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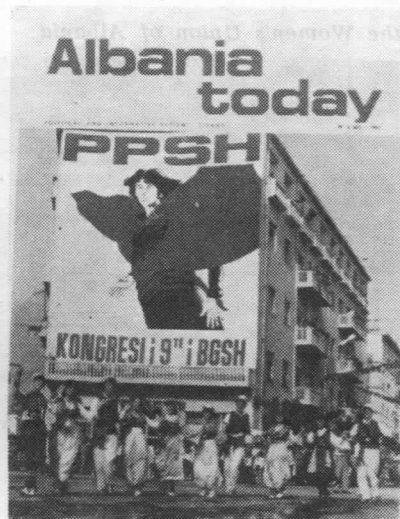


THE 9th CONGRESS OF THE WOMEN'S UNION OF ALBANIA HELD ITS PROCEEDINGS FROM 1 TO 3 JUNE 1983 IN THE COASTAL CITY OF DURRËS.

During the days of the Congress the city of Durrës was in festivity.

The delegates follow the proceedings of the Congress with great attention.





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THE 9th CONGRESS OF THE WOMEN'S UNION OF ALBANIA HELD
FROM 2 TO 4 JUNE 1981 IN THE COASTAL CITY OF DURRES

THE 9th C OF THE WOMEN'S

The Presidium of the 9th Congress of the Women's Union of Albania



CONGRESS UNION OF ALBANIA





The 9th Congress of the Women's Union of Albania held its proceedings from 1 to 3 June in the city of Durrës. On June 1, the delegates, accompanied by a large crowd, made towards the Congress hall.

The hall burst into stormy ovation to greet the appearance on the Congress tribune of the beloved leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha. On the tribune appeared also the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, the Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Premier of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Çarçani, and other leaders of the Party and state.

The heads of the foreign delegations invited by the General Council of the WUA to attend the proceedings of the Congress also took their places on the tribune.

Amid the great enthusiasm of those present, the member of the Presidency of the General Council of the WUA, Comrade Vito Kapo, declared the Congress open.

The Congress elected the working presidium and endorsed the working regulations.

The floor was given to the President of the General Council of the WUA, Comrade Lumturi Rexha, who held the report «Under the leadership of the Party we must fight to uphold and further develop the spirit of emancipation amongst the mass of women themselves and in society as a whole».

After the break, Comrade Lumturi Rexha, who chaired the session, gave the floor to the Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Pali Miska, who greeted the Congress on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and the beloved leader of the Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, personally.

The message of greeting of the CC of the PLA was listened to attentively and frequently punctuated by stormy applause for our glorious Party of Labour and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The enthusiasm in the hall was further increased when the children and young pioneers brought the Congress their traditional warm greetings.

The second and the third days of the Congress were devoted to contributions to the discussion of the Report.

The Congress was greeted by the member of the Presidium of the Women's Union of Vietnam, Nguyen Thi Nyng, the vice-secretary general of the All-Africa Women's Organization, Eccuya Puati Marie Romene, the President of the Cairo branch of the Women's Union of Palestine, Samira Abu Ghazale, the general secretary of the Women's Union of Tanzania, Kato Kamba, the secretary of the National Women's Council of Mali, Kani Ture, the representative of the women of Zimbabwe, Gertrude Mutasse, the representative of the All-Africa Women's Congress of Azania, Mafyeri Masekela, the head of the delegation of the Women's Union of Sao Paolo (Brazil), Marie De Socorro, the member of the secretariat of the General Council of the Women's Front of Denmark, Lene Larsen, the head of the organization of the Democratic Women's Union of Spain, Lucilla Arago, the head of the delegation of the Revolutionary Anti-fascist Women's Union of Portugal, Manuella Tovaes, the member of the Central Council of the Democratic Women's Union of Canada, Marie Louise Lewis, the general secretary of the General Council of the Women's Union of Britain, Linda James, the head of the delegation of the Women of the Communist Party of Germany (Marxist-Leninist), Cornelia Stelmann, the head of the delegation of the Women's Section of the Communist Party of Sweden, Christina Hagner, the head of the delegation of the Revolutionary Women of France, Anic Leroux, the head of the delegation of the Women's Popular Front of Peru, Milda Candiotti, the representative of the Albanian women living in the USA, Areti Viso, the head of the delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Women of Ecuador, Magali Rama Campi, and the head of the delegation

of the Revolutionary Women's Union of Congo, Safu Safues.

The messages of greeting by the foreign delegations met with fiery applause by the delegates to the Congress, who thereby expressing their feelings of friendship and international solidarity.

Then, the Congress carried out its proceedings in three separate sections for the problems of the economy, culture and the family. The main discussion «On the enhancement of the role of women as active builders of socialism and the tasks of the WUA» was read by the secretary of the General Council of the WUA, Zenepe Topi. The main discussion «On some problems of the work of the WUA organization for the further raising of the cultural level of the masses of women» was read by the Minister of Education and Culture, Tefta Cami. The main discussion «On some problems of the strengthening of the family and on family relations in general» was read by the vice-president of the General Council of the WUA, Eleni Selenica.

The Congress endorsed the report to the 9th Congress of the Women's Union of Albania, as well as the Resolution which emphasizes the tasks emerging before the women and the Women's Organization for the implementation of the historic decisions of the 8th Congress of the Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The Congress elected the General Council of the Women's Union of Albania, consisting of 167 members. At its first meeting, the new General Council of the Women's Union of Albania elected its presidium and secretariat, consisting of 27 and 5 members respectively. Comrade Lumturi Rexha was elected president, Comrade Eleni Selenica, Lavdiqe Leka and Natasha Hodaj vice-presidents, and comrade Leonora Çaro secretary.

The closing plenary session of the Congress, in which the winners of the socialist contests in honour of the Congress were declared, was carried out in an atmosphere of great enthusiasm.

MESSAGE OF GREETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY DELIVERED BY COMRADE PALI MISKA

Our Party and the entire people follow attentively the proceedings of your 9th Congress which is an important event, not only for the women and their militant organization — the Women's Union of Albania, but also for the entire political life of the country.

On this occasion allow me to convey to you and to all the heroic women the ardent greetings of the Central Committee of the Party and of the beloved leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, personally. On their behalf, allow me also to wish you success and express the belief that the proceedings of this Congress, the decisions it will take and the tasks it will set, will awaken new and greater energies in the broad masses of women to carry out the decision of the historic 8th Congress of the Party, its directives for the further advance of the woman.

Our socialist society is deeply interested in the emancipation of the woman, because the higher the level of her emancipation, the more rapid the advance of the country and the stronger the Homeland.

With their participation in the struggle for the liberation of the Homeland and the work for the construction of socialism, women have swelled the army of the revolution, introducing their great progressive force and their moral, and spiritual purity into it. The Albanian woman has made her outstanding contribution to every success and every victory achieved by our people and country.

Through encouraging the advance of the woman, ensuring her equality and raising her dignity in society, socialism in Albania provides a great proof of its transforming force. This progress as well as all the historic victories of our people are closely linked up with the Party, with its correct line, with the particular

PALI MISKA: Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party

care and the contribution Comrade Enver Hoxha has made to the working out of the program for the emancipation of the Albanian woman and the ways for its implementation. This is the reason why women all over our country are so closely linked with socialism, cherish a boundless love for the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, listen to and carry out their teachings with unshaken conviction.

The emancipation of the woman in our country becomes still more evident when confronted with the condition of women in the capitalist and revisionist countries. High-falutin words about «emancipation, civilization, freedom, education, culture» coexist with savage laws that humiliate and offend women, cause them anxiety and uncertainty about their families and their children, subject them to suffering due to the discriminating norms and standards of bourgeois morality, to the consequences of the grave economic and social crisis.

Comrade Delegates,

Our country, as a genuine socialist country, is outstanding for its stable economy and its high rates of development, for an economy which develops without crises and inflation and has great possibilities for the expansion of production, the increase of the well-being of the people and the strengthening of the defence of the Homeland. All this it has realized relying entirely on its own forces, without stretching out a begging hand to anyone.

The great development of industry and agriculture, education and culture, technique and science, call for raising the all-round activity of the working, cooperative and intellectual women as a creative and leading force in all fields of life.

The Party is confident that the women of our country will work, as always, with high socialist consciousness,

with high productivity, with good quality and a high sense of frugality for the successful realization of all the tasks of the 7th Five-year Plan, will take an ever more active part in the socio-political life of the country and have their say on all questions connected with the strengthening of the economy, culture and the defence of the country, will strive to raise their educational and technical-professional level ever higher.

Socialism in our country is built in the conditions of a savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement and the continuing aggravation of the international situation. When these conditions are understood and assessed properly, the tasks the Party has set in the present stage of the socialist construction are understood and carried out better. Therefore, all together we must work ceaselessly for the further steeling of the unity of the people around the Party, for the strengthening of the people's state power and the defence of the country, for the raising of revolutionary vigilance towards the internal and external enemies, and fight against any alien leftover and manifestation. Comrades, everywhere you are, at work, in the family and society, you must work for the implementation of socialist principles and norms, our proletarian ideology and morality, keeping always ablaze the militant spirit of mass actions.

Our Party and country always pursue a principled foreign policy which responds to the supreme interests of the Homeland and the victories of socialism, a policy which contributes to the general common cause of the national and social liberation of the peoples.

Socialist Albania has and will always maintain an irreconcilable stand towards American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and the other forces of reaction, will be a stern fighter against their policy of aggression and hegemony. At the same time, it is always for normal relations of collaboration with all those states which are not hostile towards our country, on the basis of equality, non-interference and mutual benefit.

With our neighbours we want to live in peace and friendship to have regular relations and collaboration of mutual advantage in all the fields. However, our people will never give up, for the sake of this good neighbourliness, the defence of the rights of our Albanian brothers, as in the case of Kosova. We have condemned the Great-Serb chauvinist violence against the Albanians of Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro, and have stated that the demands of the Albanians there are justified and must be met.

Dear Comrades,

The women, as mothers, have a particularly lofty mission in the renewal of the younger generations. Imbuing the younger generations with lofty revolutionary and pa-

triotic virtues is a vital problem for the present and the future of Albania, a task of major importance which the Party has great faith that the women and their organization, the Women's Union of Albania, will carry out with honour, as always. They will fight with determination to preserve the Albanian family as the cradle in which true revolutionaries will always be brought up to serve the Homeland and socialism everywhere they are needed, a family whose members will develop their relations in complete harmony with those of the whole society.

Our Party and socialist state have adopted many special measures, along with the all-round conditions they have created for all working people, for the protection of mother and child. The Central Committee of the Party is convinced that the Women's Union of Albania will show constant interest for the respect and implementation of the laws and decisions which have to do with mother and child, will work to ensure that the many possibilities our socialist society has created, the various funds and institutions it has set up will be used better in the service of women. The Party demands and has the unshaken confidence that the organizations of the Party and the masses, the state and economic organs, all our institutions, all the working people, will work to carry out better the tasks pertaining to them in the further emancipation of the Albanian woman.

In these 40 years of revolution and socialist construction the Women's Union of Albania, under the leadership of the Party, has made its contribution as a militant organization fighting with determination and devotion for the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line of the Party. In the future, too, it will be a powerful auxiliary of the Party for the education of women with the proletarian ideology, with the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, for the mobilization of women in the construction and defence of socialism, will enhance all its activity to ceaselessly strengthen the links of the broad masses of women with the Party, will become a genuine tribune of the advanced thinking of Albanian women.

Comrades, with the ideas of the Party in your hearts and minds, throw yourselves with new vigour and inspiration on all the fronts of the construction and defence of our Homeland. Let the thinking and determination of women to make our socialist Albania more beautiful, stronger and more prosperous, burst out powerfully.

Long live the heroic women of Albania!

Long live the militant organization of the Women's Union of Albania!

Glory to the Party of Labour of Albania!

Long live the beloved leader of the Party and the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha!

REPORT DELIVERED BY COMRADE LUMTURI REXHA

(PARTS)

DURING THESE FIVE YEARS, THROUGH WORK AND EFFORTS TO CARRY OUT THE DIRECTIVES OF THE PARTY AND THE TEACHINGS OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, THE ROLE OF THE WOMEN AND THE WOMEN'S UNION OF ALBANIA IN THE ENTIRE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY HAS BEEN GREATLY ENHANCED. THE PROCESS OF EMANCIPATION HAS HEADED TOWARDS ITS FURTHER DEEPENING. NEW OUTBURSTS HAVE OCCURRED WHICH ARE CHARACTERIZED BY A HIGHER POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT AND BY A QUALITATIVE ENHANCEMENT OF THE WOMEN'S FORCE AS PRODUCERS, DIRECTORS AND CREATORS. THEIR EVER GREATER ENGAGEMENT TOWARDS THE ALL-ROUND PROGRESS, THEIR ACTIVE INFLUENCE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENTIRE SOCIETY IS A DISTINCTIVE FEATURE OF THIS PERIOD.

The new women of our society are the reflection of socialist Albania. Their place and ever more dignified role, the all-round achievements in all fields of life, prove the correctness of Marx's saying that «the level of emancipation of the women reflects the natural measure of total emancipation».

Everything that has been achieved in the life of the Albanian women, freedom, equality, the dignified position, have been achieved thanks to the Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head. Therefore, with profound gratitude they always express their boundless loyalty to the cause of the Party and socialism, determination and sacrifice to cope with difficulties, keen vigilance, always ready to stand as a body in the invincible fortress of the Party-people unity.

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The 8th Congress of the Party set the mass of women and our organization the task to «uphold and further develop the spirit of emancipation amongst the mass of women themselves and the society as a whole».

LUMTURI REXHA: President of the General Council of the Women's Union of Albania

This is our main problem at this Congress. Working on the basis of a program of work with clear objectives for the present and the future, the Women's Union has raised to a higher level the engagement of the entire mass of women in the implementation of these directives. With lofty readiness they make use of all their physical and mental abilities to realize the economic plans, to cope with and successfully overcome all the difficulties of growth as well as those created by the internal and external capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist enemies. In the future, too, our organization, raising its work to a higher level, aims at further increasing the role of the women as active builders of socialism, as staunch soldiers, as mothers and educators of our children, to thus further escalate the emancipation of the Albanian women, and with our work and struggle to also influence the emancipation of the entire society.

Our revolutionary practice has fully proved the Marxist-Leninist conclusion that only socialism creates the conditions for a broad, active and fruitful participation of the women in the entire life of the country, for their political, economic and social emancipation. An important factor for the progress of the entire society is

the ranking of women alongside men in all fields of our activity.

Since the 8th Congress of the Women's Union of Albania the stability created in the participation of women in work was stressed as an important victory and tasks were set to maintain this stability, but especially for the qualitative side of the problem. During these five years new successes have been achieved. Not only have nearly all the new forces been engaged in work, but the women meet the increasing demands of our intensive economy with a higher level. They make up 46 per cent of the working people, a thing that testifies to the progress of the Albanian woman in conformity with the high rates of development of our entire society. In some aspects such as the rates of the increase of the total number of the working class, the women have higher rates than men.

During the five-year period the number of women workers and cooperativists with secondary schooling was doubled. This and a series of other factors have made the women more capable to take part in work processes where new up-to-date technology is implemented, so that they may give their opinion not only on the plan, cost and quality but also on problems of the organization and direction of work, so that they may responsibly carry out important state and party tasks, ever better improving themselves as workers, organizers and directors. This phenomenon, a concrete expression of the continual emancipation of our women, finds ever better support and approval by our social opinion, which now accepts the women everywhere, on every work front, alongside men in all spheres of our political, economic and cultural life.

The 8th Congress of the Party made it clear that our economy has now reached an advanced stage where the intensive factors of its development are emerging ever more to the first plane. This means that today better work should be done in the direction of productivity and quality, profit and high efficiency in the utilization of that entire human, technical, material, organizational and scientific potential which has been created and continually strengthened. These qualitative demands make the increase of the role of the women in the strengthening of our socialist economy indispensable and on this road the process of their emancipation should be further deepened.

The entire country is engulfed in the work for the realization of the 7th Five-year Plan and this atmosphere becomes ever more inspiring by the fact that the Political Bureau of the Central Committee has given clear orientations that from now work should begin to study and draft the plan for the 8th Five-year Plan. The women of our country as direct participants in production and in the scientific-research institutions are engaged in and will give their contribution in such important problems, they will further enhance their role for the development of the creative thinking in the field of technique and technology, for financial and organizational problems.

Being conscious of the fact that the perspective plans of our development envisage and demand women in all fields of productive activity, all over the Homeland, that now everywhere the creative, innovatory thinking of the women is demanded, further struggle must be waged for their further qualification, for them to respond everywhere, at all times and at the proper level to the perspective demands of our plans. Therefore, the demand of the 8th Congress of the Party for learned people with high technical and scientific qualification always remains an imminent task of the Women's Union of Albania.

The professional raising of the broad mass of the women sets before us continual tasks and a broad field of action. In collaboration with the Trade Union Organization in our country good work has been carried out for the narrowing of the distinctions between

the relatively low level of the qualification of the women and the relatively high level of the technique and technology which is implemented in their jobs.

The Party sets forth great demands for the intensification at rapid rates of agricultural production, to take in during this five-year plan more than 48 quintals of maize per hectare over the entire area of the country, and more than 75 quintals of maize and 45 quintals of wheat per hectare over the area of intensified agriculture. Such great tasks can be realized through harmonizing, on a scientific basis, all the factors of agricultural production and with the implementation of advanced technology everywhere. This technology in agriculture and livestock-raising will be implemented by the working people of the countryside, where the women take up an important place. They make up 58.6 per cent of the total number of women workers. Their work in some sectors, such as in livestock-raising, in the services to industrial crops and vegetables is decisive. This broad participation of the women in agriculture expresses another marvellous reality of our life. At a time when in the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist world the countryside is being abandoned en masse, our Party, with its correct policy, has made the countryside flourish at levels admired by the entire world and together with this each corner of Albania, the lowlands and mountains are developed and peopled, the entire economy is strengthened.

The countryside is an important sector of the activity of the Women's Union of Albania. A more organized and qualified educational work should be carried out to make the mass of the women conscious that the setting up of agriculture on ever more scientific bases, the concentration and specialization of agricultural production, demand from every woman cooperativist general qualification, but also specified specialization, demand profound mastering of knowledge and its linking with production.

Technical and technological progress demand the further raising of the educational and professional level not only of the women workers and cooperativists, but also of those who have graduated from secondary or higher schools.

The differences in the level of education between men and women has gradually been narrowed and among those under 25 years of age disproportions have nearly disappeared. In all categories of school girls and women make up 47 per cent of the total number of pupils and students, the young girls make up 50 per cent of the number of students.

The struggle for high quality in the schools remains an important task of our organization for the present and the future, which directly influences in the realization of the demand of the Party for the raising of the efficiency of the productive, creative and directing work of the women.

To escalate the level of the active participation of the women in every sector of the socio-economic life of the country, to further enhance the spirit of emancipation, the Women's Union has paid attention to the utilization of all the possibilities and conditions which have been created and will be created in the future, too, by the Party and the people's power, for the women. The continual measures taken in the field of services, health service and trade have allowed the women to work more calmly and with higher productivity. In the future, too, we must raise the attention of the organization towards the intensification and qualification of the educational work with the women and the families as a whole so as to do away with the disproportion which exists between the increasing amount of measures which society takes to facilitate women and the little care shown by some women and families to use them properly.

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The triumphant ideology of the proletariat has been and remains for our women an inexhaustible source of strength in struggle and work, which has always inspired and armed them on the road of the revolution. Our organization, with its educational work, has always spoken to the heart and mind of the women with the ardent inspiring language of this immortal theory created by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and which has been further

developed by our glorious Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.

Educated with the revolutionary spirit, tempered on the anvil of the class struggle, our women in their entire practical activity, especially in important moments of the life of the country, have powerfully supported the political line of the Party and have fought to implement it consistently in every step of life, maintaining a class stand for every problem and further enhancing their militant spirit. In this revolutionary process they further tighten their ranks in steel unity around the Party. The women of Albania will continually strengthen this unity, they will guard it like the apple of their eye, because in it they see their ever more happy future, that of their children and the entire society, they see the invincible strength of the socialist Homeland. In face of this granite-like unity, all the efforts, interventions and plots of the internal and external enemies have been foiled, as the criminal activity of the arch agent Mehmet Shehu and the other enemies was smashed to smithereens. This will be the fate of every enemy who may try to threaten our happy life, because it is guarded by a united, brave and vigilant people, that is why our socialist fortress is invincible and impregnable.

Our ceaseless march has demanded and demands uncompromising struggle against imperialism and revisionism, against every alien manifestation and remnant. With the work it has and continues to carry out, the Party and, under its leadership, the organizations of the masses, have overcome many difficulties and obstacles, many conservative and patriarchal concepts and prejudices have been combated. On the basis of the up-to-date achievements as well as the concrete conditions extracted from studies organized in every district, the Women's Union has intensified its educational work to make the women conscious that the struggle against the remnants in the psychology and consciousness of the people, as an aspect of the class struggle, is long, difficult and continual.

Life in our country, at every step, shows that the more socialism is strengthened, the more the democratic rights of the women are deepened along with their direct participation

in the political, economic and social life. They are ever more having their say with courage and competence on important problems of socialism and they take an active part in solving these problems.

In our country today the women comprise 50 per cent of the Party effective and 30.6 per cent of all those elected to its forums. They comprise 30 per cent of the deputies to the People's Assembly, 40.7 per cent of the members of the people's councils of all levels and 30 per cent of the members of the Higher Court. The qualitative raising of these women comrades, the fulfilment of the important tasks which have been assigned to them with devotion and competence are distinctive characteristics of this five-year period. These facts show what socialism can do for the people, for the women. The women's organization has about 600 000 members, it has thousands of women comrades elected to its forums at the base and in the districts with a good, political, ideological and educational preparation. It has a militant force ready to carry out every task which is assigned to it. These thousands of social activists must be drawn in by the organization into the governing of the country and in the solution of different problems, to make them fighters in the front ranks of the struggle for the emancipation of the women and society, so that everywhere in our socialist life, at work, in society and in the families the norms of communist morality, the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha triumph.

Based on this sound basis the women's organization, under the leadership of the Party and in collaboration with the other levers must aid not only in the political, ideological, educational and cultural raising but also in the culture of working and living in the families and the social environments, to enrich the spiritual world of the women with sound Marxist-Leninist tastes on what is beautiful, progressive and simple, in life, art and ethics. Socialism, the conditions created by the Party, the traditions of our people have made the women today a great cultural force which powerfully influence the development and progress of the whole nation.

It is a beautiful reality that in socialist Albania today in all genres of art, alongside the signatures of the men writers, artists, sculptors and musicians, many women comrades have made their successful debute. Today women can be found alongside men as instrumentalists and art directors, in opera theatres and houses of culture, on the stages of the theatres and the artistic performances, interpreting with talent and revolutionary pathos. The girls and women give life and beauty to the mass amateur artistic movement. This is a new outburst of the art loving spirit, of the wealth of feeling and talent, of the sincere joy which the women display in our socialist reality.

Keeping in mind the teaching of Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 8th Congress of the Party that «a genuine socialist country must become more and more outstanding for the high cultural level of its people and their rich spiritual world, sound aesthetic tastes and way of life», our organization fights to increase the demands of the women in all these fields, by securing their participation in more massive, cultural activities and movements, to introduce more values in our art and socialist realism, to consolidate the achievements and to further advance them.

In connection with organizing the leisure time for the women there are still problems which hinder their all-round cultural development. Life has shown that during the school process this development advances with equal rates both for girls and boys, whereas later, after marriage, a disproportion is noticed. This also comes about because of the tendencies which some women have, who, wanting to free their husbands and children from family duties, carry the whole burden of housework themselves. There are also women who as soon as they graduate from school and are faced with new problems of the newly created family, and with the difficulties of their jobs, are not capable of organizing their leisure time properly. The organization of the Women's Union must struggle so that the women, by utilising all the conditions and possibilities created, secure leisure time and use it properly.

In our country a radical transformation has been made in the way of

living, which reflects both the high cultural-educational level achieved, as well as the raising of the general well-being of the people. However, as the Party stresses, today all possibilities exist to further improve the manner of living in the family.

From one Congress to the other we have reported on important transformations which have been made in our families, which have brought about their further economic, ideological and cultural strengthening. We now speak of a new stage, for new quantitative and qualitative changes. While at one time there were a considerable number of households including many couples, this has now changed. Today households with only one or two couples are 96 per cent of the total. The social-class structure of the family has also greatly changed. Now 45 per cent of them are worker families. The spiritual and moral strength of the family has increased the unity of thought and action. More sincere relations have been created on the basis of love, respect, equality and understanding. The role of the women, the mothers, the girls is more tangible. Of great influence in these questions are the new marriages on the basis of acquaintance and love which are led by sound motives which have now become predominant in our country. For our young people the typical phenomena of the bourgeois-revisionist world of people living together unmarried, marriages for interest, conflicts between the generations, degeneration, which lead to the destruction of the family, are not only unacceptable but inconceivable. The Albanian family grows full of vitality and powerfully influences the road of the progress and development of our entire society.

However, the changes of the social life are not reflected immediately in every family and do not uniformly spread. Therefore, the 8th Congress of the Party instructs the women's organization to pay special attention «to the strengthening of the family and of the complexity of family relations». In collaboration with the other organizations of the masses, under the leadership of the Party, conservative and liberal concepts which still hinder the sound marriage ties in some places, are being attacked. The interests of our family for the education of the





younger generation are in conformity with the interests of socialism. Today the family has become an important hearth of sound patriotic revolutionary class education. The parents, especially our honoured mothers, play an important role in imbuing the children with correct concepts on the socialist life. For us mothers, too, it is a great task and joy to raise children who in the future will honour us with their work.

