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OLITINA AGRESIVE E LUFTENKIJESE
E IMPERIALIZMIT AMERIKAN,
SOCIALIMPERIALIZMIT SOVIETIK
DHE SOCIALIMPERIALIZMIT RINIZ
RREZIK
E LIRISE E PAVARRESISE E POPUVE PER
KOSH DHE SIGURIMIN KOSHOZETAR

Pershendetja
MIQVE DHE DASHAMIRESE
SHQIPERIE

RROFTE PPSH

**RROFTE
INTERNACIONALIZMI
PROLETAR**

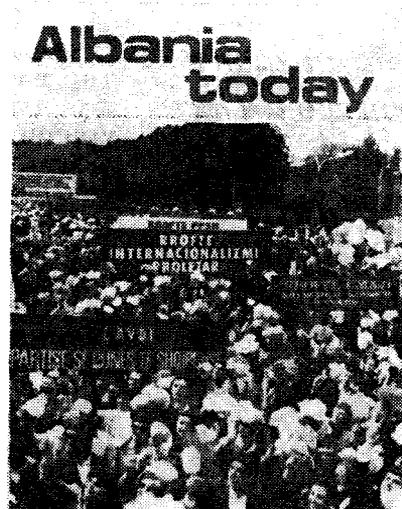
RROFTE 1 MAJI
DITA E SOLIDARITETIT NDERKOMBETAR
TE PUNONJESVE

**LAVDI
PARTISE SE PUNES TE SHQIPERISE**

◀ASPECT OF THE MANIFESTATION
OF THE WORKING PEOPLE OF TIRANA ON MAY DAY



In the PSR of Albania children live happily. Their bringing-up and education are the special solicitude of the Party and the entire people.



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THE ARMY A ONE INSEPA

*The Albanian army
has grown to be an army of the
masses of
the people, comprising
in its ranks all and everyone
capable of handling
weapons, from the very
young to the very old, therefore
it is to
be found everywhere*

OUR PEOPLE'S ARMY, WHICH WAS CREATED BY THE PARTY IN THE COURSE OF THE WAR, GREW, WAS TEMPERED AND STRENGTHENED AS AN INVINCIBLE STRIKE FORCE, AS A REVOLUTIONARY ARMY EMERGING FROM THE PEOPLE TO SERVE THE PEOPLE WITH BOUNDLESS DEVOTION. IN OUR COUNTRY, THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA HAS BASED THE DEFENCE OF THE SOCIALIST HOMELAND ON THE ORGANIZATION AND ARMING OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE, ON THEIR MILITARY TRAINING ACCORDING TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST MILITARY ART.

THE ARMY OF SOCIALIST ALBANIA, BOTH IN ITS SOCIAL COMPOSITION AND IN THE OBJECTIVES AND TASKS IT SETS ITSELF, IS AN ARMY OF PROFOUNDLY POPULAR AND REVOLUTIONARY CHARACTER. THE SOCIAL RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION, THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ORDER OF OUR COUNTRY, GIVE ITS ARMY A DEEPLY POPULAR AND REVOLUTIONARY CHARACTER, MAKING IT THE ARMY OF THE PEOPLE IN POWER, THE ARMY OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.

As in all the other questions of the socialist construction, the Party of Labour of Albania abides by the great Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance in the vital question of the defence of the Homeland. «The Party has never based the defence of the Homeland on external aid or the various international factors, but has relied mainly on the internal factor, on the strength, patriotism and bravery of our own people, as well as on the all-round preparation and permanent fighting readiness of the whole country for defence.»

A diametrically opposed stand is taken by the bourgeois-revisionist states. The international bourgeoisie, the ideologists of imperialism and social-imperialism endeavour to prove that in their countries, too, the army serves the interests of the defence of the homeland. Following this line of reasoning, the ideologists of American imperialism claim that their armies stand above classes, that their only task is to defend their country and the «free world» from the foreign threat, whereas the ideologists of Soviet social-imperialism loudly claim that their army defends the interests of «socialism». The kind of interests these armies defend emerge from the facts which life provides everyday. The aggressive wars American imperialism has fought after the Second World War in Korea, Vietnam, or the countries of Latin America, the aggressions committed by the armies of Soviet social-imperialism against Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan, as well as the policy of blackmail and intimidation pursued by the two superpowers, are clear testimony to the character of

GAFUR ÇUÇI — Member of the Central Committee of the
Party of Labour of Albania

AND THE PEOPLE - PARABLE WHOLE *by GAFUR ÇUÇI*

their armies, which regardless of all demagogical attempts to present them otherwise are mere tools in the hands of the imperialist and social-imperialist bourgeoisie to oppress the people and to prop up their anti-popular regimes. They are used by the capitalists and revisionists in order to enslave and exploit the peoples, to stamp out any revolutionary movement of national and social liberation, to extend their spheres and zones of influence further. In these countries, the armies are kept in barracks, isolated from the people and dominated by the officer caste, who, for their part, in return for the many services they render the class in power, which maintains them as mere instruments of their policy of internal oppression and foreign expansion, are paid fat salaries and enjoy many privileges.

The Army of socialist Albania is a true people's revolutionary army, because it is led by the Marxist-Leninist Party. With the Party in command and educated by the Party, our army is linked like flesh to bone with the people, always determined to serve the fundamental interests of the people, to live with them, to defend the socialist Homeland at all costs and against all difficulties. The enemies of our country have tried to divest our army of its popular character, to isolate it from the people, to place it above the people, but they have never succeeded in their plans, because in command of the army is the Marxist-Leninist Party, which has created, led and educated it, which is modernizing and revolutionizing it further in order to enable it to carry out its sacred task of the defence of the socialist Homeland ever better.

Being an army of a profoundly popular and revolutionary character, this army places the policy and ideology of the Party above everything in all its activities as is done in all other activities in our country. As Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 8th Congress of the PLA, the leadership of the Party in all the problems of the socialist construction and defence of the country is a law for us. Like everywhere else, in the army, too, the Party has been and will always be the inspiring soul, the mind which shows it the right road, and a source of strength which makes our popular army invincible. The Party has the great historic merit of having drafted the program of our popular revolution, built the theoretical foundations and principles of the construction, education and preparation of our popular army, and creatively elaborated and developed our Marxist-Leninist military art, the Military Art of the Popular War. With the wisdom and foresight characterizing it, the Party implemented a series of concrete measures for the all-round strengthening of the army, its equipment with modern weapons, perfecting its structures, and raising its political level and military capability. The experience of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania shows that no army can exist as a genuine revolutionary army capable of carrying out its great mission, both in time of peace and in time of war,

if it is not inspired and led by the Marxist-Leninist party. Only a Marxist-Leninist party is in a position to educate the army with the ideology of the working class, with the principles of the proletarian morality, with the laws of the revolution and the sentiments of proletarian internationalism. Only a Marxist-Leninist party is in a position to create the popular military art and equip its army with it, an art in which the strategy and tactics are based on the Marxist-Leninist theory, on the political, ideological and military principles and norms of the proletariat, in conformity with the geographical, economic and other conditions of the country and with its human potential. The leadership of the Party is the only guarantee for the successful fulfilment of the magnificent tasks set for the revolutionization of the army, for the successful development of the class struggle in every army unit and detachment, for the further improvement of the work for the education of the communists, for raising the fighting readiness and preparedness of the entire soldier-people to a higher level, and for combating with success all shortcomings in fulfilling the requirements of the military art of the popular war. The slightest weakening of the leading role of the Party in the armed forces creates the danger of their degeneration and transformation from forces in the service of the revolution into forces in the service of the bourgeois-revisionist counter-revolution.

Therefore, the unceasing strengthening of the leading role of the Party in every section of the army has been and remains one of our fundamental tasks. The ideological-political factor has priority over the military factor, therefore the Party with its policy and ideology directs the entire life — organization, activity and military and technical preparation of the army. Our military men are, in the first place, political men, educated in the spirit of loyalty to the ideals of the Party, and the interests of the people, socialism and communism. They respect and unwaveringly carry out the line of the Party, the laws of the state and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, being always vigilant and carrying out the class struggle in conformity with the principles. The problems and tasks of the army, the skilful use of weapons and equipment and the application of the rules of the popular military art, are seen by the cadres and soldiers of the Popular Army from the political standpoint, that is from the standpoint of whom this preparation serves.

So, the leadership of the Party, the education of the army with the line of the Party and the principles of Marxism-Leninism, with the documents of the Party and the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, and with the qualities and virtues of communist morality, make our Popular Army always clear about the sacred aims which it serves, make it aware of its mission and always ready to carry out its tasks, in the defence of the interests of the people, the Homeland and socialism.

The popular character of the army manifests itself in the further democratization of its life in implementation of the line of the masses. Carrying out the teaching of Comrade Enver Hoxha that «the army must observe the Leninist norms in everything», our Army is characterized by a sound unity of thought and action and a healthy spirit of democratic centralism. The Leninist principles and norms, which cannot exist in any bourgeois-revisionist army, are deeply-rooted in our army and an organic part of it. The line of the masses, rendering of account before the mass of soldiers, and the worker and peasant control have contributed to strengthening the active participation of the rank-and-file in the life of the army units. The hierarchy in our army is a Marxist-Leninist hierarchy of comradesly relations between officers and soldiers, totally different from the hierarchy of arrogance in the bourgeois-revisionist armies.

In Albania today the army and the people work and fight together for the cause of the defence of the Homeland on the basis of the correct line and policy of the Party. Guided by the teaching of Comrade Enver Hoxha that «The stronger the people, the stronger is the army, the higher the ideological and political level of the people is the higher the level of the army will be, the stronger the back area is from the ideological, political and economic aspect, the stronger the army will be,» our workers, cooperativists and soldiers are educated and trained together, stand guard and defend the Homeland together, working together in a revolutionary spirit.

The army of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania does not form a group of people apart, but consists of the whole people. So, in Albania finds its embodiment Lenin's idea of genius of «making all the soldiers good citizens and all the citizens capable of carrying weapons, soldiers.» An important role in applying these teachings is played by the free schools of military training, which serve as basic institutions for raising all the structure of defence to a higher political-military level, and as means for integrating defence with the life and activity of the working masses. At the present time, military men in active service, be they cadres, or rank-and-file, take active part in the political, economic and cultural life of the country. The cadres in active service go among the workers and peasants, inform them about the tasks facing them in the field of defence, carry out the task of training and educating them, and at the same time, are themselves acquainted with the economic and social problems of the latter. On the other hand, the cadres and the specialists from the grass-roots go to military units and detachments and inform the military men about their economic task, hold talks and organize lectures on problems of art, culture and the history of the country. The military units and centres of work and production organize joint activities for the education, tempering and military training of the working people and soldiers. In this manner problems of defence and problems of the economy and culture are taken up in mutual relationship. So, the objective of making soldiers of the entire people has become a reality in Albania, and this has made the army even more popular and more revolutionary, has made it invincible. The arming and training of the entire soldier-people has raised the degree of organization of the army to a higher





level, has turned it into a modern compact army capable of coping with any task. In Albania there is no élite army, no army of the barracks, but an army made up of the entire people. The links of the army with the people rest on the Marxist-Leninist ideology of our Party, on the struggle for a common ideal, the struggle for the construction and defence of socialism. These links are realized through the collaboration between the army and the people in the defence and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the fulfilment of economic tasks, in the common struggle of the people and the army for the strengthening of defence, for the improvement of the organization of the various structures of the armed forces and in the training which is carried out jointly by the army and the people. In these links, in this organic merger of the army with the people, rests the invincibility of our army. That is why our Party maintains, strengthens and leads the army not as an army of the barracks, with some élite units and a caste of cadres apart from the rank-and-file, but as a component part of the armed people. In struggle against manifestations of officialdom, technocracy and intellectualism, the Albanian army has become an army of the masses of the people, including in its ranks all and everyone who is in a position to carry arms, the very young and the very old, therefore it is to be found everywhere, it is to be found wherever people work and produce material blessings, and wherever they learn. And the citizens keep their rifles beside the lathe, beside the pick-axe, beside the book, working and learning and at the same time training themselves militarily. The work and military training are inseparable in our socialist Homeland.

The consistent implementation of the line of the Party in the field of defence has made the entire people soldiers, trained in the Marxist-Leninist military art, armed with modern means of warfare and, under the leadership of the Party, always ready to cope with any eventual aggression, from whatever quarter it may come. This is, in the first place, connected with the fact that in Albania every citizen is trained as a member of the structures of the armed forces of the country. The training of the people is complex, comprising the use of weapons and military equipment, with high efficiency at any time, the application of forms, ways and methods of fighting in conformity with the requirements of the popular military art. The all-round political and military preparation of the staffs is intended to enable our armed forces to deal death blows at and consume in the flames of the popular war any enemy who would dare invade even an inch of our territory, who would dare encroach on the interests of the people, the revolution and socialism. So, preparation and training for defence rests on the preparation and training of the masses of the people in the army. In this manner, in Albania the revolutionary concept of «the soldier people» has become a norm of our morality, has penetrated the consciousness of every citizen. This is why in Albania one sees workers, cooperativists and other working people training and preparing themselves militarily for the defence of the country, in training grounds close to their work places and parallel with their productive activities.

With military training extended to the broad working masses, the cooperativists, and the pupils and students,

the defence of the country assumes a broad popular character, with the people being trained in time of peace, so as to be ready to fight in defence of their country in time of war.

The directive of the Party «The defence of the Homeland is a duty above all duties» is becoming more and more a great living reality with us. All our soldier people are clear about it that the socialist Homeland can be defended only with their toil, sweat and blood, only through the all-out mobilization of all the human and material resources of the country. Life and experience have taught the Albanian people to be vigilant, to correctly assess any situation, to see through the flattering words and smiles covering the sinister aims and schemes of the savage enemies of socialism.

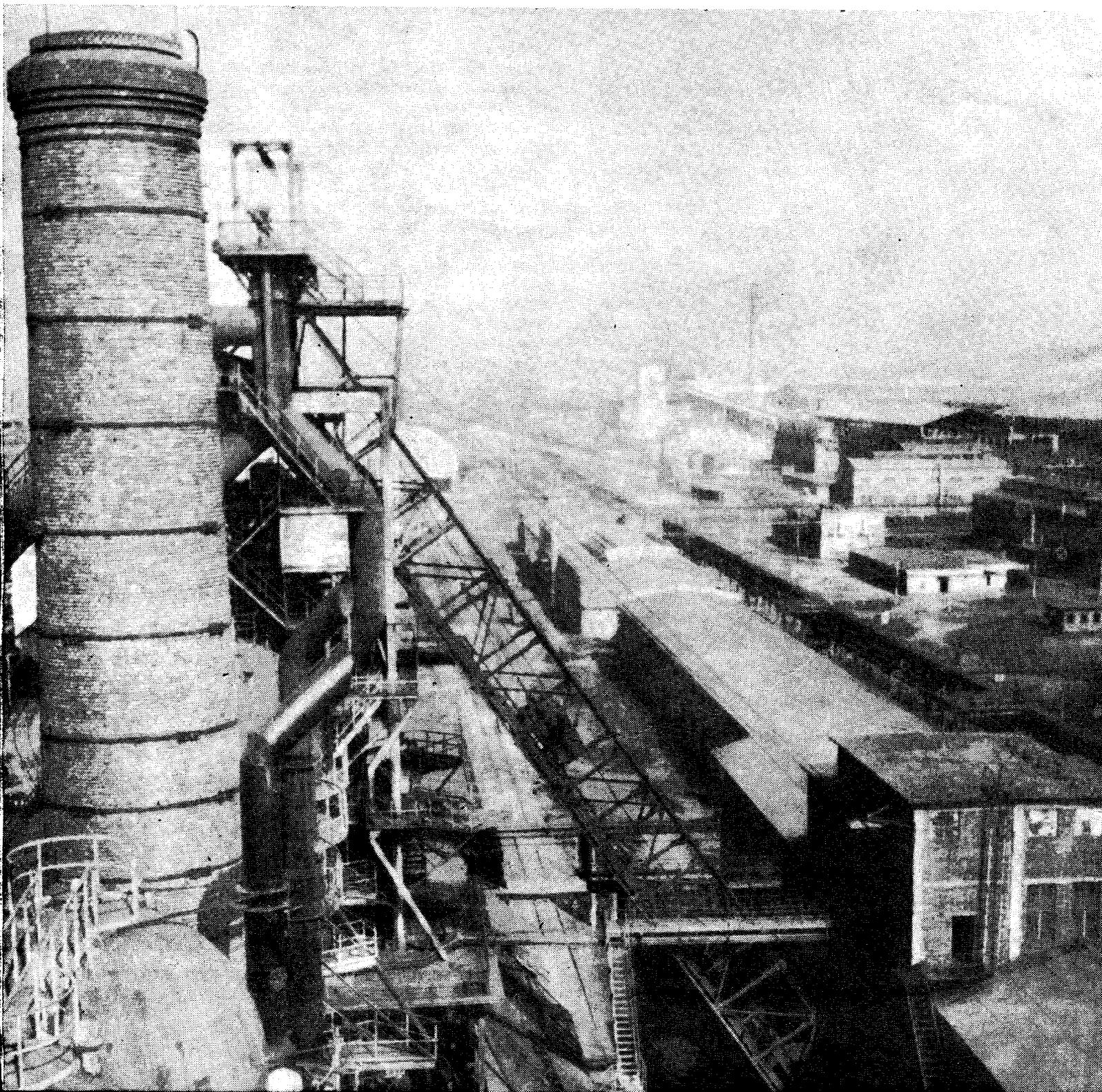
In the bourgeois-revisionist armies a deep chasm divides the officers from the rank-and-file, and the army from the people. Whereas in our People's Army the cadres and the rank-and-file work and live in fraternal close relationship. The cadres of our army are the sons and daughters of the working people, and educated in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. In all their activity they are led by the organs and basic organizations of the Party and are responsible to them for the implementation of the line and directives of the Party to the letter. Being the sons and daughters of the people and having the same ideals as the entire people, the army cadres acquaint the soldier people with all essential military and technical matters. This they carry out on the basis of the requirements of the line of the Party, keeping always close to the soldier-people and considering and treating the rank-and-file as their brothers, encouraging and supporting the positive thought and action of the rank-and-file, so that the latter plays an ever more active role in all problems of military training and combat readiness. Cold official attitudes and stands towards the people and soldiers are alien and unacceptable to the cadres of our army. They work, live and train together with them; and they enjoy no special privileges. This is why the people and the soldiers are attached to and respect the officers. Their relations are characterized by mutual trust, and common determination to carry out all the tasks of military training. Precisely in these healthy relations between cadres and soldiers lies one of the outstanding features of the popular character of our army.

