

Albania today

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*Like the entire Albanian people, the miners, too, celebrated January 11th,
the day of the proclamation of the PSRA,
with new achievements in the accomplishment of their tasks*

*Workers of the «ENVER HOXHA» Automobile and Tractor Combine in Tirana
discussing the application of a new technological process*



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CONTENTS:

<i>Directives of the 8th Congress of the PLA for the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985) of economic and cultural development of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania</i>	2	
<i>Socialist Albania will always remain loyal to the great cause of socialism and the revolution</i>	14	ADIL ÇARÇANI
<i>Outstanding enrichment of the history of the National Liberation War – a source of lessons for the future</i>	20	ARBEN PUTO
<i>A sharp and powerful ideological weapon</i>	26	ZËRI I POPULLIT
<i>The loyalty of the PLA to Marxism-Leninism – basis of all its victories</i>	30	SOTIR MANUSHI
<i>The progress of culture and the general progress of the nation</i>	34	HAMIT BEQJA
<i>From the life of the Country</i>	40	
<i>How is Titoite Yugoslavia going to the 12th Congress of the LCY?</i>	50	SKËNDER OSUMI
<i>Press Review</i>	57	

DIRECTIVES OF THE 8th CONGRESS FOR THE 7th FIVE-YEAR PLAN OF ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

THE 6th FIVE-YEAR PLAN (1976-1981) MARKED ANOTHER GLORIOUS PERIOD IN THE STRUGGLE OF OUR PARTY AND PEOPLE TO CARRY FORWARD THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM, TO STRENGTHEN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORDER AND THE DEFENCE OF THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA, TO RAISE THE MATERIAL AND CULTURAL WELL-BEING OF THE PEOPLE AND TO TEMPER THE SOCIALIST CONSCIOUSNESS OF OUR NEW MAN. OVER THIS PERIOD THE FORCES OF PRODUCTION WERE FURTHER DEVELOPED AND THE SOCIAL PRODUCT ASSUMED LARGER PROPORTIONS, THE SOCIALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION WERE IMPROVED, EDUCATION AND CULTURE WERE RAISED TO A HIGHER LEVEL, AND THE TECHNICAL-SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION DEEPENED FURTHER.

THE MAJOR VICTORIES WHICH WERE ACHIEVED IN ALL FIELDS OF LIFE IN THE LAST FIVE-YEAR PLAN ARE INCONTESTABLE EVIDENCE OF THE SUPERIORITY AND VITALITY OF OUR SOCIALIST ORDER. THEY HAVE THE CORRECT MARXIST-LENINIST LINE OF THE PARTY AT THEIR FOUNDATIONS AND ARE THE FRUIT OF THE CONSCIOUS AND TIRELESS WORK OF THE BROAD WORKING MASSES OF TOWN AND COUNTRYSIDE FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HISTORIC DECISIONS OF THE 7th CONGRESS OF THE PARTY.

THESE VICTORIES WERE ACHIEVED IN THE SPECIFIC AND VERY DIFFICULT CONDITIONS OF THE SAVAGE IMPERIALIST-REVISIONIST ENCIRCLEMENT AND BLOCKADE, IN THE CONDITIONS OF THE DIFFICULTIES CREATED BY THE HOSTILE AND SABOTAGE ACTIVITY OF THE CHINESE REVISIONISTS AGAINST OUR COUNTRY, OF THE SHARPENING OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA, AND THE DEEPENING OF THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS. THE GIGANTIC STRUGGLE OF OUR PARTY AND PEOPLE CAUSED THE IGNOMINIOUS DEFEAT OF ALL THE EFFORTS OF THE ENEMIES TO IMPEDE AND DIVERT US FROM THE ROAD OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM.

IN THIS STRUGGLE THE STEEL AND UNBREAKABLE UNITY OF THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE WAS FURTHER STRENGTHENED, OUR HOMELAND AND ECONOMY EMERGED MORE POWERFUL THAN EVER FROM IT. AT A TIME WHEN THE CAPITALIST ECONOMY, BOURGEOIS AND REVISIONIST, HAS BEEN EVER MORE DEEPLY IMMERSSED IN A WHIRL-POOL OF CONTRADICTIONS AND CRISES, OUR ECONOMY HAS CONTINUOUSLY BUILT UP ITS STABILITY AND CREATED A POWERFUL BASE FROM WHICH IT WILL MARCH AHEAD AT MORE RAPID RATES, RELYING COMPLETELY ON OUR OWN FORCES.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND MODERN REVISIONISM, THE UNWAVERING DEFENCE OF MARXISM-LENINISM AGAINST THE ATTACKS AND DISTORTIONS OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND ALL THE CURRENTS OF OPPORTUNISM AND REVISIONISM, THE RESOLUTE SUPPORT WHICH OUR PARTY AND PEOPLE GIVE THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLES FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE, THE CONTINUOUS EXPOSURE OF THE WARMONGERING POLICY OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS — US IMPERIALISM AND SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM, AS WELL AS THE CHINESE REVISIONISTS, HAVE FURTHER INCREASED THE AUTHORITY AND STRENGTHENED THE INTERNATIONAL POSITION OF SOCIALIST ALBANIA.

CONGRESS OF THE PLA EAR PLAN (1981-1985) TURAL DEVELOPMENT SOCIALIST REPUBLIC BANIA

I

THE FULFILMENT OF THE MAIN TASKS OF THE 6th FIVE-YEAR PLAN (1976-1980) OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY AND CULTURE

In the last five-year plan the economy and culture of our country reached a new, higher, stage of development. The volume of production was further increased and important improvements were made to the structure of social product.

Although the Chinese revisionists cut off the credits to and broke other economic relations with our country, on which the attainment of some important objectives of the 6th Five-year Plan was based, the Party appealed to the whole people, mobilized and led the working masses in the fulfilment of the main tasks of the state plan.

With the measures which were taken for continuing the building of the projects abandoned half-finished and sabotaged by the Chinese revisionists, in the period 1979-1980, against the period 1976-1978, our economy developed at higher rates, relying completely on its own forces, without any aid and credit from abroad. In this manner, during the last two years of the five-year plan social product increased at an average of 4.9 per cent as against 4.2 per cent in the period 1976-1980, at a time when the average annual rate of increase of total industrial production was 17 per cent higher against the same period.

Total social product in 1980 increased 24.4 per cent against 1975, or twice as rapidly as the growth of the population.

By applying the economic policy of the Party for the deepening of the socialist industrialization of the country

with consistency, the role of industry, as the leading branch of the economy, for the more extensive exploitation of the natural assets, for the increase of the degree of their local processing and for the development of the other branches of the economy, was further raised. Total industrial production over the last five-year plan increased at an average annual rate of 6.1 per cent. New branches of industry, such as the ferrous metallurgy, the deep processing of oil, the processing of ferro-chrome, etc were set up, and the material and technical base of the existing branches of the extracting and processing industry was further expanded.

During the past five-year plan priority was given to the branches of the production of the means of production. In 1980 the specific weight of the group A in total industrial production accounted for 64 per cent, against 56.8 per cent in 1975. The electric power industry was further strengthened, thus fulfilling all the growing needs of the country and becoming one of the important sources for the increase of exports. Important successes were achieved in the discovery of new oil and gas fields, which increased the industrial reserves. In 1980, as against 1975, coal extraction increased 63 per cent and the production of electric power from hydro-power plants threefold.

The mechanical industry developed at high rates and attained the main task of fulfilling 95 per cent of the needs of the economy with locally produced spare parts,

Important steps ahead were made in the increase of the production of machinery and equipment. Industrial production in this branch in 1980, as against 1975, was 57.7 per cent greater. Notable progress was also made in all the other branches of the heavy industry, extracting and processing, such as in that of chromium, copper, the chemical industry, the industry of building materials, the paper and wood-working industries, etc.

During the 6th Five-year Plan the production of consumer goods assumed further development. For many important products of the light and food industries, the average annual rates of their increase was from 2.2 to 6.5 times higher than the average annual rate of the growth of the population.

In the 6th Five-year Plan our socialist agriculture made fresh progress on the basis of the intensification of production in its different branches. Agricultural production for the five years taken together, against the production of the 5th Five-year Plan, was 21.4 per cent greater. The cooperativist peasantry and the other agricultural workers consolidated their great victory — the achievement of self-sufficiency in bread grain for the entire population. This, together with the increase of other agricultural and livestock production, further raised the role of our socialist agriculture in the independent development of our country by fulfilling the needs of the population, industry and export, better.

These achievements were the base for the further strengthening of the material-technical base of agriculture. Alongside the increase of the number of tractors and other farming machines, the acreage under irrigation increased by about 40,000 hectares, the production of chemical fertilizers in 1980, against 1975, increased 50 per cent. Important steps ahead were also taken in the more rational use of the material-technical base, which was achieved through the application of advanced technique and technology for building up the fertility of the land and good administration of livestock.

During the 6th Five-year Plan the volume of investments made for the development of the economy and culture was 15 per cent greater than in the 5th Five-year Plan. Many important economic and socio-cultural projects, which further strengthened the material-cultural base of the economy in general and of its specific branches, especially in industry and agriculture, were set up and came into production.

Further development was marked also by the other branches and sectors of the economy and culture. The volume of the goods transport during the past five-year plan increased 30 per cent, thus ensuring a better fulfilment of the needs of the economy for the movement of goods in time.

Foreign trade, with the measures which were taken, overcame the difficulties and obstacles created by the breaking off of the economic relations of the Chinese revision-

ists with our country, secured new markets for the sale of our goods of export and increased the export-import volume in general.

All these attainments were another important step on the road of the transformation of Albania into an industrial-agricultural country.

Thanks to the solicitude of the Party and the measures that were applied, the standard of living of the working masses was maintained and improved. The real incomes per capita of the population have been further increased, its buying power also increased, and the socialist trade better fulfilled the needs of the population for consumer goods in quantity, structure and quality. High rates characterized the increase of the sectors of communal services. At a time when inflation, steep price rises, unemployment and other negative phenomena hit the standard of living of the working people in the capitalist and revisionist countries, in our country taxes have been abolished long ago, prices of goods and charges for services are stable and house rents are very low. In our country there is no inflation, unemployment, and economic emigration.

Socialist education and culture assumed further development. Their role in the entire work of the Party for the communist education of the working masses has been raised to a higher level. About 20,000 higher cadres of various specialities, or 57 per cent more than in the 5th Five-year Plan, have been trained. The quality of the training of specialists in the higher schools and of the qualified workers and other specialists in the secondary schools has been improved.

Progress has also been made in the health service, in the protection and improvement of the people's health. There have been successes in the development of hygiene in the towns and villages, work and production centres and in the protection of the environment from pollution.

The successes in the development of the economy and culture and the all-round struggle for the establishment of a strict regime of savings everywhere helped further strengthen the financial situation of the country and increased the buying power of the lek. The state budget has uninterruptedly financed the growing expenditure for the development of the economy, the social and cultural sectors and the strengthening of the defence capacity of the Homeland.

An invaluable contribution to the all-round development of the country was made by the uninterrupted development of the technical-scientific revolution which has solved with success many problems of the advance of the economy, culture and of the strengthening of the defence capacity of the country.

Relying on the above-mentioned achievements in all the spheres of the socio-economic activity of the country, the 8th Congress concluded that the main task set by the 7th Congress of the Party for the 6th Five-year Plan was fulfilled with success.

Based on these achievements, on the material and financial resources and possibilities of our country, which will be increased in the future, on the studies made for the development of the various branches and sectors of the material production and the social and cultural sectors,

as well as on the discussion and examination of the draft of the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985), the 8th Congress of the PLA approves these directives of the 7th Five-year Plan of the development of the economy and culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

II

THE MAIN DIRECTIONS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY AND CULTURE FOR THE 7th FIVE-YEAR PLAN (1981-1985)

Guided by the general line of the Party relying on the revolutionary enthusiasm and lofty patriotism of the people, on the material-technical basis created up to now and the socialist relations of production, the 8th Congress of the PLA endorses this fundamental task for the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985): «The general development of the economy, relying completely on our own forces, on the basis of deepening the socialist industrialization of the country, the strengthening and intensification of agriculture, raising the efficiency of the economy, the development of the technical-scientific revolution and perfecting the socialist relations of production, in order to guarantee and gradually raise the material well-being and the cultural level of the masses of the working people and to further strengthen the socialist order and the defence capacity of the Homeland.»

This objective will be achieved:

through the rapid development of industry to ensure continuation of the construction of a multi-branched, complex industry, by strengthening the existing branches and setting up new branches, giving priority to increasing heavy extracting and processing industry, in the first place, to the energy industry, the mining and processing industries and the engineering industry, as well as by developing industry producing mass consumer goods in keeping with the needs of the people and the economy, and improving the structure and quality of these goods;

through the rapid progress and intensification of agricultural production, by introducing and applying the new achievements of science and advanced experience on a broader scale, with the aim of ceaselessly increasing the production of bread grain, and high rates of increase of other agricultural and livestock products to ensure ever better supplies of those products to meet the needs of the people, the economy and defence;

through further increasing the effectiveness of the social product and the use of the national income, especially in investments and fundamental construction, while increasing profitability in the branches of material produc-

tion and strengthening the regime of savings in the production in the social and cultural sectors;

through the all-round progress of science and the development of the technical-scientific revolution, further enhancing their role for the development and application of advanced technology on a broad scale and the solution of socio-economic problems of the construction of socialism in our country;

through the constant strengthening of the socialist property, especially in the countryside, improvement of the forms of remuneration, the strengthening of the scientific character of the organization and planned management of the economy and culture, on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism and improvement of the organizational structure in compliance with the needs of development.

The main indicators of the development of the economy during the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985) are to rise as follows:

	Increase per cent 1985 against 1980
Total social product	34-36
National income	35-37
Total industrial production	36-38
Total agricultural production (in the 7th Five-year Plan, as against the 6th Five-year Plan, for the five years taken together)	30-32
Fundamental investments (in the 7th Five-year Plan, as against the 6th Five-year Plan, for the five years taken together)	22-24
Transport of goods (ton/kilometres)	34-36
Circulation of retail goods	22-24
Exports	58-60
Productivity of social labour	12-14
Productivity of labour in industry	13-15
Productivity of labour in construction	14-16
Real income per head of population	8-10
Total financial income	34-36

The targets envisaged for the 7th Five-year Plan are more majestic than those of all the previous five-year plans, the more so, because this will be the first five-year plan carried out by our Party and people relying entirely on our own forces, without any aid or credit from abroad, and will achieve high rates of development in all branches of the economy and culture, in aggravated international conditions and circumstances.

The targets envisaged for the 7th Five-year Plan are realistic and scientific. As always, they are founded on the universal laws and basic principles of scientific socialism, as well as the real possibilities which our economy has to attain these targets.

To fulfil all these magnificent objectives of the 7th Five-year Plan requires further mobilization of all the internal resources and reserves that our economy has and will create, requires that everybody should thoroughly understand and make the maximum efforts to carry out all the tasks that emerge from the situation in which our country is developing, especially the application of the principle of self-reliance by all the working collectives of town and countryside, the raising to a higher level of the work of the Party and all its levers for the revolutionary education and tempering of our new man through the development of the ideological and cultural revolution, always on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

1. DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY

During the 7th Five-year Plan industry will be developed and consolidated further, first of all, through more complete and rational utilization of the natural assets of the country, more efficient utilization of the existing production capacities and extension and reconstruction of them, as well as through the construction of new projects, giving priority to the production of means of production. In 1985, as against 1980, the production of means of production (Group A) will increase 38-40 per cent, while the production of consumer goods (Group B) will increase 33-35 per cent.

Geological prospecting for minerals will be stepped up ensuring increased proved and inferred industrial reserves of oil, gas, and coal, chromium, copper and iron-nickel ores and other useful minerals, as a basis for the rapid development of the mineral extracting and processing industry for the longest possible period. The effectiveness of the use of the material-technical base and investments in the field of geological prospecting will be enhanced by employing advanced scientific methods and doing more all-embracing complex studies.

Priority must be given to the **development of the energy industry** to increase energy products at more rapid rates, ensuring the fulfilment of the growing needs of

the economy for these products and increased exports of them.

The development of the oil and gas industry will be the main task in the field of energy. In 1985, as against 1980, oil extraction will increase 58-60 per cent. The increase in the extraction of oil and gas will be secured from the existing fields which are under exploitation, and from those known and proved. The exploitation of all the oil and gas fields will be improved by the use of the most rational, scientifically based methods and the employment of secondary and intensification methods must be extended widely to bring about an appreciable increase in the coefficient of the oil extraction from sandy and limestone formations. Technical-scientific discipline must be strengthened and efficiency raised, especially in the sector of drilling for oil and gas. Work must be stepped up to bring into exploitation the mines and processing plants for bituminous sands, while improving their technical-financial indices.

In the oil refineries the quality of liquid fuels will be improved and the range of products increased in compliance with the needs of the economy and the technological losses will be reduced.

The extraction of coal and the measures to improve its quality and the maximum extension of the use of coal to replace liquid fuels will be among the most important tasks for the working people of the energy industry and other consumers. In 1985, as against 1980, coal extraction will increase about 48 per cent.

Production of electric power in 1985 will increase about 16 per cent as against 1980. Most of the increase, about 14 per cent, will come from hydro-power stations. We must work for a more rational utilization of the waters of the hydro-power stations during the whole year and for more economical exploitation of thermal-power stations, as well as for a high level of readiness of them to ensure uninterrupted supplies of electric power to the consumers.

A strict regime of savings with scientifically studied norms of consumption of energy products and liquid fuels and rigorous checkup on their application is necessary.

The mineral extracting industry must be developed at rapid rates, on the basis of the known mineral reserves, first of all, by stepping up extraction from and extending the existing mines. In 1985, as against 1980, extraction of chromium ore will increase 29 per cent, copper ore about 53 per cent, iron-nickel about 2.5 times. The extraction of phosphorites, quartzite, rock salt, marble blocks, dolomite, olivinite, bauxite, magnesium, nickel-silicate, alabaster, etc will be increased in conformity with the needs of the economy.

Along with the exploitation of reserves of high-grade ores, extraction of low-grade ores will also increase, while at the same time extending their enrichment. In the ex-

traction and processing of minerals, including coal, the level of mechanization will be increased and new technologies introduced for their extraction and enrichment, while ensuring an appreciable reduction in losses and impoverishment during the extraction of minerals and technological waste during the enrichment process.

Ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy will be developed rapidly in order to further raise the level of processing of mineral raw materials locally. In 1985, as against 1980, production of rolled steels will increase nearly 76 per cent, carbonic ferro-chrome about threefold and blister copper about 28 per cent. The range and types of steels, copper products, etc will be extended and the technical, economic and financial indices of the exploitation of the plants producing them will be improved appreciably.

The engineering industry will ensure that the productive capacities and the means in use in the economy are kept in full working order, and that production of machinery and equipment to meet the needs for extensions and reconstructions and building new projects relying on our own forces and for raising the level of mechanization of work processes is rapidly increased. During the 7th Five-year Plan the total production of the engineering industry will increase 43-45 per cent, reconditioning of spare parts 54-56 per cent and the production of machinery and equipment 56-58 per cent.

Continuous improvement of the organization and management of the engineering industry through the further development of cooperation, specialization and concentration, the timely preparation of high quality technological and structural designs for machinery and equipment and placing the production and reconditioning of spare parts on more advanced technological foundations, will be the main ways to ensure fulfilment of the tasks for increased production in this branch, the more rational utilization of steels and the improvement of the quality of products.

In 1985 the **production of the chemical industry** will be 62-65 per cent greater than in 1980. The needs of agriculture for chemical fertilizers and pesticides will be fulfilled better. Production of important products, such as soda ash, caustic soda, PVC, metallurgical coke, sulphuric acid, detergents, etc will increase. Experimented work will be done to master the technology and produce new chemicals which are still imported.

The building materials industry will be developed in conformity with the needs of the economy and the people and the quality and structure of the products will be improved by mastering the technology and producing light materials on a large scale and reducing their cost, with the aim of ensuring the most effective use of the funds allocated for construction-installation work. In 1985 the production of the building materials industry will be about 20-22 per cent higher than in 1980.

The timber and paper industry will develop while making better use of the resources of the country's forests.

Extensive use will be made of alternative, more readily available materials to replace the use of timber to the maximum. In 1985, as against 1980, production of the paper industry will increase 22-24 per cent.

Light and food-processing industry will be developed through more complete exploitation of the productive capacities in use and improvement of the technique and technology. Its role will be further increased in order to fulfil the needs of the people for mass consumer goods ever better, in quantity, structure and quality.

In 1985, as against 1980, the production of light industry will increase 38-40 per cent while that of the food industry 23-25 per cent. Radical improvements will be made in the quality of products, by continually upgrading quality standards over a wide range of products and increasing the number of new products and the range of assortments, by working with greater initiative and imagination. Tendencies towards globalism will be resolutely combated in order to ensure a rapid increase in supplies of small and very small items.

2. DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE

To ensure ever better fulfilment of the needs of the people and the economy for agricultural and livestock products requires that our socialist agriculture should proceed more rapidly on the road of intensification of production, by increasing the yields in agriculture, livestock-farming and fruit-growing on the basis of more scientific treatment of the soil, further improvement of seeds and breeds, better regionalization and specialization of production, as well as improvement of the socialist relations of production. In the 7th Five-year Plan average total annual agricultural production will increase 30-32 per cent as against the 6th Five-year Plan. More than 90 per cent of the increase of agricultural production in the 7th Five-year Plan will be secured from the increase in productivity.

Production of bread grain remains the principal task in this five-year plan, too. Over the 5 years it will increase about 20 per cent in comparison with the 6th Five-year Plan. The stability in the increase in total production and the yield rates of wheat will be consolidated and a radical improvement in increasing maize production will be achieved. The average annual yield per hectare of maize will increase 39 per cent, as against the last five-year plan. Measures for the proper administration and saving of grain will be strengthened in every direction.

Industrial crops will be appreciated better and measures taken to increase production of them rapidly. Average annual production of sugar-beet will increase 41-44 per cent, sunflower 56-58 per cent, cotton 55-58 per cent, and tobacco 46-49 per cent, as against the 6th Five-year Plan.

Special importance will be given to increasing production of potatoes, vegetables and dried beans, producing all kinds of them in the necessary quantities and ensuring early crops.

Measures will be taken in the lowlands and coastal regions of the country to achieve a higher level of intensification of agricultural production. To this end, there will be a concentration and more rational use of the material base, agricultural machinery, investments and human labour on more than 100 thousand hectares of this area, while at the same time improving the socialist relations of production.

Animal products must be increased at more rapid rates. In 1985, as against 1980, milk production will increase 30-32 per cent, meat 53-55 per cent, eggs 50-52 per cent and wool 34-36 per cent. Measures will be taken to put meat production on more scientific foundations.

The main task in livestock-raising is to increase the yield of products per head of animal. Priority must be given to rapidly increasing the fodder base, while making a radical change to ensure the rational use of foods for the livestock, and increasing the rates of breed improvement of all kinds of animals through the adoption of complex measures. The numerical increase in livestock and poultry will be made with improved breeds of high productivity.

In order to ensure the necessary food base for the livestock yield rates from first forage crops will be doubled, the planting of successional forage crops will be extended, the making of silage will be extended rapidly, all the by-products of field crops will be collected and used economically and measures taken to increase the carrying capacity of pastures. New technology for the processing of harsh foods and concentrates will be introduced widely in the agricultural economies. Special care must be devoted to the proper management of the herds formed from the personal livestock of the cooperativist households the same as for the animals that are collective property.

The area planted to fruit trees will be extended and enhanced care shown for the development of fruit-growing in general. The completion of existing blocks with the necessary number of trees and the carrying out of all services according to agrotechnical requirements constitute one of the main directions of the work of the agricultural economies.

Over the five years of the 7th Five-year Plan the production of pip and stone fruit will increase 38-40 per cent, grapes 41-44 per cent and citrus fruit 42-45 per cent as against the 6th Five-year Plan. The production of olives in the 7th Five-year Plan will increase 68-70 per cent as against the 6th Five-year Plan.

The forest economy will be developed further as a complex economy in order to fulfil the needs of the country better for timber and other forest products, and continuous measures will be taken to balance the cutting and growth

of forests. Better work will be done for the conservation and treatment of wild animals.

All measures will be taken for the desalination and cultivation of reclaimed coastal land, for the improvement of acid soils and the systematization of land in the hilly and mountainous zones on rapid rates, along with the further improvement and systematization of land in the plains.

Another 50-51 thousand hectares will be added to the area under irrigation and measures taken to maintain the capacities of the irrigating projects already in use. The area with permanent underground drainage will be increased to about 93 thousand hectares in 1985, and the use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides will be increased. During the 7th Five-year Plan, 26 thousand hectares of virgin land will be broken in.

The more efficient use of the material-technical base of agriculture, combining it better with the increase in the work force, will be the main factor and reserve for the increase in agricultural and livestock products. Along with the strengthening of measures for the scientific treatment and rational use of the land and building up its fertility, the effectiveness of the use of chemical fertilizers and organic manure will increase, too.

The fulfilment of targets in agriculture will also be based on the further strengthening of its material-technical base and making all the investments necessary to raise the fertility of the soil. The mechanization of agricultural work will be increased, in the first place, by better use of the existing tractors, other agricultural machinery and equipment, and all-round measures will be taken to extend small-scale mechanization.

The concentration of production and specialization of agricultural economies will be carried further, in keeping with the economic and natural conditions, and the development of agriculture, livestock-raising and fruit-growing will be harmonized better in order to fulfil the needs of the country for agricultural and livestock products better.

The recognition, dissemination and application of advanced experience will be raised to a higher level and placed on more scientific basis in all the agricultural economies, and persistent work will be done to apply the new achievements of science and technology in production on a wider scale.

3. ON ACCUMULATION, INVESTMENTS AND CONSTRUCTION

The national income will increase at rapid rates on the basis of the increase of the social product and the social productivity of labour in all branches of the economy.

