

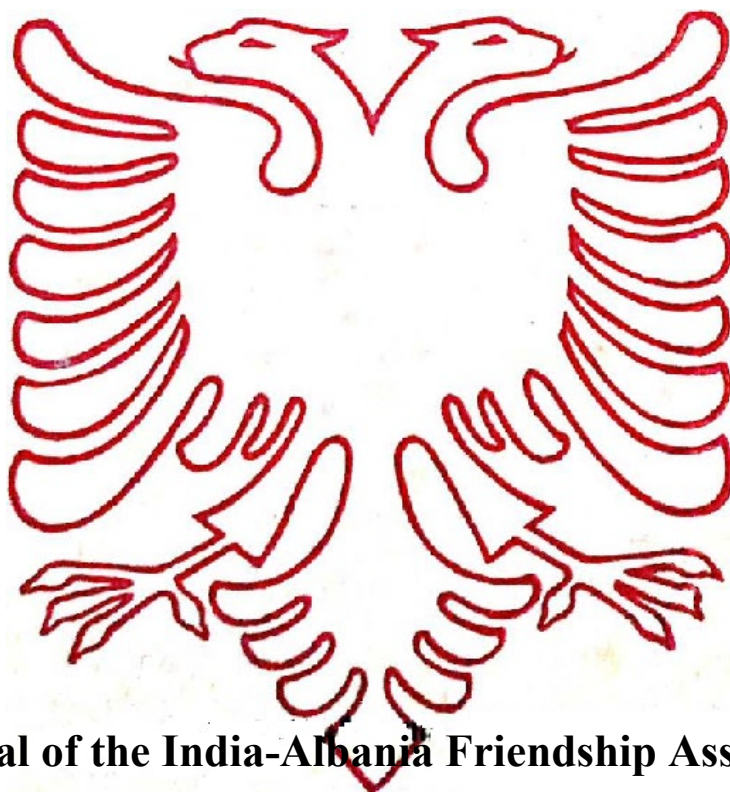
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Zeri i Popullit

The Soviet-Bulgarian blackmail and threats will not go down in the Balkans

The occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet social-imperialists and the threats of American imperialism to impose an economic and military blockade on the militant Iranian people, writes *Zeri I Popullit*, continue to be at the centre of attention of world opinion. Wherever they are, honest and peace-loving people are powerfully condemning these open acts of aggression against the freedom-loving peoples with deep indignation. By occupying Afghanistan and threatening violence, the Soviet and American imperialists are violating the incontestable rights of even people to live free and independent in their own homeland to decide on their fate themselves, how to govern themselves and what road of development they should follow in the most cynical, unscrupulous and barbarous manner.

In the most flagrant and arbitrary way they violate the principle accepted by the whole world and recognized by international law of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states, and of respect for the sovereignty of nations. Now it has become clear to everyone that the boisterous words of the Soviet leaders about the alleged lowering of international tensions, peaceful coexistence, disarmament, etc., similar to the American slogans of the so-called defence of human rights, are nothing other than demagoguery to lower the vigilance of the peoples, a mask to cover up their preparations for aggression, to extend social-imperialist expansion and hegemony. It has also become clear that Afghanistan will not be the last victim of Soviet aggression.

Like all the other imperialisms of the times, Soviet social-imperialism has an insatiable thirst for occupation. It is uncontrollable in the plundering of the freedom and independence of the peoples. The directions of its expansion point to the east, west, south and southeast. Therefore, when the international situation becomes even more complicated as is the case at present the suppositions on future aggression by the imperialists are many.

It is often mentioned in the world press that Yugoslavia represents one of the most probable targets of a Soviet attack. Currently, following the Soviet aggression against Afghanistan and at a time when President Tito is ill and the question is being posed of what will happen, who will take over in Yugoslavia after him. many people say that this situation could incite the Soviet leaders even more to intensify their threatening activity in the direction of Yugoslavia,

These judgements and this reasoning arise from the obvious and recognized fact that under different pretexts and claims, the Soviet social-imperialists and their Bulgarian stooges have often conducted blackmail against and threatened Yugoslavia. These days too the newspaper *Pravda*, speaking with the tone of a big power which demands obedience and respect from everyone, arrogantly criticizes the Yugoslav press because it quite correctly had condemned the Soviet aggression against Afghanistan. The article implied that the Soviet Union could also punish those who refused to listen to its words and desires.

The Albanian people, who know the past of the Yugoslav peoples well, have the unflinching conviction that they are not intimidated by any threat or blackmail, that if the necessity arises they will know how to fight with courage and bravery against any attack of the enemies no matter where it comes from: The Yugoslav peoples are not the sort who back down in the face of threats. They know how to fight with self-sacrifice to defend their freedom and independence, won with so much bloodshed and sacrifice.

We Albanians have had and still have irreconcilable ideological differences with the Yugoslav leadership. We have always and will continue to criticize the anti-Marxist system of self-administration: we have fought and will fight determinedly against the Yugoslav and modern revisionism, for the defence the purity of Marxism-Leninism: we have and will continue to interest ourselves in the rights which the Albanians of Kosova, Macedonia, Montenegro, should enjoy on basis of the Yugoslav constitution.

World opinion knows and is clear on this stand of ours.

The foreign policy of our country in the stand towards our neighbours, continues *Zeri i Popullit*, has never and will never change. Our republic has made and will make all-round efforts for the development of trading, cultural and other relations with them. We have publicly stated that Albania will never permit foreigners to use its territory against Yugoslavia or Greece, that we support the Yugoslav and Greek peoples in the struggle for national freedom, independence and sovereignty. Hence not only will nothing bad come to them from Albania, but they will be aided. The peoples of the Balkans do not threaten anyone, but neither do they fear threats just as they do not fear aggressive war which others may launch and which they know how to cope with successfully.

