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◀ **COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA HAS A CORDIAL
TALK WITH DELEGATES TO THE 6th CONG-
RESS OF AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES.**

«Responding to the Call of the Party» (Shaban Hysa)





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RAMIZ ALIA

ADDRESS TO THE ON THE OCCASION OF

On the New Year's eve, Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, greeted the Albanian people over the radio and television, on the occasion of the traditional New Year festivity.

Good evening and many happy returns, dear brothers and sisters,

In these moments, when we are looking forward to the New Year 1989, with my mind and heart I come to your homes in order to greet you on behalf of the Party and the Government and wish you all the best, success at work and happiness in life.

The year 1988 brought our people new joys and achievements. Our socialist Homeland took a new step forward in the economic and cultural development, and the strengthening of the country's defence, freedom and independence. Despite the difficulties we have had to cope with, we have succeeded in turning out a larger social product than in the preceding year. With their work and toil, and their efforts and knowledge our people commissioned more than 160 new projects. The income of the population increased further, surpassing all indices of socio-economic development. Three hundred and forty villages were supplied drinking water through new water pipes. About 50 thousand people were employed for the first time in town and countryside.

Education, science and the health service, art and literature scored a number of outstanding successes. The objective of the 9th Congress of the Party to comprehend more than 70 per cent of the 8-year pupils in

secondary schools, was accomplished two years ahead of schedule. Albania's international position was further strengthened and its external activity expanded. Its active and constructive policy won our country new friends and well-wishers and consolidated its internal development.

The process of the socialist construction in our country, and its all-round development have at their foundations the principle of self-reliance. This makes our victories more valuable. Every success attained in the various fields of the economic, cultural and social activity is the result of the work of our people, and achieved only on the basis of the material, intellectual and financial potential of our country. This fact assumes special significance when it is common knowledge that many bourgeois and revisionist countries are living through major crises and upheavals, have sunken deep into debt, and are labouring under increased inflation and unemployment. Our achievements speak of the vitality of our social order, the inexhaustible creative energies of our people, the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party and its high sense of responsibility defending the lofty interests of the Homeland and the communist ideal.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party I wish to extend my special greetings to the outstanding people of physical and mental labour, the innovators and fighters for high yields, all those collectives and individuals who were in the vanguard. We honour the miners and all our industrial workers, the wheat producers and livestock raisers, the constructors and transport workers, the teachers and creative people of different spheres, all those who with their high results at work make us celebrate these festivities happily.

ALBANIAN PEOPLE THE NEW YEAR 1989

We shall always commemorate the year 1988 as the 80th anniversary of the birth of the glorious leader of our people, Comrade Enver Hoxha. According to the desire of the whole people, the Party rendered all honours to its legendary leader. Respect for Enver Hoxha means love for socialism, resolution to defend the freedom won, and a source of inspiration for new successes.

Dear comrades,

The year 1989 we are entering, faces us with numerous tasks. The plan approved these days by the People's Assembly envisages the greatest economic advance ever in this decade. We will work strenuously for the construction of 230 new projects in the fields of production and culture. Most of them will be commissioned within the coming year. Through new investments, a powerful impulse will be given to the chemical industry, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, irrigation in agriculture and especially the production of consumer goods, technical products and exports.

During the year 1989 which has just begun, a series of tasks of the 8th Five-year Plan will be fulfilled and new horizons will be opened up. Therefore, it is required that our people, workers and peasants, specialists and cadres work everywhere with a creative spirit, that they render greater account and help more with their economic thought, that all the people work with greater mobilization, initiative, discipline and control.

In 1989 our people will commemorate the 45th anniversary of their free life in socialism. In these years of the new life Albania has fully changed its face, and advanced in every direction. There is no greater

pleasure for the veteran communists and partisans, for those who fought and brought the country its freedom, as well as for the whole generations of the builders of socialism, than to see that their ideal lives on and flourishes in everything good we have, advances and is being handed over from generation to generation.

Let the great jubilee of the 45th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland be a special inspiration for new victories and achievements. Let us turn it into a year of all-round offensive, so that we work with persistence, fruitful organization and scientific knowledge for the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the planned tasks in all fields. Let the working class, with the revolutionary spirit characterizing it, give rise to large-scale emulation all over the country, with the aim of supplying the people with more material and spiritual blessings. Let our peasantry, inspired by the decisions of the 6th Congress of the Agricultural Cooperatives, turn 1989 into the year of a change for an unprecedented increase in agricultural and livestock products. Let the great jubilee of Liberation be for our writers and artists, our scientists and intelligentsia an incentive for new useful creations and works for the working people of our country.

Once again I wish you all, working people of town and countryside, cadres and leaders, women, youth and our dear children, militarymen who stand guard on the Homeland, a happy year full of successes, and a prosperous year. I extend my best wishes and greetings also to all our compatriots, wherever they are, whose ardent support and love for socialist Albania has never been lacking.

A Happy New Year, dear sisters and brothers!

THE 6th CONGRESS OF COOPERATIVES

COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA AND OTHERS STATE

From 21 to 25 November 1988, amidst a high revolutionary enthusiasm, the 6th Congress of the Agricultural Cooperatives held its proceedings in the Palace of Congresses in Tirana.

Representatives of the Albanian cooperativist peasantry, farmers and livestock - raisers, distinguished cadres and experts from all the districts of the country, came to this assembly with victories scored in the development and strengthening of the cooperativist order according to the teachings of the Party and the beloved and unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, bringing to this assembly the spirit of optimism of all the cooperativists and the agricultural workers to implement in practice the directives of the 9th Congress of the Party and the instructions of Comrade Ramiz Alia for the uninterrupted advance of our socialist agriculture and countryside.

At 9 o'clock of the 21st of November, the delegates and the guests in the Congress hall broke out into applause and ovations to greet the appearance on the tribune of the Congress of Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly. The Political Bureau, consisting of Comrades Adil Çarçani, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Çami, Hajredin Çeliku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Çuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, Kiço Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, Qirjako Mihalë, and Vangjel Çërrava, took their places on the tribune.

On the tribune there were also members of the working presidium of the Congress and heads of foreign delegations, who came to attend the proceedings of the Congress: the delegation of the Peasants' League of Vietnam, headed by Can Ngean, the delegation of the Agricultural Committee of Korea, headed by Kim Jong Chne, the delegation of the National Leadership of Cuban Small Peasants, headed by Benjamin Rejs, the delegation of the Union of Cooperatives of Tanzania, headed by Shehe Hamad Khemis.

Personalities, friends and well-wishers from Greece, Egypt, Italy and Turkey, also, were present at the Congress.

Apart from the delegates, members of the Central Committee of the Party, of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and of the Government, veterans, heroes of socialist labour, cooperativists, representatives of the working class, the intelligentsia, cadres of the organs of the Party, the state and the mass organizations, were also invited to attend the Congress.

The Congress was opened by the Hero of Socialist Labour, chairman of the agricultural cooperative of Poshnja, in the district of Berat, Kristaq Gjata.

The delegates unanimously approved the following agenda of the proceedings of the Congress:

1. Report «We must strengthen and perfect the cooperativist order to increase production and the prosperity of the socialist countryside»;
2. Contributions to the discussion of the report;
3. Endorsement of the documents of the Congress.

The rules for the proceedings of the Congress were also approved.

The Congress hall resounded with powerful ovations for the Party, when, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, the Congress was greeted by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Ramiz Alia.

Comrade delegates,

The attention of our whole society today is focussed on your Congress, which will draw up the balance of the achievements and discuss the prospects of the cooperativist movement. This interest is only natural, because agriculture represents the main source of food of the people and one of the fundamental activities of the independent economic development of the country.

It is a special pleasure for me to express from this tribune the ardent greetings and the best wishes of the Central Committee of our Party of Labour to you and the whole of our patriotic and tireless peasantry, the masters of large-scale socialist production.

THE AGRICULTURAL ACTIVES

ER LEADERS OF THE PARTY AND ATTEND

I express the conviction that your Congress, having the line of the Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha for the socialist transformation of the countryside and the modernization of agriculture as a guide, will play a very important role in raising the cooperativist movement and our agriculture to a new and higher level of development.

Your Congress is prepared with the participation of the entire peasantry. The discussion of the draft-statute by the masses, the many opinions that were expressed and the many proposals that were made for the strengthening of the cooperatives are of great assistance for crowning your mission with complete success. This discussion was also a clear expression of our socialist democracy.

In our country, the key problems of policy and development are freely discussed at public meetings, as they are discussed in the family, too. This stems from the unity of interests and the common aim that inspires the members of our society. The Party and the people in close unity find solutions to all problems, because they have the same concern. In this close unity and in the militant efforts to forge ahead our unity is tempered, the line of the Party enriched and the feeling of collective responsibility for the fate of socialism and the revolution strengthened.

The setting out of the countryside on the road of the new life represents one of the greatest historic victories of our socialist revolution. In the decades of the epoch of the Party all our country has been and continues to be in a process of constant change, but the revolution has developed with greater intensity in the countryside than in any other field. In this period an all-round transformation has taken place there: the character of ownership has changed, the nature has been transformed, the life of the people has prospered and their way of thinking has been emancipated.

The cooperativist order in Albania is deeply rooted in the consciousness of people, in the coun-

tryside as well as in the city. The agricultural workers see their happiness and well-being, their present and future, indivisible from the common property. With us collectivism is an affirmed order in all its aspects, which is fully integrated in our socio-economic system, and constitutes an organic part of our new life.

The historic experience of socialism shows that continuity on the road of cooperativism has become a touchstone of the continuity on the road of the revolution. Denigration of its values and achievements on the part of the revisionists of the Eastern countries began precisely with the liquidation of the achievements in the field of collectivization. Socialist property in agriculture has been totally abandoned; it has been proclaimed a failure and incapable of coping with the demands of present-day development. Now, however, when decades have gone by since the commencement of the revisionist process, the time has passed its stern judgements. There where solutions were sought in the return to private property, difficulties in agricultural production not only did not decrease, but on the contrary, multiplied and led to inevitable social conflicts.

Our practice of socialist construction in the countryside gives the lie to all the accusations levelled against the cooperativist order. It shows that the cause of failures in agriculture lies not in the Leninist idea of cooperation, but in the revision and abandonment of it.

The merit of the Party of Labour and Comrade Enver Hoxha lies in the fact that they have seen cooperativism as a broad popular movement and a revolutionary action of the masses of the countryside to build a better and more prosperous life. They have implemented the Leninist idea in a creative manner, taking into consideration the concrete conditions and traditions of our country. Hence, in the struggle and work for the socialist construction in the countryside, a new phase of development of cooperativism has prepared the next higher phase.

The road traversed by the cooperativist order in Albania is full of innovative solutions.

Transition from smaller collective economics to larger ones, creation of higher-type cooperatives and combination of relations of the property of the group with state property, the initiative of setting up small herds and plots, as well as many other socio-economic processes that have taken place in our agriculture, are some of the original solutions which have exerted a direct influence on the growth of production and the strengthening of socialist relations in the countryside. They represent a valuable contribution to the theory of the socialist transformation of the countryside.

In all its work for the development of agriculture and the transformation of the countryside our Party has proceeded from the Marxist thesis that the agrarian policy is, in essence, a social class policy. It expresses the relations between the working class and the peasantry, between city and countryside, industry and agriculture, the obligations of different classes towards society and towards each other, which, taken together, make up the foundation of the social and economic unity of the country.

The correctness of the policy of the Party in all fields and more so in the agrarian field, emerges clearly when conclusions are drawn from comparisons which refer to processes extending for a long period of time. And now we can make these comparisons, because cooperativism which makes up the essence of the policy of the Party for the countryside, has developed and prospered for more than forty years remaining always dynamic and fresh.

We have a modern agriculture based on up-to-date sciences and technologies, mechanized and chemicalized, with an irrigation system that covers the whole territory of the country, an agriculture capable of securing high yields. We have a well-organized agriculture which realizes the extended reproduction in ever increasing proportions. Production has increased up to 4 to 6 billion leks from one five-year period to the other. In the last twenty years income per hectare of arable land has increased about 3 700 leks. Agriculture today yields 800 leks of production more than in 1965, although the population has almost doubled.

It is more than a decade that all the bread of the people and more than 85 per cent of food-stuffs are produced in the country. Our agriculture today yields annually about 900 kg of produce per capita of population, as against about 600 kg it produced in the 1960s. It supplies one million tons of primary materials, without

including cereals, only to the food-processing and light industries. Although the work force in agriculture has increased by more than 300 000 persons, in the two last decades, the social productivity of the labour power has steadily increased. This is explained with the fact that in the period between the two last congresses of the agricultural cooperatives the investments made for the development of the productive forces in agriculture have been 4 times as great as the whole period of time from the beginning of the collectivization to 1968.

These achievements are the result of the work and toil of the peasantry, they are the result of the assistance of the socialist state and the concern of the society as a whole for agriculture. They indicate the strength and efficiency of the cooperativist order, and the collective ownership and work.

A retrospective view on the road followed shows that for many years and whole decades our collectivized agriculture has had to carry the main weight not only in securing the food of the people, but also in the socialist accumulation. Part of industries and other branches of the economy have been financed by agriculture, and the overwhelming part of the working class itself has emerged from the countryside.

Our peasantry, which is closely linked with the work and has a high sense of collectivity and progress, has shouldered this burden and carried out this task with a high sense of responsibility. Of course, this is connected with the tireless work of the Party for the ideological formation of our peasantry, as well as with some characteristic peculiarities of the peasantry. As Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out on many occasions, in the conditions of our historical development the Albanian peasantry has closely linked the struggle for the land with the struggle for national independence and for the advance of the whole country. Hence, in the people's revolution and the socialist transformation of the country, too, it could cope easily with the individualistic mentalities and preconceptions fostered by small property.

It is known that in the National Liberation War the peasantry linked itself closely with the Party and became the main reserve of manpower for the partisan army and its secure shelter. But in the epoch of the socialist construction, too, it has followed and continues to follow the road of the Party faithfully.

From the stand-point of sense of duty at work and the spirit of sacrifice, our cooperati-

vist peasantry does not lag behind the working class. It is not just a simple ally, but a worthy collaborator of it, which has played and continues to play a decisive economic role for the all-round advance of Albania.

Beginning from 1971, the net contribution of agriculture as a whole to society, including the production of cooperatives and state farms, reaches up to more than 20 billion leks. During this period about one third of all the state investments of the country have been coped with by non-returnable accumulations which have been provided by the agricultural cooperatives.

These successes would lose their significance were the growth of the contribution of agriculture to the people and the economy not accompanied also by the rise in the standard of living of the peasantry and the accumulations in the cooperatives. One-sidedness in these relations would be dangerous and would have inevitable social consequences. But the Party has never allowed such a thing to happen.

Life has proved that the income which agriculture gives for society has increased hand in hand with the income per work force and per capita of the peasant population. This has resulted in the constant improvement of the well-being in the rural area, which also constitutes the fundamental criterion to verify the correctness of the policy followed in the relations between society and group property, and between the peasantry and the other working masses.

Results over many years show that, in the last analysis, an increasingly greater amount of the net product in terms of the specific proportion has remained and continues to remain in the cooperatives for consumption and accumulation, although in absolute figures, their contribution to the general interest of the economy not only has not been affected, but on the contrary, has increased. If in the years 1966-1970 the cooperatives put aside about 25 per cent of their net product for state funds, this figure has gradually been reduced and now it accounts for about 15 per cent of it.

It is impossible to express more clearly in the language of economic figures the tendency to filling the gap of distinctions between city and the rural area. The line of the Party has always been aimed at strengthening the political alliance between the two fundamental classes of society, the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, by means of their economic alliance through a number of relations and through cooperation of mutual benefit.

Dear comrades,

If in the analysis of our experience and achievements, as we are doing at this Congress, we find arguments and synthesized data which confirm the vitality of the road we have followed, we mention them as an encouragement for our work and struggle for the strengthening of the cooperativist order, and as a recommendation which stems from our practice of socialist construction.

The development of our agriculture relies strongly on the vitality of cooperativism and the patriotism of our peasantry. We must hold on to these factors as strongly as we can in order to increase our agricultural and livestock production more and more, because the needs of the people and the requirements of the economy keep increasing. In the present conditions of the development of the country the need for the intensification of agricultural production becomes still more acute, by imparting a powerful impulse to the increase in yields, both of field crops and livestock products.

Unalterable in the policy of the Party remains the task for the local production of the bread of the people. Today, however, the increase of the production of bread grain is set as the main task of our agriculture, not only in regard to bread, but also in order to meet the needs of livestock-raising industry and the creation of reserves. The 3rd Plenum of the Central Committee set many tasks in the production of food-stuffs.

A real change must be made in the production of industrial crops in order to guarantee the normal functioning of the processing industry and ease the weight of imports. As to fruit-growing, there are possibilities to double and treble both production and yields within few years.

The struggle for production must be carried out in close connection with the struggle for the protection and efficient administration of products, and the increase of the effectiveness of expenditure that is made for them. In this direction not only the agricultural workers, but also those working in industry, trade and transport have to shoulder great tasks.

The change for good that has begun in livestock-raising, must be consolidated and taken further ahead. The potential already created in cattle, sheep and goat raising enables us to expand and regenerate the fundamental herds that the task set to solve once and for all times the problem of meeting the needs of the people for



milk, milk products and meat, should be carried out more quickly.

In the concentrated herds, there where the number of animals per unit land is good, possibilities exist to increase production mainly through increasing yields. As to the smaller herds, the brigades themselves should decide how they will meet their needs for livestock products better and more rapidly: through the increase of the head of animals, the increase of yields, or in both ways, at the same time. In livestock-raising, both in the concentrated herds and in the small herds, there is much room for improvements in their structure, too. Science and advanced experience show that there where a cow is kept, 4-5 head of sheep and goats can and should be kept, too, without interfering with one another. Increase in the head of animals and in yields should lead everywhere to the efficient utilization of the food-producing possibilities of the land and the productive capacities of livestock.

Increase of agricultural production calls for more living work on the part of the peasantry and more fruitful organization of it, as well as the contribution of science, especially in regard to seeds, in order to ensure high productive strains with better adaptation to the ecological conditions of the country, as well as stronger reliance on the existing material and technical base. Our agriculture has not lacked this support to this day, either, but it must be intensified in accordance with the new requirements.

For this purpose the Party has instructed the state and planning organs that, in the distribution of investments and hard currency sources, they should keep better account of the needs of agriculture, both for the present and the future. It is necessary to proceed more rapidly in the regeneration and expansion of farming machinery, while the chemical industry, with the new projects which are being built and through the complete exploitation of the existing productive capacities, should respond better to the requirements of the intensified agriculture with chemical fertilizers.

Especially great investments are being made on irrigation, with the aim of providing solutions both to the requirements for water according to scientific norms, and to those of drainage. At the same time measures must be taken for the full utilization of the existing capacities of our water conservancy systems, because about one third of the amount of water is still wasted today.

In the present conditions the possibilities

have been created for industry to make a greater contribution to agriculture and the countryside. Our plans envisage an increase of production for agriculture by some branches of industry. Industry, with its sources of accumulation, will enable the society to allot more and more material and financial means to the intensification and the extension of agricultural production in all zones, and to stepping up the rates for narrowing the distinctions between city and the rural area.

The developments expected for the next year in agriculture require work and investments. But this alone is not enough. As in every other field, in agriculture, too, the limit of the development of the productive forces is greatly dependent on the level of the relations in production. Therefore, as the popular discussion which preceded this congress showed, in order to further strengthen cooperativism, in order to increase the effectiveness at work and to encourage the creative initiative of the peasantry, it is necessary that, along with the strengthening of the material-technical base, improvements and perfections should be made in the economic relations.

As is known, the relations in production, in general, are more slow to change than the productive forces. But this should not be an excuse for rigid stands, passivity, and conservatism in the treatment of them. Of course, the relations in production would not tolerate any kind of tests with them, without first weighing up everything carefully, especially from the social and class aspect. Any haste, any manifestation of amateurishness in this field could have undesirable political and social consequences. But this care, however, should not be transformed into timidity, and we must guard against marking time with this excuse. In that case we would be going against the requirements which the development of society raises, we would be impeding progress.

During the discussion the cooperativists expressed their opinion on the socialist relations in production with maturity and in the party spirit. They suggested that the improvement of the relations in production should be extended to cover not only the sphere of organization and management, but also the methodology of planning, the retribution of the working people and the collaboration with the state and with the other economic organizations.

The working masses are those who fulfil the plans, who have direct contact with production, who are the first to feel the need for changes. Therefore, their voice should be respected. The

increase of production cannot be ensured without setting in motion the energies of the masses as we should, without enlivening the initiative of the base, without giving the cooperatives more competences, without combating the manifestations of bureaucracy. In order to do this it is necessary to make a critical review of a series of normative acts, regulations and methods which have grown obsolete and which now inhibit the initiative of the agricultural cooperatives, to correct some prejudgements, according to which the property of the group can be handled in the same way and according to the same mechanisms as the state property.

The perfection of the relations of production must be aimed at achieving the best possible harmonization of the different interests. In no case should the motive force of the general interest be pushed to the background, but, as the Party has always stressed, the interests of the group and the individual, too, must be taken into consideration.

Our people who have work as their only source of existence, do not ask for unearned compensation, but they are susceptible to what is their due, as well. In this connection, as the report which was delivered here suggested, in the cooperatives it is necessary to make changes as regards the system of remuneration of work, so as to encourage the increase of the agricultural and livestock production. The fact is that in many cases people working in agriculture are paid for work they have not actually done just as there are instances of unreasonable levelling, which is the consequence of weaknesses in check-up and excesses in redistribution.

The reasons given by the cooperativists and the proposals which were presented to this congress as regards the more correct ratio of remuneration with the amount of work and making it conditional on the quantity and quality of work, will encourage the advanced and will avoid the possibility of the backward to profit from the former.

The ever better fulfilment of the people's requirements for consumer goods is another powerful stimulus. To this end the cooperativist families have been allowed to use their personal plot of land. Naturally, the time and the development of the cooperatives have brought about changes in regard to this question, too. Somewhere the small personal plot does not exist at all, somewhere else it is limited and tends to disappear. In these conditions, with the initiative of the peasantry, new and more ad-

vanced forms, as is the creation of small herds and small plots of the brigade for the fulfilment of the needs and requirements of the cooperativists, emerged, which are based on the property of the group.

Under the new statute, the brigades will be organized, in general on a village basis. In this manner their small herds and plots, assuming the character of a collective plot and herd, will ensure the solution of the problem of supplying the peasantry with livestock products and with vegetables.

The Party is convinced that in order to stimulate the growth of production and the initiative of the cooperativist peasantry, and in order to ensure the most thorough utilization of the existing reserves, it is necessary that the competences of the cooperatives in the field of planning of the agricultural economy be extended. Now they have many years of experience of organization and are in a position to use cooperativist democracy with effect. Meanwhile, the structure of agricultural production have been consolidated and yields have been stabilized. This creates the possibility for a more fruitful combination of centralism and democracy, not just by extending some competences, which today belong to the state organs but by going over more rapidly towards the generalization of the experiment which is being applied with success in recent years for the planning of the agricultural and livestock production mainly on the basis of what is handed in.

The plan and norms which regulate the exchange of products must enable the cooperatives to realize greater production and income. From this aspect, it is in the interest of the peasants, but also of the citizens, that the cooperatives should market the agricultural and livestock products and the produce which they get from their personal plots at reasonable prices. Trade and collaboration among the cooperatives should and could be used more extensively.