The distribution and use of the national income will be carried out on the basis of the requirements of the ob-

jective economic laws of socialism, giving priority to the development of the productive sphere and, in the first place, to support the advance of the economy, both in industry and in agriculture. The product for society will be increased more rapidly than the product for the individual, through the rise in the productivity of labour and strengthening the savings regime everywhere, and priority will be given to increasing the fund of accumulation over the fund of consumption, increasing productive accumulation first of all.

In 1985 the fund of accumulation will increase 74-76 per cent as against 1980, while the norm of accumulation over the five years of the 7th Five-year Plan will be 31-33 per cent. The necessary financial and material funds for fundamental investments and constructions, to increase and strengthen the reserves in all the links of the economy and to strengthen the defence potential of the Homeland, will be secured on the basis of the rational use of the fund of accumulation.

The volume of investments during the 7th Five-year Plan will increase 22-24 per cent and that of construction and installation work about 11 per cent above the respective indices of the 6th Five-year Plan. The fundamental investments and constructions will ensure the priority development of the branches of material production first of all. About 74 per cent of the total volume of investments will be used for the development of industry and agriculture.

The time required for construction will be reduced on all projects and on industrial, agricultural and transport projects in particular, through better concentration of the human forces and material and technical means, and through making full and rational use of the machinery, mechanism and means of construction, while a radical improvement will be made in the quality of building by ensuring the designs, building sites and machinery and equipment of the required quality for the new projects on time.

Measures will be taken to reduce the costs of building appreciably, by tightening up discipline in the study and drafting of designs and specifications, from both the technological and the constructional aspects. Lighter structures will be used much more extensively, and the work carried out so that the projects can be commissioned stage by stage and within the time limits set.

4. THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRANSPORT AND POST AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS SERVICES

The total volume of the transport of goods in 1985 will be 34-36 per cent greater than in 1980, while in the enterprises of the Ministry of Communications about 40 per cent. In order to raise the efficiency of transport to a

higher level, priority will be given to the development of railways, more work will be done and measures taken to make a radical turn in the intensification of rail transport. The volume of rail transport of goods in ton/kilometres will increase 80-84 per cent in 1985. The building of new railway lines and sidings will go on continuously.

The development of transport must ensure the timely fulfilment of the needs of the economy and the people for the movement of goods and passengers. The organization and management of transport will be strengthened, at the base and the centre, for the national exploitation of the means and the work of various kinds of transport will be co-ordinated better. All movements of motor transport parallel with the railways and overlapping in the movement of goods will be eliminated. The use of trailers will be increased and the road network improved. Measures will be taken for more rapid development of cable-way transport and internal river transport.

Post and telecommunications services will be further developed and improved to cope with the growing needs of the working people and the economy, while further improving the readiness, quality and culture of services.

5. DEVELOPMENT OF FOREIGN TRADE

In 1985, as against 1980, the turnover of goods in foreign trade will increase 57-59 per cent, giving priority to exports over imports, so that the balance of exports over imports ensures increased currency reserves for the country.

Exports of traditional goods will be stepped up and work will be done to increase the range of new products for export, utilizing all the resources and possibilities of the country. On this basis exports of goods in 1985 will increase 58-60 per cent over 1980. The producers must improve the quality, packaging, labelling and marketing of export goods. The organs of foreign trade must improve their work to ensure and extend the markets for exports goods.

Measures must be taken continuously to ensure the maximum possible reduction of imports of raw materials, machinery and equipment, etc. Only the most indispensable items must be imported. The standard rates set for the use of imported raw and other materials must be reduced by replacing imported materials with local materials, while no machinery, equipment, etc which is produced or could be produced within the country should be imported, while the machinery and equipment already in use must be fully exploited.

The organs of foreign trade must make greater efforts to gain thorough knowledge of the prices and demand for goods on the markets, and make the export-import trade as profitable as possible.

6. ON THE INCREASE OF THE PRODUCTIVITY OF LABOUR

During the 7th Five-year Plan, 46-48 per cent of the increase of industrial production and 42-44 per cent of the increase of the volume of construction-installation work will be secured from the increase in labour productivity.

The fulfilment of these targets will be achieved through further improvement of the socialist organization of labour, the rise in the level of the technical equipment and improvement of the technology of production in every branch and sector of the economy. Work must be done everywhere to raise the level of mechanization of work processes, especially in the mines, agriculture and construction. The keeping of records must be improved and control tightened to ensure that the technical and technological requirements of work processes and proletarian discipline at work are rigorously respected. Remuneration for work done must be strictly according to quality, quantity and the cost of production and services, combating tendencies to pursue personal interests to the detriment of the general interest.

Work norms must be continuously improved on a more profound scientific basis in keeping with the progress of the technique, the enhancement of the consciousness of the working people and their education and technical-professional level. Work must proceed to replace outdated norms with new technical norms in every sector of the economy.

Constant care must be shown for the resources of labour, the employment of new labour forces, to activate them on the front of the socialist construction of the country. The distribution of new labour resources must be carried out always maintaining correct proportions between the productive and non-productive spheres. Continuous, wide-ranging educational work must be done with the youth, so that they respond to the needs of the Homeland, as always, to work on the new jobs in the mines, agriculture, construction and other branches of the economy.

7. FOR RAISING THE MATERIAL AND CULTURAL LEVEL OF THE WORKING MASSES

With the possibilities created by the development of the economy during the 7th Five-year Plan, the material and cultural level of the working masses will be raised. Real per capita income in 1985 will be 8-10 per cent higher than in 1980. The essential distinctions between town and countryside will be reduced further, and the funds of social consumption will be increased to fulfil the material and cultural needs of our socialist society.

In 1985, the turnover of retail goods in the state trade network will be 22-24 per cent higher than in 1980.

All the state and economic organs must increase their care to fulfil the requirements of the people for mass consumer goods of the necessary structure, in quantity, quality and assortment.

The organs of internal trade, in collaboration with the producers, must get to know and study the requirements of the people better and take measures to improve the planning and distribution of mass consumer goods according to districts and zones. Services must be provided in a more cultured way and public eating houses, in particular, must be improved.

There must be increased care for the sale of food-stuffs in the countryside by the agricultural cooperatives and the state trade network. Organized concrete measures must be taken to properly fulfil the new tasks that emerge in this field from the formation of joint herds from the personal livestock of the cooperativists.

In 1985, as against 1980, total services, repairs, maintenance and other work carried out by communal enterprises to fulfil orders from the people will increase 45-47 per cent, while in the agricultural cooperatives they will increase 80-84 per cent, mainly using workers from the city. During the 7th Five-year Plan communal services in the countryside will be placed on a more organized basis. Measures will be taken to increase the range of repairs and services available and raise their quality.

To improve the housing conditions of the people, nearly 50 thousand flats will be built by the state and with voluntary labour during the 7th Five-year Plan. Likewise, the materials for the cooperativist peasantry to build 31 thousand houses will be made available. Many villages will be supplied with drinking water and several new water-supply systems will be built in the towns.

The aim of the development of education will be to further advance the work at all levels of the educational system, to strengthen the ideological and scientific content of the school, and to ensure a better qualitative training of the students attending the various categories of schools, which responds properly to the requirements of the present and future development of production, science and culture.

In 1985, as against 1980, the number of students attending the higher schools will increase 24 per cent. Post-graduate qualification and specialization will be organized on sounder scientific foundations.

Continuous work will be done to strengthen vocational secondary education, to enrol and maintain the contingents of pupils, especially in the part-time schools, and to open new profiles. In 1985, as against 1980, the number of pupils attending full-time secondary schools will increase about 46 per cent.

Pre-school education will be further extended and the work for the education of children in the kindergartens will be raised to a higher level, especially in the countryside.

Art, physical culture and sports will be developed with greater mass participation in them and their quality will be raised continuously in order to serve the revolutionary education and tempering of the masses better, as well as to assist the mobilization of the masses to carry out the tasks in the field of the construction and defence of the country.

The health service will be further developed, continually strengthening and extending the all-round prophylactic measures for the protection and improvement of the health of the people and the protection of the environment; the quality of the health service, especially ambulatory and emergency services, will be raised. There will be improved work for the detection, prevention and treatment of diseases. Special attention will be paid to strengthening the preventive health services for the protection of the health of mother and child, especially in the countryside. The service for patients in health institutions will be further improved. The role of health propaganda in improving the health of the people will be enhanced.

8. ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENTIFIC STUDY AND DESIGNING WORK AND THE APPLICATION OF NEW TECHNIQUE AND TECHNOLOGY IN PRODUCTION

The technical-scientific revolution will be developed and deepened in all branches of the economy and culture on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist policy and world outlook of the Party.

The work on complex technical-technological and economic financial scientific studies must be further deepened, in order to raise and improve the indices of production, construction, services, etc, to increase the productivity of labour, the effectiveness of expenditure, accumulation, etc.

All the studies in the fields of energy, oil, geology and mining, electronics, the engineering and chemical industries, in the field of agriculture and livestock-farming, construction, transport, etc must assist the accomplishment of the tasks envisaged by the 7th Five-year Plan and open new perspectives for the development of the country in the future.

More work must be done to study and master mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, etc which are neces-

sary for the development of the applied sciences and technical progress. Because of the conditions of our country, there should be greater insistence on the application of the achievements of science and this is where the main forces should be concentrated in scientific-research work.

The range of themes must be extended and the level of studies raised in the field of social sciences, especially on the major problems of the revolution and the construction of socialism.

9. ON THE INCREASE OF FINANCIAL RESOURCES THROUGH STRENGTHENING THE SAVINGS REGIME

On the basis of the targets for the development of the economy and the increase of the effectiveness of the social product and the rational use of the national income, especially the funds of socialist accumulation, priority must be given to increasing the surplus of total financial income over expenditure.

Special work must be done at the base and the centre to strengthen the savings regime everywhere, in everything and continually, to strengthen the control by monetary means. The continuous reduction of costs, while improving planning and checkup on fulfilment of the plan of expenditure on production, construction, circulation, etc must constitute one of the main sources and factors to increase the financial means in every enterprise, cooperative and the whole economy.

Measures must be taken everywhere to achieve considerable reductions in the norms of consumption of raw and other materials and constantly strengthen their reserves in all the links of the economy.

The reconditioning of various products, raw materials, etc, such as motor tyres, plastic materials, lubricating oils, must be organized on a sounder basis, while measures must be taken everywhere to eliminate off-cuts and waste and utilise those which are created as raw materials for the production of various articles.

Measures must be taken to eliminate the losses in enterprises and various activities and products, making them profitable. The socialist attitude to property must be further strengthened and all the necessary measures taken to ensure that it is not misused and is administered well.

On this basis the total financial income in 1985, as against 1980, will increase 34-36 per cent, while total financial expenditure will increase 33-35 per cent.

10. FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY IMPROVEMENT OF THE SOCIALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION

The economic and social development of the country during the 7th Five-year Plan is also based on the further improvement of the socialist relations in production, which, as always, must open the way to the development of the productive forces, the full participation of the working class and the broad working masses, in running the state and the economy and the mobilization and enhancement of their creative initiative for the construction and defence of socialism.

The socialist property must be further strengthened, especially in the countryside, by supporting and taking all measures for the application of the revolutionary initiative of the cooperativist peasantry for the formation of joint herds of the livestock belonging to the cooperativist households, always with the aim of enhancing the interest of the cooperativists in strengthening the collective economy, so that the great bulk of their income is derived from participation in the joint work in the cooperative.

The relations of distribution must be further improved through the application of the socialist principle of remuneration according to the quantity and quality of the work done, while further enhancing the interest of the workers, cooperativists and other working people, and strengthening the sense of individual and collective responsibility for the fulfilment of all the targets of the economic and financial plan. Control must be strengthened in production and everywhere, so that all possibilities for anyone to take from society more than he contributes to it are eliminated.

Measures must be taken for the constant improvement of the organization and management of the economy in all its links, on the basis of the consistent application of

the principle of democratic centralism. The scientific character of planning and its mobilizing role in the rapid development of the productive forces and in the proportionate development of the extended socialist reproduction must be further strengthened.

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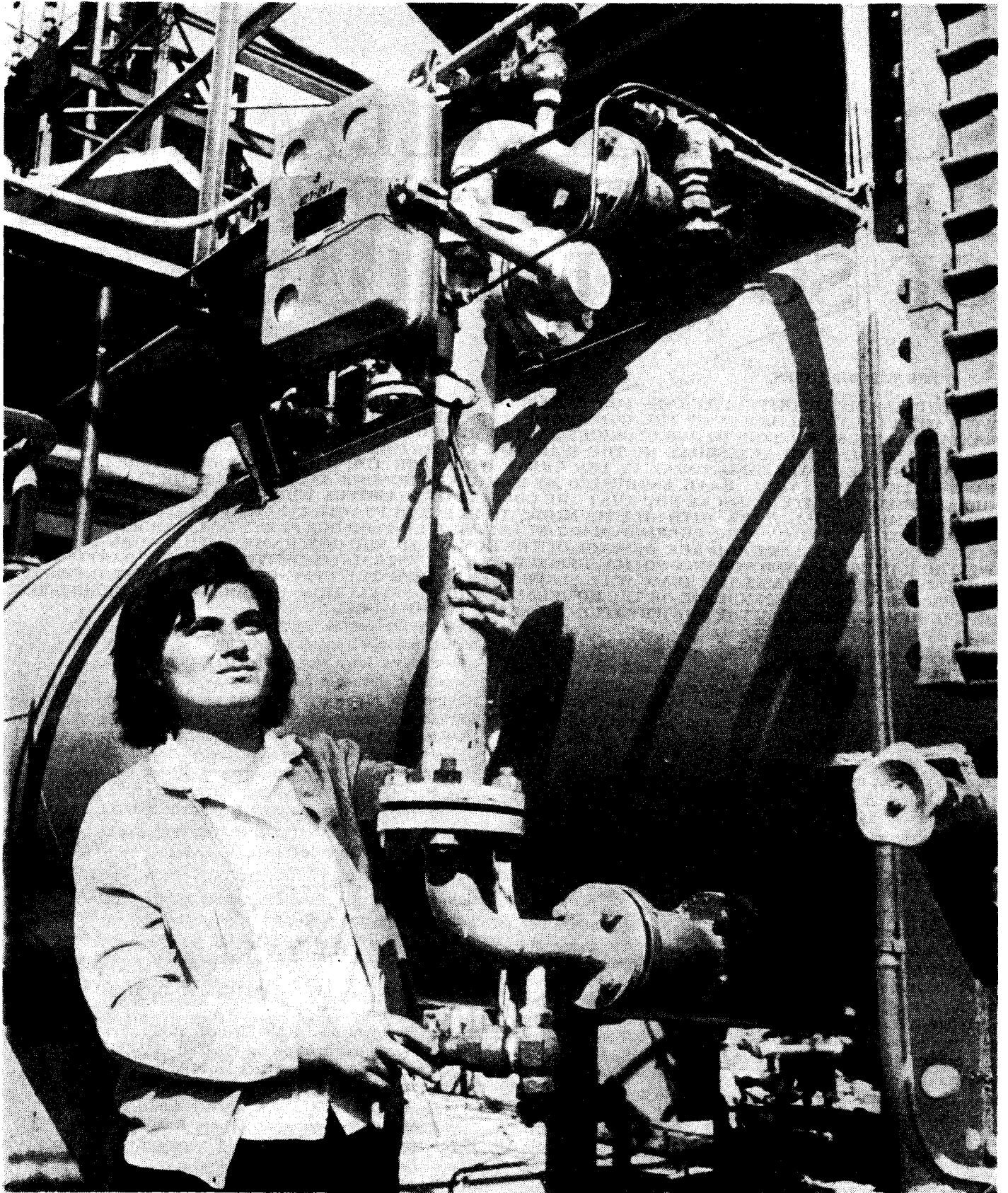
The accomplishment of the majestic tasks of the 7th Five-year Plan, on the basis of the principle of self-reliance and in the existing international situation, requires the further strengthening of the leading role of the Party, the deepening of the class struggle, against internal and external enemies, and alien manifestations of liberalism and bureaucracy, the raising of the educational, cultural and technical-professional level of the working people and improvement of the training and enhancement of the combat readiness of the entire people for the defence of the Homeland.

In endorsing the directives of the 7th Five-year Plan, the 8th Congress of the PLA expresses its deep conviction that, as always, the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and our entire people, under the leadership of the Party and in unshakeable steel unity of thought and action, will step up their struggle, efforts and mobilization to cope with and smash the savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade and to successfully fulfil the tasks which these directives set them.

During the new five-year plan, the revolution and the socialist construction of our country will rise to even greater heights. Socialist Albania will become even more powerful, the life of the people more prosperous and our socialist Homeland more flourishing.

The guarantees of the marvellous present and the brilliant future of the people are the correct, Marxist-Leninist political line of our Party, the wise leadership of the Party and its Central Committee, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, which as always, will lead our people to new, even more majestic victories, and raise our Homeland to new heights in the road of socialism.

THE 8th CONGRESS OF THE PLA



The Albanian young woman is a great force in the development of industry.

ADIL ÇARÇANI

SOCIALIST ALBANIA WILL REMAIN LOYAL TO THE COURSE OF SOCIALISM AND THE

COMRADE DEPUTIES,

I EXPRESS MY HEARTFELT THANKS FOR THE GREAT TRUST YOU HAVE PLACED ON ME IN CHARGING ME WITH THE TASK OF CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA. THIS TRUST BELONGS TO OUR GLORIOUS PARTY, THE ORGANIZER OF ALL THE MAJESTIC VICTORIES OF OUR PEOPLE, BOTH YESTERDAY IN THE WAR FOR LIBERATION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER, AND TODAY IN THE GREAT WORK FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM. THE TASK WITH WHICH YOU HAVE ENTRUSTED ME IS A GREAT HONOUR AND, AT THE SAME TIME, A TASK OF GREAT RESPONSIBILITY. I ASSURE YOU THAT THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS WHICH WILL BE APPOINTED BY THIS ASSEMBLY, WILL WORK WITH ALL ITS MIGHT TO PUT INTO PRACTICE, FAITHFULLY AND WITH UNWAVERING DETERMINATION, THE CORRECT MARXIST-LENINIST LINE OF OUR PARTY OF LABOUR FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM AND THE DEFENCE OF THE HOMELAND. THE GOVERNMENT WILL WORK TO ENSURE THAT OUR INTERNAL AND FOREIGN POLICY, DEFINED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY, WITH COMRADE ENVER HOXHA AT THE HEAD, WILL SERVE EVER BETTER THE DEFENCE OF THE LOFTY INTERESTS, THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE HOMELAND, THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM, THE INTEREST OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE IN THE WORLD.

The Albanian people, under the leadership of the Party, have worked with self-denial and achieved majestic victories in all fields — political, economic and social, have successfully coped with the difficulties created by the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade, and have crushed every plan and plot of internal and external enemies against our country and our socialist order. Our people have achieved these successes through great political maturity, through a great mobilization of their creative energies, and through a steel unity around the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, with profound and unshakeable confidence in the cause of socialism and communism.

The successful holding of the 8th Congress of the Party and the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the founding of our heroic Party, have created a revolutionary atmosphere, aroused great enthusiasm for work, and further enhanced the mobilization of the working class, the co-operativist peasantry and all the working masses to carry out and overfulfil the many tasks set by the Congress, and have further strengthened the unity of the Party and that of the people around the Party. Clear expressions of this mobilization and determination of the working masses are the revolutionary initiatives of our working people to carry the construction of socialism steadily forward, relying entirely on our own forces.

The report which Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered at the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania is a document of very great importance, a scientific Marxist-Leninist summing-up of the 40 years' experience of our Party.

Speech on the program and composition of the Council of Ministers delivered by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSRA, Adil Çarçani, at the 8th Session of the 9th Legislature of the People's Assembly, January 15, 1982.

It sets the course which our country will follow in the construction of socialism during the coming period. This report lays down very important guiding tasks for all the organs of the state and the economy, in particular for the Council of Ministers, and sets clear objectives for the future, which prove that socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania are becoming ever stronger and that there is no force which can disturb them. The Council of Ministers and all the state organs, under the leadership of the Party, will work with all their strength to carry out completely all the majestic tasks which the Congress set.

Comrade Deputies,

Allow me, on the basis of the Constitution and the Regulations of the People's Assembly, to propose to the People's Assembly, in accord with the opinion of the Central Committee of the Party, the following composition for the Council of Ministers:

1. Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers **Manush Myftiu**
2. Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers **Pali Miska**
3. Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Finance **Qirjako Mihali**
4. Minister of Foreign Affairs **Nesti Nase**
5. Minister of People's Defence **Kadri Hazbiu**
6. Minister of Internal Affairs **Hekuran Isai**
7. Chairman of the State Planning Commission **Petro Dode**
8. Minister of Industry and Mines **Llambi Gegprifti**
9. Minister of Energy **Prokop Murra**
10. Minister of Light and Food Industry **Esmat Ulqinaku**
11. Minister of Agriculture **Themie Thomai**

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12. Minister of Construction **Rahman Hanku**
13. Minister of Communications **Luan Babamejo**
14. Minister of Internal Trade **Viktor Nushi**
15. Minister of Foreign Trade **Nedin Hoxha**
16. Minister of Communal Economy **Rrapo Dervishi**
17. Minister of Education and Culture **Tefta Cami**
18. Minister of Health **Llambi Ziqishti**

As always, the Council of Ministers will be guided in all its activities by the Marxist-Leninist line, directives and orientations of the Party.

The activity of the Council of Ministers will be centred on carrying out the tasks for the ceaseless strengthening of the people's state power, the dynamic development of the socialist economy and culture, the further strengthening of the defence capacity of the Homeland, and the defence of the victories achieved.

In particular, the Council of Ministers will be engaged in carrying out the fundamental task of the 7th Five-year Plan which the 8th Congress of the Party endorsed, to ensure the rapid, proportional development of the economy, through the development of the socialist industrialization of the country, the strengthening and intensification of agriculture, increasing the efficiency of the economy, the ceaseless development of the technical-scientific revolution, and the continuous perfection of the socialist relations of production, in order to ensure the continuous raising of the material and cultural level of the working masses.

The great successes which have been achieved in the development of the people's economy and culture, have accelerated the process of the transformation of socialist Albania into an industrial-agricultural country, and have made our economy stable, with great possibilities to advance, relying entirely on our own forces. In this context, our industry and its leading role in the process of socialist construction, have been greatly built up and strengthened. In striving to carry out the tasks of the 8th Congress of the Party, the Council of Ministers will give special attention to the further strengthening of industry, giving priority to heavy industry, and especially the energy industry, in order to ensure the present and future needs of the economy. In this direction we shall work to guarantee and further improve the positive balance of our energy resources, especially of oil, gas and electric power, by increasing production and applying a strict regime of savings.

For the development of heavy industry, special attention will be given to the prospecting, proving, extraction and processing of useful minerals, putting into circulation new minerals which our economy needs.

Carrying out the instructions of the Party, the Council of Ministers will take measures for the further development of heavy processing industry, the ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, and the chemical industry. In this field, the complex utilization of all the components of our minerals and the by-products of industry will be ensured, with reduction of expenditure and improved profitability in these branches.

The Government faces especially great tasks to carry out the instructions of the Party in connection with the full utilization, in breadth and depth, of the engineering industry, especially for the production of machinery and equipment needed by various branches of the economy, as well as for the building of new lines and factories and the reconstruction and modernization of existing ones with our own forces. Measures will be taken for the improvement of the technology of production, for the continuous improvement of specialization and cooperation, the application of standardization and unification of production, in order to raise to a higher level the effectiveness of the powerful engineering base which has been established in our country.

At the same time, the Council of Ministers will take measures for the further development of the light and food industry, along with heavy industry, in order to increase the volume, extend the range and improve the quality of mass consumer goods. This will ensure better stability and continuous improvement of supplies for the people.

During the years of the people's power our agriculture has made great advances. These are the fruit of the correct line which the Party applies for the construction of socialism in the countryside, and speak of the great superiority which the socialist order creates.

Proceeding from the assessment of the Party that agriculture is the basis of our economy and carrying out the tasks which the 8th Congress of the Party approved, the Council of Ministers will take measures for the further development of the intensification of agricultural production and the ceaseless improvement of socialist relations in the countryside. The main task will be to increase the production of bread grain, to feed the people and ensure reserves, without diminishing the attention given to other agricultural products, vegetables, industrial crops, and the de-

velopment of fruit-growing and forests. Special attention will be paid to the development of livestock-raising in particular, both from the quantitative aspect and in the direction of breed improvement and the increase of productivity, as an important source of food for the people and supplies for the industry.

To carry out these tasks, we shall work to secure the bulk of the increased production from the increase in yield-rates of agricultural crops and the productivity of livestock, through the more rational utilization of land and agricul-

ments and constructions approved by the 8th Congress of the Party. Priority will be given, as always, to investments in the productive sphere, to the timely drafting of designs and specifications, with high quality and low costs, to raising the level of mechanization of building work and reducing the time required for the construction and installation of objects that will be built, increasing their economic effectiveness.

The Council of Ministers will take important measures to increase exports of our goods, to improve their structure



The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSRA, Comrade Adil Çarçani, presenting the program and composition of the Council of Ministers.

tural machinery, the use of high-productivity seeds and breed improvement, and the further perfecting of measures in connection with the formation of joint herds of the peasants' personal livestock. In particular, the Council of Ministers will devote special care to carrying out the tasks which the 8th Congress of the Party set for the zone with a high level of intensification, as well as for the further improvement of the socialist relations in this zone.

For the all-round strengthening of the socialist economy, special attention will be given to the timely implementation of the majestic program of fundamental invest-

and quality, to find new export markets and to sell the goods profitably. Further measures will be taken also for improved organization of the struggle and efforts of the working people to produce within the country many of the goods, machines and items of equipment which we still import.

Keeping in the centre of attention the instruction of the Party that without exports there are no imports, special care will be devoted to maintaining and further strengthening the positive export-import balance, which marks a very great success for our country if one bears in mind the

fact that even many industrially developed states have a negative export-import balance today.