The revisionist Bulgarian leadership is eulogizing the aggressive acts of the old czars to serve its new lords, the aggressive czars of the Kremlin. But let the Soviet revisionists and their stooges, the Bulgarian leaders, know one thing: that not only will they get nowhere with their adventures against the Albanian, Yugoslav and Greek people, they will be terribly repudiated. All the progressive peoples of the world will support the just struggles of the peoples against the aggressors.

In the threats of the Soviet, American and other imperialist aggressors against Yugoslavia, the Albanian people adhere to what Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the Seventh Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, that in the case of an eventual attack by the Soviet Union or any other power against Yugoslavia, the Albanian people will stand by the Yugoslav peoples.

Thus everyone can rest assured that if the question arises of the defence of freedom

and independence from imperialist aggressors of no matter what kind, the Albanians and Yugoslavs will once more fight together against the common enemies as they fought in the past.

Historical facts prove this. Our divisions went and fought in Yugoslavia in the same trenches as the Yugoslav partisans, against German fascism and triumphed. We Albanians fight for freedom and justice and like brave fighters Albanians are cool-headed. But when anyone tries to trample them underfoot, then the rifle speaks.

The peoples of Yugoslavia are courageous peoples and we are convinced that they will never allow the Soviet tanks of the Warsaw Treaty or American imperialism to violate Yugoslav territory. As at present in the future too, they will never allow the territory of their country to become like Czechoslovakia or Afghanistan, that the spirit of resistance against foreign aggression be weakened by the agents of Soviet imperialism and the big Serbian conspirers inside and outside of the country. The peoples of Yugoslavia, like our people, know that their main enemies are American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. Neither must they trust the Chinese social-imperialists who are playing the game of balancing between these two superpowers to the detriment of the freedom-loving peoples.

From the boxes of the theatre of the world, the reactionary bourgeoisie looks on, just as at the time when Hitler attacked one people after another and they pose the question: What will happen in Yugoslavia after Tito?

We Albanians will tell them what will happen: the peoples of Yugoslavia will fight heroically against anyone who will attempt to violate their freedom and independence. With its stand the reactionary bourgeoisie is assisting and inciting the Soviet social-imperialists, and is trying to demoralize and intimidate the Peoples of Yugoslavia, to leave them defenceless in the face of danger.

Fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia: Be on your guard against sham friends, because you know yourselves how to fight and smash open enemies! Eventual aggressors, whether Soviet or American, says the newspaper *Zeri i Popullit*, must get one thing clear: neither the Yugoslavs nor the Albanians will submit to blackmail or threats. We will never fall into the traps and plots hatched up by the enemies to their freedom and independence. They fear no aggressor. Whoever tries to ignite the flames of aggressive war in their country will be seared in these flames himself.

(Radio Tirana, January 19, 1980)

The Capitalist Character of the Relations of Production in the Soviet Union

– by Aristotel Pano and Kiko Kapetani

"The Soviet Society," said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the party, "has become bourgeois down to its tiniest cells, capitalism has been restored in all fields." (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 215). This Conclusion of our party is the result of a thorough analysis of the concrete facts, aspects and directions of the whole process of the re-establishment of capitalism in the Soviet Union

and other revisionist countries.

As is known, the process of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries began with the change in the character of the party and the state, with the counterrevolutionary transformation in the field of the political and ideological superstructure, with the betrayal of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and of its teachings on the class struggle, first of all. As a result, the dictatorship of the proletariat was transformed into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a ferocious fascist dictatorship of the new revisionist bourgeoisie, and the Soviet socialist state was transformed into a social-imperialist state.

But, although the process of the capitalist degeneration in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries began with the counterrevolutionary transformations in the field of the superstructure, this did not degenerate spontaneously, outside and independently of the relations of production, isolated from the entirety of the economic-social structure. The socialist relations of production in these countries, especially the relations in the field of distribution, had been violated in several separate aspects and directions. Through the extension of the system of bonuses and, in general, the extensive use of supplementary material stimuli, the conditions were created for the birth of differentials and disproportions in the field of distribution, for the creation of the stratum of bureaucrats and technocrats who, as time confirmed later, became the main social support of the revisionist cliques which usurped the power of the working class in these countries.

Thus, this is a case of reciprocal interdependence and close connection between the degeneration of the superstructure and that of the base, in which the one drove the other forward, in which each encouraged the other, until in the end, they assumed their final capitalist form, until capitalist transformation had been effected in all spheres of the political, ideological, economic and cultural life of these countries, until the Soviet society became bourgeois down to its tiniest cells.

The degeneration of the superstructure, and in the first place, the transformation of the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, was carried out and utilized by the Khrushchevite renegade clique for definite aims. The realization of the process enabled this clique to go on to the degeneration of the entire system of socialist relations of production, on a broad scale and at a rapid pace, to their transformation into capitalist relations, to the capitalist transformation of the entire social life of these countries. The degeneration of the superstructure and the degeneration of the economic base in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries have been, by no means, short and immediate processes, but protracted processes which, in their development, were interconnected with and stimulated one another. The outcome of all these processes was the complete degeneration of the relations of property, distribution, exchange and management, from socialist relations to capitalist relations.

The core of the entire regressive process of the demolition of the socialist relations of production in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries, is the degeneration of the property relations, the transformation of the socialist into capitalist property of a new type. "The changing of the character of the party and the state, the

counter-revolutionary transformation in the field of the political and ideological superstructure” Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, could not fail to lead to changing the economic base of socialism, too. (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA. p. 229).

It is known that the relations of production, and especially the content of state property, alter according to the social economic order, according to the class character of the state. Property is the foundation on which the structure and the superstructure of society are erected. Capitalist private property constitutes the economic base of the capitalist state, which, in turn, determines the political and social content of this property.

The state property in the Soviet Union is a form of capitalist private property with a high level of concentration of production and capital. The revisionist bourgeoisie is the real owner of the state enterprises and, with the aid of the state, it exploits the working class and all the masses of working people of the country. Through this exploitation it strengthens its economic positions and, along with this, also, consolidates its political domination.