The strengthening of relations between the state and the cooperatives requires that the differentiation of purchase prices and sale prices for means of production and the charges for services in the mountainous and hilly zones should be further deepened. The aim is that the economic levers should be used in these zones in order to stimulate the development of agricultural production overall. Studies should be made to bring the level of profitability between the agricultural produce and that of the livestock production still closer.

In the territory of the countryside there are many natural riches which are property of the state but which can be effectively utilized by the cooperatives. It is in our interest that such assets as fishing grounds, by-products of forests, limestone and other building material, should be included more widely into the economic circulation, by entering contracts of sale with the state enterprises. Through their own funds, as well as with state credits, the cooperatives have the possibility to increase activities of an industrial or a handicraft character. In this manner, a real production complex will be gradually created in the countryside, the natural riches will be utilized more extensively and the resources and income will be extended, especially in the zones with little land and with difficult climatic conditions.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed that agriculture should be the concern of everybody. This instruction of our unforgettable leader will always remain in the centre of attention of the Party and the state. Therefore, our socialist state will increase its solicitude for the economic and social requirements of the countryside. The party organizations will step up their work to ensure that the policy of the Party for the growth of production and the advance of the socialist countryside is implemented correctly everywhere. They will mobilize the educational and cultural potential of the cooperativists, the mass organizations and the intelligentsia of the countryside more thoroughly so that they emerge in the forefront of the struggle for the new, for science and technology, for the dissemination of the advanced experience.

Dear comrades,

We are building our country, we are developing our economy and perfecting the social relations in definite internal and international conditions. Certainly, the advance of socialism in Albania depends on our own work, on our will, on our creative abilities. We base everything on our forces, on our wealth, on our toil and our minds. But we do not exist in isolation from the world, we live in it and are part of it. Therefore, what happens in the world, in this way or that, influences us; too; helps or impedes our advance in this measure or that.

That is the reason why the Party and the state attentively follow the developments in the world and adopt the necessary measures for the defence of the freedom and independence of the Homeland, for ensuring the peaceful work of

our people, for implementing a foreign policy in conformity with the lofty interests of the country and in order to make our positive contribution to the strengthening of peace and general security.

The situation in the world today is very complex. It is not clear in what direction the various tendencies which confront and clash fiercely with one another will develop. Nevertheless, there is no cause to be pessimistic. We believe in the strength of the peoples and in their will for freedom and national independence, to oppose imperialism and any social oppression, to avoid war and to defend peace.

But there is no reason to lower our vigilance, either, although there is much talk about a slight easing of tension in the world, about a tendency among the big towards political maturity and their desire for peace, and so on. If we were to believe that the state policies are no longer determined by the social system and their chiefs are not the spawns of this system, only then could we accept that we are facing a change in the international relations, a change towards understanding and confidence among allies and opponents. But we cannot proceed from illusions on our judgements. The hopes for the future of peace and general security cannot be based on the will or the sound judgement of Reagan and Gorbachov. Of course, the Soviet-American relations, the rivalry and the confrontation between the superpowers determine, in many directions, the exacerbation or the calm of the situations, therefore it is no one's wish that they should grow worse. But this does not mean that the peoples should leave their destinies and the destiny of the international relations in the hands of the United States of America and the Soviet Union and expect what they decide.

It has been and is our view that the other states and nations, big or small, should not and cannot accept to be left out or expelled from the construction of the international relations, they should not renounce their undeniable right and the historic obligation which they have to fight and make their contribution to the peaceful settlement of the world. The united efforts, desires and will of the peoples should be decisive in the lowering of tension and the creation of the real spirit of understanding and mutual confidence among the peoples. Precisely this must be that main factor which does not allow space for the spread of the expansionist and hegemonic ambitions of the superpowers.

Our Party, our country, have been and are

for the strengthening of peace and international security. They have made and continue to make their contribution through their active and constructive policy, with the staunch opposition to the aggressive and war-mongering plans of imperialism, with their criticism and exposure of the betrayal and opportunism of the revisionists, with their solidarity and internationalist support which they give the revolutionary and liberation struggles, with their defence of Marxim-Leninism.

Socialist Albania has been and is for good neighbour relations with the countries which encircle it. It has made efforts for the creation of an atmosphere and conditions as favourable as possible, for the improvement of the situation in the Balkans, for overcoming the obstacles which lie on the road of the affirmation of its peoples, for greater collaboration and for the strengthening of security in it.

The Conference of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Balkan Countries made an important step towards beginning an encouraging dialogue between the Balkan countries. It showed that there are many possibilities for understanding and collaboration, touching on, to the extent that was possible in the beginning of a long road, problems which at the present time impede the development of the Balkan relations, which are not insolvable.

We went to the conference in a constructive spirit and we will work in this same direction in the future. We are conscious that many problems have been accumulated in the Balkans in the course of history. We think that they can be surmounted through political wisdom and with a clear view of the prospects, with understanding of the common interests and by discarding the old mentalities.

Stability of the Balkans, in general, and of each individual country in it should be preserved. Of course, it is the duty of the Balkan countries, in the first place, to work towards this, since this stability is for the common good.

Proceeding from this criterion, socialist Albania develops with success the relations of good neighbourhood with Greece and Turkey, with Bulgaria and Romania, and makes efforts to create the same positive atmosphere with Yugoslavia.

The great difficulties through which Yugoslavia is going, the grave economic crisis, the complicated political situation and the national quarrels are known. Of course Albania is not responsible for this situation. We have not in-

tervened and do not intervene in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, we do not encourage the unrest there, we do not support any anti-Yugoslav reactionary force there. We are interested in the stability, the independence and freedom of this neighbour country. But we cannot sit without expressing ourselves and without exposing what is happening to the Albanians there.

At present, under the pretext of the settlement of the question of Serbia and the fight against the so-called irredentism, demands are being made that the autonomy and the rights which the present Yugoslav Constitution recognizes to Kosova and to all the Albanians there should be curtailed, which is a step backwards, that they should be put back to the conditions which existed in the time of Ranković, with all its consequences. These demands for a retrogression cannot be described as anything else but political and national discrimination. Such acts serve neither the stability of Yugoslavia itself, peace and security in the Balkans, nor the efforts which are being made in Europe to strengthen confidence and collaboration among the various countries.

Socialist Albania will always consistently follow its policy of peace and friendship with all those who want to have relations with us. Proceeding resolutely on our socialist road, we must not forget, comrades, the instructions of the Party to watch the situations which are created in the world every day and to live with them, in order to continually enhance our revolutionary vigilance, this powerful weapon for the defence of freedom and independence, and our socialist victories.

Dear comrades,

The Party is confident that this Congress will be a powerful impulse to strengthen and raise cooperativism still higher, to make our socialist life more prosperous.

The next year is the year of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland. Let this glorious jubilee serve for a still greater mobilization of the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, the intelligentsia and the youth, for the fulfilment of all tasks on all fronts. Let the next year become a year of work with a spirit of attack, with great actions and achievements in industry and agriculture, in education and culture, and in the strengthening of the defence of the country.

Long live our cooperativist peasantry, the outstanding fighter for the socialist construction!

Long live our heroic Party!

Glory to the life-giving work of Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech was followed with great attention and was often punctuated by applause.

In the name of the delegates to the Congress, the comrade in charge of the proceedings for this sitting thanked Comrade Ramiz Alia for the warm greetings he addressed to the Congress, for the high assessments he made of the work of the cooperativist peasantry in its efforts for the further strengthening of our people's economy, for its great contribution to the advance and prosperity of our sacred socialist Homeland.

«Your speech, Comrade Ramiz,» said he, «is a programme of work for us, which opens up new horizons, multiplies our forces and builds up our confidence in the attainment of ever higher results, for marching always forward on the road of Enver, on which our glorious Party, with you at the head, leads us.»

Then the floor was given to the Minister of Agriculture, Themie Thomai, member of the Initiatory Committee for the calling of the Congress, who delivered the report, in which, among other things, she said:

«The representatives of the cooperativist peasantry from all corners of our socialist country have gathered today in the 6th Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives to draw up a balance of their achievements and to set new tasks with the aim of strengthening and further improving the cooperativist order so that our socialist agriculture will forge ahead on its course of ceaseless development.

«This Congress is a marked event not only for the working people of agriculture but also for our whole people. The cooperativist peasantry comes to this great convention firmly united around the Party, in close alliance with the working class and ready to undertake new tasks and commitments.

«Included like all the working people of our country in the powerful revolutionary movement «Banner-bearers of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, fighters for the implementation of the decisions of the 9th Congress of the Party», the cooperativist peasantry has engaged in daily actions and has mobilized itself with all its might to fulfil the 8th Five-year Plan, the accomplishment of which will serve as a sound base from which to achieve higher levels of development and progress in the future.

«Four decades have passed since the time when, in conformity with the program worked out by the Party on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Enver launched the slogan of the collectivization of agriculture as the only alternative

to draw our peasantry out of their profound backwardness and to rescue them for ever from the savage feudal bourgeois oppression and exploitation, by setting them on the brilliant road of socialism,» said Comrade Themie Thomai.

«The creation and ceaseless progress of the cooperativist order in Albania is a monumental work of the Party. As Comrade Ramiz Alia has pointed out, in our agriculture, «profound revolutions have been carried out which we have been accustomed to simply call revolutionary transformations. In this revolution, as in the war, our peasantry has always been an overwhelming force to carry them through, always in the forefront, always ready to undertake new great tasks and determined to apply consistently the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha.»

«Although in difficult conditions and facing urgent tasks to increase agricultural and livestock production, the Party has not been hasty in pursuing and applying its agrarian policy which has responded to the interests of the peasantry and the socialist construction of the country. The fact that in our country it took more than 20 years to complete the collectivization of agriculture (1946-1966) is clear evidence of the consistency with which the principle of the free will and persuasion of the peasantry has been applied. The Party has always been prudent and careful about this fundamental question. It has never confused its desires with the real possibilities, has never skipped stages and has done everything at the proper time.

«The cooperative system was born and is developing in our country with the all-round economic, material and technical support of the socialist state. As Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «the question is not essentially that agricultural cooperatives should be formed. After this the most important thing is that production there should be organized with modern means.» To this end the socialist state has made and is making large direct investments in agriculture, as well as investments for setting up and strengthening those branches of industry which support the increase of production and the development of the cooperativist order. The setting up of machine and tractor stations, the investments for land improvement and protection, and for irrigation, the plants for the production of chemical fertilizers, insecticides, pesticides and plastic products, the provision of selected seeds, pedigree livestock and credits, the setting up of schools and scientific institutes for agriculture, etc. serve this purpose. In this way, Lenin's great idea that each social order emerges only with the all-round support of a given class is being realized in practice.

«In this process the working class and the cooperativist peasantry forge their alliance as a pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In our country the peasantry is not simply an ally of the working class but its worthy cofighter in the construction of the new socialist society. The victories of the revolution are dear to it, therefore, it resolutely defends the people's state power and the socialist Homeland. Embodied in all the

great achievements of the epoch of the Party, in the socialist industrialization of the country, in the increase of accumulation and the rise in the material and cultural well-being of the people, is the thinking, the toil and the sweat of the industrious and patriotic cooperativist peasantry.

«Our revolutionary experience is indisputable proof of the universal validity of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, that the agrarian question can be solved correctly only in the conditions of the complete socialist collectivization. The cooperativist order in Albania, built through the ideological clarity and wise policy of the Party of Labour and Comrade Enver Hoxha has demonstrated and is demonstrating day by day its vitality, superiority and great advantages, its inexhaustible reserves and possibilities for the development of agriculture and the progress of the countryside.

«Today the cooperativist system includes 460 economies of large-scale production, which use 75 per cent of the land under crops, have more than 80 per cent of the livestock and a considerable proportion of other means of production. The cooperatives produce about three quarters of the total livestock and agricultural production. An important base in our agriculture is occupied also by the state farms as higher forms of the socialist organization of agriculture, which serve or should serve as examples for modern large-scale and intensified production.

«Just during the last 20 years, since the 5th Congress of the Agricultural Cooperatives, in the cooperativist sector more than 300 000 hectares of new land have been broken in and the area under irrigation has increased by another 110 000 hectares, so that over the whole country about 60 per cent of the arable land is under irrigation. About 250 000 persons have been added to the labour force in cooperatives. The number of tractors has been doubled and the engineering industry in the service of agriculture has been extended. Likewise, the quality of enameled fertilizers and pesticides has been increased. The number of cadres has been tripled. The new advances of science and modern technology have been applied more widely.

«All these things have enabled agricultural production to ensure a higher level of independence from the influence of weather conditions. This has been proved especially in these recent years of exceptional drought which in other conditions would have had extremely grave consequences and would have upset the whole economy and the life of the people. On this basis the agriculture in our country, which in the past could not keep a population of about 1 million inhabitants in maize bread even for six months, has achieved the historic victory that today it secures all the grain and other food products for a population of more than 3 million, supplies the food-stuffs industry and the light industry with raw materials, and makes a valuable contribution to increasing the country's exports.

«At no time has the Party divided the development and progress of the system of cooperation from the

struggle to make the life of the working people of the countryside happier and more prosperous. Like our entire people, the cooperativist peasantry enjoys the fruits of its free labour liberated from any kind of oppression or exploitation. Today about 80 per cent of the cooperativist families live in new houses. Other great victories are the extension everywhere of schooling and the health service free of charge, the extension of the network of shops, communal and handicraft services, the complete electrification of the countryside, the provision of drinking water which will be completed for all the villages within the year 1990, the linking of the villages with the telephone system, motor roads and so on.

«All these great transformations and historic achievements are a confirmation and a brilliant defence of the theses of Lenin on collectivization and the complete exposure of the denial of their value by the modern revisionists.

«As is known, after the Second World War a number of countries of people's democracy set out on the road of the collectivization of agriculture. However, as a result of the revisionist betrayal, in those countries this process was left half completed or abandoned completely. The collective farms, cooperatives or communes had been badly discredited and now any trace of collectivization has been destroyed. To get out of the blind alley they have entered, the revisionists have found no alternative other than that of going back to the fragmentation of the collective property and the restoration of private property in the countryside. However, it is not Lenin's ideas on collectivization which are to blame for all the misfortune and failures which these countries have suffered in agriculture, but precisely the revisionists' distortion and denial of Lenin's ideas. The course which they are pursuing is the course of the restoration of capitalism, exploitation and class differentiation, of that order for the overthrow of which the working class and working peasantry rose in revolution.

«Our reality has proved in theory and practice that the cooperativist order is a dynamic order full of life and vigour, in ceaseless movement and development.

«Putting into practice the ideas of Comrade Enver Hoxha, and the decisions and directives of the 6th Congress of the Party, in the zone with suitable conditions of land and climate, the higher-type cooperatives were set up as an original and more advanced form of the cooperativist order. The direct participation of the state with productive investments and other technical and material financial means necessary for the more rapid increase of agricultural and livestock production in these cooperatives, gave a powerful impulse to their development as large-scale intensified socialist economies. Along with this the socialist relations were raised to a higher stage, thus contributing to the preparation of conditions for gradually bringing the property of the group closer to the property of the whole people.»

Then, Comrade Themie Thomai pointed out that «agriculture has played and continues to play a very important role in the entire process of the construction of socialism. The well-being of the people, the progress of productive forces over the whole country, the enhancement of the self-action of the economy and the strengthening of the defence potential of the Homeland, are dependent on the development of agriculture. Closely linked with this development are the narrowing of distinctions between town and countryside, the extension of the internal market and the further consolidation of the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry.

«The agricultural cooperative has been set up and developed as a socialist economy, founded on the property of the group and the joined labour of its members. The organizational and management structure, the economic relations within the cooperative, and those between it and the state, have been built on this basis.

«In our socialist economy, which functions as a single entity, and is developed in a planned way, many-sided relationships are established between the state and the agricultural cooperatives. They have been continually expanded and perfected and have responded to the implementation of the tasks presented by the Party for the development and progress of the countryside. In the present conditions, however, in connection with these relations, problems which require more rational solutions have emerged in order to harmonize the interests of the cooperativists better with those of the state.

«The enthusiasm and revolutionary atmosphere which the summoning of the 6th Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives aroused among all the working people of agriculture, the decisions which it will take and the tasks which it will set, based on the line of the Party and the directives of its 9th Congress, will radiate powerfully in the ceaseless development and progress of agriculture and the new socialist countryside.»

The third session was entirely devoted to the discussion of the report.

On the second day the Congress continued its work in three sections: the section for the increase of the agricultural and livestock production; the section for the perfection of organization and management; and the section for the improvement of supplies and raising the well-being in the countryside. Discussions in these sections centered on the essential questions of the further development of our cooperativist order. They were an interesting continuation of the plenary sessions of the Congress. At the 6th session of the Congress, the vice-minister of Agriculture, Stefan Qirjako, presented the conclusions from the discussion in sections.

On the third day, in the interval of the 6th session, Comrade Ramiz Alia came down to the hall of the Palace of Congresses to meet the delegates from various districts of the country. He cordially greeted veterans of agriculture, farmers and stockraisers, cadres and experts, young men and women, who hastened

around him. Comrade Ramiz Alia was photographed amidst the delegates.

Next after the discussion, the Congress went on with the examination of the third and last point of the agenda: the endorsement of the documents of the Congress.

The delegates unanimously endorsed the report to the Congress «We must strengthen and perfect the cooperativist order to increase production and the prosperity of the socialist countryside,» submitted by the Minister of Agriculture, Themie Thomai. The delegates then proceeded with the Statute of the Agricultural Cooperatives, which was endorsed unanimously.

After hearing the Call of the 6th Congress of the Agricultural Cooperatives addressed to the working people, cooperativists, workers, mechanizers, managers of the agricultural economies and specialists, the delegates unanimously endorsed the document.

Comrade Vangjel Çërrava made the closing speech of the 6th Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives.

On the 23rd of November, on the occasion of the conclusion of the proceedings of the Congress, the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers put on a dinner.

Comrade Adil Çarçani greeted those present on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers.

The 6th Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives, which has just ended its proceedings with complete success, said he among other things, was a landmark not only for the cooperativist peasantry but also for the entire people of our country. It was a majestic Congress, in which our peasantry manifested once again with special strength the love for the Party and the steel unity round it, the vitality of the cooperativist order and the determination to proceed unswervingly on the socialist road of the development of agriculture, mapped out and shown by the Party and the glorious and unforgettable leader of our Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The tasks set by the Congress, and especially the very important speech by Comrade Ramiz Alia, constitute a broad working programme for the development and advance, today and in the future, of our socialist agriculture and countryside, and the economy of the country as a whole.

The Party, Comrade Adil Çarçani said winding up his speech, has complete confidence that our cooperativist peasantry, hard-working and patriotic as it is, the cadres and experts of agriculture, all the working people of the country, all together, raising still higher the spirit of mobilization, the creative and innovatory thinking, the level of organization and management for discovering and exploiting better the great reserves which exist and are continuously created by the cooperativist order, will throw themselves with a spirit of assault and with multiplied forces and energies into the work to carry out in full the major important tasks which the 6th Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives of our country has set.

THE 4th SESSION OF THE 11th LEGISLATURE

From 27-28 December the People's Assembly held its 4th Session of the 11th Legislature in Tirana.

The deputies and guests received with enthusiastic applause the entrance into the hall of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, and other Party and state leaders.

The session was opened by the chairman of the Standing Presidium of the People's Assembly, Petro Dode, who proposed the following agenda for the development of the proceedings:

1. Report of the Council of Ministers «On the fulfilment of the plan of 1988 and the main tasks of the draft-plan for the development of the economy and culture in 1989».

2. Report of the Council of Ministers «On the expected fulfilment of the state budget of 1988 and on the state draft-budget of 1989».

3. Draft-law «On the state plan for the development of the economy and culture of the PSR of Albania for 1989».

4. Draft-law «On the state budget for 1989».

5. Decrees issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

The deputies approved the agenda unanimously.

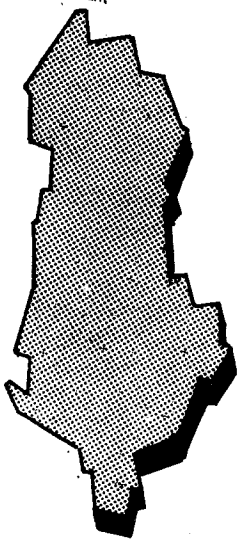
Then the floor was given to the chairman of the State Planning Commission, Niko Gjyzari, who reported on the first point on the agenda.

Among other things he said: Now that this year is coming to a close, from a realistic balance of our achievements and shortcomings, we can say that the

working class, the cooperativist peasantry and all the working people of the country, guided by the Party, have worked with high consciousness and mobilization in all fields, in order to overcome the difficulties which, as we know, were caused by the unfavourable conditions of the weather, by the consequences of the world economic crisis, and by shortages in materials and technique, especially in some branches of production. It is the merit of the line of the Party and a success of our social order that even in extremely difficult conditions of the weather and in moments when there are economic disturbances, social unrest and debts everywhere in the world, socialist Albania, without stretching its hand to anyone, is marching forward on its own forces and resources. The fact that social production is increasing, investments growing, social problems are put on the good road, and the independence of the country has been strengthened, has great importance.

The wholesome internal situation and the internationalist foreign policy of our state have further enhanced the prestige of socialist Albania in the international arena. The activities carried out during 1988 for the extension of links of collaboration in different fields, our constructive spirit at the Conference of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries and in other activities after it, constitute an undisputable expression of the many efforts which our state is making for the strengthening of peace, friendship, collaboration, and good neighbourliness with various countries and states of the world, especially with those of the Balkans.

FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY



RE OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY

During this year, Comrade Niko Gjyzari continued, the extended reproduction in industry and in other sectors of the economy, as a whole, was realized. The real income and the purchasing power of the working people marked a new rise, exports extended, the new working forces were normally employed, and some measures were applied in order to strengthen some special aspects of the socialist relations in production.

Steps forward were made also in the industrial processing of the riches of the country through the more thorough exploitation of the existing productive capacities and through the construction and commissioning of new capacities. The mining industry, especially that of the extraction and enrichment of copper, iron-nickel and coal, fulfilled the tasks of the plan and further extended the level of exploitation and processing of these minerals. Likewise the tasks were fulfilled and overfulfilled in the non-ferrous metallurgy, in the production of ferro-chrome, phosphatic fertilizers, copper wires and cables, by some working collectives of the engineering industry, the light and food-stuffs industries, etc. Efforts were made in black metallurgy, chemical industry, building materials industry, wood-working industry, which were close to the fulfilment of the plan. Conditions were created for a more rational and scientific exploitation of the water-power resources.

In agriculture the largest ever wheat production was taken this year. Achievements were made also in the development of transport, education, culture, health service, sciences and physical culture, in the perfection of the

socialist relations in production and in the fulfilment of the needs of the people for consumer goods and various services.

Speaking about the draft-plan for the development of the economy and culture in 1989, Comrade Niko Gjyzari pointed out, The draft-plan for 1989 envisages the harmonious and proportional development of the economy. Under this draft-plan, agriculture and industry, as two main branches of the economy, are envisaged to develop at rates higher than the other branches. National income will increase more rapidly than social product, the accumulation fund more rapidly than the consumption fund, and the product for society more rapidly than the product for oneself. In the development of industry for 1989, alongside the increase of production and the means of production at rapid rates, priority is given to the production of consumer goods. Against 1988, industrial production will increase 6.8 per cent, production of consumer goods 8.4 per cent, whereas the production of the means of production 6 per cent. Priority has been given to investments on the production of chrome and oil, which will have an increase of about 100 million leks in comparison with the 5-year period.