Today socialist Albania, which is building socialism relying solely on its own forces, conducts trade with more than 50 states in different regions of the world. In the future, too, the Council of Ministers will take measures to develop our trade relations in the interests of socialism and on the basis of reciprocal benefit and advantage. This correct policy and the results it has achieved refute the fabrications of enemies of our country who charge that we are isolated and alone. Let our enemies prattle as much as they wish that we are isolated and alone. Socialist Albania is not isolated and can never be isolated. At the same time, it will never «open its doors» in the way that the bourgeoisie and the revisionists want and conceive the development of trade relations. Our trade relations with any country have not been and will not be either «opening up» or «closing down». They are normal exchanges which are made on the basis of reciprocal benefit and the principle of give-and-take, without ever accepting any credit or aid from anyone.

On account of the important role which transport has in the harmonious overall development of the economy, measures will be taken to further strengthen the various kinds of transports, giving priority to railway transport, with the aim of ensuring the best possible circulation of goods for the needs of the economy, the people and defence.

The Council of Ministers will fight for the implementation of the directive stressed by Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 8th Congress of the Party, that **«In the development of production and all other social activities the Party has always had the working man, the fulfilment of his material and cultural needs, in the centre of its attention.»** To this end, all the necessary measures will be taken to further improve the trade network, communal services, the health service, etc. Special attention will be paid to ensuring the necessary supplies of consumer goods for the people. At the same time, the Council of Ministers will take measures to raise the educational and cultural level of the people, by improving the quality of the work in the schools, in order to equip the younger generation with knowledge of the contemporary level. Greater work will be done for the development of scientific research work in all fields, so that science becomes a powerful support for the achievement of the targets of the plan, and leads to the solution of the present and future problems of production. In the conditions of the development of our economy, relying entirely on our own forces, science and technique will play an important role in the development of our socialist economy and culture.

Achievement of these objectives envisaged in the 7th Five-year Plan faces us with the task that we must take serious measures to raise the efficiency of the economy and increase the sources of socialist accumulation. To this end, the organs of the state and the economy will strive to increase the productivity of social labour, to strengthen the savings regime, and reduce costs in all sectors, to improve the quality of production, of construction, etc. The internal economic, technical and financial controls will be strengthened and their active role further enhanced, all the internal reserves which our economy has and creates will be discovered and utilized by relying firmly on advanced experience.

All the above measures will lead to the further strengthening of the stability of our economy, the market and prices, to increasing the real incomes of the population in

town and countryside. Despite the many great obstacles and difficulties created by the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade, our socialist socio-economic order is being developed and consolidated day by day, and the life of our people is becoming happier and more prosperous. In all the rest of the world the financial and economic crisis is wreaking havoc, prices are rising, and there are marked shortages of goods in many countries, inflation and unemployment are mounting, taxes and the impoverishment of the working masses are increasing, while in our country the opposite is occurring. Social production is going up, the national income is increasing, unemployment does not exist, there is no inflation, no price rises, but there is continuous economic stability, a steady increase in the well-being of the people, and the market is full of goods at prices which do not alter. These indicators speak of the vitality of our economy, of the superiority of our socialist order over the capitalist order, speak of the happy, peaceful, joyous life of our whole people.

Certain hack writers continue to describe Albania as a poor country, but our economic and spiritual reality refutes and unmasks what they say in every case and on every question. The economic situation of Albania, its social and cultural development, is a reality obvious to all. If someone does not want to see, or wants to deny this reality, that does not worry us. Our people see it and feel it every day, and they are satisfied with their progress and do not envy anyone.

Along with measures for the intensive development of the economy and culture, the Council of Ministers will take measures for the further strengthening of the defence capacity of the country by continuously strengthening, modernizing and revolutionizing all the structures of the armed forces, and the links between the army and the people. Likewise, the work of the organs of internal affairs, the state security service, the people's police and the border forces will also be further strengthened.

In order to ensure the carrying out of all tasks put forward, the Council of Ministers will work to raise the scientific management and organization of the economy to a higher level in all its links, to combat manifestations of subjectivism and voluntarism, manifestations of bureaucracy and liberalism, and especially the outdated concepts, methods and forms of work. **«The major tasks which we face,»** pointed out Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, **«require further improvement of the method and style of all state organs, and the organization and management of state affairs.»** In carrying out this very important task the Council of Ministers will work to ensure that in all the state and economic organs there is an enhanced sense of responsibility at work, initiative and self-action, that manifestations of officialdom and technocracy, narrow departmental or sectional interests are combated, so that each organ and each worker accomplishes his task and applies to the letter the competences allocated to him. We shall work to ensure that the executive organs are subject and regularly render account to the representative organs of the people, that the democratic character of our state power is safeguarded and strengthened, that the participation of the working masses in the guidance of state affairs is extended, and that the state control and the worker and peasant control become ever stronger.

Continuous care will be shown to ensure that the socialist law is strengthened and respected with precision, for the defence and development of the socialist property, for the consistent waging of the class struggle and for

the better and more active functioning of all the organs of the state administration in carrying out their tasks and meeting the needs of the people.

Comrade Deputies,

The majestic successes achieved by our people under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, and its consistent principled foreign policy have brought about that socialist Albania enjoys ever greater prestige and respect in the international arena, and have won it many friends and well-wishers all over the world and the friendship and respect of freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples. Consistently adhering to the political line of the Party and the tasks which Comrade Enver Hoxha put forward in the report that he delivered at the 8th Congress of the Party, in the field of foreign policy the Government will continue its constructive efforts for the development of the international relations of our country on the basis of the well-known principles which govern relations between sovereign states, with all those countries which respect these principles and maintain correct standstowards our country.

Our people and socialist state resolutely oppose and are irreconcilable to the end with the policy of the United States of America and the Soviet Union. These two imperialist superpowers are aggressive, warmongering, colonialist, oppressing powers and sworn enemies of the freedom of the peoples and world peace. The Albanian socialist state and its independent sovereign people have not had, do not have, and will not have diplomatic or any other kind of relations with them.

In regard to Britain, it must be said that British governments of all times and of all political shades have displayed and continue to display hostility towards the Albanian people and their people's state power. We repay this stand in the same coin. Apart from other things, we have declared, and declare again, that if the British Government does not return to socialist Albania all the Albanian gold seized by Britain, together with the interest accrued, we will not have any diplomatic relations with Britain and will not even hold any sort of negotiations with it.

We have diplomatic, commercial and cultural relations with many other states of Europe, Asia, Latin America and Africa, and we are ready to establish such relations with other states on the basis of mutual interest, non-interference in internal affairs, equality, and respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Our stands in connection with the neighbouring countries are well known. We have been and are for the preservation and further strengthening of good neighbourly relations, for the development of normal relations on the basis of mutual respect and common interest.

In recent years, our commercial and cultural relations, exchanges of people, etc with Greece have developed in the right direction. We think these exchanges serve to strengthen the friendship between the Albanian and Greek peoples, which has a traditional basis of long standing. Our Government will spare no effort for the extension and development of these relations in the future. At the same time, we rejoice at the fact that the Greek Government and Greek people, too, are for the strengthening of friendship and relations with our country.

Possibilities exist for progress in relations with Italy. It is our desire that these relations should be further

developed. But this is dependent also on the disposition and interest of the Italian side to collaborate with us on the basis of equality and mutual respect. The normal development of Italian-Albanian relations is in the interest of our two countries and peoples.

The Albanian people and their Government desire that our relations with the Republic of Turkey should develop as hitherto, in a normal way and in the spirit of friendship and common interest. The basis for such a thing is not lacking. It consists of the good will, respect and friendship which exist between our peoples and countries, and their conviction that the development and extension of relations between Albania and Turkey serve their interests and the security and peace in our zone.

The policy of our state towards the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has not altered. It was defined and clearly explained at the 8th Congress of the Party. The slanders, fabrications and distortions which are made of the policy of our socialist state by the Yugoslav leadership, do not alter in the least our policy towards the state and the peoples of Yugoslavia.

The leadership of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has built up and is keeping ablaze a cold war against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. This is being done to disguise the political and economic bankruptcy, the bankruptcy of the pseudo-socialist system of Yugoslavia, the bankruptcy of the demagogy about the allegedly just solution of the national question in Yugoslavia. This cold war which the Yugoslav leadership is waging brings damage and dangers not to socialist Albania, but to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and its peoples.

We have said previously, and we repeat, that we have had and still have political and ideological contradictions with the Yugoslav leadership. These we point out and will go on pointing out. At the same time, nobody has stopped the Yugoslav revisionists, when they have pointed out and continue to point out, moreover with great and multiplied energies, the contradictions which they have with us. We do not accept their social system and policy, and they do not accept our system. This is clear for our part. It is they who are trying to hide the sun with their broken-down sieve.

It has been and is our desire to have good neighbourly relations with Yugoslavia, to have normal diplomatic, trade and cultural relations with Yugoslavia, based on the recognized principles of non-interference in one another's internal affairs, equality, respect for sovereignty, and non-violation of the territorial integrity of each country. If the Yugoslav revisionists have embittered these relations and led them into an impasse, it is they who are to blame for this and not us.

We have declared, and declare again, that we want friendship with the peoples of Yugoslavia, that we have not interfered and will not interfere in their internal affairs. We demand that Yugoslavia does the same thing towards Albania because in the not-distant past, as the historical documents prove, it has interfered in our internal affairs with force and all kinds of intrigues.

Socialist Albania has never made territorial claims, has never demanded border rectifications. We have not been and are not for the destabilization of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. These things cannot be stated more clearly or more solemnly. This has been and is the political line of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The Yugoslav leadership can slander as much as it likes,

but its slanders and fabrications do not alter our political stand.

We have declared and declare again that if the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is attacked by any superpower, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is attacked, too. In this case, the two countries will be at war against the same enemy. The Yugoslavs have never made such a clear declaration. Why? The sinister aims of the Yugoslav leadership are not hard to guess.

One of the obvious dangers that is threatening Yugoslavia is the Soviet-Bulgarian danger. We have stated publicly that the Soviets and their satellites, Bulgarian or other, are among our most savage enemies, therefore, we have opposed their aggressive aims towards us and our neighbours, and will oppose them to the end. This is as clear as crystal.

Why does Yugoslavia also not make such a declaration, but instead strengthens its links with them, and in order to disguise these links, makes insinuations alleging that the Soviet Union and the other countries of the Warsaw Pact have not accepted our official denunciation and rejection of this pact? Likewise, why do they make insinuations about our treaty with Bulgaria of the time of Dimitrov, which at the present time is null and void?

In order to use this treaty to the detriment of socialist Albania, the Russian aggressors and their Bulgarian lackeys will, first of all, have to pass over the bodies of Albanians, and this is also in favour of the peoples of Yugoslavia. Therefore, instead of making insinuations in connection with our treaty with Bulgaria, the Yugoslav leaders would do well to denounce the treaties which they have signed previously and which link them with the superpowers.

In order to cover up the Great-Serb terror which was launched against the Albanians who live on their lands in the Yugoslav Federation, the Titoite leadership with great shamelessness accused Albania of inciting disturbances and interfering in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. This claim is as slanderous as it is absurd, because there are disturbances not only in Kosova and the other regions where a part of the Albanian nation is living, but all over Yugoslavia. This situation is so evident, and the real causes of it are so obvious that nobody, not even those ill-disposed towards Albania, place the blame on Albania for the situation and events in Yugoslavia. Their slanders remained slanders and their fabrications remained fabrications.

It is not socialist Albania which demanded the status of a republic for Kosova within the framework of the So-

cialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, but the Albanians of Kosova themselves who demanded and continue to demand this. They demand this because their sovereign rights within the Yugoslav Constitution have been violated. The demands of the Albanians of Kosova and the other parts of Yugoslavia were drowned in blood, the prisons were filled with Albanians, and a savage wave of chauvinist, terrorist vengeance was raised against them. And those who committed these acts, condemned by the whole progressive world, concocted slanders and lies, created all sorts of baseless theories and suppositions in order to prove what cannot be proved about things which are not happening in Kosova alone.

We have defended and will continue to defend all the rights due to our Albanian brothers who live in Yugoslavia, without any hesitation, within international laws and norms.

The foreign policy of our Party and socialist state was defined and formulated clearly and precisely at the 8th Congress of the Party. This policy of our Party was made known to the whole world which understood and appreciated it as it is in fact. Only the Yugoslav leaders are falsifying and distorting it for their own purposes, which we mentioned above. They read the report delivered by Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 8th Congress upside down, according to their own pleasure and desires. However, the line of our Party, both in internal policy and in foreign policy, is clear, unequivocal and without hidden implications. The stands of our Party and state have been expressed openly, and nothing is hidden from anybody. Our Government will implement it consistently and with determination.

Comrade Deputies,

I express the profound conviction, and assure you, that the Council of Ministers, under the correct and far-sighted leadership of the Party, of its Central Committee with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, and relying firmly on our valiant, patriotic, industrious, vigilant and fearless people, on their steel unity around the Party, will work and fight tirelessly for the implementation of the principled internal and foreign policy of the Party, for the socialist construction of the country, for the all-round strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the defence of the Homeland, will always defend the lofty interests of the people and will remain loyal to the end to the great cause of socialism and the revolution.

(ABOUT COMRADE ENVER HOXHA'S BOOK OF MEMOIRS
«THE ANGLO-AMERICAN THREAT TO ALBANIA»)

OUTSTANDING ENRICHMENT OF THE HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION A SOURCE OF LESSONS FOR

*It is a broad experience which serves not only
to illuminate the history of the past, but also the way of the future.
The enlightening conclusions on the past
are at the same time valuable lessons for the concrete
activity of our Party and state. They teach us above all to
be vigilant, to be wide awake to the plots
and intrigues of American imperialism
and Soviet social-imperialism, of internal
and external reaction*

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ATION WAR - R THE FUTURE *by Prof. ARBEN PUTO*

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA'S MEMOIRS OF THE TIME OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR, WHICH HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED IN HIS SERIES OF MEMOIRS RECENTLY, MAKE AN OUTSTANDING CONTRIBUTION TO THE MORE COMPLETE STUDY OF THE MANY AND COMPLEX PROBLEMS SET BY THE HISTORY OF THIS GLORIOUS PERIOD. THE DIRECT PERSONAL EXPERIENCE OF THE EVENTS AND FACTS ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE OR ON THE FRONT OF THE POLITICAL CONFRONTATION WITH BOTH THE OCCUPIER AND THEIR TOOLS AND THE OPEN AND HIDDEN ENEMIES, ARE DESCRIBED IN THE FIRST PERSON BY THE PROTAGONIST OF THESE HISTORIC EVENTS OF DECISIVE IMPORTANCE FOR THE FATE OF ALBANIA, BY THE FOUNDER AND LEADER OF THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE, BY THE OUTSTANDING MILITARY AND POLITICAL LEADER OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT, WHO WITH HIS REVOLUTIONARY WISDOM, FAR-SIGHTEDNESS AND COURAGE TOOK THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE TO VICTORY IN EVERY BATTLE.

Conceived also as a corroboration of the authentic documents and the various acts of the National Liberation Movement, as well as a further development and enrichment of them, they doubtlessly constitute an irreplaceable first-hand source, **the main Albanian source** among the sources of various origin appertaining to the history of the resistance in Europe during the Second World War. On account of the depth of their analysis, and not only owing to the importance of their subject, Comrade Enver Hoxha's memoirs mark a major achievement of our historical sciences, and belong to the gol-

ARBEN PUTO - Professor at the University of Tirana

den fund of our literature devoted to the National Liberation War.

In this series of memoirs an important place is taken by Comrade Enver Hoxha's latest book «The Anglo-American Threat to Albania» which came off the press in January this year. The particular value of this book lies in the fact that it deals with some of **the fundamental problems of the foreign policy and diplomatic activity of the National Liberation Movement during the war immediately after.** The question is about problems of cardinal importance which had to be coped with in the extremely difficult and complicated situation of this whole period.

As is known the anti-fascist coalition

was a union of heterogenous forces, an alliance of states and forces of different political and class orientations based on the then existing circumstances. The antagonism between socialism and capitalism found a clear expression in the very leadership of this alliance, consisting of the socialist and anti-imperialist Soviet Union which waged a defensive and liberation war, on the one hand, and on the other hand the two capitalist great powers of the West — Britain and the United States, which sought to turn the war against fascism into a new opportunity to ensure new spaces for their expansionist interests.

This alignment of the leading powers of the alliance also brought about the differentiation of its component forces. Right from the beginning our Party had assumed a clear-cut and categorical stand, placing the movement of resistance in Albania beside the most progressive forces, those that most faithfully expressed the aspirations of the people. The Party fully responded to its class vocation, and as Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «never forgot what the governments of the United States and Great Britain represented for our

people, never forgot their savage capitalist and colonialist nature.» This was bound to lead to fierce clashes with reaction not only on the internal plane, but also on the international plane.

Precisely here lies the source of the «Anglo-American threat to Albania», which Comrade Enver Hoxha in his book not only identifies with the policy of the two Western great powers, but also analyses and watches closely at every moment, in each of its phases, giving us the guiding compass to find our bearings in the dark labyrinths of imperialist diplomacy. At the same time, Comrade Enver Hoxha also discloses the historical causes and motives of the anti-Albanian policy of the European great powers. We have to do, therefore, not merely with isolated stands and actions taken on the spur of the moment in the concrete circumstances of the Second World War, but with a platform of the foreign policy of these great powers towards «the weaker» and «the smaller», which is the traditional policy of trampling underfoot the most elementary rights of the peoples, a policy of transactions and intrigues to their detriment, a policy which finds its most complete and typical expression in the way British diplomacy dealt with the Albanian question.

In the few pages of the introductory part, an outline of the main features of the diplomatic picture of the Albanian question at some of its key moments, from the last Oriental crisis of the past century to the Balkan Wars, from the end of the First World War to the outbreak of the Second World War, is sketched out. All this is done not only with a rare power of generalization and vividness of portraying, but also with a lofty feeling of patriotism, with a profound revolutionary feeling which calls for struggle against injustice and the rapacious policy of imperialism, which inspires people to struggle for a new international reality free from the omnipotence and dictate of «the great». In this the acuteness of the observer is coupled with the passion of the fighter for the just

**From reading Comrade ENVER HOXHA'S
book «The Anglo-American Threat to Albania»
one is clear about these
persistent practices of the hostile
activity of Washington and London, one is clear
about the clear
and consistently logical stand of the PLA
and its leadership. The Albanian people emerged
victorious from the confrontation with these
two imperialist powers which wanted
to undermine the independence of Albania
and destroy the gains of the revolution. This book
is published also in English,
French, Spanish, German and Italian.**

ENVER HOXHA

**Rreziku
anglo-amerikan
për Shqipërinë**

Kujtime

cause of the people, for the new ideal of mankind, thus making this work more than one of historical-scientific values.

It was not by chance that, right at its first steps the National Liberation Movement found itself confronted with British diplomacy. Besides a certain tradition formed over decades, Great Britain availed itself of the vacuum created in the higher spheres of international policy as a result of the fall of some of the more important centres of this policy under the attack of Hitlerite Germany, to emerge for a relatively long time as the main centre of the diplomatic game on an international scale. In a later stage, the American policy would also join it, making it ever more active and thus adding to the impact of imperialist diplomacy in general.

In the early stage of the war, as Comrade Enver Hoxha says, the then prime minister of Great Britain W. Churchill launched the slogan «Set Europe Ablaze», which was a program of action directed towards all the European countries occupied by the fascist powers. Comrade Enver Hoxha points out the two sides of this slogan: one incendiary — to set on fire the rear of the occupiers, the other extinctive — to put out the fire of the national liberation movements of the masses organized and led by the communist parties. The final undeclared aim was that after the war the whole of Europe should remain within the capitalist orbit.

From British sources it emerges that one of the first experiments in the context of this program was carried out in Albania. Comrade Enver Hoxha's book gives a concise, comprehensive, picture of the initial activities, especially during the years 1940-1941, of the offices of the British secret service in the neighbouring countries, activities which were intended to create an insurrectional movement of the British type in Albania.

What clearly emerges from Comrade Enver Hoxha's book is that in all this activity London was inclined to deal

with Albania by means of plots and intrigues. The idea of «stimulating Albanian resistance» had long been raised in the leading circles of British policy and the London government itself had studied it after officially recognizing Albania's occupation by fascist Italy. But this had to be done by means of «subversion and diversion» instigated from abroad. Anti-Albanian prejudices were still strong in the capital of Britain. When the question was about Albania and the Albanians, the country and its people were described, as Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, as «savage, barbaric, uncultured». As a consequence, a movement of resistance in Albania was imagined as a tool, not as an equal partner. This explains why London did not want to take any pledge on the political plane in regard to Albania. In the British long-term plans our country figured as a reserve card to be eventually exchanged in the phase of the sharing of the war spoils.

Towards the end of 1942, due to the impetuous development of events in Albania, the founding of the Communist Party of Albania and the convening of the Conference of Peza had repercussions in the British capital. In Comrade Enver Hoxha's words, «England's interest turned into concern». It was forced to make the known declaration on the reaffirmation of the independence of Albania. But even this declaration did not alter the stand of Britain in essence. Apart from leaving the way open to the revision of Albania's borders to the advantage of Britain's clients in the Balkans, it marked no evolution in the methods and criteria of treatment of the Albanian question. London persisted in not recognizing any partner on the political plane and even less expected to find it in the mountains of Albania. As Comrade Enver Hoxha describes it in his Memoirs, in the spring of 1943 London sent its former officers — McLean and Co. to Albania, but its «military missions» were only a continuation of its plots and intrigues to «encourage the guerrillas» in our country. McLean wanted only to recruit «Bengal lancers» on Albanian soil, and

not to establish a political relationship between Britain and our movement.

In this situation a clear definition of our position was of great importance. Therefore Comrade Enver Hoxha issued the instruction of great importance of principle that it was necessary to drive the point home to the British that our country had a master, that «it was not so easy to enter the partisan zones, that they were not inns with two doors». McLean was obliged to demand permission in writing to move into the liberated areas, while on the other hand, in a talk with Comrade Enver Hoxha he declared, «We do not engage in politics, we are only soldiers». Nor did the coming of General Davies in October 1943 mark any change in the British stand. He too, declared on landing that he was only «a soldier and not a politician». As Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, the British «did their utmost not to give the smallest hint that they could officially recognize our National Liberation War». The same stand was to be repeated later (especially at the time of the Congress of Përmet and of the talks with the delegation of our Army in Bari), moreover this would become the jointly adopted line of the Anglo-American allies towards Albania: everything of the military line.

In reality, this stand, as the book makes it clear, hid a well-defined policy towards our country and Movement. The British and, after them, the American officers combined in their activities mere secret-service tasks, actions of espionage and counter-espionage with political deals behind the scenes. Certainly they came here to engage in politics with the aim of undermining the National Liberation Movement, of foiling the victories of our Party, of preparing the ground for a come-back of the reactionary forces. In the last analysis, the very «assistance» which was presented as the only motive for their coming to Albania, hid a stratagem: it never became a military factor of any importance, it served only as a means of political pressure which was intended to draw the leadership of the National Liberation Move-

ment little by little on to the road of concessions in its principles and line.

Seen from this angle, the dialogue which is widely used in this recent work of Comrade Enver Hoxha, is very significant. It occupies a central place in the book and is conducted with a real sense of art. Apart from perfect realization of form, it also stands out for its profound content. The talks he conducted with McLean, Davies, Palmer and others (or with their tools within or outside the ranks of our Movement) are not mere battles of wits between political adversaries. Their importance is that they are the baptism of fire of the new diplomacy of the National Liberation Movement of our people in its clashes with a diplomacy steeped in hypocrisy, perfidy and intrigue. In them we find the whole range of the major problems of the foreign policy of the time together with the related stands of our Party, as well as comprehensive program of diplomatic action articulated according to the different stages and responding tit-for-tat to the subversive tactics of the Anglo-American allies. Against this background come out clearly both the fundamental principles of the foreign policy of the National Liberation Movement and the distinguishing features of the «insurrectional» diplomacy which would characterize the diplomacy of the Albanian socialist state after its victory in the war. Boundless loyalty to the communist ideal, to the interests of the people and the Homeland, unshakeable adherence to principle, rejection of any

«hierarchy» in international relations, affirmation of the independence and equality of the country, a sincere and crystal-clear line — these and other features go like a red thread through our incipient foreign policy and diplomacy. The impassionate defence of the rights of our people, of their place in the anti-fascist alliance won by merit, is accompanied with stern indictment of the government of Britain and the United States which engaged in a double-dealing game.

Comrade Enver Hoxha, who knows to act with clarity and rapidity in any situation, with courage and a sure hand and with the strength which he takes from the profound conviction that right is on his side and that he has the whole Party and people behind himself, is on the front line of this diplomatic confrontation.

Going over to the events after the Liberation of the country, from Comrade Enver Hoxha's Memoirs comes out clearly that the Anglo-American «allies» persist in the same policy. And they go about it on two main lines: by trying to destabilize the political situation within the country and to bring about the isolation and diplomatic boycott of our state power. The «military» and «civil» missions who flocked the country in great numbers were charged with the achievement of their former goal. One notices that little by little the Americans came to the limelight: the inveterate agent Fultz, who hoped to get many things done through his «pupils» and «boys» whom he left long

since in Albania. But the threads were cut one after another. The threats of the «philanthropic» organizations — ML and UNRRA, to starve our people into submission and the pressure over the «recognition» of the Government are to no avail. The December 2, 1945 elections are a brilliant triumph of our state power and an irreparable defeat for the Anglo-American allies.

The negation of the legitimate rights of Albania, as an allied state in the Second World War, its boycott at various international forums, are mere acts of revenge, expressions of the «punitive» course on which those two great powers have embarked. All this reveals once more the hostile nature of the Anglo-American policy towards Albania. Our People's Republic, under the leadership of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, smashed the diplomatic blockade, raising the reputation and authority of our country to new heights.