Since we are a soldier-people building and defending socialism at the same time, we continuously raise the degree of our combat readiness and training, linking it with the international situation which is turbulent in general, full of upheavals which may lead to the outbreak of a new world war. Besides this, our people never forget that the international bourgeoisie and imperialism never have reconciled themselves to the existence of socialist Albania. In the face of the frenzied armaments race of the superpowers, the exacerbation of the economic and political crisis of the capitalist and revisionist world, the deepening of the inter-imperialist contradictions, our people, besides the work for socialist construction, are increasing their efforts in military training, in order to carry out at all costs and in any circumstances the sacred duty of the defence of the Homeland, being always prepared and vigilant.



In Albania there is no élite army, an army of the barracks, but an army which is made up of the entire people

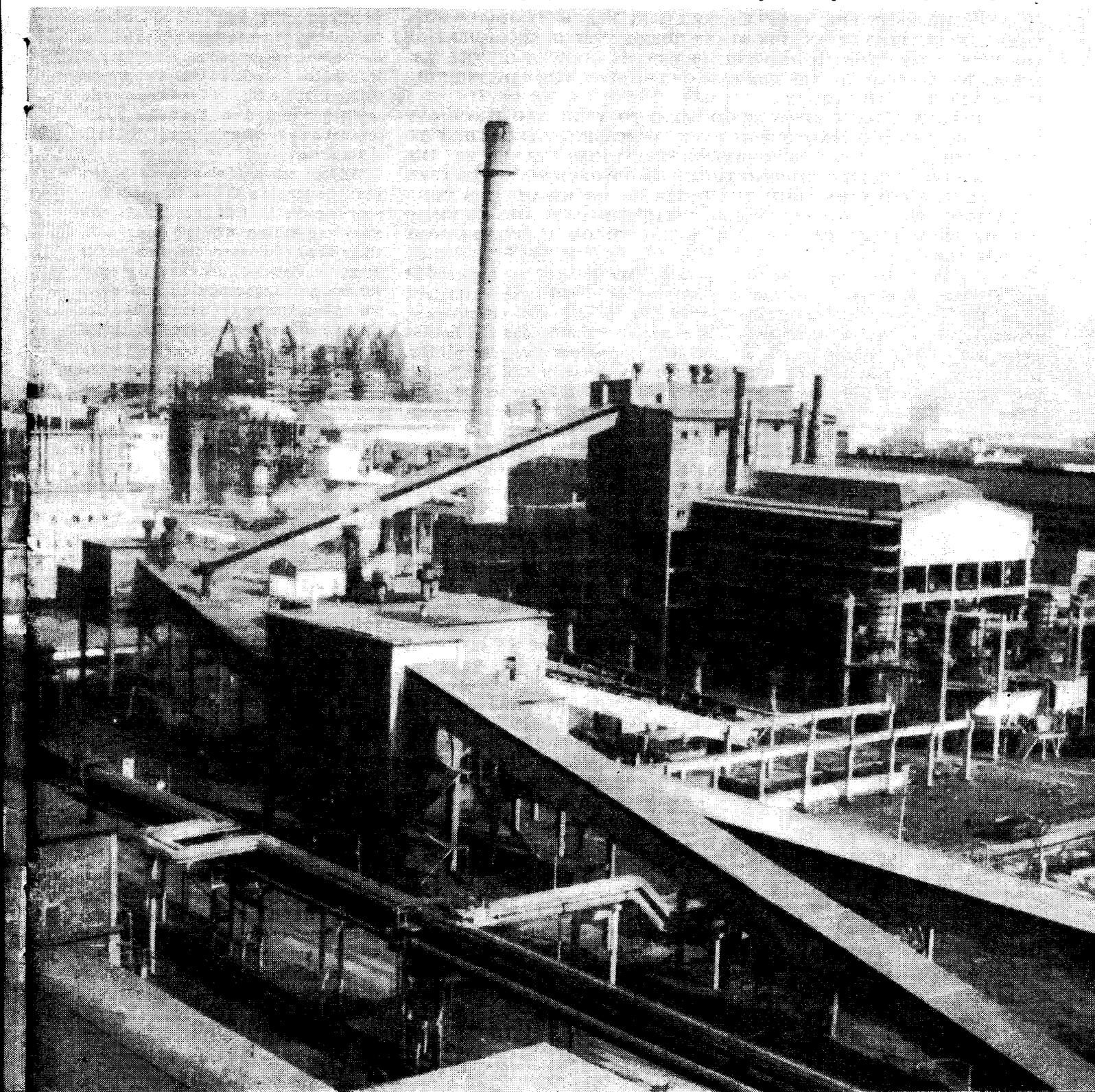
A BOLD PROGRAM OF INVESTMENT BASED TOTALLY ON OUR OWN



VESTMENTS

FORCES *by SHINASI DRAGOTI*

In the investments policy of the Albanian state heavy industry has always had priority.



A distinctive feature of the 7th Five-year Plan is the great volume of investments to be made by the state and which amount to 25 billion leks, or equal the investments of the four previous five-year plans taken together (1951-1970). Investments will be made by the state to house more than 4.7 million people, or 75 per cent more than the present population of Albania.

INVESTMENTS IN THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA HAVE ALWAYS PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES AND THE CEASELESS GROWTH OF THE MATERIAL WELL-BEING, AND IN THE RISE OF THE EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL LEVEL OF THE PEOPLE.

INVESTMENTS HAVE RISEN FROM YEAR TO YEAR AND FROM ONE FIVE-YEAR PERIOD TO ANOTHER AT EVER INCREASING RATES, FIRST TO COPE WITH THE MANY AND GRAVE DESTRUCTIONS CAUSED BY THE NAZI-FASCIST OCCUPIERS DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR, AND THEN TO PULL THE COUNTRY FROM THE STATE OF BACKWARDNESS INHERITED FROM THE ANTI-POPULAR REGIMES OF THE PAST AND TO BUILD THE MATERIAL-TECHNICAL BASE OF SOCIALISM ON A BROAD FRONT IN NEW ALBANIA.

The program of investments of our socialist state has always relied firmly on the unsparing efforts of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and all the working people of the country, who had to cope with many difficulties and make many sacrifices in their heroic work. The working people did this because they had unshakeable trust in the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania and its correct economic policy. They were firmly convinced that this leadership and policy would not fail to bring them progress, prosperity and happiness, which they enjoy today and will enjoy them even more so in the future. That is why all the working people of our country — workers, peasants and intellectuals, men and women, young and old, have shed their sweat and toiled to carry out the program of investments of our socialist state with high effectiveness, unsparingly and with a high sense of duty.

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In the report he submitted to the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, which held its proceedings from 1st to 8th of November last year, the leader of our Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, presented,

SHINASI DRAGOTI — Engineer

among other things, the program of investments for the years 1981-1985, which, as to size and effectiveness, is the most scientific and the boldest of all the previous five-year periods.

The carrying out of this plan, which has already entered its second year, will be a factor of particular importance for the achievement of all the targets of the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985) of the development of the economy and culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania which was approved by this Congress. The total social product will increase 34-36 per cent, total industrial production — 36-38 per cent, total agricultural production — 32-34 per cent, national income — 35-37 per cent, real per capita income — 8-10 per cent, etc. in 1985 as against 1980.

The implementation of this plan will not only lead to the achievement of these important targets over the following five years, but will also lay the sound bases and open up new horizons and ever broader prospects for working out even bolder plans for the coming five-year periods.

A distinctive feature of the 7th Five-year Plan is the great volume of investments which will be made by the state and which amount to 25 billion leks, or equal the investments made during the four previous five-year plans taken together (1951-1970). Investments will be made by the agricultural co-

operatives: more than 2.7 billion leks. In order to form a better idea of the size of these investments, suffice it to say that about 950,000 apartments to house more than 4.7 million people, or 75 per cent more than the present population of Albania, could be built with them.

This investment plan is 22-24 per cent greater than that of the past five-year period. In 1985 investments will grow more than 4.6 fold over 1960, the year we received the last credits from the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries, and about 1.6 billion leks more than in 1978, the time when we received the last credits from China.

But the essential feature of the investments in the 7th Five-year Plan is that, unlike the other plans, they will be covered by relying entirely on our internal resources. This plan will be realized through our accumulation alone, without any aid or credit from abroad, with the monetary and material means created by our socialist economy. It will be carried out by the workers, specialists and cadres of our country.

«Our socialist economy,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 8th Congress of the PLA, «enters the new five-year period of its development with stability, dynamic and with great possibilities to develop and extend social production further and raise its efficiency in all directions.»¹ Such is the base on which we began the 7th Five-year Plan, which bold though it may be, is fully realizable. It is realizable because, just as the previous five-year plans, it is the deed of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and all the other working masses of our country. During the popular discussion of the draft-directives of the 7th Five-year Plan, before the 8th Congress of the PLA was held, 210 thousand people, or about one fifth of all the working people of the country, came out with

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valuable proposals to advance the figures of the plan and made 69 thousand proposals, 58 thousand of which were immediately included in the final draft of the plan. Therefore, a plan which bears the seal of the working people who will carry it out, cannot be but realistic, based on sound foundations, which, on its part, ensures its realization.

Another distinguishing feature of the fundamental investments and constructions that will be carried out in the new five-year plan is the high degree of economic efficiency envisaged for their utilization. Investments in the sphere of material production will account for 83 per cent of the whole fund of investments, as against 77 per cent of the past five-year period, and most of them, 74 per cent, will be employed for the development of industry and agriculture. Priority will be given to the expansion and reconstruction of the existing productive capacities which, in turn, will ensure the high-rate growth of the more active part of fundamental funds — that used for machinery and equipment. They are also intended for the further modernization of this industry, that is for raising productivity of labour, improving the quality of production and lowering costs.

An important quantitative and qualitative step forward will be taken in the field of technological equipment for reconstructions, for the expansion of existing industrial objects and the construction of new ones. Our mechanical engineering industry will increase production several times over as against the 6th five-year period. The successful designing, construction and commissioning of the second blast furnace of the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical combine in Elbasan by our engineers, technicians and workers is the best confirmation of this revolutionary measure. This and many other facts show that the machine building

industry in Albania is developing rapidly on modern technical and scientific bases.

The construction of new industrial projects will begin, and most of them will be completed and come into production within this five-year period. Priority will be given, as always, to the heavy industry and the power industry in particular. According to perspective plans, Albania is successfully utilizing its rich water resources which have a great future. In this five-year period the greatest hydro-power station of the country, that of Koman on the Drin River, with capacity 600 thousand kiloWatts and one of the most powerful of this kind in Europe will be partly commissioned in this five-year period. The construction of this project marks the end of the most difficult part of the complex utilization of this high water-power potential of this river. The successive construction of three hydro-power stations, two of which have already started production, those of Vau i Dejës and Fierza, not only bring about a major increase of electric power and a just as great decrease of expenditure per every kiloWatt-hour produced, but also greatly improve its quality in seasons of little rainfall. Likewise, more favourable conditions will be created for the utilization of the three artificial lakes for fishing and sailing, which will further increase the effectiveness of the investments made or to be made in this five-year period. The development of the power industry today makes necessary the construction of more powerful high tension lines and transformer sub-stations, on which our relative institutions of study and design have already begun work.

The work for the completion of the «Light of the Party» metallurgical combine will go on with the construction of new factories. Important investments will be made in the industry extracting and processing cro-

mium, copper, iron-nickel and other minerals, as well as in the chemical, mechanical engineering, light, food-processing and other industries.

This development of our industry not only will bring about a high-rate increase of production, but also will improve the quality and structure of goods. Thus new possibilities will be created to increase the export of finished and half-finished goods which in 1985 are envisaged to account for three-fourths of the total volume of our exports. The 58-60 per cent increase in the export of goods in 1980 opens new possibilities for the expansion of our trade relations with other states on the basis of mutual benefit.

In defining the tasks for the development of agriculture during the 7th five-year period, the 8th Congress of the PLA stressed that the objective for the sector of agriculture in the new five-year plan is: «To increase production in order to ensure ever better supplies of all the food for the people and improve its structure; to substantially increase the raw materials for the light and food processing industry; to gradually eliminate imports of that part of food-stuffs and agricultural raw materials which are still brought from abroad; to increase the volume of exports of processed and unprocessed agricultural products; to increase and strengthen the necessary reserves.»² To attain these targets an important role devolves on the state investments which will increase 46 per cent compared with the 6th Five-year Plan.

New hydro-technical projects will be built, especially in the hilly and mountain zones which still suffer from the caprices of weather. With an increase of 50-51 thousand hectares, in the end of this five-year plan the irrigation capacity of the country will account for 58 per cent of the whole sown acreage. Many water conservancy projects, which will at the same time be exploited as fishing grounds, are to

be built. Another 26,000 hectares of new land will be broken in. More intensive work will be done for the agrarian improvement of land, such as surface levelling, drainage and other such measures.

Of great importance will be the investments for the increase of the production of chemical fertilizers, in order to reach the stage in which 174 kg of active matter per hectare of land will be used within this five-year period.

Dozens of new livestock raising complexes will be built. Investments will be made to increase the number of livestock of good breed and improve the breed of the existing livestock, to expand the fruit-tree blocks and olive groves so that their production increases 38-40 per cent and 68-70 per cent respectively over the level of the 6th Five-year Plan, and so on.

All these investments will enable the state, in the first place, as well as the agricultural cooperatives themselves, to further raise the degree of intensification of agriculture, which will be higher in some areas of the plain over a zone of 100,000 hectares. This measure will open new prospects in the future both for the further modernization of our agriculture and the constant perfecting of the socialist relations in the countryside.

These and other measures which will be taken to develop agricultural production in this five-year period once more show the consistent policy followed by the Party of Labour of Albania for the constant and concrete strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the cooperativist peasantry so that the complete construction of socialist society be carried out both in city and countryside.

The investments the state has made or will make in this five-year period and in the future for the uninterrupted development of agriculture create everywhere, even in the remotest mountain zones, those material and cultural conditions which make the migration of the population to the urban centres unnecessary. By means of this policy the expansion of industry is organized better and according to more correct criteria of urbanization which avoid the excessive concentration of the population in only some towns or regions of the country. Such a policy brings the working

class and the peasantry ever closer to each other and enables the former to assist the latter with its political and ideological maturity, as well as with the example it sets at work and in society. These measures are important factors for narrowing down the essential distinctions between city and countryside.

Giving priority to investments in the productive sphere does not mean that rate of investments in the non-productive sphere will be slowed down. On the contrary, they will be in constant rise, compared with the past five-year period. In particular, big investments will be made for housing constructions, and this not because there is a housing crisis in our country, but because our state always works to meet the increasing needs of the population of the country for new homes, and thus achieve the solution of this problem for all the working people, both in city and countryside.

Thus, to fulfil this important target of the new five-year plan it is envisaged that the state will build more than 90 per cent more apartments than in the past five-year plan. More houses will be built by the cooperativist peasantry, too, although 80 per cent of it already is accommodated in new houses built during the 38 years of the people's power.

The fulfilment of these targets in the field of fundamental investments and constructions is based on our socialist accumulation, the material and technical base created to date, as well as that which will be created during this five-year plan, on the rich 38-year long experience of the socialist construction of the country which has never stopped, but has always forged ahead at ever increasing rates, as well as on the political and ideological maturity and professional, technical and scientific level of our working class, cadres and all the working people of the country.