In 1989 overall agricultural production will increase by 16.9 per cent against 1988. The volume of investments in 1989, as compared to 1988, is envisaged to increase by 2.2 per cent, giving priority to the productive investments which will occupy more than 85 per cent of them. Under the draft-plan it is envisaged that work will be completed on a total of 90 projects, of which 77 are productive

projects, and 47 other projects will come into exploitation only in part. The draft-plan envisages that the export of goods will increase 19.6 per cent, whereas imports 11.6 per cent. Thus, the active balance of currency will be further strengthened and the fulfilment of the planned tasks will be guaranteed.

Winding up Comrade Niko Gjyzari said:

The year 1989 is the jubilee year of the 45th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland. All our working people, under the leadership of the Party will enhance their enthusiasm and mobilization at work in order to go to this festivity with their tasks fulfilled.

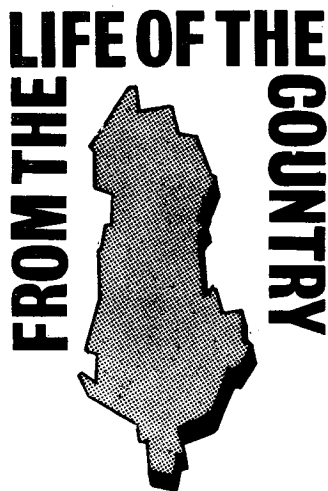
The report on the second point on the agenda was submitted by the Minister of Finances, Andrea Nako.

On behalf of the Standing Commission of the Plan and Budget at the People's Assembly, the report was submitted by the chairman of the commission, deputy Luan Muhameti.

Then the discussion of the reports of the Council of Ministers followed.

Then the deputies endorsed the Law «On the state plan for the development of the economy and culture of the PSR of Albania in 1989», and the Law «On the state budget of 1989», unanimously and in principle, article by article and as a whole. The decrees issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly were also approved unanimously.

After Petro Dode closed the proceedings of the session, the deputies and the guests applauded with enthusiasm.



COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA PARTICIPATED IN THE CELEBRATION OF NOVEMBER 8th AND PAID VISITS IN THE CITY OF KORÇA

On the occasion of November 8th, the 47th anniversary of the founding of the Party of Labour of Albania, the artistic groups of the «Ali Kelmendi» house of culture and popular creativeness of the city of Korça gave a festive concert in the evening of November 7th, at the «24 October» Sports Palace.

The people who had filled the palace full to capacity broke out into powerful applause and ovations when the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, came to participate in the concert.

He was accompanied by the first secretary of the Party Committee of the district, Pali Miska, and the chairman of the Executive Committee of the district People's Council, Gjergerji Krastafillaku.

The festive concert was opened with the song «The Party of Labour, the Party of the Brave». With partisan and patriotic songs, with the songs of the socialist construction, the artists sang to the struggle for the libera-

tion of the country, to the heroic deeds of the sons and daughters of the Party, who did not spare their lives for the freedom of the Homeland, to the patriotic traditions of our people, to our beloved glorious leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, to the happy life in the epoch of the Party.

A beautiful unforgettable moment was created in the hall when Comrade Ramiz Alia, amidst the applause of those present, handed the Party card to the miner of the «May 1» mine of Mborje-Drenova, «Hero of Socialist Labour».

«I wish you from my heart that you carry it with honour. Be brave, hard-working, wise, and honest as the Party is,» Comrade Ramiz Alia wished him and embraced him.

«United as One Around the Party» was the title of the song with which the concert was closed.

Comrade Ramiz Alia again met working people and youth. Amidst the general enthusiasm, he came down to the hall, shook hands with the artists of Korça, congratulating them on the fine concert and the high ideological level of their interpretation.

CONFIDENCE IN THE PARTY, IN SOCIALISM — THE MOTIVE FORCE OF PROGRESS

On the 7th of November, the Party Committee of Korça district put on a dinner at the «Illyria» Hotel.

Present were communists, veterans of the war and work, vanguard working people and leading cadres

from the economic enterprises, the agricultural cooperatives and various institutions, armymen and youth of the district.

There was great rejoicing in the hall, when the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, came among them.

The first secretary of the Party Committee of the district, Comrade Pali Miska, thanked Comrade Ramiz Alia for the great honour he had done by coming among them to celebrate the marked day of the 47th anniversary of the founding of the Party.

Comrade Ramiz Alia took the floor to greet those present.

«The creation of the Party,» said he among other things in his speech, «constitutes a radical change in the life of the Albanian people. Our Party was born as a necessity of the time. It was not a simple merger of a group of people with the same ideal. It was born in order to liberate the Homeland from thralldom, to give freedom to the country and to save the people from suffering, so that they could live as masters in their own lands.

«Our Party was born as a Party of action and struggle, as a Party which would restore to the people the freedom which they had been robbed of and bring a just social order. It was formed as a Party not only of the workers, but also of all the poor masses of our country. It captured the hearts of all patriotic Albanians who aspired for progress, who dreamed for a new life. This is the great «secret» why our people followed the communists.

«The enemies,» Comrade Ramiz Alia continued, «have resorted to every manner of means in order to fight out Party. They have tried to alienate the people from the communists. But the people, with their

great intuition knew how to distinguish between those who fought for their interests and those who tried to trample them underfoot. In the communists they saw those who would champion their cause, who would save Albania.

«Our Party has pursued an unswerving correct, revolutionary line because it has relied on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. When we began the war, the Albanian communists did not master the Marxist theory as today. But the Party and Comrade Enver taught them to love the Homeland, to love the people, to place nothing above them. We reached Marxism through the path of the war, through the revolution.

«The line of our Party is the line of transformations, which has brought about changes in each Albanian family,» Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out.

«When the country was liberated, it had one million inhabitants and yet it could ensure only half of the bread grain needed in one year, whereas today we are self-sufficient in bread grain and can provide food for more than 3 million inhabitants. This shows that the country has grown from poverty into prosperity. The struggle of the Party for the socialist transformation of the country has been a heroic struggle.

«Profound changes have been made not only in the material sphere but also in the spiritual world. No country can boast of a purer people, a purer youth, both morally and poli-

tically and ideologically, than our country. Our people cherish lofty ideals, have clear aims.

«The communist ideal is alive in Albania. I think that there is no greater joy for the veterans, for the generation that fought in the war, than to see that their ideal is inherited by the younger generations and is not tarnished or betrayed as elsewhere.

«The process of the socialist construction,» Comrade Ramiz Alia continued, «has also difficulties. Life, as Comrade Enver said, is struggle, struggle against objective difficulties with the nature, with the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, struggle with the subjective weaknesses. But the history of our Party shows that the Albanian communists have never backed down in face of the difficulties, have never shown their back, but have braved them. They have acted in this way because they believe in and are inspired by Marxism-Leninism, the victories of socialism.

«In Albania,» Comrade Ramiz Alia concluded, «the people will always be sovereign, the banner of Marxism-Leninism, of the ideas of Comrade Enver, of the teachings of our glorious Party, will always fly high. We shall march resolutely and non-stop on this road, which is the road of the future.»

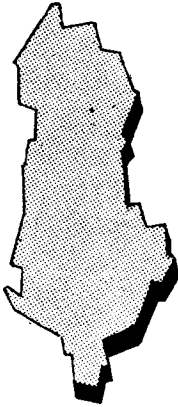
Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech of greetings was followed with great attention and was often punctuated by applause and ovations for our glorious Party of Labour.

COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA LAID A BOUQUET OF FLOWERS AT THE MONUMENT OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA AND PAID VISITS TO THE FAMILIES OF VETERAN COMMUNISTS

On November 8th, Comrade Ramiz Alia laid a bouquet of flowers at the monument of our beloved and unfor-

gettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, and paid visits to the families of some veterans.

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The square in front of the monument was packed with hundreds of inhabitants of the city, veterans of the war and work, working people, intellectuals, youth and pioneers of Enver, who gave Comrade Ramiz Alia a warm welcome, full of love. He saluted the people cordially and proceeded towards the monument of the unforgettable leader.

Comrade Ramiz Alia laid a bouquet of flowers and stood with the raised

fist in front of the monument of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

«A very fine piece of work,» said he, addressing those present, looking towards the monument. «All the monuments to Comrade Enver have come out very beautifully.»

He took some photographs among the communist veterans and with the members of their families.

IN OUR COUNTRY PRODUCERS AND CONSUMERS ARE ONE AND THE SAME — ARE THE PEOPLE

On November 8th, Comrade Ramiz Alia and the comrades accompanying him went to the industrial refrigerator of the city of Korça. In the inner courtyard of the enterprise he was received with enthusiasm by the workers, cadres and experts.

The director of the enterprise informed him about the work and the achievements of the collective in supplying the people. This industrial refrigerator, with a capacity of 3.500 tonnes, collects, processes and freezes different kinds of vegetables, dairy products and meat.

Comrade Ramiz Alia visited the exhibition of various articles processed in this enterprise and other sections of the plant.

«The refrigerator of Korça,» said he in a talk with the management and experts, «as I have been informed and as can be seen, represents one of the largest freezing plants of the country. It has brought about noticeable changes in the supply of the population, becoming a real regulator of supplies.

«Your experience,» Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out, «is worth spreading to the other regions, in which we

have or will have powerful freezing plants, because such plants mean economy, saving, culture, therefore they must be used with full effectiveness.

«Of course, the main thing is that the fields should produce, so that the chambers of the freezer can be filled with them. Therefore everything should be done in order to encourage the interests of the cooperativists and the agricultural workers in the state farms in order to produce as much vegetables as they can. This is a problem which demands a solution from the economic aspect.

«Our economic levers,» Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out, «should defend the interests of the consumer, without violating the interests of the producers. They must harmonize these two interests, because in our country the producers and the consumers are one and the same — are the people.

«You must consider the relations with the agricultural cooperatives from this angle,» Comrade Ramiz Alia drew attention to this point. «Greater commitments must be made, beginning from the stage when contracts are drafted. And it is up to you to assist the cooperatives to implement them. It would be incentive for them

if you could pay them in advance for part of the produce when it is still in the fields, because in this manner you help to strengthen the contractual sanctions.»

Winding up, Comrade Ramiz Alia wished the working collective of the industrial refrigerator still greater successes in the implementation of the tasks set by the Party.

Comrade Ramiz Alia was welcomed with love and enthusiasm by managers, specialists and miners, who thanked him for coming again to their mine.

Comrade Ramiz was informed about the achievements of the militant collective of miners, who overfulfilled the 10-month overall plan by 2 million and 343 thousand leks, the plan for extraction of coal by more than 7300 tonnes, the advancement work by 480 metres, the index of quality of coal by 82 kilocalories, by making a considerable reduction of the costs and an increase of the net income, as against the planned figures.

WHEN IT COMES TO THE CONSUMER GOODS, THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE PEOPLE COME FOREMOST

In the afternoon of November 8th, Comrade Ramiz Alia was amongst the workers and specialists of the enterprise for the production of stoneware.

He met and had a cordial conversation with workers and specialists, who informed him in full about the new products they have on the anvil, about the technology of their production, about the efforts they are making in order to improve quality further.

«The production of consumer goods,» said Comrade Ramiz Alia during the talks with them, «has special importance, because it is connected directly with the requirements of the masses. And their requirements are numerous. You must find out what stoneware articles are in greatest demand by the people for family use, and must try to fulfil these demands.

«And then, the structure of production must be built according to the requirements of the people. I have learned that you have been assigned, under the plan, to work for the production of some articles for export. It is good that we should increase

our exports, as the 6th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party stressed forcefully. But when it comes to the consumer goods, the requirements of the internal market have priority. Your district can fulfil its obligations towards the foreign market by means of mineral ores or some other material. As for you, you must produce for the people and try to ease our economy of the burden of import of raw materials.

«Production must be more flexible towards the requirements of the market,» Comrade Ramiz Alia continued. «You must not allow one-sidedness, hankering after the big articles which yield high profits because the people need both big articles and the smaller articles, which are a burden on the enterprise. Profitability should be seen more broadly, with an eye to the entire economy, and must not be equalized with the narrow interests of the enterprise and those of the department.

«I wish you progress in all directions,» said Comrade Ramiz Alia upon leaving.

During the talk with the managers of the mine, he learned about the creative work which is done at the mine, about the further improvement of technologies and increase of productivity, about the complete mechanization of the process of felling and transport of mineral to the zone of Kromisht.

«I want to congratulate you on the very good results you have achieved,» Comrade Ramiz Alia said to the miners and cadres.

«Your collective is outstanding for its sense of the new. You are always in search of advanced methods for the increase of production. The creative thinking of the working people is the force which drives the country ahead. And our economy, as a whole, needs the rapid developments. Not a single sector of it must mark time.»

Then, Comrade Ramiz Alia continued, «We are building socialism only on our own forces. Of course, this is not an easy road. We have to produce everything ourselves, or to secure things through exchanges for our products. Therefore, the slogan «There can be no import without export», which the 6th Plenum of the Party re-emphasized, is not just a phrase, but a synthesis of our duties.

«I put these important questions of the economic development here with you, because they must be the daily concern of each collective and

THE MIND OF THE PEOPLE IS ALL-POWERFUL

In the morning of November 9th, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, was

among the miners and specialists of the new tunnel of «May 1» coal mine of Mborje-Drenova, which bears the title «Hero of Socialist Labour».

At the entrance to the tunnel, Com-





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citizen of our country. In this lies one of the superiorities of our social order. We discuss the key problems of the policy of the Party and state freely, even in our families. This is an expression of the genuine socialist democracy which predominates in our country.

«The preoccupations of our Party are the same as the preoccupations of the people. Therefore, we must discuss together — the Party and the people. The main thing is to get the maximum possible from ourselves, to serve the development of our country with fruitfulness.

«The Party has frequently empha-

sized the need for initiative, for freeing the creative energies of the masses. We have capable people who can find efficient solutions to the problems of the economy. But their creative power must not lie unutilized. Creative ideas, especially from the base, are needed, because the mind of the people is all-powerful.

«Our people,» said Comrade Ramiz Alia in conclusion, «are optimistic about the future. We know the great assets of our soil and underground, just as we know the force of the people and the correctness of the line of the Party. We must effectively set in motion all these factors.»

THE PRODUCTIVITY OF SOCIAL LABOUR DETERMINES THE RATES OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY

In the morning of November 9th, Comrade Ramiz Alia had a meeting with cadres of the Party, the state, the economy, the organizations of the masses and the army of the district of Korça.

The first secretary of the Party Committee of the district, Comrade Pali Miska, thanked Comrade Ramiz Alia for the great honour he had done by coming among the people of Korça on the occasion of the celebration of the 47th anniversary of the founding of the Party, for the visits and encounters he had in the economic enterprises of the district. Then he pointed out the total commitment of the working people and cooperativists of Korça, with the communists in the vanguard, to the work for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of all tasks on a broad front.

Cadres of the agricultural cooperatives and the economic enterprises also spoke at the meeting, informing it about the results made hitherto and the objectives they have for the future.

Amidst applause and ovations for the Party, the floor was given to Comrade Ramiz Alia.

Among other things he said: «First of all I want to express my satisfaction at being here in Korça for the celebrations devoted to the 8th of November. I feel that I must stress that the contacts with the people of your district were a valuable assistance. Whenever you meet the people, the masses, your ideas are ennobled, your confidence and optimism in the advance of the country grow stronger.

«Our successes and independent development,» Comrade Ramiz Alia continued, «which speak of the vitality of our socialist order and our economy, encourage me for still greater work. But this should in no way be used to cover up the weaknesses and shortcomings which are noticed, and which have different sources. It must be admitted that in some cases in our propaganda, as well as in various meetings, things are presented in a smoothed and rounded-up way. There

is talk, for instance, about the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, but in what way is this encirclement reflected on our development, to what extent and how it affects and impedes us, how it hampers our socialist development, etc., this is not put clearly. Or, everybody speaks about the draught, which sometimes is described as overlong, sometimes exceptional, sometimes unprecedented. But has it passed without making its consequences felt? Did it affect the balance of our economy, and how should we cope with the shortages and difficulties which it has caused?

«To live with the situation», Comrade Ramiz Alia underlined, «means not only to take the international situations into account. It means to live with the economic situation in the country, with its results and shortages.

«The people can see the shortages on the market, but why should our men and our organizations not explain things to them? The victories we have achieved are not in the least devalued if we speak openly about the causes of the shortages. On the contrary. The truth makes the people stronger, makes them conscious of the tasks which emerge before them in order to overcome the difficulties created, mobilizes them still more for work, enhances their sense of economy and of the more rational use of different products, especially of bread grain, as well as the feed livestock, etc.

«At the same time, it is the duty of the working class and all other working people, in the first place of the communists, to understand the situations thoroughly, to enhance their political consciousness and to raise their level of mobilization at work, to fight for the implementation of all tasks in the front where they work, to find reserves for the increase of production, especially in those sectors which have weight in the ex-

port plans, to create possibilities for greater savings in imported materials, etc. In this direction, the work of the Party and of the mass organizations, the activity of the state organs and the organs of the economy should be as effective and concrete as possible, discarding standard formulas and general hackeneyed phrases.

«When we speak of shortages we try to gather strength in order to proceed further ahead by making up for them; we do this because we have high demands; we do this from optimistic positions, because we are convinced that we have every possibility to march more rapidly on the road of progress.

«The 9th Congress of the Party,» said Comrade Ramiz Alia, «gave the orientation that the light and the food-stuffs industries should develop with priority. This orientation must be remembered, because this branch is not receiving the necessary support, and this is justified with the operation of some difficulties of recent years.

«The orientation of the Congress,» he drew attention to this fact, «must be carried out in practice at all costs. The support which must necessarily be given to the light and food-stuffs industries does not constitute a burden on the economy, or on the heavy industry, and will not in any way affect the priority of the latter over the former.

«The further development of the light and food-stuffs industries does not require big combines and complexes of production, because we have them already, but production lines and sections, some machinery, and improvements in the technologies. All this must be done, the more so since the light and the food-stuffs industries cover the imports of these necessary things with their own exports, indeed they export more.

«The social productivity of labour,» Comrade Ramiz Alia continued his

speech, «is the synthetic expression of the economic situation and processes. It is an expression of the rates of production and effectiveness. In the full meaning of the word, it determines the limits of our development.

«The productivity of labour is the productivity of society. Therefore, if we want to overcome the shortcomings and difficulties which we encounter in some sector of the economy,» he pointed out, «we must without fail make a leap in the productivity of living work, in saving material values, and in the fruitfulness of the investments we make.

«This requires that all the enterprises, all sectors in industry and agriculture, should work with exceptional mobilization in order to fulfil the plans. This is especially necessary in the remaining months of this year, which must be considered months of assault work everywhere. The increase of the productivity of labour, apart from the fulfilment of the plans, requires that material expenditure should be cut down, that the producing capacities should be utilized to the utmost, that technologies be improved and creative initiatives encouraged.

«Our economic problems are numerous,» Comrade Ramiz Alia said in conclusion. «Here I mentioned only some of them, those which demand total commitment by everyone, which require broad thinking that goes beyond the interests of the enterprise and the sector. Improvement of work is necessary in all fields, therefore it is necessary to use the creative thinking of the working people.»

Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech was followed with great attention.

After the meeting Comrade Ramiz Alia was saluted warmly by hundreds of inhabitants of the city who had come out at the Square of Demonstrations to see him off for Tirana.

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THE PEOPLE OF THE SARANDA DISTRICT ACCORDED A CORDIAL AND ENTHUSIASTIC WELCOME TO COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA

The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, arrived at the district of Saranda in the morning of November 28 to celebrate, together with the people of this district, the marked days of November 28 and 29, the 76th anniversary of the Procla-

mation of National Independence and the 44th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the People's Revolution.

The fine promenade on the waterfront and the square in the centre of the town were filled as rarely before with thousands of inhabitants, men and women, veterans of the war and work, workers, intellectuals,



armymen, pioneers of Enver and children.

The promenade echoed to enthusiastic cheers and powerful applause.

Congratulations on the celebrations! Comrade Ramiz Alia greets the veterans, the workers, the young men and women with whom he shakes hands.

Congratulations, always together with the Party, with you at its head! — is their response.

Surrounded by the love and enthusiasm of the people, Comrade Ramiz Alia proceeded towards the centre of the town, where thousands of people had come out to welcome him. They broke into powerful cheers for the Party when Comrade Ramiz Alia mounted the tribune set up at the square.

The mass rally organized on the occasion of the celebrations of the 28th

and 29th of November was opened by the first secretary of the Party Committee of the district, Syrja Dosti, who expressed the great joy of the people of Saranda over the participation of Comrade Ramiz Alia in the celebrations of the 28th and 29th November in their district.

Amidst the great enthusiasm of the participants in the rally, the floor was given to Comrade Ramiz Alia.

Only a few years have passed since I was in your district for the last time, said he among other things. But Saranda is one of those places which, after each year, makes you say with pleasure: «I must find the opportunity to come back here.» This is due to the beautiful scenery on which nature has been so lavish, as well as to its hardworking and resolute people for the cause of socialism.

With this desire in my heart I came today to Saranda to celebrate the 28th and 29th of November together with you. Bringing to you the warmest greetings of the Central Committee of the Party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers, I wish you from my heart: Congratulations on the Flag Day and on the Day of the Liberation of the Homeland!

The 28th of November is, for our people, the epilogue of a protracted and difficult war full of heroism and sacrifices. From ancient times until the beginning of our century, entire generations of Albanians have shed their blood for freedom and independence, for the national banner and for the Albanian language, for the national territory and for their traditions. Thanks to their clear patriotic consciousness, inculcated during



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the centuries, our people survived and emerged victorious through many wars and dangers.

The aspiration for freedom and national independence throughout the whole glorious history of our country has been the main motive force of their indomitable spirit in war and resistance. Our small Albania has had to clash with many and numerous invaders, with great states and powers. But the foreign invaders, from whatever quarter they have come, could not entrench themselves on this land. They have been compelled to traverse Albania as a transient phenomenon, because the earth smoldered under their feet. Whereas the Albanian people remained masters of their own lands, emerging always victorious because they have placed the cause of freedom above everything else.

Today, on Independence Day, our homage is directed to all those patriots and fighters who devoted themselves entirely to the national cause, is directed to the Frashëri brothers, to Ismail Qemali and Hasan Prishtina, Hoxha Tahsini and Pashko Vasa, Luigj Gurakuqi and Çajupi, and many other fighters with the rifle and the pen.

The 29th of November 1944 was not a simple replica of the glorious act which the Albanian patriots, which Ismail Qemali — the old man of Vlo-
ra, carried out in 1912. It opened up a new epoch, the epoch when our people would not only enjoy national freedom, but also would be liberated from any kind of oppression and exploitation, in general.

The victory of 29th November marked the realization of what had not been achieved in any of the previous wars: it brought the people their state power, made the masses of the country masters of the land. For the first time in their history this war brought the people to the fore. This happened because the Party of the Albanian communists, the Party of Labour, was the leading staff of the people, because it expressed directly the aspirations which the masses cherished most. This happened because the Party and the people were led in the war by a great revolutionary figure, by their loyal son, as was our beloved Commander, Enver Hoxha.