A characteristic feature of our country are the rapid rates of the increase of the population. They are over four times those of the other countries of Europe. The average life span has reached 69-70 years whereas 37 per cent of the population is under 15 years of age. It is the great and continual care of the Party for the people that has led to these achievements. It is the demographic policy of our socialist country which has always aimed at raising a young population, healthy and active, at increasing the number of births, the lowering of deaths in general, and that of babies especially. The implementation of the law on the lengthening of the maternity leave which is another testimony of the care of the Party for the life of the mother and child, very soon gave its results. Whereas during 1978-1980 the number of births was averagely 71.4 per thousand, in 1981 it reached 77.3 per thousand or nearly 6 per thousand more births. We have the right to be proud of these achievements. The Albanian people, among the most ancient peoples of the world are at the same time one of the youngest as far as the average age of the population is concerned.

The emancipation of the women in our country, this magnificent deed of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha which is a rich and original experience of socialist Albania, speaks of what the revolution can do for the women and what the women can do for the revolution when guided by the Marxist-Leninist science, when it is implemented in a creative manner according to the conditions of a country.

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The women of Albania attentively follow the development of internatio-

nal situations, the crisis which has the capitalist and revisionist countries in its grip, the dangers which threaten humanity as a result of the policy and war of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, the struggle of the proletariat and the peoples for national and social liberation, the struggle of the women for their emancipation and rights. In the foreign policy of our Party and state, the women see the principled policy which defends the lofty interests of the Homeland and the revolutionary and freedom-loving peoples of the world. Together with the Party and the entire people, the women of Albania utterly oppose to the end the aggressive course of American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, the efforts of the great capitalist powers to establish their neo-colonialist domination and to exploit the peoples everywhere.

On the other hand, educated by the Party they nurture profound proletarian internationalist feelings. The Albanian women hail the enhancement and strengthening of the progressive, democratic and revolutionary organizations of the women, they follow with sympathy and hail their struggle for freedom against discrimination and oppression.

We stand by the fraternal Palestinian people who have been evicted from their Homeland by the Israeli Zionists. We know the sufferings and sacrifices of this martyr people, therefore we share the sufferings of the mothers who bear and raise their children in refugee camps, far from their Homeland, and we express our support to their just heroic struggle. With all our heart we support the anti-colonialist struggles of the Azanian and Namibian peoples and women against the hated racist regimes. We attentively follow the struggle of the brave Afghan people against the Soviet invaders and we greet the women of that freedom-loving and proud people.

We follow the increase of revolt in the European countries against NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, against the transformation of this continent into a nuclear missile base of Washington and Moscow, against the American and Soviet bases and troops in the European countries. We support the struggles and efforts of the peoples and women of Africa, Latin America and

Asia to prevent the wealth they produce with their toil going to fatten the bourgeoisie of the imperialist metropolises. The noise they make about how they allegedly help combating hunger and misery in the world is great. However, their plundering and war-mongering practice uncovers the cynicism and hypocrisy of this «charity». At a time when one billion people in the world are suffering from lack of food and hunger, when starving mothers watch their children die from lack of food, the American and Soviet bourgeoisie, together with the other imperialist powers, use every day about 2 billion dollars for war preparations. The women of Albania forcefully condemn American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism who are the greatest enemies of mankind, freedom, peace and the sovereignty of the peoples, as well as the entire enslaving practice of world imperialism.

A grave crisis has gripped the countries where oppression and exploitation of man by man reign. The plants and factories are closing, the millions of unemployed have surpassed any previous record, the prices of prime necessities are mounting. In a series of revisionist countries food-rationing has been re-established. Taxes take nearly half the wages of the working people. House rents cannot be coped with. The morrow becomes even more insecure. The women are among the first who are thrown into the street. The situation is getting worse, the preoccupation of the women, the mothers, increases because there are no jobs for the head of the households, either, or for their sons and daughters to feed themselves and the families they are to create. All these are evils which the bourgeois revisionist order not only cannot do away with, on the contrary, encourages and aggravates, and in these conditions immorality, drug addiction and terrorism spread.

The problem of the women has become quite acute today. However, it cannot be solved by the demagogical noise of the bourgeois-revisionist states and the women's organizations in those countries. It cannot be solved by national, regional or international conferences to allegedly sanction the equality of women, either, at a time when inequality and the discrimination of women have been deepened. The Women's International Democratic Fe-

deration plays a strike breaker's role with its reformist, structural and pacifist road. This organization which has now betrayed the interests of the mass of women, in its entire practical and propaganda activity implements the revisionist policy of the Soviet Union and introduces into the women's movement its demagogy for «peace, disarmament and détente». However, the women everywhere in the world are further raising their consciousness. They are more powerfully linking their economic demands with political demands, convinced that the struggle for their liberation and emancipation is indivisible from the struggle for national and social liberation. The women aspire to genuine freedom and security. They want the children they give birth to, raise and educate them with so much effort and care, to have a secure morrow. However, the war Washington and Moscow are hastily preparing for the world has further opened the eyes of the women to see that peace and security cannot come from those who prepare war. They can be gained only when the peoples rise powerfully to their feet and put a stop to the imperialist and social-imperialist war-mongers.

The women of our country and their organization, the Women's Union of Albania, have paid continual attention to the strengthening and extension of

ties of friendship with the revolutionary and progressive women's organizations and with many friends and well-wishers from all continents. The participation at our Congress of delegations and representatives from different countries, the messages of greetings sent by the many women's organizations and friends, are an expression of the friendship, respect and prestige which the People's Socialist Republic of Albania enjoys in the world today. They are an encouragement in our struggle for the complete construction of the socialist society.

The Women's Union of Albania and all the women of our country fully support the correct and determined struggle of the Party and state in regard to the problem of Kosova and the events which have occurred there during the past two years. With profound indignation we condemn the vicious chauvinist acts of the Yugoslav leadership towards the Albanian population in Yugoslavia, the denigrating stand and the national oppression, and we support the just demand of our brothers and sisters of Kosova, for the status of a Republic for Kosova within the framework of the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia. The Albanians who live on their territory in Kosova, Macedonia, Montenegro must be given the right to communicate freely in

their mother tongue and to preserve and further develop their historical, cultural and spiritual traditions. We are proud of the manlike stand of the brave sisters of Kosova, Dibra, Tetova, Ulqin, etc., in face of the violence of the Great-Serb chauvinists, of their determination to nourish their sons and daughters with the lofty traditions of love for one's homeland, the beautiful and pure language of their ancestors, the centuries-old culture, their unwavering stand in face of all terror and oppression.

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The turbulent situation of the world today make us deeply consider our tasks, to fight and work to bar the way to any danger which may come from this situation. Our socialist society brings up and educates free women, equal to men, but at the same time brave women with an unwavering patriotic spirit, with the feeling of high responsibility, to defend and strengthen socialism in Albania. Precisely because socialism is everything to the women, their stands, hearts and words are active, warm and vital in all fields of life and have been placed at the service of the people, the Party and the revolution.

NATIONAL SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE ON PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY IN THE 7th

The National Scientific Conference on Problems of the Development of the Economy in the 7th Five-year Plan, organized by the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies at the Central Committee of the Party, the State Planning Commission, the Institute of Economic Studies and the Faculty of Economics of the University of Tirana, with the collaboration of state and economic organs at the centre and in the districts, carried out its proceedings on April 11-12, in Tirana.

Leading cadres of the Party and state of the centre and districts, specialists of production, the economy and science, innovators and vanguard workers attended the Conference.

Present at the Conference were also the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, the Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Çarçani, and other Party and state leaders.

Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, Director of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies at the Central Committee of the PLA, delivered the opening speech. She said among other things that the working out and endorsement of the 7th Five-year Plan was a great event for the Party and our people, because it contains objectives, tasks and improvements in the structure of the economy that, in their extension and socio-political importance for the further advancement of the socialist construction, are greater than those of any other former five-year plan. This five-year plan is, at the same time, the first five-year plan to be drafted and carried out completely on the basis of our inner resources and possibilities, without any aid and credit from outside. She said further that the Conference has as its objective the analysis of the more important processes of the development of the economy over the recent two years so as to derive from them the proper conclusions and generalizations which will enable the fulfilment of the tasks of the 7th Five-year Plan as a whole, as well as to raise problems which have to do with the perspective development of the economy. In conclusion, she said that the proceedings of the Conference should serve to step up and further enliven the scientific, economic, financial and technical thinking of the Party and state cadres, the specialists in the economy, the innovators and workers so as to further deepen the technical-scientific revolution, always in the service of fulfilling the planned targets and raising the efficiency of the economy.

The First Secretary of the Party Committee for the Shkodra district, Petro Dode, read the report «On the Implementation of the Orientations of the 8th Congress of the Party for the Development of the Productive Forces and the Main Problems Emerging Therefrom» prepared together with Prof. Hasan Banja. The Senior Scientific Worker Abdyl Backa read the report «The Struggle for the Implementation of the Directives of the 8th Congress of the Party in the Field of Socialist Relations of Production and the Main Problems Emerging Therefrom», prepared together with the Chairman of the State Planning Commission, Doctor of Economic Sciences, Harilla Papajorgji. The Minister of Agriculture, Themie Thomai, read the Report «The Further Intensification of Agriculture — the Main and Permanent Road for the Development of Agricultural Production», prepared together with Docent Luftar Xhuvëli. Prof. Hekuran Mara read the Report «The Raising of the Efficiency of the Economy — a First-rate Factor for the Implementation of the Planned Tasks and the Correct Development of Economic Processes», prepared together with the Vice-minister of Finances, Niko Gjyzari.

Then the Conference continued its proceedings in three sessions. Session A discussed problems of development of production forces, Session B dealt with problems of development of production and the further perfecting of socialist relations in agriculture and Session C was devoted to problems of the perfecting of economic relations and raising the efficiency of production.

A round up of information on the development of work in the sessions was presented at the plenary session.

Finally, the floor was given to Comrade Ramiz Alia.

His speech was listened to with great attention by those present.

Then Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha declared the proceedings of the Conference closed.

CONFERENCE ON DEVELOPMENT

FIVE-YEAR PLAN

COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA'S SPEECH

COMRADES,

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY DURING THE 7th FIVE-YEAR PLAN CONCLUDED ITS WORK WITH SUCCESS. THIS CONFERENCE IS A VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION TO THE SELFLESS STRUGGLE AND WORK OF OUR WORKING CLASS AND COOPERATIVIST PEASANTRY, OF OUR CADRES AND SPECIALISTS, TO PUT INTO PRACTICE THE GREAT HISTORIC TASKS SET AT THE 8th CONGRESS OF THE PARTY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST ECONOMY AND CULTURE.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE WERE FROM BEGINNING TO END BASED ON AND PERMEATED BY THE SOUND SPIRIT AND SENSE OF DUTY THE FULFILMENT OF THE DIRECTIVES OF THE PARTY CALLS FOR AND FROM WHICH STEM THE IDEAS AND TEACHINGS OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, AS PRESENTED, IN PARTICULAR, IN HIS WORK «ON THE 7th FIVE-YEAR PLAN».

We have entered the third year of the 7th Five-year Plan. The results achieved during the first two years (1981-1982) regarding the increase of the social product and national income are among the greatest ever achieved in the last decade. Continuing on this road, our economy is emphasizing its distinguishing features as a truly socialist economy of relatively high-rate development, an economy without crises and inflation, with great possibilities of expanding social production and maintaining and increasing the well-being of the people, enhancing its own stability, and securing the independence and defence of the Homeland. This is a great historical experience which confirms the vitality of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the correctness of the line our Party has worked out and the policy it has pursued. It shows incontestably that the economy of our country has all the possibilities to make continuous progress at relatively high rates, relying entirely on its own sources, without taking credits from abroad and without stretching out the hand to anyone for help.

Our reality assumes a profound significance and a special political-ideological and socio-economic meaning particularly when we compare it with the situation in the countries of the capitalist, bourgeois or revisionist world, with their crises of different kinds, with their stagnation and all-round degeneration in every field of life, when we see the clamorous failure of the «economic reforms» experimented in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries, the deep crisis in Poland, and the utter failure, already thoroughly exposed, of the so-called workers' self-administrative system of the Titoites. All these failures and set-backs can no longer be covered up by any amount of social demagoguery, however elaborate it may be, any kind of manoeuvre, any manipulation of figures, any promises of «better times to come».

The analysis of the fulfilment of the plan for the first two years of the five-year plan, which was made by the 6th Plenum of the Central Committee, and the tasks which this Plenum set, strengthen us in our conviction that the tasks the 8th Congress of the Party set in the 7th Five-year Plan for the development of the economy and culture will be carried out with complete success.

A warrant of this is the unprecedented mobilization and the spirit of revolutionary initiative which exists in all the working collectives of town and countryside. In every district of the country and in every field of activity, the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, under the leadership of the Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, are fighting more than ever for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of planned tasks.

Another evidence that confirms that every possibility exists to carry out with success the tasks set at the 8th Congress of the Party, is the holding of this important scientific Conference in which the vigour of the creative thinking of our economists and scholars has been fully expressed. In their reports, papers and contributions to the discussion, the comrades indicated many roads and possibilities for the solution of the tasks facing us, spoke

of the great reserves of our economy, whose proper exploitation will guarantee the overfulfilment of all the targets set by the 8th Congress of the Party. Many valuable ideas and proposals were made at this Conference about problems connected with the development of the productive forces, the improvement of the relations of production and the raising of the efficiency of the economy over a long-term period.

On this occasion allow me, on behalf of the CC of the Party and our beloved leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, to thank all the comrades and thank them on their contributions and valuable proposals and suggestions. The Central Committee of the Party will see to it that all the party organizations and state and economic organs examine with due attention all your suggestions and take the appropriate organizational, technical and financial measures for their application.

Comrades,

The Party has decided that preparatory work for drafting the 8th Five-year Plan (1986-1990) of the development of the economy and culture should begin right now at all levels all over the country. The Central Committee of the Party, basing itself on the directives of the 8th Congress of the Party and on Comrade Enver Hoxha's work «On the 7th Five-year Plan», has outlined the main orientations for the studies that will be carried out in this context. So, our vanguard workers, cadres and specialists, our students in all domains are confronted with arduous tasks.

The experience we have gained hitherto, especially during the drafting of the 7th Five-year Plan, has convinced us that we must as soon as possible set about work in order to work out and properly clarify the main socio-economic targets and objectives of the new five-year plan. Being a new step forward, every five-year plan raises new problems and sets greater and more complex tasks which must be studied, examined, discussed and weighed up in an all-round manner. This process necessarily calls for careful preparatory work. Otherwise, problems are solved hurriedly and tasks planned on an empirical and subjective basis, and not on sound scientific bases, as the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha require.

At this phase of work it is imperative to develop and promote a broad and qualified scientific thinking - socio-economic, financial, technical and technological, and make a proper estimation and application of its achievements in production. In every branch of the economy and in every sector of social activity we are faced with problems the successful solution of which cannot be conceived without all-round and thorough scientific study based on our experience and the latest achievements of contemporary knowledge. Only by proceeding more rapidly and persistently on this road shall we be able to apply the orientation Comrade Enver Hoxha issued at the 8th Congress of the Party. He stressed that along with the efforts to ensure the complete fulfilment of the 7th Five-year Plan, «an important task and objective of

our science is to begin right now carrying out studies for the next five-year plan.»

It is important to point out that a number of signalled achievements have been made in the field of the development of the technical and scientific thinking. Our workers of science and technique, our advanced workers and innovators have studied, designed and executed on their own many of the industrial projects of the 7th Five-year Plan which are being built now or will be built in the years to come. Good progress has been made in the solution of problems connected with the advancement and modernization of the technique and technology of production. In agriculture, too, many valuable studies and experimentations are being carried out to increase agricultural and livestock production, to introduce modern technology. Important results have been reached in social sciences, economic, historical, linguistic as well as other sciences. The technical-scientific revolution has been deepened in all fields and has set in motion large masses of people.

The active participation of the vanguard workers and specialists in the efforts to find out more effective methods for the development and strengthening of the economy, culture and the defence of the Homeland, the unprecedented development of the creative and innovative thinking everywhere, **is a feature of the time which stems from the new political, economic and social conditions of our country, from the new dimensions of our social production, from the powerful material-technical base it is equipped with.** This is the result of the great work the Party has done and continues to do in order to prepare our people politically and scientifically, it is the result of the broad and active democracy of our social order, which has created the possibility for the working people to have their say in everything, to take upon themselves tasks of responsibility and to carry them out in the interest of society, the building of socialism and the defence of the Homeland.

The road in which the development of our economy has proceeded in conformity with the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, has been correct. It has led to the creation of a multi-branched structure, with a complex industry, agriculture, construction building and transport relying on a powerful material-technical base. This has brought about the further strengthening of both the political and economic independence of the country, and created the conditions for the systematic uplift of the standard of living of the working masses. **In the future, too, we will continue firmly on this road, deepening and advancing it further in conformity with the new stage of development and the new economic and social conditions and the achievements made up to this today.**

Speaking about the general orientations of the studies which must precede the drafting of the plan, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out: «The 8th Five-year Plan is based on the realization of the 7th Five-year Plan, on the real possibilities created by the latter, on the experience accumulated and on a scientific calculation of the probable limits we will attain in the next five years.» A more profound scientific knowledge of these possibilities and perspectives, about which Comrade Enver Hoxha speaks, will enable us to determine exactly and correctly the impact of the changes, both qualitative and quanti-

tative, that will be made in the structure of our economy during the next five-year plan.

Our studies will cover various fields and sectors of the economy, culture and the defence of the country. In all of them, there are problems that require qualified solution.

Without going into details for every particular field, we must stress that **the studies that will be conducted for the development of industry, especially the energy and extracting and processing industry, present special interest.** We have already created a powerful and independent energy system, have a structure of energy resources capable of fulfilling all the needs of the country and creating a surplus for export. In the coming five-year plan the Party will continue to pay special attention to the development of the energy industry, in all its branches, to the extraction of oil, gas, and coal and the production of electric energy from hydro-power stations. Studies in this field should aim at solving the problems of this industry so as to lead to the further strengthening of the energy base and its most effective possible use. Problems here must be seen and assessed as they are in reality, as two inseparable aspects of the same objective of capital strategic importance — to guarantee the independent development and ceaseless intensification of our socialist economy.

The proportions the mineral extracting and processing industry has assumed in the 7th Five-year Plan call for a more complete estimation of our mineral resources. All work in this field should absolutely be preceded by thorough studies in order to find out the most convenient roads for the increase of the potential of geological industrial and fore-cast reserves, as well as for the establishment of an optimum ratio, as regards both quantity and quality, among them. Only in this way shall we manage to create a higher degree of reliability in the extraction of minerals during the 8th Five-year Plan and later, to increase the possibilities of their discovery, as well as make more accurate forecasts of the further development of the extracting and processing industry.

On this correct road, greater possibilities will be created to further broaden the perspective already opened up to the development of metallurgy, in general, and ferrous metallurgy, in particular, to deepen the full-cycle processing of our main minerals and to strengthen more and more the independence of our country and its economy. Applying its correct Marxist-Leninist line and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Party has prepared this perspective gradually and patiently, and with great perseverance. And now we must take another big stride ahead in order to make the most profitable possible use of this potential for the complete construction of the material-technical base of socialism.

The stage reached now by our metallurgy and its future development call for more comprehensive studies in the engineering industry to enable it to proceed **further on the road of the extensive production of equipment and machinery.** This is absolutely necessary and decisive for the development and intensification of all the branches of the economy, the application of new technologies, and the increase of the productivity of labour. For this historical task to be carried out, the Party demands that a radical change be made in this key branch of the economy during the 8th Five-year Plan. Comrade

Enver Hoxha points out, «Artisan concepts, outdated methods and inefficient organization existing in this branch of industry should be done away with ruthlessly.» «Studies in this industry,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «should focus precisely on these questions and on the all-round preparation for the tasks which it will take upon itself to solve.»

In the great preparatory work that will be done for the drafting of the 8th Five-year Plan, particular attention should be paid to the study of **questions connected with changes in the structure of agricultural production, with the further intensification of agricultural production and with the further intensification of our entire agriculture — in the plains, in the hills and in the mountains.** The strategic targets set in this branch and the complete construction of socialism in the countryside, too, have been clearly explained by the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. They aim at ensuring, through the application of modern scientific criteria, the stability and structural improvement of the food supply of the population of town and countryside, the fulfilment of the needs of industry for primary materials, the increase of the export of finished agricultural and livestock products, as well as a perceptibly rise in the efficiency of expenditure for agricultural production. Studies in the field of agriculture should give the answer to the above problems. Problems in agriculture must be treated in such a manner as to guarantee the solution of the most important tasks the 8th Congress set for the extension of the zone of priority intensification, without in the least neglecting the other zones.

The main social function of the development of our economy has been and remains **the guaranteeing and improvement of well-being, the meeting of the growing material and cultural demands of all our working people.** Taking account of the development of demographic processes the question of well-being requires more studies and new solutions, so as to guarantee the full employment of the new active forces, the growth of the real income, the improvement of the quality of the goods of everyday use, the improvement of the structure of the people's nutrition and, in general, the narrowing of the essential distinctions between town and countryside.

Special studies must also be made the problems of the development of the light and construction building industries, of education and culture, the protection of the people's health and the system of social insurance, housing, the services and the cultured recreation of the working people, as well as of other problems of our socialist life in town and countryside.

The development of the different branches and sectors of the economy and culture, and the strengthening of the country's defence demands that, before initiating special studies, **general complex studies** should be carried out. This is dictated by the ever greater extension and multiplication of economic connections, the increasing integration of branches and sectors into the general pattern of the national economy, by the organic links existing between different sciences, and the socio-economic objectives which we want, to attain on the road of the complete construction of socialist society. In this context, **I want to stress some cardinal problems** which have to do with the quantitative and qualitative changes we intend to make

in the economy and culture, in science, technique and technology, in the socialist economic relations and in other directions in the future.

Our main objective remains the development of social production at relatively high and steady rates. This is a question of fundamental importance for the destiny of our people, for the development of all the branches of the economy and zones of the country. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that the rates of development of production are connected with the fulfilment of the growing needs of the entire society. High rates of production are required to cope with the population growth and the full employment of the new active forces, to increase the sources of accumulation for the extended socialist reproduction, to increase the real income per capita and narrow the essential distinctions between town and countryside, to ensure educational and cultural development and the protection of the people's health, the increase of reserves and the strengthening of the defence of the Homeland.

At a time when our socialist production has assumed large proportions, maintaining relatively high development rates calls for thorough studies and analyses, especially of the roads of achieving them. These roads we must seek and find in our experience hitherto, as well as in the new possibilities created by the planned development of the forces of production and technical and scientific progress.

The question is to look for and find the optimal variants of harmonizing the various factors and roads of the development of production: through the exploitation in depth of the existing material-technical base and through new investments; through a more rapid increase of the productivity of labour and growth of the new active forces; through the expansion of the natural resources and energy sources and their complex and intensive exploitation; through the increase of the fund of accumulation and its more efficient use and so on. These questions, which are connected with the rates of development, should find the broadest possible reflection in the studies that will be made in the various branches and sectors of the economy to increase exports and relatively reduce imports, to develop science and education, to improve the training of cadres and the development of our socialist culture.

Proceeding from both a principled and practical position, we come to the conclusion that **special studies and research should be carried out for the further increase of the effectiveness of the economy.** In this direction, every study should in the first place, be aimed at finding new roads for a systematic reduction of production costs and the increase of the productivity in every enterprise, cooperative, branch or sector of the economy, as well as for the increase of the financial income on a state level. Problems of cost, circulation and investments in industry, agriculture and other fields require our all-round attention.

Large investments have been and will continue to be made for the development of heavy industry. This has been and remains a correct line, which our Party has pursued and will constantly pursue in the future, as required by the Marxist-Leninist principles of the industrialization of the country and the complete construc-

tion of the material-technical base of socialism, as required by the interests of the development of the economy, the enhancement of the degree of its independence and the strengthening of its defence potential. **A permanent major problem facing us is to increase the productivity of the heavy industry ever more so that it copes ever better with the tasks of its own expansion and strengthening, and helps the further development of the other branches of the economy.**

In agriculture, especially in the cooperatives, some investments have been made without very clear ideas of the perspective development and without complex measures to support them. This has come about both in cases of investments with bank credits or state participation and investments realized through other facilities created for the cooperatives. In order to ensure the effectiveness of all investments the Party demands that from now on every new investment in agriculture must absolutely be accompanied with higher production and lower of expenditure for unit of production. Otherwise, the buying power of the countryside, which must be covered with goods, increases in an artificial manner.

In some branches and sectors of our economy, there are **productions and activities which, for various known reasons, are carried out at a loss and on a dotation basis.** It is necessary to take all the measures (through investments and other means) for the creation of proper conditions for them to work and produce on a profitability basis. Otherwise, our economy will continue to cope every year with a burden of excessive expenditure. Therefore, in this direction, too, it is necessary to carry out organized studies and set precise tasks so as to make the most of our investments.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed that in all the questions and problems connected with the increase of the efficiency of the economy, an important and ever increasing role should be played by our financial and banking system which should delve deeper into the problems of production, distribution and investments, as well as strengthen, to this end, active and preventive control by means of all the levers of our economic and financial system. In this regard, the control organs, especially those of the base, should be directed and operate in such a manner as to be really in a position to discourage all manifestations of narrow interest in every field of economic-productive activity, and more radically influence the development and administration of socialist property.

Finding new roads and possibilities for the increase of production and its efficiency is **inseparable from the efforts that should be made for the modernization of the existing technologies and the introduction of the more advanced methods of production.** This is one of the most important problems facing all the branches of the economy, education and culture, and here our innovators, scientists and specialists can have their weighty say. **«We must improve the technology of everything we have, and everything we create we must adapt to the new technology.»** says Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Modern technology is the synthesis of the achievements of the applied, technical, natural and economic sciences, as well as the advanced experience of production. Therefore, knowledge and application of it cannot be achieved without co-ordination and cooperation among various scien-

ces, among specialists, technologists and workers of all branches and sectors of the economy which are connected with and conditioned by each other. So, studies connected with technical and scientific progress should be carried out in more suitable forms and ways, combating all mouldy and narrow concepts about the organization of production, the complex processing and exploitation of natural resources, etc.