The conclusive part of the book sums up an experience. It is a broad experience which serves not only to illuminate the history of the past, but also the way of the future. The enlightening conclusions on the past are at the same time valuable lessons for the concrete activity of our Party and state. They teach us above all to be vigilant, to be wide awake to the plots and intrigues of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, of internal and external reaction, to defend the gains of the revolution, to ensure the complete construction of socialist society in our country.

THE SECOND EDITION OF THE HISTORY OF THE PLA

A SHARP AND POWERFUL IDEOLOGICAL WEAPON

The period 1966-1980 is a period very rich in generalizations of a Marxist and practical character, made by the Party of Labour of Albania in the documents of the 5th, 6th, 7th Congresses and the Plenums of the Central Committee, and especially in the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

THE SECOND EDITION OF THE HISTORY OF THE PLA, PREPARED BY THE INSTITUTE OF MARXIST-LENINIST STUDIES, BY DECISION OF THE CC OF THE PARTY, RETAINS UNALTERED THE STRUCTURE AND CONTENTS OF THE FIRST EDITION. IT REFLECTS THE SUBSEQUENT ACTIVITY OF THE PARTY UNTIL 1980, TO WHICH THREE NEW CHAPTERS HAVE BEEN DEVOTED (CHAPTERS VII, VIII, IX).

THE MAJOR EVENTS IN THE IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND ORGANIZATIONAL LIFE OF THE PARTY AND THE COUNTRY, THE VICTORIES ACHIEVED BY THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE UNDER ITS LEADERSHIP IN THE PERIOD 1966-1980 (WHICH ARE COMPRISED IN THE LAST THREE CHAPTERS OF THE HISTORY OF THE PLA) AND OVER 40 YEARS OF ITS GLORIOUS ACTIVITY, ARE TESTIMONY TO THE CONSISTENT CREATIVE AND RESOLUTE APPLICATION OF MARXISM-LENINISM BY OUR PARTY, TO THE TRANSFORMING POWER OF THIS IDEOLOGY, TO ITS GUIDING LIGHT. THEY ARE ALSO TESTIMONY TO THE INEXHAUSTIBLE CREATIVE POWER OF A WHOLE PEOPLE GUIDED BY A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS, TO ITS INDOMITABLE SPIRIT IN FACE OF THE CLASS ENEMIES, HOWEVER SAVAGE AND POWERFUL THEY MAY BE, AS WELL AS IN FACE OF THE INEVITABLE DIFFICULTIES AND OBSTACLES ON THE ROAD OF THE REVOLUTION.

The period 1966-1980 is very rich in generalizations of a Marxist-Leninist theoretical and practical character, made by the Party of Labour of Albania in the documents of the 5th, 6th, 7th Congresses and the Plenums of the Central Committee, and especially in the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, written in these years. These generalizations bring a new contribution to the defence and creative application of Marxism-Leninism; at the same time, they represent a further enrichment and development of the theory and practice of scientific socialism.

In the second edition of the History of the PLA a synthesis of the line and activity of the Party is made, as well as a summing up of its theoretical and

ZËRI I POPULLIT : Organ of the CC of the PLA

practical experience of this period, in the same manner as of the previous periods.

The activity of the PLA for the years 1966-1980 is a continuation of its struggle for the complete construction of socialist society. The essence of this activity consists in the policy and the struggle for the further revolutionization of the Party and the life of the country, the deepening of the revolution in all fields, the development of the economy and culture and the strengthening of the defence capacity of the Homeland with our own forces, for foiling the plans and aggressive and undermining activities directed against socialist Albania by the American and other imperialists, the Soviet and Chinese social-imperialists, as well as by the different currents of modern revisionism.

* * *

Which are the fundamental questions treated in the supplement of the History of the PLA?

First of all, it reflects the leading role of the Party, as the decisive subjective factor for the unceasing development and deepening of the socialist revolution in all fields, for the defence of its gains, for the realization of the leading role of the working class.

This role has been raised continuously. Its raising has been conditioned by a number of factors. The first factor is the correct line of the Party, which has skillfully, boldly and resolutely carried out this line in any situation. The other factor is the revolutionary implementation of the Marxist-Leninist organizational principles and norms.

A special influence on raising the leading role of the Party has had the preservation and strengthening of its ideological, political and organizational unity. The enemies of Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism, who aim at liquidating the leading role of the Party in order to destroy socialism in our country, tried to attain their aim through the traitor groups of Fadil Paççrami and Todi Lubonja (in the field of ideology and culture), Beqir Balluku, Petrit Dume and Hito Çako (in the army), Abdyl Këllezi, Koço Theodhosi and Kiço Ngjela (in the economy). However, these groups were smashed, as were all the previous enemy groups in the ranks of the Party, in face of its monolithic unity, the revolutionary vigilance and intuition which charac-

*Leninist theoretical documents of the 5th, 6th and 7th Congresses
Comrade ENVER HOXHA, written in these years*

terize the Albanian communists and the Central Committee of the Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head. The principled ideological and political struggle for the destruction of these groups helped to further strengthen this unity and vigilance.

The enhancement of the leading role of the Party is also the result of the strengthening of the proletarian composition of the Party. In the period 1966-1980, its ranks increased 80 per cent with workers and cooperativists and office workers, who have distinguished themselves in the high tide of the struggle for the socialist construction and the defence of the Homeland, as the best among the best, as staunch revolutionary proletarians, as the most progressive. From 1970 the workers emerged in the first place in the composition of the membership of the Party.

All these factors have helped to perfect the figure of the communist as a vanguard fighter, who does not divorce his words from his deeds, who does not yield in front of difficulties and obstacles, who stands in the forefront of the struggle and works, who is always just, modest, honest, principled, progressive, courageous.

The strengthening of the unity of the people around the Party is the result of the consistent implementation of a correct revolutionary line, which responds to the demands of the popular masses, the interests of the rapid and sure progress of the country on the road of socialism, the defence of national independence.

This steel unity has been manifested not only in the elections to the People's Assembly and people's councils, in which almost a hundred per cent of the voters have turned out and cast their votes for the candidates of the Democratic Front, ie for the line of the Party, for socialism. This unity has been manifested in the popular discussions of the directives of the Party congresses for the five-year plans. In these discussions, the working people have given their full approval and support for these directives, making at the same time a great contribution with their very valuable proposals and suggestions.

Proof of this unity has been, in particular, the great popular discussion of the New Constitution of the Albanian socialist state. Of the 1,500,000 people, that is, all the adult population of the country, who took part in this discussion, 300,000 spoke about various questions of the Draft-Constitution. The people's masses unanimously approved its contents, which means that they approved the general line of the Party.

Great proof of the Party-people unity has been the unanimous support of the masses for the revolutionary foreign policy of the Party. The popular masses not only have supported this policy, but also have taken part actively, under the leadership of the Party, in the struggle for the exposure of the aggressive and expansionist policy of the US imperialists, Soviet social-imperialists, Chinese social-imperialists and other imperialists, for the exposure of

the different trends of modern revisionism. Giving their unreserved support to the correct Marxist-Leninist stands of the Party over the events in Kosova, they have unanimously condemned the Great-Serb policy and activity of repression and genocide against the Albanians in Yugoslavia; they have come out in support of the efforts of the Albanians of Yugoslavia for their national and social-political rights in the framework of the Yugoslav Federation.

The unity with the Party has manifested itself in particular moments with extraordinary force, such as the grave situation which was created after the cutting off of credits by the Chinese leadership, when the entire people, at the call of the Party, stood up and mobilized themselves for the fulfilment of all the tasks of the 6th Five-year Plan; or the earthquake of April 1979 in the northern districts, when all the regions of the country went to the assistance of the affected population so as to carry out the decision of the CC of the Party and the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania for the liquidation of the material damage caused by this earthquake within 5-6 months, without aid from abroad.

The years 1966-1980 are also the years of a great struggle of the Party for the further revolutionization of the people's power for the strengthening and perfecting of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Through this struggle it has been possible to ensure that not only the political power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, acquire greater abi-

lity of governing, carry out its state activities, but also accumulate a rich revolutionary experience, drawing very important lessons about how to preserve for all times the proletarian character of the state, how to avoid its isolation from the masses, how to bar the road to the bourgeois and revisionist degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that the tragedy which occurred in the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries, does not occur in our country.

The approval of the New Constitution (1976), which embodies this new qualitative development of the state in the stage of the complete construction of socialist society, contributed, in particular, to the strengthening of our socialist state. In this Constitution is embodied the line of the Party on such essential problems as: the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the decisive weapon in the construction of socialism and communism, as the broadest, most thorough and complete democracy for the working people, the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary party, as the law of the revolution and the socialist construction; the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, as the political base of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the class struggle as the main motive force until the complete extinction of classes in communism; the complete sovereignty of the people, which is fully ensured only in a genuine socialist society; self-reliance as the principle and policy which ensure true political and economic independence, the construction of a socialist society on unshakeable bases, the ability to cope with the many dangers which threaten independence and socialism. «The New Constitution is the mirror of the genuine socialist society, which is built according to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, embodied and confirmed in the revolutionary practice of our country,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The vitality of the revolutionary policy and practical activity of the PLA has been manifested especially in the **development of the socialist economy and culture and the well-being of the masses of the people.**

Their development rates have been higher than those in any capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist country, despite the savage imperialist-revisionist

blockade, although our economy and culture develop relying on the internal resources, means and forces, without foreign loans and from 1978 onwards without receiving credits or material aid from abroad.

The Khrushchevite revisionists, when they cut off all their material aid in 1960, said that Albania could not be able to make a single step forward in its economic and cultural development without this aid of theirs! But what happened in fact? The total industrial production of 1979, against that of 1960, increased fivefold, agricultural production increased therefold. During this period powerful power plants, such as the hydro-power plant at Vau i Dejës, the «Light of the Party» hydro-power plant, which matches the largest of Europe, were built. The engineering industry succeeded in producing 95 per cent of the spare parts needed by the country, and is in a position to produce industrial factories and plants. The chemical industry is in a position to meet all the needs of the country for chemical fertilizers. The light and food-processing industries have managed to fulfil 85 per cent of the needs of the population for consumer goods. From 1976 (for the first time in the history of the country our agriculture fulfilled the needs of the country for bread grain) the country is sufficient in bread grain. The electrification of all the villages of the country was completed in 1970. The system of taxes was totally abolished in 1968. Thus Albania, formerly the most backward country of Europe, became a country with a multi-branched and mechanized agriculture, one among the few countries of the world with all villages supplied with electricity, and the first country without taxes. It has become one of the few countries of the world with such a great number of people who attend school (one out of three goes to school), and such a great number of physicians (one for every 650 inhabitants), etc.

The Chinese revisionists, like the Soviet revisionists, by cutting off credits and aid to socialist Albania illuded themselves that the economic development here would come to a standstill. However, they were wrong in this, too. Our people found means and resources enough to build the projects which were left incomplete as a result of the cutting off of the Chinese credits,

and to carry out all the economic tasks without any foreign aid. Total industrial production in 1979 and 1980, the first two years after the cutting off of these credits, increased at a higher average annual rate than in the period 1976-1978.

In the period 1966-1980, the **ideological revolution**, under the leadership of the Party, became deeper than ever. In order to carry forward this revolution, large-scale popular movements, such as the movement to place the general interest everywhere above the personal interest, the movement against religion and religious prejudices, the movement for the complete emancipation of women, the movement for the revolutionization of the school, etc broke out. By the will of the masses of the people, and on the basis of the teachings of the Party, Albania became the first country in the world without churches and mosques, without priests, thus dealing a crushing blow to religion and backward customs connected with it. These movements showed the great transforming force of the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party of the working class when it becomes the line of the masses, the colossal educative strength of socialism in the spiritual liberation of people from all those moral evils which are fostered by the society with antagonistic classes.

The ideological revolution in socialist society marches ahead non-stop. Failure to go down to the continuous and all-round deepening of this revolution, Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «means to abandon the revolution half-way, to jeopardize its realizations in the political and economic field, to open the road to bourgeois degeneration in all fields.»

In this period the Party paid special attention to the increase of the **defence potential of the Homeland**. By deepening the work for the implementation of the Marxist-Leninist principle of the arming and military preparation of the entire people for defence, it put into practice a comprehensive system for the military training of the working masses, which are both builders and defenders of socialism. The army and the armed people have attained, in this manner, a high degree of preparedness and defence capacity which they never had before, thus being completely in a position to cope with any imperialist and

revisionist aggressor or coalition of aggressors, in any situation.

The Party has carried out very intensive activity **in defence of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of the revolution on an international scale**, from the 5th Congress on.

In order to quell the revolution, to liquidate socialism, to put down the liberation movements of the peoples, all the counter-revolutionary forces — American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, Chinese social-imperialism, all the international forces of imperialism and revisionism, have always launched all-round frenzied attacks against Marxism-Leninism, attacks which had never been experienced before by the world revolutionary movement. In these conditions the PLA considered it necessary to intensify its struggle against these forces, for their exposure, for the defence of Marxism-Leninism. The documents of the 5th, 6th and 7th Congresses of the Party, as well as the documents of the Plenums of the CC constitute a program of work and struggle not only for the complete construction of socialist society in our country, but also a weapon for the defence of Marxism-Leninism on an international scale.

The struggle of the PLA in defence of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of the revolution on an international scale has found its expression in a long number of speeches and writings by Comrade Enver Hoxha, especially in his major Works «Imperialism and the Revolution», «Yugoslav 'Self-administration' — a Capitalist Theory and Prac-

tice», «Reflections on China», «With Stalin», «Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism» and «The Khrushchevites». These works of great theoretical and practical value are new powerful weapons in the hands of our communists and working people in their struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, for the socialist construction and the defence of the Homeland. The great theoretical and practical values, on a national and international scale, of these works are confirmed by the development of the events in the world, which speak of the correctness and far-sightedness of their theses and conclusions, as well as by the broad international response which they have had and continue to have.

The defence of Marxism-Leninism on an international scale is carried out by the PLA not only by defending the Marxist-Leninist principles against the efforts which its enemies, bourgeois and revisionist, make in order to liquidate them but also by maintaining Marxist-Leninist stands over world development in general, and every international event in particular, by exposing the counter-revolutionary policy and ideology of the imperialists and various revisionists, by supporting the revolutionary movements, the liberation struggles of the peoples, the international Marxist-Leninist communist movement, of which it is a detachment.

The PLA gives all possible aid to the Marxist-Leninist sister parties for their ideological and organizational strengthening, regarding this aid as one of

its major international duties. On the other hand, it sees the support of the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries everywhere in the world as a great aid in its struggle for the complete construction of socialist society. «They see that the Party of Labour of Albania defends Marxism-Leninism when the others attack it, that it defends the principles of proletarian internationalism when the various revisionists have discarded these principles.» Comrade Enver Hoxha points out in his work «Imperialism and the Revolution», and continues, «They see that in its stands not only it is impelled by the interests of its own country, but also represents very great interests, which are so sacred and immediate to the entire proletariat, the interests of genuine socialism, the interests of all those who base themselves and are led by Marxism-Leninism for the revolutionary transformation of the world.»

* * *

The second edition of the History of the PLA, completed with the reflection of its revolutionary activity for the period 1966-1980 and with the very important theoretical conclusions which the Party has made in this period, will serve more and more, as Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «as a sharp and powerful ideological and political weapon for the revolutionary tempering of the communists, the working class, the entire people, for the solution of the major problems of today.»

THE LOYALTY OF TO MARXISM-L BASIS OF ALL ITS VICTO

*Marxism-Leninism
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RIGHT FROM ITS FOUNDING THE PLA HAS ALWAYS STOOD SOLIDLY ON PRINCIPLED MARXIST-LENINIST POSITIONS. THE 40 YEARS OF ITS LIFE AND ACTIVITY HAVE BEEN CHARACTERIZED BY BOUNDLESS LOYALTY TO MARXISM-LENINISM, ITS DEFENCE AND REVOLUTIONARY APPLICATION IN PRACTICE, THE COMBINATION OF MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY WITH REVOLUTIONARY PRACTICE. «THE BOUNDLESS LOYALTY OF OUR PARTY TO THE IMMORTAL DOCTRINE OF MARX, ENGELS, LENIN AND STALIN, ITS ABILITY TO APPLY THIS DOCTRINE IN A CREATIVE MANNER, IN CONFORMITY WITH THE CONDITIONS OF THE COUNTRY AND THE COMPLICATED INTERNATIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES, ITS DETERMINATION TO DEFEND THE PURITY OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THIS DOCTRINE FROM THE ATTACKS AND DISTORTIONS OF MANY ENEMIES, INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL, HAVE BEEN AND REMAIN THE FUNDAMENTAL BASIS OF ALL THE SUCCESSES AND VICTORIES OF OUR PEOPLE,» SAID COMRADE ENVER HOXHA AT THE 8th CONGRESS OF THE PLA.

Marxism-Leninism is the theoretical and scientific basis of the general line of the PLA, of its strategy and tactics. It is the infallible and irreplaceable compass, which has guided it in any situation, however complicated, to overcome obstacles and difficulties and to successfully lead the working class and the other working masses to the triumph of the socialist revolution, the building of the bases of socialism and the complete construction of socialist society today.

The 40-year long history of the PLA, all its revolutionary activity, ideological, theoretical and practical, are complete proof of its boundless loyalty to Marxism-Leninism. The PLA values nothing above Marxism-Leninism, therefore it has always remained compact, monolithic, invincible, it has coped with all the storms and has always emerged triumphant.

Departure from Marxism-Leninism, its distortion and revision, unavoidably lead to the loss of the gains and the degeneration of the Party and of the

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dictatorship of the proletariat, the re-establishment of capitalism in the socialist countries. This happened in the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries. Likewise, departure from Marxism-Leninism led the communist parties in the capitalist countries to betray the interests of the proletariat and to defend the interests of the bourgeoisie, to renounce the revolution.

All the currents of modern revisionism represent a hodge-podge of pseudo-theories opposed to Marxism-Leninism. Their aim is to invalidate the scientific theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, which is the powerful weapon in the hands of the proletariat for the destruction of capitalism and the construction of communism.

The Party of Labour of Albania, unreservedly relying on Marxist-Leninist science, has known how to drive ahead, in an uninterrupted march, on the road of the revolution and the construction of socialism, to face up to its many enemies, the nazi-fascists, the imperialists, with the US imperialists at the head, the revisionists, with the

THE PLA LENINISM -

THEORIES *by SOTIR MANUSHI*

Soviet revisionists at the head, etc. The Party gave leadership in the most glorious epic of the Albanian people, the National Liberation War, which was transformed into a deep-going popular revolution, and was crowned with the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania. In this manner, three years after its creation, the PLA ensured for the people their true national and social liberation, opened for them the brilliant road of the construction of socialism and communism.

The PLA led the people in the work for the construction of the bases of socialism in Albania and today is boldly and courageously leading them in the work for the complete construction of socialist society.

The revolution and the work of socialist construction in Albania have been carried out on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism. The PLA has always stressed that there is only one theory and practice of the scientific socialism. This theory, the 8th Congress of the PLA pointed out, we learn from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We find its practice in the rich experience of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union in the time of Lenin and Stalin, we find it today in socialist Albania where the new society is being built according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. All other «socialisms» have been put to scorn by the PLA because they are forms of the capitalist society which are used by the bourgeoisie, revisionism, social-democracy and «Leftism» in order to dupe the proletariat and all the other working people.

Marching on this revolutionary road illuminated by the Marxist-Leninist

theory, the revolution and socialism in Albania have never known zigzags or set-backs, as is the case of the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries, but have always advanced and always scored new victories. This is connected with the existence and the revolutionary activity of the Party of Labour of Albania, with its political and ideological clarity and with its always correct Marxist-Leninist line, with the steel Party-people unity, with the revolutionary courage of the Party in its heroic struggle against enemies, difficulties, etc.

Learning from the negative experience of the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries, the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha have drawn a number of lessons of vital importance for the fates of socialism in our country and of great international value, which constitute a creative contribution to the theory and practice of scientific socialism.

Preachings about renunciation of the class struggle and conciliation and collaboration amongst the opposed classes, the PLA considers to be the cause of all opportunism and revisionism. In opposition to the opportunist views and stands, the PLA has always stood firm on the positions of the class struggle. It sees the class struggle in socialist society as a struggle between two roads, the socialist road and the capitalist road, which continues to be the main motive force up till the construction of communist society. The PLA has always waged the class struggle against enemies both in the bosom of the people and inside the Party. It wages this struggle in all its main directions — political, economic and ideological.

«Only by waging the class struggle correctly and without deviations, with the large-scale participation of the working masses led by the Party, will the present be built correctly and always rest on sound foundations, and the future of the Homeland and socialism be secure,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 8th Congress of the Party. The PLA has attached and attaches special attention to the close connection and co-ordination of the internal front with the external front of the struggle against the class enemies. This struggle on two fronts can be coped with success only by strengthening the internal front in all directions.

Illuminated by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the PLA has always loyally abided by the principle that with the development and strengthening of socialism, the leading role of the Party not only is not weakened, but on the contrary, grows ever stronger and more perfect. The strengthening of the leading role of the Party, as the 8th Congress of the Party pointed out, constitutes one of the decisive conditions for the fulfilment of the major tasks facing the whole country in the present stage of its development and in the concrete conditions in which socialism is being built in Albania. With a Party strong as steel, vigilant and unflinching in the forefront, the cause of the revolution and socialism is invincible.

The Party has always attached special attention to the question of ensuring and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat over the entire period of the transition from capitalism to communism. Renunciation of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the dicta-

torship of the proletariat gives birth to revisionism, the most dangerous spawn of the counter-revolution, which subsequently leads to the re-establishment of capitalism in the socialist countries. Rigorously putting into practice the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the dictatorship of the proletariat and perfecting and consolidating it, the example of Albania, as Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 8th Congress of the PLA, serves as a new experience in the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat and constitutes an invaluable contribution to the theory and practice of socialism and Marxism-Leninism.

The PLA has worked out a rich and original experience about the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the military field and in the defence of the socialist homeland from any eventual aggression from abroad. In this question it has been guided by the principle that the defence of the country cannot be based on changing international political circumstances, but on the internal factor which is decisive. Only an independent defence based on the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance is efficient. This defence is based on the arming, organization and military preparation of the entire people.

The PLA has always attached special importance to the deepening of the socialist revolution in the field of ideology and culture. Its experience shows that, «...the struggle on the ideological front for the complete defeat of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, in the last account, has to do with the question whether socialism and communism will be built and the restauration of capitalism avoided...» (E. Hoxha, Report at the 5th Congress of the PLA, p. 124, Alb. ed.)

In order to carry out the tasks of the ideological and cultural revolution, the 8th Congress of the PLA once again stressed that it is necessary to lay special stress on the work for the education of people with the revolutionary outlook of the working class, with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, in close connection with the documents of the Party and the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, with the creation of deep-rooted ideological convictions among our people. The whole attention of the educative work of the Party, as the

8th Congress of the PLA stressed, is to be focussed on the revolutionary tempering of man, so that he sees everything from the class angle, on his readiness to subordinate his own personal interest to the general interest, on his revolutionary socialist stand towards work and socialist property, the Homeland, the collective, society, on the correct understanding of the decisive role of the masses in the construction of socialist society, on the struggle against the petty-bourgeois mentality and outlook and on the strengthening of the socialist consciousness and psychology.

Relying firmly on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the PLA considers the development and perfecting of the socialist relations of production as the decisive factor for the triumph of socialism and avoiding the danger of their degeneration. The work for the perfecting of the socialist relations of production on the correct road, in all their aspects and directions, in the field of ownership, distribution and exchange, is connected, amongst other things, with the consolidation of the principles of socialism and with the raising of the socialist consciousness of people to a higher level. It places them in such socio-economic conditions in which they are educated and tempered as revolutionaries. The 8th Congress of the PLA stressed that in this vital question the Party has abided by the Marxist-Leninist thesis that if the socialist relations of production degenerate there can be no socialism, no matter how developed the productive forces may be.

The PLA has always seen the principle of self-reliance as a universal principle, applicable to all countries and in all circumstances. It proceeds from the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the internal factor is decisive and determinant both in the struggle for the triumph of the revolution and in the struggle for the construction and defence of socialism. While applying the principle of self-reliance, the PLA takes into consideration the imperialist-revisionist encirclement of the country, which exerts its continuous economic, political, ideological and military pressure, but does not condition its policy on these factors. It keeps present the historical experience, which shows that any deviation from the principle of

self-reliance, in any form whatsoever, leads, in the last account, to the belittling of the victories achieved, the shaking of the bases of socialism and the re-establishment of capitalism. In the report of Comrade Enver Hoxha to the 8th Congress of the PLA special stress is laid on this important Marxist-Leninist principle. It underlines the fact that the 7th Five-year Plan is the first plan which will be carried out relying entirely on our own forces, that Albania continues to build socialism without receiving foreign aid.

The PLA implements the principle of self-reliance in all walks and fields of life, in the economy, culture, science, art, in its international relations, in the strengthening of its defence capacity, etc.

The triumph of the socialist revolution and the successful construction of socialism in Albania have double significance, national and international. By means of these victories the PLA has fulfilled simultaneously its fundamental duty to the people of its own country and its international duty to the proletariat and the socialist revolution in the world.

Guided by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the principle of proletarian internationalism, the PLA has always followed the policy of establishing and strengthening comradely relations of mutual aid and collaboration with the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties. The PLA has always given unreserved support to the Marxist-Leninist movement in the world and fights consistently for the strengthening of its unity and collaboration amongst the sister parties. It sees this collaboration as an imperative problem of principled importance in the present conditions of the international revolutionary movement, as an absolute necessity for the successful fight against the many bourgeois-revisionist and opportunist and other enemies who, on their part, work to strengthen their collaboration in various forms and ways.

