are still occurring in the social structure of society in the capitalist and revisionist countries, as a result, primarily, of the technical-scientific revolution. Some of them see these changes in the «proletarianization» of the intelligentsia and in its transformation into one of the strata of the working class. Others argue that the working class is «disappearing» and that it is being replaced by the production intelligentsia. In socialism, according to the revisionist sociologists, classes no longer exist, and therefore the intelligentsia does not constitute a specific social stratum.

All these viewpoints aim to deny the role and historic mission of the working class in the development of society, to «substantiate the claim» that during the development of the technical-scientific revolution the intelligentsia, as its bearer, con-

stitutes the main productive force, the force of social progress, that the technical-scientific revolution is changing the nature of capitalism and is replacing social revolutions as a law of social development.

Nobody can deny the social changes that have occurred and are happening at the present time, and the technical-scientific revolution has exerted its influence on this process. But we can grasp the essence and tendency of the development of phenomena and processes only when we analyse them scientifically, always on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. The methodology of the bourgeois and revisionist sociologists is subjectivist and idealist. Moreover they distort the facts and draw their conclusions in accordance with the interests of the reactionary exploiting classes.

In reality, have the class nature and the role of the intelligentsia as a specific social stratum changed, and has the working class lost its place and mission in society as the decisive force of material and spiritual production and as the main force of the socialist revolution and social progress? The scientific analysis of the facts and reality confirms the correctness of the fundamental theses of Marxism-

Leninism and shows the whole falsity of the «theories» of the bourgeois and revisionist sociologists.

ON THE SOCALLED «THEORY» OF THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA INTO A SECTION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN PRESENT- DAY CAPITALISM

In the capitalist countries there is a continual growth in the section of the intelligentsia which does not own means of production and which is employed for wages by private or state capitalist enterprises. Thus, for example, in the United States in 1969 this section accounted for about 88 per cent of the total number of intellectuals, in Britain in 1951 it represented 87,7 per cent, in France in 1954 it represented 85,6 per cent and in Japan in 1960, about 97 per cent.

Proceeding from these data, many bourgeois and revisionist sociologists arrive at the conclusion that the intellectuals, in particular those of the technical-scientific intelligentsia, have been transformed into «proletarians» and must be considered as

a component part of the working class. In capitalism «...the major part of the intelligentsia... from every aspect can be considered as a part of the working class» writes Y. I. Shiriaev (Problems of the change of social structure of the Soviet society, Izd. Nauka, Nr. 8, 1968, page 3.). A. Gallkin says that «the technical-scientific revolution essentially extended the framework of the working class. New detachments of working people have formed which, in regard to their position in production and way of living, have come close to and indeed on a number of occasions have merged with the fundamental bulk of the working class» (Problems of peace and socialism, Nr. 1, 1969, page 40). The most extreme revisionists include within the working class all wage-earners and even leading cadres and students. In support of their viewpoint, the revisionists refer to Marx and Engels who say in the «Manifesto of the Communist Party» that «the bourgeoisie stripped off the sacred halo of all kinds of activity...», that «capitalism has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science into its paid wage-labourers» they refer to Marx who writes in his «Capital» that both the manual and mental workers in the sphere of production and circulation, who are wage-earners and sell their labour power to the capitalists, participate in the creation of surplus value. However, they interpret in a subjectivist manner the fact of the growing «proletarianization» of the intelligentsia in present-day capitalism and they purposely distort the ideas of Marx.

In order to understand correctly the phenomenon of the increasing transformation of the intellectuals into wage-earners in the capitalist countries, we must proceed from the class nature of the intelligentsia as a specific social stratum.

Marxism views the intelligentsia as a large group of people mainly engaged in mental work, in the organisation and management of work and production, of the affairs of state and society, who engage in creative work and not in manual work or merely carrying out instructions. The intelligentsia constitutes a specific social stratum and not a class in itself because, unlike the classes, it has no independent relation of its own to the means of production, it stems from and it is formed by various classes and in every historically given social system it mainly serves the class in power.

Naturally, the formation of the intelligentsia as a specific social stratum which does not own means of production, is an historical process. At the beginning, with the emergence of the classes and the separation of mental work from physical work, the exploiting class made mental work a monopoly of its own. The owners themselves were engaged in the management and organisation of production, in the affairs of state and society, as well as in various fields of creativity. In this connection Engels says that «...at the base of the division of society into classes stands the law of the division of labour». Alongside the overwhelming majority engaged mainly in necessary work, he points out, «is formed the class liberated from direct productive work and engaged in such general affairs of society, as the management of work, the state affairs, jurisprudence, sciences, arts, etc.» (F. Engels, Anti-Duhring, Russian Edition, 1948, p. 265).

The monopoly of the exploiting classes over mental work resulted in a situation in the pre-capitalist social orders where there were no clearly defined dividing limits between them and the intelligentsia, because its overwhelming majority was made up of men of the exploiting classes. But parallel with the development of the productive forces, of science and technology, especially in capitalism, the intelligentsia acquires the features of a specific social stratum which does not own means of production and extends greatly in number and function. This whole process, comrade Enver Hoxha points out, develops together with capitalism not only because the needs for production increase, but because the capitalists relieve themselves of the technical functions of the management of production, of the affairs of state and society assigning such functions to hired specialists. Herein lies the most fundamental cause and this explains the phenomenon of the growing «proletarianization» of the intelligentsia in present-day capitalism.

To support their viewpoint that the intelligentsia, in particular the engineering-technical intelligentsia, is a part of the working class, the revisionist sociologists refer to Marx who groups the wage-earning engineering-technical personnel in the capitalist enterprises together with the workers and describes them as «proletarians». However, Marx himself points out that by describing as «proletarians»

the wage-earning mental workers in the sphere of production and circulation in capitalism he is proceeding from purely technical aims in order to discover the mechanism of the creation of surplus value and of capital, and not to give the totality of the features characterizing the classes and social strata (See K. Marx, F. Engels, Works, Russian Edition, Vol. 31, p. 55). From the class viewpoint Marx views the intelligentsia as a specific social stratum which in every social order serves the class in power.

In the capitalist society the engineering-technical personnel, as one of the main categories of the intelligentsia, holds a double position. It does not own means of production and is hired by the capitalist, it creates surplus value for the capitalist, but at the same time it is a representative of the capitalist, it is, as Marx says, a commander of capitalist produc-

tion, i.e. manager and organizer in the creation of surplus value and of capital itself. It is necessary to stress that the engineering-technical personnel and in general the stratum of the intelligentsia does not include those highly qualified workers who are directly engaged in production, create surplus value and do not perform organizing and managerial functions. They are workers and not intellectuals.

The Marxist-Leninist meaning of the class nature of the intelligentsia is quite clear. The revisionists, considering the intelligentsia engaged in paid work in private or state capitalist enterprises as a part of the working class, aim to present it as the most conscious and most revolutionary part of the working class, they aim to give a «proletarian» colour to the intellectualist-bourgeois nature of their parties which have as their main social basis the intellectuals and the working

class aristocracy; they wish to implant in the working class intellectualist liberalism and reformism and to turn it away from the class struggle and the socialist revolution. The revisionists openly say that the bearer of the «present-day» class consciousness is the so-called «new working class» which is made up of engineers, technicians, and highly qualified factory and office workers (See the review «Problems of peace and socialism», Russian Edition, Nr. 2, 1969, p. 49).

While considering the intelligentsia as a specific social stratum, it must in no way be taken as a homogeneous mass. «Its role and place in society», — comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out in his report to the 6th Congress of the Party, — «depend on its class origin and social-economic situation, the alliance of its various detachments with this or that class.» (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress



of the Party, p. 219). Comrade Enver Hoxha also points out that the intelligentsia in general "... is a stratum that stands between the different classes of society and comes from different classes. By its very nature, it is characterized by various political and ideological vacillations" (Ibidem, p. 219). On the basis of a concrete analysis the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party define their stand towards the various categories and strata of the intelligentsia, towards the upper stratum which is closest to the bourgeoisie and takes part jointly with it in the exploitation of the proletariat, towards the middle and lower strata which are connected with and closer to the proletariat than the bourgeoisie. On these strata the working class and its party must exert their influence and leading role, they must strive for their education and re-education, they must lead and plunge them into the revolutionary class struggle so that they may be tempered, may master the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and consciously pass to and remain on the positions of the working class and socialist revolution.

THE ABSURDITY OF THE VIEW OF THE "DISAPPEARANCE" OF THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS REPLACEMENT BY THE PRODUCTION INTELLIGENTSIA

Another viewpoint, we might say the opposite of the one mentioned above, but one which follows the same aims, is the viewpoint of some bourgeois and revisionist sociologists, according to which in the process of the development of the technical-scientific revolution, of the mechanization and automation of production processes, the working class is diminishing in number, is "disappearing" as a class, and its place is being taken by the technical-scientific intelligentsia.

It is true that the technical-scientific revolution, the increasing mechanization and automation of production processes, the wide-scale application of the achievements of science and technology, have brought about as a natural consequence the numerical growth of the intelligentsia, particularly of the technical-scientific intelligentsia. Thus, for example, in the Uni-

ted States of America, from the beginning of the 19th century until now, the number of specialists has increased 9 times. In France, from 1962 until 1968, the number of engineers increased by 37,9 per cent and the number of technicians by 55,2 per cent. There has also been an increase in other capitalist countries.

With these data the bourgeois and revisionist sociologists are striving to substantiate their view that the working class in the present-day era of the technical-scientific revolution has lost or is losing its position and role as a main productive force, its mission as bearer of the motive force of social progress, and that this role has been or is now being assumed by the technical intelligentsia which controls, directs and develops the processes of production. According to them, present-day society has entered in the "disappearance" both of the workers and of the capitalist owners. As a result, they claim that the capitalist society has been or is being transformed into a technocratic society in which social revolutions are replaced by technical-scientific revolutions, in which their principal motive force consists in the technical-scientific intelligentsia.

These views are widespread in many capitalist and revisionist countries. The American sociologist K. Zimmermann says that now, in the era of scientific discoveries and of the technical-scientific revolution, the working class has lost its historic role as builder and leader of the new society, that today "the intelligentsia has become the main social leading force". He writes: "During the past century from Marx to the present day society has become so complicated, culture in the developed countries has reached such a high level, that the proletariat and its leaders are no longer in a position to take stable power in their hands. Only the scientists and those of an equivalent educational standard can and will be in a position to cope with this job. This force is the intelligentsia - the alliance of the natural scientists and the representatives of art, the humanists, the social scientists - each with his own speciality, but with a joint understanding and system of ideas essential for the common culture". (See Structure of Soviet intelligentsia, Minsk, 1970, p. 37). On his part, the revisionist Roger Garaudy argues that we now have an entirely new situation which we may call the "century of cybernetics", in which "... the functions of physical and intel-

lectual work merge. Consequently, we can no longer speak of the working class, but of a collective producer, with the intellectuals playing the decisive role in production in revolution and social progress" (See R. Garaudy, For a French model of socialism).

One can clearly see the anti-scientific essence and the tendentiousness of these viewpoints which present the situation as if capitalism has radically changed its nature as a result of the development of the technical-scientific revolution, as if it is creating a "technocratic", "post-industrial", "consumer", society, in which both the workers and the capitalists have been sidetracked and where the intelligentsia has become the main productive force, bearer and leading force of social development.

In his report delivered at the 6th Congress of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha exposed these anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary viewpoints. He pointed out that "the technical and scientific revolution can not change the nature of either capitalism or socialism, nor the objective laws of the development of society" (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, p. 147), that despite the growth of the intelligentsia in the present-day society, despite the changes undergone by the position, character, and role of its work, as well as the class constitution of this stratum, it is not a class in itself and therefore it can never take the place of the working class in social production and its role in the revolution and social development.

The numerical growth of the technical-scientific intelligentsia by no means proves the sidetracking or replacement of the working class by it. The correct understanding of this process requires a concrete analysis based on the Marxist-Leninist methodology. As Marx and Lenin have stressed, we cannot and must not blindly base ourselves on bourgeois statistics and ever less on the conclusions of the bourgeois sociologists, as the revisionists do. The bourgeois statistics do not provide the possibility of seeing directly the class relations within the population; what is more, they aim to conceal the division into classes. The Marxist-Leninist analysis of facts and data leads to conclusions diametrically opposed to those of the bourgeois and revisionist sociologists. First, according to the data, despite the numerical increase of technicians, engi-

Our intelligentsia selflessly works on all the fronts of socialist construction

neers and other specialists, the working class and the other working people in the capitalist countries constitute just as before the overwhelming majority of the able-bodied population. Thus, for instance, in the United States of America the intelligentsia of all categories in the year 1960, represented about 22 per cent of the able-bodied population. In France, the engineers, technicians and administrative managers of production in the year 1968 accounted only for 10 per cent of the able-bodied population. If we take only industry, here too, in the developed capitalist countries the intelligentsia does not represent more than 20 per cent of the working people. As is evident, the working class and the other labouring people constitute the overwhelming majority of the able-bodied population, the main productive force in the capitalist countries. The working class is at the same time the most progressive and the most revolutionary force of society.

Second, many bourgeois and revisionist sociologists, not without purpose, include in the working class only those workers who engage in purely physical work. The American philosopher Marcuse says that for Marx a proletarian is above all the worker engaged in physical work, who in the process of work spends and consumes his physical energy. By distorting the Marxist meaning of the «worker» concept, he advocates that under the present-day conditions of mechanization and automation, as a result of the development of the technical-scientific revolution the working class has almost disappeared or is in the process of disappearing.

It must be emphasized that Marxism-Leninism has never identified the worker with the physical labourer. It considers as workers all those who are deprived of the ownership of the means of production, who sell their labour power to the capitalist, who directly participate in productive work or in the sphere of circulation and who create surplus value for the capitalist. In this sense the belonging of a working man to the working class does not depend on the degree of his qualification, on the tools with which he works and produces, whether they be simple tools or modern ones up to mechanized and automatized plants. Similarly, the weight represented by mental work in relation to physical work cannot on its own be a determining criterion.

It is entirely natural that with the development of technology, of the tools of production, with the large-scale development of the technical-scientific revolution, of the mechanization and automation of the processes of production, there should be a change in the relation between physical work and mental work for the workers, there should be a rise in the level of qualification of workers as well as the weight of mental work in comparison with physical work. A section of the production technicians, those who directly produce and are not engaged in the work of management and organization, cannot fail to be considered a part of the working class. But this category of workers, even in the most developed capitalist countries, is very small in number. Thus, for instance, in France it does not make up more than 2,1 per cent of the able-bodied population. Its rapid growth, especially in some industrial branches with advanced technique and with complicated technological processes of production, can represent only the future of the working class with an average or high level of qualification.

As for the engineering-technical personnel, although connected with production, it does not directly participate in productive work, and even in those cases in which it does participate, its work is alternated, continually associated with managerial and organizational work. The latter constitutes the principal function of the engineering-technical personnel. Therefore, it differs from the mass of the workers, whether they have medium or high qualification, by the nature of the work, by the rate of pay, by the manner and conditions of living, by its world outlook and psychology, etc. Precisely because of these essential features it constitutes one of the main categories of the intelligentsia.

It is not difficult to understand the absurdity of the viewpoints of the bourgeois and revisionist sociologists about the taking over of the place and role of the working class by the technical-scientific intelligentsia, the absurdity of their preachings about the transformation of the intelligentsia into a main productive force and bearer of social progress, into an in-

The care for man is the supreme law of socialism. Free sanitary service has reached also the Albanian countryside





dependent and principal motive force of the development of present-day society. Nevertheless, the spreading of these viewpoints among the working masses and among the ranks of the intelligentsia itself causes great harm to the worker and revolutionary movement. The view that the intelligentsia and the students are independent and main forces of the revolution, comrade Enver Hoxha said in his report to the 6th Congress of the Party, creates confusion in some untempered militants and among various sections of the population, especially among the student youth and the young intellectuals. That is why the Marxist-Leninist parties and the Marxist sociologists rightfully expose these views and reveal their anti-scientific and counterrevolutionary character.

The study and generalisation, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist science, of the changes that are occurring today in the capitalist world under the conditions of the development of the technical-scientific revolution and of the class struggle, the understanding of the place and historic mission of the working class and of the class nature and role of the intelligentsia in capitalism, of the original position of the intelligentsia, which stands between the classes as a specific social stratum, of its heterogeneous make-up, etc., is of great importance to the strategy and tactics of the working class and of the Marxist-Leninist party. Only on this basis there can a correct stand towards the intelligentsia be adopted and bourgeois-revisionist opportunism and liberalism and sectarianism be avoided, so that the progressive intelligentsia, as an ally of the working class, can be won over to its side and, under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary parties, throw itself, jointly with the working class, into the class struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist system and for the transition to socialism.