Extraction of useful minerals has put on the order of the day the problem of the modernization of technology in prospecting, discovering and utilizing these assets. Here lies a great potential which must never be neglected. Therefore, studies in this field must deal mainly with the solution of problems carrying decisive weight in the broadest possible and complex utilization of our mineral reserves. Here, determining new technologies for the oil prospecting, exploiting and processing is of special importance.

Application of advanced technologies requires appropriate forms of organization and production. Let us once again go back to the engineering industry. It is impermissible, but the fact is that this industry is frequently regarded as being made up of single independent units, much like the erstwhile mechanical workshops, not as a whole in the service of the national economy. Obviously, the old mentality cannot conceive the great and irreplaceable role the engineering industry should play at the present stage and the tasks which it should cope with in order to secure the dynamic development of our economy in depth and breadth.

The road to the solution of this contradiction is known. It is absolutely necessary to overcome the various organizational and bureaucratic obstacles of narrow departmental interests, **to deepen specialization and scientific cooperation with a clear and long-term perspective of production.** Without proceeding with determination and conviction on this correct path, which the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha show us, we will not succeed, in the conditions of our small country, to set up serial production on a relatively large scale and ensure the lowest possible cost in the engineering industry. Hence, of special interest are studies connected with these problems, as well as studies about the organization and strengthening of specialized design which should ensure a higher degree of complex co-ordination and harmonization of technical and technological thinking with economic and financial thinking.

At the 8th Congress of the Party Comrade Enver Hoxha declared the intensification of agriculture as a task of first-rate importance. In this direction, today and in the future, a primary role will be played by application of modern technologies to achieve a large-scale increase in the fields of crops and in the productivity of livestock farming. Studies in these fields will certainly suggest the application of more complex and intensive methods to increase the fields of all field crops, as well as the productivity of all kinds of animals, through the application of new technologies in their feeding and management.

An all-important problem, connected with every branch and sector of the economy and culture, which occupying a conspicuous place in the studies for the next five-year plan, is that of the perfecting of the socialist relations of production. The problems which have to do with the strengthening of the cooperativist order, with the per-

sonal plot of the cooperativists, with the transformation of group property into the property of the entire people, with the gradual transition of some agricultural cooperatives to state farms, or with the new features the property of the entire people will assume in this process of development — are complex problems whose correct solution should become the concern of the working people not only of agriculture, but also of industry, trade, construction, finance, culture, education, etc. Therefore, the problems of the perfecting of socialist relations of production must be made an object of study in all branches and sectors.

The same may be said about the problems which have to do with the relations of exchange between town and countryside, the system of wages, the attestation and qualification of working people, the training of cadres and their employment, etc.

The problems connected with the development of the relations of production should be made the object of special studies not only by the institutes of social sciences, but also by the economic departments and the districts.

Comrades,

The large-scale preparatory work that will be done for the drafting of the 8th Five-year Plan is a very important economic, social and scientific action. **For this action to be carried out with success it is necessary that all the organs of the Party, the state and the economy, all the creative and scientific forces and organisms of the country, should mobilize themselves with greater application.** The Central Committee of the Party has the full conviction that the leading cadres at all levels and the great army of our talented and skilled specialists, students and vanguard workers, without distracting even for a moment their attention from the actual management and control of the fulfilment of the planned tasks for the year 1983 and the entire current five-year plan, will apply all their forces and knowledge to ensure that studies for the 8th Five-year Plan and long-term forecast are carried out at the highest possible scientific level so as to serve the development of our socialist economy and culture best.

In the conclusion of the National Conference on Problems of the Development of the Economy, allow me on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, to congratulate the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies, the State Planning Commission, the University of Tirana and the Institute of Economic Studies on the very good organization of this important Conference, to congratulate once again the authors of the reports and papers, as well as all those who have contributed to the success of this Conference.

Let this experience and the materials of this National Conference serve us to struggle with greater determination and creative spirit for the consistent application of the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, for the successful fulfilment of all tasks that lie ahead of us. Let us mobilize all our inexhaustible and ever renewed energies and efforts for the complete construction of socialism and the defence of our socialist Homeland.

Long live the Party of Labour of Albania and its Central Committee with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

A BRILLIANT PAGE IN THE HISTORY OF PEOPLE AND PARTY

Comrade ENVER HOXHA book «The Titoites» (Historical notes)

THE NEW BOOK OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA «THE TITOITES», LIKE HIS OTHER WORKS «REFLECTIONS ON CHINA», «WHEN THE PARTY WAS BORN», «THE KHRUSHCHEVITES», «THE ANGLO-AMERICAN THREAT TO ALBANIA», GIVES TO THE ALBANIAN AND FOREIGN READER A VERY CLEAR AND CONVINCING SYNTHESIS OF AN IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THE HISTORY OF OUR PARTY AND PEOPLE. WITH ITS PROFOUND CONTENT, WITH THE LIGHT IT SHEDS ON MANY FACTS AND EVENTS OF THE PAST AND PRESENT, ESPECIALLY WITH THE GREAT IMPORTANCE OF THE PROBLEMS IT DEALS WITH, THE BOOK CAPTURES THE READER ENTIRELY.

Sticking to historical truthfulness with great strictness, the book «The Titoites» is an accurate and realistic presentation of the heroic struggle waged over 40 years by our Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, against the hostile anti-Albanian policy of the leadership of Belgrade, against their monstrous intrigues and schemes. The book reveals how the Yugoslav revisionists wanted to nip young socialist Albania in the embryo, to kill it when it was still in its swaddling clothes, and to poison it when it grew up.

This struggle is another glorious epoch of the Albanian communists and people, which compares only with the victory over the Italian fascists and the German nazis, in grandeur and historic importance.

Annexing Albania and emerging on the Adriatic Sea, as well as assimilating or ultimately annihilating the Albanians, has been one of the main strategic objectives of Great-Serb chauvinism. This is an historic fact which every one knows and recognizes. But

Prof. SOFOKLI LAZRI

what is not so very well-known is the fact that Tito, too, wanted to achieve this same objective. Of course, either side has acted in different times, in different internal and external conditions, and consequently their methods, too, have been different. But the nationalist ideology which impelled them and their final goals, are no different.

This anti-Albanian policy of the Yugoslav leadership with Tito at the head, these chauvinist aims of theirs towards Albania and the Albanians, Comrade Enver Hoxha analyses in a brilliant manner and provides documents to support his analysis in his book. The events described and the evidence brought by Comrade Enver Hoxha are awe-inspiring and full of great dramatic impact. However, the history of the Albanian-Yugoslav relations hitherto has been very bitter, and the damage and evil the Great-Serbs have done to the Albanian people has been very great.

The Yugoslav leaders and their propaganda for forty years have worked to distort the history of the Albanian-Yugoslav relations. They have invented

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THE ALBANIAN TY

by **SOFOKLI LAZRI**

several ready-made formulas which they publicize continuously in scores of books and thousands of articles which the Yugoslav printeries produce every day, claiming that they created the Communist Party of Albania, that they brought our National Liberation War to light, that it was their aid that saved Albania after Liberation, and such other nonsense!

In his book Comrade Enver Hoxha brings so many facts and arguments that the megalomaniacal Yugoslav claims about their «generous aid» to our country are entirely refuted. With convincing historical facts he lays bare the true aims which lurked behind the doings of the Yugoslavs. «The Yugoslav defenders did not defend Albania as a free and sovereign state,» Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, «but defended those territories which in their secret plans constituted the southern province of the Yugoslav multi-national 'great state' made up of many peoples, about which they had dreamed for centuries. This is the main basis from which stemmed the great zeal of the Yugoslavs 'to recognize Albania', and to ensure the 'inviolability of its borders'...»

About the Yugoslav plans and activity to annex Albania and make it a seventh republic of Yugoslavia, new evidence is being brought even by those who were the architects of this chauvinist policy, its main authors. They are doing this while settling accounts among themselves, in their struggle for

primacy in the «Titoite» Pantheon, or for other reasons which have little importance for history. What imports history in this case is the revelation of facts and authentic documents, irrespective of who does this and what are the motives that impel him to it. Such revelations are to be found in Gilas's book «My Friend, My Enemy», dedicated to Tito, in which the author admits that «We have made mistakes and gone into excesses when Tito wanted to liberate Albania and place it under Yugoslav influence.» «Tito's innumerable aims towards Albania,» as he puts it, failed to be realized because of the «resolute stand of the Albanians», therefore, Gilas concludes, «Tito back-peddled».

In many of his articles and works, Comrade Enver Hoxha has treated the Titoite phenomenon, its policy and its theoretical bases, its role in the restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia and in the division of the international communist movement. The fundamental thorough criticism which Comrade Enver Hoxha has made of Yugoslav revisionism always retains its validity. However, it assumes special importance now, in particular, when Yugoslavia is caught in the grip of the general economic, political and ideological crisis, when the so-called self-administration has landed the country into an absolute lack of administration, when «unity-fraternity» has been transformed into general national hostility and when

«non-alignment» has bound it with heavy chains of debts to the great imperialist powers, which dictate what Yugoslavia should sell and what it should buy, what and how much it should consume itself, what internal and foreign policy it should follow.

The book «The Titoites» is a special aid to all those who earnestly want to understand the foreign policy of Titoism, to see into its double-dealings and uncover chauvinist character. It is a fact that the Yugoslavs have kept a knife up their sleeve, not only against the Albanians, but also against the other peoples.

In the beginning, as Comrade Enver Hoxha explains, we Albanians had faith in the Yugoslavs, wanted to collaborate with them in a fraternal spirit, to put aside by-gones and march towards the future in friendship. Our hopes and desires were not fulfilled. However, we were not the only ones to be disillusioned in our hopes in the Yugoslavs. The Titoite leadership misled, in the first place, the peoples of Yugoslavia who were killed and sacrificed themselves in order to escape from the national and social yoke of the Serbian monarchy, it misled the world revolutionary movement which for a relatively long time believed that Tito was a communist and his party a Leninist party. However, the merit of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, as the book «The Titoites» shows with documents,

is that they were the first to understand and expose the anti-Marxist, anti-Albanian and counter-revolutionary views of the Yugoslav leaders.

Anyone who makes an effort to understand the significance of this resistance, will see that the struggle of the Albanian communists, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, against the hegemonic and predatory aims of Yugoslavia has been decisive not only for the future of Albania as an independent state and of the Albanian people as a free nation, but also for the direction which the events might have taken in the Balkans or on a large scale. The importance of this struggle comes out better today when it is possible to make the historic balance of that period and when the Balkan and even world-wide ambitions of the Yugoslavs, when their policy in the service of the superpowers, the special missions they carry out for their interests, have become still more clear.

The facts show that Great-Serb chauvinism represented by Tito and company was directed not only against Albania, but also against Bulgaria and Greece, the zone of the Adriatic, Rumania and Central Europe. The memoirs of Comrade Enver Hoxha about his debates with the Yugoslav representatives over their plans for the creation of the Balkan Staff testify clearly to the political megalomania and the empire-building dreams of the Titoites. Even today, not to mention such acts as the interference of the Yugoslavs in the counter-revolutionary events in Hungary, the Titoites are not less pretentious. They have not ceased preaching and giving orientations for mankind to follow their self-administration, which allegedly brought Yugoslavia to light, or to invite the peoples to unite with the non-aligned movement under the Yugoslav leadership and with Yugoslavia in the vanguard to march towards happiness, lasting peace and security!!

The other movements of resistance in the Balkans, like the Albanian National Liberation Movement, tried to establish relations of collaboration in the war that was being waged in Yugoslavia, to co-ordinate actions, to exchange infor-

mation and experience, etc. However, just as they fell out with us, the Yugoslavs did not succeed with them, either. And the main reason lies in the fact that the Yugoslavs tried to interfere in their internal affairs, to dictate what they should do, and above all tried to turn the parties of these countries into appendages of the Yugoslav party. Tito's plan was to emerge after the war as the ruler of the Balkans and extend his domains from the Black Sea to the Adriatic, from the Danube to the Mediterranean. It is a fact that to this day the Yugoslavs have claims towards all their neighbours, they have open conflicts with each of them, and intermittently they work their chauvinist bellows to fan up the flames of old feuds.

The Yugoslav foreign policy, which has Serb chauvinism as its basis, combines the strong spirit of conquests of the mediaeval Slavs with the hunger for markets of the new bourgeoisie, the neo-colonialist dreams and narrow petty-bourgeois nationalism. Comrade Enver Hoxha's book lays bare the beginnings of this policy enabling the reader to understand its present developments better. Through incontrovertible historical facts, he strips it of the propaganda veneer the Titoites have applied to it and tears off its masks, reveals its ugly background and shows the danger this policy represents for the peoples of the Balkans and Europe. In this direction, Comrade Enver Hoxha's book is extremely valid today, because it shows that the Titoites' tight-rope political games land them now into the lap of this superpower now into the lap of that superpower.

In his book, «The Titoites», Comrade Enver Hoxha exposes not only the reactionary essence of the policy the Yugoslav leaders have followed towards the new socialist Albania, but also the forms and methods they have resorted to to destroy our Party, to undermine and overthrow our young state. They are typical methods of gangsters and undercover agents, foul, perfidious and criminal actions which are condemned by all codes of ethics and the international law. Comrade Enver Hoxha has des-

cribed in detail the hatching up, the development and foiling of the Yugoslav plots against our Party and its leaders, against the freedom and independence of Albania, against its socialist future. Such were the Berat plot, the Koçi Xoxe secret agency, the Titoite-Khrushchevite plot at the Tirana Conference, the activity of the arch-agent Mehmet Shehu, to mention only the main ones, together with the dozens of gangs and the hundreds of saboteurs sent by Belgrade, of spies and agents of all colours recruited by the Titoites to sabotage our peaceful work, a whole series of propaganda campaigns to denigrate our country and to blacken its policy, an all-out mobilization of diplomatic means to create in other countries a distorted image of the Party of Labour and the socialist state of Albania.

The book «The Titoites» reminds us that our external and internal enemies have never ceased their struggle against us, that the freedom, independence and socialism, the life of the people must always be defended with the highest vigilance against the aims of those who wish us ill. Seeing what fate awaited the Yugoslav agents and arch-agents from Koçi Xoxe to Mehmet Shehu, in Albania, we are even more strongly convinced of the strength of the unity of our people, of the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, of the courage and wisdom of the Albanian communists, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, all factors which brought about the failure of the anti-Albanian plots and intrigues of the Yugoslav revisionists. One thing one must be certain about — their hostile activity in Albania will never go down with us.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has dealt with the problem of Kosova in many of his writings and speeches in previous and recent materials, such as his November 10 speech before the electors in Tirana. Yet, all this does not diminish in the least the interest presented by those parts of the book which are devoted to the problem of Kosova. In his latest book Comrade Enver Hoxha deals with all the aspects - historical and contemporary, national and international, po-

litical and ideological, of this problem concerning Albania and Yugoslavia. Comrade Enver Hoxha's analysis of this problem is a scientific analysis based on Marxist principles, an objective analysis free of the slightest tinge of subjectivism and parti-pris. In his narration Comrade Enver Hoxha confronts two lines and two stands towards Kosova, that of the Communist Party of Albania and that of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, over these forty years. With facts and arguments he proves that the stand of the Albanian communists was the only correct and wise stand at those difficult moments created by foreign occupation, the conflicts and feuds accumulated not over one or two years, but over a hundred and more years. This was a principled Leninist stand which responded, in the first place, to the interests of the people of Kosova and enabled them to mobilize themselves in the struggle against fascism. This stand was based on the recognition of the right of the Kosova people to decide themselves freely, without any outside pressure or interference, about their destiny. On the other hand, the Yugoslav line and stand have been anti-Marxist and chauvinist from the beginning to the end. It is evident that the line they followed towards Kosova would certainly lead to endless conflicts with its population, to national oppression and enslavement, on the one hand, and to resistance and struggle for legitimate rights, on the other.

Whoever seeks an answer to the present events in Kosova will find an exhaustive one in Comrade Enver Hoxha's book. At the same time, he will also find there the correct and principled stand the Party and the People's

Socialist Republic of Albania have always maintained towards this question. Speaking of the correct road to the solution of the Kosova problem in compliance with the wishes of its population and in complete respect of the interests of the peoples of Yugoslavia, of the PSR of Albania, and of peace and security in the Balkan area, Comrade Enver Hoxha makes it clear that the stand of the Yugoslav leaders towards Kosova is a blind course which leads not only to the worsening of the situation in this region, but also to the degeneration of political life and the increase of the internal contradictions in Yugoslavia itself, to the further erosion of its international positions. The everyday facts and events prove the truth of his predictions.

The criticism Comrade Enver Hoxha makes of the line, stands and actions of the Yugoslav revisionists in Kosova represents a complete treatment of the problem from the Marxist-Leninist angle, rich in theses and conclusions which make it a new and valuable scientific contribution to the national question. Its importance is even greater if we take into account the fact that at present national conflicts have revived in many countries, at a time when not only smaller or greater nationalities, but whole nations are insistently demanding the preservation of their national identity, the development of their mother tongue and the respect of their historical traditions, complete equality of rights and the defence of their individual psychology.

After reading Comrade Enver Hoxha's new book, you feel the love for and pride in our heroic Party and our good people, their rare courage and bravery,

the wisdom and cool-headedness with which they have breasted all the storms that have struck them, increase still more.

This work increases even more our love, respect and admiration for Comrade Enver Hoxha, against whom all the main attacks, plots and slanderous campaigns of the Yugoslav revisionists and their tools have been directed. It goes to the credit of his struggle, determination and clarity of mind that all their barbarous plans were foiled, that freedom and socialism triumphed in Albania.

The 40-year long resistance of our people against the interference of the Yugoslav revisionists in the internal affairs of Albania, the complete failure of their attempts to wipe us out as a nation and a state, represents one of the most glorious pages of our history. All this has left indelible traces in the freedom-loving and indomitable character of the Albanian people, have made them more capable to discern their friends from their foes, have even more increased their courage and self-confidence. This staunch and indomitable resistance is, on the other hand, additional proof that the Albanian people, at any moment and in any situation, will never allow their freedom and independence won with torrents of blood shed through the countries to be trampled underfoot, will permit no foreigner to become master of their country. But at the same time, just as the Albanians are irreconcilable to their enemies, so are they determined to fight for equality and justice in the relations between nations and peoples, for confidence and friendship, when the others want the same thing.

KARL MARX AND THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS *by SHYQRI BALLVORA*

KARL MARX, THE FOUNDER OF SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM, HAS GONE DOWN IN WORLD HISTORY AND WILL REMAIN IMMORTAL THROUGH THE CENTURIES AS THE LEADER AND TEACHER OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND THE WORLD PROLETARIAT. THE PROFOUND EPOCH-MAKING REVOLUTION WHICH MARX BROUGHT ABOUT IN THE HISTORY OF HUMAN THINKING, IN PHILOSOPHY AND IN SCIENCE IN GENERAL, PLACED HIM ON THE PEDESTAL OF THE MOST OUTSTANDING REVOLUTIONARY AND SCIENTIST OF ALL TIMES.

IN ELABORATING HIS THEORY MARX NOT ONLY TOOK ACCOUNT OF THE WHOLE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENTIFIC, PHILOSOPHICAL, SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND HISTORICAL THINKING OF THE PERIOD PRIOR TO HIM, BUT HE WAS THE FIRST THINKER WHO UNDERSTOOD THAT THE HISTORY OF THEORETICAL THINKING, OF HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL KNOWLEDGE, WAS VERY CLOSELY LINKED WITH HUMAN PRACTICE, WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY AND PRODUCTIVE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF THE BROAD WORKING MASSES.

The Marxist doctrine in all its constituent parts, dialectical materialist philosophy, Marxist political economy, and scientific communism, is not the fruit of «pure untrammelled» reasoning of the mind, but the reflection of definite objective material conditions. Marx wrote to Engels, «The premises from which we proceed are not arbitrary, not dogmas; they are real premises from which abstraction can be made only in imagination.»¹

Marx's doctrine has served and serves the proletariat and its party to find the right road in the struggle for final liberation from capitalist oppression and exploitation.

Contrary to the bourgeois views and the philosophical world outlook which prevailed in social science, Marx eventually found that key which enabled him to lift social science out of this ancient confusion and to transform it into a science as precise and rigorous as the natural sciences.

SHYQRI BALLVORA — Doctor of Historical Sciences

Comrade Enver Hoxha has written, «Karl Marx discovered the laws of social development, of revolutionary transformations, and of the transition of society from a lower to a higher social order.»²

1. THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION — THE GREATEST REVOLUTION OF ALL TIMES

The concept of the social revolution, as a universal objective law, as an historical necessity, is a result of the direct application of the dialectical materialist theory to the study of the human society. In no socio-economic order divided into antagonistic classes can the social contradictions find solution without overthrowing the old order through revolution, through violence, in order to build a new social order on its ruins. In the history of socio-political thinking world-wide, Marx was the first to show that «the mode of pro-

duction of material life conditions the socio-political and spiritual process of life, in general... At a given level of their development the material productive forces of society come into contradiction with the existing relations of production... From forms of development of productive forces these relations become shackles for them. At that time the epoch of social revolution begins.»³

It is the proletarian revolution, the greatest revolution of all times, which liberates society once and for all from the tangle of profound antagonistic contradictions, from social anxiety, and opens the way to the proportional and planned development of those great industrial and scientific forces which, on the one hand, are truly a source of development, but at the same time, become a source of social misery and enslavement, and transform man and his material and intellectual productive potential into a simple material force in the service of bourgeois selfishness and insatiability.

Revolutions, proclaimed Marx, are the locomotives of history, and what is realized during revolutionary periods is incomparably greater than the socio-historical achievements of decades or centuries of «calm».

Marx regarded violent social revolution as a legitimate historical right of progressive revolutionary classes because the revolution is the only way open to any revolutionary class in order to smash the obstacles on the road of historical development and social progress.

*Despite its peculiarities from
period to period
down to the present day, the world revol-
utionary process develops
in conformity with the
laws discovered and formulated by Karl Marx*

For Marx the proletarian revolution was a decisive condition not only for the elimination of the bourgeois state apparatus, which kept the new progressive forces locked in iron shackles, but also for the birth and organization of the new society, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as an essential historical transitional step, to accomplish the elimination of class distinctions in general, the elimination of all social relations and relations of production of domination, on which these distinctions are based, and the overthrow of all ideas which have their base in relations of oppression and exploitation.

The revolution is essential, also, for the dissemination on a mass scale of communist consciousness, for the education of the working class itself, and the social strata allied to it, in the spirit of communist ideals. «Both for the birth of the communist consciousness on a mass scale, and for the achievement of the aim itself,» wrote Marx and his close collaborator, Engels, «a change in the masses of people is necessary, a change which can be brought about only in a practical movement — in **revolution**; hence, the revolution is essential not only because it is impossible to overthrow the ruling class in any other way, but also because the **overthrowing** class can rid itself of all its old filth and become capable of laying the foundations of the new society only through a revolution.»⁴

Marx regarded social revolution in general, and the socialist revolution, in

particular, as the most sublime creative action of the masses of the peoples, as conscious actions of the insurgent proletariat, therefore the creation of a complete and coherent theory about the socialist revolution, and especially about the violent socialist revolution, as an historic imperative to go over from capitalism to communism, constitutes not only the greatest scientific contribution to the history of philosophical and socio-economic thinking, but also the greatest merit of Marx as a representative leader and teacher of the world proletariat.

The historical consequences of the Marxist doctrine on the socialist revolution are linked indissolubly with the revolutionary struggle of the world proletariat, the working masses and the peoples, for national and social liberation, not only in the past, but also in the present and the future.

The development and enrichment of the Marxist theory of the proletarian revolution with new ideas and theses has always been done in conformity with the deepening and development of the world proletarian revolution. Stalin has rightly described Leninism as Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions.

The development of the world revolutionary movement after the triumph of the October Revolution when, through the revolutionary movement, socialism was transformed from a theory into a socio-economic system, was a great historical confirmation for Marx's revolutionary doctrine. It demonstrated the correctness and vitality

of Marxism and the close indissoluble connection of Marxism with the proletarian revolutionary movement, as the only movement which could and, in fact, did open new horizons to the development and application of the Marxist theory in practice.

However, Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, the epoch of proletarian revolutions had just begun. The counter-revolutionary reverse which took place in the Soviet Union as a result of the revisionists usurping power was accompanied with the wiping out of all the achievements of the October Revolution in the Soviet Union. The dictatorship of the proletariat was eliminated, capitalism penetrated into all the pores of Soviet society and established itself in all fields. The Soviet Union was transformed into a real superpower, which pursues an aggressive chauvinist policy. Therefore, the laws of the revolution operate in the countries where the revisionists are in power as they do everywhere in the capitalist world. Without another revolution, identical in content with the October Revolution, the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries cannot be put on the road to socialism. Experience from world history shows that anti-social counter-revolutions can prolong the existence of the old exploiting system for a while, but they can never stop the march of human society towards the socialist future.

In all its activity, the Party of Labour of Albania has been and is guided by the immortal Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the socialist revolution. This

has always been its compass, its guide for action, and the Party has applied it in a creative manner, in conformity with the historical conditions and circumstances, always bearing in mind the very rich experience of the revolution and socialist construction in our country, the development of the world proletarian revolutionary movement, and peoples' national liberation wars.