Guided by the ideal of socialism and proletarian internationalism, the PLA once again declared from the tribune of the 8th Congress that Albania will never maintain relations with the two imperialist superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, which are the most

savage enemies of the peoples, the revolution and socialism. At the same time it wages a stern struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism and reaction in general, seeing this struggle as a condition necessary for the defence of the freedom and independence of the socialist homeland and as an internationalist duty in support of the revolution and the liberation struggle of the peoples.

On the other hand, the PLA, from the rostrum of its 8th Congress, highly appreciated the solidarity, love and trust that the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, the proletariat and the revolutionary and freedom-loving peoples of the world show towards socialist Albania.

Standing loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the PLA has uninterruptedly waged a stern and consistent struggle against modern revisionism and all the other opportunist currents, and has firmly defended the purity of the Marxist-Leninist principles from their onslaughts and distortions. The struggle of the PLA against modern revisionism is, at the same time, a further enrichment of Marxism-Leninism.

The PLA has always waged a struggle on a broad front against all the currents of modern revisionism, Soviet, Yugoslav, Chinese and Eurocommunist, exposing their strategy and tactics. The strategy of modern revisionism is iden-

tical with that of imperialism, because it, too, aims at making capitalism permanent, snuffing out the revolution and destroying socialism.

An important contribution to the struggle against modern revisionism and the further enrichment of Marxism-Leninism are the major Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution» «Yugoslav 'Self-administration' — a Capitalist Theory and Practice», «Reflections on China», «Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism», «With Stalin» (Memoirs), «The Khrushchevites» (Memoirs), the report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, etc in which the ideological critique of Khrushchevite, Chinese, Yugoslav, Eurocommunist revisionism has been made more profound, in which the historical and socio-economic conditions of the emergence and spread of these trends of revisionism have been more completely brought out into relief, the process of their degeneration has been analysed, their anti-Marxist strategy, tactics and theories have been exposed. All these have special importance in understanding and assessing the dangers which threaten socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania and the revolution and liberation struggle of the peoples of the world from revisionism and opportunism.

At the 8th Congress of the Party the stress was laid on it that while inten-

sifying the struggle against all the currents of modern revisionism, it is important not to forget that Soviet revisionism has been and remains the most dangerous current of modern revisionism.

In the present conditions, as the 8th Congress of the PLA pointed out, the primary task for carrying forward the revolutionary process in every country and on a world scale is the liberation of the consciousness of the proletariat and the peoples from the inhibiting influences of revisionism, the spread of Marxism-Leninism which shows the only correct road of struggle and victory.

With the emergence and spread of revisionism in the communist parties of the former socialist countries and in the capitalist countries, the bourgeoisie hastened to proclaim «Marxism-Leninism is dead!» But no such thing happened or will ever happen. Marxism-Leninism is a living, ever young doctrine which illuminates the road of struggle and victory for the proletariat and the peoples. Therefore it has resisted and outlived with success all the attacks and campaigns of its enemies and has emerged triumphant over them. Socialism and communism are the future of mankind which will be realized without fail through the consistent class struggle of the world proletariat, waged according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

THE PROGRESS OF CULTURE AND THE GENERAL PROGRESS OF THE NATION

by **HAMIT BEQJA**

The socialist revolution, the socialist social order, which triumphed in Albania, released the latent energies of the people, the huge human, physical and intellectual potential of the working masses. They opened new paths for their irresistible and stormy outburst of an unexampled progress in all fields, social, cultural and artistic

IN THE REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE 8th CONGRESS OF THE PLA, COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, THE LEADER OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE, REFERRING TO THE ACHIEVEMENTS AND PROSPECTS OF OUR SOCIALIST CULTURE, POINTED OUT IN A SIGNIFICANT MANNER THAT «THE DEVELOPMENT AND PROGRESS OF CULTURE MEANS THE DEVELOPMENT AND PROGRESS OF THE NATION. THERE IS A CLOSE DIALECTICAL INTERCONNECTION BETWEEN THEM. ENGELS HAS SAID THAT HISTORY SHOWS THAT EVERY STEP FORWARD ON THE ROAD OF CULTURE HAS BEEN A STEP TOWARDS FREEDOM.»

From the earliest antiquity to our days, the rapid rates of the progress of culture have been conditioned by the favourable terrain created by advanced political, economic and social development, in a definite social background of freedom and democracy, against given historical conditions and

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bearing their own class character. In such periods of general historical progress and, especially of decisive changes and social revolutions, the progress of culture has imparted a powerful impulse to the progress of society in general.

On the other hand, the periods of political reaction and economic stagnation have, as a rule, hampered the

progress of culture. At the same time, the slow rates of cultural development, stagnation and, in given circumstances, retrogression, have exercised a negative influence on the course of development of different peoples and nations in their history.

Clear proof of this dialectical interconnection between the progress of culture and the general progress of a country is the history of the Albanian people and nation, of their culture.

1.

A brilliant cultural tradition stands out throughout the history of the Albanian people and nation.

tion, have hampered its development and consolidation by all manner and means. However, they have proved unable to wipe it out altogether.

This ability to survive has been one of the fundamental factors which have enabled the Albanian people to struggle successfully through all the storms of history and saved them from assimilation by the foreign occupiers, and which have assisted them to preserve their language and customs, to develop their culture.

In the conditions of successive invasions, situated in a key geographical position and closely linked with all the important events of history, the Albanian people, like the other peoples, could not fail to be exposed to influences from the cultures of other countries, peoples and nations, from the culture of the invaders and neighbours, those with whom history put them in active communication. But all this has not eliminated the autochthonous character of the Albanian culture. Just as the Albanian ethnos as a whole, it has put up a heroic resistance in the history. Moreover, despite all the unfavourable circumstances, despite their relatively small numbers, the Albanian people have also exercised a cultural influence on other peoples, first of all, on their neighbours, but also on other Balkan peoples and the European culture in general. This is eloquent proof of the universal truth that the outstanding and inalienable values of world culture are the product of all peoples, big and small.

As one of the most ancient stocks of the Balkans, who settled long ago on their territories, from the ancient times to this day, the Albanian people have created their autochthonous culture, which stands out as an original culture. Nevertheless, this process has developed in difficult historical circumstances, in permanent struggles against successive foreign incursions and invasions, from the Roman invasions in the antiquity to the Italian and German fascist occupation in the middle of our century. These invasions, and especially the longest and the most brutal of them — the five centuries long Ottoman occupation (from the 15th century to the beginning of the 20th century), have done much to maim this cultural tradi-

Being the victim to many invasions, throughout history the Albanian people have had recourse to their culture to counter the influence exercised by the culture of the foreign rulers, as a weapon in their struggle for freedom and independence. Hence, the progressive character, the freedom-loving, national and social spirit of the culture of our people. The influence of the retrogressive and obscurantist culture of the foreign occupiers and of the ruling classes, which made common cause with them, has been extremely weak.

Our culture went through a period of particular brilliance, especially during the Albanian National Renaissance, which has its beginnings in the 19th century and extends to the liberation from the long Ottoman rule and the achievement of national independence in 1912. In this great historic epoch of the formation of the Albanian nation, of its titanic efforts to shake off the foreign yoke, the three major directions of the struggle of the Albanian people, namely the armed uprising, the movement for political emancipation and the movement for the intensive development of the national culture, merged into one. The brilliant cultural traditions of the Albanian people, their patriotic and freedom-loving, progressive and democratic, illuminist and secular, liberation and revolutionary spirit crystallized precisely in this period.

In this process of the history of the Albanian people and nation, the Albanian culture has always been the twin of the rifle. Even when it was born, the Albanian enlightenment was not a variant of the European enlightenment. It smelled of gun-powder. And this gun-powder smell our culture keeps to this day.

Precisely in these circumstances the Albanian culture with its national potentiality and vitality favoured the survival of the nation through its history, enabling it to cope with the denationalizing policy of all kinds of foreign invaders, especially the Ottoman invaders; it has opposed itself to the foreign enemies who attacked the nation. This is a historic lesson of great importance for the Albanian people today, for all the Albanians, wherever they happen to be, for all the small peoples, for all those who oppose foreign cultural aggression, imperialist or social-imperialist, and anti-national chauvinist policies. Have the Great-Serb chauvinists today not made the national culture of the Albanian population in Yugoslavia, where they constitute a compact population, as well as in Macedonia and Montenegro, the target of their furious attacks? Is it not that the imperialist states, and the superpowers in particular, employ the

slogan of the «internationalization of culture» for their own expansionist aims against the smaller peoples?

Therefore, the struggle for the mother tongue, for the defence and development of the national cultural consciousness, of the national character and psychology, is today, too, a weapon in the hands of the Albanians, wherever they happen to be, as well as of the peoples languishing under the twofold yoke — national and social, for the preservation of their national compactness and vitality, for countering any new assimilating pressure.

Despite this vivid and powerful cultural tradition, throughout their history the Albanian people have had extremely few possibilities to involve themselves in a rich and intensive cultural life. During the period of the National Renaissance, in particular, all the great and brilliant minds of the nation saw and were deeply aware of the dialectical contradiction between the people's aspirations to progress and culture and the impossible. That is why through Naim Frashëri, the outstanding Albanian poet of the 19th century, they issued the call: «And the light of knowledge/ Will lead us forward/ Forward to freedom!» And they could not imagine the transition of Albania from mediaeval backwardness on to the road of progress without knowledge, without an academy and a university, as Sami Frashëri, the brilliant thinker and encyclopaedist of the 19th century, called for in his program for the national movement. Moreover, sensing the danger of religious strife instigated by the foreigners, who had divided our small people into three different religious beliefs, they stood for a secular culture in the national spirit, free from religion and above religion. And with the pen of another outstanding patriot of our National Renaissance, Pashko Vasa, they launched the slogan: «Albania is the Albanians' religion!» They put the spirit of Albania at the foundation of the development of the national culture. Under this program, the Albanian language and culture were cultivated,

schools in the Albanian language were opened, Albanian books and journals were printed, the whole Albanian culture further developed.

This brief historical outline of the features of the Albanian culture clearly shows how great was its role in the defence and liberation of the Albanian nation from foreign yoke, and the paths it opened for progress.

However, after the proclamation of its independence, hard times were in store for Albania. With the establishment of the savage feudal-bourgeois regime of King Zog in 1925 up till 1939, the Albanian people continued to live in mediaeval obscurity. Oppression and poverty, exploitation and misery went hand in hand with profound ignorance and mass illiteracy. The great socio-economic backwardness was the basis of this ignorance and suppressed all aspirations to cultural progress. On its part, ignorance had an influence on this backwardness, as well as on the primitive outlook and way of life of the people, fostered and kept it alive. That is why in the passionate call: «A little light!» coming from the verses of the greatest revolutionary poet of the time, Migjeni, along with the demand for freedom and democracy, for all-round social progress, the permanent thirst of the Albanian for culture was also present.

2.

The socialist revolution, the socialist social order, which triumphed in Albania, released the latent energies of the people, the human, physical and intellectual potential of the working masses. They opened new paths for their irresistible and stormy outburst of an unexampled progress in all fields, social, cultural and artistic.

The example of socialist Albania proved and is proving more and more convincingly with each passing day Lenin's prediction that in the midst of the people there are innumerable slumbering talents; that the exploiting

feudal and bourgeois society creates no possibility for their outburst and development, on the contrary, it suppresses and curbs them; that socialism alone works miracles in universal science and technology, knowledge and culture, making them the property of the working people, that socialism alone creates the conditions for the all-round emancipation of man, for the complete development of the personality of the new man, **impelling him actively** in cultural life, in the true sense of the word.

Right after the liberation of Albania and with its embarkment on the road of the free and democratic and, at the same time, socialist development, the Communist Party of Albania (today the PLA) launched the profoundly revolutionary and significant slogan: «More bread, more culture for the people!» Placing culture on the same plane as bread, the PLA laid down the problem of the rapid cultural development of the country as a vital historic imperative for the nation, for its cultural progress, as an absolutely necessary condition for the construction of the new socialist society.

The new socialist Albanian culture developed and flourished on the soil of all-round revolutionary, democratic and socialist, political, socio-economic and ideological transformations. The establishment of the people's power and its further consolidation as a dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialization of the means of production accompanied with rapid progress in the elimination of the economic backwardness, and the beginning of the socialist construction, the revolution of a socialist character, which began in the whole spiritual life of society — these were the factors which served as an indispensable premise of this new democratic and socialist progress of the Albanian culture.

Precisely on this soil the road was gradually opened for an extremely dynamic cultural progress, both extensive and intensive, quantitative and qualitative, in depth and breadth, in the context of a comprehensive cultural

revolution of a profoundly democratic and socialist character.

A unified education system comprising all categories of schools, based on democratic socialist principles, was set up almost from scratch. Education became compulsory, secular and admission was free of charge. This created the premises not only to quickly wipe out illiteracy, but also to ceaselessly raise the educational, cultural and professional level both of the new generations and the working masses as a whole, to train the new skilled labour power — specialists and cadres for all fields of activity, the new people's intelligentsia.

The setting up of a network of cultural institutions and mass media, as well as the development of literature and theatres, the creation of all kinds and genres of artistic and cultural activity, drama theatres and operas, the national cinematography, libraries and museums, homes and hearths of culture as centres of a very broad and massive activity for the dissemination of socialist culture, also proceeded on this road.

The scientific activity in the centre and at the base, especially a nucleus of specialized institutions and high schools, the University of Tirana and, later, in the system of the Academy of Sciences, was organized from scratch.

All these measures democratized Albanian culture and imparted it a more massive character, making it a weapon for the construction of the socialist society, for the increase of production, for raising productivity of labour, for the general economic and social progress of the country.

This extremely rapid and unprecedented cultural progress has a deep significance. The whole of Albania has been turned into a great permanent school, a hearth of culture constantly ablaze. All the Albanians are engaged in a three-front struggle and wield three weapons — the pick-axe, the rifle and the book. On the third front, that of knowledge, education and book, the whole people are soldiers, too. Two out of every seven inhabitants of social-

ist Albania sit at school desks regularly every day. That is one of the highest indices of mass involvement of the population in educational activities that can be imagined in modern society. In a country where only 40 years ago about 85 per cent of the population was illiterate, today more than 67 per cent of the workers have 8-year and middle schooling and 32 per cent of them have medium and high professional training, whereas 52.3 per cent of the cooperativists have 8-year and medium schooling. A country which a few decades before had only 380 specialists of higher training, today has 47,500 of them and 131,500 specialists of higher training. Eight-year education has been applied long since all over Albania and now more than two-thirds of the pupils who graduate the 8-year school goes on to the middle school. The number of girl students is equal to that of boy students, not only in the middle schools, but also in the higher schools, which speaks of the high degree of the general, but also cultural, emancipation of the Albanian woman. Even now, in regard to the number of political, scientific and artistic books published by professional artistic institutions, their places per capita of population, without mentioning the institutions of mass culture and the broad participation of the masses in cultural and artistic activities, Albania is well in advance of many countries which boast ancient cultural traditions. Moreover, all this cultural revolution has developed and continues to develop in close connection with the related technical-scientific revolution. A distinctive feature of it is the broad participation of the working people in scientific experimentation, its simultaneous development both in specialized scientific institutions and at the base — in factories and workshops, agricultural co-operatives, schools and health institutions, etc. Modern science and technology have penetrated all fields of Albanian socialist life, all its cells and pores.

However, the greatest achievement of modern Albanian culture is the creation

of its socialist content based on the Marxist-Leninist ideology, as well as the efforts for the uninterrupted strengthening and development of this content as a sign of the irresistible march of the socialist revolution in the field of ideology and culture.

This unexampled revolutionary progress does not sever the connections with the past. The whole treasury of the national cultural legacy is organically and, at the same time, critically integrated into modern socialist Albanian culture. On the basis of the Marxist-Leninist concept of the role of the whole process of cultural development of mankind, it also assimilates the most outstanding universal values created by mankind.

However, this culture has always developed as a qualitatively new culture. The Albanian socialist school and pedagogy develop on the basis of the consistent defence, as well as creative implementation and development of the Marxist-Leninist educational principles and pedagogical thinking. Present-day Albanian literature and art flourish because they are based on the method of socialist realism. Science, too, has the socialist ideology as its theoretical and methodological basis.

The whole of this new socialist culture distinguishes itself not only for its popular spirit and national originality imbued with a socialist spirit, but first of all, for its revolutionary militancy and proletarian partisanship. Both the aristocratic tendency of an élite culture for the privileged minority of the ruling classes, as well as the benumbing opium of the modern mass art and culture are alien to it, just as the aberrations of the «Left» surrogates which allegedly contest official conventional bourgeois culture.

In Albania constant efforts are made every day towards enrichment of the national socialist culture on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, protecting it both against mouldy and anachronistic rubbish and the poisonous drugs of the modern bourgeois and revisionist world, waging the struggle on two

fronts — both against conservatism and against liberalism.

This whole many-sided process of the uninterrupted revolutionization of Albanian socialist culture in quality and quantity is reflected not only on the ceaseless raising of the educational, cultural and professional level of the whole working people, of our new man, but also on his rich and, at the same time, new spiritual world, on his communist consciousness, in general, on the new socialist social psychology, on the tastes of people, on their moral physiognomy, outlook and way of life, all of which fit into the general pattern of the new socialist society.

The communist personality of this new man, on a whole, is really one of the greatest achievements of the socialist order in Albania. And here it must be pointed out that a new historical phenomenon — this new man who is affirming himself not only as the object, but also as the subject of this ideological and cultural revolution, a new and vital law of materialist dialectics which demands that man must not be a passive consumer of cultural values but an active creator of them, is affirming itself.

All the achievements made so far show that the present-day cultural progress is one of the more distinctive signs of the prosperity of the new socialist Albanian nation. The values of its culture have earned respect everywhere among the progressive circles of the world and all the well-wishers of Albania. This is apparent in the popularity of the Albanian Marxist-Leninist political thinking, of the Selected Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, and especially those works published more recently which deal with the international developments following the Second World War, in the translation of the works of many outstanding modern Albanian writers and poets, among whom Ismail Kadare, Dritëro Agolli, and others, into several foreign languages, in the successes of our folklore ensembles and cultivated art and figurative arts exhibitions abroad, and

in the high appreciation of our films, etc. The Albanian socialist culture enjoys universal respect for its national and popular originality, its human and democratic spirit, its pure revolutionary socialist ideals.

3.

Looking always ahead towards the stage of the complete construction of socialist society and the all-round deepening of the socialist revolution, and especially the ideological and cultural revolution, the further and uninterrupted revolutionization of the entire life of the country, new and even more brilliant prospects open up for Albanian culture. This is closely connected with the present and perspective development in all walks of life.

The magnificent task for the intensification of the work for the complete construction of socialism, and especially of its material-technical base at rapid rates, in a small country which has emerged just a few decades ago from deep backwardness, and even more so in the conditions of the all-round imperialist-revisionist blockade, relying entirely on its own forces, a task which calls for the ceaseless raising of the cultural level of the whole society in the broadest meaning of the word, is unexampled in history. Bearing in mind this historical necessity and the roads for its achievement, at the 8th Congress of the PLA Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out «The raising of people's knowledge and their cultural level represents a great potential for the realization of the present and future plans.»

The great need for more knowledge, education and culture, science and technology is forcefully felt everywhere in our country today. The present and perspective, extensive and intensive, quantitative and qualitative development in these fields must and will meet this need.

In this five-year period (1981-1985) the number of students trained in secondary schools will increase 46 per

cent. The complete cycle of secondary education, without being made compulsory by law, will become available for almost everybody. This is an exceptionally important step. Within a quarter of a century, in a country in which the overwhelming majority was illiterate, today every boy and girl will have the practical and effective possibility to receive full secondary education.

Perceptible quantitative increases will be made in all the fundamental indices of educational, cultural and technical development. Only in the 7th five-year period (1981-1985) one million books more than up till today will be published. Of fundamental importance is the fact that the means of culture, not only the major, but also the minor ones, will penetrate ever more into every institution and cell of socialist society, so as to make them increasingly available for every individual at work and school, as well as in his free time.

These giant steps forward will be taken proceeding from the broad principle, worked out by the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha, that our whole socialist life is and must be culture. The aim of this culture is to serve production best to bring about an uninterrupted rise in the productivity of labour and its quality, enabling our people to constantly and ever better prepare themselves for the defence of our socialist Homeland, to embellish their environment and life.

This is the only way to achieve a broad concept of the cultured man of the socialist society, with all-round communist development, with a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, with a creative mind and a deft hand, with socialist ethics and tastes, with a new mentality and way of life.

The demand for a further rise in the quality of work in all sectors of cultural activity is more than ever on the order of the day. While preserving and, moreover, further strengthening the new, socialist, ideological content which has already strongly affirmed itself in our culture, the stress is laid

on raising the productivity and efficiency of the whole cultural work at school and in all other fields of mental activity, in literary and artistic creativeness and in cultural and propaganda activities for the masses, in scientific-research work, in a word, in all the mechanisms of the spiritual life of society.

The qualitative improvement of the whole cultural work, apart from internal motives, is also dictated by the specific of the development of today's technical-scientific revolution, the achievements of which we have never neglected in the past nor will we neglect them in the future. If we forge ahead relying completely on our own forces, this does not mean in the least that we are for a closed and autarkic development, for isolating ourselves from the achievements of contemporary culture, science and technology, as the bourgeois and revisionist enemies accuse us. Further steps ahead must be taken to acquaint ourselves with and critically utilize contemporary scientific information, modern technical and technological progress, their creative applications in our conditions.

The scientific-pedagogical modernization of the whole teaching and educational process of the school, its contents and methods, will be intensified further, combating more energetically the conservatism and traditionalism apparent in some teaching programs and textbooks, as well as in the everyday teaching procedures of our school.

The arts, both popular and cultivated, in all their kinds and genres, are irresistibly flourishing in Albania today. The traditions of our people's culture are not only preserved and kept alive, but also further developed on a new, socialist basis. And this happens at a time when in the capitalist and revisionist world there is a strong tendency towards their constant degradation. Whereas in Albania the national ground and the communist partisanship of our socialist literature and arts are being strengthened, and at the same time, especially in the development of cultivated art, its sound content and revolutionary themes are matched ever better by a form standing at a high level of artistic realization. The constant perfecting and raising of professional skill has assumed particular importance in this field.

In the present stage of development of socialist Albania, the deepening of the technical-scientific revolution is particularly urgent and imperative. At a time when the economy has entered the road of its intensive development, it is required everywhere that work must be done with high quality, productivity and efficiency.

All these phenomena and trends of the present and perspective cultural development clearly show that now we cannot content ourselves with the quantitative indices of cultural progress: with the present advance and proficiency of the students and pupils

of our schools, with the present level of our books, radio and television broadcasts, artistic performances, etc. While continuing our work for the constant improvement of all these indices, we must aim at further improving their quality and raising their productivity.

On this road, of particular importance, not only for the present but also for the perspective, are a better co-ordination of all the many factors and organisms of cultural influence on our socialist society, the improvement of all the links of the full-time and part-time educational system, the co-ordination of the activity of the school with that of the means of mass culture and propaganda, learning from books with learning from life, the conscious, organized and systematic cultural and propaganda activity with the active participation of the masses themselves in the spiritual life of society — in the ideological class struggle and socio-political activity, in scientific-research work, in the creative artistic movement, etc.

In this manner our culture will never remain a vain ornament, intellectualist erudition, or a means for narrowly understood personal profit, for ensuring a job in the bureaucratic and technocratic hierarchy, as happens in the bourgeois and revisionist countries, but will always be an effective weapon for the all-round development and progress of our socialist nation.

THE 8th SESSION OF THE 9th LEGISLATURE OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY

The 8th session of the 9th legislature of the People's Assembly was held from 14th to 16th of January 1982.

Attending this session were also guests, advanced workers and cooperativists, working people and cadres of various departments, institutions and mass organizations.

The session burst into stormy applause and ovations at the entrance of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Haxhi Lleshi, Comrades Adil Çarçani, Hajredin Çeliku, Hekuran Isai, Kadri Hazbiu, Lenka Çuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Ramiz Alia, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Çami, Llambi Gegprifti, Prokop Murra, Qirjako Mihali, the Vice-presidents of the People's Assembly Myslim Peza, Spiro Koleka and Shefqet Peçi, the members of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and of the Government.

The Chairman of the Chairmanship of the People's Assembly Simon Stefani, declared the session open, proposing the following agenda:

1— Designation of the chairman of the Council of Ministers and his presentation of the composition and program of the Council of Ministers.

2 — Report of the Council of Ministers on «The Draft of the 7th Five-year Plan of the Development of the Economy and Culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania for the Period 1981-1985, as well as of the Drafts of the State Plan and Budget for 1982.»

3 — Endorsement of the Draft-law on the 7th Five-year Plan of the Development of the Economy and Culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania for the period 1981-1985.

4 — Endorsement of the Draft-law on the State Plan of the Development of the Economy and Culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania for 1982.

5 — Endorsement of the Draft-law on the State Budget for 1982.

6 — Endorsement of the decrees issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

The deputies unanimously voted for the agenda.

In the first point on the agenda, Comrade Simon Stefani gave the floor to the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha. In his speech, Comrade Enver Hoxha said:

«Comrade Deputies,

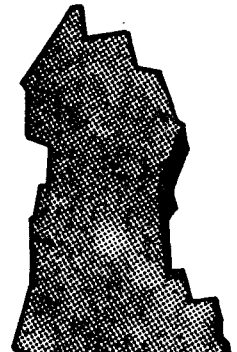
On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party I propose to the People's Assembly that the Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Adil Çarçani, be appointed Prime Minister of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and charged to submit the composition of the Council of Ministers, which he will head, to the People's Assembly.

Comrade Adil Çarçani is a known cadre of great loyalty and experience of leading work in the affairs of the Party and the State, he has continually and untiringly fought and worked to carry out and defend the Marxist-Leninist line and ideology of our glorious Party.

The Central Committee of the Party expresses its conviction that the Council of Ministers, under the chairmanship of Comrade Adil Çarçani, will honourably discharge the tasks of responsibility deriving from the Constitution and which the 8th Congress of the Party has set.