CONCERNING SOME VIEWPOINTS OF THE REVISIONISTS ON THE CLASS NATURE OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA IN SOCIALISM

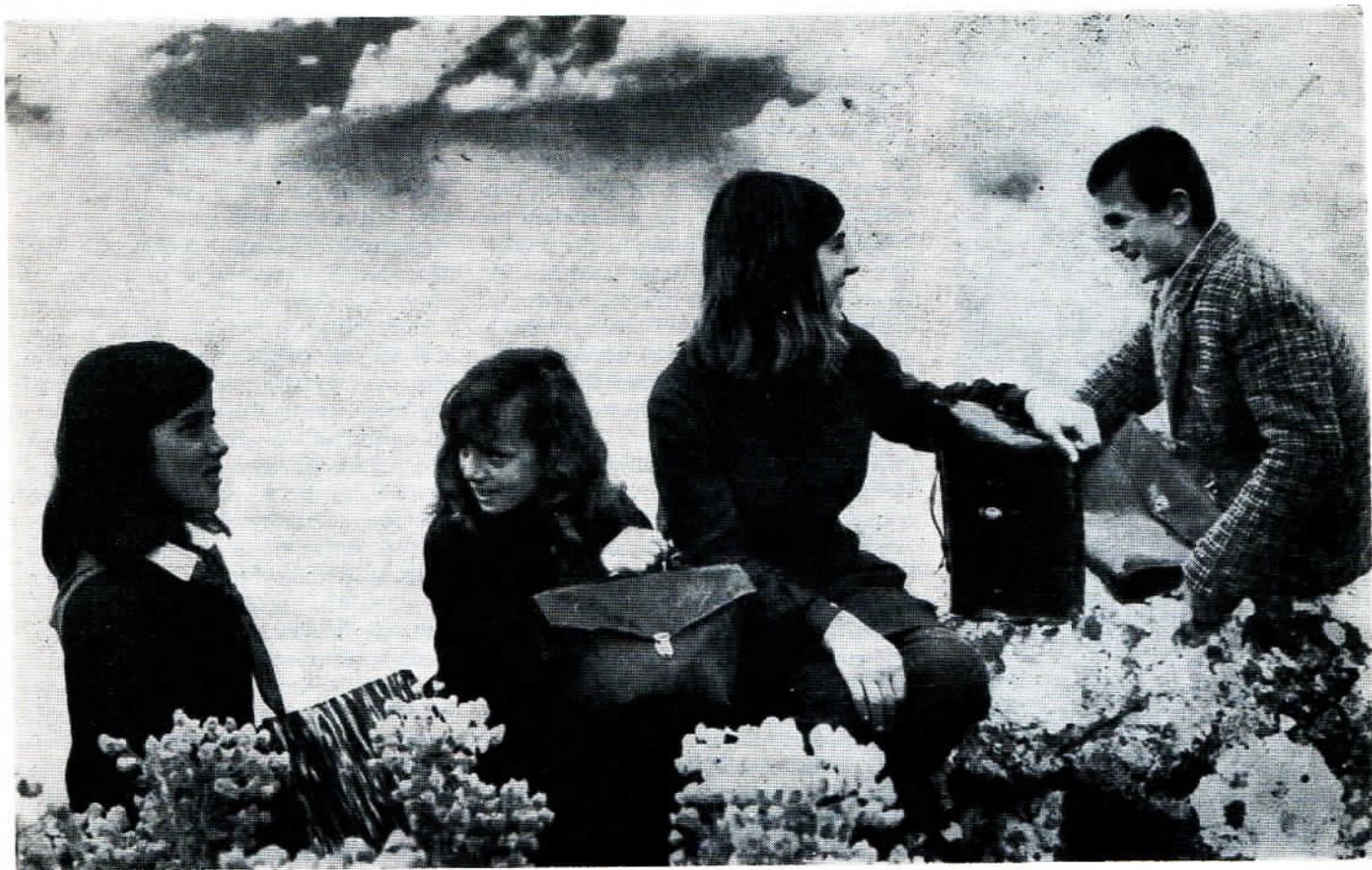
Various views have circulated in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries about the class nature of the intelligentsia in the period of socialism. In general, the revisionist sociologists view the intelligentsia as a social group

of socialist society, but the majority of them do not consider it as a specific social stratum which occupies a position among the classes.

According to the revisionists, there are no longer classes in socialist society. The only social element in socialism, they say, is the «productive and self-administering collective», which includes all working people according to their place of work: workers, engineers, technicians, administrative personnel, teachers, doctors etc., or peasants, agronomists, veterinary surgeons, zootechnicians and all the other working people who work in an agricultural cooperative or enterprise. The differences between the workers and peasants on the one hand, and the intelligentsia, on the other hand, are not viewed as class differences, but as professional differences between social groups of which the «productive and self-administering collective» is made up (See Problems of the change of social structure of the Soviet society, Izd. M. 1968, p. 118). «... Classes in our country», — the Soviet revisionist sociologists write, — «have already grown into social strata of the «worker-producers» which, due to the division of the branches of production, carry out different jobs» (Ibidem, p. 119). The revisionists endeavour to substantiate these views referring to Lenin's definition of classes, in which he says that classes are large groups of people, one of which appropriates the work of the other and to his thesis that «socialism is the disappearance of classes».

But no one, however little acquainted with the Marxist-Leninist theory of classes and with Lenin's teachings on this question, can fail to see that the revisionist sociologists intentionally distort these theses of Lenin.

When Lenin says that «socialism is the disappearance of classes» he means the disappearance of the exploiting classes and not of classes in general. As to classes in general Lenin, as is known, defines as fundamental and essential features the position occupied by large social groups in an historically given social system, their relation to the means of production, their role in the social organisation of labour, the rate of incomes and the way they are paid. The classes and various social strata are also characterized by different world outlooks and psychologies. In this sense class differences are preserved throughout the entire period of socialism



The school youth has greatly increased during the recent years. In the photo: School pupils resting during an alpinistic excursion

and the classes in general, Lenin says, will disappear only in full communism. The elimination of the exploitation of man by man is not sufficient for the classless communist society, it is necessary to bring all the members of society into the same relationship to the means of production, to overcome the essential differences in social position between the workers, peasants and the intelligentsia, in their role in the social organisation of labour, in the rate of income and the way it is paid, in the way of living, in their world outlook and in their psychology. It must be pointed out that even after the elimination of class differences a comparatively long period of time would be still needed to overcome the differen-

ces between town and country, between mental work and physical work, differences which are preserved as a remnant of the old social-class division of labour. Precisely for this reason Lenin says that the intelligentsia will be maintained as a specific social stratum up to the highest level of the communist society. In the light of these theses of principle about classes and the intelligentsia in socialism, it is quite evident that there is absolutely no scientific basis for the revisionist viewpoint which admit the existence of the working class and peasantry but denies the existence of the intelligentsia as a specific social stratum and merges it into the fundamental classes of socialist society, a viewpoint which consi-

ders the whole intelligentsia of production, of service and of the superstructure, including the leading and administrative cadres, according to whether it is employed in the state or cooperative sector, as a component part of the working class or of the cooperativist peasantry. The Soviet revisionist sociologists openly say that «in the present-day Soviet society, bearing in mind the social-economic and socio-political features of the working class it seems reasonable to us to include in it all workers, both those engaged in physical work and those involved in mental work in the branches of material production and circulation employed in enterprises and institutions which are the common property of the people», that «the

present-day productive intelligentsia has all the features of the working class...". (Problems of the change of social structure of the Soviet society, Izd. M. 1968, p. 111, 133).

Even when they admit the intelligentsia as a specific social stratum the revisionists include in it only the working people engaged in creative mental work, such, as the scientists, writers, artists, teachers, lawyers, and in general the working people of the sphere of ideological activity.

All these viewpoints aim to conceal the social-class differences between the intelligentsia and the working class, between the intelligentsia and the peasantry, to justify the reliance on the intelligentsia and the working class aristocracy as a social-class basis of the revisionist parties, and their dictatorships, to pour into the revisionist parties and the revisionist state bourgeois elements with the "worker" cloak and, under the socialist label, to realize a special kind of capitalism. It is already a fact that in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries the cadres, the intelligentsia and the worker aristocracy hold a special position in the revisionist parties, in the state power, and in social production, and constitute a bourgeoisified stratum or class which exploits the mass of the workers and peasants.

Certainly, in the revisionist countries, too, the intelligentsia does not represent an homogenous whole; it is differentiated, and this process is increasingly deepening. The higher stratum of the intelligentsia and the leading cadres in the party, the state and various institutions hold a special position not only in comparison with the workers and peasants but also in comparison with the mass of the rank-and-file intelligentsia. The differences in wages, in the level, conditions and way of living stratum of the intelligentsia are tens of times larger than those of the mass of the workers and peasants, as well as of the lower stratum of the intelligentsia and rank-and-file office workers.

Its special position in the party and the state gives the bourgeoisified stratum the possibility of using ownership on a national scale in order to exploit the mass of workers and peasants and the other rank-and-file working people. As the Soviet revisionist sociologists themselves declare "higher wages are paid to the leaders who are vested with full po-

wers on a broad scale and at the same time have a great responsibility for the duty entrusted to them and who, as a rule, are endowed with high working and political qualities" (Structure of Soviet intelligentsia, Minsk, 1970, p. 123). In contrast with the teachings of Lenin who stressed that service in the State apparatus should not attract people through high pay and privileges, the revisionists say that "the various degrees of responsibility and knowledge of the duties, as well as the social value of the work, will be of importance as long as the principle of material interest is preserved" (Structure of Soviet Intelligentsia, Minsk, 1970, p. 123).

Thus, although the revisionist "theoreticians" writes and speak a great deal about the disappearance of classes and the overcoming of the essential differences between the working class and the peasantry, on the one hand, and the intelligentsia, on the other, between mental work and manual work, in reality in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries there is a growing development and deepening of the process of class differentiation, of the creation of the new bourgeois class from the ranks of the upper and middle strata of the intelligentsia, from the leading cadres in the party and the state and from the working class aristocracy. The antagonistic contradictions between this new exploiting class, which is assuming an increasingly definite form and the mass of workers and peasants, keep sharpening. On the basis of these contradictions the class differentiation and the development of the class struggle constitute an objective process. The mass of the exploited workers and peasants will increasingly rise in class struggle. Another socialist revolution which will overthrow the revisionist cliques and their dictatorships in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries, which will turn these countries back to the road of socialism and communism, constitutes an objective law and is inevitable. The revolutionary section of the intelligentsia cannot fail to participate in this revolution and will play the role which is proper to it.

Practice has fully confirmed that only under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party can socialist revolution be developed uninterruptedly and carried through to the end, till the

complete building of socialism and communism. In this process the exploiting classes will disappear and the essential class differences between the city and the country, as well as between physical and mental work will be narrowed and gradually overcome. In this way, the intelligentsia, too, will lose its class nature and will cease being a specific social stratum. This is, certainly, a long process which can develop in a correct road and be crowned with success only under the leadership and continuous control of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party.



On the ancient Albanian land the hand of man has changed the aspect of the country.
Partial view of the Vau i Dejës Lake on Drini River where the big hydropower station has been built up.

From The History Of The Albanian Language. Problems And Results

**The Albanian language
is one of the most ancient
languages of Europe.
The problems of the origin and
historical development of the
Albanian language.
The present-day situation and
prospects of the studies in the
field of the Albanian language.**

By prof. Eqrem Çabej

Like the Albanian people, the Albanian language, too, has its own history. Through an uninterrupted internal development and its external relations with other languages, through gradual changes, it has come during hundreds and even thousands of years, to assume the construction and system of features which in their totality make up today what is known as the Albanian language. This is a complex and many-sided development and has not always proceeded on a straight course. The eventful history of the Albanian people is reflected in the history of their language. Therefore, it can be said that the history of Albanian is a mirror of the history of the people who have spoken and continue to speak it; it represents in a certain way the history of these people themselves. The history of the language cannot at anytime be separated and detached from the history of the people.

I.

Related to the history of Albanian are a multitude of problems, a series of questions, great and small, of which some have been solved, and some are approaching a solution, while others are still awaiting elucidation today. In investigating them methodically, we may pass gradually from the more distant past to the present-day situation; or, the other way round, we may work back from the present situation of the language – which is also only a stage in the process of development – to the past, by implementing the mathematical principle of passing from the known to the unknown. Either way, the eye of the scholar comes across a complicated, closely woven patterns of threads full of tangles and sometimes with loose ends. The main reason for this is the lack of written sources, especially concerning the ancient periods of the language. Both the his-

tory of the Albanian people and the history of the Albanian language have unknown, dark periods into which the light of knowledge scarcely penetrates to illuminate some specific point. In order to view this complex of questions more clearly it is necessary for scientific research to establish some principles, and set some main lines of enquiry. Thus, linguistic history can be considered from two viewpoints – from the viewpoint of the external history and from that of the internal history of the language. This division is made mainly for the sake of method, for in reality they are two aspects of one and the same linguistic evolution.

First casting a glance at the external history of the Albanian language, and looking through it in chronological order, passing from the most distant to the more recent, scientific investigation first comes across the prehistoric period of the language, just as the history of the people first comes across their prehistory. Here the first problem, that of the origin of Albanian and at the same time of its membership of a given language family, has been solved since the nineteenth century: Albanian is a member in its own right of the Indo-European language family to which belong among others Greek, Latin and Celtic, the Germanic and Slav languages in Europe, and the Armenian, Persian and Hindi languages in Asia. A problem in itself is the question of what place Albanian occupies in this group of languages, with which sister languages it has close affinity and with which a more distant one. This question can only be said to have been partly solved in the present-day situation of the studies. This occurs on the one hand because no systematic research has been carried out in this field, and on the other hand in our opinion, because of the late documentation of the language which – in contrast not only with Greek, Hittite and Hindi, but also with Armenian and Celtic – although an ancient language, is known in a quite recent and advanced stage of its development, which makes difficult the reconstruction of its linguistic character of an ancient, prehistoric period.

Narrowing the problem, and moving gradually forward in time, within the prehistory of Albanian the following questions then arise: Where was the pre-Balkan cradle of the forefathers of the present-day Albanians? In which territory did the formation of Albanian in the Balkan Peninsula occur? In other words, are the Albanian people autochthonous in the present-day language region or did they come from elsewhere? With which ancient non-Greek language or languages of this peninsula has Albanian filial ties? In other words, from which people or peoples of this area do the Albanian people stem, from which language or which of its languages does their language derive? These problems, too, which are at the same time geographic-historical and linguistic, face the ancient history of the Albanian language. But in the present state of the studies they have been elucidated only to a certain extent, and this is mainly due to the lack of ancient historical and linguistic sources. It is understandable that the more recent are the linguistic periods laid down for discussion, the more easily comprehended they are, the more ancient the more obscure they appear. Thus, as long as the cradle of the formation of the Indo-European language family, in the light of the current state of our knowledge, does not seem to have been the Balkan peninsula, then just as for the other ancient Balkan languages including Greek and a prehistoric stage of

Albanian, there arises the question of the pre-Balkan cradle, of the place of its formation prior to the settlement in the Balkan countries. This stage, however, which is earlier than that of the Balkan period, is of course also more difficult to investigate.

Moving on to the historical period, the general character of the Albanian language and its fate are determined once and for all by the geographic environment: Albanian is an Indo-European language and at the same time a Balkan language. As such, being in permanent proximity with Greek, Albanian has had and continues to have relations with this language, which begin with the protohistoric, if not with the prehistoric, period, and continue in all the epochs of history up to the present day. Slightly more recent, but more intensive and more important, were the linguistic ties with Latin, which lasted seven or eight centuries and were not interrupted with the end of the western Roman empire, and were continued in the later relations with Italian. Of almost the same epoch as the latter are the relations of Albanian with the Slavonic languages of the Balkans. More recent, but more intensive and extended over the whole linguistic territory of Albanian, appear the ties of this language with the Turkish of the Ottoman empire. In the meantime, the position and the continued existence of Albanian in the Balkan Peninsula has brought about a development of its system similar in many points to that of the other idioms of this area, and multifarious relations with these idioms, especially with Rumanian, relations partly noticed since the first half of the past century. In the more recent stage of the external history of Albanian we cannot leave aside, finally, the fact that as a European language it has participated and continues to participate in a certain parallel and, to a certain extent, common development of the languages of this continent, mainly as far as the contemporary vocabulary concerned.