When we say that the state property in the Soviet Union is one form of the capitalist private property and the Soviet economy has been transformed into a capitalist economy, here we must bear in mind the fact that this type of economy is not of the classical type, but of a special type. The conditions are different from many standpoints, therefore the laws and the categories of the capitalist economy which act in the Soviet economy cannot possibly appear in their classical form, but appear in a special form, although in content they are entirely capitalist. It is a new type only in the road of its birth, in its role and mechanism, while in regard to its essence it is capitalist, just as in all the capitalist countries.

The Soviet economy today is developing on the basis of the laws and categories of the capitalist economy. The principal laws on the basis of which social production is "regulated" are the laws of the capitalist profit of the revisionist bourgeoisie and the law of value. In conformity with these laws, such categories as commodities, profit, the market, profitably etc., motivate entire mechanism of the management of enterprises. The character of the Soviet economy is commodity production on a capitalist basis. The connections among enterprises are determined through the market. The production of commodities is carried out, in general, in the form of the free sale for the purpose of profitmaking. The means of production are bought and sold without restriction. They have been transformed completely into commodities. Labour power, also, has been transformed into a commodity. In these conditions, when the commodity economy prevails and when the labour power is transformed into a commodity, that is, when the producers are freed from the means of production, the economy is bourgeois, it stands and develops on the rails of the bourgeois economy, stressed V I. Lenin.

The Soviet revisionists declare that the state ownership the Soviet Union has a social character. It is understandable that for the sake of demagoguery they have not abandoned the Marxist-Leninist phraseology. But this does not change the content of things and phenomena in the least. K. Marx stressed that the question is not who is the nominal owner of the state enterprise, but who pockets the profits from this property. How can

such ownership, which preserves very great inequality in the field of the distribution of material blessings among the different classes and strata of society, and which deepens this inequality day, be day, be socialist? Can it be socialist ownership when the members of the class of the revisionist bourgeoisie, the director of the enterprises, and others, have the right to dismiss workers at will, when they can determine to their own liking the amount of workers' wages and the amount of the profit which they share for themselves, when they have the right to sell means of production, to develop the free play of prices and capitalist relations with the other monopoly enterprises, and so on? It is self-evident that such ownership keeps the socialist label only for the sake of demagoguery.

The presentation of the property in the Soviet Union in the form of state property in no way negates the exploitation of the working class by the revisionist bourgeoisie, but on the contrary, makes this exploitation still more pronounced and thorough-going. "The present Soviet state as a collective capitalist," points out comrade Enver Hoxha, "administers the means of production in the name and in the interests of the new Soviet bourgeoisie. The socialist common ownership has been transformed in a state capitalism of a new type." (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, p. 229).

The main distinguishing feature of the capitalist ownership in these countries is that the principal means of production are collectively owned by the whole class of the new revisionist capitalists and are employed in their interests by exploiting the working class. Therefore the transformation of the socialist ownership into state capitalist ownership of the new type in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries must be sought in the first place, in the character of the real economic relations, in the purpose for which the property is used and in the economic categories which reflect its nature. In fact, in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries, the laws and juridical dispositions which express this capitalist transformation have also been changed though for the sake of demagoguery some old juridical expressions are preserved. Because of many political, economic, historical and psychological factors and circumstances the degeneration of ownership in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries, could not be carried into effect through the division of property in the classical manner, by handing over ownership to the individual capitalists. On the contrary, such a thing was brought about by transforming the socialist property into capitalist state property and placing it in the hands of the new revisionist bourgeoisie. In the final analysis, it matters little to the working class whether the property is in the hands of individual capitalists or in the hands of united capital in the form of state monopolies. In either case exploitation is present, whether it be individual capitalist exploitation or collective capitalist exploitation.

The Marxist-Leninist theory teaches us that "capital is nothing without wage labour, without value, without money, without prices etc.". Therefore the capitalist property relations in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries cannot be analysed apart from analysis of the economic laws and categories on which the capitalist property relationships have been built in these countries. In his work "Capital", Marx, analysing the essence of capitalist relations of production, emphasizes that these

relations have two specific features: in the first place, the development of the commodity money relations to highest level, in which labour power, too, is transformed into a commodity, and in the second place, the fundamental and direct purpose of production is surplus value. These two features of capitalist economy are essential to all aspects of the property relationships in these countries and are embodied in all the directions of their all-round degeneration.

The character and the content of ownership depend, in the last analysis, on the nature and the character of the state. Those who have the state machine in their hands also own the main means of production, and use the state machine as a powerful weapon to defend and consolidate their economic base and to increase their wealth and their capitalist profits. Speaking about this question K Marx stressed that "as long as the wealthy classes remain in power, any nationalization represents not the abolition of exploitation, but only the alteration of its form". Formally and in outward appearance, the state property in the Soviet Union is called socialist property but in reality there is nothing socialist about it, either in content or in form. The former socialist property has been alienated by the new Soviet bourgeoisie which utilizes it as a means of enrichment and capitalist profits, by appropriating the surplus value created by the working class at the masses of working people.

The economic enterprises in these countries have unlimited freedom of action in the fields of production, distribution, capital investments and the use of fundamental funds. The competences which are vested in the directors of the economic unions, tire industrial-agrarian complexes and the various enterprises in the use and administration of the means of production, including the right to Sill those means; the competences in tire field of relations of the exchange and distribution of products, selling them as their narrow interests dictate in order to accumulate the maximum income and profit, clearly indicate the deep-going decentralization of the economy and its completely capitalist character.

The Soviet revisionists long ago set up joint enterprises, modelled on the capitalist monopolies, both within the Soviet Union and also in the other revisionist countries, thus appropriating part of the surplus value created by the working class and the working people of these countries, too. Such mergers in the form of trusts have been set up, too. All these forms of capitalist complexes and trusts devour many small and middle-sized enterprises which cannot stand up to the struggle of competition. Being unable to withstand this struggle the latter end up either by merging with the unions of the monopoly type or by going bankrupt.