I express my conviction that the comrade deputies will unanimously approve the candidature of Comrade Adil Çarçani.»

The proposal made by Comrade Enver Hoxha of appointing Comrade Adil Çarçani Chairman of the Council of Ministers and charging him with submitting the composition and program of the Council of Ministers was received with warm applause and adopted unanimously.

FROM THE
 THE
COUNTRY

At the end of the session, in an atmosphere of revolutionary enthusiasm Comrade Enver Hoxha went among the delegates and shook hands with them cordially.

At the second session, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Simon Stefani, gave the floor to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Çarçani who, on the basis of the Constitution and the Regulations of the People's Assembly, having solicited the opinion of the Central Committee of the Party, submitted the program and composition of the Council of Ministers.

The speech of Comrade Adil Çarçani was listened to attentively and frequently punctuated by stormy applause.

On the basis of Article 67 of the Constitution, by decision No. 156, the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania appointed the Council of Ministers and fully endorsed its program.

Then, the session went over to the second point of the agenda. On behalf of the Council of Ministers, deputy

Petro Dode, Chairman of the State Planning Commission, submitted the report on the «7th Five-year Draft-plan of the Development of the Economy and Culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania for the Period 1981-1985 and the drafts of the State Plan and Budget for 1982».

The report of the Planning and Budget Commission of the People's Assembly was delivered by the head of the Commission, deputy Hamit Taga.

The third and fourth sittings of the session were devoted to discussing the report of the Council of Ministers «On the 7th Five-year Draft-plan of the Development of the Economy and Culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania for the Period 1981-1985 and the Drafts of the State Plan and Budget for 1982».

After the discussion was wound up the deputies unanimously adopted the Law on the 7th Five-year Plan of the Development of the Economy and Culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania for the period 1981-1985, the

Law of the State Plan of the Development of the Economy and Culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania for 1982 and the Law of the State Budget for 1982, in principle, in every single article and as a whole.

Then, the session went over to the last item of the agenda. The Secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Xhafer Spahiu, on behalf of the Presidium, presented the report on the decrees issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

The closing speech was made by the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Simon Stefani.

The 8th Session of the 9th Legislature of the People's Assembly successfully ended its proceedings, which went on in an atmosphere of revolutionary enthusiasm, of the unbreakable unity of the people round the Party, its Central Committee with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, of optimism and determination to carry out the tasks of the plan for 1982 and the entire 7th Five-year Plan.

THE REPUBLIC DAY

The entire Albanian people, old and young, celebrated the 36th anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of Albania, today the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, in an atmosphere of revolutionary optimism and mobilization to carry out the historic decisions of the 8th Congress of the PLA and the tasks of this year — the second year of the 7th Five-year Plan. On this occasion, various meetings and other activities dedicated to the Republic Day were organized.

On January 11, 1946 the Constituent Assembly which emerged from the first, really free and democratic elections, expressing the sovereign will of the people, proclaimed Albania a People's Republic. This act of great historic importance represents one of the major victories of the Albanian people. The proclamation of the Republic was the outcome of the gigantic efforts of the valiant and freedom-loving Albanian people, the fruit of the torrents of blood they shed in the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, it was the sanctioning of their free will to build a new and

independent democratic Albania. For the first time in their history the Albanian people won all their democratic rights and freedoms and mercilessly crushed all the efforts of the internal enemies and the plots of the imperialists and their agents, thus finally burying the hopes of the exploiting classes for a return to power.

During these 36 years of heroic struggle and work, the Albanian people, under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania and guided by the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, consistently following the correct Marxist-Leninist road of the Party, have brought about deep-going revolutionary economic and social transformations, making incomparable progress in all fields. Albania today is a socialist country with modern industry and advanced agriculture, powerful hydro-power plants and big factories, with a working class 30 times more numerous than before Liberation. Industry grows stronger and advances and agriculture continues on the road of its modernization and intensive development. The people's cul-

ture and education have made significant progress.

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania there is complete economic and political stability, society is healthy, people feel secure about their present and future, there is no stagnation or fall of production, no unemployment or price rises. Albania is the only country in the world without taxes for the working masses, developing without external loans or internal debts, with education and health service free of charge for the entire population, with all its villages completely electrified. The PSR of Albania has the most progressive constitution in the world, the Constitution of the complete construction of socialist society. Proletarian democracy, which is genuine democracy for the working masses, is always in action, and the revolutionary vigilance of the masses is always high. The defence of Albania and its socialist gains is secure and invincible.

The Party has shown continuous concern for the ceaseless strengthening of the people's state power. This power today is stronger than ever. Its strength lies in the correct leadership of the Party, in its close links with the masses. «The people's state power,» said

FROM THE COUNTRY

Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 8th Congress of the PLA, «is the greatest victory and the most powerful weapon of the working class and the other working masses for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland. That is why we guard this state power like the apple of our eyes and continuously strengthen it in struggle against the dangers which threaten it — liberalism and bureaucracy.»

Albania is a truly socialist country, which pursues a principled and consistent foreign policy in all fields. This policy, as the 8th Congress of the Party clearly and explicitly once again emphasized, is completely in the service of the defence of the interests of the Homeland and the gains of socialism, of the cause of the revolution, the liberation of the peoples and peace in the world. Among other factors, it is this policy which has secured for Albania great authority and well-earned respect in the world, has won its friends and well-wishers on all the continents. The PSR of Albania has been and is resolutely opposed to imperialism and social-imperialism, in the first place, American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. It has exposed and combated their aggressive policy, their sinister plans to rob the nations of their freedom and independence, their attempts to enslave the peoples. Speaking at the 8th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha said, «With the United States of America and the Soviet Union, which are the most ferocious enemies of the freedom and independence of the peoples and of peace and security in the world, our country does not maintain and will not maintain any relations. As

in the past, we shall always continue our resolute struggle for the exposure of their aggressive and hegemonic policy and activity.» The Albanian people who have fought in the centuries for their freedom and independence, have always condemned any social and national oppression, in any part of the world, as well as all the attempts of the great powers and the various reactionary forces at the enslavement and exploitation of the peoples. They condemn any form of colonialism, old and new, any dictate and violation of the sovereignty and rights of the peoples.

This is the unwavering stand which has lined up Albania and united it with the just struggle of the peoples, with all those forces which fight against the imperialist superpowers, for freedom, national independence and social progress. The Albanian people, living up to the spirit of proletarian internationalism, have supported and will support the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples. They sympathize with all those progressive patriotic forces which resist and oppose the warmongering aggressive policy of American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and other reactionary powers.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has never been isolated and is not isolated. It has diplomatic relations with 95 states, it develops trade relations with scores of states and has cultural exchanges with many of them. Albania is for the development of these relations with all those states which abide by the known principles of non-interference in internal affairs, equality, respect of sovereignty and territorial integrity and mutual benefit.

NEW VICTORIES, BRILLIANT PROSPECTS

In every Albanian home, in the city and the countryside, old and young wished each other from the heart «A happy New Year 1982! With the Party at the head! May the banners of victories fly higher and higher!» As always, the first toast was raised from the bottom of people's heart to our beloved Party, which, with Comrade Enver Hoxha, its founder and leader, at the head, raised the name and glory of

Mother Albania so high, which made our socialist Homeland powerful, respected and honoured in the eyes of the peoples and the revolutionaries all over the world.

The joy around the festive table this year was even greater because great were the victories achieved over the 365 days of work and efforts to raise the glory of the Homeland ever higher and embellish its face. The past year

was a year of great historic events. The 8th Congress of our glorious Party, which was held on the eve of the 40th anniversary of its founding, drew the balance of the successes achieved in the past five-year plan and set new tasks and opened even more magnificent prospects before the Homeland. The historic decisions which this great assembly of our Party took became a source of inspiration for and major revolutionary initiatives taken and backed by our working class, cooperativist peasantry, the youth and intelligentsia, all the working people, to always forge ahead in the socialist construction of the country.

The great unity of the people around the Party shone with great force during the last year, too. From the tribune of the Congress, Comrade Enver Hoxha said that «the internal situation has never been stronger than today. The compactness and unity of the people, the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry, the collaboration and solidarity among the various strata of our society have been strengthened and consolidated further. The links of the Party with the people have been steeled, their mutual trust has been tempered even more.» The boundless determination, the revolutionary drive and the heroic spirit with which the people struggle for the realization of the tasks set by the Party are brilliant expressions of this great unity which is being steeled more and more with each passing day. This is a unity tempered in all-round work and struggle for the implementation of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line of the PLA which has always emerged triumphant in the fight and clashes with many enemies.

The past year, just as the preceding years, was the continuation of the major efforts for the revolutionization of the whole life of the Party. In the work and struggle for the successful implementation of the tasks of the first year of the 7th Five-year Plan and correctly waging the class struggle, the education of the popular masses was strengthened through the assimilation of the Marxist-Leninist ideas in close connection with the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, as well as with our revolutionary practice. This great transforming process has led to the strengthening of the Party, of its leading role, as well as the ceaseless consolidation of the people's power, the dictatorship of the proletariat. The participation of the masses in governing the country became even more active and was raised to an even higher degree.

The days of the past year were days of work and efforts to fulfil the plan of the first year of the 7th Five-year Plan in all fields. At a time when the bourgeois-revisionist world is caught in the grip of a deep-going and all-round crisis, in Albania there is complete economic and political stability, our society is sound, people are sure of the present and the future. All this is evidence of the strength and vitality of the socialist system, which strengthens and steels the confidence of the people in the words and directives of the Party. The revolutionary enthusiasm and mobilization which have burst forth all over the country, the revolutionary initiatives and movements which are spreading everywhere to put into practice the decisions of the 8th Congress of the Party, will raise to a new,

higher degree the work for the fulfilment of the plans worked out by the Party.

The PSR of Albania, led by our glorious Party, has today a sure and invincible defence. The entire soldier people work and stand guard to defend the victories of the socialist revolution, keep their vigilance always high, are dauntless and always ready to shower bullets on any aggressor who would dare touch even an inch of the sacred and inviolable soil of our socialist Homeland.

The correct line the PLA has always followed in the field of the foreign policy by consistently implementing the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, its resolute and uncompromising struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism, revisionism and the various reactionaries contributed, this year, too, to the further strengthening of the international position of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The progressive and peace-loving peoples and states everywhere in the world respect and honour our country. The friends and well-wishers of socialist Albania are increasing from day to day. The sympathy and love of the Marxist-Leninists, revolutionaries and honest and democratic people for the PLA and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is constantly growing.

Today, on the first day of the New Year 1982, the hearts of the Albanians wish: «A happy New Year! Let the coming years find us always like this, with the Party at the head, with its teachings and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings in our minds and hearts, united like an iron fist on the glorious road of the construction of socialism!»

THE BULLETIN OF «SOCIO-POLITICAL STUDIES»

By decision of the CC of the PLA, the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies begins publishing the bulletin «Socio-

Political Studies». In the spirit of this decision this press organ will include «studies of a political, ideological, and

socio-economic character, which are carried out by the scientific institutions, higher schools, central organs of the mass organizations, party committees, etc, as well as critiques of social sciences publications, Albanian and foreign, and unpublished documents of the Party on specific problems», etc.

The 8th Congress of the Party instructed that social sciences should develop our revolutionary creative thinking, sum up our rich experience in the revolution and socialist construction and

FROM THE COUNTRY

defence of the Homeland, courageously cope with practical problems on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

«Studies and generalizations,» Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out in his report, «open clear perspectives for the party organizations, the communists and the working people, help them to fight the manifestations of routine, formalism and superficiality, to create healthy convictions and define the measures and roads for carrying out the tasks for the present and the perspective.»

These are magnificent tasks. Their solution will be assisted by our science, in general, and the social studies, in particular.

Many social studies, at the centre and in the base, will be reflected in the bulletin «Socio-Political Studies».

These studies will make a concrete contribution to the solution of socio-economic problems in connection with the tasks of the 7th Five-year Plan and the perspective development of the country, to the implanting of deep convictions among the masses about the possibility of realizing the planned tasks, to the mobilization and the fullest possible utilization of the energies and creative abilities of people in their work, to the overcoming of the obstacles created by the difficulties of our growth and the imperialist-revisionist blockade, as well as by the world economic-financial crisis.

The bulletin will give ample space to problems of a political and socio-ideological character, connected with the problems of the socialist superstructure. In regard to these problems social sciences will be orientated mainly towards those major tasks which the 8th Congress of the Party set for the further strengthening of the Party and its leading role, for the continuous strengthening and perfecting of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the strengthening of defence and the enhancement of the socialist consciousness of the working people.

The bulletin will be comprised of studies on various problems of international relations, the world communist and worker movement, the liberation movement of the peoples, the present-day movement, the liberation movement of the peoples, the present-day developments in the world, proceeding from the revolutionary foreign policy of our Party, especially the penetrating Marxist-Leninist analysis which the 8th Congress made of the international situation and the orientations it gave in the field of foreign policy.

A special place in the bulletin will be devoted to the studies on the exposure of the ideology, policy and practical activity of the various currents of modern revisionism – Soviet, Yugoslav, Chinese, Eurocommunist. Such studies contribute to the revolutionary education of our communists and working people, enabling them to assimilate the revolutionary line of the Party for the uninterrupted development of the socialist revolution, strengthen the confidence in the unavoidable triumph of socialism on an international scale.

In the field of historical studies, the bulletin will mainly include studies on the history of the PLA. The Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies, after preparing the second edition of the History of the Party of Labour of Albania, has programmed its work for the future years which will comprise studies and generalizations of the historical experience of the Party over major problems of its revolutionary activity, such as the Marxist-Leninist, political, philosophical, economic, cultural, military thought of the Party, the strategy and tactics of the Party in the different stages of the revolution, problems of the building of the internal life of the Party, the struggle of the Party against modern revisionism, etc. Studies on these problems will be carried out not only by the Institute, but also by other central institutions. Studies will begin on various questions of the history of the Party in the districts, too.

The bulletin will include especially

studies of the struggle against and the exposure of the slanders and distortions of the past and contemporary history

of Albania, which are systematically made by the so-called scientific institutions, historians and sociologists in the

capitalist and revisionist countries.

The bulletin «Socio-Political Studies» will appear biannually in Albanian.

CHRONICLE OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS IN 1981

In 1981, like in the previous years, the Centre of Archaeological Research of the Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania, together with eight of its branches in the districts, organized a number of excavations over the main problems of the pre-history and ancient history of the country, the ethnogenesis of the Illyrians, the development of the Illyrian culture and the formation of the Albanian people and their culture.

In the field of pre-history:

Barç, Korça. Work was begun for unearthing a pre-historical village, which, as cultural strata (2.37 m thick) show, has gone through two main periods of its existence. They belong to the beginning of the Neolithic Age and the end of this same age. Painted, stamped and stiff ceramics characterize the earlier period, whereas black and grey ceramics, together with ceramics painted on light background for the first time, as well as some religious objects, characterize the second period of this settlement.

Burim, Korça. Intensive excavations in 1981 brought to light the ruins of a settlement belonging to the Copper Age (about 2600 years b.o.e.), which flourished in the beginning of this age. Of special interest is its black and grey ceramics painted in grey and decorated with incisions and plastic ornaments. The culture of Burim, besides its direct connection with the culture of Maliq (a village near Korça), which has been discovered earlier, has its own individual characteristics which bring it to an earlier date and as such has a

direct connection with the neolithic culture of our country.

The Nezir Cave, Mirdita. For three consecutive years work has been going on systematically at this cave dwelling. The cultural stratum (4 m deep), as well as its floor planes, which are superimposed on one another almost without interruption and in very clearly distinguishable succession, show that in this cave there was intensive activity in the Copper Age and in the beginning of the Bronze Age. Archaeological excavations and the materials resulting from them show much more clearly the cultural and ethnical connection between the two periods, throwing light on the fact that the neolithic element, ie the autochthonous element has played an important role in the formation of the culture of the Bronze Age.

The finds at Burim, Barç and in the Nezir Cave give more information not only about the characteristics of the culture of the Neolithic Age and the Copper Age, but also, through new facts, they throw light on the way of life of the very ancient inhabitants of the country — the Pelasgians.

Suç, Mat. In the course of several years of work at the tumular necropolis of Mat, in 1981 another such necropolis was discovered in Suç, which provides valuable archaeological material such as pottery of various types, bronze objects, weapons and especially ornaments, iron objects and ivory and glass ornaments, which belong to the 8th and 7th centuries b.o.e. The archaeological material has features in common with that

of the other tumuli discovered in Mat.

Hamallaj, Durrës. A medium-sized tomb built exclusively of earth has been discovered here. The skeletons in it were in a very deteriorated state. The number of objects found inside was very limited. As to its time, the tomb belongs to the 9th-7th centuries b.o.e. Though small in amount, the material found has special value, because it is the first of its kind discovered in the vicinity of Durrës and is connected with the material of the tombs of Mat and Korça.

In the field of the Illyrian antiquity:

Bylis, Fier. For a long time now Bylis has been one of the largest centres of excavations in the field of Illyrian civil culture. Studies have been made about the earliest stages of the birth of this culture, its system of fortifications, and especially the internal urban set up of its settlements. In 1981 work finished for the complete unearthing of the theatre, which in regard to its size and architectonic solution and special elements is one of the major accomplishments in the field of construction in the period of the flourishing of this settlement. Likewise, work has begun on unearthing another large monument — the stadium of the city.

Apollonia, Fier. Excavations have continued in the large theatre of the city. As a result of the combined efforts of the archaeologists and architects, 2/3 of the pit of the orchestra was brought to light and its perimeter was established at 44.75. Valuable data regarding the architecture of the stage were thus obtained and several problems connected with the designs for the restoration of the monument were solved.

Meanwhile work continued at the necropolis of the city where a cemetery containing 25 graves, with 160 va-

FROM THE COUNTRY

luable objects belonging to the Hellenistic period, was discovered.

Durrës. The necropolis on Daute Hill was made the object of extensive studies during 1981. All the 47 tombs discovered are characterized by similar features both regarding their burial patterns and architecture. No case of cremation burial was found among them. The archaeological material found in them gives a fuller idea of the extension of the necropolises of the 4th-3rd centuries b.o.e., as well as more data about the economic life of this period.

Butrint. Work was concentrated on the building complex adjacent to the theatre of the city. As a result, several buildings, which make the urban picture of this central part of the city more complete, were discovered. The ceramics and other artisan products found here, which belong to the 4th-6th centuries o.e., represent valuable material for the study of the economic level and trade exchanges of Butrint in the last period of its existence.

In the field of late antiquity and early Middle Ages.

Kruja. In the vicinity of the Clock Tower of the old castle, in some buildings beside the surrounding wall of the town, fragments of ordinary and enamelled ceramics, as well as other objects of instructive and chronological value about the period of the activity of these premises were discovered. The unearthing of these buildings in the

upper part of the castle, together with those discovered previously, complete and embellish the environment around the new National Museum of Gjergj Kastrioti - Skanderbeg.

Saranda. Work for unearthing a complex of buildings in the centre of the city, of which the most important and valuable is the basilica, has come to an end here. The value of this monument is increased by the discovery of a mosaic floor of 14 x 8.15 metres. The multi-coloured mosaic shows figures of animals and fowls, such as lions, oxen, hounds, and birds skillfully executed and combined with artistic taste. The rest of the space is dedicated to a eucharistic scene.

Blaca, Pogradec. Preliminary excavations carried out at the Castle of Blaca show that the beginnings of this settlement go back to the early Iron Age. However, the castle has lived its most intensive period in the course of the 5th-6th centuries of our era, when its surrounding walls must have been built.

Arapaj, Durrës. For two years now excavations are going on for the complete unearthing of a palaeo-Christian basilica of very large proportions, which is situated on the hills of the Arapaj village close to the beach of Durrës.

The size of the basilica, which is one of the largest discovered in Albania, is proved best by the recently discovered mosaic.

NEW OBJECTIVES OF THE WORKERS OF THE INSTITUTE OF HYGIENE AND EPIDEMIOLOGY

The workers of the Institute of Hygiene and Epidemiology, basing themselves on the decisions of the 8th Con-

gress of the Party, have laid down a program of concrete tasks for the protection and strengthening of the peo-

ple's health through improving their work in the field of hygiene, epidemiology and the production of immunobiological preparates. The experience gained and the successes achieved to date are a good starting-point for carryings this work, especially in the field of scientific research and experimentation, further ahead.

In 1981 the working collective of this institute, relying on their own forces, started work on the drying of anti-TBC vaccine, of gama globulin and histo globulin. At the same time, studies connected with the establishment of data on contagious diseases and the related problems of hygiene have been further deepened, a number of new experiments, such as the study of the reaction for passive haemagglutination in the diagnostication of the virus B hepatitis, the chemical and technological methods connected with the problems of the protection of the environment from industrial, urban and other sources of pollution, have been carried out.

While analysing the directives of the 8th Congress of the Party, the working collective of the Institute have set themselves a series of objectives with the aim of further promoting their scientific studies.

In this manner, during 1982, besides fulfilling the plan of themes of studies in all details and the plan for the production of biological preparates, they will go over to the drying of the vaccine against measles, small-pox, typhoid

fever, whooping cough, and the production of curative serums for diphtheria, tetanous, rethritis, as well as the vaccine against cholera, so as to ensure a longer time of their utilization and facilitate their use in all the regions of the country. Part of these vaccines will be stored in ampoules, which is very economic, instead of small flasks, as they have been stored so far.

Studies in the field of hygiene for agricultural workers, especially those which have to do with the prevention of the pollution of the environment and surface waters and its protection against pesticides also, will be further deepened.

During 1981 the diagnosis laboratory of the Institute succeeded in recycling the agar used in its tests and in 1982 the workers of this Institute will extend this method to the bacteriological laboratories of the districts. This basic material for the work of bacteriological laboratories is imported at a high cost. Its recycling will reduce import.

During 1981, 180 kinds of serums for the diagnostication of contagious diseases were produced, while in 1982 some more kinds of serums will be produced for the diagnostication of salmonellosis. Likewise, the serum for the diagnostication of the virus B hepatitis was produced with very good quality, thus opening the road to ceasing imports of it.

In 1982 work will go on to ensure the rapid diagnostication of contagious diseases by the method of immunofluores-

cence for toxoplasmoses, as well as the diagnostication of aspergillosis through immunoelectrophoresis. Similarly, experiments will be carried out for the production of the anti-influenza vaccine which is not yet produced in our country, work will be done to increase productivity in the production of tetanic anatoxine on semi-synthetic breeding ground. At the same time, a new method will be applied for the treatment of diphtheria carriers through inhalation, which reduces the time of hospitalization from 21 days to 24 hours.

In collaboration with scientific workers in the districts, studies in the field of contagious diseases will be extended to the assessment of the level of immunity of the population to measles, poliomyelitis, whooping cough, scarlet fever, diphtheria and other viral and parasitic diseases, as well as in the field of preventive measures against contagious diseases of the intestines. In the field of hygiene, studies will be deepened in the metallurgical and chemical industries, in the oil extraction and processing industry, in construction, agriculture, etc. The objective set for 1982 is to publish a handbook of standard methods of analysis for all chemical and toxicological laboratories in the districts. These are important objectives in order to ensure a new qualitative rise of the studies carried out and to further deepen the technical-scientific revolution. Besides, this is of great economic advantages, too.

UNDERWATER DISCOVERIES

In recent times, the sector of underwater archaeology of the Archaeological Museum of Durrës has carried out explorations in various points of the hydro-archaeological map of the Bay of

Durrës, as well as in other important off-shore points of the Albanian coast. Of special importance was the organization of a one-month joint expedition of this museum and the scientific board

of the Albanian TV in the Adriatic and Ionian Seas, as well as in the Ohër Lake. This expedition has two aims closely combined with one another: the discovery of underwater archaeological objects and their scientific documentation and broad popularization among the masses, thus making a great contribution to the popularization of under-

FROM THE COUNTRY

water archaeology among the masses, the illumination of certain problems of cultural tradition of our people in the early Middle Ages.

The main objective is the Bay of Durrës. Dives along the coastline of the Cape of Rodon enabled the expedition to make observation of the foundations of the two round towers of the Muzhli Castle which, due to the dip in the level of the soil, today is found under water. It was the only coastal castle of Skanderbeg and one of the centres of intensive sea traffic, through which the Albanian coastal cities carried out trade with other countries in the Middle Ages. This is also corroborated by a number of mediaeval documents. Off-shore, not very far from the south-western tower, at three meters' depth, an ancient wall of polygonal big boulders, without mortar, was found. What does this underwater discovery signify? The ancient authors mention the existence of a certain Illyrian town with the name of Denda in the litoral somewhere between Lezha and Durrës. About three-quarters of a century ago the archaeologist Karl Paisch proposed the hypothesis that perhaps Denda should be sought in the vicinities of Rodon. Will this hypothesis resist the proof of facts? Further archaeological excavations will prove it. One thing is certain, namely, that not only the Cape of Rodon was a dwelling centre in the Middle Ages, but also that it was inhabited from more ancient times. Ancient ceramic fragments found at the Cape of Rodon bear this out.

Interesting conclusions were reached also by the expedition in the Bay of Vlora. At the Cape of Treport, north of Vlora, a wall tract of 700 metres, which according to the type of construction belongs to the 4th century b.o.e., was studied in detail. Today it is found under water. According to some students, this is what remains of an ancient road, while according to others it is the structure of a pier which extended into the sea. In fact, it is a surrounding wall, and this induces us to

the hypothesis, that this must be where the ancient Aulon should be located.