The 28th and 29th of November re-

present two culminations in our national history. They are the fundamental conclusion of two of the majestic periods experienced by our people: the national movement which broke out with the National Renaissance, and the National Liberation War. History wanted these two dates to coincide and be commemorated together, as two immortal monuments to the Albanian heroism and resistance. We remember and honour with special respect the great work of our comrades who fell in the war, the deed of the 28 thousand martyrs. Glory to their heroism!

Then Comrade Ramiz Alia went on to speak about the all-sided changes that have taken place in our country in the epoch of the Party, about the struggle which our people have had to wage against internal and external enemies, who sought to turn our country off the correct road, to make it dependent on the others.

Our Party, he continued, consistently followed the policy of self-reliance, of development without debts, which are shackles on the people.

In fact, the free and independent Albania, in which people are masters of their own country, Albania which owes nothing to anyone and which has the courage of its opinions, because it is not conditioned by any alliance, because it is not dependent on any superpower, has its say which carries weight in the midst of the world community of the peoples, in different meetings and conferences. The peoples honour socialist Albania and see the value of socialism, the value of real freedom and independence in its example. We can say without the slightest doubt that our Homeland has become the symbol of a really free and independent country, the example of social justice. It knows no oppression, exploitation and poverty.

The successes and achievements in the economy and in the entire social life have imparted a new content and strengthened the victories of the 28th and 29th of November. It is our duty to carry them ahead.

Speaking about the development of the district of Saranda, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out that Saranda is the main citrus producer of Albania, and this became possible only in the years of socialism. Lukova and

Ksamil are not only important economic achievements but also living monuments of the culture of our society. Extensive citrus and olive plantations which have been set up by our youth with actions, are a very valuable investment.

Comrade Ramiz Alia concluded his speech speaking about the prospects of the development of the industry and agriculture of the district, saying:

I am convinced that the prospects which are opened up for industry and agriculture in the district of Saranda will be used in order to strengthen the present achievements, to increase the economic potential of the country and to raise the well-being of the people.

Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech was followed with attention and was often interrupted by applause and cheers for our glorious Party.

After the mass rally, Comrade Ramiz Alia went to the food-stuffs production complex, in which he attended the ceremony of the inauguration of the new line for the processing of citrus and other fruits.

This production line will process about 500 quintals of citrus and other fruits daily, and will produce natural and concentrates, citrus juice, various refreshing beverages, essences, jams, marmalades, etc. Likewise it will produce juice from peaches, cherries, grapes, plums, pomgrenades, etc., for the internal market and for export. With the coming into operation of this production line the capacity of the complex will increase 4 fold as against the existing line, assortment will be extended with new processed products, and the quality of the product improved. The line was designed by the Institute of Studies and Designs of the food-stuffs industry and was built by the working collective of the building and the food-stuffs enterprises.

In the afternoon, Comrade Ramiz Alia visited the ancient city of Butrint. At the highest spot of this centre of our antiquity, the archaeologists of Saranda informed the leader about the research study work done by the archaeologists and historians in this ancient city and on the entire territory of ancient Chaonia, according to the instructions which our unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, gave them during his visit here, ten years ago. They informed Comrade

Ramiz Alia about the new archaeological finds which shed light on the ancient Illyrian culture. They also spoke about the main directions of the activity of the archaeological centre of Saranda.

The leader of the Party and state exchanged opinions about historical, social, urbanistic, administrative and other aspects of the life of the inhabitants of the ancient city of Butrint and the whole territory of ancient Chaonia. He instructed the archaeologists to dwell still more deeply in their research and studies in the field of archaeology and in the interpretation of the data. He also gave valuable instructions about the further systematization and improvement of the ancient city.

Then he went to visit the reorganized museum of this important centre of Albanian archaeology.

On the occasion of the celebrations of the 28th and 29th of November, the Party Committee, the Executive Committee of the People's Council and the Presidium of the Democratic front of the district of Saranda put on a dinner at hotel «Butrinti», during which Comrade Ramiz Alia greeted those present and congratulated them on the great November celebrations.

On the 29th of November, the day of the 44th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the People's Revolution, Comrade Ramiz Alia went to the Cemetery of the Martyrs of the War of the district.

Comrade Ramiz Alia met with members and relatives of the martyrs' families, shook hands with them and congratulated them on the November celebrations.

Then he proceeded to the monument dedicated to the martyrs and, together with the first secretary of the Party Committee of the district, Syrja Dosti, laid a wreath in the name of the Central Committee of the Party. The Party leader stood in silence with the raised-fist salute before the monument. He laid a bouquet of flowers on the graves of the People's Heroes Vasil Laçi, Mitro Xhani and Lefter Talo.

That day Comrade Ramiz Alia went to the town of Delvina of the Saranda district.

On the way to the centre of the town he warmly saluted the people who had lined both sides of the

streets, met many men and women, old men and children. When the leader mounted the tribune, the square of the town resounded to enthusiastic cheers and ovations.

Amidst this atmosphere, Comrade Ramiz Alia began his speech in the rally organized on the occasion of the November celebrations.

At this mass rally which is dedicated to the November celebrations, I am glad to learn that you have made new achievements and reached new victories. On this occasion I convey to you the warmest greetings of the Central Committee of the Party. Congratulations on the celebrations of the 28th and 29th of November and many happy returns!

Delvina is one of the early beds of the Albanian culture. It has made a name for itself in history. It has won its name through the struggle it has waged, through its wonderful traditions. There is no important historic event in the life of our country in which the people of Delvina have not participated arms in hand. On April 7, the men of this town, responding to the call of their national conscience, took up rifles and hastened to Saranda. The sons of Delvina linked themselves with the Communist Party from the beginning. The Party cell of Delvina is one of the first of our country. Precisely because it was a base of the movement, the Party sent here, from the beginning of the year 1942, one of its outstanding leaders, Qemal Stafa. Old and young in Delvina were included in the partisan war.

The zone of Delvina, said Comrade Ramiz Alia, is the example of the fraternization of the Albanian people with the people of the Greek minority. The Albanians and the minority have had the same problems in life, have shared the little bread they had, and have always supported one another in the most difficult moments. There where the blood of the Albanians was shed, there flowed the blood of the people of the minority, too. Mustafa Matchiti and Lefter Talo and many and many others, whose examples inspire patriotism and self-abnegation, fell in the common partisan trenches. Our Party strengthened and tempered this unity and this militant bond in the struggle for the construction and the defence of socialism.

The strength of our society, he continued, lies in the unity of the people.

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Thanks to the unity of the people around the Party we achieved the victory in the National Liberation War; thanks to this unity we have coped with the internal and external hostile activities; and again thanks to this unity Albania has scaled the heights at which it stands today. Therefore, we must strengthen and temper the unity of the people, guard it like the apple of the eye. United we have reached to where we are today, united we are building socialism and have liquidated class exploitation. United we will march on in the centuries. This is necessary for the good of the people, this is required for the defence of the freedom and independence of the Homeland, this is required by socialism itself which, in the last analysis, is a community of interests, will and desire of the masses.

Socialism is the product of the work of society. And our Homeland is strong and advances non-stop precisely because of the great work which the people have done and are doing, having our heroic Party in the vanguard of the struggle for the socialist construction. If the life of the people in our country has become prosperous, if city and countryside have been transformed, if Delvina and Saranda have been built anew, if the coast has been embroidered with the green citrus and olive plantations, if Vurg Plain has revived and the whole of Albania has flourished, for all this we bow with respect before the heroic efforts of the working class, the peasantry and cadres.

The Party has always devoted its care to Delvina. Comrade Enver Hoxha was deeply interested in your district. Delvina has merited all this interest not only for its glorious past, but also for its present, on which it can pride itself.

I have the unshakeable conviction, said Comrade Ramiz Alia winding up his speech, that you will always put your valuable traditions more and more in the service of the socialist construction and will make your life more prosperous and happy. It is the desire of the Party that our people, in Delvina and everywhere else in Albania, can live as happy masters in their own houses.

After the mass rally, Comrade Ramiz Alia went to the Martyrs' Cemetery of the town, in which he paid ho-

mages and laid a wreath in the name of the Central Committee of the Party.

Then he proceeded to the «Victory of Leninism» agricultural cooperative of Konispol, which bears the title of «Hero of Socialist Labour».

At the centre of the town begins a cordial dialogue with the leader.

Amidst cheers for the Party, Comrade Ramiz Alia takes the floor, and after handing the banner of the 6th Congress of the Agricultural Cooperatives to the cooperativists of Konispol, with which this distinguished economy was honoured, he said:

I felt a special satisfaction that the cooperative of Konispol was honoured by the 6th Congress of the Agricultural Cooperatives with the banner for the stable high yields it has taken continuously in the last ten years. When I came to Saranda I told the comrades of the district that I wanted to hand this banner to you myself. And they fulfilled my desire. May you always hold high this banner. May you always be in the vanguard of the work for high results!

Your cooperative is outstanding for stable achievements and good work on all fronts, for the harmonious development both of agriculture and of livestock, both in the plains and in the mountains. In the plains zone you have taken, for many years in succession, more than 80 quintals of maize per hectare, 600 quintals of tomatoes per hectare, 50 kilograms of citruses and 20 kilograms of olives from each tree. Only in the seven last years the income of your economy from a hectare of land has increased 1.5 fold, and the income from work per capita has increased proportionately.

The fact that you have raised the norm of accumulation to 30 per cent also speaks of the high level of production and income.

All these achievements speak of the high degree of intensification, speak of the tireless work full of passion done by the cooperativists of Konispol. But above all, this development and progress is evidence of the strength and vitality of the cooperativist order, of the correctness of the policy which our Party has pursued for the socialist transformation of the countryside.

The 6th Congress of the Agricultural Cooperatives, which ended its

proceedings with success recently, extensively discussed these developments. In this forum the cooperativist peasantry manifested its high political maturity, consciousness and readiness to undertake still greater tasks. The Congress was an affirmation of the vitality, the strength and possibilities of the cooperativist order, to carry production further forward, to revolutionize and emancipate the whole social life of the countryside.

With the construction of the reservoir of Janjar, Comrade Ramiz Alia continued, in the cooperative of Konispol and in the other economies in its neighbourhood, more than 2 500 hectares of land will be put under irrigation soon and in another 3 000 hectares irrigation will be improved. The state has invested more than 37 million leks on this project, which will further strengthen the productive factors here.

After stressing some other questions of the harmonized development of agriculture and livestock-farming, Comrade Ramiz Alia said:

The people of the region of Konispol have always distinguished themselves as hardworking people with high demands in life, in education and culture. Work in the cooperative has already become a great source of income and well-being. In the town of Konispol now there is an agricultural secondary school and a general secondary school.

In the end Comrade Ramiz Alia again congratulated the cooperativists on the banner which he handed to them and wished them new successes.

That night Comrade Ramiz Alia attended a festive concert which was given at the cinema-theatre hall «Burrinti» by the artistic groups of the house of culture and popular creativeness of the district.

In the morning of 30 November at the hall of the cinema-theatre «Burrinti», the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, had a meeting with cadres of the Party, the state, the economy, the mass organizations and the army of this district.

The participants in the meeting received him with joy at the entrance of the hall.

The first secretary of the Party

Committee of the district, Syrja Dosti, informed him about some main questions on which the work of the Party, and its levers in the district has been concentrated.

Amidst the applause of those present, the floor was given to Comrade Ramiz Alia.

We passed these days of the great celebrations of November, said he among other things, with joy and warmth amidst the progressive and hardworking people of the city and the whole district of Saranda. The love for the Party of Labour and the joy of socialist life can be seen and felt everywhere, in everyone, in every step, in every meeting and conversation. The people's joy increases because the country is advancing, the economy is going ahead, the well-being increasing, and the unity of the people around the Party is further steered.

The progress in the economy, in education, in culture, in the material and spiritual life of the people, is evident. The whole of this zone, especially the coast, with its fruit-growing, is recognized all over the country. The creative hand and mind of the people have increased the beauty of nature and the fertility of the land.

Our working people are devoted to the cause of socialism and resolute for the defence of the Homeland, they are hardworking and have a keen political sense. These high qualities, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out, must be further tempered through the daily work for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the plans. The interest of our society and of the working people themselves require that the economic achievements everywhere should respond to their political and cultural level

It is a pleasure for me, Comrade Ramiz Alia said, to point out that the number of sheep and goats in the district of Saranda has increased considerably and that you occupy an honoured place compared with the other districts both in the lead of land with animals and in the production of milk.

The district of Saranda, he continued, comes first in the Republic for the production of fruit per hectare of land and second in the production per capita of the population. But it comes first, also, as regards the suit-

able climatic and soil conditions, especially for the growth of citrus- and olive-trees.

The district of Saranda has great prospects for the development of agriculture and livestock-raising, but it has good industrial prospects, too. This is shown by the fact that at present there are ten enterprises and sectors which engage in industrial activities and which, within the 1980's, have increased production by about one third.

The industrial prospect of the district of Saranda is open both to the extraction and the processing industries. No mean investments have been made in your district for the oil and gas sector, and continue to be made. Of interest are also the marble deposits which have been discovered in the vicinity of Saranda.

In our country, Comrade Ramiz Alia continued, the prospects are open for the youth. Production is work, is well-being, but it is also a school. The working people who gain qualification and authority in production, the worker with schooling who is master of his job, is always respected, is valuable for the society and for himself, is an innovator and a social activist. In our social order both physical and intellectual work exist in complete harmony.

Winding up his speech, Comrade Ramiz Alia expressed the conviction that the organization of the Party and the people of the district of Saranda will always carry out their tasks with honour.

Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech was followed with great attention.

The first secretary of the Party Committee of the district, Syrja Dosti, thanked Comrade Ramiz Alia for coming to Saranda, for the valuable instructions and advice which he gave at the meetings, encounters and talks with the people.

Coming out of the cinema-theatre hall, Comrade Ramiz Alia warmly saluted the participants in the meeting, while thousands of inhabitants on the main street in the outskirts of the town applauded and cheered for the Party. Comrade Ramiz Alia saluted them warmly and left for Tirana, accompanied with the great love of the people of Saranda, for whom the celebrations of the 28th and 29th of November of this year will remain unforgettable moments.

NOVEMBER 28 AND 29 CELEBRATIONS

COMMEMORATIVE MEETING IN THE CAPITAL

On November 28, in the hall of the Opera and Ballet Theatre of the capital, on the occasion of the 76th anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence and the 44th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the People's Revolution, the Central Committee of the Party, the Council of Ministers, the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, and the Party Committee of the Tirana district, organized a commemorative meeting.

Attending the meeting were vanguard workers and cooperativists, people's heroes and heroes of socialist labour, veterans and relatives of martyrs' families, deputies to the People's Assembly, councillors, working people from central departments, institutions and mass organizations, armymen, and youth.

Present also were members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrades Adil Çarçani, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Çuko, Manush Myftiu, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, alternate members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrades Kiço Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti and Pirro Kondi, member of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, Nexhmije Hoxha, and other comrades.

The meeting was opened by Comrade Pirro Kondi.

The speech of the occasion was delivered by alternate member of the Central Committee of the Party, Niko Gijzari.

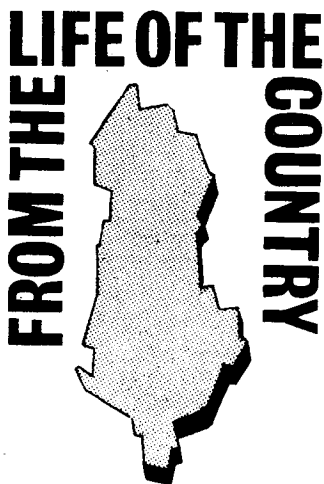
Today the whole of Albania is in celebration and in joy, said he among other things, and together with us, our brothers of the same blood everywhere in the world, just as there is joy for the many friends and well-wishers of our country all over the world, who, with their sympathy and solidarity, have been a source of encouragement and support for us

in the battles for the construction of socialism.

The struggle of our people for the achievement of their aspirations, genuine freedom and independence never ceased. Their aspirations became a reality only with the founding of the revolutionary Party of the working class by the Albanian communists, with Comrade Enver Hoxha in the lead, which marked a radical change in the centuries-old history of our people.

In commemorating the 76th anniversary of the Proclamation of National Independence and the 44th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the People's Revolution, we bow with respect to the memory of all those who, with the rifle and the pen, worked and were martyred for the sake of freedom, for the advance and affirmation of our nation; we remember with profound respect the many martyrs who sacrificed their young lives for the much-desired freedom and the happy days we enjoy today, we honour those thousands upon thousands of sons and daughters of the people, who filled the ranks of the National Liberation Army and fought with heroism against the invaders and the traitors to the country. Our greatest gratitude and our highest honour go to our glorious Party, the inspirer, organizer and leadership of all our victories, and to Comrade Enver Hoxha, who, as Comrade Ramiz Alia has said, «is the symbol of our revolution, the leader and inspirer of all the major transformations and a direct participant in their implementation, a great revolutionary and outstanding thinker, who played the decisive role in the destinies of the Homeland and socialism.»

Winding up his speech, he pointed out some aspects of the consistent and principled foreign policy which our state has followed unwaveringly.



HOMAGES AT THE CEMETERY OF THE MARTYRS OF THE NATION

On 29 November, hundreds of inhabitants of the capital, working people from work and production centres and institutions, veterans, people's heroes and heroes of socialist labour, members and relatives of martyrs' families, deputies to the People's Assembly, councillors, army men, youth, pioneers of Enver, went to the Cemetery of the Martyrs of the Nation to honour with deep gratitude and respect the memory of the sons and daughters who sacrificed their lives for the liberation of the country, for the happy days which our people enjoy today.

Homages were paid by members of the Political Bureau and secretaries of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrades Foto Çami and Hajredin Çeliku, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Rita Marko, member of the Political Bureau of the Central

Committee of the Party and vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Manush Myftiu, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and first secretary of the Party Committee of the Tirana district, Comrade Pirro Kondi, and other comrades.

Wreaths were laid at the foot of the «Mother Albania» monument. In the name of the Central Committee of the Party, the wreath was laid by Comrades Foto Çami and Hajredin Çeliku. Comrade Foto Çami laid a bouquet of flowers on the grave of Comrade Enver Hoxha. Those present observed silence and gave the raised-fist salute in front of the grave of the beloved and unforgettable leader, the legendary commander and the architect of the new socialist Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Then they filed past the graves of the fallen in the war for freedom, giving the raised-fist salute to honour their unforgettable memory.

RECEPTION AT THE PALACE OF BRIGADES

In the evening of November 29 at the Palace of Brigades the Central Committee of the Party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and the Council of Ministers, gave a reception on the occasion of the 44th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the People's Revolution.

Participating were people's heroes and heroes of socialist labour, vanguard workers and cooperativists, deputies to the People's Assembly and councillors, members and relatives of martyrs' families, army men, working people and leading cadres of central departments, institutions and central organizations of the masses, and other guests.

Also present were leaders of the Party and state, Comrades Adil Çarçani, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Çami, Hajredin Çeliku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Çuko, Manush Myftiu, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, Kiço Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi and other comrades.

Titular heads of the diplomatic representations accredited to the PSR of Albania were also present.

Comrade Rita Marko greeted those present on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers and Comrade Ramiz Alia personally.

Among other things he said: **Our people commemorate two of the greatest events of their national history, 28th and 29th of November, the day of the Proclamation of Independence and the day of the Liberation of the Homeland. We celebrate these glorious anniversaries together with all our compatriots, friends and well-wishers of socialist Albania everywhere they are. On this opportunity, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers and Comrade Ramiz Alia personally, I greet you and congratulate you on the celebrations.**

The freedom and independence of

the Homeland have been very dear to our people, they have inspired entire generations on the long road of history.

By commemorating the 28th and 29th of November, we remember with gratitude all the patriots of our National Renaissance who, with the rifle and the pen, became soldiers of the people. We remember the glorious epic of the National Liberation War, the heroism of our valiant partisans and the martyrs who sacrificed their lives for the liberation of the country.

In these 44 years of the people's state power, Albania has entirely changed its aspect. New and still greater victories await our people, still more brilliant prospects are opened for our economy, education and culture.

Then Comrade Rita Marko continued pointing out: **In its international relations the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has always been a staunch fighter for the strengthening of friendship and cooperation with the other peoples, for the preservation of peace and security in the world. It has opposed the aggressive policy of the superpowers and has unreservedly supported the people's just struggles for freedom, national independence and progress. Albania has supported any constructive step which leads to the improvement of the situation in the Balkans, to the expansion and continuous strengthening of good neighbourliness and relations of cooperation in various fields.**

The reception passed in a very joyous atmosphere.

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On the day of the 44th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the People's Revolution, the entire people of our country commemorated with profound gratitude and respect the glorious work of their sons and daughters who laid down their young lives at the foundations of the happy life which we enjoy in the epoch of the Party. On this occasion, homages were paid to and wreaths laid at the martyrs' cemeteries.

Commemorative meetings and other activities were organized.

ACHIEVEMENTS AND PROGRESS OF THE ECONOMY OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

By Prof. HEKURAN MARA

The size, rates and levels of development achieved and the perspective of our people. They represent one of the fundamental elements of that political and economic progress achieved in Albania more than four decades ago with the triumph of the people's revolution and with

ALBANIA IS THE SMALLEST COUNTRY OF SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE, WITH A SURFACE OF 28 748 SQ KM AND A POPULATION WHICH IN 1938 REACHED TO NEARLY 1 MILLION INHABITANTS. ITS TERRITORY IS NOT ENTIRELY DEPRIVED OF NATURAL ASSETS, BUT IS NOT ABUNDANTLY FAVOURED BY NATURE, EITHER. IT HAS VALUABLE NATURAL RESOURCES, SUCH AS FERTILE AGRICULTURAL LANDS, WATER RESOURCES, FORESTS, FISH GROUNDS, HYDRO-POWER RESOURCES, MINERAL DEPOSITS, ETC. IF WE ADD TO THIS THE FACT THAT THE ALBANIAN HAS BEEN KNOWN SINCE ANCIENT TIMES TO BE OF A CREATIVE MIND, HARDWORKING AND INDEFATIGABLE, THEN WE COULD SAY THAT FROM THIS ASPECT ALBANIA HAD EVERY MATERIAL AND HUMAN POTENTIALITY FOR A NORMAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

NEVERTHELESS, WHENEVER THE QUESTION OF ALBANIA'S SITUATION UNDER THE RULE OF THE LANDOWNERS AND THE BOURGEOISIE IS RAISED, THE FIRST THING WHICH IMPOSES ITSELF ON THE HISTORICAL MEMORY IS THE FACT THAT ALBANIA, EVEN AFTER CESSATION FROM THE RULE OF THE SUBLIME PORTE, WHICH LASTED FOR NEARLY FIVE CENTURIES, AND AFTER THE PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE IN 1912, CONTINUED FOR MORE THAN THREE DECADES GRAPLING WITH DIFFICULTIES EXISTING WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A SEMI-FEUDAL AND SEMI-COLONIAL COUNTRY, WITH ONE OF THE MOST BACKWARD ECONOMIES IN EUROPE, CONFRONTING A CARDINAL PROBLEM WHICH REMAINED UNSOLVED — THAT OF ENSURING TRUE NATIONAL FREEDOM.

In these circumstances its economy could not but have a one-sided character, development was lopsided, and the country had all the features of an agrarian country struggling on the existence level, hardly meeting its own needs for bread grain, of which the greatest part consisted of maize and, to quote a poet of that time, every grain of it was adored as a real deity of the legend. To avoid any possibility of taking this saying for a bookish aforism, I will mention some statistical facts and figures.