If we cast a glance only at the growth rate of constructions and compare it with that of the 1st Five-year Plan (1951-1955), we will obtain the following picture: in the 2nd Five-Year Plan they grew by 60 per cent, in the 3rd Five-year Plan — 2.5 fold, in the 4th Five-year Plan — 3.9 fold, in the 5th Five-year Plan — 6.1 fold, in the 6th Five-year Plan — 7.9 fold, whereas in the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985)

they are envisaged to grow about 10 fold. These figures show the high growth rates achieved in the past. They also show that the forecasts for this five-year period, although very high, are scientifically based and fully realizable.

With the measures taken by our state from the liberation of the country to day, an important construction potential has been created gradually. The foreign friends and well-wishers, who have visited our country, have said that Albania has been transformed into a huge construction site. Even the foreign specialists, who have come to our country under contacts or agreements for the assembly of diverse machinery and equipment on some industrial projects, have not failed to notice these high growth rates in construction, as well as the capacities of our specialists and cadres.

We have a good number of institutions today in which the projects envisaged to be built during this five-year period, are designed. Many such institutions have been set up for designing machinery, technological equipment and complete production lines. This is another very important success we have achieved, because otherwise we would have been forced to address ourselves to firms and institutions of other states for the designing of hydro-stations, blast furnaces, railways, ports and other projects. And we know what this would have meant, especially in the conditions of the savage hostile imperialist and revisionist blockade and encirclement against our country. We would have been faced with conditions and demands which would have hindered the realization of our five-year plans and our whole economic development. But thanks to the far-sighted measures taken by the Party and the Albanian state in the proper time, nothing of the sort has happened. Thus, the realization of the plan of investments for the 7th Five-year Plan is guaranteed, for it is well-balanced and will be carried out relying entirely on our own efforts.

A sufficient number of enterprises specialized for all sorts of constructions, including those envisaged to be carried out under the current five-year plan, have been set up in our country. They have gained a rich experience of management and organization through their persistent work

for the realization of state plans and are well prepared to successfully cope with the plan of fundamental investments of the five-year period 1981-1985. Their construction capacities will be raised to a higher degree. More specialists will swell the ranks of the construction workers. The degree of mechanization of work will be raised further. New and more effective construction methods will be worked out. Science and technology will achieve further progress. Socialist emulation and the movement for innovations and rationalization will assume broader development.

The construction materials industry will be further expanded and will provide the construction workers with a material base superior to that they had in the past. This industry already meets all the needs of the country for cement, ceramics, all sorts of wire and cables for electric installations, timber, glass sheets, etc and exports part of them.

All these and other successes were not easy to achieve. Much work, mobilization and perseverance was required from the highest organs of the Party and the state to the enterprises and agricultural cooperatives to overcome the innumerable difficulties and obstacles, to fulfil the economic tasks in this field, too.

A not indifferent task was the rapid overcoming of the backwardness inherited from the past especially in the field of education and culture, as well

as the struggle against petty-bourgeois leftovers in the consciousness of people, and other tasks of this nature. Many difficulties were created and much damage was caused by the imperialist and revisionist enemies and their agents in our country, both in the time when we were laying the foundations of our socialist economy and later, for example their attempts to sabotage the draining of the Maliq swamp and the improvement of the Korça Plain, the cutting off of all economic aid on the part of the Soviet and Chinese social-imperialists as well as their brutal violation of all agreements and contracts, things which were made public by the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of socialist Albania. However, all these difficulties and obstacles have been successfully overcome and from this struggle everyone of us has drawn lessons, conclusions and set himself the task to be always vigilant and prepared to cope with any difficulty.

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The working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, all the working people of Albania, after successfully accomplishing the tasks of the first year of the new five-year plan have set with even greater enthusiasm and all-out mobilization about the fulfilment of the plan of the second year

of this five-year plan. The fulfilment of the tasks of the first months of this year shows that this year, too, will be another year of important successes and victories.

A powerful movement of revolutionary initiatives has broken out everywhere for the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of planned tasks. The vanguard collective of the enterprise for the construction of hydro-power stations has pledged to commission two turbines of the Koman hydro-power station at the end of 1985, as against one envisaged under the plan.

In several other enterprises and construction sites pledges are being taken to cut the planned schedule for the construction of projects and the production of machinery and technological equipment, to lower costs, to use material thriftily and other initiatives of this kind.

All these things show the high political and ideological maturity that characterize the working masses of Albania, they testify to their unshakeable confidence and militant readiness to fully accomplish the historic tasks set by the 8th Congress of the PLA in the new five-year plan.

Herein lies the greatest guarantee for the successful fulfilment of this plan.

1 *Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 11, Eng. ed.*

2 *Ibidem, p. 29.*

GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS AND CLEAR PERSPECTIVES OF GEOLOGICAL SCIENCE

by **ESHREF PUMO**

The geological service in Albania has accumulated a rich experience in prospecting for and discovering the main useful minerals. Today it is in a position and has all the means and equipment to guarantee the attainment of the objectives of the 7th Five-Year Plan

THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE HAVE ANCIENT TRADITIONS IN THE MINING INDUSTRY. THEIR FOREFATHERS, THE ILLYRIANS, AND MORE PARTICULARLY THE TRIBE OF PIRUSTES, EXTRACTED AND PROCESSED COPPER IN THE REGION OF MIRDITA (A REGION OF NORTHERN ALBANIA), AND EVEN COINED THEIR OWN MONEY IN DIFFERENT TIMES. THIS OUR HISTORIANS AND ARCHAEOLOGISTS HAVE ESTABLISHED WITH DOCUMENTS. SIMILARLY, THE ILLYRIAN TRIBES ALSO DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES AS MINERS OF COPPER AND ROCK SALT IN AUSTRIA AND COPPER AND GOLD IN RUMANIA AND ELSEWHERE BEFORE OUR ERA.

The underground of Albania is rich in useful minerals. However, in the past centuries, in the conditions of the great backwardness due to the Ottoman rule, work was restricted mainly to fulfilling local needs, therefore mineral extraction was a negligible activity. Later, travellers and «specialists» from imperialist states, availing themselves of the centuries-long backwardness and encouraged by the feudal-bourgeois cliques ruling the country, prepared a favourable ground for the activity of foreign shareholders' companies, which got control of various mineral-bearing regions and fields for prospecting and exploitation, especially in the first three decades of our century and during the fascist occupation.

With the establishment of the people's state power measures were taken for the exploitation of the underground wealth of the country with our own forces. The historic Congress of Përmet, which was held in the liberated town of Përmet in May 1944, when the National Liberation Army was locked in a gigantic struggle with the nazi occupiers, adopted important decisions on the annulment of all political and economic agreements which the

government of the former King Zog had entered into with foreign states, as agreements that ran counter to the interests of the Albanian people.

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Liberation from the nazi-fascist occupiers on November 29, 1944 was an event of vital importance for the independent development and non-stop advance of the economy of the country. The measures adopted by the Party for the high-rate economic development of the country brought about fundamental changes. In the context of this development and advance, the mining industry had a primary role.

Liberated Albania inherited only a few small mines, of low productivity and backward technology from the past. As for geological studies, almost nothing was done. From the first years after Liberation, the Party of Labour of Albania, besides the important measures for the setting up and development of the various branches of the economy, adopted special decisions for the rapid development of the mining industry and securing primary materials. For this purpose the geological service of the country was set up in August 1952.

It is 30 years now from the day when the foundations of the geological

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service, which is the youngest in Europe, were laid. This 30-year period is not a long time in geological terms, nevertheless the geological service in Albania has grown rapidly, becoming firmly consolidated and scoring success after success, by ensuring the primary materials needed for the independent economic development of the country and its uninterrupted socioeconomic progress. This short period has witnessed the setting up of the Faculty of Geology and Mining of the University of Tirana, the Geological and Geodetic Enterprise which prospects for oil and gas and solid minerals with competence and success, of research institutes specialized in the study of oil and gas, as well as of institutes specialized in geology and mining. These centres, together with the Seismological Centre of the Academy of Sciences, which was set up ten years ago, have made an important contribution to extending knowledge of the geological-tectonic structure of the country, of the laws of distribution and location of useful mineral deposits as well as discovering and exploiting them for the benefit of the people's economy.

1. As is known, useful minerals distributed and located in conformity with the laws of the development of the Earth's crust. They are found in a definite geological medium, and recognition of these laws is especially important in the work for the discovery of these sources. These laws and the mutual relationship between mineral deposits and the geological medium are brought out clearly in geological surveys of different scales. For

this purpose, we have compiled geological maps of the scale 1:50,000 and 1:25,000 for larger regions, and of greater scale for smaller regions of our country. This, together with information from ordinary people, helps in locating hundreds of sources and manifestations of chromium, copper, coal, iron-nickel and other ore deposits, and all those cases which have proved worth our attention have been subjected to further study for the prospecting and estimation of the reserves of mineral primary materials.

As a result, new data on the geological-tectonic structure of individual regions and zones, often contrasting with the ideas of foreign geologists, have been obtained and, on their bases new concepts and views of the geology of Albania have been formed. In recent years, relying on this work and study, the geological map of the country, scale 1:200,000, has been compiled. This map represents the most complete synthesis of all the geological work carried out in Albania till the beginning of the 80's. More recent studies of the geology and tectonics of the Albanides, based on geological surveys and publications of our geologists over these 30 years, are of special importance not only for the solution of problems of a theoretical and applied character of various fields but also for the study of the geology of the Dinaric-Albanides-Hellenides folded belt, and the geology of the Balkan Peninsula and the Eastern Mediterranean.

The results obtained have been of great help to the solution of the geological problems. This holds true especially for original scientific studies

in the field of stratigraphy, palaeontology, petrography and the related sciences such as geophysics, geochemistry, etc. which in complex have helped further elaborate geological conceptions, reach conclusions and make generalizations in conformity with the reality of Albania, create concepts and views which have led to an objective and realistic estimation of the mineral-bearing capacity of our country. Contrary to the erroneous concepts of some foreign geologists, relying on the creative thinking of the Albanian geologists, today it is possible to form more comprehensive scientific conceptions of the perspective of the Albanian underground riches, based on the great principle of supporting the independence of the economy through our own efforts and with our own mineral deposits.

The 30-year experience of the Albanian geological service showed that the skill and abilities of our geologists compare favourably with their counterparts in other states. The achievements of our geological studies in all directions, on which our geologists have reported both at national and international conferences in recent years, indicate they are capable of studying and making synthesis and reaching conclusions which do not lag behind world advanced geological thinking. The scientific papers on the metallogenic map of Europe read by our scientists and specialists at symposiums over specific problems in Italy and Greece, their studies of the ophiolites, or their seismological research, have been highly appraised by foreign students.

2. Our greatest achievements are in applied geology, in prospecting for and exploiting primary mineral materials and in geological survey for industrial and agricultural constructions, etc. In most cases we have had to combat the concepts and activity of foreign and internal enemies. There are many facts which abundantly prove the evil aims and plans of the enemies of Albania. The superpowers and the imperialist states have always had special aims towards the countries rich in useful minerals, trying to use them as suppliers of raw materials for their industry. As a result of their schemes, many mineral-rich countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America and the oil-rich countries of the Persian Gulf and the Middle East have become the object of the ambitions, interference and savage exploitation of the superpowers and other imperialist states. The foreign monopolies and shareholders' companies, especially the American ones, with their neo-colonialist policy towards the states of Latin America, try to transform them, as Comrade Enver Hoxha puts it in his major work «Imperialism and the Revolution», into mere suppliers of primary materials: Venezuela for its oil, Bolivia for its tin, Chile for its copper, etc. The same policy is pursued by the Soviet social-imperialists who, through Comecon and the Warsaw Treaty, try to appropriate the mineral deposits of the revisionist countries, and transform them into appendages of the Soviet economy.

More than once we have experienced the consequences of such hostile ambitions on the part of the Western capitalist states, the Titoites, the Khrushchevites and the Chinese revisionists towards our country. The enemies of our country were especially anxious to blur the perspective of the development of our oil industry.

The perspective development of our oil and gas-bearing regions and structures has been further clarified through the scientific analysis and synthesis of geological-tectonic information gained in recent years. The critical analysis of and struggle against anti-scientific concepts in oil studies and fresh evidence of the geological structure of the country created the premises for new and correct orientations which open up new horizons and paths for oil and gas prospecting.

We have commissioned for production the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical combine at Elbasan, which works on the iron-nickel ore of the mining basin of Librazhd and Pogradec. Let us mention in passing the fact that the Italian fascist occupiers, who planned to build in Italy a plant working on Albanian mineral with a processing capacity of about 1 million tons a year, had made a positive estimation of the mineral deposits of this zone. However, this plan was foiled by our National Liberation War which did not allow our iron-nickel ore to be shipped to Italy.

The building of this combine at Elbasan has a long history of struggle and efforts. The correct demand of the Party of Labour of Albania to set up a smelting plant on the basis of the local iron-nickel ore was rejected by the Soviet revisionists and others on the pretext that our ore allegedly had to go through «a complicated technological process», that it was not in the interest of Albania to develop the nickel processing industry, etc.

The Khrushchevite revisionists on various occasions tried to impede our geological research and the building of mineral extracting and processing industry. They «advised» us to renounce the development of the mining industry, especially the processing industry, and to concentrate on agriculture and citrus growing instead, and export our unprocessed minerals to them. The aim in all this was quite clear. We were supposed to extract our minerals as they wished, and thus make our economic development dependent on their demands and orders.

But Albania did not heed this «advice» and resolutely set out on the road of developing geological prospecting and the extraction and processing of its primary materials with its own forces. And successes attended it on this road. Our geologists, miners and oil-workers overfulfilled the tasks of the plan in all directions.

Oil and gas are the spheres of activity in which the Albanian geological thinking has triumphed over the «views» and «forecasts» of internal and external enemies, who tried to leave our country without oil and gas.

In their struggle against the views which located oil and gas deposits mainly in sand formations, our geo-

logists succeeded in striking oil in limestone formations, and of better quality at that, and proving the existence of a new and broader horizon of great perspective. Refuting the views that the oil deposits in our country exist only in the form of small pockets and lents, that oil should not be sought outside the «yellow lines», our geologists, applying a complex method of geological-geophysical survey and relying on the results and achievements hitherto, as well as on a correct idea of the tectonics of oil and gas-bearing structures and the ways of formation, migration and location of oil and gas have achieved important results over the last decade not only in ensuring reserves for the years to come, but also in opening new perspectives of development for the oil and gas fields of the country.

Similarly, while criticizing the regressive views of the foreign geologists on the geological structure of chromium deposits, our geologists have formed new original conceptions of the structure of chromium deposits, which has greatly enhanced the prospects of the exploitation of this mineral.

Critically analysing the geological data provided by foreign geologists who expressed themselves very pessimistically about the copper reserves of our country, our geologists reached such conclusions as to create new and optimistic conceptions about the reserves of copper in our country.

Likewise, they have made realistic assessments of our reserves of iron-nickel ore and confirmed the existence of considerable amounts of them which ensure supplies for the iron, nickel and cobalt metallurgy for the present and many decades in the future, when the capacity of this industry will be greatly increased.

Important hydro-geological surveys have been carried out prior to the building of important projects, such as dams of hydro-power stations, land improvement and irrigation schemes, etc.

This brief summary of the achievements in the field of applied geology over the thirty years of existence of the geological service shows the correctness of the line of the Party for the development of geological research and the enhancement of its role in the advance of the country. Albania has been transformed into a coun-

try with a powerful and advanced mining industry, and those who schemed to exploit the wealth of our underground for their own ends now have been compelled to admit that Albania ranks 72nd among 142 countries of the world, in the total production of the mining industry, doing better than Finland, Cuba, Portugal, Switzerland and other states, that in the per capita income from the production of the mining industry Albania comes 48th, before Hungary, Austria, Yugoslavia, France, China, Italy, etc., that in the ratio of volume of production to area Albania comes 24th, ahead of the USA, Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, Italy, Turkey, Sweden, etc. They have been compelled to admit that Albania comes third in the world production of chromium ore, 14th in the world production of metallic nickel, 31st in the world production of copper, etc.

A great change has been made in our estimates of the coal-bearing capacity of our country. Besides the mines of very low productivity which were working before the war and whose capacity has been multiplied after Liberation, many new coal mines have been opened thereby greatly increasing the extraction of coal — an important fuel in the economy of the country. With the recent discoveries, the ratio of distribution of coal reserves has also improved.

Besides the main minerals, other minerals such as rock salt, phosphorites, asbestos, talc, etc have been found and mines for their exploitation have already been designed. Important deposits of polymetals, alabaster, etc. without mentioning large reserves of potable and industrial water, marbles, construction materials, etc have been discovered, studied and exploited in the years of the people's power.

In our country today we exploit many useful minerals, such as oil, gas, chromium, copper, iron-nickel, various coals, etc. which play an extremely important role in the fulfilment of the needs of the country and are also exported. At present ten new minerals have been tapped and are going from the stage of experiments and tests to that of industrial exploitation. In 1978 against 1973, the part of the mining industry in the total production of the country was 3 times as great as the world average.