In the countryside, besides the capitalist collective farm property. which in essence has the same features and consequences as the property of capitalist farmers in the agriculture of the countries of Western Europe, kulak ownership of land and the other means of production, the property of the collective farmer's private plot is widely predominant, too.

The collective farmer's private plot has gained superiority of development and has long been transformed into an economic- social terrain which ceaselessly gives birth to capitalist elements. The Soviet revisionist press wrote, a short time ago, that "the lifting of restriction on the private economy of collective farmers, workers and officials

increased production, and consequently the sale of agricultural products for the market". According to this press, the area of the collective farmer's private plot is now double what it was ten years ago. In 1976, these plots produced over 12 million tons of grain. They carry an important weight on a national scale, and concretely; in the production of potatoes 64 per cent, vegetables 42 per cent, meat 41 per cent, milk over 40 per cent, eggs 65 per cent, wool 20 per cent and so on. From 1965 onwards, about 1/3 of the labour power in the Soviet agriculture has been engaged directly on the private plots. Besides this, the members of the collective farms spend 1/3 of their working time working on their private plots. In round figures, the area of these private economies in the Soviet Union amounts to 7.5 million hectares of land.

The transformation of the character of ownership, and together with it, the transformation of labour power into a commodity, the all-round extension of the commodity-money relationships, the putting of the categories of capitalist commodity production at the basis of the economy of the revisionist countries, are clearly and concretely summed up in the alteration of the aim of social production. In the revisionist countries, just as in the capitalist countries, the sole aim of production is the drawing of maximum profits for the interests of the revisionist capitalist bourgeoisie through the exploitation of the working masses who are divested of the means of production. Speaking of these processes which have taken place in the revisionist countries, at the 5th Congress of the PLA Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed that the revisionists "have proclaimed profit as the sole and absolute purpose of the activity of their enterprises, as the main motor of production" (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 5th Congress of the PLA, p. 73).

One of the important elements in the entire process of the extension and deepening of the capitalist character of the relations of production is the transformation of labour power into a commodity. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that "capitalism is that stage of the development of commodity production in which labour power, too, becomes a commodity". Precisely because this process of transformation of labour power into a commodity has been completed in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries, it is obvious that here we have to do with an economy in which the capitalist laws and categories pervade every aspect of it.

It is known that the economic laws operate through the activity of people. In the Soviet capitalist economy and that of the other revisionist countries, the entire activity of the bourgeois-revisionist class is guided by the principle of drawing the profit. All decisions in connection with investments, with the running of production, with hiring of labour, and so on, are taken proceeding purely and simply from the principle of ensuring the maximum profit by every means and in every way. The main relations of every capitalist enterprise with the state, with the budget, with banks, and so on, are realized proceeding mainly from the index of profitability. It is self-evident that the revisionist bourgeoisie of all levels endeavours to increase the maximum profit in every way, by increasing the level of exploitation of the working class and the other masses of working people.

The absolutizing of the material stimulus, along with the all-round re-establishment of the capitalist laws and categories, such as production prices and average norms of

profit, interest or capital etc., are clear expressions of the capitalist character of ownership in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries. As a result of all this the law of competition and anarchy of production prevail everywhere. These capitalist transformations emerge clearly also from an analysis of the concrete data of the Soviet capitalist economy on the norms of capitalist profit and surplus value,

In the recent years, as a result of the increased exploitation of the working people in general, the profits of the bourgeoisie have increased. Thus, in 1976, in the Soviet capitalist industry the norm of profit reached 36 per cent from 27.3 per cent in 1971. The Soviet press has admitted the fact that during the period from 1971 to 1975 a profit of 500 billion rubles was made, which is 3.5 times more than in the period 1966-1970.

With the intensification of work in the Soviet enterprises, which is done to cut down the capitalist costs of production and increase the profits, thousands of workers are laid off every day. Thus unemployment is another burden with which the masses of working people are saddled. Although the official Soviet organs pretend that there is no one out of work in the Soviet Union, the fact is that this ulcer of every capitalist regime is manifesting itself, with some special features, mainly in its hidden form, in this country, too. The Soviet revisionist press, itself, has admitted that nearly 8 million able-bodied people do not have jobs, that millions of others work only 120-180 days a year, that 10 per cent of the women are leaving the enterprises every year, etc. Meanwhile, hundreds of thousands of working people lose a great deal of time by being obliged to go from one enterprise to another to ensure a job. According to the newspaper "Pravda" the "wanderers", as it calls these people, lose about 70 million work days in industry, 20 million work days in agriculture and 3² million work days in transport, every year.

The degeneration of property relations in the Soviet Union and in other revisionist countries was accompanied and interwoven with **the degeneration** of the relations of distribution, **exchange and management**. This degeneration of the elements of the relations of production has been a complete complicated process, with reciprocal links and influences.

The process of the re-establishment of capitalist relations of distribution is characterized by two main aspects: the working class, deprived of the means of production during the distribution of income, began to receive only the value of its labour power in the form of capitalist wages, while the remainder of the new value created is appropriated by the new revisionist bourgeoisie in the form of surplus value.

The surplus value appropriated by the Soviet bourgeoisie takes different forms. This bourgeoisie itself, as the collective owner of the means of production, transforms a large part of this value into capital of the form of state monopoly capitalism. This part, like the means of production, it owns and appropriates as a class. Another part of the surplus value is distributed individually among the members of the bourgeoisie in the form of fat salaries, and many bonuses which have been established for the new Soviet managers, and which are being increased from day to day.

One need only compare the second part of the surplus value, which is appropriated individually by the members of the Soviet bourgeoisie in the forms of "salaries and

bonuses" with the wages of an ordinary worker, to understand the exploiting character of the capitalist relations of distribution in the Soviet Union and the other countries in which state power has been usurped by the revisionist cliques. Today, the salaries and bonuses of the top Soviet managers, without mentioning the elite of the party, the state, the army, the KGB and science, are 15-20 times higher than the wages of the ordinary workers.