The Albanian economy was predominantly a primitive agricultural, economic system. *HEKURAN MARA: Vice-President of the Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania*

economy, surviving through a heavy legacy of feudal leftovers, in which 87 per cent of the active forces of the country were occupied with work and which created over 90 per cent of the national income. If we count out the artisan shops and the extraction of minerals, which was in negligible amounts, industry virtually did not exist; therefore, this branch of the economy of the country created only five per cent of the national income. Transport and construction, in their modern meaning, did not exist in the structure of the national economy. More than 80 per cent of the population was illiterate, while specialists with higher schooling could

be counted on the fingers of one hand? A picture of the backwardness of the Albanian economy of that time has been given in great detail by Prof. Hermann Gross in an article written in 1933 for this purpose.

The first real historical possibility for Albania to embark on the process of a genuine independent national life and to begin its economic and social emancipation presented itself and began to be realized with the triumph of the people's revolution and the ushering of the country into the road of socialism, under the leadership of the Party of Labour, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at its head. Therefore, it should be recognized that all the economic and social achievements of Albania, the whole balance of development and progress after November 29, 1944, are the attribute of socialism.

Albania is one of those examples which, on account of the «zigzags of history and its tricks», to quote an expression of Karl Marx, began the transition, after the establishment of the people's state power, from a semi-feudal backward condition directly to the stage of the construction of socialism, bypassing the phase of developed capitalism. The already backward semi-feudal situation was made still worse by the great plunder and the great ravages of the last war and the many economic and social wounds left behind by the occupiers during that war. To these circumstances we must add, also, the recognized fact that on the morrow of the establishment of the people's state power the new Albania had to cope

SPECTS OF DEVELOPMENT E PSR OF ALBANIA

*economy compare with whole historical epochs for
and social process which began more
e setting out of the country on the road of socialist development.*

with multiple systematic political, economic and military hostile pressure brought to bear upon it by Anglo-American imperialism and the neighbouring states.¹

In this historical background, in order to respond to the basic interests of the people and to their age-long aspirations, Albania had to ensure, on the socialist road of development, the parallel and gradual solution of two fundamental tasks, which were connected closely with and conditioned by one another: the carrying out of the profound social and economic revolutionary changes, which the socialist road of socialist development required; and the overcoming, within the shortest possible time, of the backwardness of the past. On the basis of the solution of these two vital tasks, which constituted a national imperative, a continuity would be created and, on the other hand, efforts would be made to carry through to the end the complex process of the consolidation of the political independence, achieved with the establishment of the people's state power, of truly and effectively guaranteeing it by completing and perfecting the political independence with the creation of the economic independence according to the principle of self-reliance.

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And the fact is that within a relatively short time, up till the end of 1950s, the old and backward Albanian economy, with a one-sided ag-

rarian structure, was successfully replaced by an economy of a structure diversified horizontally and vertically, with a multi-branched industry and agriculture, with industrial and civil construction, with contemporary kinds of transport and with the proper relative infrastructure. Another important characteristic which has been present throughout the development of the Albanian national economy has been the continuous development of the total social product and the national income without major fluctuations.

In 1986, as against 1950, the total social product reckoned at nominal value increased 18 fold, the total agricultural production 4 fold, and the total industrial production 40 fold. We must mention in this context, also, the equally important fact that most of all the increases mentioned above have been ensured from the increase in the productivity of social labour.

In the 8th Five-year Plan (1986-1990) it is envisaged that in 1990, as against 1985, the total social product will show an increase of 31-33 per cent, whereas national income 35-37 per cent. According to these figures, the average annual rates of development of the economy are 2-3 times higher than the rates of the population increase.

Within the 30-year period (1946-1976) the population of the country doubles (reaching 2 million inhabitants); in the beginning of 1986 the population reached to 3 million, with a density of 107 inhabitants per square kilometre, whereas at the end

of the century it is envisaged to reach to four million. In the course of the socialist development of the country (1945-1985), the social product and the national income have been doubled within every 12-13 years.

These proportions have created the real material and financial possibilities for Albania to correctly harmonize and cope with such vital tasks of the contemporary economic and social development as the problem of the increase of population at high rates (approximately 24 per thousand in the years 1951-1985); the problem of the maintenance of a high rate of accumulation (25-30 per cent of the national income); the problem of locally ensuring most of the food for the population; the problem of the creation of new jobs for the active forces; and finally the problem of the systematic increase of the well-being of the masses of working people. Behind these achievements lies a string of complicated economic and social problems which demanded and found solution, not impromptu and transient ones, but adequate and stable scientific solutions, which could stand the test of the time and the Albanian reality as they did.

In 1986, as against 1950, consumption per head of population of food-stuffs increased 3 fold and of industrial goods 5,8 fold. In the period 1951-1985 in the state sector of the economy, alone, 730 thousand new jobs were created, while together with the jobs created in the co-operativist sector of agriculture their number goes up to as many as 1

million and 280 thousand. In the years 1986-1990 it is envisaged to create an additional 220 thousand new work places in the cities and the rural area, with a view to ensuring the occupation with work of all the new active forces which will be increased until the end of the said period.

These few facts, and figures are sufficient to prove that the development of the economy has had an overall social orientation. From this aspect, the society which has been created in the PSR of Albania is a society in which the private ownership of the means of production, the exploiting classes and the exploitation of man by man have been liquidated: in which the differences in the real income, in the standard of living and the way of life between the working people of the rural area and those of the city have been gradually reduced; in which everyone has a secure job and means of livelihood; in which the increase of the material and cultural well-being are ensured. In order to create a most complete idea of the whole extent of the value and importance of the social orientation of the development of the Albanian economy it would not be superfluous to point out some such facts as the liquidation from the political and economic life of the country of such manifestations as crises, unemployment, inflation, price rises, increasing cost of living, state, budget deficits, taxes and fees, foreign and national debts, and other ills of our time.

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When Albania embarked on the road of the building of socialism, all the socialist and political premises which guaranteed the setting up of the national industry and its long-term dynamic development existed. So, beginning from 1948 and gradually thereafter the comprehensive concept and the programme of the industrialization of the country were worked out and are actually being applied. The essence of this concept is to create the complex heavy and light industries which should be in a position to respond to the tasks of the construction of socialism and

to guarantee and further strengthen the economic and political independence of the country.

In conformity with this concept, the development of industry has been directed in such a way as to take into consideration the territorial size and the natural conditions of our country, the present and perspective number of the population, the needs of the economy and the natural assets of the country. Taking everything into account, the objective of industrialization has been to create in the process those branches and to establish those industrial enterprises which, in the first place, would fulfil the internal needs of the economy and the people, would rely on the natural resources of the country and would ensure the most rational and integral utilization and processing of these resources for the needs of export, too. In this way it has been possible to avoid creating such branches and establish such industrial enterprises which would depend wholly on the foreign market, both for their supplies of primary materials and for the marketing of their finished products, and to avoid turning the Albanian industry into an appendage to the world market, depending entirely on it. In the whole process of the industrialization of the country we have not had and have not allowed manifestations or illusions and tendencies to a mania for doing things «on the big scale» or to «superindustrialization»; and although the world experience of the development of industry has been taken into account, we have not permitted ourselves to copy models and structures from the other industrial powers of the world, but have always planted our feet firmly on our national soil, sticking to the real needs and possibilities of our country, with a view to carrying out the tasks raised by the present and the future of the construction of socialism.

In the implementation of the programme for the industrialization of the country, we have had to cope with and combat «theories», views, interferences, pressures and «advice» coming from inside and outside, which were aimed at imposing on

Albania sometimes openly and sometimes under various masks, the anti-socialist solutions and practices connected with the very character and the directions of the industrialization of the country. When the economic relations between Albania and Yugoslavia, until the first half of the year 1948, had been extended, the Yugoslav leadership strove in every way to compel Albania not to create and not to develop its own national economy, but to be content with the production of the primary agricultural and mineral materials, which would be processed by the Yugoslav industry. The Soviet leadership, especially after 1956, strove very hard to divert Albania from the road of genuine socialist industrialization. It used both the «stick and the carrot», and every imaginable «argument», to prove its point that Albania «is a small country» and allegedly has no need to create a national industrial system of its own, that it allegedly lacked the material financial and human resources necessary for a modern industry, and so on.

These were decisive moments for the destiny of the industrialization of the country. Documents and facts show that the pressure and the «advice» of the external friends did not overthrow or change the scientific concept which lies at the foundation of the policy worked out by the Party of Labour of Albania and by its leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, for the industrialization of the country, and which has been persistently carried out in its continuity.

The first phase of industrialization has been marked, on the whole, by the extensive development of industry, though without overstraining ourselves to the point of impeding the development of agriculture and the other branches of the economy, without putting the consumption for the population and the increase of well-being within a closed «iron circle». In this phase, which includes the first three five-year plans (1951-1965), the country saw the creation and development of such branches as the extraction industry, the energy industry, the light and food-stuffs industry, which were aimed at ensuring

the local production of all those goods which previously were brought from abroad. Then, the second phase began with the creation of more complicated branches which require greater capital and a more qualified work force, but which ensure a more effective development and create the possibilities for the export of finished and manufactured products.

At the end of 1950s Albania developed into an agricultural-industrial country and is now about to be transformed into an industrial-agricultural country. According to forecasts of the 8th Five-year Plan, in 1990 industry will account for about 57 per cent of the total social product and 64 per cent of the industrial and agricultural production taken together. Industry, construction and transport in 1990 are envisaged to create 52 per cent of the national income, agriculture 42 per cent and the rest (6 per cent) by the other branches of the economy. «Our Party and people have aspired to and have fought, and have even made sacrifices for decades on end, for the attainment of these objectives.»²

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The Albanian national industry today is in a position to extract and process more than 40 different primary materials, hydrocarbons and useful minerals, and together with agriculture fulfils 90 per cent of the needs of the economy for primary materials. The extraction and processing of the subsoil riches has been and remains the most dynamic component part of the development of industry. During the 8th Five-year Plan industrial reserves of these riches will increase with an additional 90 million tonnes, whereas the extraction and processing of various minerals and fuels will reach to over 45 million tonnes. On this basis greater possibilities will be ensured to provide more pig-iron, steels, nickel, cobalt, copper, chromium and other useful minerals such as magnezite, fluorite, olivinite, bauxite, barite, kaolins and rare minerals, as well as various metallic alloys, cement, mi-

neral salts, nitrogenous fertilizers, sulphuric acid, vinyl monomers and polymers, etc., for our national economy.

The known and tapped natural resources and those which will be discovered later in our country are in such quantities and structures which allow us to be optimistic about the future. Notwithstanding all this, our general strategic orientation is to use them with frugality. From this aspect it has been envisaged that all future reconstructions, all new capacities which will be built and the new advanced technologies which will be introduced during the 8th Five-year Plan will lead, in each concrete case, to a complex saving of all the material resources of production used for each unit of the social product.

The increases in the extraction of oil, gas, coal and in the production of electric power have made the economy of the country more independent of these vital sources of energy which have a great influence on the intensive development of production and the contemporary technologies. In the 8th Five-year Plan gas extraction is envisaged to increase by 2,6 fold, coal nearly by 1 million tonnes, and the production of electric power will increase by 80 per cent, or 2-3 times as rapidly as the increase of the social product. This is a long-term strategy the pursuit of which has enabled the country to meet the needs of the economy for energy entirely through the local production and to create a surplus for export. This is one of the main reasons why our economy remained unaffected by the consequences of the energy crisis, which hit many countries of the world in 1970s and the first half of 1980s. Anyhow, our economy is not immune to the worrying problems of energy, it has also its-specific problems connected with energy resources, with their structure and the more rational and effective use of them.

For the whole productive apparatus of the economy to function normally and to develop intensively and in breadth, the decisive weight of the engineering industry in the economy as a whole has been continuously increased. This industry today

ensures over 90 per cent of the needs of the country for spare parts and nearly 40 per cent of the industrial equipment and machinery which are utilized for new capital investments. The envisages for the 8th Five-year Plan are that a radical improvement of the quality of products will be made in the engineering industry, in order to open the way to the more extensive use of locally produced steels and to increase the coefficient of utility in the usage of metals, by perfecting all the work in constructions and technological disigning.

Although the main forces of the country have been concentrated on the priority development of the heavy processing industry, we have in no instance neglected the development of the light and food-stuffs industries. The branches of these industries ensure, at the present stage, 85 per cent of the consumption goods needed for the population. But since the purchasing power of the working people increases continuously, difficulties arise in this field. In order to surmount them the state has envisaged, under the 8th Five-year Plan, to give priority to the development of the branches of the light and food-stuffs industries, by building 70 new factories and reconstructing 20 of the existing ones. This step will enable the country to process still more fully the agricultural and industrial products to extend the range of food-stuffs with different kinds of food, to increase industrial and consumption goods, to improve their quality and, last but not least, to exploit the technological remains in a more rational manner.

We are aware that some difficulties emerging in the present stage of the development of industry, which have to do with the great volume of investments needed in order to ensure the renewal of outdated productive capacities, the introduction of contemporary technologies, the increase of productivity of labour and the improvement of its quality, etc., will not cast a shadow on these remarkable achievements of the industrialization of the country.

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A special care throughout the whole period of the socialist development of the country has been devoted to the agrarian problem, which appeared to be a very complex and difficult problem. With the peasantry constituting the majority of the population of the country and the very low level of the development of agriculture the perspective of a correct and rapid solution of the agrarian problem was an element which would condition, to a great extent, the question of development, not only of agriculture, but also of the whole national economy.

Apart from the new ideological and political factors which were created after the setting up of the people's state power, the fact that the Albanian peasantry was patriotic traditionally proved a great help in the attainment of this perspective target. The correct policy pursued by the Party in the war for the liberation of the country from the foreign occupiers convinced the peasantry also about the need for a radical change in the social order. A long-term programme, based also on this factor, was mapped out and implemented for the solution of the agrarian problem. It was aimed at bringing about not only the transformation of the relationship of ownership of the land, but also a radical change in the social field, in economic matters, in the field of culture and the whole way of life and the very aspect of the village, in general.

The first vital and most urgent issue, one which has been a centuries-old aspiration of the Albanian peasantry and which was solved within the framework of the agrarian problem, was the carrying out of a radical Land Reform (1945-1946). The political freedom which the hard-working peasant had won through the revolution was made more complete now with the direct economic and social benefits, among which worth-mentioning are the free distribution of the land, the liberation of the peasant from any kind of oppression and exploitation by the landowners,

and the opening of the prospects for a new life.

With the Land Reform begins the uninterrupted process of the transformation on the socialist bases of the economic and social relations in the rural area. The solution of this question was ensured through the collectivization of the small producers, which ended in general in 1956 and was accomplished in 1966. The collectivization of agriculture created the objective historical conditions to draw the labouring peasantry on to the road of socialism and the accelerated development of agriculture. And in fact it was only through the socialist transformation of agriculture that the possibility was created to place at the disposal of agriculture those colossal financial and technical means which the small-scale private economy of the village could not provide or create, but which were absolutely necessary in order to realize the great investments for land-protection and irrigation schemes, for the mechanization of production, for chemical, fertilizers, for seed selection, and so on. The view expressed by some foreign authors, allegedly that collectivization was merely a technical and administrative need, in order to take from the peasants the surplus of their agricultural and livestock products, without giving them in return the equivalent in industrial goods, is ungrounded and untenable before the scientific criticism.

The whole socialist transformation which has been carried out and consolidated in the rural area has enabled the Albanian agriculture to develop with markedly strategic objectives, not only on the economic plane, but also on the social plane. And the achievements made hitherto in this vital branch of our economy are considerable.

The place of the erstwhile primitive and one-sided agriculture has been taken by the multi-branched agriculture. Veritable overthrows, which bear no comparison with the period before Liberation, have taken place as regards the quantity and the quality of agricultural production, the area of tilled land the technology of agricultural production the methods

of working the land of services for the plants and the animals the amount of water used for irrigation of fertilizers and manure and so on. The new social and material factors, combined together have created a situation in which agriculture will never be at the mercy of the weather.

The key problem now remains the further intensification and modernization of agriculture, in the plains, in the hills and in the mountains. Of course, this requires both the extension of the surface of arable land and the increase of the number of productive livestock. The great long-term programme which has been charted for this purpose has two main directions: 1) the increase of the productivity of field crops and the animals, by placing the whole work of the organization and management, and the technology of agricultural production on a scientific basis; 2) the increase and systematization of the arable land, by opening up and appropriating new lands. To support this ambitious programme for the development of agriculture, in the 8th Five-year Plan, the state will invest 7 billion and 700 million leks, or 1/3 of all the volume of investments, while the total agricultural production is envisaged to increase about 35-37 per cent over the whole five-year period.

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The development of industry, agriculture and the other branches of the economy has been accompanied, as was natural, with displacements and movements of the population from the rural areas to the cities. As a result, the proportion of the working, people occupied with work in agriculture has shown a relative decrease, whereas that of the working people occupied with work in the other branches of the economy has risen. This process has been regulated, controlled, directed and planned according to the needs of the development of the economy, without permitting the creation of difficulties of a political, economic and social

nature. Generally speaking, this process has been accompanied by a higher degree of mechanization of work processes in agriculture and the increase of yields and productivity, by the increase of the agricultural and livestock production. It has developed in such a way as not to go against the strategy of the Party of ensuring the food of the people within the country and of strengthening the defence potential of the Homeland.

That is the reason why over 40 per cent of the labour power of the country still continues to be engaged in the sector of agriculture. This tendency will be present and valid also in the future. Abandoning agriculture, draining the village and the «forced population of the city», are not always and for each country an indication of «an economic and social superdevelopment», as some contemporary foreign authors, sociologists and economists are claiming. A penetrating analysis of the causes of the abandonment of the village, of the drain of the village, and of the concentration of the population in the metropolises and megalopolises is not so much the result of the enrichment of the working peasantry as it is the result of its impoverishment, ruin and exploitation.

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The map of Albania, as part of the map of Europe, in the mid 1940s, was a total blank as regards modern transportation. There were no marks of maccademized roads or railways on it.

This situation began to change when the country set out on the road of socialist development, with the placing in circulation of large quantities of the natural assets of the country, with the extension of the economic links in consumption and production, and with the increase in passanger movement throughout the territory of the country, as a single economic, social and cultural unit. Gradually, but firmly and in a persistent manner, work began for the creation of all kinds of modern tra-

nsportation: motor, railway and sea (internal and external) transport, which constitute a single state system and complement one another according to the plan of economic development.

The broken mountainous terrain dictated for some time the rapid development of motor transport, creating a road network with academiized roads, which a total length of 12 000 km, and which connect all the inhabited centres with the industrial regions. In 1985 motor transport coped with 65,8 per cent of the total volume of goods movement, equal to 84 million and 138 thousand tonnes.

Proceeding from the natural conditions of the country the motor transport will continue to occupy an important place in the movement of goods. Until the end of this century it is envisaged that motor transport will cope with about half of the total volume of goods movement on a national scale. In the framework of the 8th Five-year Plan and beyond measures have been planned as regards the improvement of the structure of vehicles and trailers of great capacity, with the aim of renewing especially those means of transport which have a relatively high physical ware.

After the year 1947 railways began to be build and railway transport was created. The total length of the railway network today reaches to about 500 km, extending into the coastal plains from the North (Shkodra) to the South (Vlora), as well as into the internal mountainous regions, and into the deposits of main minerals (chromium, iron-nickel). With the Shkodra-Han i Hotit extension, the PSR of Albania is connected with the European railway network. In 1985 railway transport coped with 32,6 per cent of the total volume of goods movement. Although most of the territory of the country is mountainous, railway transport will continue to be extended with priority by building new lines, and by the end of this century the total length of railway lines in Albania will reach to nearly 700 km, and railway transport will cope with half of the total volume of the goods transport in

tonnes per kilometre. An urgent task which demands solution in this kind of transport is the introduction of the new technologies and the means of loading and unloading in the railway stations and in the big centres of production and consumption.

The development of the economy in the coastal regions and the extension of trade relations with the outside world put on the order of the day the need for the creation of the sea transport and the big and small coastal navigation. This gave birth to the Albanian merchant fleet, which is equipped with sea crafts of a capacity from 500, 3000 and 16 000 tonnes. In 1985 internal water transport coped with about 2 per cent of the total volume of goods movement, whereas the external sea transport coped with about one third of the volume of import-export goods which are carried by sea.

In the future it is envisaged that the internal water transport and external sea transport will develop at more rapid rates than until today, by equipping them with more contemporary means of navigation and by increasing their weight in the total movement of goods inside the country and in foreign trade transport.

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For the correct solution of all the problems raised by the development of the economy in the more than four decades of the socialist construction the PSR of Albania has relied on its own forces, mobilizing and using according to plan the internal material, financial and human resources. The continuous application of this principle, which was consciously chosen as a constant strategy and not as a temporary policy of changing circumstances, has enabled socialist Albania to preserve and consolidate its national identity, its true political and economic independence, to defend the national economy against the pressure of policies of neo-colonialist subjugation, to maintain the level of individual social consumption within the bounds created by the national production without allowing an illusive growth, to even out

the total financial expenditure of the state with its income, to cover the expenditure for imports with the income from exports, and so on.

Our experience over many years has convinced us that one of the important aspects of the policy of self-reliance has been the solution of the problem of fundamental investments. In the beginnings of the socialist construction, our country, because of the known reasons of its economic backwardness inherited from the past, used relatively limited material and financial means for fundamental investments. In the 1st Five-year Plan (1951-1955) it invested only 2 billion and 379 million leks, maintaining an accumulation norm of about 28 per cent of the national income. Later, with each step forward taken from one five-year plan to the other the sources of internal accumulation was increased and, at the same time, the material base for fundamental investments was extended. In the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985), which was drafted and carried out without any credits and aid from abroad, the state laid out a total of 21 billion and 650 million leks for fundamental investments, maintaining an accumulation norm of about 30 per cent of the national income. The increased potential of the economy in the 8th Five-year Plan (1986-1990) has created possibilities to increase the volume of fundamental investments to 24 billion leks, while the norm of accumulation to represent 28 per cent of the national income.

In the present stage of the development of our economy, the problem of ensuring, on our own, the material structure of accumulation needed for the realization of fundamental investments and constructions, appears very acute. Today accumulation in our economy consists of nearly 4/5 in means of production and 1.5 in consumption goods, whereas the increase of the main productive funds represents about 60 per cent of the total amount of accumulation which is used for fundamental investments in the various branches of the economy.

We are conscious that our desire for independence and our concept of self-reliance is not opposed to the

objective existence of the international division of labour and the need for economic exchanges among countries on this basis, nor is it identified with autarchy. Not only today but at all times our economy will have need of trade exchanges, even though these exchanges make, to some extent, the influence of the destabilizing external situation and factors felt by our planned economy. Therefore, a part of the social product in the form of industrial and agricultural goods of our country will continue to be allocated to be exchanged on the foreign market for goods which are not produced locally, in conformity with the needs arising from the plan of fundamental constructions and investments, from the development of the economy, and with the needs for completing the structure of and extending the consumption by the people.

The concept of self-reliance has not impeded the Albanian economy from profiting from the international division of labour, from the progress of science and technique in the world, from foreign trade relations. On the contrary, this concept creates the broad and stable basis for economic and technical-scientific relations with the other countries in such forms and to such a degree which comply with the political and social order of each country and which are regarded as useful and of reciprocal benefit. And the fact is that the PSR of Albania today has trade relations with 50 countries of the world. Apart from this, from the time when Albania was transformed into an agricultural-industrial country, the marketing structure of its foreign trade has changed radically. The finished or semi-finished industrial goods now make up most of the Albanian export goods, and similar goods prevail in the Albanian imports.