These are, in outline, the various aspects and stages of the external history of Albanian, viewed mainly in its relations with the neighbouring languages of the different periods of history. Parallel with these relations Albanian has also had its internal development. The stages of this development, as we said, are closely connected and are permeated by the various aspects of the external ties, so that the consideration of one aspect of the linguistic history would remain incomplete without also considering the other aspect of this history.

Passing over to the internal structure of Albanian, we notice that in this occur some more general linguistic features, some of which are common to the other Balkan languages, others, more ancient, to those of the Indo-European world, and still others are common to many languages of the world.

In the study of the history of Albanian, viewed in its different aspects, an important place belongs to historical lexicology, the science which studies the wealth of words in the dynamic development of their use. This development has affected, in the course of time, both the forms and meanings of words, meanings which are particularly investigated by historical semantics. The history of words, in the field of Albanian too, does not study them as words in themselves separate from each other, but rather in the connections which they have – or have had – with each other within the system of the vocabulary of the language, in their territorial extension, in their emergence and their eventual disappearance.

One of the main tasks in this field of research belongs to etymology which investigates in particular the origin of words and is of special importance to Albanian, as a language which is rich in borrowings from other languages.

Historical lexicology, and together with it semantics and etymology receive first-hand assistance in the elucidation of problems which arise, from linguistic material and particularly from two sources – from dialects and old written documents. These two sources at the same time, beyond the limits of lexicological studies, also constitute in themselves two fields of the historical study of the language. The history of the dialects of Albanian, of this living testimony to the present situation of the language, is related to the history of the former tribes of the country, to their internal movements, their emigrations from the region to another, to their multifarious infiltration, processes investigated by linguistics with the aid of ethnography.

Problems arise such as that of the place and time of the formation of separate dialects, of interdialectal relations, of the superimposing of one dialect on another, of the appearance for the first time of some particular dialectal features, of the social factors and traffic routes within the former administrative divisions in the formation of dialects, of the reduction of great dialectical division to smaller ones, and of the integration of separate idioms into larger dialectical units, and other questions of this character. As regards the old written documentary which are more or less a literary testimony to some previous stages of the popular language and its dialects, the words of the French albanologist Mario Roques are still valid today; he said that while the linguistic studies of Albanian have made marked progress, Albanian philology, i.e. the acquaintance with, the reading, the interpretation and exploitation of hand-written or printed, Albanian texts is still at in its infancy. With few exceptions, in this field of the Albanian studies the material has not been systematically worked through and a considerable part of it has remained untouched, and covered with the dust of time. A more profound acquaintance with these old linguistic documents, is called for to shed light on many problems of the history of language, to illuminate in particular some stages of the literary period which starts precisely with the written language, and also through the past situation to make possible a better understanding of the present situation of the language. Other documents of special importance are those concerning another aspect of linguistic history, the history of Albanian as a written and a literary language.

Finally, one of the main tasks of the historical studies of Albanian is, as a synthesis of individual researches, the drafting of a work about the history of the language, which would include its external and internal histories, present the linguistic structure, as a whole, of the entire territory where it is spoken and draw the main lines of development from the past to the present-day circumstances.

II.

These are the main features of some of the fundamental problems facing the historical study of the Albanian language. Now let us sum up the efforts that have been made in the elucidation of these problems and the result that have

been achieved in this field of study, considering mainly the work carried out by the country's scholars.

Albanistic studies were begun as a specific branch of research before the founding of linguistics as a discipline in itself, towards the middle of the past century, with some basic works of a rather general historical-geographic, ethnographic and linguistic character by distinguished scholars of various nationalities. With the founding of historical linguistics and of the comparative method the identity of Albanian as an Indoeuropean language, was definitely established, and efforts were made to define its specific features within the Indoeuropean language family and its place among the neighbouring languages, these efforts still continue today. With the awakening of illuminist ideas and with the repercussions of the romantic school in the countries of Southern Europe and the Balkan Peninsula, national awareness and concern for the wealth of folk poetry and the mother tongue began to revive in Albanian patriots, scholars and writers, both at home and abroad, in various Albanian and Arbëresh colonies. In this prescientific period of Albanistic studies carried out by the Albanians themselves, among the Arbëresh of Italy Jeronim De Rada remained a poet in his linguistic researches; while Dhimitër Kamarda from Sicily drafted a work which, in addition to serious shortcomings, such as his inability to make a clear distinction between the elements of Albanian borrowed from other languages and the elements of its personal heritage – also contains positive data about the etymology and the historical grammar of Albanian. It is to his contemporary Panajot Kupitor, from the island of Hydra in Greece, that we owe an historical description of a popular character of the first stage of Albanistic studies, which deserves today to come out from the oblivion into which it has fallen. In this stage of the studies, Sami Frashëri confined himself to a synchronic presentation of Albanian grammar, while Kristoforidhi went further and his dictionary, published in 1904, contains many notes about the origin of certain Albanian words, notes which, in part, remain correct even in the present situation of this field of research. We cannot finish speaking of the Arbëresh of Italy without quoting the works of Marco La Piana, publications and manuscripts which clarify certain questions relating in particular to the historic grammar and etymology of Albanian, and without also recalling here an Arbëresh of Greece, Petro Furik (1878-1936), who devoted himself to the study of the dialects of this zone, their regrouping and their history.

In our days, the historical studies of the Albanian language have assumed a more systematic and better organized character, thanks to the aid of the State, and, with the awakening of the spirit of criticism, they have entered a stage which is scientific in the true meaning of the word. Generally, it must be said that these studies are devoted to the internal history of the language, to the diachronic determination of its structure, rather than to its external history, to its relations with the other languages in the various stages of its development, but nevertheless researches of this kind are not lacking.

Already at an early period, Albanian linguistics devoted its attention to the problem of the Balkan cradle of the Albanian people and of the place where the Albanian language was formed. In open disagreement with numerous foreign

scholars, it has succeeded, on the basis of new arguments, in locating this cradle and this place in the region where this language is still spoken today as well as in the surrounding regions, regarding this region of today as a limited or restricted one, and not as extended or expanded. As far as the question of origin is concerned, Albanian linguistics, proceeding from the historical ties of Albanian with the ancient non-Greek languages of the Balkan peninsula, not from nationalist motives, but from scientific conviction and on the basis of historical data, has arrived at the conclusion that Albanian has as its principal basis one of the ancient dialects of South Illyrian, perhaps with a component of the Thracian element. In relation to this problem, Albanian linguistics occupies a position of its own on the question of the historical interpretation of the relations of Albanian and Rumanian and on this question adopts a critical stand towards the questions of the substratum. This substratum, as a principle, is observable only where there has been a mutation of language, substitution of one language for another, which is ruled out as far as the Albanian language is concerned.

In the relations of Albanian with the neighbouring languages, Albanian linguistics has opened new roads by stressing its role not only as a borrower but also of a donor with regard to these languages, although this latter role is without doubt less important than the former. As to the borrowings from these languages, by consistently separating the inherited element and the borrowings, there has been a considerable reduction in the quantity of elements thought to be of Latin origin, then of those of Slav origin, demonstrating the local origin of a considerable number of words of the vocabulary formerly considered as borrowings. In particular, these results have been achieved thanks to a new method of work, by considering the elements of the vocabulary in a wider aspect: geographically, in their extension in the whole language or in the major part of the country's idioms and in those of the colonies abroad; from the linguistic viewpoint, in the belonging of words to certain broader lexical fields in which they are integrated; then, by avoiding separating the linguistic aspects from the historical aspects, and finally by considering the words and their groupings chronologically proceeding from their age. It can be said that the etymological study of the Albanian vocabulary has resulted in upsetting many of the concepts which predominated in this field. The results of this work open new prospects especially for the thorough re-examination of the question of the linguistic character of Albanian and the place it occupies in the family of the Indo-European languages.

As far as the internal history of Albanian is concerned, in the domain of historical grammar a considerable number of problems have been solved or are nearing solution. In the matter of historical phonetics, certain new laws and rules discovered and formulated. Some of them were in force in more ancient periods, and others in more recent periods of its history. In this matter however, a big job still remains to be done, especially as regards the chronology of phonetic mutations, or, in other words, the determination of various epochs in which these particular mutations have occurred. It goes without saying that among these phonetic developments differentiations must be made from more than one aspect. Some of these developments are, as it was said, more ancient,

others more recent. Others belong to the medieval period of the language, and they can be reconstructed through the relations of Albanian with the neighbouring languages, with the help of words that have penetrated into these languages. Still others are more important, essential, to the phonic structure of Albanian, and they might be considered as constitutive features of this structure; others finally are of minor importance, some of them relating only to the field of dialects. There has been little historical study of Albanian syntax, and the researches in this matter are still in their early stages. Nevertheless, there have been already discovered certain phenomena of the formation of the sentence and of its constitutive elements, which Albanian has in common with the other Balkan languages, and in the first place with Rumanian. A whole series of specific investigations have been accomplished in phonetics and in historical morphology. It must be said however that a synthesis of the phonetic and morphological structure of Albanian, viewed in its evolution, is still lacking and an historical grammar of this language still remains to be written. In the domain of word formation there have been historical studies of the constitution of words by the addition of prefixes and suffixes, as well as by integral composition, in the popular language and in the written language, which point out in particular that the formatives (prefixes and suffixes) entered Albanian from the outside, and have often found analogous local formatives with which they have been mixed.

In the domain of historical dialectology, the country's linguistics has tackled in particular the problem of the age of the formation of the principal dialects of Albanian, of their historical ties with each other and their relations with the common type of the language which is of long standing as a «unity in diversity». Among other things, the appearance of distinctive features of dialects has been observed, by no means simultaneously, but in various stages of the development of the language. Although the present dialects of Albanian are not known in all aspects of their territorial extension it has been possible, thanks to a more complete study of the phenomena in this field of the historical study of our language, to reach a certain synthesis. The dialectal data have been subjected to an internal, mutual comparison. They have also been compared with the speech of the Albanian colonies, especially of those of Greece and Italy, detached in ancient times from the common trunk of the language, and as such, relatively archaic and conservative, and they have also been compared with the testimonies contained in ancient written documents, beginning with Gjon Buzuk's «Missal» (1555). In this domain of research too as said previously, much remains to be done, given the large number of problems related to the past of the Albanian dialects. The elucidation of the past dialectal situation though incomplete helps to determine more exactly the actual dialectal regions, just as, conversely, a more precise acquaintance with the actual situation sheds light on the ancient distribution of the dialects within the linguistic and historical movement.

The data of folklore and onomastics, the names of places and persons of the present epoch just as of the past, give increasingly important assistance to the historical study of the language and its dialects. The gathering of this treasure of the language, of his unwritten part of its vocabulary is in

its initial stages. The scientific elaboration of these valuable materials, is also at the same stage, and we cannot yet speak of a systematic study of these data. Only certain aspects of it have been considered by some foreign and local scholars, in valuable studies. The documents of archives, whose data are also being used by Albanian linguistics, will be of great assistance in this respect, for the history of the language as well as for that of the country.

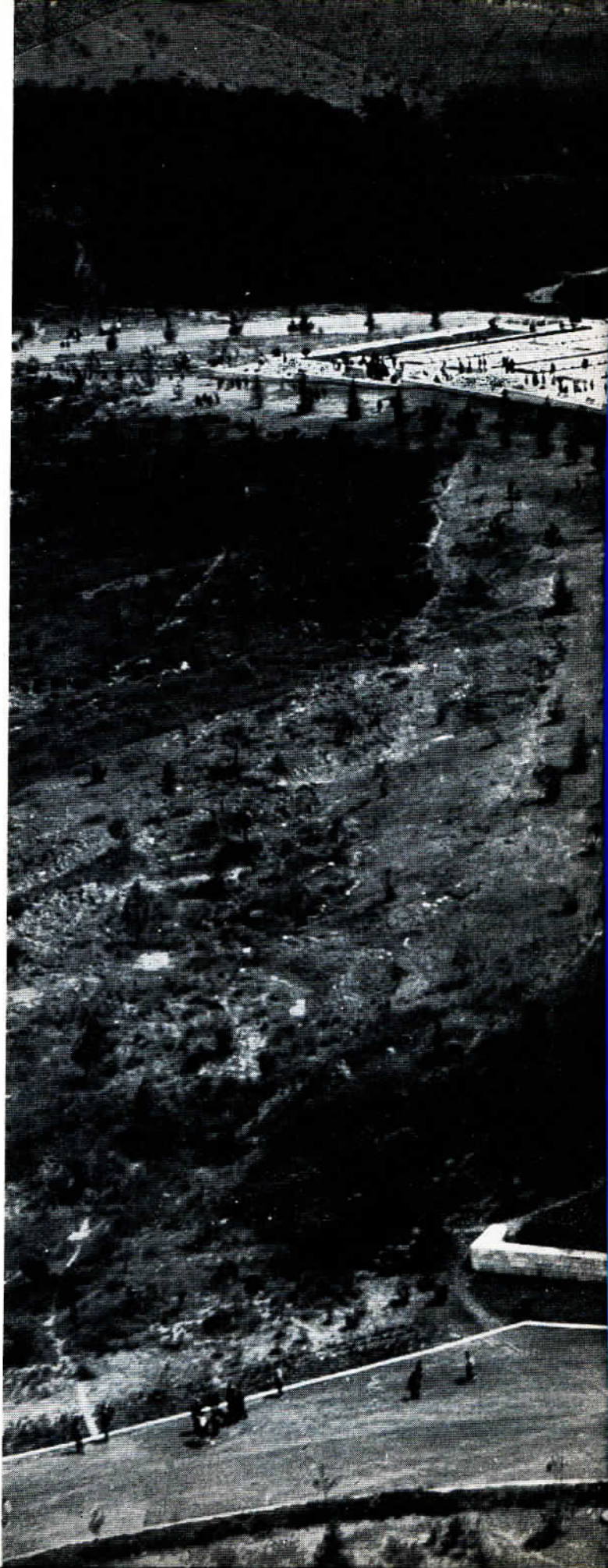
In the more recent stage of the linguistic history of Albanian, the literary stage, of which signs appear as far back as the XIV century and the first testimonies with Scanderbeg's epoch, certain writers of the period after this epoch, carrying out their activity under the social conditions in which they lived, laid the foundations of a written and literary language. This work was continued by the men of the last century, of whom we spoke above, under new historical conditions and on a broader national scale, occasioned precisely by these conditions. They further advanced the elaboration of the language and this work is going on uninterruptedly in our days. Albanian linguistics has made and continues to make efforts to lay the foundations of grammar and dictionary of this unique language. At the same time it is scientifically studying this literary and linguistic movement in its genesis and historic development, as well as the factors that have determined this road of development. It has shown above all that the written language took its form from the beginning on the foundations of the spoken popular language. Its enrichment in the course of time in particular with elements of the abstract vocabulary of ideas has mainly been brought about in two ways: on the one hand by the promotion of words of the popular language to a higher level, giving them a new content which they did not possess previously, and on the other hand, through adaptation by the creation of new words based on a local fund, being mainly translated from foreign words. It is then noticeable that there was not as previously believed a long and definite break between the most ancient stage and the new stage of the written language, but that the written language continued to be used in some restricted circles of the cities. Finally, in regard to the most recent stage of the written language, a more marked unity than before, is observed a no longer divergent but convergent development, a process of rapprochement of the dialects in their relations with each other and with the common language. This mode of development, which is noticed in the popular language, has also been followed to some extent in the realm of the literary language, from its initial stages. The ancient Albanian authors consciously tried in varying degrees, to escape from the narrow limits of their dialect in order to reach a supra-dialectal form of the language used in their writings.