At the 7th Congress of the Party Comrade Enver Hoxha, proceeding from a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of world socio-economic and political development, defined the fundamental feature of our time in the following way: «The world is in a stage when the question of the revolution and national liberation of the peoples is not just an aspiration and a future prospect, but a problem presented for solution.»⁵

The indispensable need for the revolution at the present time in individual countries and on a world scale, stems from the basic contradictions of the whole capitalist-revisionist system today, the contradiction between the social character of production and the private character of appropriation. This contradiction has been deepened and exacerbated to the ultimate limit, therefore, the only alternative for progressive development is that of the revolution. The crisis in which the capitalist-revisionist world has been gripped for years, includes all fields-economic and political, financial and military, ideological and moral. The basis and superstructure of the bourgeois-revisionist order has been shaken to its foundations, and this has intensified the general crisis of the imperialist and social-imperialist system to very great proportions. «The revolution and socialism,» stresses Comrade Enver Hoxha, «represent the only key which the proletariat and the masses need to resolve the irreconcilable contradictions of capitalist society, to put an end to their own exploitation and oppression and establish genuine freedom and equality. And as long as there is oppression and exploitation, as long as capitalism exists, the thinking and struggle of the

masses will always be directed towards the revolution and socialism.»⁶

The transition to socialism through violent revolution has made Marx's doctrine about the socialist revolution the target of monstrous attacks, misrepresentations and distortions by enemies of the proletariat and the peoples, ideologists of the bourgeoisie, and in particular, by modern revisionists.

The bourgeois ideologists and their spokesmen in the worker's movement, the reformists, and the revisionist parties which are in power in the former socialist countries, have united in a single front to discredit the proletarian revolution by advocating all kinds of pseudo-theories with different labels but with the same counter-revolutionary content. They trample on the interests of the workers and the peoples and aim to strengthen the domination of monopoly finance capital and of the new bourgeoisie of the countries where the revisionists are in power. Regardless of the differences and contradictions between them, the alternatives which the revisionists advocate have one aim: to discredit the Marxist-Leninist theory about the socialist revolution, to strip it of its proletarian revolutionary scientific content, and to offer the proletariat and the working masses the revisionist course, which in content has nothing in common with the scientific communism presented by Karl Marx. Modern revisionism, as a collection of currents and anti-scientific pseudo-theories opposed to Marxism-Leninism, is completely identical in content with the bourgeois socio-political doctrine.

Continuing the previous Bernsteinian revisionist tradition, the 20th Congress of the CPSU declared outdated the Marxist-Leninist theory on the violent revolution and the smashing of the bourgeois state apparatus as universal laws for the transition from capitalism to socialism, and once again dragged out of the rubbish basket of history the revisionist thesis about the peaceful road to socialism using parliament and the bourgeois state apparatus. The Khrushchevite thesis about the peaceful transition to socialism through the parliamentary road became the source for

the flowering of a number of variants of modern revisionism, especially the Eurocommunist variant, which idealized the bourgeois state and ideology. The so-called third road, the European road of transition to socialism, which the «Eurocommunist» parties advocate, and which was confirmed again at the congress of the Italian revisionist party, held at the beginning of last March, has political pluralism as its pivot. These parties see the transition to socialism as a simple social evolution which is realized as a result of close alliances and collaboration between various political parties, including the bourgeois parties. Such an interpretation of the roads of transition to socialism gave rise to Berlinguer's notorious, now bankrupt, shibboleth, «the historic compromise», that is, of the alliance of the Italian revisionist party with the Christian-democrat party, and the so-called «democratic alternative» which has as its foundation stone reforms of the structure of political and social life as the only road of transition to socialism. Likewise, the French revisionists have declared publicly that socialism will be achieved, not through violent socialist revolution, but without class struggle, and in alliance with other parties, not only with reformist-socialist parties, but also with a number of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties which, allegedly in struggle against the oppression and domination of big capital, are said to be interested in the gradual transition to socialism in democratic parliamentary ways.

The present historical reality, the stern class struggle that is being waged in various bourgeois-revisionist countries, testifies not to the flourishing of democracy, but to the opposite. «It is known that in the epoch of imperialism a development of increasing freedoms and democracy for the masses cannot take place within the framework of bourgeois society,» points out Comrade Enver Hoxha. «On the contrary, this is a period of the great development of the forces of reaction, the militarization of production and the other aspects of life, the oppression of the proletariat and of nations, which reaches the most

savage and barbarous stage under fascism. Only the violent revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat can secure the conditions for freedom and democracy for the broad masses of the people to flourish.»⁷

Also serving the hegemonic and expansionist aims of the Soviet revisionists to penetrate in various zones of Africa, Asia, and elsewhere, is the so-called theory of the transition of backward countries directly to socialism, avoiding the phase of developed capitalism with the alleged aid and support of the Soviet Union and other countries of the so-called «socialist community», without the need to carry out the socialist revolution and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in those countries. The Soviet revisionists advocate the thesis that in the backward countries the process of the transition to socialism can be accomplished even under the leadership of bourgeois class and parties, provided only that they rely on the countries of «socialist community» and, first of all, on the Soviet Union. Thus, they arrive at a clear denial of the socialist revolution as the only alternative for the transition to socialism and affirmation of the hegemonic role of the Soviet Union as an imperialist superpower.

The Chinese revisionists' notorious and discredited theory of three worlds, also, has the same counter-revolutionary hegemonic aims. It ignores the fundamental contradictions of our epoch and considers any revolutionary action futile, on the pretext that the time for it has not yet come. This so-called theory reduces the tasks of the revolutionary movement simply to the struggle which all the forces, proletarian, bourgeois, fascist, etc., without distinction, ought to wage against the threats which come to each individual country from Soviet social-imperialism only.

Loyal to the end to the Marxist doctrine of the proletarian revolution, the Marxist-Leninist communists, following the example of the immortal Marx, have as their mission, as Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, «to call on the workers, wherever they are, to rise

against their age-old enemies and break their chains to carry out the revolution and not submit to the monopolies and capitalists, as the modern revisionists advocate. The task of Marxist-Leninists, of genuine revolutionaries,» continues Comrade Enver Hoxha, «is to call on the proletarians and the peoples to rise for the new world, for their world, for the socialist world.»⁸

2. THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS — A SINGLE UNIFIED PROCESS

In the conditions of capitalist development, especially in its highest stage — imperialism, the revolutionary process assumes a unified world-wide character. It is a direct expression of the class struggle, as an objective law and the main motive force in the development of society. At all times and in every country the revolutionary social process is conditioned by the operation of the objective laws.

In conformity with the essence of his theory Marx never regarded the revolutionary movements in various countries of the world as separate and isolated from one another. Marx envisaged the proletarian revolution as a revolutionary process on a European scale, because in his opinion the victory of the working class in individual countries cannot be considered durable, without the active support for the revolutionary forces of one country by the revolutionary forces of other countries. No revolutionary movement, not just the proletarian movement, but also the bourgeois and democratic movement in 1848, and during the 19th century, in general, was imaginable outside the struggle against the main pillars of European reaction. Therefore, proceeding from the relationships of social forces on a national and international scale, Marx and Engels came to the conclusion that the revolution could not triumph in one country alone, because in the conditions of that time the country where the proletarian revolution triumphed would be unable to with-

stand the united European counter-revolution, in the vanguard of which were Tsarist Russia, which quite rightly was called the gendarme of Europe, conservative Britain and monarchist Prussia.

Lenin always considered the triumph of proletarian revolution first in a few, or just one country, as the starting-point of the world socialist revolution. The revolution in any country «is part of the world proletarian revolutionary movement,»⁹ stressed Lenin.

Despite its peculiarities from period to period down to the present day, the world revolutionary process develops in conformity with the laws discovered and formulated by Karl Marx. The revolutionary movements of various characters and types, as links of the chain of a single, unified world revolutionary process, have their root causes in the exacerbation to the limit of all the contradictions which are eroding the imperialist-revisionist system today and the all-round crisis of this system.

The unequal economic and political development of the capitalist world makes the fundamental contradictions of the imperialist-revisionist system ever deeper and more acute. All the zones and countries which are languishing under capitalist-revisionist oppression and exploitation, or are threatened by imperialism and social-imperialism, have been caught up in the world revolutionary process. Although the level of socio-economic and political development of the countries which have been drawn into the world revolutionary process vary and, as a result, the character of the tasks which the revolution and the national liberation wars have to accomplish varies in individual zones and countries of the world, the thing that unites them in a unified revolutionary process is the common enemy — the international bourgeoisie, imperialism and social-imperialism, reaction and the world counter-revolution, which are fighting in every way and with all their means to perpetuate the capitalist-revisionist oppression and exploitation of the working masses and the peoples.

Basing itself on the essence of the

revolutionary theory of Karl Marx, developed in the conditions of imperialism by Lenin, the Party of Labour of Albania upholds the principle that since imperialism or social-imperialism has been completely and finally transformed into a world-wide system of financial, economic and military enslavement, and neo-colonialist oppression of the majority of the population of the world, the revolutionary struggle to smash the shackles of this world system of enslavement cannot but have an international character. The movement of revolutionary classes and the various people's national liberation wars are waged with success if they unite in a single current, in a united anti-imperialist and anti-social-imperialist front. «When we speak of the revolution we do not mean only the socialist revolution,» writes Comrade Enver Hoxha. «In the present epoch of the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism, the peoples' liberation struggle, national-democratic, anti-imperialist revolutions, the national liberation movements also, are component parts of a single revolutionary process of the world proletarian revolution, as Lenin and Stalin explained.»¹⁰

Today more than in any time in the past the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the bourgeois-revisionist socio-economic system on a world scale, is ripe for revolution, is clearly obvious and, of course, it breaks out or will break out wherever the link of the capitalist world chain is weakest. Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses, «In the present situation there are a series of weak links of the capitalist world chain, as there will be in the future, at which the revolutionaries and peoples must carry out ceaseless activity, an unrelenting and courageous organized struggle to break these links one after the other.»¹¹

The universal laws of the development of the world revolutionary movement, discovered and formulated by Karl Marx, which condition the global strategy of the revolution and national liberation wars, at the present time are not in opposition to the real, concrete situation of the revolutionary move-

ment and national liberation wars in individual countries, but, on the contrary, open new horizons to these national movements, orientate them correctly and show them that there is only one way to achieve victory and that only anti-imperialist, anti-social-imperialist solidarity, their unity in a single world front, in irreconcilable struggle against reaction and counter-revolution, will make the triumph of the revolution possible.

The specific features of the world revolutionary process at the present time stem from the real concrete situation of the development of the revolutionary movements in individual countries and zones. Therefore, the party of the working class at all times and in every country must know how to apply the fundamental principles of the revolutionary Marxist doctrine correctly, in conformity with and fully adapted to the national and national-state differences in each country. The common internationalist task of the proletariat of different countries to destroy the capitalist-revisionist world system cannot be accomplished if the proletariat of each country does not establish its political domination there, if the proletariat is not raised to the level of the leading class of its own nation as Marx and Engels put it. In the «Manifesto of the Communist Party» Marx and Engels wrote, «The proletariat of each country must, of course, settle accounts with its own bourgeoisie.»¹²

The fact that the present world revolutionary process is a single process does not rule out, but on the contrary presupposes the combination of various types of revolution in it, in conformity with the tasks which they have to accomplish in different countries according to their levels of economic, social and political development. The differing political socio-economic conditions in different countries make it historically necessary that the revolution in many countries must pass through several periods which, in the end, must lead to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, the revolutions in different countries must be of different types: proletarian

revolutions, national-democratic revolutions, national liberation wars, etc. Marxist-Leninist analysis of the present state of socio-economic and political development in different countries of the world as a whole shows very clearly that the Trotskyite theory of the permanent revolution, of skipping stages, is completely anti-Marxist and anti-revolutionary. Basing itself on the Marxist doctrine, the PLA has always presented the question clearly, that the determination of the strategic tasks in different countries is always conditioned by the concrete historic situation, by the level of socio-economic and political development of that country, by the tasks which the revolution is historically and objectively obliged to accomplish in this or that country.

«The level of maturity of the revolutionary situation, the character and the development of the revolution cannot be the same for all countries,» writes Comrade Enver Hoxha. «These things depend on the concrete historical conditions of each individual country, the stage of its economic and social development, the ratio of classes, the situation and level of organization of the proletariat and the oppressed masses, the scale of the interference of foreign powers in different countries, etc. Each country and people has many specific problems of the revolution, which are very complicated.»¹³

The combination of national and international tasks in the world revolutionary process does not negate, but presupposes the development of revolutionary movements and national liberation struggles in each country as independent political movements which do not accept orders or directives from outside. The party of the most revolutionary class must determine the program, strategy and tactics which are suitable for the concrete conditions of each country. Marxism-Leninism has always opposed the artificial incitement of the revolution in different countries. The revolutionary parties of the working class are guided by the principle that the organization and launching of the revolution is a matter for the internal revolutionary forces.

The collaboration and reciprocal support between revolutionary movements and national liberation wars in different countries of the world is a condition of decisive importance for strengthening the unity of the world revolutionary process as well as for finding the ways to link together and channel the revolutionary movements and the national liberation struggles into a single process of the struggle for the triumph of national independence and the overthrow of the capitalist order.

In our epoch, which Comrade Enver Hoxha has defined as «the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, hence, the epoch of great quantitative and qualitative transformations which lead to revolution and seizure of power by the working class, for building the new socialist society,»¹⁴ internationalist solidarity is a condition of decisive importance for achieving victory over capitalism. In 1872 Marx wrote, «Let us not forget the main principle of internationalism: solidarity. We will achieve our lofty purpose if we implant this vital principle firmly amongst the workers of all countries. The revolution must be solid and the great experience of the Commune of Paris teaches us this...»¹⁵

3. THE HEGEMONY OF THE PROLETARIAT IN THE REVOLUTION — A DECISIVE CONDITION TO CARRY IT THROUGH TO FULL VICTORY

Basing himself on the dialectical materialist explanation of history, Karl Marx arrived at the fundamental conclusion that the main social force which carries history forward is that class which stands at the centre of the epoch, which determines its essence and content, the economic, social and political relations, and the direction and perspective of development of the society in a given historical epoch. In the conditions of capitalism this class is the proletariat, which Marx defined not only as the bearer of the most revolutionary ideals, the ideals

of communism, but also as the main social motive force which must lead all the other oppressed and exploited popular masses in the struggle for the destruction of the capitalist order and open the way to the building of socialist and communist society. «The main thing in the doctrine of Marx is the explanation of the world historic role of the proletariat as the creator of socialist society,»¹⁶ points out Lenin. «Of all classes which confront the bourgeoisie today,» wrote Marx and Engels, «only the proletariat is a truly revolutionary class. All the other classes decline and disappear with the development of large-scale industry, while the proletariat is precisely a product of it.»¹⁷

Marx demonstrated theoretically that it is precisely the historical economic, social and political conditions which have placed the working class at the head of the social progress and have made it, as Marx said, a class «in the hands of which is the rebirth of mankind». Marxism proclaimed the basic idea of our epoch, that in the conditions of capitalism the working class is the only class that is capable of social initiatives, which has its own interests, principles and world outlook, which stands opposed to all the wealthy classes, a class on which the whole strength of a nation, its future and that of all mankind, is based. Hence, of all the oppressed and exploited classes, socio-historical development has placed the working class at the centre of the revolutionary process in individual countries and on a world scale, making it the leader of the non-proletarian strata of town and countryside tens and hundreds of million strong, which are exploited and oppressed by world capitalism and imperialism.

The figure of Marx as a scientist of great genius who, for the first time in the history of human thinking, penetrated into the essence of social development, is linked indissolubly with the figure of Marx, the consistent revolutionary, the outstanding representative and great teacher of the pro-

letariat, and the leader of the revolution.

The necessity of the political education and organization of the proletariat as an independent class, the need for leadership in the practical struggle and revolutionary movement, led Marx to the conclusion that the role of the political educator and organizer of the revolutionary struggle can be performed by the revolutionary political party of the working class, which he called the Communist Party. The Marxist doctrine on the party, as the vanguard detachment and the leading staff of the proletariat in the revolutionary struggle for social liberation, is a contribution of exceptional importance for the development of the revolutionary process, the struggle for democracy, national independence and socialism.

According to Marx, the task of the party of the working class is not just to formulate the true watchword of the struggle, that is, to be able to present this struggle objectively as the product of a given system of relations of production, but also to be able to understand the essential need for this struggle, its content, the process and the conditions for waging it and to organize and lead it.

The party of the working class has as its historic mission to prepare the political army of the revolution, to make the proletariat conscious of its leading role, to temper and steel the alliance of the working class with the broad masses of working people of the town and, especially with the peasantry.

Marx, together with his comrades, formed the party of the proletariat and armed it with a scientific revolutionary program, with the «Manifesto of the Communist Party», which has become the permanent credo of the international workers' and communist movement.

In order to give guidance and leadership to the workers' and communist movement in individual countries and throughout the world, Marx became the initiator for the formation of the First International (1864-1876), which, under his leadership, did colossal work and

carried out extraordinary activity for the preparation of cadres and the necessary conditions for the dissemination of Marxism and its triumph over petty-bourgeois, opportunist and anarchist socialist trends, for the formation of parties of the working class in all countries of the world, or at least, in the majority of them. Considering the revolutionary process in each individual country and world-wide as a real objective process which has as its fundamental tendency the transition from capitalism to communism, Marx set himself the task of educating and preparing the revolutionary classes, in the first place, the working class, which was at the centre of the revolutionary process, for those great battles, for the revolution which was to overthrow capitalism and bring about the establishment of socialism. An essential demand of the doctrine which he created was the active participation of broad masses of working people in the living revolutionary movement. Marx and Engels stressed, «For us communism is not a situation which must be created, is not an ideal which must be adapted to the reality. We consider communism the real movement which puts an end to the present situation. The conditions for this movement result from the premises which exist now.»¹⁸

This is why Marx can never be understood only as a great scientist, only as someone with a profound knowledge of events, history and philosophy, but must be seen as an active revolutionary, linked closely with the broad masses of workers, with their struggle, and with the revolutionary movement. And his doctrine is nothing but the summing up of the revolutionary experience of the masses, in the first place, of the workers' movement, illuminated by very profound philosophical knowledge, and profound knowledge of world history past and present.

The Party of Labour of Albania resolutely defends the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the main social motive in the present revolutionary process in individual countries and the world as a whole is the proletariat. Thanks to its role and place in the socio-econ-

omic system, as the main productive force and the bearer of ideas of social progress, of socialism and communism, the working class stands in the vanguard of the world revolutionary movement and has as its historic mission to lead the broad strata of the population to overthrow the order of oppression and exploitation and to build socialist and communist society.

In order to denigrate the role of the working class as the leader of the revolutionary struggle for national and social liberation, the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists spread all kinds of views, alleging that the development of capitalism in recent times, especially the technical-scientific revolution, has led to the deproletarianization of the working class, which has allegedly been changed into the co-manager of enterprises, factories and plants, therefore, henceforth, the proletariat no longer needs the socialist revolution, because it has allegedly realized its aspirations within the framework of the existing society. Some so-called theoreticians support the thesis that in our time all wage and salary earners, not only the workers, but also the people of art and culture and officials, have turned into workers. Consequently, they say, today we can no longer talk of a special leading role of the proletariat in the revolution. In reality, the development of capitalism and the technical-scientific revolution have brought out more than before and placed increased emphasis on the historical world mission and role of the proletariat as the leading political-social force of the revolutionary process, both in individual countries and on a world scale. Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, «The working class remains the main productive force of society, the most advanced class, the class more interested than any other in national and social liberation, in socialism, and is the bearer of the finest traditions of revolutionary organization and struggle. Objectively history has charged it with the mission of leading the entire struggle for the transition from capitalism to communism.»¹⁹

Guided by Marxism-Leninism and in conformity with the requirements of the actual economic, social and political development, the revolutionary party of the working class elaborates the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and defines the programmatic objectives of the revolutionary forces. Whatever the circumstances in which the revolution develops, regardless of the periods through which it and the revolutionary power must pass, the Marxist-Leninist party never gives up the aim of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, because complete social and national liberation can be realized finally only through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Analysis of the present class structure of the capitalist-revisionist world also brings out as one of the most important questions of world revolutionary strategy the problem of allies of the working class, always in the context of the strategic tasks the revolution must accomplish.

The Marxist-Leninist theory on the hegemony of the working class has found a brilliant application and confirmation in the carrying out of the revolution and the triumph of socialism in Albania. Under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist Party, the working class of our country united the broad masses of the people around itself in a single front, led them in the revolution, and today is leading them resolutely on the road of the construction of socialism.

The time in which we are living has placed major tasks of world historic importance before the world proletariat and the peoples who are fighting for freedom and democracy, independence and socialism. «Present-day capitalist society, both bourgeois and revisionist,» writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, «is pregnant with revolution and the revolution always has been and always will be guided only by the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. All the different ideas which seek to revise our great theory will end up in the rubbish bin of history, just as they have always done. They will be smashed,

together with capitalism, imperialism and social-imperialism, by the great power of the world proletariat which leads the revolution and is inspired by the immortal doctrine of Marxism-Leninism.»²⁰

4. THE DOCTRINE OF KARL MARX HAS TRIUMPHED IN STERN, IRRECONCILABLE STRUGGLE AGAINST BOURGEOIS AND REVISIONIST ENEMIES

In its history of more than 135 years, the doctrine of Marx has advanced on its course in life-and-death struggle against many savage enemies, not only the open bourgeois, conservative or liberal enemies, but also against doctrines which at first sight seemed to be linked with the workers' movement and to defend the interests of the working masses, although in essence they were as utopian as they were reactionary, because they hindered the political consolidation of the proletariat, its organization in its own political party, and held back the world revolutionary process. Proudhonism, trade-unionism, Bakhunism and Lassallism, were smashed to smithereens before the invincible force of the Marxist doctrine. Lenin stressed that, beginning from the last decade of the 19th century, «Marxism triumphed indisputably over all the other ideologies of the workers' movement.»²¹ But the enemies of Marxism now began to change their tactics. Since it was impossible for them to come out openly, the agencies of the bourgeoisie in the revolutionary workers' movement began the struggle against the Marxist doctrine «on the general bases of Marxism, as revisionism» (Lenin). During the whole of this century revisionism, as a political phenomenon and ideological trend, has been opposed to the Marxist doctrine in order to strip it of its content, of revolutionary aims and to obstruct and inhibit the world revolutionary process. All the battles and victories of Marxism during the 20th century are linked indissolubly

with the struggle to unmask revisionism. In this stern struggle the continuers of Marx's work not only preserved and defended the revolutionary critical essence of the Marxist doctrine, but complying with the requirements of the Marxist theory continued to develop it in conformity with the new historical conditions, without giving up any of its fundamental theoretical premises. The revisionists of all hues from Bernstein, who was the first to formulate in the most complete way those ideas and concepts which were in the past and remain to this day the foundation of revisionism, continuing through Kautsky and Bauer, Bukharin and Browder, Tito and Khrushchev, Togliatti and Brezhnev, Mao Zedong, Berlinguer, Marchais, etc. and their followers, have repeated and are repeating the same ideas and concepts which are a complete negation of the revolutionary essence and critical spirit of the doctrine of Karl Marx. Their revision of the foundations of Marxism in the sphere of philosophy, political economy, and scientific socialism, their negation of the theory on the class struggle, the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, their complete betrayal of the interests of the working class, the revolution and socialism, have made these renegades the most rabid and dangerous enemies of Marxism. «Bernstein proclaimed Marx outdated,» writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, «and Kautsky deliberately misrepresenting the transition from capitalism to imperialism, negated the revolution. Their example and methods have been followed by all the modern revisionists, too, from Browder and Tito, Khrushchev and the Eurocommunists, down to the Chinese 'theoreticians' of 'three worlds'. Under the false pretext that they are implementing and developing Marxism-Leninism in a 'creative manner', adapting it to the new conditions existing in the world today, all these anti-Marxists are trying to negate the scientific ideology of the working class and to replace it with bourgeois opportunism.»²² continues Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The enemies of Marxism, both bourgeois and revisionist, try to fabricate and invent breaches and inconsistencies in the historical development of Marxism. Marx's doctrine was not created in a moment like Pallas Athena from the head of Zeus. The consistency and coherence of Marxism are apparent in the historical and logical development of them in connection with the world revolutionary process and, first of all, with the world proletarian movement. In the work of Marx and Engels one can trace the development of the fundamental ideas of the Marxist doctrine, with the continuity of an iron logic, linked closely with the revolutionary movement, with the struggle of the oppressed and exploited masses, as a generalization of the experience of the world revolutionary and liberation movement. Thus, the idea of the revolution with violence, the doctrine on the dictatorship of the proletariat, the doctrine on the leading role of the working class, etc. are brilliant examples which show that Marx did not make theoretical «inventions», shut up in his study, but that the theoretical premises presented by him were nothing other than the reflection of real premises in their historical development. The revolutions in many countries of Europe in the years 1848-1849, in which the working class played a very great role, the Commune of Paris, as the first attempt to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, and other revolutionary movements, were the inexhaustible sources which served Marx and Engels as living historical material from the generalization of which they formulated the fundamental theoretical premises of their doctrine. The attempts of bourgeois-revisionist ideologists to oppose the old Marx to the young Marx, as though the ideas which he presented in the period when he was young run counter to the ideas he expressed in the later periods, are distortions and falsifications of the historical truth, of the essence of Marxism as a dynamic doctrine which is consistently developed and enriched in conformity with the de-

velopment of the revolutionary process on a world scale.

The enemies of the working class, the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists, do the same thing with Lenin, too, opposing him to Marx and Engels. By summing up the historical experience of the world revolutionary process, Lenin, the creator of Leninism, the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, developed and enriched the doctrine of Marx and Engels with new theses and conclusions, not negating the fundamental theoretical premises of Marxism, but on the contrary, defending and standing loyal to them to the end. Meanwhile, the Soviet and Yugoslav revisionists distinguish themselves especially for their feverish efforts to oppose Stalin to Lenin. Their purpose in doing this is to denigrate the works of Stalin, and in this way, to attack and distort the fundamental Marxist-Leninist theses on the revolution and socialist construction.

The world revolutionary process, the experience of the international workers' and communist movement, during more than a century since the emergence

of the Marxist doctrine, has demonstrated clearly the complete consistency and coherence of Marxism which, as Lenin stresses, is like a «solid block of cast steel». «You cannot remove any fundamental premise, any important part from Marxism without deviating from the objective truth, without falling into the lap of reactionary bourgeois deception.»²³

Marx's doctrine was not left in oblivion after the death of its creator, as has been the usual fate of scores of philosophical socio-political doctrines, which after the death of their creators, disappeared or withered away, and do not withstand the course of history whatever influence they may have had on social and political life when their creators were alive.