The entire system of distribution which exists in the revisionist countries, the great number of supplementary bonuses, which in many cases are unlimited, under the label of "recognition of special merits of the managers", serves the individual appropriation by the new bourgeoisie of a part of the surplus value produced by the unpaid labour of the wage earners in these countries.

The degree of exploitation of the workers in any capitalist economy is measured with the norm of surplus value, which represents the ratio of the surplus value to the variable capital. In the statistics of the revisionist countries in this field, too, the size of the variable capital is falsified by including in it also the salaries of a part of the new Soviet bourgeoisie, which as is known directly appropriates a part of the surplus value. However, even with these "adjusted" figures from the statistics of the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries, it emerges that the norm of exploitation of the working class in the Soviet Union, during the year 1975, was 25 per cent greater than in 1960.

Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that just as private property gives birth to capitalism every day, every hour, so do "fat salaries" arouse the desire to create large, regular and irregular profits, create the desire to live, to eat, and to dress in the bourgeois manner. Precisely this phenomenon occurred in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries, where, through the extension of "bourgeois right", the capitalist relations of distribution have been established and now the new Soviet bourgeoisie owns private monetary capital of about 90 billion rubles, from which they receive 3-4 billion rubles a year in interest alone. (*Planovoje hozjaistvo*", No 7 1976, p 124).

It must be underlined that the degeneration of the relations of distribution in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries was brought about through gross misrepresentation of the so-called need to strengthen the material stimulus, commit thousands of deliberate distortions and falsifications in this direction. By raising a great to-do about the material stimuli; the revisionists extended the "bourgeois right" which still exists under socialism beyond all limits, bringing about a great quantitative difference in this field. In this way, instead of narrowing the "bourgeois right" in the sphere of distribution, Lenin instructed, through the extension and accentuation of these disproportions in material stimuli, they completely restored the right of bourgeois exploitation, the luxurious life of the new Soviet bourgeoisie. And at a time when profit and the number of the new bourgeois elements are increasing many times over, the ordinary Soviet citizen is consuming less than the necessary level in meat and its by-products 29.5 per cent, in milk and its by-products 22.2 per cent, in eggs 26.4 per cent, in vegetables 40.4 per cent, in cotton fabrics 30 per cent, in woollen fabrics 30.5 per cent, in knitwear 50 per cent etc. etc. (*"Ekonomiceskie nauki"*, No 10, 1976, p. 76). These are the things an average Soviet family goes short of, without mentioning here

the shortages of the other masses of workers and peasants who are lower paid and constitute the majority, for whom life is even difficult. Along with the degeneration of the relations of distribution, in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries the process of the degeneration of the relations of exchange and of the relations of management has been carried out, also.

The degeneration of the relations of exchange in the revisionist countries is closely connected with the entire process of the degeneration of commodity and money relations. In the sphere of commodity exchanges, commodities which are characteristic of capitalism such as labour power and the means of production were introduced. At the same time, in the field of the relations of exchange all the capitalist categories were re-established, such as the predominance of anarchy of production and competition on the market, the establishment of exchanges according to production prices, decentralization and the free movement of prices, the deepening of non-equivalent exchanges, the extension and liberalization of exchanges with the rest of the capitalist world, and so on.

The non-equivalent exchange of goods is seen especially in the relations of exchange between the Soviet Union and the vassal countries. Through this means, Russian social-imperialism exploits the working masses of these countries. On the basis of 1975 figures the deficits incurred by the countries of Eastern Europe in trade exchanges with the Soviet Union calculated in millions of dollars are as follows: East Germany 450, Czechoslovakia 171, Poland 55, Bulgaria 170 and Hungary 56. These deficits in the balance of trade exchanges between these countries and the Soviet Union are a concrete indication of the new-colonialist policy of the Soviet social-imperialists. They are clear evidence of the discriminatory character of the long-term trade protocols which Moscow imposes on the other countries in order to plunder them.

An important role in the re-establishment of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries was played by the counter-revolutionary measures of the revisionist chiefs for the degeneration of the socialist relations of management.

The socialist economy cannot exist and develop without unified and centralized management, without its harmonized development according to a unified state plan, without the broad participation of the working masses, and in the first place, of the working class, in running the country, without the struggle against the manifestations of bureaucracy and liberalism. Along with the degeneration of property, distribution and exchange, the revisionist traitors also destroyed these fundamental principles of management of the socialist economy, with the result that the management relations also degenerated into capitalist management relations.

"The change in the forms of the organization and administration of the economy into capitalist forms," says Comrade Enver Hoxha. "have created a situation in the Soviet Union just, like that in Tito's Yugoslavia" (Enver Hoxha, *Speeches, 1967-1968*, p 275) Abandonment of centralized and planned development of the economy, the granting of complete autonomy to the economic enterprises on the so-called self-supporting basis, management of the economy according to an anarchic decentralization in which the capitalist levers of the market predominate and make the law, as well as other measures of this kind, led to the complete degeneration of the socialist relations of

management into capitalist relations.

The entire activity of enterprises in the revisionist countries is assessed on the basis of the main index, which is the so-called return of profits on the funds invested. The fat bonuses of the new managers in these countries depend solely on the profit returned on the funds invested. The Soviet revisionists admit this openly, saying: "The fundamental principle of the new pay system is that pay and bonuses are determined according to profits realised. Profit constitutes both the basis for the calculation of the wages and bonus fund and the fundamental source to finance it".

The only regulator of production in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries is the law of value and spontaneity of the market. Another index by which the work enterprises is valued is the volume of sales. This is determined by the state of the market. Thus in fact it is precisely the spontaneity of the market which regulates production. Meanwhile, the distribution of investments in the Soviet Union is carried out on the basis of the so-called standard co-efficient of capital investments which, in reality, represents the average norm of profit.