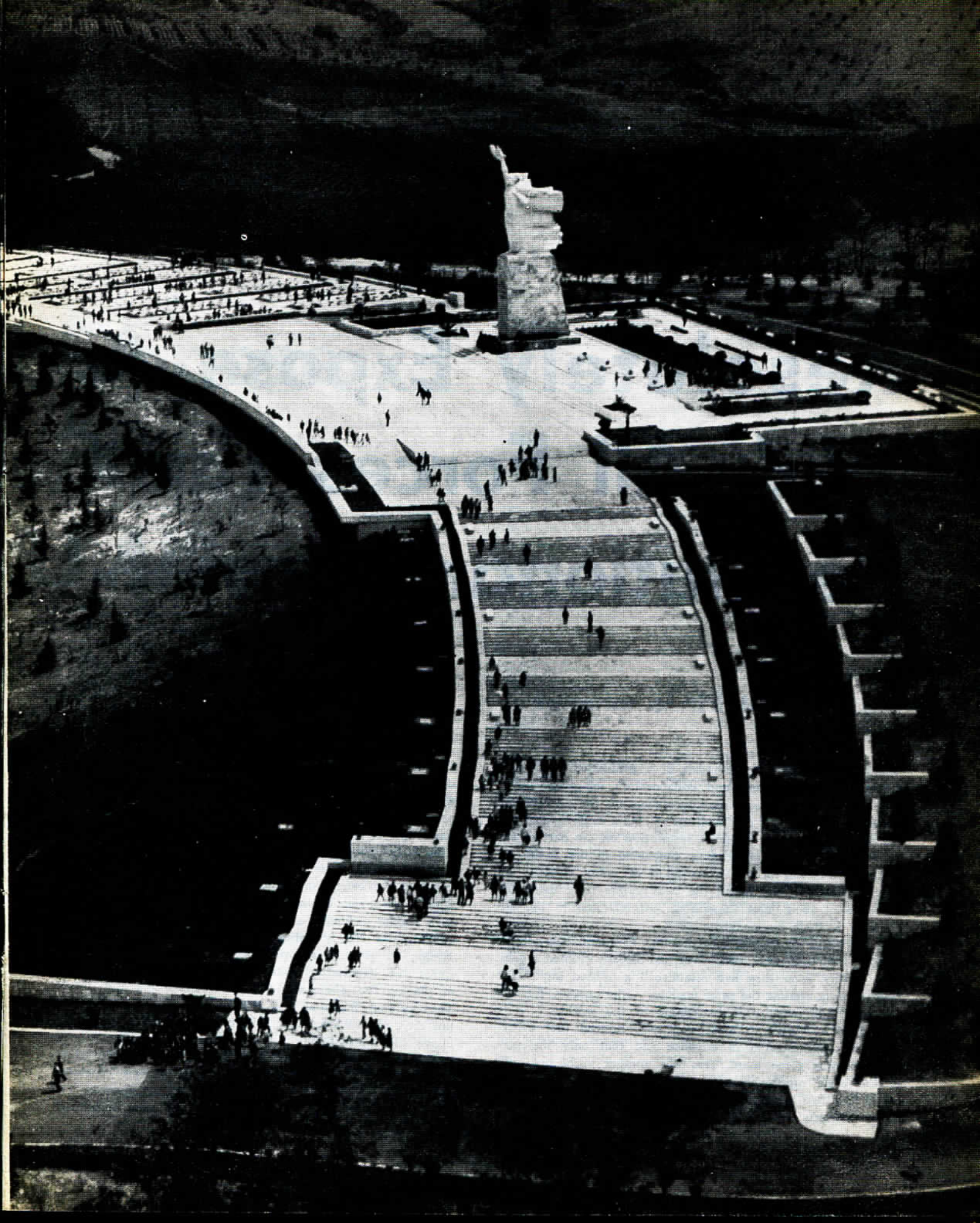
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These are some essential problems of the history of the Albanian language, and a review of the work which linguistic science has accomplished up to this day to solve these questions. To these problems, as we said above, are related many specific questions, and their study constantly gives rise to new questions which it is not the occasion to examine here. Albanian linguistics does not consider the various domains of

research of this discipline as being its monopoly. In the noble competition with the representatives of the linguistic schools of various countries, it recognizes the usefulness of fruitful cooperation in this branch of knowledge. Like every discipline still in its initial stages, Albanian linguistics, too, has its shortcomings, particularly as regards method, but it is making efforts - and it must make still further efforts - to free itself of foreign conventions. It is in the improvement of methods that real scientific progress lies. Our linguistics must take care - more than it has done until now - not to proceed from the outside to penetrate inside phenomena; not to adapt to the study of Albania certain principles and criteria acquired through reading in the realm of other languages, coating with Albanian material certain rules borrowed there from; it must on the contrary proceed from the concrete data of Albanian and, through these, end with valid findings. There are ample possibilities for such a method of work. The country's linguists have an additional great advantage over foreign scholars the matter of albanistic studies, because, beside the conditions which have been created for them, they have at their disposal materials, and the reality of the popular language, and they can at every moment refer to the living sources of this language. Proceeding from the linguistic facts, and studying them, as a whole and in an exhaustive manner, passing from their philological description to their historical interpretation, they arrive at more sound theoretical generalisations than when they adopt the converse road, passing from certain theories to linguistic facts.

Socialist Albania honours in a special manner the memory of those who have laid down their lives for the freedom of the homeland and the socialist revolution. A snapshot of the new martyrs cemetery.





Resolutely Expose And With All Forces The Co Revolutionary Soviet-U

The Moscow talks are the result of a protracted process of Soviet-US rapprochement and collaboration, of great political, ideological and economic concessions on the part of the Soviet revisionists, of the outstretched hand and support for the revisionist line of capitalist restoration on the part of the US imperialists. The agreements concluded in the Soviet capital are a result of the overcoming of many rivalries on concrete world issues which the two powers have made for the sake of their joint imperialist interests and to the advantage of their hegemonistic aims.

The conclusion of such a great number of agreements became possible after the two superpowers had already created a common destiny, after they had established a unified imperialist front to fight against the same enemies – the peoples, for one and the same purpose – domination of the world.

During Nixon's visit to Moscow it was noticed that everything was orchestrated in advance and that only the performance was given there. This was another proof not only of the close rapprochement and collaboration existing between the two superpowers, but also of a unity of imperialist interests, whose ensuring requires joint action.

Certainly, the agreements announced in the Soviet capital do not reflect the whole truth, and the balance-sheet of many hours of talks in the Kremlin is much greater than was announced to the public. Despite this, Soviet-US relations have now been raised to a much higher level; for the first time, they have been publicly legalized and placed on a broad juridical basis. «The basic principles of the mutual relations between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics» which were included in a special document and presented in the form of a treaty, constitute a clearly defined political and military platform aiming at placing all present day international relations under the imperialist control of the two superpowers, and at placing the whole world under their orders and dictate. They express the aims and will of the two superpowers to put their narrow imperialist interests and great-power egoism above all international law and moral principle.

President Nixon's visit and his talks with the Kremlin chieftains are important not so much for what was concluded and decided there, but because of their consequences. The essence is that they paved the way for new imperialist

Oppose unter- S. Alliance

Editorial of «ZËRI I POPULLIT»

agreements even more threatening and more dangerous to the peace and security of the peoples.

Through «the basic principles of the relations...» the revisionist chieftains of the Soviet Union are carrying out another monstrous attempt to rehabilitate US imperialism, to present it in a more peaceful light, as the defender of the peoples and opposer of aggressions, which sacrifices itself for the freedom of others. Anyone who reads this document cannot fail to ask: what about that US imperialism which in millions upon millions of party and state documents, in speeches, books and articles of the Soviet revisionists was called «gendarme of international reaction», «enemy of proletarian and national-liberation struggle», «the pillar of the world capitalist system», etc? What about that US imperialism which, even a day before Nixon's arrival in Moscow was an aggressor against the peoples of Vietnam, was oppressing Africa and exploiting Europe? According to the speeches the revisionist chieftains delivered to praise Nixon and the documents signed with him, such an imperialism no longer exists. Now this imperialism is mitigated, indeed, it has pledged through Nixon's signature to strictly imple-

ment all the principles of peaceful coexistence, to inspire and defend the peace, freedom and independence of the peoples.

The spreading of such opinions and illusions with regard to imperialism is another betrayal by the Soviet revisionists of the cause of the proletariat and revolution. In order to level the road for imperialism, they are seeking to convince the peoples that there no longer exists a US imperialism killing and murdering in Vietnam, that there no longer exist other imperialisms, that neither German revanchism nor Japanese military exist, neither Indonesian reaction nor fascism in Spain, neither king Hussein nor the racist regime in Rhodesia. They want to make the world believe in the demagoguery and hypocrisy of Nixon, who feigns to be moved when hearing the story of little Tanya, who died in the Nazi blockade of Leningrad, at a time when he has just ordered the blockade against the DR of Vietnam, so that other Tanyas and children of Vietnam should die. «There is no imperialism, therefore there is no need for class struggle, there is no need for efforts to carry out revolution, to win freedom and independence» - this is what the Soviet revisionists, the-

se zealous saboteurs who try to extinguish the revolution and liberation struggle of the peoples, mean to say. But the demagoguery, cynicism and hypocrisy of the Soviet revisionists and their US friends no matter how abundantly and frequently used do not have magic power to deceive all the world, as those in Moscow and Washington seem to think.

The US imperialists and the Soviet revisionists have vested the document of «basic principles of relations...» just like the other documents signed in Moscow, with a phraseology which seems inspired by the wellknown principles of peaceful coexistence and of the UN charter. But if the document is stripped off this demagogical covering it follows that it is nothing but a code of savage imperialist rules, of mutual assurances and commitments to preserve the zones of influence and dominate the world.

They mention the atomic century and as its imperative necessity, peaceful coexistence. This is a well known tune and it is not difficult to understand what relationship they seek to establish between the atom and peace. Under the threat of atomic blackmail the US imperialists and the Soviet revisionists want to impose on the world the concept of an unconditional and fatalist subjugation to the two superpowers. They demand that for the sake of the preservation of «peaceful coexistence» between the two superpowers the peoples should sacrifice on its altar, partially or totally, their supreme national interests, their freedom and independence, the right to judge and act according to their own will in international life.

Nixon quite openly expressed this concept of the imperialist revisionist world dictatorship, when he declared in his speech on Moscow television that «as great powers we can and must use our influence not to allow ourselves to be involved in war unintentionally through conflicts between the smaller countries». The US president is well aware that small countries, even if they wish to do so have no practical possibility of drawing the great imperialist states into war and causing a world conflict. The story of such «danger» is now quite old and out of date. It was invented by Chamberlain and Daladier when, in order to justify Munich, they were charging Czechoslovakia that her refusal to accept Hitler's dictate was endangering world peace. But like Nixon, the Soviet chieftains, who spoke a great deal about «special responsibilities of great countries» want to show through this kind of reasoning that the United States and the Soviet Union will always place the joint imperialist interests above all in every case, and no other consideration will turn them away from the road they are traversing. The peace, about which the US and Soviet chieftains speak in the documents signed in Moscow, is a peace conditioned by the relations of the United States with the Soviet Union and by the Soviet-US agreements.

The Soviet and US chieftains in the Moscow speeches and documents proclaimed that they strictly adhere and will adhere to the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries, that they would do their utmost to avoid causing conflicts and raising international tension. If people had not become acquainted with the policy pursued in practice by the two great powers and with day-to-day events, someone might even have believed them. But when

the imperialists and revisionists speak of non-interference they do not have in mind at all their chauvinistic and hegemonic activity and practice.

In their opinion, certainly, the aggression in Vietnam is not intervention, nor is the occupation of Czechoslovakia. The imperialists organize dozens of coups d'état, but this is permissible, just as they consider it natural to uphold, with money and arms, the reactionary regimes in various countries. The US imperialists and the Soviet revisionists, who are the greatest neocolonialists, are plundering the riches and exploiting the working people of other countries, but they do not like to call this brutal interference in the internal affairs of others, oppression and enslavement of peoples. By «non-interference», in the context of the Moscow documents, is meant the mutual pledge to recognize each others zones of influence and not to undertake any action that might cause trouble. This should be understood as a recognition of the right of each side to do what it please in its own zone and with its own customers.

Nixon frequently characterized the present situation of the Soviet-US relations as «the end of the epoch of confrontations and the beginning of the epoch of talks». Translated into ordinary language, this means that the time is past when the communist Soviet Union was fighting and opposing the United States as the main world imperialist power and when anticommunist America was fighting against and wanting to destroy the first great socialist state. Now that these bases and motives have disappeared, the epoch of talks has begun that is, bargainings to divide and dominate the world.

Capitalist West and revisionist East are at present at the height of enthusiasm and euphoria over the results of the visit of the United States president to the Soviet Union. The big European bourgeoisie rejoices because now the hand of Moscow will no longer even formally endanger its regime. The Soviet chieftains and their revisionist friends in Europe no longer strive for any revolution, but they have today become the best guarantors of the bourgeois order, the underminers of the revolutionary movements of the proletariat, spreaders and defenders of bourgeois illusions. The Bonn rulers rejoice when they see their role in Europe growing and the horizon of their revanchist dreams becoming bright. The Vatican rejoices when in the East not only the doors of churches but also the hearts of men, are opening to it, to allow the introduction of its obscurantist ideology. All the reactionaries rejoice at the fact that the Soviet Union, the former great center of the revolution, has been transformed into a center of the counterrevolution, that the former powerful supporter of the national liberation struggles has united with US imperialism in order to suppress the centres of insurgency of the peoples for their freedom and independence.

The bourgeois and revisionist propaganda is advertizing the Moscow talks as endeavours of the two superpowers which «aim at finding ways for the solution of international problems». But it is a fact that on all the issues discussed, which are of vital interest to the majority of the peoples of all continents, they have discussed and made decisions behind the high walls of the Kremlin in greatest secrecy, without consulting the peoples at all, or getting their approval. Here

we have to do not with a formal question but with a new stressing of the old tendency to exploit all the world problems and then solve them according to the interests of the Soviet-US alliance.

However hard the Soviet and American chieftains may try to convince world public opinion that the concluded agreements do not affect the interests of others, they convince nobody. The words contained in the «joint communique» have been chosen precisely for the purpose of concealing these plots, of deceiving the peoples and weakening their vigilance. Nixon did not go to Moscow to hear from Brezhnev that «the Soviet side is in solidarity with the just struggle of the Vietnamese people». He went there to make bargainings over the Vietnamese people's blood with the Soviet chieftains, he went there for help to get out of the blind alley in Indochina.

The Soviet revisionists have long since betrayed the Vietnamese people's struggle. It has been a kind of business for them which has helped them, with little expenditure and much advertisement to maintain the anti-imperialist mask and make bargainings with the Americans over the division and preservation of their zones of influence.

The struggle in Indochina has exerted no influence at all on Soviet-US relations either yesterday or today, as was recently proved again on the occasion of the enforcing of the naval blockade against the DR of Vietnam. The United States has calculated and is calculating that Moscow is a factor which exerts constant pressure on Vietnam and carries out an undermining that Washington is seeking to dictate. The «moderating» role of the Soviets in Vietnam was being spoken of before Nixon went to Moscow. This role represents a whole policy to the advantage of the US imperialists, inaugurated by Khrushchov and continued by Brezhnev.

At the Brezhnev-Nixon meeting it is considered as certain that as far as Vietnam is concerned some decisions have been made which are still being kept secret. It seems that they have to do with big bargainings which have not been settled in all details and their practical implementation is expected to give them final form.

Certainly, these are the calculations of enemies of Vietnam and its heroic struggle. As far as the Vietnamese people are concerned, they have known how to cope courageously with both the violence of the aggressors and the intrigues of their sham friends. The supreme interests of their fatherland, the blood shed and superhuman sacrifices have taught them despite the dense fog created by the US imperialists and the Soviet revisionists, to find the correct road and carry their liberation struggle towards ever greater successes.

Before the Moscow meeting, many of those who still keep hoping that the great powers can solve the present day international disputes, were thinking that the United States and the Soviet Union would find a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

But reality showed that the US imperialists and the Soviet revisionists, who bear direct responsibility for the situation which has arisen, have no interest or desire to see the end of the conflict or the restoration of the violated rights of the Arab people. On the contrary, as also follows from the Moscow communique, both sides are seeking to exploit the

tragedy of the Arabs to preserve and extend the strategic positions they hold in that sector.

It is true that a certain Soviet-US rivalry exists in the Middle East, but it is purposely inflated by the two sides, to justify their presence in that area and to become arbiters of the conflict between the Arabs and the Israelis, but also between the Arabs and the two superpowers. Without expelling them from the Middle East, the Arab question cannot be solved, and freedom and independence will continually be threatened and endangered.

The preservation of the status quo which Nixon and Brezhnev are seeking to sanction, is another blow dealt by the two imperialist powers to the Arab people and their just struggle. But they will certainly know how to refute the illusions about the 1967 Security Council resolution and the Gunnar Jarring mission that Moscow and Washington want to impose on them, and, as the Egyptian newspaper «Al Akhbar» rightfully stressed concerning the Soviet-US talks, «the Arabs must rely on themselves, on their unity and forces».

Much is also said in the joint communique about Europe and its problems. After the big concessions made by the Soviet Union in favor of Bonn, which were materialised in the Berlin agreement and the «East treaties», the United States now gave approval for the convocation of the so-called European security conference which has been so much desired and long awaited by the Soviet revisionists.

With such demagogical slogans, sweet in appearance, but poisonous in reality, as «the security of Europe», «guaranteed borders», «promotion of economic collaboration», extension of cultural, scientific, technological exchanges», etc., they want to create a feeling of obligation and humility of the peoples of Europe, an eternal subjugation of the two «great benefactors».