It turned out quite different with Marx's doctrine. Having its roots in the objective reality, since it is an adequate and faithful reflection of world socio-political development, Marx's doctrine not only did not wither away and disappear, but with the passage of time assumed a more complete and all-round confirmation as a result of new, more profound and more intensive development of the capitalist world, of

profound revolutionary upheavals, and the new experiences which the revolutionary movement of the broad popular masses and, in particular, world proletarian movement accumulated. The Marxist doctrine has not become obsolete, but on the contrary, parallel with the revolutionary process in individual countries and throughout the world, it is being developed and enriched and remains, as always, the only unerring guide for the world revolutionary and liberation movement. Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «We are living and fighting in the epoch which is characterized by the irresistible transition from capitalism to socialism. All the brilliant teachings of Karl Marx and Vladimir Illyich Lenin, which have never become outdated as the revisionists pretend, are being confirmed.»²⁴

The world historical development of the revolutionary movement has brought new confirmations and new triumphs for the doctrine of Karl Marx, that titan of revolutionary thinking and action. But to use the words of Lenin, «for Marxism, as the doctrine of the proletariat, the coming historical epoch will bring an even greater triumph.»²⁵

1 K. Marx - F. Engels, «The German Ideology», p. 16, Alb. ed., Tirana 1972.

2 Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», p. 11, Eng. ed., Tirana 1978.

3 K. Marx - F. Engels, Selected Works, vol. 1, p. 376, Alb. ed., Tirana 1975.

4 K. Marx - F. Engels, «The German Ideology», p. 115, Alb. ed., Tirana 1972.

5 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 159, Eng. ed.

6 Enver Hoxha, «Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism», pp. 286-287, Eng. ed., Tirana 1980.

7 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 230, Eng. ed.

8 Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», p. 251, Eng. ed., Tirana 1978.

9 V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 24, p. 235, Alb. ed.

10 Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and

the Revolution», p. 173, Eng. ed., Tirana 1978.

11 Ibidem, p. 67.

12 K. Marx - F. Engels, Selected Works, vol. 1, p. 32, Alb. ed., Tirana 1975.

13 Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the revolution», pp. 175-176, Eng. ed., Tirana 1979.

14 Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», Eng. ed., Tirana 1979.

15 K. Marx - F. Engels, «On the First International», p. 369, Alb. ed., Tirana 1981.

16 V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 18, p. 651, Alb. ed.

17 K. Marx - F. Engels, Selected Works, vol. 1, p. 31, Tirana 1975, Alb. ed.

18 K. Marx - F. Engels, «The German Ideology», p. 47, Alb. ed., Tirana 1972.

19 Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and

the Revolution», pp. 219-220, Eng. ed., Tirana 1979.

20 Enver Hoxha, «Eurocommunism Is Anti-Communism», p. 250, Eng. ed., Tirana 1980.

21 V. I. Lenin, «The Struggle against Opportunism and the Foundation of the Third International», p. 10, Alb. ed., Tirana 1978.

22 Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», second edition, p. 4, Eng. ed., Tirana 1979.

23 V. I. Lenin, «Materialism and Empirio-criticism», Tirana 1976, p. 335, Alb. ed.

24 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 19, p. 386, Alb. ed.

25 V. I. Lenin, «The Struggle against Opportunism and the Foundation of the Third International», Tirana 1978, p. 25, Alb. ed.

«Concern for the constant improvement of the standard of living and the raising of the cultural level of the entire people has been always in the centre of attention of the Party in all its activities... Well-being, the happy and optimistic future are guaranteed by the dynamic development of our socialist society as a whole. At their foundation lies the free work of our working people freed from any sort of oppression and exploitation.»

ENVER HOXHA

CONSTANT IMPROVEMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S WELL-BEING

by GENC SHKODRA and SABRI GANIU

ALBANIA, ONCE THE MOST BACKWARD COUNTRY OF EUROPE, WITH AN EXTREMELY LOW LEVEL OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES, HAS TODAY THE MOST ADVANCED SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORDER AND A HIGH LEVEL OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. THE MATERIAL-TECHNICAL BASE ALREADY CREATED PERMITS IT TO CEASELESSLY INCREASE ITS NATIONAL WEALTH AND SOCIAL PRODUCT, RELYING COMPLETELY ON ITS OWN FORCES, WITHOUT ANY AID AND CREDIT FROM ABROAD.

A number of thorough-going quantitative and qualitative transformations, which led to the transformation of the country from a backward agricultural country into an industrial-agrarian one, with a multi-branched and modern industry and advanced agriculture, has been carried out in the structure of the economy and its fundamental branches. Total industrial production in 1981 was 148 times and total agricultural production 4.6 times that of 1938. High rates of development characterized also

GENC SHKODRA and SABRI GANIU
— economists

other branches of the economy such as transport, building, etc.

In the recent four decades or so, an uninterrupted ideological and cultural revolution has been carried out, raising the educational and cultural level of the people to a higher degree, creating, forming and tempering the new man of socialism, which is one of the greatest victories achieved in the process of the socialist construction of the country.

The achievements in the socio-economic development of the country were a sound base from which to proceed

rapidly on to the improvement of the people's well-being which, expressed in terms of consumption, today is three times as high as in 1938.

In 1985, as against 1980, the real per capita income of the population is envisaged to increase by 8-10 per cent.

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* *

The material base for the improvement of the people's well-being in socialism is the increase of the social product at rates higher than the population growth.

The Party has always correctly treated and solved the problem of achieving a high-rate extended socialist reproduction, considering it the fundamental material factor without which the people's well-being can be neither

guaranteed nor raised. In comparison with 1960, in 1981 the social product increased 11.9 fold whereas the population increased only 2.2 fold. In this manner, the rate of increase of the social product, has been several times higher than the population growth, only one per cent of the increase of the social product, expressed in terms of absolute value of material goods, is today 6.7 fold greater than in the period 1951-1960, and 2.2 fold greater than in the period 1961-1970.

In 1985, on the basis of the directives of the 8th Congress of the Party, the social product will increase 34-36 per cent, as against 11 per cent of the population growth.

The high-rate increase of the social product as a whole has also ensured its constant increase per head of population. So, in 1970, against 1950, the social product per head of population increased 3.8 fold. In 1980 the social product per head of population was 36 per cent greater than in 1970, and in 1985 it will be 22 per cent greater than in 1980.

The ceaseless increase of the social product has brought about the increase of the consumption of material goods per capita, which expresses the raising of the material and cultural level of the working masses. Thus, from the material viewpoint, the ever growing demands of the people have been constantly satisfied.

In this sense, the raising of well-being is largely conditioned by the rapid increase of that part of the social product that goes to the consumption fund. The Party has combined the solution of the problem of development of the production of consumer goods with that of the problems posed by the construction and defence of socialism, such as the carrying out of the process of socialist industrialization, the intensification of agricultural production, the construction of the material-technical base of socialism, the strengthening of the defence of the country, etc. With the possibilities created through the dynamic development of the economy for the priority solution of the fundamental tasks of every stage, the Party has adopted appropriate measures for a rapid development of the production of consumer goods. The average annual growth rate of the production of these goods in the last 20 years has been 2.7 times as rapid as the population growth. Thus, it was possible to cope with the increasing needs of a growing population and, at the same time, ensure the increase of the consu-

mer goods per capita of population from one year to another.

In the 7th Five-year Plan, the production of consumer goods will continue to increase at rapid rates — about 3 times more rapidly than the average annual population growth.

The production of consumer goods is aimed at fulfilling not only the growing needs for products of prime necessity, but also the increasing needs for other products, which arise from the raising of the material and cultural level of people and the deep-going transformations in their way of living both in town and in countryside. The light and food industries have constantly expanded, while at the same time undergoing deep structural changes in order to turn out an ever broader and more varied range of products with an ever better quality. Parallel with this, agriculture, too, has developed. Thorough-going structural changes have been made in its branches so as to fulfil the growing needs of the population for agricultural and livestock products and to expand the primary material base for the light and food industries.

Just as in other fields, in this direction, too, the Party has consistently applied the principle of self-reliance. This is why well-being has been set on sound foundations, on the basis of the internal material and financial means. In this manner, our industry and agriculture ensure today over 85 per cent of all the needs of the population for consumer goods. The remainder is procured through the imports which are completely covered by exports.

The Party has seen the continuous increase of the social product as an absolute condition to secure the rapid-rate growth of the national income, which constitutes the only source for the solution of the tasks posed by the extended socialist reproduction, the strengthening of the defence of the country and the constant increase of the well-being of the population.

For the national income to increase, which is the concentrated expression of the effectiveness of the economy of a country, the Party works in several directions. By applying a correct Marxist-Leninist economic policy, along with the increase of the social product, the Party has also carried into effect measures to build a rational structure of the economy and the branches of material production so as to ensure the gradual, though rapid, increase of the national income, of the material and fi-

nanacial sources of socialist accumulation and of the general well-being.

As well as this, in the context of the full activation of the sources of labour, constant measures have been taken for the raising of the productivity of social labour, as one of the decisive factors for the increase of production and the growth of the national income. The growth of national income at ever greater proportions increases at the same time the fund of consumption and, in turn, improves the material and cultural well-being of the people.

Socialist society utilizes the national income to expand production, to increase its reserves and strengthen the defence of the country, as well as to fulfil the material and cultural needs of its members. Proceeding from this, special importance is given to the proportion of distribution of the national income between the product for oneself and the product for society, between the fund of consumption and the fund of accumulation. Their ratio is an indication of the well-being of the people and of the rates of the socio-economic development of the country.

This ratio, which constitutes one of the fundamental aspects of the economic policy of the Party, expresses the requirements of the objective economic laws of socialism, on the basis of which our socialist society guides the entire socio-economic development of the country.

Distribution of the national income is made on the basis of scientific criteria and according to correct proportions, according to the tasks set at each stage of the socialist construction of the country. Here priority is always given to the general and perspective interests, the rapid growth of the accumulation fund, channelling the greater part of fund, into the productive sphere so as to guarantee the priority development of the branches of material production. At the same time, a correct policy is pursued regarding the constant increase of the real income per capita of population, within the existing possibilities.

This wise policy in the distribution and utilization of the national income has led the economy of Albania to a stage of development in which, relying on its own forces, it is now in a position to ensure the necessary material, financial and monetary sources for a rapid-rate extended reproduction, on the one hand, and to ensure the constant raising of the standard of living of the working people, on the other.

This is evident in the objectives of the 7th Five-year Plan in which the national income is foreseen to increase 35-37 per cent, or slightly more than the social product. This means that in this five year-plan the factors of intensification will operate fully. And these factors will ensure a more rapid increase of the efficiency of the economy in comparison with the past five-year plans.

With the social production increasing at rates several times higher than the population growth and a correct policy in the field of distribution of the national income, with priority given to productive accumulation, it has been possible to ensure the complete activation of the labour forces — the main road for the raising of the level of the people's well-being.

The average annual increase of the active forces occupied with work in the last decade has been 3.9 per cent, against 2.3 per cent the average annual growth of population. This is clear evidence of the fact that our population has a dynamic growth, is relatively young, and offers large contingents of new active forces to production every year.

The number of workers in the state sector of the economy has increased at still higher rates — at an annual average of 4.7 per cent in the last decade. In this manner all the sources of labour in the towns have been activated in order to meet the needs arising from the development of the state sector of the economy in addition to drawing part of the labour force from the countryside.

The complete activation of the sources of labour in conditions in which the population of our country has the highest growth rate in Europe, constitutes one of the greatest achievements of the economic policy of the Party in the socialist construction of the country. The solution of this problem on the Marxist-Leninist road has ensured the rapid-rate development of the economy and the general raising of the people's well-being. Only in the last decade (1971-1981), always proceeding on this road, the real income per capita of population has increased over 15 per cent, with the increase rate of the income of the rural population being even higher.

The importance of this achievements becomes still more clear when compared with the situation in the capitalist-revisionist world which is shaken by worsening economic crises, and in which the army of the unemployed is

constantly growing. There the standard of living of the working people continues to sink because of the all-round efforts of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists to pull the economies of their countries out of the crisis by saddling the working people with its consequences.

Persistently following the road of the complete activation of the sources of labour, 210 thousand new work places, which is equal to one-thirteenth of the entire population of Albania, will be available according to the objectives set in the 7th Five-year Plan for the economic and social development of the country. In this manner, all the new sources of labour in town and countryside will be occupied with work. This will ensure the main increase of the purchasing power of the population and of the fund of consumption for the population.

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Along with the development of the material production, the Party of Labour of Albania has paid special attention to the continuous development and strengthening of the services and the socio-cultural sectors, which play a very important role in the fulfilment of the material and cultural needs of the working people.

The rapid-rate development of industry, agriculture and the other branches of the economy has enhanced the role of the trade sector in meeting the growing material and cultural needs of the working masses.

With the increase of the people's well-being and buying power, the turnover of retail trade has also increased from one year to another. Thus, in 1981 as against 1965, the goods turnover in retail trade increased about 2.3 per cent, that is, about 5 times more rapidly than the population growth for the same period. According to the directives of the 8th Congress of the Party for the 7th Five-year Plan, the goods turnover in retail trade will increase 22-24 per cent or over twice as much as the population growth in 1985 against 1980.

Carrying out its socio-economic mission, our socialist trade plays a great and active role in the increase and extension of range of consumer goods and in the ever better fulfilment of the needs of the population for these goods. Through an ever better know-

ledge of the needs, requirements, traditions and taste of the people for consumer goods, the trade sector has constantly exercised an active influence on the producers. At the same time, it sees to it that the demands of the consumers are fulfilled in time and in quantity and quality. In this context, the trade organs have made their active contribution to increasing the production of mass consumer goods and to improving the supply of alimentary and non-alimentary products for the population.

Sales and use of mass consumer goods per capita have increased from year to year. So, in 1981 against 1965, sales of some staple food products have increased as follows: edible fats — 2.4 times, milk — 2.5 times, cheese — 2.8 times, potatoes — over 3 times, — vegetables — 2.4 times, sugar — 2.8 times. Perceptible improvements have also been made in the food structure of the population, with the increase of the use of fats and food products of a high protein content. On this basis, the amount of the daily calory intake per inhabitant has increased at an average of 20 per cent in 1981 over 1965.

There has also been a great increase in the sale and use of such articles as textiles, confections, footwear, knitwear, soap and detergents, furniture, kitchen utensils, washing-machines, TV sets, refrigerators, etc. — articles which have improved qualitatively, too. The sale rates of non-alimentary products have been higher than those of food-stuffs.

Through a correct and timely distribution of goods, trade units have played an important role in eliminating discrepancies in the trade and utilization of alimentary and non-alimentary products between different zones and especially between town and countryside. Great achievements have been made in this respect. All the necessary alimentary and industrial products, both of everyday and long-term use, are available everywhere in Albania. Trade organs, in their special function as organs of accumulation and procurement of agricultural and livestock surplus products, play an important and active role in wiping out distinctions between town and countryside.

On the basis of large state investments, our trade today has an efficient base of warehouses in a position to store and distribute large quantities of goods as well as machinery and equipment (refrigerator plants, etc.), which enable it to preserve and trade all sorts

of goods uninterruptedly all the year round.

Our Party has also shown special concern about the improvement of living conditions of the population, ensuring it an efficient supply of other communal services, which play an important role in the fulfilment of the material and cultural needs of the working masses.

The number of apartments and buildings in town and countryside has been increasing from year to year. Today about 80 per cent of the urban and rural population is accommodated in houses built during the years of the people's state power. During the period 1976-1980, 56 thousand new apartments and houses were set up.

«Improvement of the housing conditions of the population has always been one of the important questions of the Party's policy in the field of well-being.»¹ Comrade Enver Hoxha points out. During the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985), 80 thousand new apartments and houses will be set up to accommodate about 400 thousand people, which is equal to one seventh of the population of the country.

Likewise, considerable funds are expended by the state for the repair and maintenance of buildings. House rents in Albania are the lowest in the world — or equal to the average two days' pay of an ordinary worker.

Drinking water supply, as an important factor connected with the health of the population, has improved continuously. Along with measures taken for the improvement of the water supply in towns, the state has earmarked large funds for the improvement of the water supply in the countryside, too. Today, more than 56 per cent of the villages of the country have their water supplied through pipe-systems built with state funds or state aid. In recent years, in particular, regional water supply

systems for many villages are being built.

The connection of all the villages to the electric network, with the state meeting all expenditure incurred for its maintenance, reconstruction or extension, is another important measure for the improvement of the living conditions, the cultural development and the growth of the productive forces in the whole country.

Before Liberation, about 90 per cent of the population was illiterate. Today, 8-year schooling is compulsory. More than 67 per cent of the working people have an 8-year or secondary education. And 32 per cent of them have a secondary or higher professional education. In the countryside, over 52 per cent of the cooperativists have 8-year or secondary schooling.

In the years of the 7th Five-year Plan the number of secondary school students will show a perceptible increase. Apart from the boys and girls of the towns, secondary education will comprise also an ever greater number of school-age boys and girls in the countryside. In the year 1985, about 98 per cent of the youth of the town and 76 per cent of the youth of the countryside will finish secondary and other schools. Special attention will be paid to the development of higher education, which will be attended by 45 per cent more students than in the 6th Five-year Plan. In the enrolment of students to higher schools — full-time and part-time, priority will be given to those coming from districts with a relatively smaller number of cadres of higher education.

In the development and extension of the pre-school educational system, the narrowing of distinctions not only between town and countryside, but also among different villages, has been an important problem. This will be achieved by setting higher targets for the

districts that show a relative backwardness in this field. Further development will be made in the various sectors of culture, with the increase of political, technical-scientific and artistic publications and the extension of the Radio-TV network which in the 7th Five-year Plan will begin its colour programs. New museums will be set up in towns and villages, and the existing ones will be further enriched.

The development of people's culture in socialist society represents a great potential for the fulfilment of planned tasks, and is an important factor in raising the level of general well-being of the working people.

Care for people's health, for the extension of their life expectancy, has been and remains a very important field of the activity of the Party. The network of health institutions has increased all over the country, and so has the number of higher, secondary and low medical personnel. Today there is one physician per 700 inhabitants. There has been a further extension of prophylactic measures to protect people's health, not to mention the fact, known world-wide, that in Albania medical service is given free of charge to everybody, both in town and in countryside. The extension to 6 months of the leave before and after childbirth is another important measure among the measures taken for the protection of the health of mother and child, especially in the countryside. These and other measures taken by the Party have resulted in the extension of the life expectancy to 69.2 years as against 38 years it was before Liberation.

¹ *Enver Hoxha. Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA. p. 54, Eng. ed.*

THE LITERATURE FOR CHILDREN - A GREAT ACHIEVEMENT OF OUR ART OF SOCIALIST REALISM

by **BEDRI DEDJA**

The Albanian literature for children has always striven to combine literary art with the demands and ideals of communist education, while at the same time contributing to a profound knowledge of the social psychology of the children of our days

OUR YOUNG READERS UP TO FOURTEEN-FIFTEEN YEARS OF AGE MAKE UP TODAY NEARLY HALF OF THE POPULATION OF ALBANIA. SCHOOLS HAVE BEEN SET UP FOR THEM ALL OVER THE COUNTRY. SOCIALIST ALBANIA IS THE COUNTRY IN WHICH ONE IN THREE INHABITANTS GOES TO SCHOOL. CRECHES AND KINDERGARTENS FOR PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION, THE 8-YEAR SCHOOL OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION, THE FAMILY, THE RADIO AND TELEVISION, BOOKS AND LIBRARIES, FILMS AND PUPPET THEATRES PROMPT THE YOUNG AT THE TENDEREST AGE TO SEEK THE BOOK, THE TALE, THE POETRY. THIS OBJECTIVE REQUIREMENT OF THE YOUNG GENERATION AND THE CONDITIONS CREATED FOR THEM HAVE CONDITIONED THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LITERATURE OF SOCIALIST REALISM FOR CHILDREN JUST AS EVERYTHING ELSE IN THE ALMOST FORTY YEARS OF BIG STRIDES OUR COUNTRY HAS TAKEN AHEAD ON THE SOCIALIST ROAD. QUITE RIGHTLY CONSIDERS OUR SOCIAL OPINION THIS LITERATURE AS ONE OF THE POWERFUL MEANS OF COMMUNIST EDUCATION.

The literature for children, which Comrade Enver Hoxha has called «very important» and «very necessary», is **BEDRI DEDJA** — Professor at the University of Tirana and writer

one of the achievements on the front of our socialist culture. It has become an inseparable component part of the spiritual world of the child. This emerges clearly from the hundreds and hun-

dreds of enquiries in which children speak in most enthusiastic terms about the works of this literature. In these works there is nothing in the way of anxiety and insecurity, the old ethics of the exploiters or religious ethics, Christian pity or submissive prayer. On the contrary, the children's books reflect our happy life, the happy life of children in socialist Albania, a life of work and learning, of love for the people and the Homeland and the Party of the communists, of optimism about our secure communist future. From the works of this literature children learn to follow in the footsteps of outstanding people of our society and to put their lofty ideals into practice. The rich and varied life of children in today's Albania cannot be imagined without a literature for children.

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The Albanian literature for children inherited few valuable things from the past, by way of cultivated literature. It must be admitted that the ground on which it flourished, however, was a sound one. This is primarily due to the sources of oral creativeness of our people, their tales, riddles, lullabies and lyrical songs, the numerous games which have been through the centuries a powerful means of education in the framework of the closed system of family education, at a time when there were no Albanian schools because of the many-centuries of Ottoman rule. Old folk tales are still read by our children to this day, because they sing to the heroism and work of simple people, to their aspirations to and efforts for a life of freedom, without exploiters. Apart from its very nature, which is so attractive to children, the tale as a genre enabled the cultivation of many other genres of literature for children, especially in prose. The folk song also gave an impulse to the poetry of socialist realism for children. Its simplicity and musicality, its sense of humour and social character were important features which not only proved very suitable to the children's psychology, but also educated them in a popular spirit. Relying on these traditions and developing them further in accord with the ideals of our socialist order, the Albanian writers for children have produced beautiful works which preserve the popular and national spirit and raise it to a higher level.

Likewise, the literature for children of the period of the Albanian National Renaissance (from the 19th century to 1912) and the progressive literature of the period of Independence (1912-1939), which developed in the wake of the Renaissance, also served as the groundwork for the development of our children's literature today. The struggle of the men of Albanian Renaissance for freedom and independence and, especially their struggle to set up the Albanian school, raised before them quite naturally the need for the literary creativeness for children, convinced them of the urgency of creating a literature for them. The literature of the Renaissance is outstanding not only because it marked the beginning of the literature for children, but also because it enclosed in itself a profoundly patriotic character, as it was linked with the struggle of the Albanian people for

freedom, independence and with their efforts for the dissemination of the writing and teaching in the Albanian language.

A very positive feature of this period was that many outstanding men of the Renaissance — philosophers, linguists, teachers and writers, made it a point to write school books and books for children. The literature of the Albanian Renaissance had a profoundly patriotic content and contributed in a long way to the education of the young generation and the spread of teaching in the Albanian language. Because of the Ottoman occupation, their works were almost all published abroad, but, all the same, they were introduced into the country for young and old to read.

In the period of Independence of the Albanian state the more progressive writers channelled the literature for children into the mainstream of realism and, for the first time made felt notes of protest against the social injustices of the feudal-bourgeois order. However, the obscurantist regime of King Zog took no interest in the literature for children. This is proved by the fact that the only magazine published at that time for the little readers, «The Hearth of the Youth» (1933-1939), received no assistance from the state. Almost every one of its issues called on the readers to make a contribution in money to ensure continuity of its publication.

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The children's literature of socialist realism emerged in the years of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War of the Albanian people. In the time of fascist occupation, when the enemy did their utmost to Italianize the Albanian school and bring the education of the younger generation under their influence, the Communist Party of Albania sounded the battle-call for the liberation of the country. It called on the younger generation to take to arms and throw themselves in this great revolutionary action. The setting up of the Organization of Young Pioneers in February 1942 marked an important turning-point in the field of the revolutionary education of children. Hundreds and thousands of children joined this organization and, as its members, took an active part in the struggle against the occupiers; others, numbering tens

and hundreds, joined the partisan ranks and, through countless sacrifices, fought and some laid down their young lives for the liberation of the Homeland. In these conditions the literature for children was born, which inspired itself from the struggle of the people under the leadership of the Party. In its beginnings this literature circulated by means of the communist leaflets and calls addressed to the younger generation, the partisan songs for children, descriptions and sketches, short stories describing the heroism of the people and the young pioneers. Later, the first magazines published underground for young pioneers came out. They became tribunes for the literature creativeness of the partisans, the communist youth and the young pioneers themselves. So, in 1943 the magazine «the Young Pioneer» came out in Tirana, and in 1944 «The Young Pioneers' Voice» began to be published in Elbasan, both in underground conditions. Many revolutionary materials for children were published in the illegal press of the Communist Party, of the anti-fascist youth and in the pocket newspapers of the partisan formations. After the liberation of the country this activity assumed much broader proportions.

The children's magazines, the new readers that began to be compiled for the schools, as well as for the out-of-school education of the young pioneers, the amateur movements, etc. were a powerful stimulus to the literature for children. Still in those early years after Liberation the literature creativeness for children was insufficient compared with the demands of the little readers. At that time only two-three and, more seldom, eight-ten original books for children were published yearly. Translations accounted for the greater part of the publications. Nevertheless, thanks to efforts and the passionate work of the pioneers of this literature — the communist and patriotic writers, a socialist tradition with a sound militant communist spirit was created in this literature. Up to the beginning of the seventies there were five hundred original publications for children. In 1972 forty-two such books were published, while in 1973 eighty. In the last decade about 730 children's books have been published. These figures speak not only of a quantitative growth but also of a qualitative rise of the literature for children from the standpoint of both themes and genres. This development responded to the task the Party had set in the speech of Comrade Enver Hoxha in the spring of 1973, in which it was said, «the Central Committee of the

Party calls on our gifted writers not to neglect writing for the youth as well as for the young pioneers..., only gifted and dedicated people can turn out attractive and educative work for the most beautiful flowers of our socialist garden.» (Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1972-1973», p. 238, Alb. ed.)