Of interest are also the repeated expeditions at the Uji i Ftohtë and at the ancient Quarries of the Karaburun Peninsula. The sea has preserved through the centuries the traces of the intensive work done by the anonymous workers of these quarries, who in the 6th century, and more so in the 4th century b.o.e., supplied construction stones for Apollonia and other Illyrian towns in its hinterland. There, under the waves, there is a clear view of the polygonal and square blocks of the stone pillars destined for the monumental architecture of that time. The sea bottom of the Bay of the Bear, in the western coast of the Karaburun Peninsula, is full of ceramic fragments of different epochs. The wooden sea-shell covered hull of an ancient sea-going vessel was discovered at 14 metres' deep. The ceramics found about it belong to the early centuries of our era. The Bay of the Bear, just like the Bay of Gramata, are two harbours which provided shelter for the ships against heavy seas. The archaeological materials found at the bottom of these two bays will throw light on the seamanship of those places, the kinds of sea transport used in ancient times and the inventory of the sunken ships, as well as on the extent of the relations and sea contacts with the Adriatic-Ionian-Mediterranean world and the Aegeus.

The expedition worked at Orichon, too, in two directions: along the coastline and in the salt lagoon behind the hill where the ruins of the ancient town still exist. Orichon had its outer and inner ports. At the extreme part of the lagoon there are clear traces of a road winding round the foot of the hill right up to the wall of the pier built with two parallel rows of big hewn stones with smaller stones used as filler. The organization of future expeditions will complete the picture of the hydro-archaeological information, thus enriching the data about the culture and the traditions of our ancestors.

MESSAGE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PLA TO THE 2nd CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF DENMARK (M-L)

COPENHAGEN

Dear comrades,

On the occasion of the 2nd Congress of your Party, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, on behalf of the working class and all the working people of socialist Albania, sends heartfelt revolutionary greetings to the delegates to the Congress and the fraternal Communist Party of Denmark (M-L) and wishes them complete success in the proceedings of the Congress.

The 2nd Congress is an important event in the life and the revolutionary activity of the CP of Denmark (M-L) and in the struggle of the Danish working class and people for their just aspirations. The CP of Denmark (M-L), which has inherited the best traditions of the Danish proletariat and has a correct Marxist-Leninist line, carries out a consistent and resolute activity in the interest of the working class and people of Denmark, as well as in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism against modern revisionists of all colours.

The Party of Labour of Albania, the Albanian working class and people express their internatio-

nalist solidarity with the fraternal CP of Denmark (M-L), the proletariat, the progressive forces and people of Denmark and wish them new and greater successes in their just struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism, revisionism and reaction, against the danger of fascism and imperialist war, for the cause of peace, democracy and socialism.

In the process of the common revolutionary struggle, the friendship and collaboration between our two parties are growing and strengthening on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Long live the Communist Party of Denmark (M-L)!

Long live the friendship and unity between the Communist Party of Denmark (M-L) and the Party of Labour of Albania!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

HOW IS TITOITE GOING TO THE 12th CONG

by **SKËNDER OSUMI**

This attempts of the Great-Serbs, as we have already observed, must also be seen as part of the joint plot of the Great-Serbs and Soviet social-imperialists against the peoples of Yugoslavia, the Albanias of Kosova and the PSR of Albania.

A SHORT TIME AGO, IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PREPARATIONS WHICH ARE BEING MADE FOR THE HOLDING OF THE 12th CONGRESS OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF YUGOSLAVIA, THE 23rd PLENUM OF THE CC OF THE LCY AND THE 18th PLENUM OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF SERBIA MET IN QUICK SUCCESSION. ALTHOUGH IT WAS PUBLICLY PROCLAIMED THAT THESE TWO FORUMS WERE CONVENED IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN «UNITY AND COEXISTENCE» IN THE FEDERATION AND IN THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA, CONTRARY TO EXPECTATIONS, THEIR WORK BROUGHT INTO THE OPEN THE NATIONAL DIFFERENCES AND CONFLICTS WHICH HAVE BEEN ERODING YUGOSLAVIA FOR A LONG TIME.

FRONTAL ATTACK OF GREAT-SERB HEGEMONISM

At the 18th Plenum of the CC of the LC of Serbia, which was held in December 24-26, 1981, the feverish efforts of the Great-Serbs to establish their hegemony, the Serb unitarian dictate and centralism, in the first place, in the nations and nationalities organized in autonomous regions and eventually in all the republics of the Federation, came into the open.

In order to realize this objective they want to alter the existing Constitutions approved in 1974. However, as emerged at the plenum, the Great-Serbs consider that the ratio of forces is not suitable for doing such a thing yet. This accounts for the fact that Tihomir Vlaškalić, President of the CC of the LC of Serbia, who delivered the main report to the plenum, and other Serb leaders, swore aloud that they do not intend to touch the Yugoslavia Constitution and the rights of the regions. But what Vlaškalić tried to hide was revealed by Dragoslav Marković, Chairman

of the Council of the SFRY, when he said that «the development may also raise the question of altering the Constitution», that «we may also talk about the alteration of the Constitution if we fail to solve the problems on its basis».

However, the prevailing spirit of the discussion was: by alleging respect to the Constitution and in the name of a uniform interpretation of it, to ensure the approval of a number of laws, which in practice would lead to the liquidation of the autonomy of the regions and the establishment of the complete rule of Serbia.

This is what Vlaškalić, Petar Stambolić, Miloš Minić, Mirko Popović, Dušan Ckrebic, Dušanka Pijevač, Dragoslav Marković and all the Serb representatives who spoke at the plenum demanded. Concretely, they proposed the issuing of some laws binding on the Republic of Serbia and the autonomous regions, such as the Law on the social planning (of the economy), the Law on the people's defence, and the Law on the unification of international relations, which deprive the regions of the rights which they have had in these fields hitherto. Enactment of these

SKËNDER OSUMI – Publicist, article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit», organ of the CC of the PLA, January 24 and 26, 1982.

YUGOSLAVIA

GRESS OF THE LCY?

laws practically ensures the establishment of a unitarian and centralized system controlled by Serbia, reducing the competences of the autonomous regions of Kosova and Vojvodina and liquidating their autonomy. In the best case, as was said at the plenum, too, all that remains of autonomy boils down to a sort of «cultural autonomy».

Demands were also made about circumscribing the competences of the League of Communists of Kosova and Vojvodina and completely reducing them to subordinate organs of the LC of Serbia, depriving them of the right of having any direct connection with the LC of Yugoslavia.

The aim of the Serb clan to establish its hegemony and its unitarian system in the Yugoslav Federation was also voiced in the plenum. The contributions by Petar Stambolić, Ivan Stambolić, Miloš Minić, Dušanka Pijevač, and others, were deliberate efforts to prepare public opinion to accept on the Federation level what they are trying to achieve in the regions. Thus, for example, in his contribution Petar Stambolić said, «In the situation in which the isolation of the republics and regions is taking alarming proportions, certain ideas, which put in doubt even the very bases of the system (ie of the Federation) which we have built, are proposed.» «The settlement of relations of Serbia in general,» he said, «bears largely not only on the unity of the Republic of Serbia, but also on the whole of Yugoslavia.»

On the other hand, Ivan Stambolić, Chairman of the Executive Council of Serbs, voicing the discontent about the so-called federalism which allegedly has been established in the Republic of Serbia through the creation of the two autonomous regions, openly criticized the federative organization of Yugoslavia. «In the last analysis,» said Ivan Stambolić, «the important question is not whether the SR of Serbia, as a state, will disintegrate or become federalized. Much more important is the question whether Yugoslavia, as a society, will disintegrate. This depends on the answer to the question about the federalization of Serbia.» This same view was expressed by Minić, when he pointed out that the carrying out of centralizing measures in Serbia «conditions not only the unity of Serbia, but also the unity of Yugoslavia,» which is tantamount to saying that this Serb «unity» must be extended to the entire Federation.

Great-Serb hegemony-seeking and unitarianism was also noticed in the work of the 23rd Plenum of the CC of the LC of Yugoslavia, which was held on December 23, 1981, on amendments to the Statute of the LC of Yugoslavia. In his report Branko Mikulić said, «Under the pretext of the struggle against the threat of federalization of the LC of Yugoslavia, they (the Great-Serbs) are putting in doubt the equality, independence, the role and responsibility of the Leagues of Communists of the Republics and Autonomous Regions and want to transform the LCY

into a 'monolithic party' of the centralist type.»

This plenum was an expression of the obvious concern lest the Great-Serbs establish their own hegemony in the LCY by introducing a unitarian and centralist system, first by violating the competences of the LC of the Republics and Regions. At the plenum was said that «some individuals, acting in public, have attacked the federative organization of Yugoslavia, the solution of the national question, and want to strengthen the role of the state organs in the planning of the economy and accumulation of production, violating the Yugoslav Constitution and the Law on United Labour». The aim of these forces the plenum emphasized, is to bring about «the unitarian organization of the LCY and eventually of the entire Yugoslav society.» Most members of the plenum expressed the view that in the structure of the LCY, the existing organization, «which recognizes the League of Communists of Yugoslavia as a single organization based on the equality of position, independence and responsibility of the League of Communists in the Republics and Regions,» should be maintained.

THE KOSOVA AND VOJVODINA «THREAT» AND THE REAL AIMS OF THE GREAT-SERBS

In order to manipulate public opinion about the implementation of centrali-

zing measures, ie the establishment of the Serb domination in the whole of Yugoslavia, a double tactics is being used: on the one hand, they strive to minimize the threat of the Serb nationalism in general, while on the other hand, exaggerating the threat of «separatism to the detriment of Serbia and Yugoslavia, which comes from the autonomous regions and the federated republics».

Miloš Minić said, «We have defeated Great-Serb chauvinism during the National Liberation War». However, Serb nationalism was described as a «victim», allegedly following the so-called activation of Albanian nationalism. Speaking in this spirit, Petar Stambolić said, «Today, when Albanian nationalism endangers the entire Yugoslav community, to put the threat of Serb nationalism in the first plane means to shift the struggle from a primary to a secondary direction.» The leaders of the LC of Serbia fired a broadside against the regional autonomy of Kosova and Vojvodina. A great noise was made about «the isolation of the regions to the detriment of coexistence within the Republic,» about the so-called «complete equality of position of the SAR of Kosova with the republics», about the «secessionist tendencies of the LC of Kosova and the LC of Vojvodina from the LC of Serbia.» With such arguments Vlaškalić, Minić, Dragoslav Marković and others tried to defend the unitarian measures.

In order to bring pressure to bear on the plenum and the entire Yugoslav opinion, the Serb chiefs conjured up the «threat» which allegedly comes from Kosova. All the contributions of the leaders of the LC of Serbia had one thing in common: the effort to prove that the events in Kosova and especially the demand of the Albanian population, expressed in the slogan «Kosova-Republic», allegedly pose a great threat to the unity of Yugoslavia.

However, this time, in addition to the «threat from Kosova», there was another threat, «the threat from Vojvodina», which, as the plenum put it,

endangers Serbia and the Federation. Paško Romac, the representative of Vojvodina, stressed that «new victims are wanted. And one such victim is found in the region of Vojvodina.» About Vojvodina, just as about Kosova previously, it was said that it demands «independence and equality», that it «threatens the unity of Serbia and the whole country», that it «defends Kosova and Great-Albanian nationalism», that it threatens the unity of the Republic of Serbia and the entire country, etc. Moreover, Petar Stambolić declared to the plenum that, along with the «reactionary» slogan «Kosova-Republic», another slogan — «Vojvodina-Republic», is also circulating.

Nevertheless, the work of the plenum showed that the events in Kosova and Vojvodina are used only as a pretext, as a sort of alibi to justify the hegemony-seeking and unitarian aims and actions of the Great-Serbs. Paško Romac and other speakers at the plenum found it unjust that the discussion which is going on now about the relations within the republic, should be connected with the events of Kosova. «The events of Kosova,» said Romac, «are one thing, whereas the relations between the republics and the regions are another thing.» Iliaz Kurteshi in his contribution found it improper that «some problems which bear on the coexistence in the Republic should be made relevant to the events which took place in Kosova.» He said, «Someone has impatiently waited for the creation of such a situation (the events in Kosova) in order to exercise pressure to bring about changes not only in stands, but also in positions of essential importance.»

The Great-Serbs did not succeed even in co-ordinating their speeches, either. Whereas Vlaškalić endeavoured to convince public opinion that allegedly there is no talk now about establishing centralism and unitarianism, or about violating the constitutional rights of the regions, Dragoslav Marković, for his part, made a direct assault on the very existence of the autonomous re-

gions and demanded their liquidation. The formation of the regions, in Marković's opinion, was conditioned by historical and economic reasons and not by the need of «affirming the equality of the nations in Yugoslavia», as has been proclaimed hitherto. He refused to accept the widely known idea of «the autonomous regions as the only form of the realization of the policy of national equality and the rights of the nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia.» Marković said that that equality of the Albanians and the other nationalities can be realized even outside the regions, as is happening, in his opinion, in the territory of Serbia proper, Montenegro, Macedonia. But it is well known that the Albanians there enjoy no rights at all, that open national oppression and most savage denationalizing measures are directed against them there.

The plenum was held in a spirit of unrestrained chauvinism. In order to calm public opinion, Vlaškalić himself was compelled to make some criticism of those who exaggerate things, saying that «the solution of these problems the Serb nationalists see in the liquidation of the autonomy of the socialist regions, in centralism and doing away with the relations of equality among the nations and the nationalities in Yugoslavia.» Spiro Galović did much the same when he said in this contribution that «the Serb nationalists think that national equality and coexistence in the Republic of Serbia have ended up in complete failure, that this equality was the essential cause of the crisis of Kosova and that the only correct policy in Kosova is the policy which has been in force prior to the Plenum of Brioni, that is, a policy of inequality.»

The existence of Great-Serb chauvinism could not be denied by Ivan Stambolić, either, who said in his contribution, «The region can be threatened by unitarians, centralists, hegemonists. Of course, such elements exist. They not only would liquidate the regions, but also would liquidate all the republics.» However, Ivan Stambolić said that he

found unjustified the attempts «which are being made to find such elements amongst us, who are taking part in the discussion about the Republic.» The aim is clear. According to Stambolić, the Great-Serbs, the unitarians, the centralists must be sought for anywhere except in the leadership of the LC of Serbia, except amongst the Serbs themselves.

THE «BLUE BOOK» OF THE GREAT-SERBS

From the proceedings of the 18th Plenum of the CC of the LC of Serbia it emerged clearly that in the moments of the exacerbation of national feuds, as in 1961, 1968, 1971, 1974 and in 1981, when these conflicts assumed their most acute forms, the hegemony-seeking, centralist and unitarian forces of Serbia have clashed with those of the republics and regions which defended the federative system of Yugoslavia. Minić said that both in 1968, 1971, and in 1974, when the Constitution was approved, «various unitarian and bureaucratic tendencies emerged to be followed by confederalist, autarkic and separatist tendencies later.» But, like Vlaškalić, Marković and others, Minić, too, said by way of excuse that «from 1977 on, Serbia has been dominated by autarkic tendencies which have expressed themselves in the isolation of the regions and republics.»

In fact, as the contributions to the 18th Plenum of the LC of Serbia show, the problems under discussion at present in Serbia and in Yugoslavia had been proposed for solution as early as 1977 by the Great-Serbs in a «Blue Book» which was presented to the Presidium of the CC of the LC of Serbia. From the few things that were said at the Plenum, it emerges that the «Blue Book» expresses the aims of the Serbian unitarian forces for the curtailment of the rights and competences of the autonomous regions. This was the reason why it was not given for discussion at large either to the Presidium

of the LC of Yugoslavia, the CC, or the Presidium of the Republic, and, instead, the decision was taken to leave it aside «and consider it as a non-existent document», that is, it was left for better times. This, no doubt, is due to Tito who, as long as he was alive, managed, even if in appearance, to maintain a sort of «unity» or «balance» of forces between the Serb group and the Croat-Slovenian group. Now Marković came out with the proposal that the «Blue Book» should be rehabilitated and made available for the CC of the LC of Serbia and the Yugoslav opinion. In spite of the opposition on the part of the representatives of Vojvodina, who considered the «Blue Book» condemned and rejected, Vlaškalić, in his closing speech, demanded that «the written materials of the year 1977 (the «Blue Book») should be distributed to the members of the CC or the committees of the Communes.» Thus, a discussion will be organized on the basis of a platform, which will further encourage Great-Serb chauvinism, fan the national hatred and incite attacks on the other nations of Yugoslavia, especially the Albanians and the Autonomous Regions of Kosovo and Vojvodina.

EXPLOSION OF NATIONAL QUARRELS IN SERBIA AND IN YUGOSLAVIA

The 18th Plenum of the CC of the LC of Serbia brought into the open the deep-going national differences and quarrels which erode today's Yugoslavia. This was openly admitted by many contributors to the discussion. Thus, for example, Miroslav Pečalić pointed out in his discussion that «the present crisis is affecting Yugoslavia in the most sensitive tissue of its society, in the relations among nations, the unity and coexistence» among its nationalities, that «the tendencies to division, disintegration are assuming broad and dangerous proportions.»

As emerged from this plenum, the Titoite claim about the alleged construction «of a community of freely united nations and nationalities based on independence and autonomy» has ended up in miserable failure. «Self-isolation, division, separatism» which as the contributors to the discussion emphasized, «begin at factory level and go up to regional and republic level, reign supreme» in Yugoslavia. Minić, Gligoriević and others also had to admit that «in the relations between the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia and the Regional Committees of Vojvodina and Kosova reigns an atmosphere of mistrust and reservations», that «the many conflicts and disagreements are becoming a stumbling block to unity».

The conclusion which emerges from this discussion is that the activation of Great-Serb chauvinism is the cause of the increase in the attempts of the nations and nationalities organized in the federal republics and autonomous regions to maintain their positions and to defend their sovereignty and autonomy which are endangered by the unitarian tendencies of the Great-Serbs.

The plenum shed light on the contradictions and disagreements existing between the leadership of Serbia and the leaderships of the regions of Kosova and Vojvodina. The representatives of Kosova, despite the specific conditions of the military occupation and the state of siege proclaimed in this region, tried to defend the Constitution of the Socialist Autonomous Region of Kosova. Thus in his contribution to the discussion Iljaz Kurteshi said that he does by no means consider the situation appropriate for the discussion of such important problems. He also tried to defend the prerogatives of the autonomous regions. «It is true,» said Kurteshi, «that Serbia is not a federation, however, in its composition there are two regions which have their own functions, independence and responsibility. Any case of infringement of the inte-

rests of the regions is fraught with major political consequences».

Bajram Selimi, expressing his reservations even more openly, pointed out that the moves for the drafting of some laws, «put in question all the solutions achieved and relations built to this day under the Constitution, as well as the many years' work of the republican and regional organs in the application of the principles of the Constitution». He also said that the «taking up (at the plenum) of problems of such a broad gamut, although this is not admitted anywhere formally, in essence encroaches on the constitutional positions of the Region».

However, the Great-Serbs came up against more stubborn resistance on the part of the representatives of Vojvodina who in their totality opposed the Great-Serbs' attempts to curtail the rights guaranteed by the Constitutions of the Autonomous Republics. The proceedings of the plenum revealed the profound divergencies and disagreements which flared up between the leaderships of Serbia and Vojvodina after the events in Kosova. Thus the Regional Committee of Vojvodina was reprimanded that at its meeting of May 1981 «it did not engage in the struggle against the slogan, 'A Republic for Kosova'» and «has not stated explicitly that Kosova should not become a Republic». The Serb leaders regard this stand of the leaders of Vojvodina as an expression of their desire that Vojvodina should be raised to the status of a republic, too.

The opposition of Vojvodina to the centralizing and unitarian policy of the Great-Serbs was expressed even more openly at the meeting of the Regional Committee of the LC of Vojvodina which was held on December 21, 1981, on the eve of the latest plenum of the LC of Serbia. The Regional Committee of the LC of Vojvodina observed that the polemic which is going on in the leadership of Serbia (over the competences of the regions) is organized from above and is being conducted «by staffs

operating according to a plan and with ulterior aims».

This meeting emphasized that «unity and coexistence cannot be achieved through the centralization of the state organs, through bureaucratic subjection, through unitarian-centralizing measures which can only serve to encourage the nationalism of other nations and nationalities.»

Besides this, the Regional Committee of the LC of Vojvodina criticized Serbia's attempts to lay its hands on the incomes of Vojvodina, on its rights on the Gjerdap hydro-power station, on its oil production, etc. Likewise, they rejected «the attempts to alter the Constitution in the direction of strengthening the role of the state, the Republic of Serbia». It was emphasized that «forms may differ, while their essence remains the same: to bring about the degeneration of the order and role of the Region in the SFR of Yugoslavia and the SR of Serbia».

At the recent plenum of the LC of Serbia of December 24-26, the representatives of Vojvodina opposed, in a compact manner, the attempts of the Great-Serbs to violate the autonomy of regions and the sovereignty of the federal republics. In their contributions to the discussion, Paško Romac and many other representatives of Vojvodina defended the autonomy and Constitution of the autonomous republic against the attempts of the Serb leaders to establish hegemony and unitarianism in Serbia and in Yugoslavia. Romac reminded the plenum that the autonomy of the regions and of Vojvodina has been laid down in documents worked out by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and Tito himself and, as a consequence, they cannot be violated. Pavle Kertenčić said that the autonomy of Vojvodina is not only an historical fact, but also part of the democratic rights of the working people of all its nationalities». «Why are the attempts at the realization of the functions of autonomy, that is, of the independence and equality of Vojvodina, considered as separatist tendencies?» asked Ker-

tenić. «If this is so, then the SR of Serbia is centralist.» He defended the idea that, when the question is about equality, the republics and regions are equal members of the Yugoslav community, in the Yugoslav Federation, under the Constitution.»

Ida Szabo rose openly against the Great-Serbs. «As always when the question of the autonomy of the Region of Vojvodina is put forward for discussion, Great-Serb nationalists have come out to attack Tito and the autonomous republics in Serbia, as they are doing now.» Likewise, Slavka Veselinov criticized the leadership of the LC of Yugoslavia and Serbia for their attacks on Vojvodina, especially on its demand that the regional leagues of communists have also the right to convene their own congresses. «What reasons impel some cadres to violate so brutally the democratic relations in the LC?»

The moves made by the leadership of Serbia with a view to strengthening Great-Serb hegemony and centralism through the promulgation of laws on people's defence, the planning of the economy, relations with the external world, etc also met with objections. Unlike the Serbs, the representatives of Vojvodina rejected as unsuitable the «Blue Book» of 1977 and the new proposals of the 18th Plenum, which were seen as curtailment of the autonomy of the regions.

In opposing the Law on People's Defence proposed by the Serbs, as a law which violates the autonomy of the regions in the field of defence, Nada Bokani recalled before the Plenum the words of Tito who insisted «on giving more scope to the initiative of the republics and regions (in the defence of the country), so that in this sphere the regions have the same rights as the republics».

As for the Law on the Unification of Relations with the External World, the representatives of Vojvodina found it unacceptable. As emerged from the contribution of Ivan Stambolić, the Executive Council of the Assembly of

Vojvodina has informed its Serb counter-part that «it rejects the proposal for the establishment of relations for the mutual harmonization of international visits».

Economic contradictions between Vojvodina and Serbia over the utilization of the incomes of the Autonomous Region of Vojvodina on the part of Serbia, also emerged at the plenum. The Law on Planning, which the Serb leadership submitted to the 18th Plenum, was designed to ensure that this exploitation of the autonomous regions by the Republic of Serbia is made more thorough.

The conflict of Vojvodina with Serbia is further evidence of the antagonisms which erode the Republic of Serbia and the whole Yugoslav Federation. Its significance and the consequences it may have for Yugoslavia become even more obvious considering that Vojvodina is not a homogenous region from the national viewpoint, that it is considered «a Yugoslavia in miniature» where the Serbs make up the majority of the population. This, however, does not mean that the Hungarian nationality does not have an influence on the political life of this region. The question is raised: if Serbia and the Great-Serbs are meeting with opposition by the leadership of an autonomous republic with a majority of Serbian population, as is the case of Vojvodina, how will they cope with Kosova or the other federated republics which are determined to defend their sovereignty?

The Albanians of Kosova have constantly and persistently demanded the recognition of their democratic and national rights which the Great-Serbs have denied them. In this context they demanded that Kosova be raised to the status of a republic within the framework of the Yugoslav Federation, which had to accord them the same rights as those of the other federated republics. Instead of listening to and meeting these legitimate demands of the Albanians of Kosova, the Serb chauvinists have launched a savage onslaught

against them, trying to liquidate the status of the autonomous regions altogether. The Albanian population of Kosova can never reconcile itself to these chauvinist plans and actions.

The plenum showed that the problems under discussion there went beyond the bounds of the Republic of Serbia, that the question was not only about the subordination of the regions by the Great-Serbs, but also about their hegemony in the whole Yugoslav Federation. This became apparent in the reaction to the proceedings of the plenum of LC of Serbia on the part of the republics, especially those of Croatia and Slovenia, which are determined to defend the rights they already enjoy.

In this context the interview Vladimir Bakarić, member of the Presidency of the SFRY and of the CC of the LC of Yugoslavia, gave the Zagreb «Vjesnik» on December 25, 1981, is of particular significance.

In his interview he criticized the «anti-republican campaign» which is being conducted in the problems of the economy, thereby implying the centralist and unitarian tendencies of Serbia against the sovereignty of the republics in the economic and political fields. Bakarić defended the national economies of the republics against the attempts of the Serb unitarians at liquidating them under the pretext of the creation of a unified Yugoslav market, which, as Bakarić put it, «in reality is a return to centralism».

Bakarić expressed the view that in the future, too, Yugoslavia should continue to be built on a federal basis, as was decided at the 2nd meeting of AVNOJ in 1943. Bakarić sees the positive aspect of this federal system in the fact that it created the national economies which formerly did not exist in Yugoslavia. He rose against the centralist-unitarian threat, the hegemonic and revanchist tendencies which have brought Yugoslavia no good, but, on the contrary, have made the solution of the questions of principle in the relations of

Serbia and Yugoslavia even more difficult». He did not say it openly where these tendencies come from, but implied that they come from Serbia. In this context he also criticized the anti-Albanian psychoses the Serbs have instigated by means of the press, as well as their revanchist stands towards Kosova, the violations of its proper rights under the Constitution.