Through this «security», both superpowers want to mutually secure their spheres of influence, to secure a permanent influence over Europe's affairs and become arbiters of its problems. They want to keep Europe subjugated economically and politically, to make it live under the shadow and at the mercy of the two big powers. The «security» they claim they will create is not the security of Europe, but the security of their flanks to concentrate themselves in the East, mainly against the PR of China, and the release of a considerable part of the military and financial resources to be used against the revolutionary and liberation forces in other regions of the world.

The visit of the US president to the Soviet Union concluded with the signing of the Soviet-US treaty on the limitation of strategic arms. All the spotlights of the imperialist and revisionist propaganda have now been directed on this agreement. «This agreement shows what can be done in the future», Nixon said. «This is a great success on the road of curbing the armaments race» - Kossygin answers.

The imperialists and revisionists have long since purposely created mystification about nuclear weapons, just as they have also inflated the myth of disarmament. Now they want to convince the world that the Moscow agreement on strategic arms is a great and unprecedented success in the field of disarmament, a release from the heavy burden of fear of atomic war, a curbing of the armaments race, a tendency towards a detente, and so on.

In fact, all this fuss is a bluff which aims at silencing public opinion and hoodwinking the peoples, to create the impression that the superpowers are disarming and to distract their attention from the policy of aggression and force, to prevent the world from seeing the dark plans they are preparing against the freedom and independence of the peoples.

It must be said from the very beginning that the Moscow agreement does not mark either the curbing of the armaments race, or the limitation and prohibition of atomic or other weapons. The only thing the two superpowers have done is to agree that neither of them should march ahead of the other or lag behind in the armaments race. They set a rule to make better use of their forces and means in this race and to increase their effectiveness. It is a fact that both countries are free to make improvements and qualitative changes in their strategic arms systems which can increase their power more than the numerical increase.

The convention on offensive weapons does not contain any limitation of the strategic bomber squadrons of both countries, so-called «orbital» nuclear bombs or the number of nuclear warheads. The failure to define a level for nuclear warheads thus left untouched the problem of multiwarhead missiles and as a consequence each country is free to increase their number in any missile. Medium range missiles are also excluded from the limitations.

The Moscow agreement on strategic weapons fixes the military equilibrium between the two superpowers, but at the same time it shows that the two superpowers have also set the distance they will jointly keep between themselves and the other countries. Herein lies the importance of this agreement, from which its dangerous consequences can and will emerge. Maintaining of this distance obliges the two powers to set a joint political and economic line towards other countries, a joint code of behaviour and a clearcut regulation on prohibitions and limitations. The preservation of superiority in armaments has led the two superpowers and will lead them further in the future, towards the creation of a joint technical-scientific monopoly, in a joint struggle for the cultural and educational weakening of the other countries.

The joint struggle for the preservation of the monopoly of the technology of modern weapons which was further incited by the Moscow agreement, also makes inevitable the struggle for the joint maintenance of control over all the internal and external activities of other countries. It makes necessary the unity of the US and Soviet military powers and the beginning of the efforts to establish armed control of the big two over the world, the establishment of a joint international regime for the maintenance of their political, economic and military equilibrium and of joint control of international affairs.

Among the various agreements that the US and Soviet chiefs signed during the stay of the US president in the Soviet Union was an agreement on «collaboration in the study and exploitation of outer space for peaceful purposes». It passed without much comment but observers noticed that it had to do more with the occupation of earth than of the skies. This agreement, like that on the mutual exchanges in the fields of sciences, technology, education and culture, is an expression of the formulation of a joint line for the

establishment of a technological monopoly not only in the field of arms but also in the main orientations of modern technology and science, for the establishment of a Soviet-US technological colonialism in the world.

The final aim of all these overt and covert agreements is the division of the spheres of influence, the capture of the markets of small and large countries. They aim at increasing their wealth and profits, to plunder and exploit the peoples.

This joint Soviet-US strategy will hit first and foremost the poor peoples and unarmed countries who before, too, were the prey of the neo-colonialists. But the developed countries, allies of the USA and the Soviet Union, will not escape this danger. In this light, too, must be seen the reduction of the armies of the European countries, which the Americans and Soviets want to include in the «European security», which aims at depriving the European states of the possibility and power of self-defence. In this way both super-powers think that they will have weak partners, on whom they can more easily impose their laws.

The Soviet-US alliance strengthened by the new treaties will dictate its own conditions to these countries, because the economic potential of the two superpowers, based on their military potential, will inevitably weigh heavily on others. Herein also lies the main danger of these agreements. This prospect also explains the present euphoria of Moscow and Washington over the agreements reached.

At the Moscow Soviet-US meeting the basis was laid for a close economic collaboration and trade exchanges which will amount to 5 billion or more dollars a year. It is expected that US capitals will inundate the Soviet Union and Soviet raw material will cross the ocean in colossal amounts.

But this is not the fundamental issue. Nixon and Brezhnev created a joint Soviet-US economic commission. This will not deal with the conclusion of a normal economic agreement and a simple trade agreement. This high commission was created to discuss how, where and in what amount this joint potential of these two super powers will be used, what areas US capital and what areas Soviet capital will penetrate and how they will meet the opposition and competition of their allies who will feel themselves threatened. We think that this is the most difficult and dangerous problems for US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, because aside from the inevitable contradictions which will emerge between them, as between two predators, in the implementation of their global strategy, in the implementation of the overt and covert agreements, they will run across the opposition of all the peoples and even of their own allies.

Both superpowers, which seek to have all powers in their hands and are in agreement, in everything, are little concerned with others' interests. But will the states and the world permit them to gamble with their fates? We predict not. Moscow's and Washington's euphoria will not last long. The contradictions will sharpen. The peoples cannot accept the Soviet-US political dictate and economic exploitation. They will revolt against the two superpowers as well as against those ruling cliques which do not react for the defence of national interests, but sell out the riches, honour and freedom of their countries. But not only the peoples, but also the govern-

ments of many countries such as Britain, France, Scandinavian countries, Latin America or the Far East cannot be indifferent. In one way or another they have expressed their doubt, and they fear the double Soviet-US domination.

They are worried by the fact that their big friends, not only consider each other as the only valuable discussion partners on great international problems, but in a covert way also agree on the questions which have to do directly with these countries. They are worried especially by the fact that the SALT talks and agreements from which all are excluded, are being turned into a joint US-Soviet strategic line into a great global agreement, to which all the allies must submit obediently and humbly.

This revolt is also expressed by the French Gaullist newspaper «La Nation», which, commenting on the Soviet-US talks in Moscow, writes: «We say to Nixon and Brezhnev to harbour no illusions. They must not try to solve the problems of others without taking into account those whom they concern. Their rapprochement must be to the benefit of all. The other peoples, the Vietnamese, Chinese or European and

particularly those of the third world do not want to leave their destinies in the hands of foreigners, even if these foreigners are superpowers».

The policy and activity of the two superpowers do not now affect the interests of only one country or of a few separate countries. They affect entire zones and continents, that is why the revolt and opposition to them unites entire peoples in a joint antiimperialist and anti-social-imperialist front.

The peoples of the world are now confronting a new and allround attack by the US and Soviet imperialists. It can be coped with by denouncing and opposing with all forces the reactionary content of the Soviet-US alliance as well as its oppressive and predatory plans. It is especially necessary to refute the pacifist illusions, the imperialist revisionist lies and frauds, with which they inundate the world. The peoples of the world must oppose the counterrevolutionary union of the two superpowers with their revolutionary unity, their firm blow-for-blow struggle to bring about the failure of the new plots directed against the freedom and independence of the peoples, to undermine and destroy the whole Soviet-US global strategy.

Progressive Peoples And States, Let Us Destroy The Aggressive Fascist Blockade Of U.S. Imperialism In Vietnam

**– The Soviet social-imperialists
in fact accept the US blockade
against Vietnam –**

Under the above title the newspaper «ZERI
i POPULLIT» published on May 13 an
editorial article the main parts of which
we are publishing for our readers:

The new escalation of the aggression in
Viet Nam now undertaken by president
Nixon has aroused deep indignation and
hatred the world over. The barbarous
measures he announced in his May 8 ad-
dress are directed not only against the
Vietnamese people, but are at the same
time a challenge to all the peoples of
the world, to all the upright men and
women who cherish the undeniable right
of nations and states to live free and in-
dependent. Nixon's arrogance, contempt
and brutality know no bounds. Through
ultimatums and criminal threats the US
president wants to impose the US peace
on the Vietnamese people and the accom-
plished fact on world public opi-
nion.

But Nixon has gravely miscalculated, just
as US imperialism has miscalculated du-
ring the 10-year long aggression in Viet-
nam.

Together with the Americans, the Soviet revisionists are plotting to stab the Vietnamese people in the back and lead them to an impasse in order to subdue them easily.

What is the value of the May 11 statement of the Soviet Government concerning Viet Nam, saying that «the Soviet Union will draw the appropriate conclusions»? The Soviet revisionists have done nothing to break the blockade imposed on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. On the contrary, their foreign trade Minister, Patolichev, a few hours after the announcement of the Soviet statement, was received by Nixon and talked cordially with him about the extension of the economic relations between the two countries.

In fact, the Soviet stand is a de facto acceptance of the US blockade, it is a plot similar to that of Chamberlain and Daladier in 1938 with Hitler in Munich. It is clear that the struggle of the small countries for freedom and independence does not harmonize with the plundering imperialist policy of the Soviet revisionists.

The Kremlin chieftains have resorted to all the means at their disposal and have made every effort to interfere with the war in Vietnam and to make use of it for their expansionist aims. They have especially tried to present themselves before public opinion not only as the «main» supporters of Vietnam but also as representatives «authorized» to speak on its behalf, as if the destinies of the Vietnamese people are not decided in the battlefields in Viet Nam but by the decisions adopted by the Kremlin. This tactic has been a very comfortable stand for the Soviet revisionists. Through it they presented themselves as anti-imperialists and supporters of the national liberation struggle. On the other hand, they created the possibility of using the Vietnamese problem as an object in the global bargainings with US imperialism about the spheres of influence and the domination of the world.

But like all the stands, this one, too, was short-lived. The official commitment that the Soviet revisionists have given to US imperialism to fulfil its demands concerning Viet Nam throws light on the entire policy and false stands of the Soviet revisionists, on the obscure backstage dealings and plots with US imperialism. It becomes more obvious to everybody that the Moscow chieftains not on-

ly leave peoples in the lurch, but at the most critical moment they push them deeper, so that they may never rise again. Now it is easier to understand why the US president swells his demagogy and tries to present the situation as if the cause of war and peace in Viet Nam depends on the stand the Soviet Union assumes. Through this manoeuvre US imperialism wants to create for the Soviet revisionists a special position in Viet Nam, to help them to penetrate, in the certainty that they will curb and sabotage the struggle of the Vietnamese people. The imperialists are greatly interested in hoodwinking world public opinion, too, and making it believe that in Viet Nam, in the struggle against the US not only the Vietnamese people are involved but, in a roundabout or direct way, the Soviet Union is also participating. Does this not create in all the pacifists, cowards and opportunists the psychosis of the danger of a confrontation between the two «superpowers» and of the approach of a new world war which can be avoided with the extinguishing of the «hotbed» in Viet Nam?

The fact that Nixon and the bourgeois propaganda now exaggerate the danger of an alleged Soviet-US confrontation because the North Vietnamese sea ports and coasts have been mined is an out and out bluff. If the Soviet intended to break the blockade and help Viet Nam, they would not have engaged in the Brezhnev-Kissinger talks to exert pressure on the Vietnamese to stop their offensive and undertake peace talks. The propaganda dramatization of the Soviet-US relations is made in order to impose on the Vietnamese people the idea that they should make sacrifices for the sake of general peace, that they should withdraw in order to avoid a Soviet-US armed confrontation, etc. On the other hand the Americans and the Soviets would emerge as saviours of peace, and Nixon's trip to Moscow would seem as the inauguration of this Soviet-US peace.

The US imperialists and the Soviet revisionists have acted and continue to act in this way in the Middle East, too. Through the creation of a false danger with regard to the alleged US-Soviet confrontation they justify the presence of their naval fleets in the Mediterranean and their domination in the Arab East, the preparation of bridges for expansion and hegemony on other continents.

The arrogant actions and the new extension of the US aggression in Viet Nam raise before all the progressive peoples and states the task of destroying the savage fascist blockade of the US imperialists against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. This is imperative for all those who are truly fighting for the preservation of the freedom and independence of their countries. Whoever shirks this duty today will endanger his own freedom tomorrow. If this shameful blockade is not destroyed, a loop-hole is afforded to the US imperialists or to the Soviet social-imperialists to establish their aggressive blockades with impunity whenever and wherever they like.

Today it is no longer sufficient to oppose such aggressive acts by words, as a matter of demagogy, evoking international law, requesting the interference of world organisations or mentioning the danger of the resumption of the cold war. To act in this way means to nourish vain illusions among the peoples and pave the way for the imperialists to launch new aggressions.

The fleets of the US imperialists and of the Soviet social-imperialists do not stay cruising on foreign seas, thousands of miles away from their countries. These fleets to which some countries give concessions in their ports, or others accept for «friendly visits», are aggressive fleets. Tomorrow they will establish blockades and drop bombs on our peoples, and first and foremost on those of us who are small in number. The struggle for their expulsion, we think, cannot be achieved through meetings and statements, like the much talked-of need for a meeting of the Mediterranean countries concerning the presence of the US and Soviet fleets in the Mediterranean. Energetic and concrete acts are needed. Socialist Albania compelled the Soviet fleet to leave her waters immediately when the Soviet Union wanted to establish itself, in our base in Vlora. The US and Soviet fleets will leave the Mediterranean when all the Mediterranean give them no bases, no help and no support.

The peoples should always remain vigilant towards the US Soviet plots and mercilessly smash them.

If their plot against Vietnam were allowed to work, this would mean a heavy blow not only at the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people, but at the whole cause of the freedom and independence of the peoples; the right of interference by the US imperialists and the Soviet revisionists in the internal affairs of others, the appropriation of the blood shed and the struggle waged by the peoples against the oppressors of their freedom and rights would be recognized; this would at last be an acknowledgement of their right to become umpires in international problems and conflicts which they would solve in the name of the preservation of their spheres of influence and their world domination.

We are convinced that the people of Viet Nam have not accepted the Soviet-US plots and intrigues, they have despised them and fought against them. The Vietnamese people of the South and North, with their heroic and invincible struggle, have made it clear that they are determined to overcome all difficulties and fight through to the end for their freedom and independence, for the right of self-determination and for the realisation of their undeniable national aspirations. Following the instructions of the great Vietnamese son and fighter, president Ho Chi Minh, the peo-

ple of Viet Nam have made it clear that no obstacle can hinder them from driving the US aggressors out of their territory and building up their life in freedom. The US aggressors, together with their equipment and bases, should withdraw from Viet Nam unconditionally, completely and finally. Faced with the new escalation of the aggression, the Vietnamese people will surely know how to oppose the enemies with their unbreakable militant unity, they will know how to further strengthen the basis of their determined resistance to military and political pressure, they will know how to further increase the impetus of the military offensive to smash to smithereens the arrogant measures and diabolic manoeuvres of NIXON.

The people of Vietnam have friends and supporters all over the world. First and foremost they have great people's China which, as is said in the statement of May 12 of the Government of the PR of China, «will resolutely support and aid the Vietnamese people in their war of resistance through to complete victory», and that «the vast space of China's territory is their reliable rear-area».

The US imperialists can establish as many blockades as they wish, they can send more ships and aircrafts to Viet Nam, but they will never break the support and solidarity of the progressive men and women, of all the progressive peoples in the world with the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people. On the contrary, the more they increase the interference and escalate the aggression, the more this militant solidarity increases, the more the hatred for the aggressors and their supporters increases.

The Albanian people, who have always been on the side of the Vietnamese people, condemn fiercely and with deep indignation Nixon's new barbarous measures, and they demand that an end be put to them immediately so that the people of Viet Nam may be left free to decide their own destinies.

As is said in the statement of the PR of Albania, published in our press today, the Albanian people and the Government of the PR of Albania will unreservedly support through to the end the just armed struggle of the fraternal Vietnamese people and will always give them all possible aid. Together with their solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people, our people also express the

conviction that they will smash all the military and political plans of the US aggressors as well as the plots hatched up by other enemies.

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The Theory Of «Limited -A Flagrant Expression Policy Of The Soviet

by **AGIM POPA**

Life and facts testify with every passing day to the essentially chauvinistic and social-imperialist nature of the foreign policy of the present-day Soviet leadership. As comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out in his report delivered at the 6th Congress of the PLA, «the foreign policy of the Soviet revisionists is the great-Russian policy of the old czars, it has the same expansionist aim, it has the same objectives of subjugation and enslavement of the people»...