These achievements speak clearly of the importance and place of the mining industry in the economy of the country and its development with our own forces. For their part these achievements have consolidated the bases for the further development of the mining industry itself, which is preceded by geological research and prospecting

The Albanian geological service is in a position to cope with many finds and forms of work. The high cadres, who are trained at the Faculty of Geology and Mining, and the medium cadres who graduate from technical schools in various parts of the country, are a powerful support for the fulfilment of all tasks, while the co-ordination of the scientific activity of the various institutes and with the production activity of enterprises creates ever greater possibilities for studies, experiments and generalizations, everything on the basis of self-reliance. However, shortcomings and difficulties of growth exist, but the general balance of positive achievements in these three decades, as well as the experience already gained, enable the geological service to cope with success with its tasks in the future. Achievements in regional geology make the perspective development of Albania clearer, bring industrial and geological reserves closer to processing factories and further extend the range of useful minerals.

3. The 8th Congress of the Party, held in November 1981, laid down tasks of great responsibility in the field of exploitation and processing of primary mineral materials. Under the 7th Five-year Plan, it is envisaged that in 1985, as against 1980, the extraction of oil will increase 58-60 per cent, the mining of coal 48 per cent, of chromium about 29 per cent, of copper about 53 per cent, of iron-nickel about 2.5 fold, etc. The mining of phosphorites, quartz, rock salt, marble, dolomites, olivinites, magnesite, alabaster, etc. will also increase.

These are high figures. The five-year plan 1981-1985, the first year of which was closed with success, is the first plan which is drafted and will be realized relying entirely on our own forces, without any aid or credit from abroad, it is a plan packed with great tasks but scientifically based and completely within our possibilities

to be realized. In 1985 Albania will mine as much chromium as Rhodesia together with Turkey, which hold respectively fourth and fifth place in the world production of chromium, produced in 1978. Figures for the production of other useful minerals are also high. The directives of the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania lay down that, «Geological prospecting for the discovery of minerals should be intensified in order to ensure the increase of the industrial and tapped reserves of oil, gas, coal, chromium, copper and iron-nickel ores and other useful minerals, as the basis for the high-rate development of the industry of mineral extracting and processing for the longest periods possible. The efficiency of the use of the material-technical base and investments in the field of prospecting-discovery, should be increased through applying advanced scientific methods and deepening complex studies.»

The attainment of these objectives is closely connected with the carrying out of the tasks of the five-year plan in general and with the long-term perspective extending up to 2000 and even further.

The objective of geological prospecting for the 80's is to further increase the reserves of primary mineral materials situated near the existing mines and in new mining regions, by further increasing the volume of geological-prospecting work and ensuring a better ratio between surface and deep extraction, between studies and practical work, between the activity of the specialists and the work of the various institutions.

Over 30 years the geological service in Albania has accumulated a rich experience in prospecting for and discovering the main useful minerals. Today it is in a position and has all the means and equipment to guarantee the attainment of the objectives of the 7th Five-year Plan for oil and gas, chromium and copper, coal and iron-nickel, etc. For the attainment of these tasks, along with the methods in current use, in the future it will carry out studies and experiments to find new roads and methods, combining the achievements of various branches of sciences, in order to raise the effectiveness of geological prospecting and ensure a quicker, better and cheaper discovery of reserves of

primary mineral materials. Besides this, studies and experiments for the complex exploitation of the mineral riches will be carried out in order to recover as much as possible the useful elements from low-grade minerals.

The 80's will be years of a new extension of the range of useful minerals. As a result of the geological studies and the prospecting and laboratory tests for the study of the technology carried out in recent years it has become clear that, as the 8th Congress of the Party instructed, our economy will be enriched with minerals of nickel, silicate and bauxite, asbestos, etc, the reserves of which are important and open to exploitation in the near future. This will create possibilities for the setting up of the new branches of industry for the needs of the country and for export. Parallel with the continuation of geological prospecting for these useful minerals, work will go on for the prospecting and discovery of other useful minerals according to the geological and metallogenic structure of the country.

The fulfilment of the tasks of the 8th Congress for the further widening of the perspectives of exploitation of the useful minerals will be done through the extension of generalizing studies and the raising of their scientific level. Through the knowledge of the geological-tectonic structure and magmatism of our country, possibilities have been created for better scientific work. This will channel geological prospecting towards objects of higher

efficiency. Over the 30 years of existence of the geological service our cadres and specialists have been qualified to take up and carry out important studies. Under this five-year plan, proceeding from the present base of knowledge of the regional geology of the country, important generalizing studies will be made in order to chart the metallogenic map of Albania. Once these studies are terminated, forecasts can be made on the location of new mineral deposits, which will direct our prospecting work towards new depths and less known regions.

Knowledge of other related sciences is of special importance for the further extension of known mineral reserves, as well as utilization of other studies of a theoretical and practical nature. This will be achieved by making extensive use of the achievements of modern mathematics, physics, and chemistry and their applications in geology and related sciences. Detailed studies will be made to determine with more accuracy the age of the rocks in the structure of the Albanian territory and its stratigraphy by means of new palaeontological methods for the definition of absolute age. For this purpose the Institute of Nuclear Physics of the Academy of Sciences will collaborate more closely with the institute of the geological service. In order to know in greater detail the geological structure of the country especially in depth, regional geological and geophysical studies will be made. Their results will be compared with the informa-

tion obtained from deep drilling, with paleogeographical and seismological information gathered in the recent years.

Special importance will be attached to complex geological-geophysical work and experimentation of geophysical and geochemical methods in the conditions of our country. This will be achieved by increasing the volume of geophysical and geochemical work, by extending the range of magnetometrical, radiometrical, and subsoil geophysical work and extending the use of methods of electrometry and radiowaves in field studies. Hydrogeological and geological engineering work, which is of particular importance for the further development of agriculture, will be extended further.

Bold use of new and complex methods of experimentation in the conditions of our country, better organization of work and strengthening of scientific discipline in all fields, coordination of professional abilities with the available means, collaboration between the research institutes and production enterprises, participation of the masses in geological prospecting, all this increases the possibilities of reaching broader scientific conclusions according to the laws of geological prospecting, which will enable not only the fulfilment of the current tasks of the five-year period 1981-1985 but also a better perspective exploitation of the Albanian subsoil thereby guaranteeing the non-stop development of the economy and the strengthening of the defence capacity of our socialist Homeland.

RELATIONS OF DISTRIBUTION IN ALBANIA

by **PRIAMO BOLLANO**

In Albania today differentials between high and low wages are the smallest in the world, the ratio between them being 1:2; in enterprises the ratio of the average pay of the worker and that of the director is 1:1.7

IN THE WHOLE SYSTEM OF THE SOCIALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO WORK OCCUPIES AN IMPORTANT PLACE. THE PLA, RELYING ON THE TEACHINGS OF MARXISM-LENINISM, HAS PURSUED AND CARRIED OUT A PROFOUND REVOLUTIONARY POLICY IN THIS FIELD. IT HAS ALWAYS WORKED TO ENSURE THAT DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO WORK SHOULD ACTIVELY INFLUENCE THE DEVELOPMENT AND PROGRESS OF THE ECONOMY, THE REVOLUTIONARY CLASS EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE, CLOSING THE WAY TO BOURGEOIS-REVISIONIST DEGENERATION.

In the context of the tasks set for perfecting the socialist relations of production as a whole, the 8th Congress of the PLA emphasized the need for further perfecting the relations of distribution according to work. It stressed the necessity of ensuring «... a better relationship between remuneration of the work and quantity, quality, thriftiness and the fulfilment of the planned tasks.»¹

In the extended socialist reproduction, distribution is an intermediate link which connects production with consumption. The Marxist-Leninist economic doctrine defines the role and place of relations of distribution. Distribution is an outcome of production,

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because only the results, the fruit of labour, can be distributed. And although it is the result of production and the relations of production, distribution plays an important and active part in the development of production itself.

In socialism, part of the total social product goes to replacing the means of production consumed during work, to meeting the demands of extended reproduction, to maintaining and developing the non-productive sphere, to strengthening the defence capacity of the country and ensuring various reserve funds. The remainder, which represents the part of the product for oneself, is distributed to the workers of the sphere of material production, in

conformity with the law of distribution according to the work done.

The law of distribution according to work requires that the product for oneself should be distributed among the members of society in conformity with quantity, quality and the result of their work. According to this law, distribution is done on the basis of the principle of equal pay for equal work, regardless to age, sex, nationality or race; remuneration being different for different degrees of the difficulty and importance of the work, the level of qualification of the worker and the results attained in the production of and in economizing the material values.

The distribution of the product for oneself in socialism, realized in proportion with the results of labour, with its quality and quantity, and on the basis of productive activities where material blessings are created, encourages the increase of production and its effectiveness, and assists in the revolutiona-

ry education of the masses. It links and combines correctly the personal interest of the workers with the common interest of society, giving priority to the latter.

The wage system of our economy, as a system opposed to petty-bourgeois egalitarianism and to excessive wage differences, is built on the basis of these requirements and the mutual relation between the system of remuneration according to work and the policy of prices for consumer goods, guaranteeing their stability, the development of education, free health service, and the growing role of the fund of social consumption. The PLA has always paid due attention to the wage system and its continuous perfection.

Historical experience and the process of socialist construction in Albania have proved that equal distribution derives from petty-bourgeois notions and has nothing in common with the real social equality in the field of distribution of the material goods socialism guarantees. Any attempt to bring about this equality would be of grave consequences to socialism, would lead to anarchy, would hinder the development of the productive forces and would foster idleness and parasitism.

The wage system of PSR of Albania in the state sector and remuneration according to work in the cooperativist sector originate from the principle that difficult work is paid more than easy work, that work in difficult conditions (underground work, work in environments with humidity or polluted by gases) is paid more than work in normal conditions, highly qualified work is paid more than less qualified or common work, and work in the main branches and sectors of the economy is paid more than work in auxiliary sectors.

Socialism cannot avoid all inequalities in the distribution of the product for oneself. But gradually, as the productive forces develop and by perfecting the socialist relations of production in a revolutionary way, by strengthening the socialist conscious-

ness of the working masses, socialism reduces that inequality, narrows the differentials in pay and income. The pursuit of this course is absolutely necessary in order to safeguard the socialist character of the relations of production, to improve them, and to protect them from capitalist and revisionist degeneration, to prevent new bourgeois elements from arising.

In his time Lenin pointed out the corrupting effect of high salaries on the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the same way that private ownership engenders capitalism everyday, «fat wages» bring about a yearning after larger gains, regular and irregular, create the conditions to bourgeoisify people, stressed Comrade Enver Hoxha. A proof of this is the reality of the countries where modern revisionists are in power. The deepening of the gap between different levels of remuneration of work, even by formally preserving the principle of distribution according to work, like modern revisionists do, leads to class polarization, to the deepening of economic inequality, which is the basis for the ideological degeneration of people. In the Soviet Union the difference in remuneration between workers and the bureaucratic and technocratic administrators of production, estimated on the basis of the nominal pay, fluctuates between 1 and 10, whereas together with the incomes from the division of profits, from all kinds of bonuses and from countless other privileges, the difference in pay reaches even greater figures. The ratio of the pay of the workers and the salaries of high functionaries, in conformity with their rank in the party, the government, the army or in the scientific institutions, is one to 25-30. «These differences in pay and way of life», stressed Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 8th Congress of the PLA, «can hardly be distinguished from those which exist between the bourgeois administrators and the workers in the countries of the West.»² Thus, the reality of revisionist countries demonstrates that truth, which Engels points out in his work «Anti-Dühring»,

that along with the emergence of differences in distribution, social class differences begin to emerge.

The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat takes continuous measures in order to limit and to narrow pay differences. These measures are many-sided, effective and far-reaching. They are connected with a revolutionary policy of the pay system, the continuous reductions of distinctions between town and countryside, between intellectual and manual work, and with the ever better fulfilment of the worker's needs from the fund of social consumption.

Guided by the correct principle of distribution according to work, the PLA, in its economic policy, has always fought in order to constantly improve the living of all the working people and not only that of a minority, not by bringing about a levelling and equality of remuneration or by favouring a given section, but by striving to ensure that remuneration should correspond to the quantity and quality of the work, with the margin of pay differentials decreasing all the time.

As a result of this consistent policy, in Albania today differences between high and low wages are the smallest in the world. The ratio between average and high wages is 1:2; in enterprises the ratio of the average pay of the worker and that of the director is 1:1.7, which is a result of the distinctions existing in connection with the quantity and quality of the work with the place and importance of various kinds of work in society.

A main feature of the Party's policy in the field of distribution is the continuous perfection of the forms of remuneration and of the pay system as a whole.

In the state sector this perfection aims at ensuring that remuneration is proportional to the volume of the work, after due control of its quality and quantity, or to the effective working time, the degree of qualification and the post of work. The extension of payment for piece-work and of work by norms has priority, because these forms ensure a more efficient participation

in the process of production. The perfection of the system of tariffs is also under study, because on its basis the differentiation of remuneration according to the branch of the economy, the degree of qualification and work conditions, which narrows wage differences, is made.

In the cooperativist sector, remuneration forms are perfected in harmony with the development of the socialist property of the group, on the basis of a higher socialist consciousness of the cooperativists. The measures taken in January 1971, concerning «the necessity for a radical change in organizational forms and the consolidation of discipline in agriculture» are of particular importance. Along other measures, the transformation of agricultural cooperatives into economies of extended socialist reproduction requires the accomplishment of forms of organization and the remuneration of work. For this purpose, payment in money in the cooperatives replaced all the previous mixed forms of distribution in kind and in money. This measure proved to be necessary and in the right time. This transition served as a strong lever to stimulate the interest of the cooperativists, concerned in achieving greater incomes, to produce more and better. On the other hand this transition enabled the peasants to manage their incomes better. Like the city workers, the peasants could decide freely on how to meet their needs for various consumer goods or industrial goods. This new form of distribution contributed to the further economic and financial consolidation of the agricultural cooperatives, the perfecting of their direction and organization, a more comprehensive and complete application of the system of direction on their own account, etc.

The experience of the socialist construction of Albania shows that the perfection of the system of remuneration according to work is a dynamic process. The aim is reached when: first, the forms of remuneration are perfected to the degree in which the requirements of the law of distribution of the pro-

duct for oneself are fully observed and carried out in extent and depth; second, when the principle of giving priority to productive work over other kinds of work is fully put into practice and serves as the basis for the creation of a correct system of pay; third, when these forms aim at unceasingly restricting and finally abolishing «the bourgeois right»; and fourth when it ensures the gradual but steady improvement of the material well-being and the raising of the cultural level of all the working masses. In the context of the most complete implementation of the requirements of the law of distribution according to work, at the end of 1980, additional measures with a view to further perfecting the system of remuneration of work were approved in consideration of the following decisive factors:

Despite their continuous perfection, the forms of remuneration of work in the state sector of the economy did not take into due consideration the fundamental requirements of the socialist principle of distribution, i.e., remuneration according to the quantity and quality of the work done. They rather assessed things from the quantitative aspect of the results of labour. Even in those cases when the remuneration of work was done on the basis of its quality, this, too, was one-sided, taking into consideration only the quality of the final product in assessing the respective amount of pay. Consequently, those aspects of the quality of work which are connected with the amount and level of expenditure made for the production of a given item, the level of material expenditure designed for the primary materials etc., were not sufficiently taken into account in determining the amount of pay.

In the cooperativist sector, too, on the cooperative level, the incomes of its members were distributed according to the amount work done, taking into account the degree in which the incomes and the level of expenditure were realised, whereas the remuneration of the work on the brigade level and for

the cooperativists was not directly linked with the level of expenditure. Therefore, the old form of the remuneration of work on the brigade level did not take due account of the level and effectiveness of expenditure, with the result that this form of remuneration did not encourage the interest of the cooperativists in the quality and effectiveness of their work, brought about a relative disregard for the estimation and calculation of the costs and the keeping of books and records for every brigade.

The above-mentioned factors and the further deepening of the intensive character of the economy raised the need for further perfecting the system of remuneration according to work done, by linking the remuneration of work not only or mainly with the quantity, but also with the quality and the expenditure of production.

The remuneration of working people according to the amount and the quality of work and the financial expenditure and results, further raises the incentive role of the remuneration of work in the fulfilment of the tasks of the plan, not only in quantity but also in quality, not only in the time fixed but also according to prescribed expenditure. This form contributes to the better combination of the whole gamut of the interests of socialist society, the tempering and education of the working people with the socialist ideology and morality, without permitting distinctions or privileges in the incomes for the different strata or sections of working people. The connection of the remuneration of work with quality, quantity and expenditure, permits the assessment and accurate determination of the work and expenditure involved, thus actively working against the cases of unthrifty use of labour, means and objects of work, creating the possibilities for the comparison of the expenditure of work with the results achieved, increasing the value of the utility of production, improving the quality and cost index for every unit of production.

The connection of the remuneration of work with the expenditure of production, in fact, requires a more complete implementation of the all the aspects of the law of distribution of the product for oneself in socialism. In this case, too, both the state sector and the cooperativist sector have in the foundation of the remuneration of work the socialist principle of distribution, «each according to his abilities, and to each according to the quantity and quality of the work done», which serves as a regulator. It is fully understandable that when the working people in socialist society, individually or collectively, fulfil their tasks in quantity and quality, according to the laws and norms defined by society, saving the working time and the cutting on the prescribed expenditure, increasing their efficiency, etc. they, in fact, give society a greater amount of work and do it better. This form of remuneration combines, on sound ideo-political and socio-economic bases, the material interests with the moral incentives, not only on an enterprise and agricultural cooperative level, but also on the brigade level and for every individual worker.