The high rates of development of the economy, as envisaged under the 8th Five-year Plan, require a noticeable development and a greater increase of the volume of export. During this five-year plan export is envisaged to increase by 44-46 per cent. In order to guarantee the attainment of this target, the structure

of our export will undergo qualitative and quantitative changes, especially in favour of those goods which are in greater demand on the foreign market. The increase of export will permit the Albanian economy to direct its attention to the increase of imports, too. Our principle «there is no import» implies that the increase in import should be covered by the respective increase in export, that their harmonization and balancing should create real possibilities for the development of the economy at high rates and for the modernization of our technique and technology.

Our concept of self-reliance never connects foreign trade with receiving credits, with granting concessions, with permitting activities of foreign economic and financial companies and institutions in our country. This is explicitly stated in the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

We must also point out that the implementation of the principle of self-reliance has not lead and does not lead to political «self-isolation» or «autarchy» of the country. And in fact the PSR of Albania has regular state relations with 104 different countries of the world, with which it has cultural, scientific, artistic, sport and other exchanges. Therefore, the idea expressed by some foreign author that allegedly «the principle of self-reliance, as a political, social and economic process, is outdated conservatism or extreme anachronism», is wholly ungrounded.

The size, rates and levels of developments achieved and the perspective of our economy compare with whole historical epoch for our people. They represent one of the fundamental elements of that political and social process which began more than four decades before with the triumph of the people's revolution and with the setting out of the country on the road of socialist development.

1 *Enver Hoxha*, *The Anglo-American Threat to Albania*, Tirana 1982, Eng. ed.

2 *Ramiz Alia*, Report to the 9th Congress of the PLA, Tirana 1986, p. 66.

ENVIRONMENT PROTECTION IN OUR COUNTRY

by **TAHIR CENKO**

The fact that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania continues to have a clean air, water and land environment even in the conditions of a rapid socio-economic development is explained with the care taken at every step of industrialization, urbanization, chemization of agriculture, rational and programmed utilization of natural resources.

ENVIRONMENT POLLUTION REPRESENTS TODAY A VERY ACUTE PROBLEM FOR MANY COUNTRIES AND REGIONS OF THE WORLD. THE SERIOUS CONCERN ABOUT THIS PHENOMENON HAS GIVEN RISE TO DIFFERENT OPINIONS AND STANDS, WHICH IN THE LAST ANALYSIS ARE ALSO A REFLECTION OF THE IDEOLOGY OF THOSE WHO EXPRESS THEM.

A RADICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PROBLEM CAN BY NO MEANS OVERLOOK THE TRUE CAUSES OF POLLUTION AND ITS REAL DIMENSIONS. TO PRESENT POLLUTION AS AN INEVITABLE AND OBJECTIVE PHENOMENON OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AS AN INDIVISIBLE PART AND LOGICAL CONSEQUENCE OF THIS DEVELOPMENT, OR, ON THE OTHER HAND, AS A LIMITED PHENOMENON WHICH DOES NOT JUSTIFY AN ACTIVE INTERFERENCE IN THE EQUILIBRIUM OF NATURE, A PHENOMENON EASILY SOLUBLE IN THE NEAR FUTURE, IS BOTH UNACCEPTABLE AND IRRELEVANT TO US. THESE WAYS OF POSING THE PROBLEM, WHICH IN ESSENCE BOIL DOWN TO THE SAME, DISTORT ITS TRUE CONTENT AND ARE INTENDED TO JUSTIFY THE CAPITALIST PRACTICE OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE TRUE CAUSE OF THE SITUATION CREATED.

Many densely populated zones are labouring today under an ecological crisis of alarming proportions. In the history of pollution, the grave events of Seveso (Italy) and Bhopal (India) have been added to the catastrophes recorded in London, the Massa Valley, Los Angeles, Minamata, etc. However, the systematic pollution of the Mediterranean, the atmosphere of metropolitan zones and farming land through chlororganic pesticides, etc.,

must be considered even more threatening. All this exposes the practices of the irrational utilization of natural resources and the violation of prophylactic principles in the field of health protection.

Biologists, hygienists, doctors, hydrologists and others have seen in practice the grave effects of pollution the environment and mankind are suffering from. Proceeding from scientific deductions they foresee even greater threats in the future.

The present level of pollution, the

damage it has already done and the forecasts of its further aggravation have aroused the indignation of world opinion, which is opposing it in most various forms and ways.

The problem of environment pollution and its prevention, before being a question of technique, is a question of conception. The successful prevention or deepening of the process of pollution are in direct dependence on the stand towards it, the policy followed in the field of health protection and the creative values of the environment, in which the mode of economic development occupies a special place. Technical thought and development are only auxiliary mechanisms which, in certain circumstances and periods, are utterly unable to achieve the complete solution of all the problems in this field.

Radical preventive measures have been taken to cope with this problem in our country. It is being successfully dealt with in due time and at the due extent. Among the preventive measures having to do with the protection of the health of the people, defence of the environment from pollution and programmation

and implementation of a whole complex of state, health and social measures in this field assume ever increasing importance.

The fact that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania continues to have a clean air, water and land environment even in the conditions of a rapid socio-economic development has nothing to do with the late development of certain branches which are known for their polluting potential, or with favourable geo-climatic conditions, because these factors have their negative aspects, too. In the first place, this is explained with the care taken at every step of industrialization, urbanization, chemization of agriculture, rational and programmed utilization of natural resources, to avoid polluting charges beyond self-cleaning capacities or the cleaning means at our disposal, while, on the other hand, allowing no vacuum which would have a negative impact on the natural equilibrium.

Among the many elements of the programs for the protection of the environment from pollution stand out the economic policy in the geographical distribution of industry which is being consistently followed, the laws issued and implemented in earlier periods, creation of industrial zones, the setting up of specialized structures to follow up the purity of the environment in its development, study of ever more rational solutions, etc.

The increasing concern about the purity of the environment is based on the logical conclusion that, at the present level of development of science and technology, possibilities for pollution increase, regardless of differences in structure and form. The above measures are intended to prevent their turning into damaging factors of any kind for the health of the people, in the first place.

Legislation on health protection in our country has evolved in conformity with the ever changing requirements at the successive stages of

the socio-economic development. Apart from the laws on prevention of infectious diseases, conservation of food-stuffs, creation of appropriate conditions for safety at work, etc., laws on prevention of poisoning through pesticides, powerful toxins, ionizing radiations, etc., have also been promulgated, a process which is in constant development through qualitative improvements and successive amendments. However, proceeding from the preventive character of our socialist health service and the bitter experience of many countries of the world, in 1973 the Decree No. 5105 and the Decision No. 205 were adopted and immediately implemented by the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers. They were intended to protect the environment in the conditions of the current and perspective development of the country. They were expressions of advanced concepts on the content and prevention of pollution, with the provision of adequate organizational and technical norms and clear duties for the state organs. Legislation on the protection of the environment in our country is characterized by the fact that its bases have been laid at a time when pollution represented no particularly disquieting phenomenon, that is to say, it has a preventive character, approaching the problem in all its extension and depth and providing for the necessary expenditure, which should be planned and met by the state.

In accordance with the above Decree, the Rules of the Ministry of Health give this definition: «Air, water and land are considered polluted when there are physical, chemical and biological changes above permissible norms as a result of discharges of polluting substances (dust, gases and vapours, sewage water, liquid or industrial waste, radioactive substances, etc.) from inhabited centres, socio-cultural objects, industrial enterprises, agricultural farms etc.»

Thus, norms for preventing the dis-

posal of polluting substances in the atmosphere and surface waters were formulated and implemented. In the meantime measures were taken for the creation of control services with the relative analytical facilities. Many services of the Department of Hygiene and Epidemiology in the districts are engaged in the analytical control of atmosphere pollution for many years now.

The correct territorial distribution of industry and productive forces in general, an essential direction of the policy for the harmonious development of the whole country, is an important not only economic, political and social but also ecological problem. It is intended to avoid the concentration of potentially polluting objects in limited zones with theoretically insufficient self-cleaning capacities to cope with major polluting discharges per unit of area, time or other reference forms. A general view of the distribution of the main objects of industry and the population shows an evident proportionality. Thus, the mechanical engineering industry and the light and food-processing industries are distributed all over the country, while the metallurgical and chemical industry, only in some districts, etc.

Creation of industrial zones is common practice in our country. Up to now it has been one of the more effective ways for the protection of the atmosphere of cities from pollution. Analytical observations carried out during the recent years have shown that a correct choice of places for the construction of industrial objects, taking into account the structure of the rise of winds and the distances from the inhabited centres, has ensured the satisfactory protection of the latter from gas and solid discharges of industrial origin. Such zones have been set up almost in all the cities of the country, especially when the question is about objects of higher polluting potential. From a simple study of this problem

it results that over 90 per cent of the industrial objects considered as dangerous in the point under discussion are sited at sufficient distance from inhabited centres so as to protect them from industrial discharges, while many other objects, which pose a lesser threat as regards pollution, are still located outside the distance limits envisaged under the legislation in force.

Both the designing organs and the health organs pay particular attention to this problem. For some years now this problem has been coped with on the basis of complex studies which take into account all the more important factors determining the purity of the environment of the inhabited centres.

A broad scientific research activity is carried out in this field in our country. The main directions of the preventive system were for a period of time aimed at the classification of the sources of pollution: industrial, communal or transport, to go over afterwards to the theoretical calculation of their contribution to the alteration of the physical and chemical indices of the environment. Fuels were given priority in these studies, considering their characteristics and those of the machinery using them as regards the gas or solid dischar-

ges. So we know today the more important elements for assessing the problem, in general. Always on the basis of theoretical calculations, it results that industrial activities make the main contribution to the pollution of the environment, followed by communal, and then, communication facilities.

The Decree and Decision of 1973, especially, gave a great impulse to studies in this field. After the first phase, during which the number, kind and characteristics of pollution sources were studied there came the phase of control and analytical examinations. The information gathered at this phase proved with concrete data that the environment in our country is on a whole clean and traces of pollution are observed only in some particular zone and for certain periods of time. This is the result of analytical surveys about the main pollutants over a period of some years.

In the activities of the health organs in this field are also included studies of other sources of pollution, which add to the acquaintance with the problem such as pesticide content and residues in fruit and vegetables, traces of the carboxilhaemoglobin in contingents outside professional exposition, structure and le-

vels of morbidity in the population of cities with or without industrial activities, etc. Also, observations are being carried out of levels of mercuriaemia in given contingents of the population, of the content of carbone monoxide, nitrogen gases and tar from automobile exhausts, and so on.

An important role in scientific studies and research has been played also by papers read at various scientific sessions organized from time to time by the prophylatic organs especially the scientific conference «Problems of protection of the natural environment» organized by the Academy of Sciences. Attentive work has been done also in the programming of publications and information about this problem at schools, etc.

Our conception of pollution and the struggle to prevent it proceeds from the premise that, as a phenomenon which appears gradually, it should be kept under constant control and that prevention is the most effective means to cope successfully with it.

Implementation of the orientations of the Party in this important field calls for co-ordinated activity of all state organs according to short-term and long-term programs supported by a widespread activity for the mobilization of public opinion.

ON THE 80th ANNIVERSARY OF THE CONGRESS OF THE CONGRESS WHICH SOLVED THE UNIFICATION OF THE ALPHABET OF THE

by Prof. SHABAN DEMIRAJ

In 1908, when the Congress of Manastir — one of the most remarkable events in the history of the Albanian people — was convened, the unified literary language did not exist, nor even the unified alphabet of the mother tongue.

The lack of a unified alphabet of the Albanian language was a clear sign of the division which existed at a time when the need for the unification of the whole Albanian people in the struggle and efforts for freedom and independence was felt more than ever before. It was also a great impediment to the education and progress of our people, at a time when they needed so much to shake off the centuries-old backwardness which created very favourable conditions for the efforts of their many enemies to divide them. In order to form even a partial idea about the situation of written Albanian on the eve of the Congress of Manastir, suffice it to mention that in the beginning of this century, in a single city like Shkodra, the Albanian language was written in not less than four different alphabets. Besides the traditional northern alphabet, in which the works of Buzuku, Budi, Bardhi, Bogdani and others had been written and printed, at that time the alphabet of the «Agimi» association, that of the «Bashkimi» association, as well as another one written in Arabic letters, were in use. A more or less similar situation existed in other regions of the country, as well as among the circles of Albanian emigrants abroad, not to mention the Albanians of Italy, those of Greece and the foreign students of the Albanian language.

Thus, although many centuries had gone by since the Albanian language had begun to be written up till the eve of the Congress of Manastir, still it had not been possible to ensure the unification of a general alphabet to write this language. It is true that the first serious attempts in this direction had been made as early as in 1879 by the Association of Printing Albanian Letters in Istanbul, under the direction of the outstanding patriot and scholar, Sami Frashëri. As is known, at that period an alphabet complete with thirty-six letters, based mainly on the Latin alphabet and complemented with some special letters and with the odd Greek letter, was created. But despite its widespread use in some regions of Albania and among some circles of Albanian emigrants, this alphabet did not succeed in supplanting all the other alphabets which were still in use then. Indeed the «vice» of creating new alphabets continued to spread even after 1879. In these conditions the Congress of Manastir met to solve the important and arduous duty of providing a final solution to the problem of unifying the alphabet of the Albanian language.

The Congress of Manastir which was convened at the initiative of the Albanian Association of the homonymous city and held its proceedings from the 14th to the 22nd of November 1908, was attended by fifty delegates representing all the regions inhabited by Albanians, the Albanian clubs and associations inside and outside the country and by the Arbëreshi of Italy. Among the delegates to the Congress there were also patriots of

great note such as Bajo Topulli, Çerçiz Topulli, Mihal Grameno, Ndre Mjeda, Luigj Gurakuqi, Shahin Kolonja, Sotir Peci and others. After the general debate, the Congress ruled that the problem of the alphabet be decided in a special commission consisting of 15 members, elected by the representatives of various regions and associations. The decisions of this commission, which held its proceedings in closed door sessions, would be binding on the congress.

Of course, in the political circumstances of the year 1908, it could not be expected that the Congress should solve the complicated question of the unification of the alphabet of the Albanian language immediately and in a perfect manner. Therefore, the members of the special commission, after many deliberations, reached the conclusion that, in the situation of that time, the best solution was to maintain in use both alphabets, the alphabet of 1879 (with some minor changes and improvements) and a new alphabet entirely with Latin letters. But since the second Latin alphabet was more practical for the printing of books in every country, it was natural that it would soon become the general alphabet in use throughout the country. And in fact, that is what happened. In this way, the question of the unification of the alphabet of the Albanian language, which was put on the right road at the Congress of Manastir, was finally solved within a short period by the choice of the Albanian people themselves.

Considering the historic decision of the Congress of Manastir from all its

MANASTIR

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THE ALBANIAN LANGUAGE

aspects, it can be noticed immediately that, despite the intrigues of the external and internal enemies who did not cease their activity even during the work of this Congress, the spirit of unity prevailed over that of division. And this became possible, in the first place, under the pressure of the patriotic and progressive elements inside and outside the Congress. Likewise, it is interesting to note that the decision of the Congress of Manastir was in complete conformity with the centuries-old tradition of written Albanian, which had always used the Latin alphabet in the main. And this is completely justified if we bear in mind the fact that the traditional alphabet of the old writers of the North was written with Latin letters, or the testimony of the French friar of the 14th century, Guillelmus Adae, who lived many years in Tivar and who, in a manuscript of the year 1332 admits that «although the Albanians have an entirely different language from the Latin language, nevertheless they use Latin letters in all their books.» The adoption of the Latin alphabet to write the Albanian language in various periods has been conditioned, among other things, by the geographical position of Albania as a European country, and by the ancient links of the Albanian people with the peoples of Europe. Therefore, the decision of the delegates of the Congress of Manastir to follow this old tradition without the slightest hesitation, despite the pressure of some reactionary circles of the time for a different solution of the problem of the alphabet of the Albanian language, was a correct and courageous act.

But it is self-understood that, with

the solution of the question of the alphabet the Congress did not provide solution to all the problems of the written Albanian language. Still more complicated problems, such as the establishment of perfect common spelling norms, the road of the further development of the Albanian language and, especially, the establishment of a unified literary standard which could be used generally by all the Albanians, were not discussed and could not have been solved at the Congress of Manastir, even because of sheer lack of time. Those questions which had attracted the attention of some outstanding patriots like Kostandin Kristoforidhi, Sami Frashëri, Naim Frashëri, Luigj Gurakuqi and others, after the Congress of Manastir remained without a final answer despite the invaluable assistance of some noted linguists and writers like Aleksandër Xhuvani, Ndre Mjeda, Fan Noli, Lasgush Poradeci and others. The ardent desire of our patriots of the past for the establishment of a single literary Albanian language with a unified norm of spelling, grammar and vocabulary could not be achieved before the necessary objective and subjective conditions had been created. These conditions, for recognized reasons, could not be created either during the foreign occupations, or during the rule of the local feudal-bourgeois class. Only after the triumph of the National Liberation War and the People's Revolution, the conditions were created in Albania for overcoming the difficulties which lay on the road of the establishment of a unified literary language for all Albanians. The Albanian writers and linguists inside and outside the borders of the PSR

of Albania made their valuable contribution to the working out and further consolidation of this unified literary language, which was formed as a result of the new political and economic conditions that were created and developed in Albania after 1944. Here we must mention especially the great work of the new Albanian language studies for the drafting of the unified rules of spelling of the Albanian language in conformity with the tendencies of the development of the literary Albanian language. These rules, which were published as a draft in 1967, were given for discussion by the broad masses.

As a result, the work done during some generations, was in the end consecrated in the historic decisions of the Congress of the Spelling of the Albanian Language, which was held in Tirana in 1972. From the work of this Congress, which was attended by 87 delegates representing all the regions of Albania, the Albanian population of Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro, as well as the Arbëreshi of Italy, it emerged quite clearly that the Albanian language, fulfilling ever better the many-sided requirements of the social activity, «has reached such a stage of development which permitted us to scientifically admit that the Albanian people have already a unified literary language,» as the resolution of that historic Congress pointed out. In this manner, the Congress of Spelling of the Albanian Language, continuing in the example of the Congress of Manastir, finally fulfilled the ardent desire of all those who, together with the milk of their mother, had sucked the sweet words of the Albanian language.

NO SETTLEMENT OF THE AND THE MIDDLE ACHIEVED AGAINST PALESTINIAN

Albania recognizes the cre

ON DECEMBER 13, 1988, AT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNO, WHICH DISCUSSED THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE, THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE PSR OF ALBANIA, COMRADE REIZ MALILE, ALSO TOOK THE FLOOR. HE SAID:

At a time when the General Assembly was expected to hold a constructive debate which would open the prospect for the settlement of the Palestinian question and the Middle-East question in general, the Assembly was faced with the unjust stand of the United States of America, which, in opposition to the obligations deriving from the agreement they have made with the UNO and to the interests of peace, did not permit the lawful representative of the Palestinian people to go to New York in order to speak to this Assembly. The General Assembly reacted justly to this arbitrary action and with almost complete unanimity decided to transfer the seat of its work from New York to Geneva, which is a unique case in the history of the United Nations. This stand is a clear indication of the support which the brave Palestinian people enjoy and the serious preoccupation of the international community to find a correct settlement to this important problem for the fates of a people and for peace.

For more than four decades the United Nations Organization has continuously dealt with the discussion of the Palestinian problem, both

at the General Assembly, in the Security Council and in other bodies. The debates held in them have strongly voiced the legitimate concern of UNO members about the continuation of the grave drama and suffering of the Palestinian people, the injustices committed against them and the indispensable need of righting this wrong.

The Middle-East crisis, which continues for nearly half a century, has shown that this region of great strategic importance and rich in oil reserves has become an arena in which the interests of the superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, have often clashed in order to secure their presence there. These circumstances and the expansionist policy of Israel against the Arab states have faced this region with regular cyclical aggressions and prolonged conflicts which have brought about incalculable destruction and misery to the countries and peoples of the region.

The Palestinian problem, Comrade Reis Malile continued, is a constituent part of the crisis in the Middle East, where its lengthy spectre has more than once jeopardized international security. This crisis has been fostered by the profoundly anti-Palestinian and anti-Arab policy of

imperialism and Israel, which through repeated aggressions has occupied Arab territories and has dislodged from their territories an entire people with a culture and civilization with deep roots in this region, as are the Palestinian people, compelling them to a life of refugees. Despite the great sacrifices and privations, the brave Palestinian people have never bowed. They have continued the resolute struggle and efforts for their just cause.

A living testimony of this growing resistance is the broad popular uprising of the masses in the Palestinian occupied territories, where the generation which was born and grew up in the conditions of occupation is resisting with unprecedented heroism to the military machine of the occupiers. In this just struggle it has had and has the powerful support of the fraternal Arab peoples and of all the peoples of the world. The interference of the superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States of America, in this region, has exerted a very negative influence of grave consequences on the deepening of the Middle-East crisis in the last decades. The inter-imperialist consensus, a concrete expression of which is the «neither war nor peace» situation, has resulted in fostering the causes and consequences of this crisis.

Those who oppose the settlement of the Middle-East crisis from time

PALESTINIAN QUESTION EAST CRISIS CAN BE T THE WILL OF THE AN PEOPLE

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to time have proposed many different plans, the aim of which, in the last analysis, has been to liquidate the Palestinian question. The so-called policy of «secure borders», which is widely trumpeted by Israel, is a recognized tactic used in order to deny the Palestinian people their homeland and to perpetuate the occupation of the Arab lands.

These dangerous plans have been rejected by the Palestinian people, who, with admirable determination, continue their struggle and efforts for the fulfilment of their national aspirations. It is this struggle and these efforts which have made the Palestinian factor fundamental in the settlement of the Middle-East problem. No conference or forum, at any level, can be able to produce a useful result if the Palestinian problem is left out of consideration. No settlement of the Palestinian question and the Middle-East crisis can be achieved against the will expressed by the Palestinian people or by disregarding this will.

The long and heroic struggle of the Palestinian people, the revolt of the broad popular masses in the Western Bank and in the Gaza Strip and the developments in the Middle-East region itself have created a new situation which puts forward the immediate task of the final solution of the Palestinian problem. In these conditions, only a few days ago the Palestinian National Council proclai-

med the creation of the Palestinian state.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania, he pointed out, which has always powerfully supported the just cause of the Palestinian people for freedom and self-determination against the Israeli-imperialist aggression and their right to have their own independent state, greeted and recognized the Palestinian state. This historic decision of the Palestinian National Council responds to the aspirations and the legitimate rights of the brave Palestinian people. At the same time it contributes to the solution of the Middle-East conflicts and to peace and security in the region.

The fact that this step was greeted and recognized by many countries of the world speaks of the resolute support of the international community to the just cause of the Palestinian people.

The interest of peace and security require the Palestinian problem, the situation in Lebanon and the Middle-East problem as a whole should be judged with political realism in the context of the present-day international developments. In recent times some steps have been made towards easing tension, and especially towards putting out some regional conflicts, as was the Iraq-Iran conflict. Such steps have been hailed by the international public opinion, which sincerely desires positive developments in favour of peace in the Middle East, too. In the treatment of this problem

it is necessary that the interests of the Palestinian people and the other Arab countries which have fallen victims of aggression, must be taken into consideration first, therefore a stable solution can emerge only from the countries of the region which are directly interested in its peace and security. Every other effort to leave this problem in the hands of the superpowers contains the danger that they would tend only to their own interests, in the framework of their global policy and, as experience hitherto has shown, the conflict might remain open.