All this is concealed behind a great demagogic fuss to present the current Soviet foreign policy as the «most authentic expression» of the Leninist policy and proletarian internationalism. In this context a special place is occupied by the efforts to give a theoretical basis allegedly from the viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism, to the relations of economic, political and military subjugation which Soviet social-imperialism has imposed or is seeking to impose on the other so-called socialist countries, relations which at the present time are known by the name of «limited sovereignty».

Although in words the Soviet revisionist chieftains are seeking to deny the theory of limited sovereignty, they persistently implement it in the whole practice of their

relations in all fields - economic, political, military, etc., with the satellite countries that belong to CMEA and to the Warsaw treaty. -

COMPLETE ECONOMIC SUBJUGATION UNDER THE MASK OF INTERNATIONALIST COLLABORATION

In the economic field, what Soviet propaganda is attempting to present as relations of equal collaboration and fraternal internationalist aid, are in fact relations of economic subjugation of other countries to the Soviet Union. In theory and practice, the stand of the Soviet revisionist leadership on this question is anti-Marxist from top to bottom.

Let us take the problem of so-called «aid», about which the propaganda of the Soviet revisionists has deafened the ears of the whole world to the point of nausea. First, the Soviet propaganda gives absolute significance to the point of absurdity, to the role of the aid given by the Soviet Union to various countries in their struggle for socialism, thus denying the internal factor, which is decisive. The Soviet revisionists savagely attack the principle of self-reliance in revolution and in

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«d Sovereignty» n Of The Imperialist Revisionists

socialist construction; they present this as a «manifestation of nationalism», allegedly in conflict with proletarian internationalism. But proletarian internationalism demands that the working class and the labouring masses of every country, under the leadership of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, make the maximum efforts, mobilize all possibilities and potential resources, and do not wait for somebody to bring them ready-made freedom and socialism from abroad, as follows from the propaganda of the Soviet revisionists. Further more the consistent implementation of the principle of self-reliance is an essential condition for the safeguarding and strengthening of the economic and political independence of every socialist country. This was firmly proved by the experience of socialist Albania which, as comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, was completely successful in defeating the attacks of the revisionist blockade, for she has consistently adhered to this principle and has placed her economy on sound bases to enable it to walk on its own feet. Of course, the principle of self-reliance does not in any way exclude internationalist aid between the countries which stand faithfully on the positions of socialism, as well as between

the revolutionary forces and progressive peoples of the whole world. Second, the so-called «aid» which the Soviet revisionists claim to give to other countries, is given with political strings attached which impair the national independence and sovereignty of the countries receiving it and aims to place them under the economic domination of the Soviet Union. It is a fact that when the Party of Labour of Albania opposed the anti-Marxist stands of Khrushchev and his group at the Bucharest or the Moscow meeting, the Khrushchevite revisionists adopted extremely severe economic sanctions towards socialist Albania, and cut off all their aid and credits, while later they also organized a hostile blockade against her. While true internationalist collaboration and mutual aid exclude all kinds of conditions which impair, in the slightest degree, the national sovereignty of any socialist country, they must aim not at the weakening but at the strengthening of the economic and political independence of every one of them. The propaganda of the Soviet revisionist chieftains and their supporters has a great deal to say about an «international socialist division of labour», about «specialization and cooperation in the produc-

tion of the countries of the socialist community», etc. In the last two or three years in particular, they greatly publicized the so-called «complex programme of the further deepening and improvement of collaboration and development of the socialist economic integration of the CMEA member countries», worked out and approved at the 23rd, 24th and 25th sessions of this organisation. They endeavour to substantiate this with the «objective tendency of the internationalisation of the economies of the countries of the world socialist system» and to present it as a new, higher stage in the field of economic relations and collaboration between them, as an initial practical application of Lenin's idea of the «tendency of the creation of the world economy as a single whole which is regulated by the proletariat of all nations according to a unified plan».

But what does this so-called complex programme of economic integration of the revisionist countries envisage and recommend? This can be summed up in brief in the following fundamental ideas: the passing from the stage of the predominance of bilateral exchange of commodities and credit aid, etc, as a stage «already overcome by life», to that of direct many-si-

ded collaboration in production and technical-scientific fields; the creation of «deep and stable ties» between national economies in the main branches of production on the basis of specialization and cooperation; the creation of the so-called infrastructure which includes common power transmission lines, the construction of international oil pipelines, the creation of a common depot for railway-wagons and a unified system of containers, etc.; the creation of international organisations according to specialized branches (for example «Intermetal», «Interhim», etc.), the setting up of enterprises, plants and combines with joint investments and «on common interstate property» in the territories of various countries; the «coordination», of national plans of economic development, the «coordination» of economic policy, «joint» economic prognosis, «joint» planning of various branches of industry and production; the creation of «coordinating» organs for planning, for the development of various branches of production, for trade and financial exchange, prices, etc.

What are the consequences and aims of such practices?

First and foremost, the unilateral development of the economies of other countries so that in everything — raw materials, technique and technology, fuel and markets to sell their commodities — they should be completely dependent on the Soviet Union, and serve the Soviet economy as a monopoly area for the export of Soviet capital and commodities, and as a source of profits.

The Soviet press speaks of the «mutual dependence» of the economies of the CMEA member countries. In reality, this dependence is completely one-sided because the Soviet Union is the only country among them which develops all the main branches of production on its own territory, and is not subject to «specialization», whereas all the others are dependent on it in many vital branches and orientations of the development of the economy. Thus, the oil processing, oil-chemical and chemical enterprises of the CMEA member countries, except for Rumania, are working with Soviet oil which they get through the «Druzhiba» pipeline, and are thus fully dependent on the Soviet Union for raw materials and fuel. In the same way the ferrous metallurgy enterprises in almost of all the CMEA member countries are operating, for the most

part on the basis of raw material and coke supplied by the Soviet Union. It is a fact that although Hungary produces a large quantity of bauxites, they are not processed in Hungary but 2 or 3 thousand kilometres away, in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union not only gives aid and credits to other CMEA member countries, as the propaganda of the Soviet revisionists attempts one-sidedly to suggest, but also draws great profits from «integration», which in many cases weigh on the shoulders of their partners. Thus, the various CMEA member countries are to make investments in the development of the Soviet oil and gas extracting industry, of the metallurgical industry, in the construction of oil and gas pipelines in order to export Soviet raw material, etc. But the main thing is that these investments serve the further increase of the economic dependence of the investing countries on the Soviet Union.

Further, an aim and consequence of the «complex programme of economic integration» is the strengthening of the Soviet control over the economic development of other CMEA member countries. The Soviet press speaks of the «mutual adaptation of economic structures» of the CMEA member countries. But it is evident that when speaking of «coordination» of the economic plans and policies it is not, of course, the Soviet economy which is adapted, let us say, to the economy of Mongolia or Bulgaria, but quite the opposite. Besides, the «coordinating» organs of CMEA are, in fact, becoming with every passing day superstate organs in the hands of the Soviet social-imperialists for interference in the domestic affairs of other countries, to keep the economies of these countries under their control.

The ultimate aim which Soviet social-imperialism is trying to achieve through «integration» is the complete subjugation and the economic annexation of its CMEA partners, the gradual merger of the economies of these countries into the Soviet economy. In this connection the Soviet press speaks, as of a not far distant prospect of a «rapprochement and unification (initially in some sectors) of the economic complex, as a prototype of the coming «world socialist cooperative» of the working people of various nations» and adds that it is the duty of the subjective political factors to speed up this «objective process» (see the article «Socialism in the

system of international relations» published in the review «Voprosi fillosofii» Nr. 9, 1971). In the same way, the review «World economy and international relations» in the article. «Theoretical heritage of V. I. Lenin and the economic integration of the socialist countries», published in the issue Nr. 4, 1971, writes that economic integration «arises on the basis of the very advanced mutual dependence of economic life, and means the interlacing the merger of the national economies into a unified reproduction complex». While the review «Za rubezhom», Nr. 28, 1970, in an article entitled «Fruitful course», as proof that even the western press itself is compelled to admit that the measures taken by the 23rd session of CMEA for the further economic rapprochement of the member countries will have important economic and political consequences, quotes the newspaper «Financial Times» as saying that «the realisation of integration means that CMEA will become something more than a council of mutual economic aid and will perhaps be able to unite a number of great national systems into a sound regional system».

All this in essence recalls the theses of the Soviet revisionists, which they tried to impose on other countries through CMEA in 1964, concerning the so-called «interstate economic complexes» such as, according to their chauvinistic calculations, the area of the lower Danube, which would include almost half of the territory of Rumania and would be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Rumanian state, thus trampling under foot its national sovereignty and territorial integrity. Although it is being introduced in more camouflaged forms and at a more moderate tempo, the «complex programme of integration» which the Soviet revisionists are now noisily publicizing does not differ at all in content from the openly chauvinistic aims of the year 1964.

The references by the Soviet revisionist theoreticians to Lenin's sayings about the tendency of the creation of a world socialist economy as a whole, directed according to a unified plan, are nothing but speculations. On the one hand Lenin was speaking about the world socialist system, while the Soviet Union and the other countries where the modern revisionists are in power, have long since ceased to be socialist countries. On the other hand, Lenin spoke of a coming historical epoch where socialism would have trium-

phed all over the world and when the process of the gradual integration of nations and of the elimination of national differences would begin.

It is clear that the creation of a world socialist system can develop only as a process of the birth and existence of sovereign socialist states, with their own national territories and with clearly defined state borders, with independent and balanced economies, based on socialist property which is administered by the representative organs of these national sovereign states, etc. As a consequence, the economic relations between socialist countries can be conceived only as relations between independent states and national economies, based on the principles of mutual internationalist collaboration and aid.

This is why «the integration» advertised by the Soviet social-imperialists, which aims at the loss of independence and economic submission of other countries to the Soviet Union, has nothing in common with the relations of proletarian internationalism.

POLITICAL ENSLAVEMENT AND JUSTIFICATION OF AGGRESSION – THE ESSENCE OF THE THEORY OF «LIMITED SOVEREIGNTY»

The main aim of the attempts of the Soviet social-imperialists to achieve the economic subjugation of the other revisionist countries is, through economic dependence, to keep them politically dependent on the Soviet Union. «The Council for mutual economic aid» – comrade Enver Hoxha has said – «has been transformed into a revisionist organization of cooperation in industry and in many other branches of the economies of the member countries. In this organization the Soviet revisionists dominate, and through it, in their hegemonistic interest, aim to exploit and control the economies of the other member countries, to compel them to develop in the directions the Soviet revisionists desire, binding the economies of the other countries in such a way that together with this sham socialist cooperation, they also dominate these countries politically».

Some «more sincere» Soviet theoreticians do not conceal that so-called economic integration inevitably leads to the political integration of the revisionist countries,

towards the creation in the future of an international political superstructure of these countries (see for instance the article by O. Bogomolov «The theoretical heritage of V. I. Lenin and the economic integration of the countries of socialism» published in the review «World economy and international relations», Nr. 4, 1971). The author does not take the trouble to elucidate in detail what he means by «political integration». But the relations of «limited sovereignty» that the Soviet revisionist chieftains have imposed on the other revisionist countries in the political and military fields, clearly show what it is about, and that Soviet social-imperialism has been long since implementing, and is still implementing, a series of strict measures for «integration», that is, for the complete political and military submission of these countries to the Soviet Union.

«The theory of «limited sovereignty» – comrade Enver Hoxha said in his report delivered at the 6th Congress of the PLA – «is the theory of great power chauvinism and expansionism, the theory through which the new Soviet imperialists try to suppress any sovereignty of other peoples and to create for themselves the «sovereign right» to interfere wherever and whenever they like. By denying others their sovereignty, they are trying to deny to nations and states that which they cherish most – freedom and independence, to deny their national individuality, the indisputable right to self-determination and independent development, the right to equality in international life and to active participation in world relations. By «limited sovereignty» they seek to legalize the right of the more powerful to strangle the weak, of the greater to gobble up the small. It is the theory of the justification of imperialist aggression».

According to the Brezhnevian concepts of «limited sovereignty» the countries of the so-called «socialist community» do not enjoy the right to determine their foreign policy freely and in a sovereign way, but are compelled to obtain the approval of the Soviet social-imperialists in everything. These countries have no right to strive for a foreign policy independent of the Soviet Union and to establish diplomatic and economic relations with other countries without its consent. The aim of the Soviet social-imperialists is thus the transformation of the foreign policies of the other revisionist countries into an obe-

diend appendage of the circumstances and zigzags of Soviet foreign policy.

Let us take for example the German question. The Soviet social-imperialists have for years been manipulating this question according to their own wishes without taking into consideration at all the sovereign right of the German Democratic Republic, unscrupulously sacrificing its national interests for the sake of their bargaining with West German imperialism. Significant in this respect is their agreement with Bonn on West Berlin, which flagrantly violates the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic, and also caused the well-known incidents with Walter Ulbricht.

Typical too are the continuous threats of the Soviet social-imperialists towards Rumania and Yugoslavia who refuse to blindly follow and support the aggressive imperialist course of Soviet foreign policy, not to speak here of Albania and China which are waging a determined struggle against this course from revolutionary Marxist-Leninist positions.

Or let us recall the «arguments» used by the Soviet imperialists to justify their aggression against Czechoslovakia. In the official article «Defence of socialism – a lofty international duty» published in «Pravda», August 22, 1968, that is, two days after the occupation of Czechoslovakia, it was said that some leading Czechoslovak personalities «were beginning to reconsider a series of important principles of foreign policy», that «in Czechoslovakia tendencies were emerging in support of a rapprochement with West Germany, and the strengthening of ties with her», that «some personalities in Czechoslovakia were calling for her foreign policy to turn towards the West, to make it «more independent» of the policy of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries», etc.

In reality, the Soviet social-imperialists were not concerned and could not be concerned by the fact that the Dubcek revisionist group had discarded socialist and internationalist principles of foreign policy, because they themselves have long since betrayed these principles, have entered into criminal alliance with US imperialism and have turned the Soviet Union into a new imperialist state and a dangerous center of international counterrevolution. They were concerned about something else: about the fact that the Dubcek group began to show too openly centri-

fugal inclinations, that it tried to escape the Soviet dictate in the field of foreign policy, in order to be free to make alliances with Western imperialism, or to manoeuvre between the latter and Soviet imperialism. This would not only shake the position of the Soviet social imperialists in Czechoslovakia, but would also be an incitement to centrifugal inclinations in other revisionist countries. As to the tendencies that appeared in Czechoslovakia supporting a rapprochement with West Germany, it is known that the Soviet revisionists themselves, more than 10 years ago established relations with this imperialist and revanchist country, while later on they concluded a series of agreements with it. Is this not a lively testimony to the limited sovereignty of the revisionist countries, partners of Soviet social-imperialism?

But the limited sovereignty of the revisionist countries which are under the Soviet dictate is not manifested only in the field of foreign policy. It includes also their domestic policies, which according to the chauvinistic concepts of the Soviet revisionist chieftains, must have the latter's approval. According to these concepts in the revisionist countries of the Warsaw Treaty political, economic, social and other reforms cannot be carried out without first obtaining the approval of the Soviet leadership which has reserved to itself the right to allow or to prohibit them, judging from the viewpoint of its social-imperialist interests, and indeed to prevent them by all means, even resorting to military intervention as occurred in the case of Czechoslovakia.

The Soviet revisionist chieftains go so far as to control or seek to control in the satellite revisionist countries the reports their partners will deliver at the congresses of their parties, or other important documents; they brutally intervene in their domestic affairs to dictate or approve the persons who should be at the head of the parties or governments in these countries, etc., etc.

Soviet propaganda is seeking to justify such arbitrary acts as, for example, the armed aggression against Czechoslovakia, with its alleged concern about the destiny of socialism in these countries. This is sheer demagoguery, because the Soviet revisionists themselves have long since abandoned everything socialist in their own country and for years have been advancing on the road of capitalist restoration

The fact is that they are seeking to keep under their control the tempo and forms of capitalist restoration in various revisionist countries, so that this process may be carried out in conformity with the present interests of the Soviet social-imperialists and not create additional problems and difficulties for them within the country and in the face of foreign public opinion, as was the case with the frenzied course pursued by the Dubcek revisionist group in Czechoslovakia.

According to the social-imperialist concepts of «limited sovereignty» which the Soviet ruling clique is preaching, the revisionist member countries of the infamous Warsaw Treaty do not enjoy even the right of sovereign disposition over their national territories, while the Soviet militarists have the right, under the pretext of military manoeuvres in the framework of the Warsaw treaty, to enter and leave these countries with their armed forces as in their own land. Precisely the fact that the Czechoslovak side strove to avoid the entry of the Soviet troops to Czechoslovakia under the mask of «joint military exercises», was used by the Soviet social-imperialist clique as one of its main arguments in undertaking the open military aggression against that country. In short, either you «willingly» accept the entry of troops into your territory, or occupation by violence awaits you.