Along with these, the category of the capitalist production price, for which the revisionists, with a thousand tricks invent "socialist" names and justifications, operates throughout the whole Soviet economy. Through the decentralization of prices, prices which the enterprises themselves fix, "escalated prices", and so on, in fact, the free play of prices operates completely in various forms. The capitalist category of interest on capital has been established throughout the entire Soviet economy.

In the economic enterprises of the Soviet Union, wholesale prices are built up in such a way as to ensure profit for the completely autonomous enterprises first of all. The capitalist scheme for the construction of production prices has been adopted as a basis for this. Thus, the price of the goods is calculated in this manner: the concrete expenditure (costs) are added to the average profit yield (calculated on the basis of the productive funds and not on the cost) that is, according to the formula $C+V+P$, which, in fact is the capitalist formula for the average production price, which is intended to ensure equal profits for equal capital. Born on the basis of competition, the building up of prices in this manner contributes to the further deepening of the struggle of competition, which is becoming more open and fiercer between Soviet enterprises. To this must be added the fact that the setting of prices for a large number of products is within the competences of the enterprises themselves, which fix prices depending on the state of the market. Of course there are also centralized prices, but these, too, are calculated on the basis of supply and demand, on the basis of the laws of the capitalist market.

On the other hand, it must be stressed that the degeneration of management relations is closely connected with the entire process of the degeneration of the leading cadres. The development of bureaucracy and technocratism among the cadres, their loss of the revolutionary spirit, their deviation from the proletarian principles and transformation into "apparatchiki", created the social foundation in the Soviet Union on which the revisionist clique based itself and on which it is still based today. The degeneration of the cadres, their transformation into all-powerful apparatchiki, the dying out of the working class control over their activity, transformed the Soviet

working class from the leading force of the country into simply a productive force, a mere carrier out of orders, which is mercilessly exploited by the new revisionist bourgeoisie.

In this manner, the degeneration of all the elements of the relations of production, considered as a complicated process with reciprocal influences, brought about the complete and final reestablishment of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries. Precisely for this reason, Comrade Enver Hoxha has said that "the modern revisionists have completely destroyed the socialist system in their countries, transforming it into a capitalist system" (Enver Hoxha, Speeches 1972-1973).

The re-establishment of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries has been accompanied by all the negative consequences of the capitalist economy. Despite the forced development of the war economy, a marked fall in the rates of economic development can be seen in the Soviet Union. Thus, in the period from 1971 to 1975, in comparison with the period from 1945 to 1960, the average annual rate of increase in national income declined 2.2 fold, and of industrial production almost 2 fold, and of the agricultural production 2.7 fold. During the period 1965-75 repayments of bank loans to enterprises, which were overdue, increased 2.5 fold. Failure on the part of the Soviet enterprises to liquidate obligations by the due date increased 28 per cent during the period from 1965 to 1970, while the total sum of all unliquidated overdue payments increased 78 per cent.

Now that the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union has been completed, it has resulted in the phenomenon which is characteristic of every capitalist economy, concretely, the increase of maximum profits for the capitalist class and the real decline of the economic effectiveness of social production, seen on the scale of the whole society (measured with the index of national income). Thus, according to some calculations, in the Soviet Union, during the period from 1960 to 1975, the effectiveness of social production as a whole fell 8.4 per cent, whereas in the branch of industry alone it fell 5.5 per cent.

In their analysis of the betrayal of the revisionists of the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries, our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha were the first to warn of the re-establishment of capitalism in these countries. At the same time our Party, constantly following its unerring Marxist-Leninist line, further deepened the measures for the all-round revolutionization of life in our country. "Socialist Albania," said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the Party, "provides a major example which shows that the emergence of revisionism and return to capitalism are not decreed by fate to be inevitable, as the bourgeois ideologists try to make out. It proves the vitality of socialism, the invincible strength of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism which, when they are consistently applied, carry the cause of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat forward with sure steps. The correct understanding of this problem, the dialectical appreciation of it, is of great principled importance and is directly linked with the fate of socialism." (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 111.

Review

"People's Health". The "Naim Frasheri" Publishing House, Tirana, 1972

The development of Science and Technology in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries gave an impetus to research in the medical sciences. The understanding of the role of microbial organs in causing major epidemiological and endemic diseases like pox, malaria, cholera, typhoid, tuberculosis, syphilis and the discovery of anti-microbial agents gave an opportunity to mankind for the first time in history to control and eradicate these infectious diseases. By the beginning of the nineteen-fifties, the western world had effectively controlled the major epidemic and endemic diseases in their societies in spite of all the limitations of the capitalist society though the improved socio-economic conditions of the people in the post-war period had a major role to play. Most of the backward countries of the world failed to control these diseases and these continue to be the major health problems in these countries.

Albania was a backward feudal and semi-colonial country before the Second World War. Malaria, Syphilis, dysentery, typhoid, tuberculosis, etc. were major health problems before liberation. The spectacular progress made by it after the establishment of people's power sets an example for backward ex-colonial countries such as India. The book in question gives a detailed description of the progress in the field of health made by the people of Albania in the last three decades. The following table gives an account of it.

	1938	1970
Number of hospital beds per 1000 inhabitants	1	7
Number of beds	805	9884
Number of inhabitants per physician and dentist	8500	1180
Percentage of deliveries under medical care	---	76

In pre-revolutionary Albania health expenditure amounted to only one percent of the budget whereas the royal palace consumed 3.7 percent. After liberation expenditure on health per capita of the population has increased seventy four times in comparison with the pre-war period. The number of health institutions have increased twenty-seven times and the number of hospital beds 21 times. *All medical facilities are available to every citizen free of charge.* Pharmaceuticals have been nationalized and the cost of medicines have been thereby reduced. Moreover the workers' state provides subsidies for the production of drugs. Diseases like malaria, syphilis, measles, poliomyelitis have been totally eradicated and tuberculosis has been brought under effective control. The whole population has been vaccinated against infectious diseases. Increasing stress is being given to the prevention of diseases: the party, democratic people are being involved in the process of health education and organisations and the creation of health consciousness. All this is in sharp contrast to the pre-war conditions. Albania though a small country is a living example for all the developing countries such as India as to how the major health problems can be solved by adopting a socialist system and bringing about a change in the property relations.