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This is the period in which the ideological level of the Albanian literature for children can be said to have gained its proper definite range of themes and variety of genres to have enriched a certain one-sidedness overcome, such as was the cultivation of short genres or tales only. To this period belongs a great number of stories and novels, poems and verses for children of all ages, and for those of the pre-school age, in particular, plays for children's theatres and puppet theatres, films, science fiction and other works for children and youth. In their themes these works broadly reflect the life of present-day children, their life in our socialist society, the epic of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, the historical past and, through science-fiction, the happy communist future awaiting of our country. A signal success in this time is the specialization and increased productivity of many writers in this field of creativeness. A considerable achievement is also the contribution of other writers who, besides their works intended for the grown-ups, have also written books addressed to the young readers. So, our literature for children today is cultivated by the more qualified creative forces of the country which consider their activity for the moral and ideological education of the entire young generation as a very important task.

This explains the many achievements in all genres of literature for children, especially in the novel, which is in great favour among the young readers. This genre with its broad reflection of our socialist life enhances the educative and instructive role of this branch of literature. Novels for children mainly portray the rich spiritual world of children and grown-ups, people who struggle, work and learn for socialism. They acquaint children with life and the major problems of the time. So, for example, the novel «Beni Walks on His Own», which has also been screened,

is interesting both for its descriptions of life in the socialist village of Albania and for the problem it raises about the education of children with qualities of courage and love for the common man working in agriculture, instilling in them the desire to be useful to society as early as possible. Another novel, «The Orphans», describes with moving realism the life of orphan children in the years of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, the awakening of their consciousness and their eagerness to fight against fascism under the leadership of the communists and to throw themselves unreservedly in the movement for the liberation of the country. This novel, too, has its firm version with the title «Poppies on the Wall». Achievements of our literature for children are also such novels as «Chuffie and the Curly Doggie» which appeals to the phantasy of the little readers and teaches them to love the good and to hate the bad. Under this same category come many other works such as «I Am the Son of My People», «A Joint Victory», «For Today and the Days to Come», «The Black Coat», «The New Foundations», which deal with various themes, such as the heroic resistance of our people in the centuries against the foreign invaders, the valuable contribution of children in the National Liberation War, or such works in which the little readers acquaint themselves with the great projects of socialist construction in the present times.

Another important success of our literature for children is reflected in the dedication of many writers to stories and short stories which have met with the favour of the young public. Among them worth our mention are the collections of short stories such as «One-and-Sixty tales» «Legends and Stories about Skanderbeg», «Stories about Qemal», «The Dardanian Knights», «The Little Woodcarver», «At the Bride's Fountain», «A General Is Taken Prisoner» and many others, which have raised this genre to a higher qualitative level. These works have a broad range of themes: they describe episodes of the lives of our forefathers, of their struggle to defend their Homeland from invaders much superior in numbers. In all these short stories an important place is occupied by the National Liberation War and the construction of major projects of socialist industry and agriculture, problems of ethics, of behaviour, of the revolutionary relationship between children and the grown-ups, etc.

Poetry for children and, in particular, poetry for children of the pre-

school and low-cycle school age, has reached a high degree of maturity. In this genre, too, a number of strong creative individualities have emerged who have won the affection of children with their works. There are poems based on folk motifs and folk verse, such as the poem «The Heroine of Tërbaç» — a description of the strength of character of the Albanian woman in the struggle against the foreign occupiers. The poem «He who Vanquished the Emperor», dedicated to Vasil Laçi, the youth who made an attempt at the life of the Emperor of Italy, Victor Emmanuel the Third, in the middle of Tirana, is not easily forgotten. Many poems stand out for their warm humour, carefully chiselled verse which often assumes the value of an aphorism; many of them are not only agreeable tales in verse, but also successful descriptions of life. Other poems focus on the description of the life of the present-day Albanian village, the dreams and aspirations of children, their games, lessons and labour actions. All this is given in melodious richly figured verse which children read with pleasure, and readily learn by heart. Poetry for children has been enriched with new and original values by such works as «In the Arms' Museum» which acquaints the little readers with the centuries-long history of the Albanian people, with their heroism and their weapons which put all foreign invaders to shame in our land. Other poems like «The Battle of Aspirins» expresses in a humorous manner the desire of children to temper themselves physically against the erroneous concepts of some parents that want to keep their offspring shut up, like flowers in hotbeds, allegedly to defend them against diseases. The poetry for children also expresses the great political and social problems of the times in the form of tales or through the description of real events, thereby the children are educated with the lofty ideals of socialist society. So, for example, the electrification of the country is dealt with very attractively in the tale-poem «We Will Build the Hydro-power Stations»; the struggle against the reactionary concept «what's the use of school?» in the poem «The School in the Woods»; the process of the revolutionization of the whole life of the country in the poem «The Bear Takes Up Photography».

The successes of our literature of socialist realism for children are evident. The capacity of this literature to cope with the repertoire of Twenty-six puppet theatres that have been set in all the districts of the country and which

give regular performance for hundreds of thousands of little spectators, is evidence of this. A number of children's journals, are published today in Albania according to the different categories of children's age like «The Little Stars» for the pre-school age, «The Hero» for the children of the lower school cycle, «The Young Pioneer» and «Horizon» (a journal of science digest), and «The Children's Stage». There are many fine films for children which have been a success among the grown-ups, too, such as «The Communist Youth», «A Torrent of Light», «In our Home», «Our Comrade Tili», and many others. Good work is being done by the professional theatres and variety shows which now and then put up plays and variety shows, operettes, ballets and musical tableaux for children.

However, with all its achievements, our literature for children is still undergoing a process of uninterrupted creative development. Here quality is the main point, and the struggle to raise it is directed against the publication of weak works, full of cut-and-dry moralizations which bore the little readers, works which do not rely on a profound knowledge of the present-day child psychology or show marked poverty of themes and language. It is clear that this creative process cannot develop spontaneously. On the contrary, the further development of our children's literature is increasingly based on scientific literary and pedagogical methods and criteria. For this purpose, particular attention has been paid to working out a theory of this literature through the study of Marxist-Leninist literary thinking, of the materials of the PLA and the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, summing up our experience in this field of creativeness, drawing on the legacy of world progressive literature and stimulating serious criticism

— all things which constitute the theoretical basis of this literature.

In February this year the Plenum of the League of Writers and Artists of Albania met to discuss the problems arising in this field today. After a broad analysis of the situation, it set tasks for a new qualitative advance in this field of literary creativeness. All this analysis of theoretical and practical value was based on the orientations of the 8th Congress of the PLA which pointed out that «The extension of the range of themes of literature and art, including in them more and more of the vastness and variety of life, so that the great tableau of the socialist epoch in Albania is gradually completed by our writers and artists, is a demand of the time. The creation of this artistic testimony remains a basic task of our literature and arts.» (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, Tirana 1981, p. 149, Eng. ed.)

Fulfilment of this major task demands that the writers link themselves more closely with the life of the country and, especially with the life of the children, and write works which acquaint them with broader tableaux of the socialist construction in our country, which reflect with truthfulness the great spiritual world of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, and all working people, with the communists in the lead, as well as of the children themselves. Particular attention should be paid to the enrichment of the literature for children with some themes and genres, especially with works on the great projects of the five-year plan, on the great socialist transformations in the countryside, on the problems of the school and its revolutionary principles. The further development of the novel for children which gives great possibilities for a more complete artistic reflection of life, the more extensive cultivation of the

genre of science-fiction short stories and novels, and new literary tales for the younger readers which, despite their phantastic character, should be based firmly on our socialist reality and communist morality, arises as an urgent need.

Likewise, in the literature for children quality is closely linked with the proper understanding of its specific character.

Of course, the specific character of the literature for children calls for interesting adventures, dramatic situations, dynamic events and suspense, which, however, should never become an aim in themselves. Taking account of this demand of the psychology of the child, apart from imagination, the books which are intended for them should also stimulate their thinking and concern about the great problems of the life of the people in our socialist country. Dramatism and suspense should always be based on materialist logic and on efforts to reflect the reality as truthfully as possible. The writers of socialist realism never play on the feelings of the child nor do they limit their works within the narrow interests of the child.

The specific character of the literature for children in our country cannot be imagined without its artistic reflection of the actual demands of the revolutionary pedagogy of our Party which wants the children not only to attend lessons, but also to take part in actual life, to develop their technical intuition, and their scientific imagination, to combine literary art with contemporary knowledge. The Albanian literature for children has always striven to combine literary art with the demands and ideals of communist education, while at the same time contributing to a profound knowledge of the social psychology of the children of our days.

THE FORMATION OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE SEEN IN THE LIGHT OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL INFORMATION

by **SKËNDER ANAMALI**

The Albanian archaeology reached the conclusion that the Koman culture is a local culture which developed on the basis of a more ancient local culture. As such, it is obvious that its bearers could be none other than the descendants of the ancient Illyrian population who emerged in the Middle Ages under the name of Arbëreshi, the Albans of the same name mentioned by Ptolemy. The Koman culture flourished between the 6th and the 8th centuries, at a time when the process of the formation of the Albanian people had begun to develop. Therefore, it is connected with the Arbëreshi—the early Albanians

THIS ARTICLE TREATS QUESTIONS DATING BACK TO THE LATE ANTIQUITY, A DECISIVE PERIOD IN THE HISTORY OF THE ILLYRIANS. IN THE LATE ANTIQUITY, WHEN THE MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL CULTURE OF THE SOUTHERN ILLYRIANS ENTERED A PROCESS OF CONVERGENCE, ANOTHER PROCESS — THAT OF THE FORMATION OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE, GOT STARTED. THIS PROCESS TOOK PLACE DURING THE DECAY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE AND THEN UNDER THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE, AND BEARS THE STAMP OF THE TIME BOTH HISTORICALLY AND CULTURALLY.

New archaeological finds have brought about a change in the opinions concerning the Late Antiquity in the South Illyrian territory and have imposed a new historical and cultural vision of the problem. They provide in-

SKËNDER ANAMALI — Senior Scientific Worker — archaeologist

contestable proof of the Illyrian ethnic-cultural continuity in the provinces of Praevalis, Dardania, New Epirus and Ancient Epirus, and of the presence of a unitary culture there.

It is a recognized fact that one of the most important consequences of the decay of the slave-owning system was

the decay of cities and the ruralization of life, especially in the West. This phenomenon was also felt in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. In the Illyrian territories this is seen in an appreciable increase of rural settlements, mainly in late antiquity, which is supported by archaeological finds that appear in greater number within this period in comparison with previous centuries. Of interest in this aspect are the frequent finds of agricultural implements in the necropolises of these rural settlements. In our country this phenomenon is seen in the Coastal Depression, which is known to have been an intensively developed region even before this phenomenon set on.

The peasant population of these settlements appears now a very active free

peasantry. The crisis of the slave-owning system was closely connected with inter-provincial trade relations, which are interrupted now, and the Illyrian territory appears as an area independent of imports. Local handicraft production is in a position to meet the demands of the consumer, though, unlike before, it is a small-scale production.

The peasant population of Illyria, despite their long resistance to the Roman occupiers, displayed some stability in various fields of life. The end of the established Roman traditions in art freed the local creative forces of South Illyria from the fetters of this art. The local art revived, although the influence of antique art is still felt. However, some reliefs found in recent years provide interesting material. They treat the working man, the peasant and the craftsman, and are the work of popular artists. These reliefs, discovered mainly in peasant settlements, stand apart from their ancient counterparts in composition, depth of chiselling and, especially, the typical Illyrian dress of human figures. This popular art is proof that the Illyrian ethnic community never ceased to exist. The process of evolution of the Illyrian culture during the late antiquity followed a normal course.

A characteristic feature of the late antiquity in Illyria is the fortification of some cities, more precisely the reconstruction of the castles of the coastal plains for military purposes. It is presumed that their construction must have been the response of the Illyrian population to the invasions by the Goths and other barbarian hordes. This presumption is valid, but we must add that these castles were built for another, not less important reason: to control the movements and uprisings of the local population, which, as frequent sources indicate, was opposed to the Roman occupation.

The cities, in which the crisis of the slave-owning system made itself felt more thoroughly and was accompanied with more devastating consequences, especially in the 4th century of our era, provide quite another picture. Nevertheless, it must be said that not all the cities of the South Illyrian provinces decayed or were abandoned by their inhabitants. The «elimination» of ancient cities was more intensive on the Adriatic coast where the agglomeration of cities was rather great. This is what happened to the city of Apollonia, too. Other cities, such as Antigonea (today's Jerma in the vicinity of Gjirokastra), the city of Zgërdhesh (in the vicinity

of today's Kruja) and other cities were abandoned more or less in this period.

It must be said here that, besides the cities that fell in ruin, there were other cities which, favoured by their advantageous geographical position, survived the crisis of the slaveowning system in the 4th century and remained important fortified centres. Among them were Scodra, Lissus (Lezha), Antipatrea-Pulcheripolis (Berat); Hadrianopolis (Melan in Gjirokastra region), Onchesimoi (Saranda), and other centres. Dyrrachium (Durrës), the capital of the province of New Epirus, remained a large city in the late antiquity. This is proven by a list of settlements of the South Illyrian territory figuring in a guide by the geographer of the 6th century, Synecdemes of Hierocles.

Archaeological excavations have revealed an aspect, so far unknown, about this territory, where, apart from military-civil constructions, there existed a new creative activity in the field of monumental constructions, such as churches, etc an activity which is apparent in their architectures, their mosaics and their architectonic decorative patterns. Worth mentioning amongst the new discoveries belonging to the 6th century are the basilica of Saranda, built inside the walls encircling the city, with multi-coloured mosaic floors of 150 m², the basilica of Ballsh (in the Fier region), with a very rich architectonic-decorative sculpture, and the basilica of Arpaj (in the Durrës region), which appears to be one of the largest buildings of the Christian cult ever discovered in our country.

The number of palaeo-Christian basilicas unearthed in recent years in our country has greatly increased. On the coast and in the hinterland, in the site of cities, there are over 30 ruins of palaeo-Christian basilicas. All of them are constructions connected with the upper ruling circles.

Besides the towns that were episcopal sees there was a number of castle-towns, some of them connected with the military interests of the Byzantine Empire, but most of them existed as peasant settlements with agriculture occupying the main place in their activity. These were built by the local population, which explains their great number. Of major interest in the late antiquity are the fortified towns of Kosova — mainly centres of the peasant and miner population of Dardania, a region as yet insufficiently studied.

Everything indicates, in the 5th and 6th centuries, a unity of material culture in the territories inhabited by the

Albanians. This unity is evident in diverse handicrafts products, in pottery (including building ceramics), in building, in architectonic patterns and mosaics, and even in money circulation. The unity of material culture in the South Illyrian provinces, Praevalis, Dardania, Old Epirus and New Epirus show that the population of these territories, one and the same ethnically, reacted in the same manner to the influence of the Roman and, later, Byzantine culture.

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The Illyrians came to the Middle Ages with an advanced economic and social level, and with a common material and spiritual culture. However, there is no mention of them in the Byzantine sources of the 6th century. But there are archaeological materials connected with the Early Middle Ages, materials which increase with every passing year. The documentary value of these materials is important because they are almost totally local productions.

One such culture is the «Koman culture». The earliest discoveries regarding this culture were made in the end of the last century in the castle in work implements and weapons graveyard of Dalmaca, in the vicinity of Koman village in the Puka region, from which this culture has taken its name. As soon as the first tombs were discovered, the archaeological material in them attracted the attention of scholars and gave rise to much controversy and discussion. Finding themselves confronted with an unknown culture of major scientific interest, the scholars set about unveiling the «mystery». Without prior knowledge of the population and place in which the tombs were discovered, and even less of the geography of the region of Puka, they supposed the former existence of populations that had nothing to do with the present local population, such as Sueves, Avars, and even Slavs. The more acceptable and reasonable hypothesis for that time was that the tombs off the Castle of Dalmaca belonged to a dwelling site built by a Romanized Illyrian population. It was dated back of the period of the barbarian invasions, or the 4th-7th centuries.

Albanian archaeology has paid special importance to the study of the Koman culture. As a result of systematic

excavations and research in the recent years the Albanian archaeologists have unearthed a number of tombs similar to those of the Castle of Dalmaca in other places, too, mainly in Northern and Central Albania, in the regions of Tirana, Durrës, Kruja, Lezha, Mirdita, Shkodra and Kukës. Traces of the Koman culture have been discovered also beyond the state borders of the PSR of Albania: in a small graveyard in Aphion of Corfu (Greece), in the graveyard of Mijeje in the vicinity of Vir Pazar on the shore of Shkodra Lake (Montenegro), and in the graveyards of Orovnik, Radolisht, and St. Erasmus near Ohri (Macedonia). The relatively great number of tombs discovered — they are about 30 today, the systematic excavations conducted and the rich archaeological material found in them have created favourable conditions for systematic study of the Koman culture against a geographical background different from that supposed by previous scholars. All this has enabled the solution of the fundamental problems connected with this culture.

All the finds in the tombs, including the smallest ones, provide material of the same culture. This is evident, in the first place from the inventory of the tombs, in which spring-formed fibulae are the finest specimens. This is also borne out by many common elements, such as were spirals or pyramid-like heads characteristic of many ornaments like fibulae, rings, bracelets; etc. as well as large belt hangings. The same can be said of metallic ornaments in which many elements of Illyrian symbols recur with amazing frequency.

In all the graveyards the tombs are built in the same manner: case-like with slightly protruding sides. As a rule, the graves are built with standing-tuff or lime-stone slabs, when they are not encircled with low stone walls. The roofing is also built of stone slabs, though in some tombs (more frequently in Kruja) it is shaped to a gable roof. In all the tombs the body is laid on its back, directly on the earth. The orientation of the tombs is predominantly in east-west direction. There are also tombs set in northeast-southwest or southwest-northeast direction (probably according to the season) and more infrequently (mainly in the region of Kruja) in north-south direction. This construction and orientation of tombs and this mode of burial are ancient in our country. They appear to be invariably the same in all the tombs from the end of the Bronze Age to the Iron Age.

The archaeologists who have studied the Koman culture have also determined its components. Indeed, by means of these components they have been able to trace down the process of the autochthonous formation of this culture. So it is clear now that the Koman culture is the direct continuation of the local culture of the antiquity, but at a higher stage. This is easily seen in a number of objects found in tombs, (mainly axes, knives and spearheads), in ornaments (fibulae, combs, tongs) and in pottery. All these objects reproduce familiar forms, which are found in the tombs and settlements of the 4th-6th centuries, and present great interest because they are a testimony to the level of local productions, that is, they prove the continuity of some crafts such as silver-smithery, black-smithery, and pottery — which is quite in the order of things in the process of the autochthonous formation of the Koman culture.

Among archaeological finds some necklaces are particularly worth noticing as they are closely related to objects of the Illyrian culture of the Iron Age. These bronze necklaces consist of one or two rings, with or without a spoke in between, and are often abundantly decorated with bird images. These ring-like necklaces were used as amulets amongst the Illyrians. Their circular shape symbolized the sun. Objects with bird ornaments symbolized the sun bird.

Necklaces like these are found in considerable numbers in all the greater tombs, which means that old symbols were preserved in use down to the Early Middle Ages. This is of major importance, first, because it shows that the population which buried its dead here had still many pagan leftovers, and together with them, vestiges of the ancient spiritual culture.

Another phenomenon observed in these tombs which makes the continuity of the Illyrian culture more convincing is also the presence there of some characteristic Illyrian objects, such as semispherical buttons the upper parts of which are decorated with transversal cuts, double-conical string beads, rings with side protrusions, etc. all of them made of bronze. All these objects are common in the Illyrian tumuli of the region of Mat.

All this leads to the one logical conclusion that the deep roots of the Koman culture go back to the Illyrians, the ancient inhabitants of our country.

Belonging to the Koman culture there are objects, which prove the direct

influence of the early Byzantine culture but which, at the same time, constitute an organic part of the Koman culture. Some of these objects, earrings mainly, are not mere imitations of Byzantine art, but have gone through a creative elaboration by the local masters in the course of which they have gained different artistic qualities. This is connected with the level of local skills, and powers of assimilating new forms. In general, the ornaments of the Koman culture show clearly discernible ethnic peculiarities. This is evident from a comparison between them and similar objects of the other neighbouring peoples. The difference is striking: they are not to be found beyond the territory inhabited by an autochthonous population.

Byzantine objects found in our tumuli indicate that the Koman culture had elements of the early Balkan-Byzantine culture.

The Koman culture has no elements of the Slav or Avar culture. The occasional appearance of three-arched fibulae with «fingers», found in the tumuli of Kruja and Lezha, is undoubtedly insufficient proof of the presence of a Slav culture due to the Slav invasions of the 6th-7th centuries. In regard to these fibulae belonging to the 6th and 7th centuries, the archaeologists hold different opinions. Some Rumanian scholars (A. Petre, V. Ciuca), proceeding from the fact that such objects are found in different regions of the Byzantine Empire (down to Asia Minor), hold that these objects should be connected with the autochthonous population of the regions where they have been found. Others describe them as ornaments used by Slav women, though, they add, from an examination of the place in which these fibulae have been found, they «seem to be characteristic not of all Slavs but only of the Antes» (V. V. Sedov). This clearly shows that the three fibulae of our findings can by no means be taken as vestiges of the Slav propagation, but more likely «must have ended up there through trade routes» (B. Aleksova). The same conclusion holds good about the three-pronged iron spear, which the Avars used, and which was found in three tombs (at Lezha and Shurdhan), or in the town of Pogradec (two specimens).

Elements of the provincial Roman culture which were still extant in late antiquity persisted in the Early Middle Ages together with elements of the early Byzantine culture, but this does not infirm the autochthonous charac-

ter of the Koman culture. On the contrary, they show that this culture developed in close contact with these cultures and that its bearers are the Arbëreshi of the Middle Ages, the direct descendants of the ancient Illyrians, who had had first-hand knowledge of the Roman provincial culture and the early Byzantine culture.

Basing itself on these data, Albanian archaeology reached the conclusion that the Koman culture is a local culture which developed on the basis of a more ancient local culture. As such, it is obvious that its bearers could be none other than the descendants of the ancient Illyrian population, who emerged in the Middle Ages under the name of Arbër, the Albans of the same name mentioned by Ptolemy. The Koman culture flourished between the 6th and the 8th centuries, at a time when the process of the formation of the Albanian people had begun to develop. Therefore, it is connected with the Arbëreshi — the early Albanians.

The population of Arbër of the 7th and 8th centuries was organized in peasant and town communities. However, the burial grounds of this population, with their richly and poorly furnished tombs, reveals an economic differentiation and the existence of different social strata within the community. The Koman culture was the culture of the Arbëreshi peasant and town communities, the disintegration of which took place in the initial period of the establishment of feudal relations.

What are the limits of extension, the territory, on which the Koman culture spread. The discovery of objects of this culture in the region of Kukës proves that in the Early Middle Ages the territory of Dardania had undergone the same cultural development as the other regions of the country. The same holds true for the regions around the Ohri Lake, which, like the Dardanian territory, was also populated by the descendants of the great Illyrian community.

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Excavations made in the recent years in several tumuli in South Albania have revealed the presence in these regions, too, of an Arbëreshi Mediaeval culture. This is evident from what was found in a tomb at Dukat (Vlora region), in several tombs at Piskova,

Rapëcka and Grabova (Përmet region), in a tomb at Rehova (Kolonja region) and in some burial grounds of peasant settlements in Skrapar. The finds made in these tombs are as yet unstudied and unpublished, hence, all attempts at a synthesis are arduous and premature. Nevertheless, from the information given by our archaeologists we can form an idea, even though incomplete, of the culture represented by these tombs. What can be unhesitatingly affirmed is that the Mediaeval practice of using ancient tumuli for burial grounds, the mode of burial and the case-like tombs, which indicate the preservation of the ancient culture and the presence of an autochthonous population, which, here, too, can be only of the Arbëreshi stock.

So far the above-mentioned burial grounds provide no objects reminiscent of the antiquity, while the objects of Early Middle Ages, though few in numbers and limited to some kinds of ornaments — mainly earrings, rings, bead strings and some occasional wrist chains, are the same as their Byzantine counterparts of the 9th century. Perhaps, this peculiarity of the Arbëreshi culture was conditioned by the geographical and political situation of the country, contacts with Byzantium being more frequent through the valley of the Vjosa River.

Even though finds here are rather limited, we can speak of the presence in South Albania of a material culture of the Early Middle Ages, which is connected with the Arbëreshi population. The formation of another large ethnographic region is apparent here, though it still requires more archaeological evidence. It is characterized by another group of ornaments, especially some typical silver earrings. It is very probable that this culture belongs to the South Illyrian cultural group. However, in order to give more credibility to this thesis, more research is necessary and more abundant and diversified archaeological material must be unearthed.

Interesting is the material found in some tumuli of Southeastern Albania, which belongs to the 10th-12th centuries. It is somewhat different from the earlier materials of the same category both in its inventory and partly, its geographical extension.

These tombs and cemeteries have been found mainly in the southeastern part of the country, in the regions of Pogradec, Korça, Kolonja, Skrapar and less so in Përmet. The inventory of the tombs that have been opened appears

more or less uniform and consists mainly of open bronze wrist chains, rings and earrings.