For the remuneration of work to play its role as the stimulator of better work and higher productivity of labour, it is essential that the plan of the economic-productive activity should be mobilizing, real and revolutionary, planning should be detailed for every item and index, for every product in kind and in value, and this not only about quantity and quality, but also about productivity and cost and other indices, beginning in the level of the brigade,

shift, sector and shop to the enterprise and the agricultural cooperative.

The implementation of the system of remuneration according to quantity, quality and expenditure of production implies the need for accuracy of estimation and strengthening of control of work done by every individual, not only regarding quantity, but necessarily the quality and in close connection with the expenditure of production and norms of the use of materials, etc. Therefore, every manifestation of liberalism, which may be noticed in this direction, gives rise to opposition on the part of the revolutionary social opinion, because, in the last analysis liberalism in this would be harmful to the socialist relations of production, would start the gradual process of the degeneration of these relations into capitalist relations, as happened in the revisionist countries. In the PSR of Albania a struggle on a broad front is carried out in order to ensure that the socialist relations as a whole not only are not violated, but on the contrary are continuously perfected until they reach their maturity and are transformed into communist relations.

In socialist Albania people lead a happy life in their families and in society. In everything it does, the people's state power has in mind the well-being of the people, the raising of their standard of living. In Albania monthly pay does not represent the whole amount of the income of the working people, be they ordinary workers or cadres. Our society disposes of a substantial fund, in various means and ways (stability of prices, income of working peo-

ple guaranteed against taxes and taxation, low house rents, free education, free health service, etc.) in favour of its members. For the financing of expenditure for social and cultural measures and activities, which go directly to the benefit of the population, the state spends about one fourth of its yearly budget. At present every family benefits about 4,000 leks a year from these state subsidies, against 2,200 in the year 1960.

As a result of this, the material and cultural well-being of the people has been raised uninterruptedly from one year to another and from one five-year period to another. So, in the years of the 7th Five-year Plan, 1981-1985, the real income of the working people will increase 8-10 per cent.

The results achieved in raising the level of well-being constitute a major political success of the policy of the Party of Labour of Albania for the socialist construction of the country and for the perfecting of the socialist relations of distribution according to work. The Albanian people make a correct assessment of these achievements, because they know from where they have started and what they intent to achieve. The most fundamental thing in all this is that they, under the leadership of the Party and based on Marxism-Leninism, have raised and will raise this level still higher on their own forces and efforts.

1 Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, p. 16, Eng. ed.

2 Enver Hoxha, *Ibid.*, p. 242, Eng. ed.

ASPECTS OF DEMOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENT

by **FIQIRI SHERI**

The vitality of the Albanian population is shown by its average young age, which in 1979 was 25.7 years

IN THE CONTEXT OF THE COMPLEX RELATIONSHIPS EXISTING BETWEEN THE DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA, THE WORK TO OBTAIN AS COMPLETE AND ACCURATE DATA AS POSSIBLE NOT ONLY FOR ALL THE SECTORS OF THE ECONOMY, BUT ALSO FOR THE DEMOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENT, HAS INCREASED CONSTANTLY. WITH THE SCIENTIFIC PROCESSING OF THESE DATA, THE STUDY OF THE DIFFERENT LAWS OF THE TRENDS OF THE DEVELOPMENT IN THE STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION, ACCORDING TO THE DIFFERENT SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS, CAN BE DONE BETTER.

The importance of an exhaustive study of the different demographic aspects, dependent on the whole socio-economic development, derives from the objective need for scientific planning, the main purpose of which has been and remains the constant raising of the material and cultural level of the people. That is why the demographic policy applied in new Albania is a component part of the general policy followed by our socialist state on its correct and sure road for the socialist construction of the country. That is why, speaking about the importance of the study and examination of the demographic process, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 8th Congress of the PLA (November 1981) that: «...The Party has always worked to ensure that the demographic processes are studied and treated on a more scientific basis, so that the population continues to increase at suitable ra-

tes.»¹ The experience of socialist Albania shows that the interaction between demographic changes, the socio-economic progress and the raising of the material and cultural level of the people can be resolved correctly on the revolutionary road.

The purpose of this article is to draw a general picture of the demographic situation in the PSR of Albania.

THE INCREASE OF THE POPULATION

The study of the dynamics of the population increase over the whole period from the liberation of the country, November 29, 1944, to day is made easier both by current records on the natural and mechanical movement of the population, and especially the rich material of six general census taken in 1945, 1950, 1955, 1960, 1969 and 1979. For the periods

prior to these the study is made difficult by the inaccuracy of statistical data, if they do exist at all. Over the whole pre-Liberation period only two general censuses have been taken in Albania. The first was taken in 1923 and the second in 1930. Of these two censuses, the latter proved a complete failure.

In the beginning of 1982 Albania had about 2.75 million inhabitants. According to census data, the dynamics of the population increase in Albania before and after Liberation presents itself as follows:

Time of census	Number of population (in thousand)	Comparison in per cent (1930=100)
September 1923	804.0	77.3
September 30, 1938	1040.4	100.0
September 30, 1945	1122.0	107.8
September 3, 1950	1218.9	117.2
October 2, 1955	1391.5	133.7
October 2, 1960	1626.3	156.5
April 1, 1969	2068.2	198.8
January 7, 1979	2590.6	249.0

Whereas in the period 1923-1938 the population grew at an average annual rate of 1.3 per cent, during the period 1945-1979 its growth rate was 2.5 per cent.

A distinguishing feature of the demographic development of the new

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Albania is the rapid increase of the population. In the period 1945-1979, that is within 34 years, the population doubled. As a result, Albania, which until 1955 had the lowest population density among the Balkan countries, in 1981 had a population density of 93 inhabitants per sq km, passing to second place, next to Rumania, which occupies first place by a very narrow margin.

The high growth rate of the population in the years of the people's power is accounted for by the high birth-rate and the systematic and marked fall of the death-rate for all age-groups. Emigration, which was a grave ulcer of the old bourgeois-landowner order, does not exist any longer. With the triumph of the people's revolution, work is guaranteed to everybody in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

The high growth rate of the population in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania have always been accompanied by several times higher rates of economic and social development. Over three decades, from 1950, the average annual growth rate has been as follows: for the total social product 8.7 per cent, the national income — 7.4 per cent, total industrial production — 12.4 per cent, and total agricultural production — about 5 per cent. On the basis of the buying power of the working people and the increase of social funds, the consumption by the population rose about 6 times over the period 1950-1980, or 3 times more than the growth of the population. It is of particular interest to note that despite the increase of the number of working people, especially in the productive sphere, about two thirds of the increase of the social product and national income have been ensured from the raising of the productivity of social labour.

These rates indicate the vitality of the socialist social order in Albania, an order which has created real material, economic and financial possibilities of the correct combination and solution of the crucial problems of socio-economic development such as the maintenance of a high norms of accu-

mulation, the opening of new jobs and the occupation of all the able-bodied population, its education, etc and this regardless the high growth rate of the population.

THE NATURAL MOVEMENT OF THE POPULATION

Within a relatively short time of about four decades, the deep-going economic and social transformations carried out in the years of the people's power have left their imprint on the natural movement of the population.

Albania is characterized by a high marriage and birth-rate, on the one hand, and a low death and divorce rate, on the other. As a result, the natural growth of the population is high. In 1980, there were on an average 8.1 marriages, 0.8 divorces, 26.5 live births, 6.4 deaths per 1,000 inhabitants, with a natural population increase of 20.1 per thousand.

The constant marked decrease of the death-rate, which compared with the pre-war level is 60 per cent lower, is a striking fact. The death-rate has fallen for all age-groups, but the greatest fall has been in the younger groups of up to 40 years of age.

Certainly the young age of the population, just as the application of modern medicine, has positively influenced the low level of the death-rate in Albania, but the decisive factor in lowering the general death-rate in Albania, has been and is the ever increasing concern of the state for the welfare of the people, expressed in the many measures it has taken to raise their standard of living and to expand and improve the hygiene and health services. From only 51 health institutions in pre-war Albania, their number of today is more than 4,000. Likewise, whereas in the pre-war period there was one dentist per 8,500 inhabitants, today there is one dentist per about 550 inhabitants.

Parallel with the increase of the marriage rate, the birth-rate in Albania is high and perceptibly influences the high level of the natural growth of the population for both sexes. According

to recent statistical figures, the net reproduction index is about 1.9, that is every mother gives birth to an average of 4 children, which speak of an extended generation replacement.

The Albanian state encourages births in various ways. Mother and child care which is considered as a problem concerning the present and the future of our country has priority in new Albania. As against one maternity ward with 15 beds in 1938, today there are more than 730 maternity homes and wards. For children to be brought up healthy and mothers to be able to participate in social production the number of day creches and their capacity have recorded a many-time increase. Most of the expenditure for the maintenance of the creches is defrayed by the state. Although prices for medicines are very low, medicines for children under one year are given free of charge. In addition to this, the state defrays a good part of expenditure in children's clothing and footwear.

As a result of the constant lowering of the death-rate and a relatively high birth-rate, the coefficient of vitality has risen perceptibly. Whereas in 1938 there was one death for every two births, in recent decades this ratio has changed to 1:4. Among the countries of Europe, Albania has the highest births and the lowest deaths per 1,000 inhabitants.

COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION ACCORDING TO THE DIVISION CITY-COUNTRYSIDE

Albania's transformation from a backward agrarian country, as it was before Liberation, into an agrarian-industrial country today and its resolute progress on the road of its transformation into an industrial-agrarian country has brought about major changes in the social-class structure of the Albanian society.

The deepening of the process of industrialization has resulted in the growth of the urban population at rates quicker than the rural population, al-

though the latter has constantly increased, too. Today the peasantry accounts for about 65 per cent of the population of the country compared with 79 per cent on the eve

of Liberation. The dynamics of change in the composition of the population, according to the division city-countryside in the periods before and after Liberation, is as follows:

Years	Population total	Of which	
		In city	In countryside
1938	100	15.4	84.6
1950	100	24.8	75.2
1960	100	31.1	68.9
1970	100	33.6	66.4
1980	100	35.3	64.7

With its correct policy the Party of Labour of Albania never has allowed the countryside to be underestimated, the industry to develop to the detriment of agriculture, the city to progress at the cost of the countryside and the latter to be depopulated. It has seen to it that industry and agriculture develop together and in harmony, that the city and the countryside advance together.

Before Liberation, the composition of the population according to the division city-countryside underwent almost no change over the whole period 1923-1938. This fact is directly linked with the low level of development of the productive forces at the time when Albania was an extremely backward agricultural country.

After Liberation everything was changed. The rapid development of industry in the first period after Liberation required that part of the work force needed for the construction of the big projects should be drawn from the countryside. As a result, the structure of the population began to shift towards an increase of the proportion of the urban population which in 1960 against 1938 doubled, but still accounting for less than one-third of the total population. Thanks to the proportional development of the country the composition of the population was stabilized with the passing of time, so much so that changes in the division city-countryside became almost negligible.

Through the conscious implementation of the policy of narrowing essential distinctions between city and countryside, the real incomes of the rural population over the last decade have

grown 2-3 times more rapidly than those of the urban population. The development of the productive forces in the countryside and the large state investments for the development of agriculture have brought about noticeable improvement in the conditions of housing and living in the countryside. Albania today has succeeded in becoming a country with all its villages supplied with electricity.

In order to ensure good conditions of living, the increase of the population and the number of families has been supported by large-scale constructions which have changed the face of our cities and villages. Noteworthy is the fact that about 80 per cent of the whole population of the country lives in apartments and houses built after Liberation of which 62 per cent are in the countryside.

COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION ACCORDING TO AGE AND SEX

Albania has a very young population. More than three-fourths of it is under forty, and only 7.4 per cent over sixty. The predominance of the younger age-groups in the structure of the population has prevented its aging.

According to figures from the general census of 1979 the structure of the population of Albania for the three main age-groups presents itself as follows:

Age-group	Structure in per cent
0-14 years	37.0
15-19 years	55.6
over 60 years	7.4

The vitality of the Albanian population is shown by its average young age which in 1979 was 25.7 years. As a result of the high birth-rate, the basis of the age pyramid of the population is very broad.

Considered as to sex group, the population of Albania has a slight predominance of males over females. According to age-groups, it can be said that for the age-groups up to about 40 years the number of males, with slight oscillations, is higher than that of females, from forty to about fifty years the ratio is balanced, and then, for the older age-groups the number of females exceeds that of males.

The general growth of the population is accompanied with the rise of the absolute number of each age-group, and especially of the working age-group, which, under the legislation in force, includes the males of 15 to 59 years and females of 15 to 54 years. During the ten-year period 1969-1979 the population of the working age has increased at an average annual rate of 3.4 per cent, a figure which is higher than the general growth of the population. Today more than half of the total population is of the working age, which, in terms of comparison with the whole population of Albania in 1938, means that the population of working age is higher.

The nagging problem of unemployment with all its evil socio-economic consequences has been wiped out in new Albania. The full absorption and effective utilization of all the work force clearly shows the vitality and superiority of the socialist order in power. According to the requirements of the development of the productive forces, the employment index has kept steadily growing in all the sectors and branches of the national economy, absorbing all the work force created by the extended reproduction of the population of the country.

The full employment of the able-bodied population has always constituted one of the main roads for raising the well-being of the people. At present about 40,000 new work forces,

which is double the number of those employed from 1961 to 1965, are employed in the city and countryside. As a result every family has an average of two to three members in relations of work.

THE EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE POPULATION

In pre-Liberation Albania more than 80 per cent of the population was illiterate. Illiteracy among women was even higher more than 90 per cent.

During almost four decades after Liberation a true revolution has taken place in education and culture. In view of the great backwardness, on the one hand, and the determination to build the new society without oppression and exploitation, on the other, this problem could not be left to time to solve. So, working on a broad front, illiteracy among the population up to 40 years of age was wiped out within ten years, compulsory primary and later 8-year education free of charge was enforced within 5 years all over the country, secondary schools expanded greatly, the first higher schools were set up six to seven years and the university twelve years after Liberation.

Along with general 12-year education, special care was given to the training of medium cadres in special vocational schools, in which the number of students grew 2.7 times during the period 1970-1980 alone.

The socialist construction set the urgent task of the creation of a new

intelligentsia, the gradual and harmonious training of many specialists for the different branches of the economy and culture. In the specific conditions of the backwardness inherited from the past, the new intelligentsia in Albania had to be created almost totally during the years of the people's state power.

By implementing the principle of education for all and free of charge, Albania was quickly transformed into a big school in which one in three-four people regularly attends school.

EXTENSION OF THE AVERAGE LIFE EXPECTANCY OF THE POPULATION

As a result of the important changes that have accompanied the great revolutionary transformations in the field of the economy and culture of the whole country, the average life expectancy of the population has undergone a rapid increase. The concern about the health of the people has been and remains a component part of the policy of the Party of Labour of Albania.

During the period following Liberation the life expectancy of the population has gone on increasing from one year to another. From 38.3 years it was before the war, it rose to 69.2 years in the period 1976-1979.

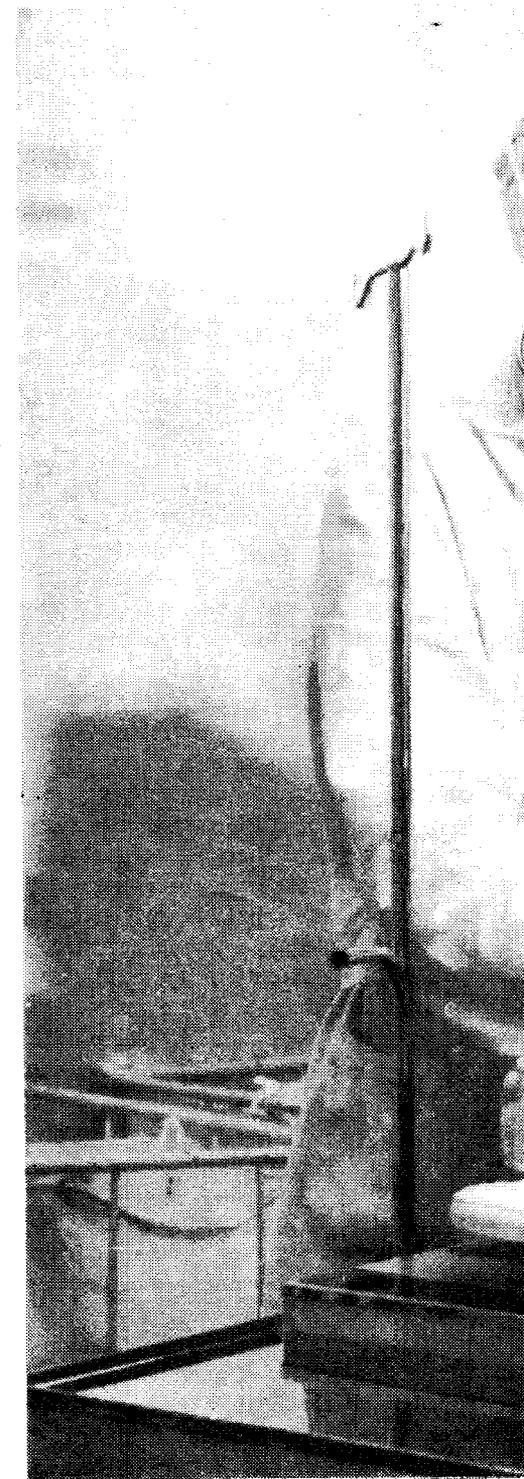
According to the different periods, the dynamics of the extension of the life expectancy presents itself as follows:

Years	For both sexes	Males	Females
1938	38.3
1950-1951	53.5	52.6	54.4
1960-1961	64.9	63.7	66.0
1978-1979	69.2	66.8	71.4

As turns out from the above figures, the extension of the average life expectancy for females has been more rapid than for males. Thus in 1978 as against 1950, the average life expectan-

cy for males rose by 14.2 years, or 27 per cent, while for females 17 years, or 31 per cent. This shows not only the general trend of improvement in the health of the female population but

also the strengthening of the position of woman in the family and society, the raising of her educational and cultural level and, in general, the social emancipation achieved in modern Albania.