This book has its shortcomings. It fails to give the reader any information about the "diseases of civilization" such as hypertension, peptic ulcers, alcoholism, psychiatric

illnesses etc. which are associated with the stresses and strains of modern industrial society: these diseases are the major health problems of capitalist society today. This work of course, renders only a general account of the health system in Albania in a short space but it would be very interesting to learn whether it has been possible to control these types of diseases, in a socialist health system, *O.M.*

The reviewer is a General Practitioner in a working class area in Delhi.

Prishtina

A poem by Lazar Siliqi

Lazar Siliqi was born in 1924 at Shkodra. In the course of the War of National Liberation, he took part in the underground resistance of the Communist Party; arrested by the Nazi occupying forces, he was sent to the concentration camp at Prishtina (Yugoslavia), the subject of the poem which follows. After Liberation he completed his education at the Gorky Institute of Literature in Moscow, since when he has worked on various magazines and literary reviews. Several volumes of his poems have been published, and he is also the author of opera libretti and film scripts. He holds the Prize of the Republic. His principal works to date are the poems "Prishtina", "The Teacher", "Resurrection" and "The Poem of Light", together with the collection of poems "Tirana speaks".

The brightness of our sun
dazzles them.
I listen
to the jackals yelp!
See the hyenas dig
in the tombs of the past
to exhume the dead
that the peoples have buried.
Listen,
listen to the swords clash
that they draw from the sheath;
See the rise up the hand of
capital,
dripping with blood...
It will not strike!
For the hands of workers and peasants,
pincers of steel,
like great shears
Slit its veins!
They hiss like serpents:
For this sun which lights up the day
is black as night!
The blood spilled shed by the martyrs,

is it not red?
The towns and the plains,
 the rivers and the valleys,
 the hills and the mountains,
have they nothing to tell?
They hiss like serpents.
The piercing sirens scream,
and sweat,
 like blood from the wounds of martyrs,
 pours.
Now the towns and the plains,
 the rivers and the valleys,
 the hills and the mountains,
Speak...
From twice-burned Peza
 rises the call.
Listen to the partisans sing,
Listen to the Germans shout
when warriors attack Drashovica!
At the bridge of Voglica
 the muskets crack;
in the mountains rolls the thunder!
On the shore of Ohrid
 we have seen Rashed and his comrades fall!
In the gorge of Mejgoran
 the voice of Asim booms!
In the pass of Kitchok
 the partisans attack with fury.
In the pass of the Serpent,
 at the Carved Stone
everything crumbles beneath the blows
 of the Brigade!
The Shkumbin's waters flow.
 Today its steep banks speak:
We have seen brave men
 plough
 through the foaming stream,
and the Division march
into the plains and mountains where treason whined,
where centuries of servitude
 have woven threads of darkness
 a hope,
 a light,
 and a flag!

We have seen the fighters
 cleave the waves
 with Enver's words in their heart.
Tirana waits to see
 a new sun,
while the waters of the Shkumbin
 flow to the sea,
 where their song
will say to all eternity
 that the Sons of the Eagle have written
 a new epic!
Tirana's streets and walls
 speak to you,
 the warriors cry:
We have freed every inch of our soil,
 watering it with our blood.
Our heart,
 Tirana,
 is once more ours!
The serpents hiss;
We have seared their nest
 as the flames
 of Gjon Markagjon
 burst forth in fury,
when feudalism was uprooted,
 and the plains and mountains
 returned to life.
It is not our sun
 which is black as night
Dark as hell
 was the February night
Dreadful as hell
 was the village burned
in the cries of children and the tears of mothers!
Today the voices of our dead rise up,
 tens of thousands
 in a fearful choir;
the earth trembles beneath their feet,
the cries from lacerated throats
 are heard beyond infinity.
If the flames rose today
 from the houses
 burned by the enemy,
burned by Italian,

traitor,
 German,
they would rise into space
 and light up the sky!
One would see in them reflections
 of Athens and of London
 beyond the seas.
And these flames
 will kindle,
 stir in our veins,
 hatred.
Speak to us. you stars
 in the sky of heroes!
Tell us, Qemal,
 of your work,
 which struck at Peza,
 took wings at Labinot,
marched over the ruins of Permet,
 kept watch at Berat and Tirana,
resurrects today our martyrs
 fallen everywhere,
in the towns and the plains,
 the rivers and the valleys,
 the hills and the mountains,
who languished in the gaols,
 rotted on Italian isles,
 far from their homes,
 in exile,
reduced to skeletons;
 who died
at Mathausen, Belsen, Dachau;
who rotted
in the ditches of Prishtina...

II

PRISHTINA!
 Horror!
 Misery!
Prishtina,
 accursed camp,
you have torn out
 a piece of my heart;
there at the foot of the hills,
 in a deep hollow,

you imprisoned
a piece of my soul:
In the graves where our comrades lie,
where sleep Djavit and Gjika,
they believe
that the bullets in their bodies
have silenced them!
But your voice is heard, comrades,
when one has seen
the black pit
Like the mouth of hell.
You will never die,
you comrades
who cannot speak,
for I will speak in your name;
I will speak to the world of this red blood,
of the sufferings,
the terror,
and the death.
I will tell
of the convoys of lorries;
and the human cattle,
bruised,
worn out,
sleepless,
will sigh.
Against the dark backcloth of the night
the huts
stand out,
and the men with shaven heads.
In trembling hearts,
terror blends with hate,
as the "tigers" wait for us.
When one catches their glance,
their pupils gleam
with devilish fire.
We have seen
the butcher's frenzy,
and the terror of the child
torn by force
from the arms of its weeping mother,
tearing at her hair!
This look of the "tiger"
is found in the Nazi,