In regard to this ethnographic region formed in the 8th century, it is worth pointing to another fact of some importance: the extremely great vitality of a number of local urban centres despite the events of the 10th-11th centuries, such as Ballsh, Gllavenica, Jeriko, Buthroton, Hadrianopolis, Kolonea and Deabolis. They appear as established Arbëreshi cities, and wars and foreign invasions did not change the appearance of these southern regions which were not markedly different from the northern regions. There is no archaeological evidence of new dwelling centres connected with the foreign invasions of the 10th-11th centuries. But there is abundant evidence of cities which existed in the antiquity, or of cities which began as fortified centres and were raised to the rank of city by the Arbëreshi themselves.

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Among the problems under examination, of great interest is the study of urban life in the Early Middle Ages, because the cities were means of transmitting the ancient ethnic-cultural traditions and played a first-rate role in the formation of the Albanian people. Here two factors must be borne in mind: first, that the Arbëreshi city developed on the basis of ancient urban traditions, about which archaeological excavations provide many convincing proofs, and, second, that this territory, especially the coastal zone, was little affected by the barbarian invasions which took place in the Balkans on the threshold of the Middle Ages.

What is worth-mentioning above all is that the physiognomy of the cities and towns of Arbër in the beginning of the Middle Ages was very similar to their physiognomy in the late antiquity, especially during the first two centuries of the Middle Ages. They continued their ordinary life in the period of transition from the late antiquity to the Middle Ages. This was due to an uninterrupted internal development which went on in spite of the crisis of the slave-owning system and its consequences.

From archaeological finds it emerges that the cities of Arbër had a period of revival, especially by the end of the 8th century and, more so, in the 9th

century. The factors that caused it were of different origin. Undoubtedly, the local productive forces and the administrative reorganization of the Byzantine Empire, the creation of the theme of Durrës and later, of the theme of Nicopolis — which included the whole of the territory of Arbër, accounted for this internal development, in the first place. This, however, cannot be counted as the only cause. Other, not less important factors, such as the gradual strengthening of the feudal relations and the creation of a local feudal class, the formation, by this time, of the Albanian people, the transition towards the formation of the Albanian nation, should also be borne in mind.

Worth mentioning is the reconstructions of the defence walls of some cities and castles, ie works of military defence which were rather stimulated by the state and due to the increased military and administrative importance of these centres. This belongs to the first phase. Later on there is an increase in the construction of religious and civil buildings, which may be interpreted as a consequence of economic development. A classical example is the city of Durrës. A number of casual finds, as the new city superposed on the Mediaeval city, prevents extensive excavations, among which architectonic

decorative patterns of a new type and great artistic value predominate, indicates the extension of monumental religious and civil building in the city and even outside its bounds. This coincides with the period of the restoration of the old bishoprics and the creation of new bishoprics in the hinterland. What attracts the attention of those studying these monuments is the continuity of churches of the basilica type, which does not occur in Constantinople at that time. All this is connected with the rich architectonic decorations found in the regions of Fier, Berat, Gjirokastra, Saranda, etc and the technique of building which is not different from that of contemporary fortresses.

The period from the 8th to 11th centuries has been one of wars and destructions for the Arbëri population. In their description of these wars the Byzantine chroniclers mention a number of cities of Arbanon, the earstwhile Illyria, which were situated in the coastal regions and, to some extent, also in the interior of the country. But something else must be added: in the territories of Arbër there is an uninterrupted historical continuity between Illyrian cities and Albanian cities which underwent all the consequences of the transition from the slave-owning order to the feudal order.

It was up to the archaeologists to prove this, and the archaeologists did it. The Arbëreshi character of our Mediaeval cities, that is, their continuity, is also proved by the names they bear today.

The emergence and development of cities was connected with the autochthonous population. These cities had always had a strong Arbëreshi element, a stratum which, even when it had no political power in its hands, exercised a strong influence on the direction of development of the economic and political life of the country. This accounts for the fact that, unlike the Central Balkans, in the territory of southern Illyria there was no complete disintegration of urban life either at the time of the migrations of the Slavs to the Balkans or later. The Illyrian-Albanian cities continued to live, of course, with the sigzags imposed by the times.

The discovery and study of new facts through archaeological research and excavations is a constant task of our archaeologists. And in order to find the truth, the findings must be compared, interconnected and explained. This is the road the Albanian archaeology has followed, and this road has led it to the important discoveries we mentioned in this article.

BRILLIANT EXPRESSION OF THE STEEL UNITY OF THE PEOPLE AROUND THE PARTY WITH COMRADE ENVER HOXHA AT THE HEAD

COMMUNIQUE

On the results of elections for people's councils
and people's courts

On April 24, 1983, amid great revolutionary enthusiasm and mobilization, elections for people's councils of districts, cities, city quarters, united villages and villages, as well as people's judges and assistant-judges were carried out on all the territory of the PSRA.

From the study of the documents that have reached the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania from the executive committees of the people's councils of the districts it results that:

Elections took place in full conformity with the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the decree «On Elections for People's Councils and People's Courts».

The total number of electors registered on electoral lists for people's councils and people's courts is 1 653 838.

1 653 838 electors, or 100 per cent of all electors, turned to the polls for the candidates to the people's councils and people's courts.

More than 99.99 per cent of electors voted for the candidates of the Democratic Front to the people's councils of the districts (4 votes against).

More than 99.99 per cent of electors voted for the candidates of the Democratic front to the people's councils of the cities (2 votes against).

More than 99.99 per cent of electors voted for the candidates of the Democratic Front to the people's councils of city quarters (5 votes against).

More than 99.99 per cent of electors voted for the candidates of the Democratic Front to the people's councils of united villages (9 votes against).

More than 99.99 per cent of electors voted for the candidates of the Democratic Front to the people's councils of villages (119 votes against).

More than 99.99 per cent of electors voted for the candidates of the Democratic Front for people's judges (21 votes against).

More than 99.99 per cent of electors voted for the candidates of the Democratic Front for people's assistant-judges (15 votes against).

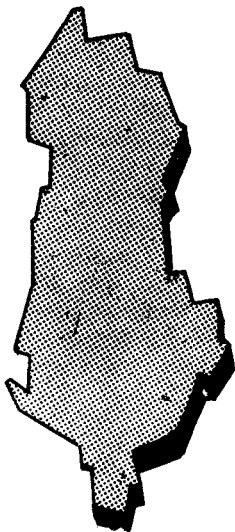
The commissions of electoral centres found 108 voting cards invalid.

The hundred per cent participation of the masses in polling and the more than 99.99 votes cast for the candidates of the Democratic Front is a brilliant expression of the steel unity of the people around the Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, of their resolve to strengthen and revolutionize the state power of the dictatorship of the proletariat and their unshaken confidence in the certain happy future of our socialist Homeland.

This great victory will serve as another encouragement for a new revolutionary mobilization and drive at work to successfully fulfil the historic decisions of the 8th Congress of the Party.

THE PRESIDUM OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY
OF THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

FROM THE
LIFE OF THE
COUNTRY



NEW PRICE REDUCTION

DECISION

On the reduction of retail trade prices for some local made and imported medicines

In continuation of previous important measures, such as the free medical service in the broad network of health institutions and clinics which covers the whole country, town and countryside, the free distribution of medicines for children up to one year old, as well as relying on the results the working class and the cooperativist peasantry have achieved in increasing industrial and agricultural production, and applying the directives of the 8th Congress of the Party for raising the material and cultural level of the people and the further improvement of their health, on recommendation by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party, the Council of Ministers

DECIDED

1. That retail trade prices for 137 kinds of medicines against diseases of the heart, of blood pressure, the nervous system, diabetes, rheumatism, etc., be reduced as follows:

— Penicillin, bipenicillin	20 per cent
— Ampicillin	50 per cent
— Canamycin, chemicetin	44 per cent
— Rowamicin	43 per cent
— Myxoton	45 per cent
— Insulinate	41 per cent
— Pergonal	40 per cent
— Nitrosorbit	50 per cent
— Adelate	50 per cent
— Procainamid	28-40 per cent
— Laroxyl	50 per cent
— Haloperidol	33 per cent
— Aldomet	40 per cent;

2. That all medicines against tuberculosis be given free of charge to the population for home use, according to the criteria that will be defined by the Ministry of Health.

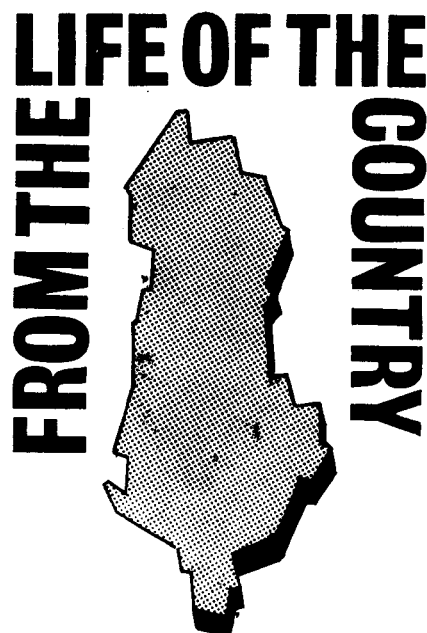
3. This reduction of prices for medicines will result in an annual profit of 17 million leks for the population.

For the year 1983 this expenditure will be met by the reserve fund of the Council of Ministers.

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The Council of Ministers expresses its conviction that these important measures of socio-economic character, which speak of the strength of our socialist economy, will serve to raise the standard of living of the people and constantly improve their health as well as further mobilize the working masses to carry out with success the decisions of the 8th Congress of the Party.

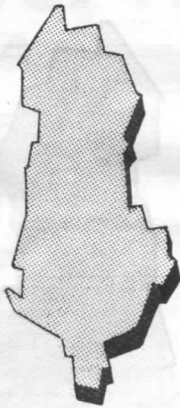
THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE
PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA



MAY DAY CELEBRATION IN AN AT OF ENTHUSIASM AND NEW ACHIEVEMENTS IN SO

May Day, the day of international

**FROM THE
LIFE OF THE
COUNTRY**



Comrade ENVER HOXHA waving to the working people of the capital on the May Day manifestation

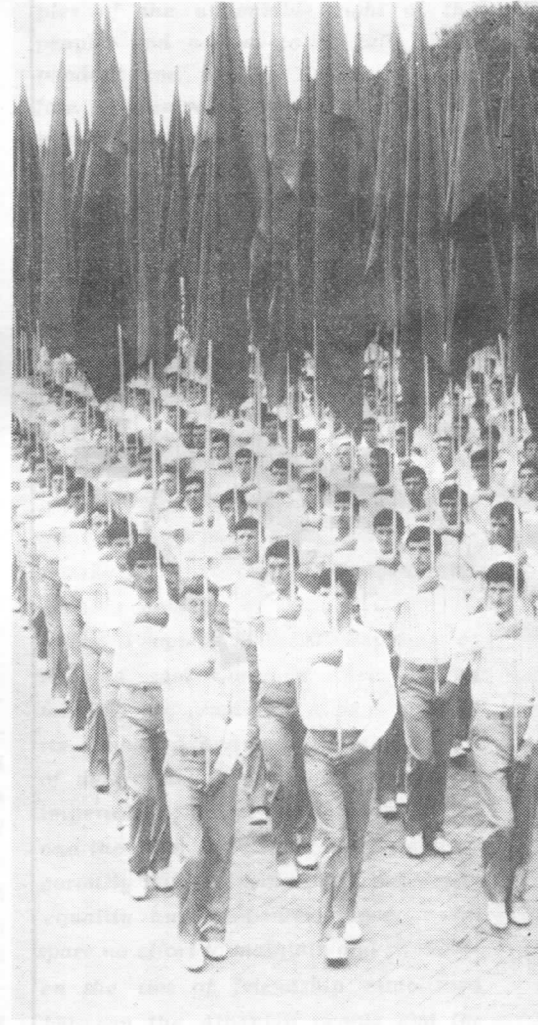
In Tirana, at 10⁰⁰, on the tribune set up in front of the seat of the Council of Ministers appears the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha. The avenue resounds to thunderous clapping and hailing. The Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Chair-

MOSPHERE

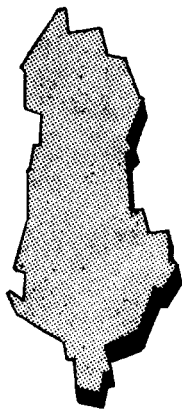
ALBANIA

Solidarity of working people

View of the May Day manifestation in Tirana



FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY



man of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Çarçani, and other leaders of the Party and state also mount the tribune. Lined up on the tribune are also Heroes of Socialist Labour, vanguard workers of industry and agriculture, cadres of the central and the mass organizations, of various institutions, and others.

Present were also representatives of revolutionary trade-union organizations from Palestine, Britain, Denmark, France, Germany, Canada, Columbia, Portugal and Spain, who have come to Albania on invitation of the General Council of the Trade Unions of Albania to attend the May Day celebration.

Attending were also titular heads and functionaries of the diplomatic representations accredited to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

The band executed the national hymn.

The manifestants were greeted by the President of the General Council of the Trade Unions of Albania Sotir Kogollari, who among other things said:

«Our working class, our entire people celebrate May Day this year in an atmosphere of enthusiasm and great mobilization which prevails in all our country in order to put into practice the historic decisions of the 8th Congress of the Party and carry out the tasks of the 7th Five-year Plan with success.

«The Albanian people come to this marked day united more than ever around their Party. The victory achieved by the Democratic Front of Albania in the April 24 elections to the people's councils and courts was a brilliant manifestation of the profound faith of all the workers, peasants, and all working people in their state power, a manifestation of their ardent support for the general line of the Party, of their resolve to always march forward on the road of socialism on which the glorious Party of Labour, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, leads them.

«Socialist Albania stands firmly on its feet. It has a stable economy full

of dynamic, an economy which knows no crises, unemployment and price rises, inflation, fall in the standard of living of the working masses, or other social ills that affect the capitalist-revisionist world. Our Homeland marches confidently forward towards its ever happier future.

«Albania's brilliant achievements are evidence of the superiority of our socialist order, the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist line of our Party, the indomitable strength of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

«While they work for the construction of socialism, our people vigilantly watch the international situations, the aggressive plans and plots the imperialist superpowers hatch up against the freedom and independence of the peoples, against peace and international security.

«On this festive day we send our ardent fraternal greetings to all the patriotic Albanians everywhere they live in the world, to the many friends and well-wishers of the Party of Labour and socialist Albania. We greet the working class and the peoples of Europe, Latin America, Asia, Africa and Oceania, who are fighting for their freedom, independence and social progress. We send our revolutionary greetings to the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces which fight in the vanguard of the working class against capitalist oppression and exploitation, against revisionism and opportunism, for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution.»

The speech was often punctuated by stormy applause and hailing for our glorious Party of Labour and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

A group of young pioneers jubilantly mounted the rostrum and presented bouquets of flowers to Comrade Enver Hoxha and other leaders of the Party and state. The manifestation of the working people of the capital took place amid great enthusiasm.

On May Day various festive activities were organized in all the districts of the country.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA RECEIVES THE AMBASSADOR OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

On May 10, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha, received the extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to our country, Hoang Quoc Tin, in the residence of the Central Committee of the Party. The member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Ramiz Alia, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Reiz Malile, were also present at the reception.

Comrade Enver Hoxha thanked the Vietnamese ambassador for the warm greetings the Prime Minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Pham Van Dong, sent through the new ambassador of Albania to Hanoi. On this occasion Comrade Enver Hoxha expressed his thanks for the sentiments of sympathy and friendship of the Vietnamese Prime Minister towards the Albanian people, as well as for his high and benevolent assessment of the successes achieved by socialist Albania under the leadership of the Party of Labour.

Asking the ambassador to convey to Comrade Pham Van Dong and the leadership of the Vietnamese Party and State his greetings, Comrade Enver Hoxha said that the Albanian people have always held in deep respect and have had special consideration for the brave Vietnamese people and their heroic struggle for freedom and the independence of their country, that they have always highly valued the determination and the rare spirit of sacrifice with which the Vietnamese people have faced up to their foreign enemies and emerged triumphant over them.

The indomitable resistance, the courage to fight any enemy, no matter

how great and well-armed, the great confidence in their own forces and in final victory, which have characterized the Vietnamese people, remain an inspiring example for the liberation and anti-imperialist wars of the peoples.

At all times, even in their most difficult days, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people, said Comrade Enver Hoxha, have been in full solidarity with the patriotic struggle of the Vietnamese people against the various imperialist powers, which have tried by all manner of means to force them to their knees and enslave them.

They have supported with all their might the long struggle of the Vietnamese people against American aggression and whole-heartedly hailed the liberation of the South and the re-unification of the country. Likewise, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people have always condemned the armed provocations of the Chinese social-imperialists against Vietnam, as well as the various threats and pressures which are made with the aim of impeding the normal development of the country and of bringing about its submission and enslavement. China not only follows a hostile policy towards Vietnam, but also strikes deals and collaborates with all international traffickers bent on the enslavement of the peoples.

We are convinced, said Comrade Enver Hoxha further on, that at any time and in any situation the Vietnamese people, their Party and Government will stand strong guard of the victories they have achieved in the struggle against imperialism and continue their determined struggle for the construction of socialism on the Marxist-Leninist road, against the open and disguised modern revisionism. Vietnam and socialist Al-

bania cannot be led astray or conquered by the imperialist and revisionist states.

Rigorously adhering to the principles of the undeniable right of the peoples and nations to be fully independent and free to determine their fate themselves, without any outside interference, the Party of Labour of Albania positively assesses the withdrawal from Kampuchea of part of the troops which, in circumstances which are known, Vietnam sent there to liquidate a dangerous threat to its freedom and independence the criminal gang of Pol Pot had set up. We hope that this process will continue and very soon Kampuchea and its own Government will strengthen the unity of its people and overcome the obstacles it comes up against on its road to becoming a truly free, independent and people's democratic state.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania, said Comrade Enver Hoxha winding up, remaining always loyal to its unshaken and unchangeable policy of determined opposition to American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and the other imperialist powers and rigorously implementing the principles of equality and non-interference, will spare no effort to maintain and strengthen the ties of friendship established between the Albanian people and the Vietnamese people, as well as to further develop the collaboration between them in fields of mutual interest.

The Ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Hoang Quoc Tin, expressed his warm thanks for the cordial reception and assured that he would convey the assessments and considerations of Comrade Enver Hoxha about the Vietnamese people and their struggle to the leadership of his Party and Government.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA RECEIVES A MESSAGE FROM PREMIER PHAM VAN DONG

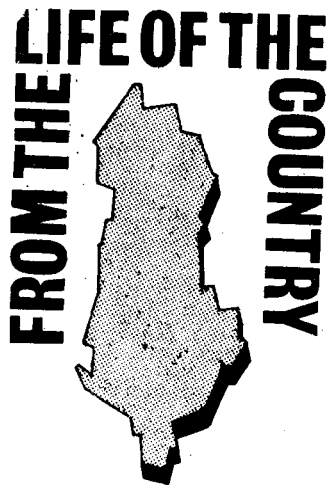
On May 23, 1983, the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam and Premier of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Pham Van Dong, received the extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to Vietnam, Syrja Laze.

Comrade Pham Van Dong handed the Albanian ambassador a message of greetings addressed to Comrade Enver Hoxha. In the message it is said: «We highly value the warm feelings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, of the Government and the fraternal people of Albania, expressed in talk Comrade Enver Hoxha had with the Vietnamese ambassador Hoang Quoc Tin on May 10, 1983, and his valuable support for the cause of our Vietnamese Revolution. Just as hitherto, in their struggle against the American imperialists and now, also, against the Chinese expansionists, the Vietnamese people have always enjoyed the powerful and consistent support of the Party, the Government and the fraternal people of Albania. It is not by chance that the Chinese reactionaries, in collaboration with the American imperialists and the other reactionary forces, are from 1978 to this day follow-

ing a hostile policy simultaneously against Vietnam, Albania and the revolutionary forces in the world. The severe condemnation by Comrade Enver Hoxha of the criminal Pol Pot gang, as well as his support for the renewal of the Kampuchean people under the leadership of their government, are an important contribution to the cause of the just struggle of the Kampuchean people.

«On behalf of the Party, the Government and the people of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam we sincerely thank Comrade Enver Hoxha for his profound feelings towards us. We warmly hail the great and all-round successes achieved by the Albanian people over the past 39 years and wish whole-heartedly that the fraternal Albanian people, under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, with the honoured Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, will achieve new and still greater successes in their work for the construction of socialism in their beautiful country. We see with satisfaction that relations between Vietnam and Albania are developing well. For our part, we will do everything to make our contribution to the further strengthening of the friendship and all-sided collaboration between our two countries.»

The reception passed in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere.



THE 39th ANNIVERSARY OF THE HISTORIC CONGRESS OF PËRMET

On May 24, the people of Përmet celebrated with solemnity the 39th anniversary of the historic Congress of Përmet which sanctioned the founding of the new Albanian state of people's democracy. The Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, accompanied by other leaders of the Party and state, had come to take part in the celebration of this anniversary.

Amid the enthusiasm of thousands of participants, Comrade Ramiz Alia delivered a speech at the broad popular meeting organized on this occasion.

«As every year,» said he among other things, «we have come again here, in your beautiful and hospitable city to celebrate a great event, the Congress of Përmet, which sanctioned the founding of the new Albanian state of peo-

ple's democracy. Our people achieved this victory of great historic importance as a result of their heroic National Liberation War, of the victorious struggle they waged under the guidance of the Communist Party of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.

«The Congress of Përmet,» said Comrade Ramiz Alia, «will remain one of the major events in the history of our people, because it resolved the main problem of the revolution by giving the people their state power.»

Speaking about the constant democratization of the people's state power, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out that after Liberation the Party has seen to it that our people's power be further consolidated, strengthened and democratized, as a decisive premise for the construction of socialism and the safeguard of the freedom and independence of the Homeland. This remains a constant task of decisive importance for the present and the future.

Further on, Comrade Ramiz Alia dealt with the present international situation. The capitalist and revisionist world is going through very difficult times. The crisis has swept not only their economy. It has also affected their political system, their ideology, their political and military alliances, as well as the whole bourgeois society. The situation is unstable and leads to the stepping up of oppression and exploitation, as well as to new aggressions and wars. This situation calls on us to ceaselessly strengthen the defence of the country and raise our revolutionary vigilance.

The meeting addressed a telegram to the Central Committee of the Party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers and the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania.

* * *

In the morning of the next day, Comrade Ramiz Alia and the comrades accompanying him went to the region of Dangëllia of Përmet where they met the cooperativists and the brave and hard-working people of this remote mountainous zone and had warm and fraternal talks with them.

Comrade Ramiz Alia paid a visit to the museum-house of the Frashëri brothers with a deep feeling of respect for what they have done for their country and the independence and progress of the Albanian people.

The inhabitants of Frashër and a huge crowd from all over Dangëllia gathered in the centre of the village.

Rising to speak at this gathering, Comrade Ramiz Alia conveyed the greetings of Comrade Enver Hoxha to all the people of Dangëllia, among whom he had lived and fought in the years of the National Liberation War. Comrade Ramiz Alia congratulated the cooperativists of Dangëllia on what they had achieved in the advancement of the economy, of education and culture, and the example they had set in the development of their hilly and mountainous regions.

Then, Comrade Ramiz Alia spoke with profound respect and admiration for the struggle and work of the Frashëri brothers, the great patriots of our National Renaissance. He extolled the brilliant figure of Abdyl Frashëri, the ideologist, organizer and leader of the Albanian League of Prizren, whose 105th anniversary will be celebrated in a few days. «The Albanian League», said Comrade Ramiz Alia, «which was created in the ancient Albanian city of Prizren and which derived its name from that city, occupies a very eminent place in the history of the Albanian movement for national independence. It marks the culmination of the centuries-long efforts of the Albanians to shake off the foreign yoke, to reaffirm their nationality and have the Albanian nation recognized as one and indivisible, to defend the integrity of their national territory and bring about its reunification in a single and independent state.

«Precisely because it had a great historic importance, because it inspired and mobilized the Albanian people, the enemies of Socialist Albania and all the Albanians have always tried to distort and denigrate the League of Prizren.

«However, regardless of the attempts of the enemies, the names of Abdyl Frashëri, of Naim and Sami Frashëri, of Jakup Ferri and Sulejman Vokshi, of Ismail Qemali and Isa Boletini and all the other fighters of our National Renaissance will remain always indelible and shine in the pages of the glorious history of Albania and be remembered and respected with love and gratitude by all the Albanians.»

After speaking about the defence of the country and constant strengthening of the Party-people unity, Comrade Ramiz Alia dwelt, in particular, on the Përmet district in the development of the hilly and mountainous zones.

«We will report to Comrade Enver Hoxha,» said Comrade Ramiz Alia in conclusion, «of what we have talked and of the determination of the people of Dangëllia, just as all the people of the Përmet region, to stand always with closed ranks around the Party.»



TELEGRAM

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRAZIL

Dear Comrade Joao Amazonas,
Dear Comrade delegates,

It is a special joy for me to send to your Congress, to all the militants and supporters of the fraternal Communist Party of Brazil, the warmest greetings on behalf of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Albanian people and of me personally, and from my heart to wish this great assembly complete success.

Your Congress, which is being convened in the jubilee year of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Brazil and the 20th anniversary of its reorganization in struggle against revisionist betrayal, opens a new period of struggle and victories for the fraternal Party of Brazil.

The Brazilian proletariat has found in the Communist Party of Brazil its revolutionary vanguard and the ardent defender of its interests, a Party which has been able to implement the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin with unswerving loyalty and in a creative spirit, in compliance with the conditions of the country and the situations in the world. Heroically overcoming many difficulties, this Party has held aloft and further developed the outstanding militant traditions of the working class and the broad working masses of Brazil in their class battles against the local oligarchy and reaction, against foreign monopolies, against American imperialism and its policy of expansion and intervention, for their legitimate rights, for national sovereignty and social emancipation.

The Communist Party of Brazil has made and is making a valuable contribution to the historical struggle in defence of the purity of our revolutionary doctrine, against modern revisionism of all hues, for the defence and constant strengthening of the unity of the international

Marxist-Leninist communist movement. The struggle the Brazilian proletariat and people under the leadership of the Communist Party of Brazil is an important component part of the great world revolutionary process of our time. It constitutes a valuable contribution to the struggle of the world working class, the working masses and freedom-loving peoples against imperialism, American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, in the first place. Between the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of Brazil close ties and a great militant friendship based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism have been established in this common struggle.