Speaking about the LC of Yugoslavia and the positions of the LC of the republics and regions, Bakarić said that «it is impermissible that a republic imposes its will on the League of Communists». He meant Serbia.

On the position of the socialist autonomous republics, as constitutional elements of the Federation, Bakarić said, «this is the greatest political problem of Yugoslavia». This, and especially the «problem of Kosova», Bakarić said, «is not only a problem concerning Serbia alone, but is becoming a concern for the whole of Yugoslavia. If a nationality (that is, the Albanian nationality) cannot exist in Yugoslavia, then this question bears at the same time on the existence of Yugoslavia as a whole...» The allusion is transparent: if Serbia denies Kosova its rights as an autonomous region, this will mean an attempt at the existence of the whole Yugoslav Federation, this will put in question its very existence.

Thus, Bakarić demanded that, under the Yugoslav Constitution, Serbia respect the autonomy of Kosova and Vojvodina. He condemned the demand «A republic for Kosova» as an attempt to ensure «a special position» within Yugoslavia, while at the same time, drawing a distinction between the stand of Croatia and the other republics from that of Serbia on the treatment of Kosova. «As far as the rest of us is concerned,» says Bakarić, «we have long ago respected the independence of Kosova, and this has been a rule for us».

Nevertheless, like the Great-Serb clan, the Croatian-Slovanian clan also

has hostile aims against the PSR of Albania. Bakarić spoke of the Autonomous Region of Kosova as «a bridge towards Albania». This nationality (the Albanians), he said, «must have been a bridge to overcome boundaries». «We must support the thesis,» said Bakarić, «which gives complete freedom to the Albanian nation, precisely to that Albanian nation which will build its bridges towards Serbia, towards Yugoslavia and the future Albania.» This statement of Bakarić proves once more the old aim of the Yugoslav revisionists, with Tito at the head — that of gobbling up Albania and transforming it into the 7th Republic of Yugoslavia.

Although these aims have failed in the face of the resistance and struggle of the Albanian people led by the Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, Bakarić does not give up the chauvinist plans of the Yugoslav bourgeoisie against Albania.

Still, the stand of Bakarić, who expresses the opinion of the Croatian-Slovenian clan about Kosova, is different from that of the Great-Serbs. The fact that at the 22nd Plenum of the LC of Yugoslavia, which was held on November 17 and at which fresh attacks were made on the Albanians of Kosova, their demand to be given the status of a republic, and against Albania in particular, none of the well-known Croatian-Slovenian personalities said a word, is meaningful. It may be expected that after Croatia, the other republics, too, and especially Slovenia and Bosna-Herzegovina will publicly oppose the unitarian and hegemonic aims of Great-Serbs.

WHY ARE THE GREAT-SERBS IN A HURRY?

At their plenum the Serb leaders were in a great hurry to solve the questions laid down for discussion as soon as possible. «The questions on the agenda,» Petar Stambolić said, «bear no postponement, because that would have negative consequences». Dozens of other contributors to the discussion, of course, apart from those of the regions of Kosova and Vojvodina, insisted on the urgency of the solution of the problems raised by the Serb leadership. It was openly said that «if these problems are not solved, not only Serbia, but the whole of Yugoslavia would be endangered.»

Why all this hurry of the Great-Serbs to achieve their hegemonic aims at the present moment?

The strengthening of the political and military positions of the Serb clan in Yugoslavia, after the March-April 1981 events in Kosova, has had an impact on it. If the leaderships of the other republics and autonomous regions have considered the extraordinary situation created in Yugoslavia as temporary and provisional and are waiting for it to end and return to the situation prior to the spring of 1981, the Great-Serbs want to transform it into a permanent situation and to strengthen their hegemony over the regions and republics in all fields.

By all «legal» and «constitutional» means and, eventually military means, they endeavour to sanction and further strengthen all those results they achieve

with the establishment of unitarianism and hegemonism. The Great-Serbs cannot suffer to let this moment escape them. Marković put it bluntly saying: «We were unable to solve these questions in 1977, because there was no unity in the leadership of the LC of Serbia, whereas now this unity exists.»

The grave economic crisis expressed in Yugoslavia's 20 million dollar foreign indebtedness and the ever growing inflation, also, have influenced in this direction. The Serb bourgeoisie sees no other way out of this situation than to lay its hands on the incomes of the other regions and republics. And this, of course, cannot be done without violating the sovereignty of the republics in the political and economic fields.

These attempts of the Great-Serbs, as we have already observed, must also be seen as part of the joint plot of the Great-Serbs and Soviet social-imperialists against the peoples of Yugoslavia, the Albanians of Kosova and the PSR of Albania. Why should the hand of the Soviet social-imperialists, which incited Jaruzelski to establish a military dictatorship in Poland and which seeks to do the same thing in different forms in Yugoslavia, too, not be behind these attempts?

Of course, Yugoslavia has its own peculiarities, both in its national composition and state structure, which are two serious obstacles to the plans of the Great-Serbs to establish a military dictatorship. Therefore, the Serbs are going about it cautiously, under the lap, in allegedly «legal» and «constitutional» forms, but persistently and consistently, to achieve their aims.

press review

THE PEOPLES' LIBERATION STRUGGLE — A GREAT FORCE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

«ZERI I POPULLIT» — *organ of the CC of the PLA*

Speaking to the 8th Congress of the PLA about the liberation struggles, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out: «Besides the upsurge and extension of the struggle of the working class, a general awakening of the oppressed peoples, a strengthening of national feelings and a great desire to be free, independent and sovereign can be seen today. The peoples' liberation movements have grown in extent and quality, their anti-imperialist, anti-social-imperialist and anti-neo-colonialist character has been strengthened».

As regards the broad range of problems it puts forward for solution and the extension it has assumed, the struggle of the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America has been transformed today into a great force against imperialism and reaction. It is dealing heavy blows at the foundations of the colonial system, raising the task of liberation from foreign yoke and of the creation of independent national states, as in the case of the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people against the Israeli aggressors, in the struggle of the people of Northern Ireland against the centuries-long English rule and for national unification, in the struggle of the Namibian and other peoples. The peoples' struggle is also spearheaded

against neo-colonialism for complete political, economic and social and cultural emancipation. As such, it is directed against the imperialist powers and against the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, in the first place, as the two neo-colonialist powers of the time. These powers try to maintain their domination of the peoples relying on internal reaction and acting in concert with it, oppress and exploit the peoples. In these conditions, the struggle for freedom and independence against foreign imperialist rule, the establishment of national sovereignty in all fields and the liquidation of neo-colonialism is indissolubly linked with the struggle against internal reaction which is sold out to the foreigners. This is what is occurring in most countries of Latin America: Chile, Brazil, Uruguay, Salvador, Columbia, Honduras, Guatemala. This is also occurring in the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, Oman and other countries of Asia and Africa.

The struggle of the oppressed peoples has been stepped up and growing in extent and depth. There is almost no area or region under reactionary rule which is not shaken by revolutionary upheavals. The peoples' struggle is carried out in various forms, in strikes, demonstrations, protests and the revolt of the

working people, as is the case at Brazil, Chile, South Africa, Indonesia, etc. Along with them, the armed struggle has assumed broad proportions in many countries. This kind of struggle is forging always ahead and assuming ever higher forms of organization. From sporadic armed actions it has developed into broad movements organized in liberation fronts with regular armed forces which apply resilient tactics of partisan warfare, as is occurring in Salvador, Guatemala, Colombia, the Philippines, Thailand and other countries. In their actions, the patriotic forces are not only able to successfully cope with the mopping up operations of government forces, but also to launch counter-offensives resulting in the liberation of whole areas. Characteristic is also the close cooperation of the patriotic forces with the movements of the people's masses in the cities. Besides the bold actions of the Palestinian partisans, powerful protest demonstrations of the Palestinian population against the Israeli rule are breaking out in the Israeli occupied Arab cities. In the southern part of the African continent, along with the armed actions of the Namibian and Azanian patriots, the powerful protests of the African population are making themselves felt in the big

press review

cities. This combination of the struggle in urban and rural areas has put the dictatorial regimes in a difficult position, further deepening their crisis.

In face of the mounting wave of the peoples' struggle, the forces of reaction have thrown themselves onto savage assault on a broad front to destroy any hearth of liberation war. The two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, the arch-enemies of the peoples, are at the head of this counter-revolutionary onslaught. They, and together with them, the other imperialist powers are taking under their wing the forces of the blackest reaction, the most corrupt and hated regimes and, jointly with them, try to snuff out any revolutionary spark of the peoples.

The brutal interventions, even the open armed aggression of the American imperialists against the Iranian revolution, their attempts to maintain in power the Somoza regime which met with utter failure, their open support of the anti-popular regimes in Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Chile, Oman, the Philippines, South Africa and in many other countries of the world, are fresh facts in the memory of the peoples. The Soviet social-imperialists are going about it in the same manner they undertook the fascist-type aggression against Afghanistan and now, by violence and terror, seek at all costs to maintain their domination of that country. Social-imperialist China, which committed a fascist-type aggression against Vietnam, which threatens this

country again with «a second lesson» and which supports the reactionary regimes all over the world, operates on these same counter-revolutionary lines.

However, the peoples are not intimidated by the attacks of their enemies. The new developments prove that they never can reconcile themselves with the twofold oppression and exploitation which the imperialists, the social-imperialists and all the reactionaries endeavour to impose on them. The peoples now have chosen their road, the road of the armed struggle and are determined to go through to the end. Imperialism is rolling towards the abyss. It is not in a position to contain the revolutionary drive of the peoples.

WASHINGTON PENETRATES EVER DEEPER INTO THE REVISIONIST MOB

«BASHKIMI» — central organ of the Democratic Front of Albania

In the end of last year Washington «gave the green lights» to the Polish and Hungarian applications for membership to the International Monetary Fund. As is known, this banking organism, in which Washington holds the largest share and has the right of veto on every decision, is one of the staffs of American neo-colonialism for the domination and exploitation of the peoples of the whole world.

The representatives of this «philanthropic» institution based in Washington have visited and explored every single capitalist and revisionist country. They are the old-standing «welcome guests» in Yugoslavia, and the recent guests of China. The International Monetary Fund has knocked now at the doors of the «socialist community», too.

The bourgeoisie of the Comecon member countries, just

as the Soviet bourgeoisie, has a great appetite for Western money, capital, technique and technology. Through the enslaving credits it receives it tries, among other things, to fill the gaps and to make good the huge passive balances which have been created in the Comecon member countries as a result of their unequal economic relations with the Soviet metropolis which exploits them systematically.

press review

Obviously, the Kremlin cannot oppose <in principle> the capitalist economic links of the Comecon countries with the West. The Soviet Union itself maintains extensive relations with the West, regarding it as an important factor for the extended reproduction of the capital and the economic potential of the revisionist bourgeoisie. The extension of the relations of the Comecon member countries to the Western countries, as has been proved by practice, would serve only to alleviate the great pressure which the economic needs of the revisionist countries exercise on the financial, material, technical and energy resources of Soviet social-imperialism. This release from the burden is very much welcome to the Moscow patron, too, especially in the conditions of the feverish arms race between the two superpowers and of their armed aggressions.

However, the problem for the Soviet bosses is that the stepped-up economic penetration of the Western monopolies into this exclusive sphere of influence of Soviet capital should not become the cause of centrifugal tendencies in the social-imperialist mob. Moscow is mortally afraid lest the national bourgeoisie of the countries of Eastern Europe tries to get out of the Kremlin's control, as is happening in Poland.

Apart from all this, it is already an established fact that the Soviet patron uses the economy of the Comecon

member countries as a very suitable testing ground for his own bargainings and various forms of partnership with the Western monopolies outside its borders, as the first step of its neo-colonialist expansion towards the world capitalist economy. From Moscow, the two biggest banks of the Comecon control hundreds of credits and agreements of Western economic «aid» to the countries of the «socialist community». The relations of these countries with the West, in general, have developed more than those of the Soviet Union with the West. There, the forms of the present-day imperialist-revisionist integration, such as joint companies, the establishment of Western branches in the local economies, joint ventures to exploit the local labour force, etc have reached a higher stage of development than in the Soviet Union itself.

This state of things is also reflected in the fact that the Comecon member countries have gone further than the Soviet Union in the legislative field — in sanctioning by law the activity of the Western monopolies and banks in the revisionist economy. Hungary has applied such forms as early as 1971, while in 1976 Poland went beyond all bounds and allowed the setting up of enterprises with a hundred per cent foreign capital in the economy of the country. In 1978 Bulgaria, too, officially allowed such capitalist-revisionist grafts. Such joint ventures with Western capital for

the exploitation of the local workers already enjoy legal protection on the part of the revisionist states and have a privileged status in their economy. In Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and other revisionist countries a whole system of state subsidies has been set up to facilitate the activity of joint companies with American, West-European capital, etc. Credits and subsidies are granted on a priority basis, through allowances in taxation and customs duties on imported materials and equipment, through the simplification of import-export procedures, etc. The Kremlin considers this system of measures experimented in the Comecon countries under its supervisions «definitely interesting», «deserving of attention» and «liable to be applied in the practice of the Soviet Union in the future, too».

It is obvious that the penetration of Western finance capital into the Comecon member countries has damaged the economy of these countries more than that of the Soviet Union. Their one-sidedly developed economy, geared on fulfilling the needs of the Moscow patron, is very much exposed to the enslaving impact of the massive neo-colonizing expansion of American imperialism and the other Western powers. The countries of Eastern Europe have been turned into a broad area of clashes, but also conciliation of the interests of Soviet and Western capital. On the basis of this reality, the 8th Con-

press review

gress of the PLA pointed out, «The contradictions and disagreements have become very acute, also, within the so-called socialist community. The Soviet Union itself is in such difficult conditions that it is no longer able to fulfil the demands of the allied countries for a normal development of their economies. There are frictions and quarrels also because of the ten-

dency of the satellite countries to move closer to and collaborate with the West.»

The Kremlin's concession to the demands of Poland and Hungary to become members of the International Monetary Fund is a reflection of this reality of deep crises and contradictions. Finding themselves between the neo-colonialist fires of the two superpowers, the revisionist countries are

labouring under the impact of a deep-going political, economic and social crisis, the true dimensions of which are reflected in the Yugoslav and Polish crises. Moscow has no more reserves to fill the great economic gaps of the so-called socialist community. Conditions being as they are, Washington avails itself of them to get deeper into the imperial preserves of the Kremlin.

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A NEW WAR STAFF OF THE PENTAGON

«LUFETARI» — central organ of the Ministry of People's Defence of the PSR of Albania —

In the series of preparations for military expansion and intervention in the various regions of the world, American imperialism has set up a new military command for the Caribbeans and the entire basin of Central America.

The setting up of this new war machine for the Caribbeans and the entire basin of Central America is another step taken by American imperialism in its efforts to strengthen its military dictate on and control of this region, is a further dangerous escalation of its aggressive and war-mongering policy in this region and all over the world. This is part of the successive measures of a militarist character which have been taken by the Reagan administration for the stepping up of the American plans of war and aggression. The setting up of new military commands for these zones is the second step next

to the creation and training of the Rapid Deployment Force. Obviously, the duty of these commands is to prepare the ground and give directions as to the ways in which US and other military forces should intervene whenever the people in Washington see that their imperialist interests are at stake.

By setting up their new command for the Caribbeans and Central America, the American imperialists want to preempt the mounting tide of the revolutionary and liberation struggles of this region. They are growing panicky at the rising tide of the struggle of the peoples of this region, who have gained the awareness that it is only through the armed struggle against the local bloody dictatorship and American imperialism that they can realize their aspirations to freedom and independence.

The growing revolt and struggle of the peoples in Salvador and other countries have dealt powerful blows at the hegemonic positions of American imperialism. They have had broad repercussions and serve as a source of encouragement for the other peoples of Latin America. In these conditions, seeing that the fascist regimes, with all their terror and massacres, prove unawailing in front of the people's struggle, seeing that neither its large-scale military and financial assistance to the ruling cliques, nor its advisers and mercenary armies can smother the anti-imperialist fighting spirit of the peoples, the USA is making preparations for direct military intervention, just as it did in the Dominican Republic. The creation of the new military staff for the Caribbeans and Central America

press review

serves precisely this purpose. Washington considers these banana republics as its own backyard, as chattel which it may handle as it likes. Therefore, with open arrogance it creates the military commands for the Caribbeans and the region of Central America, as though these were part of the USA.

This is the logic of aggression followed by the heads of American imperialism, who think that they have a right to make the law and dictate their will in this and other regions of the world. This is another instance of the aggressive escalation of the American policy in Central America and in the entire Latin-American sub-continent. It is further testimony of the growing

warmongering and adventurous character of the foreign policy of the USA.

In its «new» foreign policy, the Reagan administration is resorting ever more openly to brutal military force, military pressure and threats as means to ensure the hegemonic positions of American imperialism. The new war staff of US imperialism in the Caribbeans is only an additional link in the chain of innumerable war staffs set up by US imperialism all over the world, in Europe and the Middle East, in the Far East and the Pacific. This is one of the methods which both American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism employ to carry out their strategy for world domination.

By means of such and other warmongering steps, the American imperialists strive to intimidate the peoples of Latin America. Nevertheless, the peoples are not frightened by these measures, they defy them and rise up resolutely arms in hand against the local military dictatorships and American imperialism. This revolutionary and liberation struggle of the peoples is an objective process which cannot be halted by the brutal force of imperialism. «In the 'backyard' of the United States great tempests are blowing up, tempests which cannot be stopped, either with weapons or with dollars,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 8th Congress of the Party.

A MEANS OF VIOLENCE IN THE HANDS OF THE BOURGEOISIE

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

Reports from news agencies and the world press on the increase of funds for and the modernization of the apparatus of «law and order», that is, the police, in the countries ruled by capital have become but too common. It is an undeniable fact that in the fierce class struggle that is going on between the proletariat and the oppressed masses, on the one hand, and the bourgeoisie, on the other, the latter tries to find its salvation in imposing a regime of terror and

violence, increasing the number of police, opening new jails and equipping the police with the most sophisticated weapons, as well as increasing the funds for these forces. The British newspaper «The Times» writes that, besides CS gas and other offensive weapons, the British police will also employ lethal rubber bullets. The same newspaper writes further that the British government is considering to increase expenditure for the police, for new jails with 5,000

places, as well as for more police troops. According to the newspaper «Worker's Weekly», Britain nowadays has the greatest jail population in the countries of Western Europe — about 45,000 thousand. Its expenditure for the police reached 408 million pounds last year, in the year 1983-1984 it is envisaged to rise to 530 million pounds. All this is done to break the resolute resistance of the broad working masses against the anti-popular po-

press review

licy of Mrs Thatcher. In Northern Ireland alone, for example, the British occupiers spend 230 million pounds to keep the police, the courts and jails, and 60 million pounds for about 20,000 occupation troops. In the United States expenditure for the police, its equipment with modern means and jail construction grows on an average 15 per cent each year. According to the Western press, an American commission has recently asked for a sum in excess of 2 billion dollars to build new jails.

In the Federal Republic of Germany the police will be equipped with modern weapons to employ against the demonstrators. The Bonn Ministry for Internal Affairs reported that the police forces will be given about 40,000 modern motor vehicles and that more than 1.7 billion marks will be spent for the further modernization of its armaments. Expenditure for the police grows on an average 17 per cent each year in this country. In Spain there is a 100,000 strong police apparatus, including its secret agents. In South Korea expenditure for

the police apparatus reached 22 billion von (the South Korean currency) last year, while another 10,000 men was added to the number of the police troops.

The most modern electronic devices for supervision and bugging are put at the disposal of the police and its secret agents. About 90 per cent of telephone conversations in London are controlled by the secret police. These few facts alone show that so-called democracy in the countries ruled by capital is nothing other but violence and terror against the broad people's masses.

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THE DEEPENING OF THE CRISIS — A CONSEQUENCE OF THE RESTORATION OF CAPITALISM IN THE SOVIET UNION

«PUNA» — organ of the Central Council of the TUA

The consequences of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union are making themselves felt more and more in the daily life of the Soviet broad working masses. They have to cope with all sorts of difficulties and hardships from the irresistible price rises to shortages of commodities of first necessity, such as, for example, food-stuffs, etc. The Soviet press is forced to admit now and then this bitter reality. Significant are the recent reports published on its pages. Thus, butter could not be bought for money in Moscow for two weeks on end. The same can be said about mar-

garine, sugar, tea, meat and its products, etc. As a result of this critical situation measures have been taken for the rationing of some food-stuffs, and it is said that «in some towns ration cards for food, especially for meat, have been introduced.»

There were systematic reports of such a state of things even before, and especially from the top officials of the revisionist ruling clique. At a recent plenum of the revisionist party, Brezhnev expressed his «dissatisfaction» over the chaotic state of the supply of the population with food-stuffs, over shortages of the

main alimentary products, and in particular, meat, milk, butter, etc.

Serious shortages of food-stuffs on the Soviet market are accompanied with systematic, open and disguised, price rises for various commodities. Thus, as emerges from some reports in the foreign press, there was a 30 per cent price rise for confections in September. Forecasts predict further price rises. In this connection, the «Novosti» news agency reported recently that beginning from January 1st, the price of coal will go up 42 per cent, gas 45 per cent, etc.

press review

These price rises will inevitably be followed by increasing production costs which will express themselves in higher prices for broad consumer goods. Shortages in commodities of first necessity on the Soviet market have brought about, among other things, the flourishing of the black market, smuggling and deals under the lap. Rumours such as, «you can find everything on the Soviet black market», are exact. It operates in a highly organized form and has become a great source of profit for certain circles of the new bourgeoisie. As is officially admitted, one can find anything on this market, but at prices 4-5 times as high as those of the state market. There are, of course, other articles the prices for which are even higher.

Chronic shortages of various commodities and price rises on the Soviet market are not accidental and transient phenomena. They are an aspect of the deepening of the general economic crisis, a direct consequence of the slump in production in different sectors of the economy. This is what

some reports of the revisionist Soviet press show: in the first 10 months of the past year growth rates of industrial production and labour productivity have fallen short of the planned targets. Coal extraction dropped much below the level of the same period in 1980. The same is observed in steel, pig iron, rolled steel, chemical fertilizers, synthetic fibres, production, etc. However, the situation in agriculture is gloomier still. Total agricultural production fell 38 per cent over the last two years. This year too the greatest shortages were recorded in the production of cereals. Thus, according to official information, there was a fall of 60 million tons in the production of cereals, which is the lowest figure reached since 1975. There have been shortfalls also for other products such as meat, milk, butter, etc. As «*Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta*» had it recently, in the first 9 months of this year milk production fell 3 per cent. As always, the revisionist chiefs and their propaganda continue to lay the blame

for these failures on bad weather, droughts and frosts. But the truth will out. Moscow is forced to buy increasingly large quantities of cereals on the world capitalist market, which has resulted in growing trade deficits.

The feverish militarization of the economy, which the Soviet social-imperialists are carrying out in implementation of their expansionist policy, also has an influence on the worsening of the living conditions of the Soviet people's masses. It is obvious that when guns are produced bread and butter disappear from the market. There are everyday reports which show that colossal sums are laid about for the strengthening of the war machine.

However, those who pay for the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the militarist policy of the new czars of the Kremlin are the people's masses which have to suffer great privations, are savagely oppressed and exploited, the same as the working masses in the capitalist countries.

THE VATICAN — CENTRE OF THE OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION OF THE PEOPLES

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

In many declarations and speeches on various occasions the Pope Wojtyla has expressed his «deep preoccupation» about the millions of working peo-

ple who suffer all over the world and has called for «justice», «equality» among the rich and the poor, has begged the oppressors and

exploiters to think of the poor in the sharing of profits, etc. These words, which are frequently used by all the popes of the Vatican, are intended

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only to keep the oppressed peoples and masses in passivity to sabotage their revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the old world and its bosses. Through such phrases the Polish Pope Wojtyla seeks to cover up the crimes of the Catholic Church, its role as a centre of oppression and exploitation, of the plunder of the fruits of work of the peoples all over the world.

The facts show that the Vatican is, among other things, a company similar to the multi-nationals. The capital of the Catholic Church and the Vatican is invested in the steel industry, in the extraction and processing of oil, in the construction of aircraft and missiles, arms and ammunitions. Thus, the Vatican operates like the notorious multi-national companies such as General Motors, Esso, etc. In France, for example, the Vatican possesses a non-productive capital of 50-60 billion francs. It owns a capital of 2 billion pounds in Britain, more than 79 billion dollars

in the USA and is at the same time one of the biggest financial groups in Italy, where it controls 9 banks, one of which has a capital worth 36 billion dollars. Apart from this, the representatives of the Vatican participate in the administration councils of a great number of Italian banks, financial companies which control different industrial enterprises, etc.

By means of such activities, and through the exploitation of the proletariat of the countries where it has invested its capital and the plunder of the wealth of the various peoples, the Holy See makes huge profits. Only in the role of the proprietor of its assets in Rome, the Vatican ensures an annual income of about 4 billion dollars. Through such banks as the Banco di Santo Spirito, etc it ensures huge profits in Europe, Latin America and other regions. The Bank of Sao Paolo in Torino, which is connected with the Holy See, has made a net profit of 14,226 million lire

in 1979, or double that of the previous year.

Besides the activity of different industrial and financial monopoly companies and enterprises, the Catholic Church also appears as a big landed proprietor, whose estates keep extending all over the world. At present it possesses about 483,000 hectares of land in Italy, 500,000 hectares in France, 100,000 hectares in Great Britain, 330,000 hectares in West Germany, millions of hectares in Latin America, as well as hundreds of thousands of acres in Spain, Portugal, etc.

All these facts show what is hidden behind the religious demagoguery of the Vatican and its hypocritical calls for social «peace» and «equality». They indicate that the Vatican not only is the centre of mediaeval obscurantism, of the spiritual oppression and enslavement of the peoples, but also a centre of oppression and exploitation of the toil and wealth of the peoples, an institution which fattens on their sweat and toil.

Merry winter holidays for our children



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