This is the most original imperialist blackmail. According to this logic, France, for example, would be denied the right to refuse to accept NATO troops for manoeuvres on her territory, while Rumania, under threat of aggression, would be compelled to open her borders and humbly accept the Soviet troops to lord it in her country and make the laws there.

After they failed in their efforts to subjugate their revisionist partners by «peaceful» means, the social-imperialists began to rely more and more on their military strength to achieve their aims. «The more the Kremlin chiefs push ahead in their expansionist plans, the more difficult their internal situation and their relations with their satellites become» — comrade Enver Hoxha has said — «the more their military adventurism increases, the more their armed aggression as a means to overcome the difficulties and contradictions comes to the fore». The Warsaw Treaty organisation is their main instru-

ment to realize this militarist course and to impose the relations of «limited sovereignty» on the satellite states.

Through this organisation, in which they are full rulers, the Soviet social-imperialists impose on their revisionist partners their political decisions, keep them under military control or exert pressure and blackmail, going as far as open aggression. In the framework of the Warsaw Treaty, under the pretext of «joint manoeuvres» (a «legal» way to interfere everywhere) or of the «arguments» they have imposed on others, besides openly occupying Czechoslovakia they have introduced their troops into, and are maintaining under silent occupation, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and Mongolia. What do the Soviet troops want in these countries? To defend «socialism»? But from whom? Here, too, from «counterrevolution» as in Czechoslovakia? Why does this «socialism» need to be defended by Soviet troops and why is it not defended by the peoples of these countries themselves? One of two things: Either we would have to think that the peoples of these countries are bent on «counterrevolution», which would be a great absurdity, or it must be said that these peoples have no interest whatsoever in defending this kind of revisionist «socialism»; on the contrary, they are opposed to it, as was shown by the workers' revolts of December 1970 in Poland, and the Soviet troops have been sent to suppress any people's movement and keep under their control the revisionist regimes in power.

It is said that the Soviet troops in foreign countries, Czechoslovakia included, do not interfere in their domestic problems. This is the height of absurdity and cynicism because the Soviet social-imperialist chieftains themselves have said and still say that the sending of their troops to Czechoslovakia aimed allegedly to save «socialism» there from «peaceful counterrevolution». Is this perhaps an «external question?»!

Or are the Soviet troops defending «socialism» in these countries from the outside imperialist danger? But if one follows this logic, these troops should stay there until world imperialism is smashed! And why do they not defend them with their missiles which, as the Soviet leaders say, are in a position to hit the enemy in its nerve centres in every point of the globe?!

In their attempts to eliminate all the obstacle to interference in other revisionist countries and also to completely subjugate militarily the revisionist cliques of these countries, the Soviet social-imperialists, through the Warsaw Treaty, are imposing on them the de facto liquidation of the national armies and their placing under the direct Soviet command, under the pretext of the creation of the so-called «special joint military units». This is a further blow at the national independence of

these countries, a flagrant expression of their «limited sovereignty». Such is the content of the concepts of the Soviet social-imperialist chieftains of the «limited sovereignty» of the «socialist» countries. But the imposition of such relations cannot fail to lead to a continuous deepening of contradictions in the revisionist fold and to increase the inclinations of the subjugated partners to escape the chauvinistic dictate of Soviet social-imperialism. What is crucial, the relations of

limited sovereignty cannot fail to arouse the indignation and revolt of the peoples of these countries, There is no doubt that the feelings of freedom, independence, sovereignty and socialist national dignity which are always alive in them will play a first-rate role in the struggle of these peoples to overthrow the revisionist counterrevolution and return to the road of socialism. And this will mark the inevitable end of the rule of Soviet social-imperialism in these countries.

7th Congress

Of Albanian Trade Unions Convened

The 7th Congress of the Albanian Trade Unions held its proceedings from May 8 to 11 in Tirana.

This Congress was an important event not only for the working class, but for the entire people. It drew the balance-sheet of the work between two congresses, and established the programme for the struggle of the Trade Unions to successfully carry out all the tasks set by the Party at its 6th Congress. The 850 delegates and invitees to the Congress greeted with enthusiastic applause and acclamation the entry into the hall of the Party and State leaders, comrades Enver Hoxha, Abdyl Këllezi, Adil Çarçani, Beqir Balluku, Haki Toska, Hysni Kapo, Kadri Hazbiu, Koço Theodhosi, Manush Mytitiu, Mehmet Shehu, Ramiz Alia, Rita Marko, Spiro Koleka, Petrit Dume, Pilo Peristeri, Pirro Dodbiba, Xhafer Spahiu, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Haxhi Lleshi, and heads of the delegations from foreign countries.

The Congress was presided over by the General Secretary of the Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions, Tonin Jakova. He said among other things that the Congress was honoured by the participation of 39 delegations from all continents. Tonin Jakova thanked the distinguished guests, pointing out that this participation of delegations from other countries was a living expression of the interna-

tional solidarity of the working class of these countries with the Albanian working class and the whole of the Albanian people.

On the proposal of Tonin Jakova the delegates to the Congress rose to their feet in honour and respect to the memory of Gogo Nushi, outstanding militant of the Albanian working class, its beloved leader, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and President of the Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions.

After the election of the working organs of the Congress, the following agenda was approved.

1) Report on the activity of the Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions and the tasks of the Trade Unions for the implementation of the decisions of the 6th Congress of the PLA.

2) Report on the activity of the Central Control and Audit Commission.

3) Elections to the central organs of the Albanian Trade Unions.

On the basis of the agenda, Rita Marko, president of the Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions, delivered the report on the activity of the Central Council of the A.T.U. and the tasks of the Trade Unions for the implementation of the decisions of the 6th Congress of the PLA.

Then amidst stormy applause the floor was taken by comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania,

who greeted the Congress on behalf of the CC of the PLA.

The delegates to the Congress listened attentively to the address which was frequently punctuated by prolonged acclamation. The delegates also rose to their feet to acclaim victorious Marxism-Leninism, the heroic Chinese working class and people, comrade Mao Tse-tung, the heroic Vietnamese people and the other Indochinese people, as well as all the revolutionary peoples courageously fighting against imperialism and capitalist exploitation, for freedom and independence.

Then Hasan Alimerko, chairman of the Central Control and Audit Commission, delivered the report on the Commission's behalf.

Much discussion ensued about the two reports. The delegates expressed their opinions over various problems of national life, as well as the determination of all the working people to realise ahead of schedule the targets of the fifth 5-year plan.

The Congress adopted a decision unanimously approving the report delivered by Rita Marko «On the activity of the Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions and the tasks of the Trade Unions, for the implementation of the decisions of the 6th Congress of the PLA.

The Congress appraised as a very important document the greeting which comrade Enver Hoxha extended to the Congress on behalf of the Central Com-

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mittee of the Party of Labour of Albania. The Congress instructed all the trade union organizations to place these documents at the basis of their whole activity.

It also approved the report of the Central Control and Audit Commission of the A.T.U., as well as the decision on amendments to the constitution of the A.T.U.

The Congress unanimously approved a resolution in support of the Vietnamese people's liberation struggle.

During the sessions the delegates applauded with great warmth the addresses of the foreign trade union delegations which attended the Congress.

The Congress was greeted by Van Hsin Chen, head of the Chinese workers' delegation, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, secretary of the Shanghai municipality Party Committee and leading member of the conference of the revolutionary workers representatives of the city of Changhai; Hoang Man, head of the delegation of the Viet Nam Trade Union Federation, member of the Federation's presidium; Nguyen Van Sin, head of the delegation of the Federation of Trade Unions for the liberation of South Viet Nam, member of the Federation's Central Committee; Khamma From Kong, head of the delegation of the Federation of the Trade Unions of Laos, the Federation's secretary-general; Paul Nagy,

head of the delegation of the General Union of the Trade Unions of Rumania, secretary of the Union's Central Council; Sipurian Manijanda, head of the delegation of the all-African trades union, chief of the union's press; Sanmugathasan, head of the delegation of the Trade Union Federation of Ceylon, the Federation's Secretary-General; the delegation of the revolutionary workers from German Federal Republic; Basil Holmes, head of the delegation of the revolutionary workers from New Zealand; Setiati Surasto, head of the delegation of the workers from Indonesia; Harry Boquet, head of the delegation of the revolutionary workers from Australia; Pietro Scavo, head of the delegation of the revolutionary workers from Italy; André Druenes, head of the delegation of the revolutionary workers from France; Veid Vehbi, head of the delegation of the Trade Union Federation of Palestine, member of the Federation's Executive Committee; Salvatory Kaindosh, head of the delegation of the National Union of the working people of Tanganyika, the Union's deputy Secretary-General; Zefo Charles, head of the delegation of the Trade Union Confederation of the Congo (B), the Confederation's juridical secretary; Kombaso Abu, head of the delegation of the National Confederation of the working people of Guinea, general secretary of the working people's Committee of

Conakry; Ted Roycraft, head of the delegation of the revolutionary workers from Britain; Labraul Milud, head of the delegation of the General Union of the Algerian working people, member of the Union's central leadership; Buzid Mohamed, head of the delegation of the Moroccan Labour Union, administrative secretary of the local Union of the trade unions of Rabat; Ahmet Gora Ibrahim, head of the delegation of the liberation movement of Azania (South Africa); the delegation of the revolutionary workers of Chile; the delegation of the worker trade union opposition from Spain; Ignacio Ysepez, head of the delegation of the revolutionary workers from Ecuador; Tumba Paulo, head of the delegation of the National Union of the Angolan working people, member of the coordination leadership of the liberated regions; Abilis Duarte, head of the delegation of the National Union of Guinea (Bissao), member of the Political Bureau of the African Party for the independence of Guinea and Cape Verde; Mukudzei Nudzi, head of the delegation of the African National Union of Zimbabwe, the Union's administrative secretary; Djemal Abd Eldin, head of the delegation of the General Federation of the Syrian workers trade unions, the Federation's deputy Secretary-General; Mohamed Omer Basaad, head of the delegation of the General Confederation of the wor-

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kers of the PDR of Yemen, the Confederation's deputy Secretary-General and member of the people's Supreme Council; Emmanuel Muansa, head of the delegation of the Congress of the Trade Unions of Zambia, chairman of the Railway Workers Union; Karl Ferkschneider, head of the delegation of the revolutionary workers from Austria; Mariush Fadil Atiah, head of the delegation of the General Federation of the Trade Unions of Iraq, chairman of the mechanical industry workers Union; Francis Osifo, head of the delegation of the Nigerian Workers Union, the Union's vice-president; D. Jansen, head of the delegation of the revolutionary workers from Holland; the delegation of the revolutionary workers from Belgium; Lars Isakson, head of the delegation of the revolutionary workers from Sweden; the delegation of the revolutionary workers from Norway; Jesus Marquez, head of

the delegation from Venezuela, member of the Central Council of the Transport Trades Union of Caracas, and Lino Taylor, head of the delegation of the revolutionary workers from Malta.

The Congress elected the Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions, comprised of 139 members and 16 alternate-members. At its first meeting the Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions elected the Presidium and the Secretariat of the Central Council.

Rita Marko was elected president of the Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions; Tonin Jakova was elected Secretary-General of the Central Council, while Jorgjia Peçini, Sotit Kamberi and Idriz Dhrami were elected secretaries of the Central Council.

Hasan Alimerko was elected Chairman of the Central Control and Audit Commission.

Amidst the great enthusiasm of

the delegates, the congress was greeted by a group of young pioneers.

Then the winners of the socialist competitions held in honour of the Congress were announced.

Rita Marko, President of the Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions, delivered the closing speech, and the Congress closed to the sound of the Internationale.

The Congress was a powerful manifestation of the militant unity of the working class, of all the working people of the country, around the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, of their determination to successfully carry out in practice the decisions of the 6th Congress of the PLA and the tasks set forth in the greeting of the CC of the PLA. It was also an expression of internationalist solidarity with the workers and revolutionary peoples of the whole world.

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CITY OF BOSTON
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TO THE PRESENT TIME
BY NATHANIEL BENTLEY
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Through the Pages Of the Albanian Press

«Zëri i Popullit», organ of the CC of the PLA, published on April 5 an article entitled «On the capitalist character of the economic foreign policy of the Soviet Union».

Dealing with the counterrevolutionary road in which the Khrushchevian revisionists engaged the Soviet economy, with the development of capitalist relations, the article of «Zëri i Popullit» says: «Now the problem arises to consolidate these relations and further deepen them, so as to carry the process of capitalist integration through to the end. For the realization of these aims a first-rate importance is now assumed by the direct importation of the economic counterrevolution through the penetration of foreign capital into the Soviet economy. World capitalism, by investing its capitals and setting up tens and hundreds of enterprises on the territory of the Soviet economy, be they with homogenous or mixed capitals, openly demonstrates its art of management, which the Khrushchevian revisionists want to master in the best possible way and make it their own. Therefore they encourage in all the ways the participation of foreign capital in the development of the processes of capitalist integration.»

Concerning the willingness continually shown by imperialism for collaboration with the Soviet Union, the article says:

«World imperialism collaborates with the Soviet Union in an

all-out way and invests there its capitals not because it is guided by philanthropic aims but because it has definite interests. Penetrating with its capitals into the Soviet economy, it takes above all an active part in the development of the economic counterrevolution and realizes thereby its many-year long dream to include into its embrace the one-sixth of the world detached from it by the October Revolution, that dream which it was unable to realize either with the civil war or with the barbarous aggression of the nazi wild beast. Alongside this political aspect of the question, world imperialism has also its economic aims. Being in the grip of the contradictions of its general crisis, which is ever more deepening and sharpening, it hopes to mitigate the pains of this crisis through the exportation of capital and commodities to the Soviet Union and in general through the strengthening of all the forms of economic collaboration with it, and, above all, to find a way out from the asphyxia of the lack of sale markets, which at the present stage has become very sharp for its destinies.»

Concerning the expansionist policy pursued by the Soviet Union with the countries of the «third world», the article says: «The Soviet Union realizes great economic profits from the countries of the «third world» even when it exploits the markets of these countries to sell the stocks of

commodities which accumulate more and more as a result of the deepening of antagonistic contradictions between production and consumption, which have now become usual phenomena in the reality of the Soviet economy. Moreover, the economies of many developing countries have turned and continue to turn into a base of raw materials, fruits and agricultural products, as well as of many light industry commodities. Indeed, the Soviet social-imperialists build up in these countries special enterprises which turn out commodities only to fulfill the needs of their economy. Thus, everything is being done for the purpose of turning the economies of the under-developed countries into vassal economies of the Soviet empire as has been the case with the economies of the «socialist community» countries.

In the article entitled: «Green Europe – an arena of antagonistic contradictions» published on April 9, «Zëri i Popullit», after analyzing the contradictions between the Common Market members, writes:

«Still sharper are the contradictions aroused by «Green Europe» in the world market. In spite of the efforts of the heads of this bloc, the prices of agricultural products remain nevertheless higher than the world prices. Thus, their competitive capacity is lower than that of their partners. Therefore, to defend

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themselves from the dangerous competitors and, above all, from the American ones, and to carry out in practice the idea of self-sufficiency in foodstuffs and agricultural raw materials, the member countries have striven to isolate the "Agricultural Common Market" by a high custom barrier from external competitors.

At the end the article stresses: "Thus, «the Agricultural Common Market» is an instrument of the struggle of the European monopoly groups for the re-division of markets in their own profit and for the strengthening of the positions of the most powerful financial groups in them. Irrespective of the fact of the realisation of the main principles of the common agricultural policy through a fierce struggle and numerous compromises, the contradictions not only have not disappeared but they have still more sharpened due to the very fact that the character of the reached agreements is such that they themselves have become sources of new contradictions and give rise to still fiercer clashes».

«Zëri i Rinisë», organ of the Central Committee of the Albanian Working Youth Union, published on April 12 an article entitled: «The student youth of Latin America in struggle against capitalist exploitation» which says:

«A characteristic of this broad

struggle of the students is that they have realized the urgent need of the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its interferences in their countries. They have extended the struggle against the cultural aggression of the U.S.A. by protesting against any form of American ideological influence. The students protest against placing higher education at the service of the U.S. monopolies, against the dependence on these monopolies which by investing their capitals in this field secure the right to interfere in working out the school curricula, and their control in the field of education.»