We express our profound conviction that the fraternal Communist Party of Brazil, led by our beloved Comrade Joao Amazonas, will achieve major successes and victories in its struggle and efforts for the union and organization of the people in a broad common front, in an independent political movement of the popular front, for the achievement of political freedoms and the establishment of a popular regime, for the overthrow of the imperialist rule in the country, for its independent development and the setting out of the country on a new road, for the triumph of the cause of socialism.

The Party of Labour of Albania backs up and supports whole-heartedly the just and heroic struggle of the Communist Party of Brazil and wishes it still greater victories on its glorious road.

In sending our revolutionary greetings to your Congress, we wish the further strengthening of collaboration, friendship and fraternal relations between our two fraternal parties for the good of our common cause — Marxism-Leninism.

Long live the Communist Party of Brazil!

Long live the militant friendship between the Communist Party of Brazil and the Party of Labour of Albania!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

ENVER HOXHA

First Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Party of Labour of Albania

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WILL THE AGREEMENT ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE SHKODRA-TITOGRAĐ RAILWAY BE HONOURED?

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

Good news come almost everyday from the building sites of the Shkodra-Han i Hotit railway. Work there has entered a new stage, the track has reached the 24th kilometre, 73 out of a total of 106 works of art have already been built and the rails have been laid on a good part of the line. As always, our heroic youth, the tireless builder of the railroads of our socialist Homeland, together with specialists, have set about work so that the rails draw to Han i Hotit within schedule.

By taking all the material, technical and organizational measures, right from the beginning the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania saw to it that work began in time and it continues to concern itself about respecting the term established in the agreement on the building of the Shkodra-Titograd railroad, signed with the FSR of Yugoslavia in April 1979.

However, quite the opposite is happening with the Yugoslav side across the border, where neither work has started nor is it made known when it will start. According to a joint protocol signed in Tirana on April 3, 1982, it was stipulated that either side was to start work on the build-

ing of the railway on its own territory in July that year and bring it to the link-up point at the border within December 1983. Nevertheless, July 1982 went by and July 1983 is drawing close, and nothing is being done by the Yugoslav side to honour the obligations it has taken upon itself under the two-partite agreement.

The agreement in question has been reached, as the Yugoslavs themselves have said, «on the principle of reciprocity». Likewise, the Yugoslavs have admitted that the construction of the railway will bring great economic benefit to them as well — the increase of the goods transport on the Tivar-Belgrade line and in the northern and western directions.

In these conditions, when these interests still exist and the Yugoslavs themselves have, by their own will, signed the agreement, the question arises: Why, despite all the steps taken by our side through official channels, is Yugoslavia not starting work on the building of the railway in the spirit of the agreement it has signed?

Failure to honour this agreement causes great economic harm to Albania. From this action the world will once again see that, by failing to meet its obligations, the Yugoslav side not only affects

the economic interests of Albania, but also tries to prevent it from linking itself with Europe by rail as well. In this way the Yugoslavs think that it will be easier for their inventions, which they spread about the supposed isolation of Albania from the world, an isolation which has neither existed in the past nor will exist in the future, to gain credibility.

Correctness in inter-state relations and honouring of obligations taken jointly are established norms and practices for the development of these relations. They clearly show the seriousness of the state that enters into such relations with another state. This is our opinion and stand, and that is why we have made investments and are working according to a detailed program for extending the railroad from Shkodra to the border-point of Han i Hotit within the schedule agreed on by the two sides.

The Belgrade leaders pose all over the place as if they are burning with the desire of establishing cooperation and correct relations with everybody, and especially with their neighbours. In the past as in the present, however, especially as far as our country is concerned, practice has many bitter examples to show

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precisely the contrary of what the Yugoslav leaders claim.

The interests of the peoples of our two countries demand

that the Yugoslav Government honours its obligations deriving from the agreement, the same as the Government of

the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, which is fulfilling its own obligations with precision.

THE YUGOSLAVS MAKE FRESH CONCESSIONS TO THE SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISTS

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The Balkans have always occupied a pet place in the dreams and ambitions of the Russian czars. This is also true about their successors — Khrushchev, Brezhnev and their ilk yesterday, Andropov and Tikhonov and their ilk today. The recent visit of the Soviet Premier in Yugoslavia is clear evidence of this.

Tikhonov visited Yugoslavia at the time of the complete economic bankruptcy, the utter ideological and political chaos, and the clamorous defeat of Titoite Yugoslavia. The facts, which are known, show that the Yugoslav economy has already reached the verge of bankruptcy. The country has fallen prey to anarchy and stagnation of production and galloping inflation, with a typical capitalist market on which the laws is made by the local entrepreneurs, the multi-national monopolies and foreign speculators, with continuous price rises, an unemployment which has affected one million people and which, according to reports in the lo-

cal press, has already become the number-one problem and is described as the «ulcer» of the country, with ration cards enforced as a result of insuperable difficulties in the supply of the population and above all, a 20 billion dollar indebtedness to the foreign creditors. So, Yugoslavia is deep in the economic and financial crisis that has swept the whole capitalist-revisionist world — a crisis which manifest itself strongly in other fields of the life of the country as well.

The present crisis in Yugoslavia is the result of the system of Titoite self-administration, which in the 60's and 70's was presented as a superior system that would ensure the rapid industrial development of the country and create the paradise for the Yugoslav working people. Soon, however, it brought about economic and political bankruptcy and the submission of Yugoslavia to world capital and, as the Titoites themselves were compelled to admit at

the meeting of the CC of the LC of Yugoslavia convened especially for ideological and theoretical questions, «has openly raised the question whether what the LCY offers is only a great hoax».

Our Party has long ago foreseen the present chaotic situation in which «self-administrative» revisionist Yugoslavia has landed today. In his book «Yugoslav 'Self-administration' — a Capitalist Theory and Practice», Comrade Enver Hoxha analyses the typical capitalist phenomena that manifest themselves in Yugoslavia and points out that «the entire country is in the grip of a never ending crisis». At the 8th Congress of the Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha again said that «Titoite Yugoslavia has entered a grave and general crisis of its structures and superstructures, an economic, political and moral crisis.»

Such a situation in Yugoslavia has not come as a surprise to the superpowers — the United States of America

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and the Soviet Union, which have for scores of years kept alive this system for their own hegemonic ends. Yugoslavia has lived on credits from either side. In conformity with this situation, it has pursued a double-faced tight-rope policy, making concessions sometimes to the one and sometimes to the other superpower, so as to show either of them that, unless they pour in billions into the country, it would defect to the other. The Yugoslav leadership has raised into a diplomatic art this tight-rope balancing between the two imperialist superpowers. But the superpowers knew this, too, and they used the «whims» of the Yugoslavs to further their own hegemonic plans.

Seeing that Yugoslavia had reached the verge of disaster, American imperialism and world capitalism hastened to the aid of Yugoslavia. At the request of the USA, 15 Western countries gave Yugoslavia 1.3 billion dollars more. Soviet social-imperialism, in turn, sent Tikhonov with a blank cheque to Yugoslavia. The fact is that following the aid by Western banks and the visit of the Soviet Premier to Belgrade, the humour of the Yugoslav leaders has improved a little. Speaking of the dramatic situation in his country some time before, the chief of the revisionist party of Yugoslavia, Mitya Ribičić, ponted out that this situation threatens to lead Yugoslavia «towards serious political un-

rest, strikes and other forms of expression of discontent», and «a grave political crisis.» Now, after this breath of fresh air, hopes have revived. However, Yugoslavia's lungs are far gone, they have lost all vital function. There are no medicines, only palliatives, for them.

The men in the Kremlin are well informed about the situation in Yugoslavia. When he went there, Tikhonov knew its grave political, ideological and economic crisis, the exacerbation to the limit of its international contradictions. Obviously, his visit there was not made for nothing, nor was it intended as a demonstration of brotherly pan-Slavic feelings. The Yugoslavs had their share of profit, but the Soviets, too, did not get away without taking some advantage. Only the naive can imagine that Tikhonov had no success in Yugoslavia and that the Yugoslavs made no concessions to the Soviets. After Tikhonov's visit, the Soviet market was opened to products manufactured in Yugoslav factories and financed with American dollars — products which do not sell in the West. However, neither the American imperialists nor the Soviet social-imperialists are as liberal as to give anything to Yugoslavia for nothing.

After Tikhonov's departure from Belgrade, the Yugoslav leaders are trying to make people believe that their policy is inclined more towards the West than towards the East. They seek to give this

delusion as wide circulation as possible after the concessions they have made to the Soviets. And they do this in order to cover up the plots they prepare and the intrigues they hatch up together with the Soviet social-imperialists. All this shows that, far from being non-aligned, as the Titoites say, Yugoslavia is aligning itself and collaborating more and more closely with American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

Tikhonov's visit to Belgrade and the agreements he concluded with the Yugoslavs open for the Soviet Union a broad field of new possibilities of infiltrating into Yugoslavia. They further strengthen the positions of Soviet social-imperialism in the economy and army of Yugoslavia. This situation is bound to have its repercussions. It jeopardizes peace in Europe and in the world, and constitutes a threat not only to socialist Albania but also to the really independent and non-aligned countries, such as the democratic republics of Austria and Switzerland. The Yugoslav leaders try to keep these plans and plots secret from world public opinion, as Mitya Ribičić did in his speech at Prishtina, in which he cast aspersions and poured his venom on socialist Albania.

In recent times the Yugoslavs are speaking loudly, in particular, about self-reliance. However, their credits from American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism prove the opposite. What is true is

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that the peoples of Yugoslavia will suffer more and will be oppressed more ruthlessly if this course is followed. Self-

reliance, in the Titoite sense, means that the working masses will have to tighten their belts more for the state to be

able to pay back its huge credits. This is the destiny the system of self-administration has in store for them.

EUROPE — A PAWN IN THE HANDS OF THE SUPERPOWERS

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

Europe has long ago been involved in the war plans of Washington and Moscow. These plans take precise account of the cities and industrial centres of the continent based on the information and photographs taken from their spy satellites. The present political developments in the relations between the two superpowers are showing ever more clearly the place and role assigned to Europe in the American and Soviet war plans. In the name of the defence of peace the superpowers have been publishing plans of their preparations for nuclear war which the American and Soviet strategists intend to wage somewhere outside their borders — in Europe.

Although both Moscow and Washington talk much about the «defence» of their allies, they never consider the possibility of their own countries being turned into theatres of a nuclear war. This was once more apparent in the «new prospects of defence» against ballistic missiles presented by Reagan recently. Immediately thereafter, in an interview intended to be an

answer to Reagan, the new chief of the Kremlin, Andropov, reaffirmed in violent undiplomatic language that the European countries were destined to become «nuclear hostages» of the Washington-Moscow rivalry.

It is not the first time that the superpowers openly declare their plans of transforming Europe into a potential theatre of nuclear war. Reagan publicly developed this idea in the autumn 1981 when he declared that a local nuclear war in Europe need not imply a war between the two superpowers. The facts show that the superpowers consider the European countries as potential fields of their nuclear clashes. That is why either of them have turned the continent into a gigantic arsenal of its nuclear armaments.

Both talk of a nuclear retaliation and this either starts from the European soil or ends here. Some days ago, talking about war on the European continent, the NATO commander-in-chief in Europe, the American general Rogers, stressed that «the forces of the Atlantic Alliance can-

not organize a direct and effective defence without immediately going over to the nuclear escalation of the conflict.» Only one day later, the Soviet minister of defence, Ustinov, addressed himself to the European peoples and threatened them in these cynical and sinister words: «The governments of the Western countries must keep it well in mind that they will not come off unscathed, because we will retaliate against objectives in Western Europe.» For Moscow nuclear retaliation is calculated in such a manner as to extinguish all life on our continent. «This nuclear retaliation», says Ustinov, «might spell the end of life in most West-European countries.»

In their plans of defence and attack both Moscow and Washington consider our continent as a cordon sanitaire from which to defend their territories from each other's nuclear strikes. Both superpowers do their utmost to maintain the European countries in this role of cordon sanitaire. For this purpose they do not hesitate each to use as a means of blackmail the threat posed by the nuclear

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weapons of its rival, if they want to accept the Soviet or American nuclear missiles on their territories. The NATO general secretary, the general Luns, warned Europe that «the United States might reassess its role in NATO if the members of this alliance change their mind about the stationing of medium-range missiles in Europe by the end of this year.» The allusion could not have been more clear. If the American plan for the stationing of nuclear weapons in Western Europe is turned down, the latter will remain alone and undefended in front of the Soviet atomic retaliation.

Washington's pressure and threats do not differ from Moscow's. The official organ of the Soviet government, the newspaper «Izvestia», indicate the alternative the European peoples are faced with: «Either agreement (which means toeing the Moscow political line), or confrontation with the Soviet Union», suggesting that there is no middle road.

Recently Reagan came out with another proposal about the fate of Europe, which will be discussed at the Geneva talks. The Soviet reply was immediate, rejecting the new American proposal out of hand

as unacceptable to Moscow. The essence of Washington and Moscow's proposals and counter-proposals is the same, with each superpower trying to ensure its superiority over its rival so as to establish its nuclear hegemony over Europe. Be that as it may, even if an agreement is signed in Geneva, or Reagan and Andropov meet and come to an understanding between them on some sort of parity of their nuclear missiles in Europe, nothing changes for the peoples of our continent. The superpowers will continue to consider them as pawns in their nuclear game.

THE SOCIALIST «LOUDSPEAKER» OF THE POLICY OF AGGRESSIONS

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

In order to justify the stepping up of their attempts for more aggressions against the peoples in the new circumstances, American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and the international imperialist bourgeoisie are pushing to the fore-stage and setting in motion social-democracy, too. This is not accidental but determined by factors which Comrade Enver Hoxha has defined when he pointed out that «All the revisionist, opportunist and social-democratic trends do their utmost to help the superpowers stamp out the revolution and oppress the peoples.» The congress of

the Socialist International, which carried out its proceedings in Albufeira of Portugal, fits into this definition.

As the news agencies reported, this congress intended to «work out a common strategy of the socialists in three main directions: in coping with the world economic depression, in bridging the gap between developed and undeveloped countries and in stopping the armaments race». Despite a general feeling of euphoria which characterized the proceedings of the congress about the supposed success made in the preservation of peace and the ensurement of progress,

the congress itself was only a bluff. The chairman of the Socialist International, Willi Brandt, himself, was forced to admit that «the socialists are helpless in the face of these problems», that «there is no other alternative to a constructive dialogue between East and West for the easing of tension».

The congress of the Socialist International serves the hegemony-seeking and aggressive political interests of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. That is why the American and Soviet propaganda publicized it out of all proportion. «A congress of ma-

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major tasks in the field of European and world security and peace,» the Associated Press called it. For its part, in a message released by the Tass news agency, the Soviet Union called on the socialist leaders «to strengthen peace and détente in Europe and in the world». The interest the two superpowers have taken in the proceedings of this congress is easily understandable at a time when Moscow is going on with its savage aggression against the Afghan people and implementing a criminal policy of terror and bloodshed in order to stamp out the resolute struggle of the Afghan freedom fighters. At the same time, and resorting to same methods, Washington is intervening to put down the flames of the struggle of the peoples of Central America and of Nicaragua, in particular, where, with its direct aid, the Somoza gangs have unleashed a brutal aggression to overthrow the situation in the country. With their aggressions against the peoples of the world and their massacres American imperialism and Soviet social-impe-

rialism have been badly discredited, revealing the whole of the falsity of their noisy slogans about their desire for the easing of tension, peace and disarmament. In the face of this situation, the superpowers feel the urgent need of diverting the attention of the peoples from their aggressive and war-mongering policy, of lulling them to sleep, with the illusive incense of peace and disarmament. And here they bring into play the card of the social-democrats.

From the tribune of the congress the «socialist» loud-speaker of the superpowers presented the policies of the United States and the Soviet Union in beautiful colours, describing these powers as the champions of peace and disarmament. «It is more important than ever,» it was said at the congress, «that all the parties of the Socialist International increase their contacts so as to strengthen the policy of détente between the United States and the Soviet Union and help them achieve concrete results in the Geneva talks on arms control and disarmament.» The European

and world reality clearly shows what kind of peace is that of which the socialists are talking. American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism have infested the European continent with their military bases. The aggressive blocs of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty are being strengthened more and more with each passing day. Submarines and cruisers of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism ply the seas around Europe, from the Mediterranean to the Baltic. If this were not enough, new contingents of nuclear missiles will be stationed in Europe by the end of this year.

In these conditions, to publicize «the blessings that will descend on Europe and the world» from an East-West dialogue, as the socialists did at their congress, means to try to lower the vigilance of the peoples, to present the expansion and hegemonism of the superpowers as efforts towards guaranteeing the security of the peoples and their preparations for war and aggression as conducive to peace.

THE «SAVIOURS» OF THE «SOCIALIST COMMUNITY» FROM THE CRISIS

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The economic reforms implemented in the countries of Eastern Europe in the beginning of the sixties were

aimed at a radical transformation of the economic base along capitalist lines of development. From the end of

the seventies to our days, revisionist economic reformism has assumed ever larger proportions and is expres-

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sed in a number of advanced capitalist economic «patterns». While the former economic reforms were advertised by the leaderships in power as «a historical necessity of developed socialism», the latter were dished up to the masses as means «to save» them from the economic crisis which has struck all the countries of the «socialist community» today.

Recently there is much talk in Moscow about changes in the present mechanism of the economy. From time to time the local press is giving the reforms that are being applied in Hungary and Bulgaria sympathetic attention. Andropov, the new Kremlin chief, recently admitted the necessity for structural changes in the economy. In the «socialist community» competition is going today on for «more fruitful» economic reforms, and each country advertises its own economic model which is intended to receive the approval of both the Soviet metropolises and the western creditors. Through this tangle of interests pass the «new» projects of the economic mechanism of the initiator revisionist countries, the hybrid models of more pronounced self-administrative forms and the «intermediary» projects in which liberalism at the base coexists with bureaucratic centralism at the centre, etc.

Last year the Czechs implemented a «complex of measures» in industry, while the Poles wanted to apply a reform of «collective self-administration of state enterprises»,

which is supposed to pull the country out of stagnation. In January last year the Hungarians announced a modification of the existing «economic regulators», whereas the Bulgarians proceeded with the implementation of a new economic mechanism which, according to «Rabotnichesko Delo», «turned out to be more effective than all the methods and mechanisms we have had in the course of the recent 15 years», etc.

Regardless of forms and shades, the economic reforms in the countries of Eastern Europe have the one essential content — the further deepening of the degree of decentralization of the economy. The state economic plans of these countries have already been transformed into general orientations, into «forecasts» which may be altered at enterprise level according to its narrow interests of profit. According to these reforms, the number of obligatory state indices of the activity of enterprises and economic organizations is reduced, indices in kind and indices of general value renounced to a large extent, while indices of net value (profit, turn-over taxes, etc.) are given top priority. With the extension of the rights and independence of enterprises the new economic mechanism that is being applied with slight differences in content in all the countries of Eastern Europe, further reduces the limits of state central planning. All these countries are more or less going

apace towards the so-called planning through «development programs» which Hungary is already applying after the Yugoslav example.

Profit is already the main motive of the activity of the enterprises in the revisionist countries, and in all cases they exercise their economic activity under a regime of self-financing or self-coverage of expenditure, and adjust themselves to the demands of the market. These reforms also «regulate» or further perfect the distribution of income, mainly the surplus value from the unpaid work of the workers, to the advantage of the ruling caste. Now the directors of enterprises have the right to determine the wages fund, the labour power and the amount of remuneration and profit. Of course, the «lion's share» of all this goes to the economic and party hierarchy. In Bulgaria, to mention only one of these countries, directors' salaries account for 3 to 5 workers' wages.

Another direction of the new reforms is the further intensification of the capitalist development in the countryside. The trend towards the fragmentation of property in the countryside is crystallizing more and more. In recent years almost all the plenums of the revisionist parties of Eastern Europe have dealt with this matter. They have discussed the «food crisis» which has affected these countries, and have concluded that the way out of it

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is the creation of the private market and private economies, which are supposed to be the main factor of increasing agricultural and livestock production. The individual Soviet farmers produce today 61 per cent of potatoes, 54 per cent of fruit, 34.3 per cent of eggs, 30.2 per cent of vegetables, etc. of the country. During the years 1976-1980 the Bulgarian private farms accounted for 20-30 per cent of the total agricultural production, for 30-50 per cent of potatoes, vegetables and fruit, for 20-40 per cent of meat, etc. In Hungary these figures are even higher, not to mention Poland, which has long ago surpassed the production levels of its revisionist sisters in the capitalist

production in agriculture. The same tendency is more and more apparent also in small-scale industrial production, especially in the services. Last year the Hungarians passed a special decision by virtue of which the setting up of private enterprises with up to 30 workers which, on the other hand, can merge with five others and so, have up to 150 workers, was permitted. This was practised also in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and other revisionist countries, especially in the sector of the services. In Hungary the private sector in the city accounts for 16-18 of all the labour power, and for 75 per cent of the main sectors of the communal services, etc.

The new economic mecha-

nism in the countries of the «socialist community» is in essence a «tentative reform» in order to come out of the economic crisis by capitalist methods or elements of production, which the leaders of these countries try to cover up with sham socialist terminology, presenting them as means necessary to overcome the consequences of the world economic crisis, etc. The new economic reforms definitively reject even those socialist forms formally preserved for demagogic purposes in some spheres of economic organization, and introduce typically capitalist forms, borrowed either from the Yugoslav «self-administration» or from classical capitalism.

FIRM RESISTANCE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

With their statements that the question of international security can be solved by the two super-big, bourgeois and revisionist propaganda strives to lull the vigilance of the peoples to sleep. That this is only shameless demagogy becomes immediately obvious from the concrete activities of the imperialist superpowers. Reagan labours to convince world opinion that allegedly the only aim of the stationing of nuclear weapons is to «facilitate talks for disarmament» with the rival party.

The new chief of the Kremlin, Andropov, declared: «We shall be compelled to take up the challenge of the Americans by setting up our own systems of weapons». And so on in continuous exchanges of demagogic declarations on peace and disarmament. However, these declarations — repeated hundreds of times over — cannot mislead any one any longer. Behind them the peoples see new threats to their freedom and independence, so they are more and more throwing themselves into concrete actions. In his speech before

the electors on 10 November 1982, Comradè Enver Hoxha said: «In these situations, the peoples, certainly, do not rest with folded arms. The revolutionary patriotic, democratic and peace-loving forces everywhere in the world are putting up open and firm resistance to the aggressive and inhuman policy of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.»

One of the fundamental features of our time is the general awakening of the oppressed peoples, who have risen arms in order to win their

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national independence or to regain it if they have lost it due to the open intervention and aggression by the imperialist powers. The martyred Palestinian people are waging a staunch fight against the Israeli occupiers. The power of military juntas and puppet regimes is crumbling in the flames of liberation wars and struggles for social justices. The news agencies report that the Salvadorian freedom fighters have extended their control to one third of the territory of their country, including large cities and strategic roads, and the Afghan patriots, during three years of Soviet occupation, have killed or wounded over 12,000 Soviet troops, destroyed a larger number of Soviet tanks, helicopters, supply bases and depots. The anti-imperialist liberation movement of the peoples has taken unprecedented proportions and is increasing in intensity. Everywhere is seen a greater national and revolutionary awareness of the peoples.

The general crisis of the capitalist and revisionist world today and its continuous worsening expands the social and class base of the revolution, enhance the political and class consciousness of the proletariat. This is shown by the fact that the resistance of the working class against capital and its struggle in defence of their democratic rights and the right to work has greatly extended in the capitalist countries. The strikes of two million metal-

lurgical workers and the nation-wide strike of 14 million working people in Italy, the strike of 25 thousand mechanics in the USA, the strikes and demonstrations of 600 thousand workers in the FR of Germany, the strikes of 300 thousand railway workers in Portugal, etc., only during the last year, cannot be ignored. Apart from this the fighting spirit of the strikers has increased, which is seen in the determination with which they call for the fulfilment of their demands to the letter. The strike of 250 thousand textile workers in Bombay, India, which continued for 9 months, was an open challenge to the local law prohibiting strikes. The American mechanics ignored the extraordinary law of the Reagan administration, and continued their strike for several months.

The struggle of the working class and peoples today has assumed various forms and unexampled proportions. The actions of the revolutionary patriotic, democratic and peace-loving forces are combined with one another and frequently form one common front against the common imperialist and social-imperialist enemy, the reactionary fascist and war-mongering forces. The aggravation of the international situation and the increase of the threat of war has aroused the great movement of the peoples of different countries. In Europe, the last two years saw a new upsurge of protest, demonstra-

tions and peace marches against the war-mongering policy of the imperialist superpowers and their respective military blocs, like the big demonstrations which took place in Hamburg, Bonn, Paris, London, Rome, against the stationing of nuclear weapons in Europe, against Reagan's visit, etc. More than 500 thousand people participated in the demonstrations organized in Bonn and Paris. In 1982, over 20 million workers, poor peasants and youths took part in strikes and demonstrations against American domination and its local minions in Latin America. The conflict of the Malvinas increased the anti-American feelings of the peoples of this continent — feeling which are running high from Rio Grande to Tierra del Fuego. In Asla, from Japan to the centre of zionism — Israel, millions of workers and peasants have come out in strikes and demonstrations, clashing with the forces of order. In the revisionist countries, too, the pent-up resentment of the working people is often exploding openly, like in Poland, or even in the metropolis of the Soviet social-imperialists.

The facts show that the more the people become aware of their strength, the more their resistance and struggle builds up in their confrontation with capitalist oppression and exploitation and the war-mongering plans of the imperialist superpowers.



View of the Museum-Town of Berat.



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