even in eyes which seem to blink
as mildly as a lamb...
Pale,
 dirty,
 sick,
head shaven,
in the hand a mess-tin
 found in the garbage,
 rusty,
 a foul broth inside.
A solemn procession
 of martyrs,
and endless procession
 of heroes.
In the huts
 we suffocate,
packed one on the other,
 in hundreds,
beaten,
 soaked,
 starved,
resting our aching bones on the boards
 or the black earth...
A graveyard of dead men?
 No!
An arsenal of fire and gunpowder!
For our hearts
 blaze with hatred,
and fire burns in our breasts!
Often our song,
 daring as chained Prometheus,
leaps over the barbed wire,
 soars to the plains and mountains.
Our mothers, our sisters and our brothers,
 do they hear our song?...
Prishtina!
 Suffering!
 Horror!
The cudgels and whips of the SS
 fall on our backs
as we clean out the cesspools
and, under the ruin which lashes us,
 we drag heavy carts.
Sinking in the mud

we drag wagons
like serfs on the bank of the Volya
long ago!
We dig trenches
to shelter the hangmen!
We carry munitions
to kill our brothers!
We open up
with our hands
the graves of our comrades
Evening falls, moist and sad;
clouds race across the sky.
Everything
around
is sinister.
Night falls, dismally.
In the darkness
as the rain lashes
the bare branches,
and the wind blasts the walls of the huts,
where anguish rends and gnaws
each heart,
naked,
like the newly-born,
stripped by the whips of the storm,
they are led to the pits
which are own hands
have dug!
They are dragged out
two by two!
In the hellish night
devils' hands slash, dismember them!....
How many are there ?
Just so many dogs!
Not one not two, not four,
but
Hundreds!
Strong, with burning eyes;
but they die clutching their heart
like soldiers their rifle;
but they see in their grave
the dawn of a new day
throwing its rays already on us.
A shot:

a comrade falls!
A shot,
and the heart of the people
sighs for a life extinguished;
a growl of anger
rumbles out
against the unchained beast!
A savage rain beats on the ground in rage,
and the red blood
blends with the black earth
to form a flag!
Evil spirits prowl in the night—
the SS hangmen—
their uniforms,
their faces,
splashed with blood,
their hands bloodstained.
And the eyes
of our sisters weep...
With vampire's fangs
gleaming white in the half-light,
with eyes injected with blood,
the hangman stretches out his hands
and laughs!
Stop! Unhappy one!
Stop! My poor sister,
who carries water to the executioner
that he may wash his bloody hands!
All the rivers,
the lakes and the seas,
will not suffice
to wash out,
to efface,
this massacre;
even the years
will not wipe out
this horror
of blood and tempest;
it will be for ever
a ghastly page!...
Oh, comrades
who have fallen,
when an end is made
to this night of slavery,

then the sun...
 which they wished to obscure,
will be seen again gilding
 the Albanian sky.

III

The brightness of our sun;
 dazzles them.
Listen to
 the yelping of the jackals!
Watch the hyenas digging
 In the tombs of the past...
Prishtina!
 Prishtina!
 Speak to us!
Throughout the days,
 the weeks,
 the months,
we waited
 without flinching
 for death.
When our comrades were murdered,
and left us alone,
 we looked at ourselves:
sparks were flashing
 in our eyes!
For all those months
 we knew nothing of what went on
 beyond the barbed wire.
At the heart of the Nazi storm
 we had floated
like a raft adrift on a sea of anger
where, like wild beasts, the furious waves
 prepared to seize their prey...
But as these "tigers" snarled at us
 with ever deeper hate,
we heard approach
 the step
 of the red soldier of Stalin,
and the crack of the rifles
 of Enver...
Torture, suffering, death
 were impotent;
 they neither frightened us

nor broke our spirit.

Party!

Beloved Party!

What hope,

what courage,

what tire,

you breathed,

you kindled,

in our breasts!

It is you who have raised the martyrs
who died singing!

It is you who taught them
to live in song

but fight to the death,

in song as rough

as the life of the workers,

in song as ardent

as the flame in young breasts,

in song as warm

and full of gladness

as the tomorrows

which will glow

in peace,

in flowers,

and in joy!

Surrounded by

the barbed wire

of the accursed camp,

far from our homes,

far from our kin,

far from our loved ones,

you were our father and our brother,

our friend and comrade,

so dear.

Party!

Never did we lose the hope

that the day would come

when we should cry to the world:

The bloodshed at Prishtina

will be avenged!

Never will be extinguished

the light which has flowed

from the blood of the martyrs.

The hope flowered in our hearts:

We shall be free,
and see the world free,
when the eagle of revolution
above the accursed camp
proclaims the victory
of the sickle and hammer!

I. A. F. A. News

The India-Albania Friendship Association has received New Years Greetings for the year 1980 from Ferdi Faxagjozi on behalf of the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations with Foreign Countries.

Under the editorship of the famous democratic novelist K. S. Niranjana a treasury of short stories from all over the world in the *Kannada* language is under preparation in twenty-five volumes entitled "Vishwa Kathaa Kosha". With the assistance of the India-Albania Friendship Association "Vishwa Kathaa Kosha" will be including a selection of short stories from Albania. Translation of these short stories is currently being undertaken into *Kannada* and it is anticipated that the volume containing Albanian short stories will be published in 1981.

The India-Albania Friendship Association (Delhi) has begun the publication of Albanian literature in the Hindi language. At present two documents are in press: "Theory and Practice of Revolution", originally published in the *Zeri i Popullit* of July 7th, 1977; and one chapter from "Imperialism and the Revolution" by Enver Hoxha entitled "'Mao Tse-tung Thought'-An Anti-Marxist Theory" is being issued in the form of a separate pamphlet

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