The article points out in conclusion: «Only under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties, in alliance with the working class, the student youth movement in Latin America will without fail achieve success in its struggle against capitalist exploitation and for a new social order.»

The newspaper «Puna», organ of the Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions, carries an article under the title: «Features of the class struggle in the world of capital».

This article says among other things: «The class movement in the capitalist world is assuming ever more militant colours. Its militancy is seen in the determination of the workers to continue their strikes and demonstrations despite the threats of

the bourgeoisie; it is seen in their courage to clash with the apparatuses of capitalist violence and dictatorship, valiantly coping with the police repressive measures; it is seen in their bold actions occupying factories and plants.

The article stresses in conclusion: «In the process of the tempering of its militant and revolutionary features, the working class realizes that the strike movement is certainly not an aim in itself, but merely a degree or form of the class struggle, a preparation for the other higher forms of its struggle against capital».

The newspaper «Bashkimi», central organ of the Democratic Front of Albania, in an article entitled «That history should not repeat itself», analyzes the concrete activity of the Italian neofascists against the country's progressive forces. The newspaper considers the increase of their activity as a consequence of the traitorous policy of the Italian bourgeoisie, which has been and remains the principal source and supporter of fascism in given epochs. The tendencies of the neofascist development are an actual fact. «But, — the article says, — in the present situation in Italy, when the class movement has assumed a very great development, when the bourgeoisie is failing with its anti-popular policy, there are appearing such phenomena which make one think that fascism is find-

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ing more ground and is being encouraged. In particular now that preparations are being made for the special elections in May, the bourgeoisie itself is playing with the bugbear of fascism in order to intimidate the working masses and compel them to vote for its representatives. The newspaper goes on to show also the base role being played in this respect by the Longo revisionist party. It is making now desperate efforts to collaborate with the biggest party of the Italian bourgeoisie, the Christian-Democratic Party, so as to more easily suppress the revolutionary movement of the labouring masses.

The article stresses in conclusion: «But the Italian people, their working class and student youth do not allow themselves to be deceived. They are determined to fight through to the end so as not to allow fascism and the bourgeoisie and the revisionists to play with their destinies. They are showing this by their struggle, in the powerful anti-fascist demonstrations which are organized from time to time in all parts of Italy».

The newspaper «Puna» carried on April 18 an article entitled: «The Soviet trade union leading clique has betrayed the interests of the working class.»

The article says: «The old mass organisations, such as the trade unions, the workers' meetings, the soviets, the komsomol, etc.,

have been turned by the Khrushchevian ruling clique into its tools and are used to preserve the socialist appearances and to create the false impression that the working class and labouring masses have their say in everything. But this can deceive nobody».

Characterizing the stand of the Soviet revisionists in this congress the article says:

«The Soviet revisionists in this congress, too, appeared just as they are: dangerous enemies of the entire proletariat and of the oppressed peoples of all the countries, enemies of the revolution and socialism. They again came out with the ragged banner of the renegades, of the reconciliation of the class interests between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, with the slogan of unity with all the anti-Marxist-Leninist, reformist, counterrevolutionary forces. Now there has been wiped out any distinction between the leaders of the Soviet trade unions and those of the yellow trade unions of capitalist countries, which are led by reformists, social-democrats, etc., which are controlled and financed by the bourgeoisie and faithfully serve it.»

The article says in conclusion: «The proletariat of all the countries is opposed to and condemns the traitorous line of the Soviet trade unions and of the Khrushchevian revisionists in general. It struggles for the increase of its ideological and political awareness, for the accomplish-

ment of its historic mission—through war and revolution to upset the old imperialist-revisionist world and build up on its ruins the new world—socialism and communism. In the face of this revolt which is seething in all the capitalist and revisionist countries, all the demagogues and tricks of the Soviet revisionists and their anti-proletarian, counterrevolutionary actions have failed and will fail with shame. The future belongs to the revolution, to socialism, to the working class.»

The newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» carries on April 20 an article entitled: «The cross in service of the counterrevolution», which reads:

«The restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries brought about also the reactivation of the means and institutions having for mission to perpetuate this order. In this direction should be judged the whole counterrevolutionary process pursued by the Moscow revisionists and their satellites in other revisionist countries concerning the encouragement and flourishing of clericalism in these countries, as well as the ever closer ties with the center of religious reaction—the Vatican». The same newspaper in an article devoted to the revolutionary movements in Latin America and published on April 22, writes that in Latin America the tide of

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the revolutionary struggle for freedom, independence and social progress is in the rise. The article says: «The struggle of the broad Latin American popular masses is directed against the domination of the Yankee capitalists and local bourgeoisie who wantonly exploit the toil of the working people. This is clearly shown by the fact that the largest number of strikes have been held in the industrial centers which are administered by the U.S. capitalists, be they in Argentina, Uruguay, Venezuela or elsewhere. Also the revolutionary struggle of the popular masses is directed against the domination in these countries of the fascist dictatorships which, as confirmed by life, have been and remain faithful servants of U. S. imperialism and defenders of the interests of the local landlords and the bourgeoisie.»

The newspaper «Zëri i Rinisë» carries the article entitled: «On the road of dissoluteness and degeneration». It deals with the degeneration and dissoluteness of the younger generation in the revisionist countries. The article says:

«The revisionist cliques, fearing the working masses and especially the youth, as the more lively part of society, have striven and continue to strive by means of the so-called «industry of recreation», to turn them away from the revolutionary road, to darken their conscience, to nar-

row up their world outlook and horizon, to eradicate proletarian morality and replace it with the bourgeois morality, To this purpose serves the whole arsenal of the revisionist propaganda beginning with art and culture and ending with religion».

The article points out in conclusion: «Moral degeneration, the spreading of the bourgeois way of living, seek to cultivate in the conscience of the younger generation apolitism, egoism, incapacity to see the gloomy prospect. But the youth in these countries should never fall into such traps. In its ranks there are being prepared the future revolutionaries who will organize themselves to say «halt» to the revisionist betrayal and to restore in these countries the dictatorship of the proletariat».

The newspaper «Zëri i Popullit», in an article published on April 29 under the title: «The heroic struggle of the people of Viet Nam and the intrigues of Soviet social-imperialism», exposes the stand of Soviet social-imperialism with regard to the Vietnamese question.

The article begins with the secret visit to the Soviet Union by Henry Kissinger, Nixon's special personal adviser, and points out the objective of the mission: «to present president Nixon's viewpoint and judgement on problems of international actuality». Thus, it is obvious that the main issue discussed by Kissinger with the Soviet leaders has been the

course of the present-day events in Viet Nam.

The present successes of the Vietnamese fighters showed that the Vietnamese people's will and determination to live free and independent cannot be broken by re-entering in the old road of the escalation of the war and expansion or by resuming the criminal air-raids over Hanoi and the other cities in North Viet Nam.

The article stresses that it has been proved that when the initiative in the battlefield has passed into the hands of the liberation forces and when the enemies have been dealt telling blows, the U. S. aggressors have retreated and have started with various manoeuvrings to avoid utter defeat, and it is precisely these victories that compel Nixon to sit down at the Paris conference, although not many days ago he had quite arrogantly set forth as a condition the stopping of the offensive.

On the side of the Vietnamese people and their heroic struggle are the most progressive forces of our planet, the broadest popular strata of all the continents.

«In the first place on the side of the Vietnamese people and their liberation struggle - «Zëri i Popullit» stresses - there stand the 700 million strong Chinese people who have considered and continue to consider the aid and support for Viet Nam against the U. S. aggression and for national salvation as their supreme internationalist duty. People's

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China has helped and continues to help Viet Nam powerfully and in all directions – politically, economically and militarily, with the greatest generosity and in a fraternal spirit. Chairman Mao Tse-tung's words that the vast area of China's territory is a safe rear-area of the Vietnamese people, have a very great significance. They confirm that the Chinese people, remaining true to these words of Chairman Mao's, are and will always be on the side of the Vietnamese people and of the other peoples of Indochina, that they will give them their resolute support in the struggle against the U. S. aggressors and their stooges, they will help them in the realization of their national aspirations which the foreign invaders want to trample under foot."

Analyzing the stand of Soviet social-imperialism the newspaper writes:

The Soviet revisionists, too, pose as supporters of the Vietnamese people; reality however has already shown that at all the main and decisive moments of the Vietnamese war, they have adopted an anti-Marxist stand, unfavourable to the cause of freedom and independence of the Vietnamese people and to the advantage of imperialism. Their position has always been in contrast with the just stands of People's China and with the Marxist-Leninist viewpoints of Chairman Mao Tse-tung about the war in Viet Nam and in general about the anti-imperialist liberation move-

ments of the peoples and the people's war. The leaders of the Soviet Union have stood and continue to stand for the suppression of the war in Viet Nam, they have done and continue to do their utmost, jointly with the Americans, in secret talks and plots with them, to undermine this war".

With regard to the so-called Soviet "aid", the article says: "The Soviet leaders have greatly speculated and continue to speculate on certain aid of theirs in materials to Vietnam. In reality, we have to do here with a calculated expenditure which is to the advantage both of the deceitful revisionist propaganda and of the expansionist plans of the Kremlin rulers. By this "aid" they have sought to play in two directions – to guard themselves against exposure with regard to the intrigues they were conducting together with the Americans at the expense of the Vietnamese people, and to create the possibility to get in and curb the war of the Vietnamese people. But they have failed in these plans and in these efforts. The Vietnamese people did not fall into the traps erected by the Soviet revisionists, they did not give up their liberation struggle nor did they allow themselves to become an object of the U.S.-Soviet intrigues and machinations".

The newspaper "Zëri i Popullit" published on May 27 an editorial entitled: A new stage in

the global Soviet – U.S. strategy against the freedom and independence of the peoples"

"Never have the imperialist propaganda of the United States and the revisionist one of the Soviet Union – the newspaper writes – made so much fuss as they are doing now to praise Nixon's historical visit" to Moscow. The allies and satellites of both countries are vying with each other in applauding and glorifying Nixon, the Nr. 1 representative of U.S. imperialism, the worst enemy of all the peoples and the head of the entire world reaction. Revisionist Moscow is treating him with a marked respect.

"It is now evident – continued the newspaper – that the two superpowers are bound by very intimate interests which take no account of and respect no right of the peoples, no international principle, no world moral norm. The day to day events, the present Soviet-U.S. talks in Moscow included, more and more convincingly show that neither the nature of U. S. imperialism has changed nor the betrayal of the Soviet revisionists has ceased. Both sides not only are what they have been but they have further intensified their policy and activity against the revolution, the freedom and independence of the peoples.

Moreover, the U.S. and Soviet imperialists want their theory about the "indispensability of the preservation of the equilibrium between the superpowers"

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to turn into a compulsory international rule, and implant in the minds of the people that the U.S.-Soviet concert is the decisive factor of the preservation of the world peace, which not only must be accepted without hesitation but they should do the utmost, «for the sake of international peace and security», to preserve and strengthen it at all costs.

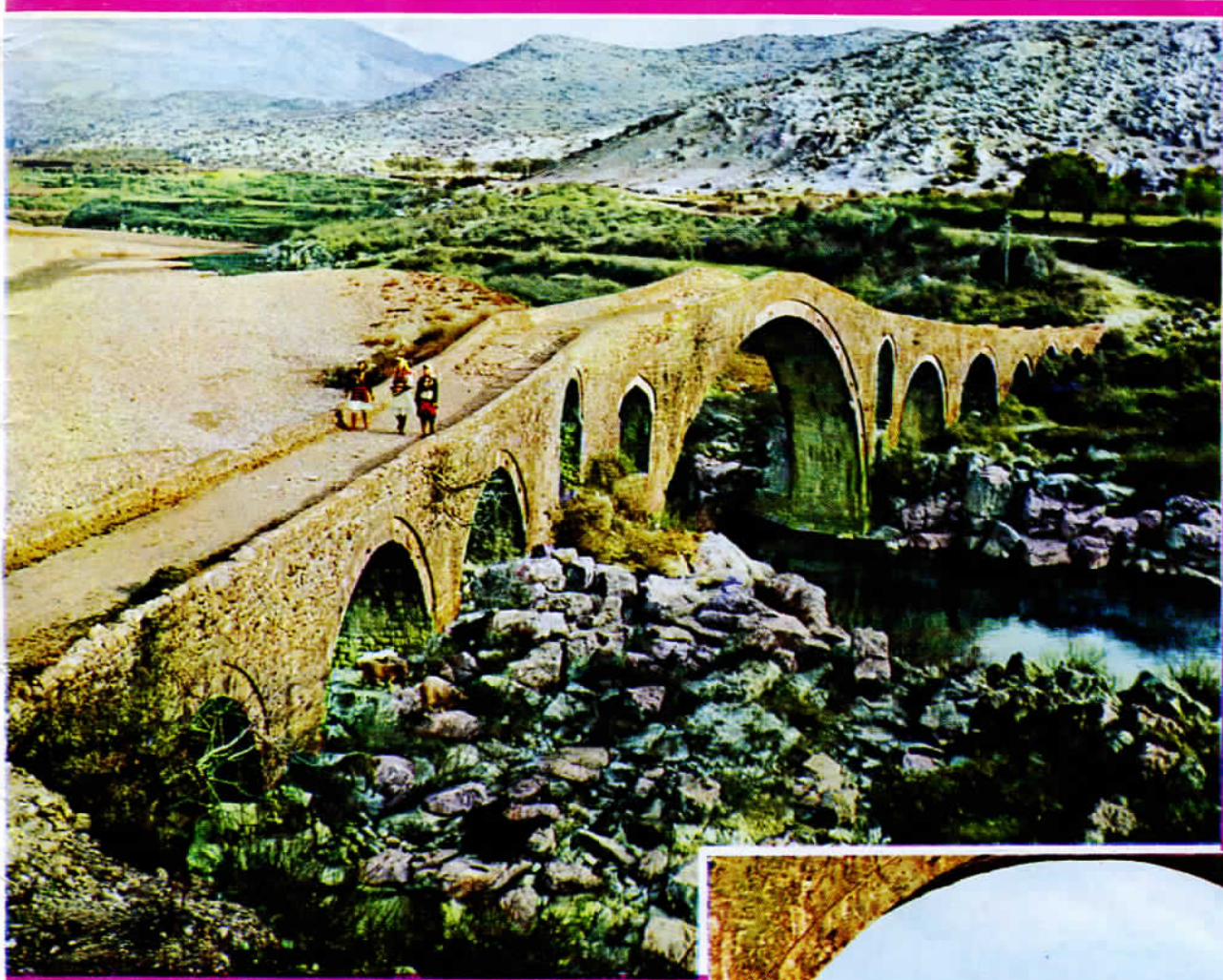
In their opinion, the peoples must not rise against the imperialist domination, neither oppose their aggressive plans, because this disrupts the equilibrium of the powers, which would lead to the destruction of the world, to a total nuclear war. Therefore, to preserve this equilibrium other countries must make sacrifices at the expense of their national sovereignty and supreme interests. Nixon openly set forth the joint Soviet-U.S. stand when he said that the United States of America and the Soviet Union must «exert influence on other nations in a state of war or crisis, so that they should moderate their policy.» This is an open call to suppress every revolutionary or liberation struggle of the peoples, every protest

and revolt against imperialism. The U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are speculating for years on end on the so-called total, partial or regional disarmament, to which they in Moscow want to give a new swelling with the signing of the agreement on the so-called strategic arms limitation. Through it they want to create a world general psychology of inevitable submission and fatality, to prepare the peoples ideologically for an institutionalisation of the conventional military and nuclear monopoly of the two super-powers, that the peoples pledge themselves also juridically not to arm themselves. In a word, they want to establish the armed control of their imperialist power all over the world.

There are persons and governments that appraise the meeting of the Americans and the Soviets in Moscow and, on the other hand, demand the withdrawal of their fleets from the Mediterranean. Such stands and such demands are neither realistic nor consistent. The Moscow talks are neither in favour of France nor of Benelux and of any other

European country as the European rightwing press appraises the Nixon-Brezhnev meeting, while it is well known that through the Soviet-U.S. intrigues the potential of these two super-powers, which would back up those states that would accept their dictate, is strengthened.

Nixon's visit to Moscow – the newspaper writes in conclusion – and his talks with the Kremlin leadership prove that the Soviet - U.S. counterrevolutionary alliance is today a reality with which the peoples are coming across every day and directly. At present and for a long period of time in the future this counterrevolutionary alliance remains the main danger to the freedom and independence of all the countries, to the future of the whole mankind. The dangers presented by it are great but still greater are the forces of the peoples that may be opposed to it. The question is that the vigilance towards this alliance should always be kept high and the peoples must fight with determination as well against U.S. imperialism as against Soviet social imperialism and against both of them at the same time».



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and folk costumes

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