The Palestinian people, Comrade Reis Malile said winding up his speech, have the right to live free and independent, History has already shown, and lessons ought to be drawn from it, that violence and terror cannot succeed in reducing and liquidating a people who are determined to fight for their freedom and national rights.

Therefore, it is the opinion of the Albanian delegation that the debate of this problem at the General Assembly should be aimed, in the first place, at providing powerful support for the Palestinian people, their right to self-determination, the recognition of their state, the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories. These are the basic premises for putting this problem on the road of settlement and for ensuring peace in the region.

THE 5th CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN (MARXIST-LENINIST) HELD ITS PROCEEDINGS

by **FAIK ÇINAJ**

IN RECENT TIMES IN MADRID THE 5TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN (M-L) HELD ITS PROCEEDINGS. THE CONGRESS WAS ATTENDED BY OVER 200 DELEGATES, REPRESENTATIVES OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS FROM ALL THE COUNTRY, AS WELL AS BY MANY DELEGATIONS OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES FROM DIFFERENT COUNTRIES. ATTENDING THE CONGRESS WAS ALSO A DELEGATION OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA.

THE CONGRESS DREW THE BALANCE-SHEET OF THE ACTIVITY OF THE PARTY IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE TWO CONGRESSES. THE REPORT, SUBMITTED BY THE FIRST SECRETARY, COMRADE RAUL MARCO, POINTED OUT THAT THE ACTIVITY OF THE PARTY DURING THIS PERIOD HAS BEEN INTENSIVE AND MANY-SIDED, AND HAS BEEN ENRICHED WITH A NEW EXPERIENCE. THE SUCCESSES ACHIEVED, THE CONCRETE ADVANCE IN THE PARTY WORK WITH VARIOUS SECTIONS OF THE PEOPLE, HELPED TO SET NEW OBJECTIVES FOR NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN ALL FIELDS.

The Congress stopped especially to analyse its work and set new tasks for the work of the Party in the worker and trade-union movement, in order to extend the influence of the Party further into the ranks of the working class. In this connection, the report stressed the importance of the ideological struggle, the

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participation of the militants of the Party in trade-union actions and in political debates, in exposing the capitalist system, in order to explain clearly the causes of its situation to the working class and to make it conscious of its historic role as a class and the importance of the struggle for socialism. In this struggle it is possible to clearly draw the line that divides the Party from the

opportunists of every hue and shade, a thing which helps to win over the section of the most conscious workers, who, disillusioned with the revisionist party, need a party of their own.

The report dwelt also on problems of the political situation of the country, revisionism in Spain and the capitalist content of perestroika in the Soviet Union, the leading political and organizational work of the Party and admissions into the Party, the policy towards the common fronts and the actions with the other political and social forces, etc.

In connection with the international situation, the report treated various aspects of the crisis of the capitalist system. The compromises and negotiations of the last two years between the USA and the Soviet Union for the reduction of some nuclear weapons and the control of local wars have given rise to a wave of demagoguery about «a new epoch of peace and easing of tension in the world». Despite all this, nothing has changed in the imperialist strategy of

war and the counter-revolution. With their demagogy about peace and disarmament the two superpowers want, first of all, to lower the popular vigilance in the just struggle for emancipation and to put the fates of the world in the hands of imperialism.

Apart from the report of the Central Committee, the Congress heard and endorsed the conclusions of the commissions set up for the discussion of the proposals from the party organizations about the political line, the statute and the worker movement, which reflects the four-year long experience of the Party.

The delegates from all the regions of the country discussed at the Congress, bringing their experience of work and struggle and pledging that they would carry the Party work for the implementation of the tasks of the 5th Congress further ahead.

The Congress was also greeted by the delegation of our Party, which expressed the feelings of sincere communist solidarity to the delegates of the Congress, to all the militants of the sister Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist). The message of

greetings which the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania sent to the 5th Congress, reads: «The Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist), one of the first parties which was formed in the struggle against the betrayal of modern revisionism, has in its record a broad balance-sheet of experience in the uninterrupted revolutionary activity over twenty-five years for the cause of Marxism-Leninism and the working class. The successes it has achieved in the period between the two congresses have further enriched this experience, have increased its capacity to cope with difficulties and the complicated situations, making it capable of affirming itself as the true representative of the interests of the working class and the working masses. We wish from our heart that the Congress will carry these victories further ahead and will give a new impulse to the entire revolutionary life and activity of the Party in the struggle of the working class and the working people for their aspirations and rights.» The message of greetings expressed the confidence of our Party that the fra-

ternal friendship and collaboration between the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist) will be further increased and strengthened.

The speech of the representative of our delegation was heard with interest and was accompanied with applause by the delegates to the Congress.

Our delegation participated in and greeted the closing session of the 5th Congress of the CP of Spain (Marxist-Leninist). Apart from the delegates and the foreign delegations invited to the Congress, present were also representatives of various progressive organizations, friends of the Party, progressive intellectuals, and others.

Warm feelings of internationalist friendship accompanied our delegation in all the meetings with organizations, militants and friends of the Party, with members of the Spain-Albania Friendship Association and with well-wishers of our country. Everywhere there was interest in the achievements of socialist Albania and appreciation for the policy of the PLA.

FEDERATIVE YUGOSLAVIA AND ITS CROSS-ROADS

by Prof. SOFOKLI LAZRI

FOR A LONG TIME NOW THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN YUGOSLAVIA HAS CONTINUED TO ATTRACT THE ATTENTION OF PUBLIC OPINION IN EUROPE AND IN THE WORLD AT LARGE. AND THIS INTEREST IN IT IS OBVIOUS. IN THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN EUROPE TODAY NO ONE CAN REMAIN INDIFFERENT TO THE CRISES WHICH EMERGE IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES AND WHICH MAY LEAD TO INCREASES OF TENSIONS OR TO THE UPSETTING OF THE BALANCE, WHICH AS IT IS, IS VERY PRECARIOUS ON OUR CONTINENT. THIS INTEREST IS STILL MORE JUSTIFIED IF WE BEAR IN MIND THE GEO-POLITICAL POSITION OF YUGOSLAVIA IN THE BALKANS, THE INTERSECTION OF THE FOREIGN INTERESTS IN THIS COUNTRY, THE POSSIBILITY THAT ITS INTERNAL CONFLICTS MIGHT BOUNCE OUT OF ITS BORDERS.

NO ONE CAN TELL WHAT COURSE OF DEVELOPMENT THE PRESENT EVENTS IN YUGOSLAVIA WILL TAKE. BUT WHAT IS EXPRESSED UNANIMOUSLY IS THE DESIRE TO SEE YUGOSLAVIA STABILIZED, FREE AND INDEPENDENT, DEMOCRATIC AND PROGRESSIVE, AS A COMMUNITY OF UNITED PEOPLES AND NATIONALITIES, FRATERNIZED AROUND THE IDEAL FOR WHICH THEY MADE SO MANY SACRIFICES AND SHED SO MUCH BLOOD DURING THEIR LIBERATION WAR.

Many are those in Yugoslavia and outside it who believe that a solution of the economic crisis would automatically lead to the settlement of the other problems, not only the social ones, but also the constitutional and structural ones. There is a great deal of talk going on, especially about the creation of a «free market» and about a «democratic revival» which would provide the simplest and most effective means and measures in order to get the country out of the crisis. In theory this idea may be correct, but in practice, judging from the Yugoslav reality, it is an extreme simplification of matters.

The fundamental conflict which has characterized the whole life of the

Yugoslav state, from its creation until today, and continues to characterize it now, has been the conflict between the desires of the South Slavs to unite in a free and democratic state and the unquenchable thirst of the Serb nationalists for domination of them. It was the clash of these two currents which led to the fratricidal tragedies caused by the Četnici and the Ustaši during the Second World War; it is the clash of these two tendencies today which has given rise to the present political quarrels and frictions among its different nationalities. Therefore, without an appropriate atmosphere, acceptable to all the peoples of Yugoslavia, the economy cannot advance, the social problems

cannot be settled. No logic can accept that it is possible to bring about the economic progress and a democratic revival while, at the same time, denying the national rights of the peoples and suppressing them. In a multinational state, as Yugoslavia is, the consensus of its nations constitutes the basic condition for the settlement of the political, economic and other problems. Unfortunately, the course steered in Yugoslavia today is opposite to this historical condition. Serb nationalism, with open hegemonic and unitarian pretensions, totally opposed to the federative basis on which the Yugoslav state was built after the national liberation war, and to the inter-national principle and consensus which were widely applied in all fields, has emerged in the Yugoslav political scene. And how can there really be an economic progress and a democratic revival when the national rights of the peoples are disregarded?

The transformation of the multinational Yugoslavia into a unitarian state under Serb hegemony would certainly have grave consequences, both in the internal and in the external aspects. The danger exists and signs of it are apparent even now, that every economic, social and other conflict can develop into a conflict among nations, which is just as easy to provoke as it is difficult to be put out. At least history has proved this.

One of these conflicts, we may say the first of them, is that of Kosova, because the conflict of Slovenia has already begun and that of Montenegro is looming on the horizon.

In the decisions of the Yugoslav party and state, in the speeches of its leaders, in the press, in various books, at conferences, and everywhere else they write and say that the settlement of the problems of Kosova constitutes the «key to the way out of the crisis for Yugoslavia». In fact this is true. The way the problem of Kosova is solved is decisive for the directions which the future development of Yugoslavia will follow. Kosova has been transformed into a battlefield in which not only the fate of the Albanians, but also of the Croats, of the Slovenes, of the Bosnians and of the whole of Yugoslavia is decided. It has become the touchstone of the direction in which the key in question will be turned. Will it be turned in the right direction in order to open the door to democracy, equality and harmony between the nations and peoples there, or will it be turned in the wrong direction in order to throw them into a real prison of the peoples, as in the time of the rule of the Serbian monarchy? This is the question.

At the great rally which was held in Belgrade some time ago, the leader of the party for Serbia, Milošević, in a very pathetic and premonitory manner declared: «We, the Serbs, will win the battle for Kosova». He did not say that they will also win the battle for Slovenia, Montenegro or Bosnia, but the bells he rang in Belgrade were also tolling for all of them, for the whole of Yugoslavia.

The Serb leaders blame the situation in Kosova on the «many» national and democratic rights which the Albanians allegedly have, on the autonomy of Kosova, on the national liberation war which made them equal with the other peoples of Yugoslavia, on the decisions of AVNOJ which created the Federation, on the constitution of 1974 which sanctioned these rights.

Never before have the rights of citizens, national equality and democracy led to political and social conflicts. On the contrary, they have served as the basis and means to overcome them. Only the fascists sought and found the source of social conflicts in democracy and tried to liquidate it.

But in today's Yugoslavia all sorts of miracles are happening. Some time ago one of the Yugoslav newspapers wrote that Skanderbeg, the National Hero of Albania and one of the greatest men the European Renaissance has produced, has allegedly been the collaborator of a certain Xhafer Deva, an agent in the pay of the Germans during the Second World War! This is tantamount to saying that Joan of Arc was a close associate of Pierre Laval! Another newspaper wrote that the cause of the present events in Kosova is Pashko Vasa, who, in the 19th century, said that «the religion of the Albanians is the faith in Albania». Belgrade's newspaper «Politika» publishes a first-page splash in the biggest possible letters, saying: «Advance, Slobodan, if need be right into Tirana», obviously to establish «order» not only in Kosova, but also in Albania!

Whoever sees and hears these pearls will say that all this is nothing but a delirium. It may be a delirium, but what must be admitted is that it is the result of the high chauvinistic fever which wipes out any normal logic and reasoning. They are the product of the anti-Albanian psychosis which has been created in Yugoslavia, the hatred against anything which is connected with the Albanians and their history, that thing which is making the name Albanian synonymous to all the words of the Serb language that can be used to describe any negative phenomenon. In the mind of the Serb journalists and orators, to be an Albanian is equal to being an irredentist, separatist, annexionist, usurper, fascist, ignorant, criminal, violator, chauvinist, nationalist, destabilizer, and so on.

The whole of the Albanian history,

not only that of the modern times, but also the events which have happened before the Slavs came to the Balkans, are qualified as nothing less than a single course of unchangeable efforts for the creation of «Great Albania». Indeed, even the Albanian children who are born in Kosova are allegedly brought to light in order to create this «Great Albania» and to occupy the «Serb vital space». The zealous Serbian historians and writers put this stamp, which leaves everyone wondering with amazement, on the wars of Skanderbeg against the Turks in the 15th century, on the League of Prizren in 1878 for the defence of the territories of Albania against their partitioning, on the Proclamation of Independence in 1912, and on our National Liberation War. If the Albanians say, for example, that they are the descendants of the Illyrians, these self-styled historians will immediately accuse them of committing a crime which is aimed at destabilizing Yugoslavia, at the expulsion of the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosova and, of course, at the creation of «Great Albania». And then, if the Albanians speak about their original culture and traditions, they will be committing a still greater crime, because this means the «glorification» of an evil and dangerous past.

In Yugoslavia today they have established two different yardsticks by which the demands of the Serbs and the demands of the Albanians are measured. When the manipulated Serb mobs through the squares shouting «kill the Albanians», this is trumpeted as an «expression of the popular spontaneity», as a «political maturity of the masses», as a «high political awareness of the people», as a «powerful desire for strengthening unity in Yugoslavia». Whereas when the Albanians demand that the autonomy of Kosova should be preserved, that the rights recognized to them by the constitution should not be violated, these actions are qualified as a counter-revolution, as something which undermines the system, etc., etc., as though the constitution which Tito and

Kardelj drafted and which was endorsed by all the republics and regions had been deliberately worded to destroy Yugoslavia!

The existence of two different criteria and of a great nationalist blindness can explain the folly of the leadership of Shkup who, on the one hand, are striving to create a national identity for their own people, while on the other hand try to deny the identity of the Albanians who have created and affirmed it centuries before; or who labour to create a language in itself, while they are actually trying to stop the Albanian children from learning their ancient language. The time of the creation and denial of nations has long since passed, at least in Europe, but the politicians of Shkup apparently think that the oppression of the Albanians will compel the world to accept the stale theses of their Academy of so-called Sciences.

The Albanians of Kosova, Montenegro, and Macedonia are not asking for a place in Yugoslavia, are not demanding privileges and begging for

mercy. They live on their own territories, just like the others, therefore they want to be citizens equal to all the others, undiscriminated participants in the building of the political, economic and social life of the multinational Yugoslav state; they want recognition of their national and democratic rights, of their language and culture. The revolt of the Albanians results precisely from the efforts of Serb nationalism to refuse to acknowledge not only the historic and objective reality of Kosova, but also the whole of the Yugoslav reality. In an interview to TANJUG some time ago, the Federative Secretary of Defence of Yugoslavia, general Velko Kadijević, declared that «the suppression of the counter-revolution in Kosova is the main task in the field of defence». Kadijević did not specify who must carry out this «task», but he did not exclude his soldiers from this task. However, the question in this case is not one of interpretation of this statement, or of making suppositions about it. The fact remains that the problems of Kosova are political

problems and as such they can be settled only by political means. The use of violence, of any kind it be, including the military force, would rather complicate the existing conflicts. If the tanks set out for Kosova, they will end up in Belgrade. They will hardly return to their sheds.

The winds of Serb nationalism which are blowing with fury cannot help the Yugoslav ship to sail to safe shores, cannot create that climate which is necessary for a wise and calm treatment of the many difficult problems which preoccupy this country. In Belgrade it is said that Yugoslavia does not desire to remain outside the course of integration on this continent, but these strong winds can hardly help it to get close to its neighbours, to Europe, and to the world. Nationalism and the extremist political attitude which is spawned, cannot be the ideology and policy which is appropriate to the broad progressive processes which characterize the modern times in regard to the internal and international life.

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THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND GORBACHOV'S PERESTROIKA

«ZËRI I POPULLIT» — organ of the Central Committee of the PLA

The attitude towards the Great October Socialist Revolution, which marked the greatest change in the history of mankind 71 years ago, has been and remains a demarcation line between the Marxist-Leninists and the revisionists, between the revolutionary forces and the reactionary forces. The hostility of the international bourgeoisie and imperialism, which hate the October Revolution and Lenin because they caused an incalculable loss and an irreparable breach in the international capitalist system, on November 7th, 1917 is known. The hostility of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists and the political currents and parties is just as well known, because the October Revolution marked the triumph in practice of Marxism-Leninism, as the ideology which served as a basis for the revolutionary transformation of the society, for a new world, the world of the future.

The time proved the validity of the ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution and its immortal teachings on the road of the seizure of power by the proletariat, on the leading role of the communist party in the revolution, on the alliance of the working class with

the peasantry, on how to break the old state machine of the bourgeoisie and to build the new people's state, etc. In these more than 70 years that have elapsed since then, many campaigns have been launched against the revolution and socialism, against Leninism and communism, many crusades have been organized and unleashed against them, a great deal of various theories have been cooked up to oppose Marxism-Leninism, but Gorbachev's perestroika is one of the most dangerous frontal attacks of Soviet revisionism on the teachings of the October Revolution and Lenin. As Comrade Ramiz Alia has stressed in his book *Our Enver*: «The so-called perestroika and glasnost are roads towards the reformation of those elements which still retain the socialist appearances. Perestroika means the reformation of the entire Soviet society, not in order to strengthen the positions of the working class and socialism, but in order to give them the finishing blow.»

They pretend that all this is allegedly done in order to return to Lenin and the October Revolution, and that what is actually occurring in the Soviet society today is precisely what Lenin meant to do in the Soviet Union in

his time. By equalizing the revisionist perestroika with the October Revolution and by openly describing this reform as a given historical stage of the advance of the socialist society, the Soviet leadership tries to present it as an obligatory development for all countries, as the road which they must follow in order to reach socialism. Besides showing ideological and political self-conceit, equalizing the perestroika with the October Revolution is aimed at securing the hegemony of the Soviet Union as the centre of the direction of the international communist and workers' movement and of the revolutionary development in the present-day world, in a word, all this is tantamount to strengthening the hegemony of the Soviet Union over the other states and peoples.

In order to present himself in the image of the sole direct continuator of Lenin, the present Soviet leader and the entire propaganda of perestroika and glasnost are desperately trying to divorce Lenin from Stalin. This has to do not merely with a separation of names and persons, but is an attempt to deal a blow at the revolutionary ideology and activity which associates the two

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historic leaders of the Bolshevik Party and of the Soviet Union. All this is an enterprise in which all the predecessors of Gorbachov failed and in which he will have no better luck, either. It is impossible to separate the October Revolution and Lenin from Stalin and the Stalinian period, because it is the revolution, the communist ideology and socialism which inspired and united them. It is impossible to separate Stalin from the Bolshevik Party and the titanic battles which he led for the socialist industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture, for the modernization and the cultural advance of the country, which made the Soviet Union a powerful socialist state, capable of withstanding such major tests as was the Second World War from which it emerged triumphant.

The current campaign of the Soviet leadership against Stalin and his teachings is connected with their impossibility of demolishing everything which is socialist, every socialist element in the structure and the superstructure, with the fact that they cannot create an ideological, psychological and social atmosphere, which Gorbachov needs in order to carry into effect his reforms, without first removing Stalin and his experience of the construction of socialism en-

tirely from the memory of the country. This is the explanation to the detestable crusade which is launched in massive waves against the figure and the work of Stalin and has become one of the main pillars of Gorbachov's perestroika and glasnost. This is the explanation to the noisy rehabilitations of the notorious enemies of the October Revolution and Lenin, as were Kameniev, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Rikhov and others, which were done in the course of this year. These are not just rehabilitations of topmost figures of the anti-Leninist factions and groups, but above all, they are the rehabilitation of the theories and views which they preached and with which they opposed themselves to the ideas of the October Revolution and the state of the Soviets.

With these actions Gorbachov seeks to pave his own way, because what he is actually doing in the Soviet Union is a development and a replica in a new guise of what Bukharin, Zinoviev and other Trotskyites and opportunists sought to do after the triumph of the October Socialist Revolution. The present Soviet leader finds that he cannot go ahead with the privatization of the economy, agriculture, without first rehabilitating one of the theoreticians of private capitalism, Bukharin.

Gorbachov is propagating his own economic policy and reforms in the economy, which are being legalized through acts of law, as is that on the private initiative in industry and in the services, or that on leasing the land, or on the creation of joint enterprises with foreign capital and the permission of foreign capital inside the country, on free initiative and competition, trying to present all this as the continuation of the new economic policy (NEP) of Lenin. That Lenin meant only as a tactical, temporary measure adopted in the conditions of Russia in the early years of the existence of the Soviet state and as something imposed by the conditions of the economic ruin of the country in the heavy years of the civil war. Gorbachov today, after 70 years, tries to present his manoeuvres as a general strategy and a constant policy for all times.

There is nothing in common between Lenin's experience of the Soviet state and the reform of the political system, which Gorbachov has initiated and which is one of the main directions of the perestroika. The so-called separation of the functions of the party from those of the state is not a return to the Leninist conception of the Soviets, but a reforming of the Soviet sta-

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te according to the image of the western bourgeois political system. It is at the same time an effort at strengthening the personal political positions of Gorbachov in the struggle for power between the different groups in the leadership. Lenin was for the continuous strengthening of the leading role of the party, and he implemented this idea consistently both in the organization of the October Revolution and after the revolution. He fought consistently against the views which sought to transform the party into an educational association, a view which is to be found today in the theory of perestroika.

The experience of the October Revolution shows the great importance of the leadership by the Marxist-Leninist ideology, as the only ideology of the working class in the revolution and in socialism. Gorbachov's glasnost legalizes the bourgeois ideology and bourgeois pluralism, the freedom of action and spread of all kinds of anti-Leninist and anti-socialist views and theories. It has created the climate in which everything socialist is exposed to attacks, and the history of the Soviet Union and of Comintern is distorted, the international communist movement is blackened, and the outstanding communist leaders are denigrated, and, what is more, even Lenin

and the October Revolution have come under attack. The literature of the period of perestroika with its Shatrovs and Ribakhovs, which openly mars the October Revolution and throws mud on the figure of Lenin, has the official blessing of the leadership and the support of the ideology of perestroika.

The October Revolution and the correct national policy followed by Lenin and Stalin are a brilliant example of the solution of the national problem in the Soviet Union, which created the possibility for the establishment of fraternal relations among the peoples in their common struggle for socialism. The revisionists' betrayal, which began with Khrushchev and continued with his successors up to Gorbachov, opened the road for fierce national conflicts, like those which broke out this year in Armenia and Azerbaijan, Kazakstan and Georgia, Estonia and the other Baltic Republics of the USSR. The existence of this acute problem is one of the clearest indications of the failure of the revisionist policy pursued by the Soviet leadership, including perestroika. In the international arena, perestroika is the continuation of the hegemonistic policy of Soviet social-imperialism, and is aimed at creating the conditions for the Soviet Union to com-

pete with the United States of America for spheres of influence and hegemony in the world.

The ideas of the October Revolution and of Lenin's are a major theoretical and practical legacy for the revolutionaries and for the progressive forces all over the world. They show that the world can and must be changed through the revolution, that socialism is the only social order to which the future belongs and the only alternative to wiping out the exploitation of man by man, the order capable of providing answers to all the questions which the present social development raises, and of coping with all the challenges of the time. These teachings of universal value cannot be eclipsed by any campaign in the spirit of perestroika, which is undertaken in the Soviet Union. Perestroika has nothing in common with Lenin and with Leninism; it is a revisionist ideology and programme.