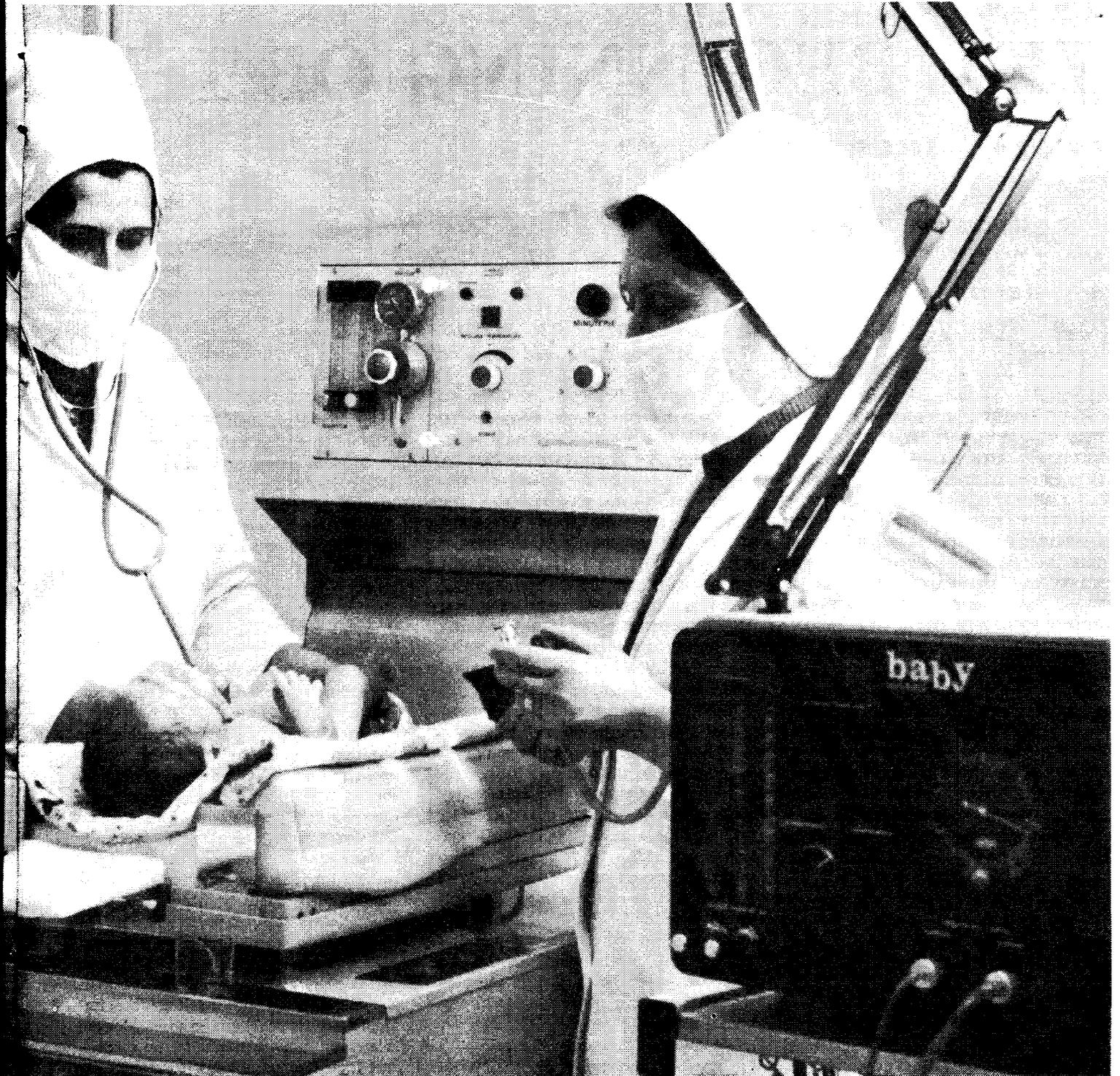


The rapid extension of the average life expectancy in Albania is due to the general socio-economic development of the country, and especially the true revolution that has taken place in hygiene and sanitation. The health ser-

vice is extended all over the country and its prophylactic character is constantly being strengthened.

1 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 57, Eng. ed.

Albania has the highest birth-rate in Europe.



THE ALBANIAN NATIONAL AND THE GREAT POWERS OF THE 19th CENTURY AND THE BEGINNING OF THE 20th CENTURY

by Prof. ARBEN PUTO

*The Albanian question is rather
the question of a national movement, which arose
and developed on its
own national soil, than a diplomatic question*

NO DOUBT, A VERY WIDE RANGE OF PROBLEMS GOES UNDER THIS HEADING EVEN IF WE WERE TO TREAT ONLY THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ALBANIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT AND THE EUROPEAN GREAT POWERS.

THE SCOPE OF THIS ARTICLE, HOWEVER, IS LIMITED TO A DESCRIPTIVE EXCURSION INTO THE POSITIONS OF THE NEW ALBANIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY OVER THE VEXED QUESTION OF THE REAL IMPORT OF THE ACTIVITY OF THE EUROPEAN GREAT POWERS TO THE ALBANIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT DURING THE LAST QUARTER OF THE 19TH CENTURY AND THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY, UP TILL THE PROCLAMATION OF THE NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE OF ALBANIA AND THE CREATION OF THE NEW ALBANIAN STATE IN 1912.

This article highlights mainly two events in the diplomatic history in connection with the Albanian question, namely the Congress of Berlin of 1878 and the London Conference of 1912-1913, in which the activity of the Great Powers comes out most clearly. Obviously, the Albanian question was not the only question to be taken up at those top forums of diplomacy. Maybe it was neither the most important one from the standpoint of the European policy. Nevertheless, they, no doubt, were of primary importance as to the major consequences they had for the Albanian Movement and for the future of Albania.

First of all, before coming to the ^{east} of the matter, another question of principle imposes itself, which is a premise as well. It is related with the origin of the Albanian question as a problem of diplomacy. Obviously, in most of foreign historiography the opinion prevails that the Albanian question had its origin in the policy of the Great Powers. In other words, the Albanian question owed the reason of its existence to diplomacy. It is described as a «diplomatic expedient» of this or that Power at this or that moment, as the result of the big and constant game of the «balance of power», both on the more extensive European plane and on the regional Balkan plane.

We question not only the reliability, but also the impartiality of such a treat-

ment of the problem. We have the conviction that this attitude on the part of foreign historiography is a way of expressing its habitual underestimation, indeed, we would say, its openly scornful attitude towards the Albanian National Movement. It is easy to turn the back to the problem in an emotional reaction to the offended national pride. However, in this case we have the impression that the truth of history, the very logic of events and facts suffer no less than the moral values of the individuality and dignity of a people and a nation.

The Albanian question is rather the question of a national movement, which arose and developed on its own national soil, than a diplomatic question, it is the question of a people who in the second half of the 19th century had already advanced to the stage of their political awakening, it is the question of a completely formed entity which sees ever more clearly the perspective of also becoming a political entity on its own. This process, which first developed within the framework of the Ottoman Empire only to lose itself in the immensity of its problems, gradually began to emerge to light, to rise to the surface, and then it does not fail to assume its

L MOVEMENT AT THE TURN

20th CENTURY

own diplomatic expression, occupying an ever more conspicuous place in European politics.

As a rule, it must be accepted that a more correct correlation between the problem, arising from the revival of the nationalities in the Balkans and the policy of the Great Powers, is essential for an ampler vision, from more objective positions, of all the history of the Peninsula in a century when the Ottoman rule was being shaken from its foundations, because none of these problems has ever been merely a passive element of the diplomatic struggle of the «big ones», but has played an active, important role, has exercised its influence and left its imprint on the international relations of the times.

Therefore, it is more correct to say that the dynamics of the development of political events in the Balkans can be understood through the interconnection of two factors: the rising of the nationalities of the Balkans and the extension of the interests and rivalries of the Great Powers there. Indeed, in this interdependence the local factor, no doubt, occupies the main place as against the general European factor.

The Albanian question is no exception from the general rule which applies to the Balkans. It is worthwhile pointing out here that a certain bias, at times in overtones, has always existed whenever the Albanians and their movements have come up for discussion, or simplistic opinions have been expressed about other popular movements of a mass character, which have taken place in these regions. The great movement

of the South Slavs, which coincides precisely with the period under discussion, has been a real national revival, nevertheless, even today voices, or their echoes, can be heard, describing it as the exclusive result of the hegemonic policy of Russia, as the work of pan-Slavist agitators sent and financed from outside.

The broad popular movements in the Balkans during the second half of the 19th century can and must be considered, *mutatis mutandis*, as a recurrence of those same ideals which in the West led to the creation of Italy and Germany as unified states built on the basis of nationality. While the Italian and German movements have been unhesitatingly recognized as genuine national movements, there is no reason whatsoever for their analogues in the Balkans to be denied or questioned as much. The true popular movements cannot be created from nothing, they cannot be the doing of politicians or diplomats. They may only be exploited, supported or opposed by them. The Albanian question, in particular, has never been a problem invented or conjured up through the imaginative efforts of various statesmen. It has been a real question, raised by a developing national movement, with its inevitable reflection in the field of the foreign policy of the Great Powers.

On this score, it may be remarked that all this is not quite à propos now that in Western Europe even the literature dealing with contemporary history, which has always been out-

standing for its conservatism, has subjected the diplomatic history of the continent to an «overall revision». Voices can be heard saying that there is an apparent departure from the «classical» orientation in the treatment of this question, shifting the centre of attention of historic research from inter-government relations to relations among peoples, regarding the foreign policy no longer as the exclusive domain of cabinets, but also as a sphere in which the activity of the popular masses manifests itself in all its weight. Unfortunately, however, in the majority of cases these remain only enunciations of principles. They are worth our attention in as much as they express a certain awareness of the weakness, one-sidedness of the old science of history. However, in regard to the Balkans in particular, and for the period under study, we cannot fail to observe that most of the scholars today are still turning to the «grand policy» of the cabinets of Europe, almost totally neglecting the basic factor which is represented by the local national spirit.

A second problem emerges whenever we tackle the problem of the Albanian question and its diplomatic aspect: the problem of the time of its emergence and proposition to the diplomacy of the Great Powers. Certainly, the Albanian question found its solution in general lines, on an international scale, at the Conference of Ambassadors, with its decision of July 1913. However, it is not the London Conference which marks the starting-point of the diplomatic history of the Albanian question.

In fact, the Albanian question was raised on an international plane at the Congress of Berlin of 1878 at the time of the Eastern Crisis. In the history of Albania these were the years of the League of Prizren (1878-1881), which marked the climax of the development of the Albanian National Movement during the 19th century. Precisely with the League of Prizren, as one of the most powerful manifestations of the National Movement, the Albanian question finally came out of the framework of the Ottoman Empire with explosive strength and, for the first time, manifested itself in all its acuteness on the political arena of Europe.

At that time the Albanian question was brought before the Great Powers in its two fundamental aspects: **first**, as a territorial question conditioned by the firm resistance of the local autochthonous population to the partitioning of the Albanian territories, and **second**, as a political question arising from the demands of the Albanian National Movement for the realization of the autonomy of Albania, be it in the framework of the Ottoman Empire. Hence, two different aspects of the same problem, which suggest many observations and objections in connection with the attitude of the authors of most historical writings. **First of all**, they fail to understand all the extent of the efforts of the Albanians in defence of their territories; even today there is great hesitation among them to accept it as an expression of the awakening of the national consciousness in a large mass of the Albanian population, even though as an instinctive reaction of self-defence and self-conservation of a nation. There are those who have tried in a most simplistic manner to identify it with the policy of the Sublime Porte, describing it as an instrument, an expedient of the Porte to avoid implementing the decisions of Europe in regard to the re-examination of the borders of its Empire.

Second, there is another aspect of the National Movement in this period, connected with the demand for autonomy, which has been treated in a superficial manner, if not left in oblivion altogether. Nonetheless, the demand for autonomy, which was advanced by the League of Prizren, has special importance, because it is a noteworthy political, national element of the National

Movement in Albania. Obviously this is connected with a higher stage reached by the Movement, a stage in which the conscious element, the Albanians' awareness of their nationality, of their ethnic identity, was greatly strengthened. When the Albanians rise up against the partitioning of their territories, this is an act of self-defence in the face of the immediate danger coming from outside, but when they come out with the demand of autonomy, they take a step beyond the need and interests of the moment; then, they call for a change of the existing situation, of the political-judicial status quo of Albania in the framework of the Empire.

This change, this new element in the evolution of the Albanian Movement did not fail to attract attention at that time, though later it was forgotten. This refers to a new, more realistic assessment of the Albanian Movement in the higher circles of European diplomacy. Clear testimony to this is the account which Goschen, the British Ambassador in Istanbul, sent to Foreign Office in June 1880. Under the impart of his impressions of the new phenomena clearly appearing in the Albanian Movement, Goschen wrote to Granville, «The Albanian Movement cannot be taken simply as a manoeuvre of the Turks to mislead Europe,» that it (the Albanian Movement) had to be regarded as a natural phenomenon and, therefore, «the Albanian nationality is an element which cannot be disregarded in the future political combinations» in the Balkan Peninsula.

* * *

Passing over to the onset of the 20th century, it must be pointed out that the Albanian National Movement recovered after a temporary recession following the suppression of the League of Prizren, and manifested itself in a series of cultural and political activities which prepared the ground for the greater events that were forthcoming. In comparison with the previous period there is a great difference from the diplomatic standpoint. Now it can be said that the National Movement, too, found European «protection», international support on a great power level, in the powers of the Adriatic-Austro-Hungary and Italy, which

through fierce rivalry (indeed, due to this rivalry) constitute the most important factor in favour of the independence of Albania. Nevertheless, it is our opinion that the importance of this European factor has been unduly exaggerated, and this is particularly true as regards Austro-Hungary. In regard to this, some historians forget that the autonomy of Albania and, later, its independence were not always the most preferred solutions of the Albanian question for the Viennese diplomacy. Besides, the fact is disregarded that these solutions were accepted into the plans of the Austrian foreign policy as improvised variants, as «a lesser evil in the unfortunate eventuality of the destruction of the Ottoman Empire». Here is the source of the interest of Vienna in the Albanian National Movement, an interest which developed parallel with its concern to contain this Movement within a rigorously determined framework, that of the movement of a peaceful, mainly «cultural» character. From this aspect, it would be unfair, we hold, to place on a par the support of Russia for its «Slav brothers» in the Balkans, in which racial sentimentalities had their share (without in the least intending to give it more importance than it actually had), with the assistance which Austro-Hungary gave the Albanian Movement and the main incentive of which was the Great Power «sacred egoism».

The Albanian question was but marginally treated at the time of the great Eastern Crisis — at the beginning of the 20th century it concerned the proceedings of an international conference of the six Great Powers in London. It has often been said that it was the Conference of Ambassadors of these Great Powers which created the independence of Albania. In this case the inexactness of the European historiography lies in the fact that it contents itself with referring only to the decisions of this Conference and totally disregarding the events which developed inside Albania, or belittling the importance they had for the shaping of the destinies of Albania. To pretend that the independence of Albania was reached through diplomacy means to ignore not only the great Albanian uprisings on the eve of the Balkan Wars (1910, 1911, 1912), but also the result achieved inside the country, such as

the important act of the proclamation of independence by a national convention in Vlora, as well as the organization of the new Albanian State even before the Great Powers took for examination the Albanian problem at the Conference of Ambassadors in London.

The main thing here is not to discuss priorities, or problems of form only. The new Albanian historiography has brought into the open the true role of the Great Powers, has restituted a historical truth to its place, describing the work of the London Conference as an imperialist act which has caused great harm to the fundamental interests of the Albanian nation. Of course, Great Power imperialism, which has trampled the interests of all nationalities in our Peninsula, was not supposed to alter its nature when it came to the examination and determination of the future of Albania.