The Party of Labour of Albania has kept aloft the banner of the October Revolution and of Lenin's teachings, fighting for the implementation in practice of their revolutionary ideas for the construction of socialism in Albania and for the defence of Marxism-Leninism against the revisionists, opportunists and other enemies of the revolution.

***press-review* BUSH — THE PRESIDENT OF THE POLICY FROM POSITIONS OF STRENGTH**

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

After the campaign of presidential elections, held in the USA, the candidate of the Republican Party, George Bush, informed the electorate from Houston of his victory over the candidate of the Democratic Party, the Governor of Massachusetts, Michael Dukakis. The post of the vice-president will go to Dan Quayle. In this manner, for the third time in succession, the Republican Party won the contest for the top post in the White House. Parallel with the presidential elections, the elections for the two chambers of the American Congress — the Senate and the Chamber of Representatives — were held. They will be again predominated by the Republicans, who, as during Reagan's mandate, make up the majority.

The victory of the representative of the Republican Party in the presidential elections came as no surprise. It is true that the candidate of this party remained somewhat in the sidelines and was less outspoken than his democratic counterpart, who was very active in the last canvassing, but the economic and political circumstances were manipulated beforehand in order to secure the republican conti-

nunity in the presidency. With their unhurried attitude and by presenting only one candidate in the list, the republicans showed that they had been very accurate in their calculations, had entrusted the fate of this fierce battle in the hands of tested politicians. But the American electorate is gorged up with the electioneering parades, which go up with great pomp and colossal expenditure regularly. This time, however, only 50 per cent of the American electors participated in the polls, which were described as the longest and the most expensive in the entire history of the American election campaigns. Expecting such a thing, the Republican Party was especially careful in handling the electorate.

In the last years of the second mandate of Reagan's presidency, the Republicans created a more favourable economic atmosphere, by mitigating some preoccupying elements which are decisive in election campaigns. The effect of these measures was meant to bring about a certain revival in the American economy, in order to make it more competitive towards the economies of the other countries and of the world at large. Inflation dropped to 3.4 per cent, whereas

unemployment steadied at 5.6 per cent. These indices, temporary though they may be (since such fluctuations are often occurring in the USA), are more palatable to the American electors than those of eight years ago, when the Democrats were in office. Dukakis' promises lacked conviction about the further advance of the American economy, or about settling those problems which have remained unsolved. In these conditions the alternative was clear: better accept and keep what has been achieved, than put the above-mentioned indices to the test, when the outcome is dubious. Despite the pragmatic attitude, the economic situation is not entirely favourable. It is darkened by the great trade deficit, which has increased fourfold, by the budget deficit which reaches up to 230 billion dollars, and by the recurrence of the American phenomenon: the creation of a whole army of homeless people, which is the result of the reduction of the social funds. But as is usual in such cases, Bush declared on the day of his victory that he and his administration will make every effort «for an economically stronger America, which is the dream of the American electors.»

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The susceptibility of the American electorate to the foreign policy of their administration has often served as a touchstone for securing the next mandate. The predecessors of Reagan were overthrown by the Vietnam war, the Watergate scandal, or the issue of hostages of Iran. Reagan, too, was shaken in his position by the Irangate, but he manoeuvred skilfully in the interest of his party and regained his lost ground. All this has to do with the ability of adaptation to the new situations created, in the interest of the superpower. At present an all-round dialogue is going on between the USA and the Soviet Union. This dialogue is presented as something which will save the peoples, because, as the propaganda means try to make out, it will avoid the military and political conflicts, which have a very wide range. The agreement on the

elimination of medium — and short—range missiles from Europe was reached and the plan has begun to be implemented. Some steps towards lowering tension in many hot spots of the globe, as in the Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, the Middle East, South Africa, etc., have been taken. These developments are trumpeted about as successes of the policy pursued by the Republicans. These conditions, which can be just as easily changed as they were created, were used by the Republicans, through their representative, in order to outvote their Democratic rival. In this direction, Bush's being in the post of the vice-president for eight years in succession, throughout the whole period of Reagan's presidential mandate, was a great asset to the republicans.

The election of George Bush to the post of president of the USA does not

constitute a great change. Dukakis promised that he would give Bush all his support in order to create «a strong America». This collaboration will be concretized in the American Congress. The president-elect, Bush, who takes over in January, declared that he will put into practice the motto «peace through force», which the Republicans have much to heart. He promised that he will fully implement the program of the «SDI», regardless of the conclusion of the agreement on Euromissiles or of other agreements which may be eventually concluded: he went on to promise that he would powerfully support the strengthening and modernization of NATO, the production of MX intercontinental missiles, will assist the Somosa bands, Israel, etc. In this way, Bush will be the continuator of the internal and external policy of Reagan's establishment in the next four years.

THE INTERESTS OF PEACE REQUIRE THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET TROOPS FROM AFGHANISTAN

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

In recent times the Soviet Government proclaimed a decision to suspend the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan. As the first vice-minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Alexander Bes-

mertnik, declared, this suspension was made because of the intensification of operations of the various fighting groups in Afghanistan, both against the Government of Kaboul and against the Soviet troops in this coun-

try. The suspension was accompanied with the dispatch of new military reinforcements consisting of army units equipped with sophisticated weapons, including 30 modern «Mig-27» fighter-bombers.

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This change of the direction of movement of the Soviet troops was accompanied with an intensification of the diplomatic activities on the part of the signatory countries of the Geneva agreement. According to the said agreement, the Soviet troops must withdraw completely from Afghanistan. Pakistan lodged a protest with the Soviet Government and the Government of Kabul only one day before the announcement on the suspension of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan about the intensification of military activity on the border with Pakistan, and about an air raid against some Pakistani border villages by the Soviet and Afghan aviation. The suspension of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan was condemned by the Government of Pakistan as a violation of the Geneva agreement.

The fourth signatory country of this agreement, the United States of America, also, reacted to this violation of the Geneva agreement. The spokesman of the American Department of State, Redman, described the suspension of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan as something which causes preoccupation, especially if it results that the Soviets will escalate their fighting operations in Afghanistan, which will induce the USA to increase its

military aid to the various fighting groups which operate in this country.

The entire period from the signing of the Geneva agreement on the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, from last August until today, has been accompanied with various accusations and charges exchanged mutually among the signatory parties. They have been especially intensive among Moscow and Washington, each laying the blame on the other for the failure to implement the Geneva agreement. Moscow for instance, accuses the United States of impeding the withdrawal of Soviet troops by increasing its military aid to the forces of resistance. Whereas Washington accuses Moscow that it violated the time-limit set for the withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan and of the total suspension of the operation. In this worsening of the Afghan problem we see again the clash between the interests of the superpowers.

The interests of the preservation of calm and stability, peace and security, and above all, the freedom and independence of the Afghan people require the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from the territory of Afghanistan. This is what the Afghan people have been fighting for. This is what the other peoples of the world are demanding. They want

the Afghan people to be left free to settle their own problems without the presence and interference of the superpowers. The Soviet Union and the United States of America are trying to speculate with the feelings and desires of the Afghan people. They want to exploit the Afghan question for the consolidation of their political influences. The suspension of the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the interference of the Americans both constitute violations of the Geneva agreement. It is clear that in this case we have to do with the interference of interests of the superpowers for spheres of influence. When the Soviet Union saw that the various fighting forces in Afghanistan, including the pro-American ones, were intensifying their fighting operations against the regime of Kabul and were endangering its positions, Moscow instantly interrupted the process of the withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan. The Soviet officials make the withdrawal of their troops from Afghanistan conditional on the suspension of aid from outside, especially from the USA, to the various groups fighting in this country. Hence the Soviet Union wants to make sure that Afghanistan remains under the Soviet colours even after the withdrawal of its troops. However, even after the Geneva agreement, the American

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military aid to the various groups operating in favour of the political influence of Washington in this country was not reduced. In this manner, the Afghan question will again be included in the whirlpool of the interests and the political plans, negotiations and deals between the superpowers.

It is clear that the whole

political game and rivalry between the two big powers for spheres of influence, and concretely, the final destiny of Afghanistan after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from it, weighs heavy on the back of the Afghan people and the other peoples of the region. For many years on end they have experienced the weight of vio-

lence of the Soviet occupiers and the war-mongering game of American imperialism. Therefore, the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan and remaining outside the influence of the two superpowers is, for these peoples, an urgent task of the day, which serves peace and security.

THE CONCEPT OF THE «COMMON ALL-EUROPEAN HOUSE» SERVES THE SOVIET INTERESTS

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The Soviet Union has recently intensified diplomatic contacts and activities with the West-European countries, especially with the visits in Moscow of the Italian prime minister, De Mita, the chancellor of the FR of Germany, Kohl, the president of France, Mitterrand, as well as with the visit of the Soviet Foreign Minister in Paris, etc. The dialogue with Western Europe is predominated by the theme of the construction of a «common all-European house», which is described as a plan in process for restructuring the international relations. The Committee of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty, in the last ordinary meeting, put on the agenda the same problem with all its specifications as had been widely publicized beforehand: the reduction of

armed forces and of conventional weapons, the measures regarding mutual confidence and security on this continent, the economic collaboration and the affirmation of the new way of thinking in the international relations.

The concept of the «common all-European house» is publicized as one of the main aims of the new Soviet policy towards the West. From his ascension to office Gorbachov has continuously referred to Europe, from the Atlantic coast to the Urals, as «our common house», as a cultural-historical entity united by the common heritage of the Renaissance and Illuminism, the great philosophical and social lessons of the 19th and the 20th centuries.

The whole of this platform for the creation of new borders in the context of general European relations,

seen without ideological prejudice, is exploited by Gorbachov and his team in order to attain the objective of changing the image of the Soviet Union in Western Europe, in order to create confidence, rapprochement and win support for his future plans in the internal and external plane. All of Gorbachov's efforts for the creation of the illusive impression that a political status quo and a more advanced economic collaboration is being established between the European states and the superpowers, that the preservation of this status quo is the road of salvation, and so on, are nothing but a propaganda manoeuvre intended to cover up the present political game which is actually going on in the rivalry with the United States of America.

It is a recognized fact that

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the USA wants to give a new form to their relations with the countries of Western Europe, where economic, trade, financial and technological interests are always intricately combined. The complexity of the interests of European and American interests are not in accord in the same measure as they were some years ago. This can be seen also in the efforts for the alternative of a European defence, but also in the independent stands of some governments, which in order to defend national interests and security in Europe, adopted the decision to prohibit the stationing of nuclear weapons on their territories or the anchorage in their ports of the warships of the superpowers carrying nuclear weapons. Some other countries have demanded the dismantling of the foreign air bases from their countries.

With the reforms for restructuring, which the Soviet Union is applying in the internal life in an effort to pull the country out of the political and economic stagnation and to further strengthen it as a superpower, the present leadership needs, more than at any other time before, the assistance of Western Europe and the creation of special relations with it in the field of investments and technologies, just as it needs a similar restructuring of its relations with the East-Euro-

pean countries for the realization of their complete economic and political integration in the framework of Comecon and the Warsaw Treaty.

The concept of the «common all-European house», in these conditions, follows the traditional aims of the Soviet Union: to counter the American presence in Europe and to isolate the latter from the United States. It has great need for the assistance of Western Europe in order to carry out its economic and political reforms, at a time when the United States is not inclined to provide all the capital and modern technology it needs, because this has to do with the rivalry for superiority between two superpowers. The Soviet social-imperialists calculate that they need the assistance of Western Europe in order to have it as a vital rich back area precisely now, in the period when the outlines of a «truce» with the USA are emerging more clearly, which, according to their plans, will strengthen their economy and will enable them, in the present conditions, to continue their strategy for hegemony in the international field.

The analysis of the situation in Europe, even after the signing of the Soviet-American agreement on the Euromissiles, shows quite clearly that Europe continues to be in the very centre of the Soviet-American

confrontation and the security of peace in Europe and the avoiding of the danger of war from this continent have not been and cannot be achieved in this way. This agreement will in no way make things easier for Europe. This cannot happen, because, geographically, Europe is still the main region of the concentration of the armed forces of the superpowers. It still remains within the radius of the active strike of strategic nuclear weapons of the superpowers, and under the threat of a conventional war, because of the development of the new arms race, the «military compensations» and the «armaments of the future».

The most important aspect of the concept of the «common European house» is connected with the fates of perestroika, which are decided not only in the Soviet Union, but also in the international arena and, to some extent, by the foreign political and economic relations of the Soviet Union. As a counter-balance to the USA, the relations of the Soviet Union not only with Western Europe in general, and with some of its countries, in particular, but also with the economic-political groupings, have special importance in these factors. The Soviet Union develops about 80 per cent of its western trade with the countries of Western Europe and this zone remains

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the main and most important source of supply of machinery and industrial equipment. According to some calculations, from the total industrial equipment the Soviet Union has imported from abroad, one fifth of them comes from Western Europe. Whereas the volume of trade with the United States is much smaller, about four times less than with West Germany. Two thirds of the imports from the USA consist of agricultural products, which unlike the very sophisticated industrial technology, can be easily found on the world market or on the EEC market. From these few data it emerges that the links of the Soviet Union with Western Europe, just as those with Japan, have greater weight in the eyes of Moscow than the Soviet-American trade exchange.

In this aspect, the slogan about the «common all-European house» has a concrete threefold economic import for the Soviet Union: to break the barrier established by COCOM (Multilateral Exports Control Co-ordination Com-

mittee), which prohibits the transfer of high technology, to encourage the setting up of joint enterprises in order to ease the burden of investments in the field of modern technology and the military burden which continues to gobble up 15-17 per cent of the national product; and, third, in order to cover the budget deficits. The main place in the joint ventures is occupied by West-European capital, which besides this form of participation, has now come up with the proposal «for a marshall plan for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe». The first fruit of this plan have been tasted. The sum promised by the West European banks to be given to Moscow in order to enable it to ease the budget deficit of 37 billion rubles and to cope with the economic problems abroad, has reached to 9 billion dollars.

At the same time, the slogan of «the common all-European house» leaves open the possibility for the Soviet Union to make greater use of the sources, the productive and scientific poten-

tial of the member countries of Comecon, in order to ensure, apart from other things, the industrial and technological monopoly in these countries, and, on this basis, to reach, within the shortest time possible, the objectives set in the economic field for strengthening itself as a superpower and for the creation of qualitatively new conditions to secure, in the future, the military and economic superiority over the other superpower — the USA. The preachings that the setting up of a «common all-European house» is connected with the creation of a stable economic and material basis, as well as with a powerful superstructure, serve to cover up the aim of reducing to a common denominator the economic structures of its East-European partners according to the patterns of the Soviet restructuring, their complete integration and the creation of a united Eastern market, according to the Western model, which would serve the Soviet interests in the relations with Western Europe better.

SPECULATIONS ABOUT PEACE SERVE THE POLICY OF HEGEMONY

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The preoccupation of the peoples about security and the strengthening of peace, and their interest in this question are legitimate and

vital. This is more than understandable in the present-day international conditions, when the world is full of tensions and regional con-

flicts, when the two superpowers and the blocs they lead have engaged in an uncontrollable arms race and when the outbreak of a war

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with weapons of mass extermination remains a constant threat.

Various and sundry interpretations and speculations are made about this worry and preoccupation of the peoples. On this score, the Soviet revisionists have become extremely active especially after the advent to power of the Gorbachov group. To the notorious revisionist theses on the problems of war and peace they are adding new nuances in conformity with the present time and the aims of the Kremlin. They represent this novelty in the form of a new political-philosophical doctrine, known as the «new political thought». The doctrine is publicized as the only possible and necessary way of action in the age of the atom and the outer space, which allegedly coincides with the vital interests of mankind and peace in the world in front of the nuclear catastrophe. According to this philosophy «in the nuclear age, the past categories of thinking (without excluding the Marxist-Leninist ones — our note) not only are anachronistic, but are also extremely dangerous...»

The «new political thought» constitutes a flagrant distortion of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the character and contents of our epoch, the revolutionary line of the proletariat and the socialist state in the international relations.

In defining the character and contents of the present-day epoch, the Soviet revisionists capitalize on the level of development of the technical and scientific revolution, referring mainly to developments in the field of weapons of mass extermination. So, in Gorbachov's opinion, our epoch is the nuclear epoch, the epoch of the atom and the conquest of outer space, which «should evolve into the post-nuclear stage, which will be free of violence and efforts of dictating to others».

These theses are an open negation of the Marxist-Leninist conception of the character of our epoch, as the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions; they negate the basic contents of it, which is that of the transition from capitalism to socialism. Unlike the revisionist theories which condition the character of our present epoch on the kinds and destructive potential of the weapons produced, the materialist concept of our epoch is based on the objective of the fundamental contradictions, the laws and prevailing trends of the progressive development of society, the historic mission of the proletariat as the class which remains in the centre of the epoch for the overthrow in the revolutionary way of the capitalist society, of oppression and exploitation and for the building of the new communist society. The new

revisionist speculations about the character of our present epoch are, as always, aimed at extinguishing the class struggle on a national and international scale, at sacrificing the perspective of the revolution and socialism on the alter of the relations between the two superpowers.

The direct result of his course, in which the Soviet revisionists are steering, is also the ignoring of the basic contradictions of our epoch. They declare: «Over and above everything is the contradiction between war and peace, between the existence and non-existence of mankind». The revisionist ideologists admit that from the way in which this contradiction is solved depends also the outcome of the other major contradictions of our epoch, the solution of all the major problems world-wide. According to this revisionist logic the proletariat and the other working masses should meekly accept the oppression and exploitation by capital, the enslaved peoples and the small and underdeveloped countries should not oppose and resist the neo-colonialist plunder and expansion, whereas the peace-loving forces everywhere in the world should pin their hopes and legitimate aspirations on the «will» and «reason» of the two superpowers, on the outcome of the talks and agreements between them.

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After filtering the known notorious revisionist theses, the «new political thought» goes so far as to make speculations according to which the imperialist war is not considered as a social phenomenon dependent on the unchangeable aggressive nature of big capital, or the cause of the war is seen only in the interests of the most fanatical and regressive circles connected with the military-industrial complex, and not in imperialism in general.

After the Second World War international imperialism, with American imperialism at its head, has carried out many aggressions and kindled many regional conflicts, in which more than once it has been on the verge of using nuclear weapons. Aggressions in Korea and Vietnam, in Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan have been the implementation in extremis of the imperialist policy of violence.

In our time the threat of the outbreak of a new world war is real. The war is not supposed to break out only with nuclear weapons, but also with conventional weapons. Indeed, the military doctrines of NATO have worked out different variants of conventional warfare, just as there are such variants in the war plans of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty. In May 1987, the Military Planning Committee of NATO adopted the

decision on the further strengthening of its arsenal of conventional weapons. About 80 per cent of the expenditure made in the world today for military purposes is turned to the production of conventional weapons. Such weapons have been used after the Second World War to fight more than 150 local wars, in which about 20 million people have been killed.

The Soviet doctrine of the «new political thought», in general, and the view that now it is possible to create a world free of wars, without arms and a demilitarized world, in particular, constitutes a new edition of the Khrushchevite boisterous slogan which was launched more than 30 years ago. Among other things, this is aimed at lowering the vigilance of the peoples and the peace-loving forces, at lulling them to sleep with illusions that our globe is becoming safer due to the «goodwill» of the two superpowers and the «reciprocal confidence» that exists between them.

Reaching an agreement and making compromises among the big two at all costs, with disregard for and at the expense of the rest — and this allegedly for the sake of peace and a secure life in the world — this line runs through the whole political philosophy and the practical activity of Moscow in the international arena.

However, the experience accumulated hitherto and the teachings of the past have always shown that the agreements between the imperialist big powers, made allegedly in the name of avoiding war and strengthening peace, have ended up as secret negotiations for the division of the spheres of influence and against the revolutionary and national liberation movements.

Much was said and written, and still much is being talked about the meeting between Reagan and Gorbachov in Washington and about the agreements on the elimination of short- and medium-range missiles, which was signed there. From the Soviet side we hear that the agreement «is an encouraging example of the new political thought», «a new stage in the real process of disarmament», «the beginning of the implementation of a programme for the creation of a world without nuclear weapons», and so on.

The peace-loving forces everywhere in the world have continuously fought for the liquidation of weapons of mass extermination, for realistic steps to be taken and concrete measures to be adopted towards disarmament, for securing real peace, which is threatened by the imperialist war-mongers. They take into consideration the historical experience which shows that all the

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agreements on disarmament signed by the two superpowers until today have not impeded them from producing new and more sophisticated weapons and from building up the arsenal of weapons of mass extermination.

The sound and realistic world opinion has long ago expressed its doubts about the motives which impel Washington and Moscow in concluding agreements and treaties in the field of armaments, including the last case. The USA and the Soviet Union did not consult the European peoples, either when they stationed the medium-range missiles in Europe or when they decided to take them off; in so doing they did not proceed from the interests of security and peace on the continent, as the heads of the two superpowers are claiming, backed up by the noise of the bourgeois and revisionist propaganda machine. *Le monde diplomatique* wrote some time ago that the initiative for the creation and stationing of Euromissiles has nothing to do with the Europeans. The territories of European countries were just used, as on many other occasions before, as grounds of exercise without being consulted.

By utilizing the developments in science and technique in the field of armaments, the USA and the Soviet Union have been in a position to discover new we-

apons, which permit them to cut on numbers without reducing the effectiveness of these weapons. This has happened and is happening now with the missiles; a more sophisticated weapon or type of this weapon will always replace its previous type. On the American and the Soviet shooting-ranges they have tested weapons which, as regards effectiveness, exceed the objectives set for the Euromissiles. For this it is enough to mention the research in «star wars», alias SDI. The USA and the Soviet Union have also signed other agreements in which they promised to disarm, as is the treaty on the limitation of nuclear tests, the SALT-I and SALT-II agreements, but neither have the superpowers disarmed, nor has the world been made more safe and peace more secure; aggressions and local wars, carried out or instigated by the two superpowers, have not diminished, either.

The limitation of the armaments race in special sectors of the nuclear weapons is to the advantage of the two superpowers for the time being, because they can release financial means and put them to use in other fields of the military or civilian production. The armaments race is a heavy load on the American and the Soviet economies. The results of their militarist policies are obvious. The American budget deficit is more than 230

billion dollars, while the Soviet economy is swimming for a long time now in the waters of stagnation. Reagan aims at lowering the budget deficit, at mitigating the grave consequences of unemployment in his country. Gorbachov's problems are not less worrying. He has openly declared that the Soviet foreign policy today is connected closely with his *perestroika*, with the internal restructuring of the Soviet society.

The Soviet concept of war and peace, which has been raised to the rank of the basic problem of the world today, couched in fetishistic and pacifist phrases, negates the role of the peoples' struggles, the efforts of the democratic and revolutionary forces to prevent the outbreak of a world conflict, to secure and strengthen peace.

The problems of war and peace cannot and should not be left in the hands of one or two states, less so in those of the two imperialist superpowers. War can be avoided and peace can be secured not by those who hold in their hands the fuses to the powder kegs. These questions are vital to the whole of mankind, to all the peoples, big and small. As such they can and must be solved and arranged only with the active struggle of all the revolutionary democratic and peace-loving forces the world.

In the trading units of Tirana.



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