When the London Conference comes under discussion, it is important to point out the following main points:

First, the Conference envisaged, in its first decision of December 1912, the internal autonomy of Albania under the suzerainty of Turkey (many foreign authors have described the decision of December 1912 as the basis for the independence of Albania, which is inaccurate). In this manner, the Conference of Great Powers put itself in the position of an inhibiting factor in regard to the events in Albania, where the National Assembly had proclaimed already, at the end of November, the total secession from Turkey and independence of Albania, creating, at the same time, the first National Government.

Second, the final decision of the Conference, taken in July 1913, could not fail to take into consideration the development of events in the Balkans, the complete expulsion of Turkey from the Peninsula, therefore it recognized Albania's independence, exclusive all connection with or dependence on Turkey. Nevertheless, the final decision of July 1913 is a typically contradictory act, one which, as Lenin said, in the second part negates what it admits in the first part. However, it is the main international instrument of Albania's independence and no one can question its importance. However, it is a peculiar document, which contains a thesis and an antithesis. On the one hand, it re-

cognizes the independence of Albania, while on the other hand, it lays down such limitation to the sovereignty of the new state, under the form of a long-term international supervision, that it is difficult to reconcile it to the status of independence. These limitations become even more serious if we take account of the fact that the International Commission set up for this purpose overreaches the competences of a control commission and deals directly with questions of government and state power, thus practically becoming an organ of the **condominium** of the six Great Powers.

Third, the London Conference took into consideration none of the factors and achievements that existed within the country for the organization of the Albanian State by the forces of the National Movement, the same forces which had fought against Turkey. On the contrary, from the outset the Conference gave an exclusively international character to the work for the creation of the Albanian State. It is true that the interference of the Great Powers in the internal organization of the small states was not a novelty. Suffice it to remind the reader of its precedents in the Balkans in the 19th century. But all this bears no comparison with the case of the organization of Albania in 1913-1914. From this viewpoint the «international» organization of the Albanian State by the Conference of Ambassadors perhaps represents the highest degree of «internationalization» of the internal affairs of a small state in the practice of the Great Powers prior to the outbreak of the First World War. The practice of «internationalization» here has to do not only with the higher organs, does not limit itself to the «importation» of royal dynasties only. In the case of Albania a state mechanism, created ex-novo, is involved.

The fairly widespread opinion which connects this fact with the inability of the Albanians to govern themselves totally ignores the undeniable truth that in Albania an Albanian state had been created or was in the process of its making on national foundations, with the Vlora Government as its nucleus. The development of events took such a course that this state, or embryo of a state, was left to be strangled to death before it was born, and an artificial state structure, the regime of Prince

Wied, a downright false structure imposed from outside, which the country was not in a position to assimilate because of the circumstances of the First World War, was set up on its ruins.

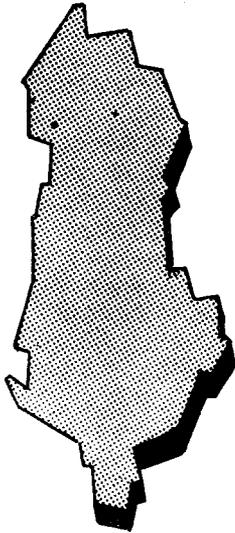
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In conclusion I want to point out something which, in the final analysis, is recognized by all, namely, that the Albanian question has traversed a very long and laborious road, full of zig-zags and sudden turns. No other problem in the Balkans has, perhaps, come up against so many adversities of the fate, aroused so much debate, so many doubts and hesitations. The cause for this does not lie in the alleged immaturity and backwardness of the Albanians, in their supposed inferiority to the other peoples of the Balkans, or in the collective mentality of the Albanian people, as a people allegedly imbued with the spirit of rebellion and anarchy. The main cause is that the Albanian question proved to be a very complicated tangle of contradictions of the European diplomacy, as a point in which so many interests converged and so much passion arose. Naturally, when speaking of the role of European diplomacy in the Albanian question, it must be taken both in its diversity and unity. The influence and attitude of this or that particular Great Power have their importance, cannot be passed in silence, must not suffer in the overall assessment. However, it cannot be negated that all these «opposites», these component parts, constitute one single element which on the diplomatic plane appears as the «concert of Great Powers». Seen in this aspect, in the aspect of a sort of supreme international instance, the European diplomacy emerges as a colossal impediment on the road of the realization of the program of the Albanian National Movement. Only a lofty national consciousness, only an unyielding political will could outmatch the difficulties and the many complications in the international arena. In the final account the 70 years of existence of independent Albania are there to testify that Albania, as a state in itself, has not been created artificially on the tables of diplomacy, but is the authentic expression of the will of its own people to occupy the place it deserves in the community of nations.

IN STEEL UNITY A THE ALBANIAN PE AND WILL ALWAYS

BRILLIANT MANIFESTATION OF V

FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY



The workers of Tirana, the Capital of the PSR of Albania, thronged the «Dëshmorët e Kombit» avenue early in the morning of the 1st of May. The avenue looked like a flooding river red with banners, flags and streamers. This is the 38th May Day which finds our people marching shoulder to shoulder in unshakeable unity, manifesting their feelings of love for the Party of Labour and Comrade Enver Hoxha, the mutual love of the fellow workers, showing the steel unity and dignity of socialist Albania, the vitality of the socialist order, the happy and prosperous life of the Albanian people and their confidence in the future. This is the first May Day after the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour.

The clock struck 10.

The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha, appeared on the central rostrum. Smiling, as always, Comrade Enver Hoxha gave the clenched fist salute. In these moments of uncontrollable joy, the whole «Dëshmorët e Kombit» avenue resounds with thunderous applause.

Then, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania, Comrade Haxhi Lleshi, the Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Çarçani, the Comrades Hajredin Çeliku, Hekuran Isai, Kadri Hazbiu, Lenka Çuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Ramiz Alia, Rita Marko, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Çami, Llambi Gegprifti, Prokop Murra, Qirjako Mihali, the Vice-presidents of the Presidium of the People's Assembly



ROUND THE PARTY, OPLE HAVE MARCHED MARCH FORWARD

ORKERS ON MAY DAY

Comrade ENVER HOXHA amongst vanguard workers on the central rostrum



FROM THE COUNTRY

Spiro Koleka and Shefqet Peçi, members of the Central Committee of the Party, members of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Government, took their places on the rostrum.

Heroes of socialist labour, outstanding workers of industry and state farms cooperativists and others also appeared on the central tribune.

Present were also titulars and functionaries of the diplomatic representatives accredited to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

The brass band executed the National Anthem.

The manifestation was addressed by the Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Hajredin Çeliku:

«Working people of Tirana and of all Albania!

Dear Comrades and friends!

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, the Council of Ministers and the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania, I greet you and wish you from my heart: A happy May Day — the day of the International Solidarity of the Workers in all the world!

May Day this year finds the working class and the entire people of our country on the high tide of a great enthusiasm and mobilization at work for the carrying out of the historic decisions of the 8th Congress of the Party. They come to this memorable celebration more united than ever around the Party, its Central Committee with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, with a balance of fresh victories in all fields of socialist construction. Our socialist economy, which is full of vitality and which knows no crises, unemployment, inflation, price rises and other ills which have beset the capitalist-revisionist world, is growing stronger every day. Industry and agriculture are in constant growth and development. Education, culture, science have made considerable progress. The standard of living of the people has risen. Our people are happy, because they are sure of the present and optimistic about the future. The defence of the Homeland

has been further strengthened and steeled.

The correct principled policy which our Party and socialist state have always followed in international relations, their resolute struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism, revisionism and reaction, their solidarity with the revolutionary, liberation and progressive forces all over the world, the sincere support they give them in the struggle for freedom and independence, for peace, democracy and socialism, have raised the authority of our country higher.

The Albanian people have always been against any national and social oppression, against the denial of political freedoms and democratic rights, for the development of the national culture and traditions of the peoples.

On this festive day we send our ardent fraternal greetings to the Albanian patriots anywhere they live in the world, to the many comrades, friends and well-wishers of our Party of Labour and socialist Albania.

Dear Comrades,

Armed with the historic decisions of the 8th Congress, with the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, fully relying on our own forces, let us mobilize our forces still more in order to carry forward the work of socialist construction in Albania.

Let us work and fight as always to strengthen the Party and the People's State Power, to carry out ever better the state planned tasks in all their quantitative and qualitative indices, to raise the material and cultural level of our people still higher, and to steel the defence potential of our beloved socialist Homeland.

To the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade we must oppose our resolve, our courage and revolutionary vigilance, the monolithic unity of our Party and people, our untiring creative and innovating work, our unswerving trust in the justice, superiority and vitality of our socialist order.

Long live our glorious Party of Labour and our beloved leader Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Long live the heroic Albanian people and working class!

Long live May Day, the day of the International Solidarity of the Working people!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!»

The speech of greeting was frequently punctuated by enthusiastic applause and ovation.

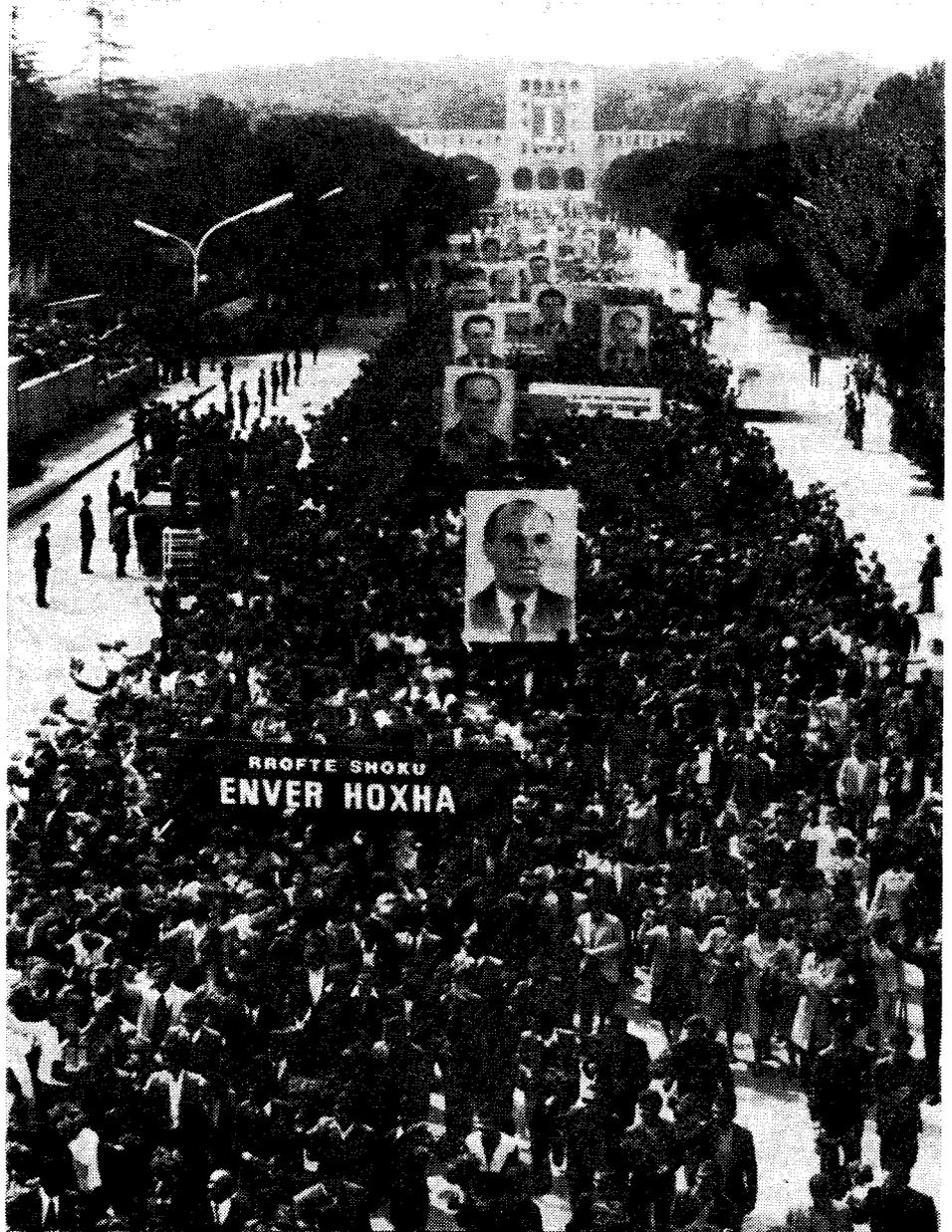
A group of young pioneers mounted the central rostrum carrying baskets of flowers for the leaders of the Party and state.

The parade of the vanguard workers began to the tune of the song «The pickaxe in one hand and the rifle in the other», under the national flag. A car with a large-scale portrait of Comrade Enver Hoxha rides past the rostrum.

The participants in the manifestation carry the streamers «May Day 1982», «PLA», «Glory to Marxism-Leninism» and the portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

A large banner mounted on a car reads: «We carry out the historic decisions of the 8th Congress of the PLA». The last year will be written down in the history of our revolution as the year of the 8th Congress of the Party, the historic congress which opened still more brilliant perspectives to our country. In this context, this slogan sounds like a pledge, a call, a solemn oath taken by the masses. More slogans follow: «Let us carry out the class struggle correctly and with determination», «Let us further strengthen the political system of the dictatorship of the proletariat», «The working class is the leading class of our socialist society»... and others expressing the readiness of the working masses to carry out in practice the tasks laid down by the 8th Congress of the Party. They all stem from the minds and hearts of the people!...

The flag-bearers march past. We have raised these banners of the victory still higher because we have strengthened and guarded the unbreakable unity of the people around the Party like the light of our eyes. This unity has been shining, and still shines more brilliantly today, on this May Day. From this unity stem all our brilliant successes and against this unity have been broken to pieces all the plans and per-



fidious attempts of the internal and external enemies.

Foremost in the manifestation of the working class is the big square of the miners of the coal-mine basin of Tirana.

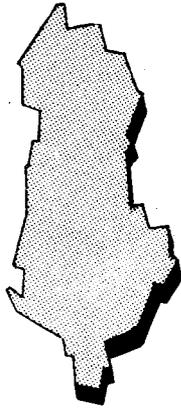
The working class marches past, raising high slogans and portraits of the members of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA. Their powerful cheers are accompanied by the songs and dances of a group of artists of the Opera and Ballet Theatre.

Our industry grows and so does our working class. Before Liberation the country had only 15,000 workers, or just as many as were lined up in the three

squares of the workers of the Capital. «We must fulfil the plan of 1982 in all indices and items», was written in one of the slogans carried by the workers. Until May 1 the plan of total industrial production of the district was fulfilled four days ahead of schedule.

Our working class marches past! In its ranks are our mothers, wives, sisters who march side by side with their sons, men and brothers in all the sectors of activity: metallurgy, the engineering and chemical industry, the power industry and all other fields. Women make up 32 per cent of the high specialists and 42 per cent of the medium specialists of our country.

FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY



Our working class marches past! «Let us keep flying the banners of the revolutionary movements and socialist competitions»! After the 8th Congress of the Party the working class of the Capital started a number of revolutionary initiatives and movements, which it is carrying out with success. Everyone rejoices over this. And again a group of amateur artists... who on this festive day, more than any other day, dance and sing to the realities of our life.

The working class of the Capital and of the entire country marches past! Together with the participants in this magnificent parade are all the working people of Albania. Here come some «excerpts» from the balance of achievements on a national scale: the geologists carried out with success their tasks in prospecting for industrial and geological reserves of copper, iron-nickel, coal, bauxite, polymetals... The tasks set were fulfilled for all kinds of mineral ores. Considerable amounts of surplus production were given by the branches of chemical, power, wood-working, light and food-processing industries. Compared with the same period of the last year, the market was supplied with 20 per cent more meat, 15 per cent more sugar, 20 per cent more vegetables, about twice as much fruit, as well as with more rice, macaroni, knitwear, woollen and cotton cloth, etc.

Side by side with the worker there is always the cooperativist brother. Marching past the rostrum are the agricultural workers of Tirana. «Glory to the Party of Labour of Albania!» reads a large streamer covering the whole width of the square. How much our peasants have suffered in the past! The bey, the occupier, the religion weighed heavy on them. But those times have gone forever. The Party opened to them the road of development and advance, and the working class won the peasantry for its correct road. Therefore, today they cheer and sing and dance before the rostrum and our beloved leader. Theirs is the song of the bumper harvests, of the new vil-

lages teaming with light and activity. The cooperativists march past with slogans which read: «Agriculture is the basis of our people's economy», «Long live the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry!», «Let us produce more milk, vegetables and other agricultural and livestock products!»

The agricultural workers of the Tirana district come to this manifestation proud of their achievements. They fulfilled the production plan of the first four months of this year in milk, vegetables, eggs, meat. All the agricultural workers of our country have the same achievements to show. The best reflection of this is our market, which is fully supplied all the year round. Self-sufficiency in bread grain for some years now is one of the outstanding achievements of our cooperativist peasantry.

Always like this, with bountiful production, with realized plans, with the same aspirations and ideals, these two classes will march on the road the Party leads them on!

All eyes turn to the green uniforms of our soldier sons and daughters. «We defend the Republic, we defend Socialism», «We defend our victories, the Homeland is defended by the entire soldier people», «Old and young have their eyes trained on the sight and the finger ready on the trigger». May your weapons remain always invincible! is the wish of our generation today and its behest for the generations of the coming years and centuries. The avenue resounds to the songs of the artists of the Ensemble of the Army and the Ensemble of Songs and Dances.

«Long live proletarian internationalism!», «Long live May Day, the day of the International Solidarity of the Working people!», «The cause of the revolution and the national liberation of the peoples will triumph». Marching past the rostrum, the participants in the manifestation hail the principled policy of our Party and country, a policy which expresses the aspirations of the Albanian people and has their complete and unreserved support. The co-

lums of the paraders raise the portraits of the classics — Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The Party of Labour of Albania has always stood loyal to the great teachers of the proletariat, and the triumphant principles of Marxism-Leninism, defending and implementing them in a creative manner in struggle against modern revisionism of every hue. The powerful hands of the workers of the Capital hold the slogan: «The foreign policy of our Party and socialist state is a revolutionary, principled and internationalist policy».

The place resounds to the powerful and long cheers for the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. Marching past the rostrum are the paraders carrying the slogans: «Glory to Marxism-Leninism!», «The ideas of socialism are invincible, they will triumph», «Long live the Marxist-Leninist parties, staunch fighters for the cause of the revolution, socialism and the liberation of the peoples!» The working class of the Capital and of the whole Albania sends its ardent revolutionary greetings to its proletarian brothers who hold high the red banner of the revolution on the barricades of the class struggle. Socialist Albania is not isolated. The true Marxist-Leninists, the proletariat and all the peoples of the world, many friends and well-wishers on all the continents are with it.

«The aggressive and warmongering policy of American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and Chinese social-imperialism are a threat to the freedom and independence of the peoples, to peace and international security». «The working people of Albania sympathize with the working class and the working masses of Europe who fight against capitalist oppression and the grave consequences of the economic crisis,» some slogans read.

«Greetings to the peoples who fight against racism and fascism!», «Greetings to the Palestinian people and the peoples of the other Arab countries, who fight courageously for their undeniable rights!», «Greetings to the

fighters of Salvador and all Latin America who fight against the interference of American imperialism and its lackeys!», «Greetings to the peoples of Africa who fight against neo-colonialist exploitation and plunder by foreigners!» Our heroic people have always been and remain ardent supporters of the just liberation struggle of the peoples all over the world against imperialist, social-imperialist and neo-colonialist interference.

Our heroic youth came to this May Day proud and happy, full of joy and enthusiasm, of irresistible drive and enthusiasm. They make up the young army loyal to the Party, educated and tempered in the bosom of the working class and the cooperativist peasantry. Their youthful voices reach the peak of enthusiasm in the manifestation. This is the youth of the pick-axe and the rifle, of education and culture, the generation which will take and carry the torch of the revolution forward.

Full of strength and vigour, holding high their red banners, the representatives of our sportsmen march past the rostrum, performing various exercises.

The spring is in full bloom in the avenue. Thousands of students and pupils of the Capital wave their flower bouquets with powerful cheers. The University of Tirana has been and is the cradle in which the cadres and specialists of the country are trained. Albania has today 47,500 cadres with university training and 131,500 cadres with secondary and vocational training, from whom have emerged our engineers and scientists, those who have designed and built plants and factories, mines and combines, the hydro-power plants which have given light to Albania. Two students leave the ranks of the thousands of participants in the manifestation and, full of joy and emotion, mount the steps of the rostrum to meet Comrade Enver Hoxha. They embrace him and give him a bouquet of red carnations. Waving the flowers, Comrade Enver Hoxha affectionately greets the students of the University of Ti-

rana who are outstanding for their revolutionary patriotism and drive.

As soon as they come near the rostrum, the 3,000 pioneers «forget» that they are participants in the manifestation, «forget» that they are organized in squares, they simply do not march but run, their faces radiant with joy, until they come up in front of the rostrum where they keep cheering for the Party, for Comrade Enver Hoxha, who greets them all smiling, rejoicing at the sight of the happy children of the Capital and all Albania. These are the most exciting moments of the manifestation.

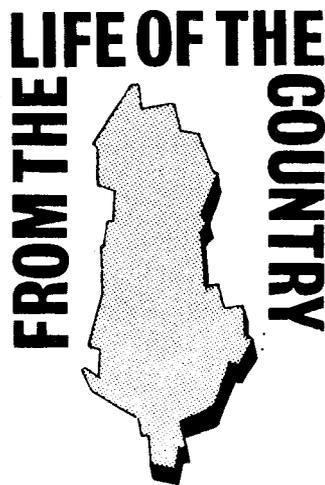
The sky is covered with the multi-coloured balloons flown by the young pioneers. The balloons «dance» over the avenue streaming with dancing children, who instantly form the slogan «Long live the PLA!» with their red flowers against the white background of their dresses. They sing to the Party.

But eventually all the voices, songs and ovations are gradually drowned under the «International».

* * *

This beautiful May Day manifestation in the «Dëshmorët e Kombit» avenue of the Capital is a vivid symbol of the great political and ideological maturity of the working masses with the communists in the forefront, which shows the economic potential and the organizational capacity of our country, the joys of socialist life, and the greatness of the spiritual world of the man in socialist Albania.

Above all it expressed the unbreakable steel unity of the Albanian people around the Central Committee of the Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head. This is our «golden key». With this unity, the Albanian people will reach ever new heights on the brilliant road of socialism, will achieve new successes in all fields and put into life the historic decisions of the 8th Congress of the Party.



THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE REMEMBER THEIR SONS AND DAUGHTERS WHO DIED FOR THE HOMELAND AND THE TRUTH

COMMEMORATIVE MEETING IN THE SQUARE BEFORE THE BUST OF PEOPLE'S HERO QEMAL STAFA

On the occasion of May 5th, the Day of the Martyrs, and the 40th anniversary of the death of the People's Hero Qemal Stafa, a commemorative meeting was organized in the square before the bust of the hero in the Capital.

Workers and residents of the Capital, veterans, co-fighters of the Hero, members of the heroes and martyrs' families, militarymen, representatives of the mass organizations and various institutions, students etc. participated in the meeting.

The member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA and Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Manush Myftiu, the member of the Central Committee of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the LYUA Lumluri Rexha, members of the family of the hero and other comrades were also present.

The meeting was declared open by the First Secretary of the District Committee of the LYUA, Comrade Drini Nushi.

The speech of the occasion was delivered by the Secretary of the District Party Committee, Comrade Kostandin Hoxha, who said among others:

«We have come together here to commemorate May 5th which this year

coincides with the 40th anniversary of the death of the People's Hero Qemal Stafa. By falling arms in hand, Qemal Stafa, member of the CC of the CPA (today PLA) and political secretary of the Communist Youth, became a symbol of revolutionary self-denial and determination, an embodiment of the lofty and pure virtues of the communist, a banner of struggle and an inspiring example for the Albanian youth and the whole Albanian people.

«On this commemoration of May 5th,» he went on, «the blood of the martyrs once again calls on us to sharpen our revolutionary vigilance even more, to always keep in mind the great truth that freedom is won with blood and sacrifices, that freedom and the people's power spring from the barrel of the gun, and are defended by implementing the line of the Party correctly and by developing the class struggle against the internal and external enemy correctly and resolutely.»

A program of songs dedicated to the Party, the Homeland, the People's Hero Qemal Stafa and other martyrs, and our happy socialist life, was then given for those present.

Flowers were laid at the foot of the bust of the Hero and young pioneers stood guard in his honour.

ER WITH PROFOUND VENERATION O FELL IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE LIBERATION UMPH OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION

HOMAGES AND WREATHS AT THE CEMETERY OF THE MARTYRS OF THE NATION

On the occasion of May 5th, the Day of the Martyrs, homages were paid and wreaths laid at the Cemetery of the Martyrs of the Nation in the Capital.

At the ceremony of the occasion were present the Comrades Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, the Vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Spiro Koleka, members of the Central Committee of the Party and the Government, leaders of central mass organizations, various departments and institutions, veterans, parents and relatives of the martyrs' families, workers and cooperativists, militarymen, students, etc.

Wreaths were laid on behalf of the

Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania, the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania, the General Council of the Women's Union of Albania, the Central Committee of the Labour Youth Union of Albania, the National Committee of Veterans of the War of the Albanian people, the Ministry of People's Defence, the Party Committee and the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the Tirana District.

The leaders of the Party and state met here the parents and relatives of

the martyrs. Then they paid homage to the graves of those who fell for the Homeland. At the tune of the National Anthem, played by a brass band, those present observed a minute of silence.

Militarymen and young pioneers stood guard of honour.

Likewise thousands of workers, cooperativists, intellectuals, representatives of mass organizations, of various institutions, of Party and State organs, young and old, students and pupils went to the Cemetery of the Martyrs of the Nation and paid homage and laid wreaths and flowers at their graves in sign of profound veneration for those who sacrificed their lives for the happy days we are living today.

On the occasion of May 5th, the Day of the Martyrs, the diplomatic corps accredited to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, paid homage and laid a wreath at the Cemetery of the Martyrs of the Nation.

LEADERS OF THE PARTY AND STATE PAY VISITS TO THE FAMILIES OF THE MARTYRS

On May 5th, the leaders of the Party and the state, Comrades Hekuran Isai, Kadri Hazbiu, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Ramiz Alia, Rita Marko, Foto Çami, Llambi Gegprifti, Prokop Murra, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania Comrade Haxhi Lleshi, members of the Central Committee of the Party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Government, leaders of central mass organizations, different departments and institutions,

Party and state organs in the districts, and deputies to the People's Assembly, veterans and patriots, vanguard workers and cooperativists and militarymen paid visits to the families of the martyrs.

At these visits they talked warmly and cordially with the members of these families, expressing the sentiments of profound respect and gratitude of the Party and people for the immortal deed of those who laid down their lives for freedom and the independence of the

country, for the happiness of the people and the prosperity of our socialist Homeland.

* * *

On May 5, meetings were organized, homages paid and wreaths laid at the cemeteries of the martyrs in all the districts of Albania. Working people of enterprises and institutions, cooperativists, veterans, parents and relatives of martyrs' families, militarymen, leading cadres of Party and state organs, mass organizations and various institutions in the districts, students, young people, etc. took part in the commemorative ceremonies.

MESSAGE OF GREETINGS TO THE 4th CONGRESS OF THE CP OF CANADA (M-L)

Dear Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, on behalf of the Albanian communists and people, sends you its revolutionary greetings on the occasion of the holding of the 4th Congress of the CP of Canada (M-L), which constitutes an important event in the life of the fraternal Party and working class of Canada, and wishes complete success to the work of your Congress.

The Communist Party of Canada (M-L) comes to its 4th Congress with a series of successes in the struggle for the strengthening of the Party and the further extension of its revolutionary activity. It has fought and fights for the defence of the interests of the working class and the working masses against capitalist exploitation, for the democratic rights of the people and for the cause of socialism. At the same time, the CP of Canada (M-L) carries out a consistent struggle against the warmongering and aggressive policy of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism in de-

fence of peace, and against modern revisionism of all types for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism.

The Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian working class and people hail and support the just struggle of the Canadian working class and progressive forces, the struggle of the CP of Canada (M-L) and wish it new and ever greater successes.

We express our conviction that in the future, too, the fraternal ties of collaboration and friendship between the PLA and the CP of Canada (M-L) will further develop and grow stronger on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Long live the 4th Congress of the CP of Canada (M-L)!

Long live the militant friendship between the PLA and the CP of Canada (M-L)!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

MESSAGE OF GREETING OF THE CC OF THE PLA TO THE 3rd NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN (M-L)

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the communists and the working people of socialist Albania we send you our fraternal greetings and wish your Conference complete success in the work for the all-round strengthening of the fraternal Communist Party of Spain (M-L) and the just struggle of the Spanish working class and all working people for the strengthening of national independence, for democracy and socialism.

The Marxist-Leninist parties, guided by their triumphant ideology, resolutely fight against the bourgeoisie, imperialism, social-imperialism and modern revisionism, in order to carry forward the great cause of the revolution, the liberation of the peoples and socialism. In this common struggle

against the same enemies, the internationalist unity of the Marxist-Leninist forces, a unity which constitutes an inexhaustible source of strength for them, grows and is strengthened.

Assuring you of our militant solidarity, we express our wish and trust that the friendship, collaboration and unity between our two parties will be further strengthened on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

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

Long live proletarian internationalism!
Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

TO THE 1st CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SWEDEN

STOCKHOLM

In the beginning of April the CP of Sweden held its 1st Founding Congress. On this occasion the CC of the PLA sent the Congress the following message of greeting:

Dear Comrades,

On the occasion of the holding of the 1st Founding Congress of the Communist Party of Sweden, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania sends you, the delegates to the Congress, and all the Swedish Marxist-Leninists, its fraternal greetings and wishes of success in your work.

The holding of this Congress is a happy event. Only with a revolutionary party of the working class, organized on the basis of the Leninist principles and in a position to mobilize and lead the working masses, is it possible to fight for the cause of socialism. The founding of the Communist Party of Sweden, loyal to the immortal teachings

of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, will give a fresh impulse to the struggle of the Swedish proletariat for the defence of its vital interests against exploitation, against imperialism, social-imperialism and revisionism of all hues.

The Party of Labour of Albania and all the Albanian people express their solidarity with and support for the Swedish Marxist-Leninists, organized in their party, as well as the Swedish proletariat and people in their struggle for the fulfilment of their legitimate aspirations.

Long live the Communist Party of Sweden!
Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

TELEGRAM

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CP OF BRAZIL TO COMRADE JOAO AMAZONAS

Dear Comrades,

On this memorable day for the Communist Party of Brazil, the 60th anniversary of its founding and the 20th anniversary of its reorganization, on behalf of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people we send the fraternal Party of Brazil our militant greetings and the expression of our feelings of genuine fraternal friendship.

The Communist Party of Brazil is the direct heir to the best traditions of the working class and people of Brazil, the party which champions and applies the Marxist-Leninist ideology in the concrete conditions of Brazil.

The exposure and rejection of modern revisionism 20 years ago were events of great importance, a guarantee that the struggle of the Brazilian working class and the revolutionary movement of the Brazilian people, under the leadership of the Party, would develop on the right road under the banner of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. In the struggle against revisionism, the Communist Party of Brazil has grown stronger, has foiled all the intrigues and attacks of the enemies and has achieved outstanding successes in its revolutionary struggle.

The Communist Party of Brazil, braving all storms with heroism and with many sacrifices, has marched unswervingly on the road of the struggle for the realization of its objective, for the triumph of the cause of socialism and communism in Brazil. It has won a high prestige and the love of the working class and the working people of its country.

Firmly rooted in its own national soil, the Communist Party of Brazil is, at the same time, a profoundly internationalist party. Together with the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, it has fought and fights with determination for the preservation of the purity of the revolutionary ideology of the

working class, for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism, against the onslaughts of the bourgeoisie and the distortions of the revisionists of all hues, making an invaluable contribution to the strengthening of the genuine Marxist-Leninist unity of the international communist movement.

Dear Comrades,

The Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people cherish deep-rooted feelings of love and friendship for the Communist Party of Brazil (M-L) and the freedom-loving people of Brazil, and see with admiration the struggle they wage against imperialism and reaction, for the independent and democratic progress and development of their country, for a free and happy life. Every victory you win is good news for us. Our common struggle for the great cause of the working class and socialism, against imperialism, social-imperialism and modern revisionism of all hues and reaction, has tempered the unity, collaboration and militant solidarity between our two parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The name of the Communist Party of Brazil and of its outstanding leader, Comrade Amazonas, are dear to our Party and people.

In the future, just as until today, the Party of Labour of Albania will stand side by side with the fraternal Communist Party of Brazil (M-L) in the common struggle for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of socialism and the liberation of the peoples.

Long live the Communist Party of Brazil!

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

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

ENVER HOXHA

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

ON COMRADE ENVER HOXHA'S BOOK
«THE ANGLO-AMERICAN THREAT TO ALBANIA»
(Memoirs)

PLOTS AND FAILURES

by **AGIM POPA**

About four decades have passed from the time of the events described in the book «The Anglo-American Threat to Albania», but its lessons remain valid to our days

THE PUBLICATION OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA'S NEW BOOK «THE ANGLO-AMERICAN THREAT TO ALBANIA» CONSTITUTES AN IMPORTANT EVENT IN THE IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL AND SCIENTIFIC LIFE OF OUR PARTY AND COUNTRY. THIS BOOK IS A WORK OF GREAT HISTORIC, POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL, PUBLICISTIC AND ARTISTIC VALUE.

PRODUCED BY THE PEN OF THE MAIN LEADER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA (TODAY THE PLA) AND OF THE ANTI-FASCIST NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE, THE BOOK «THE ANGLO-AMERICAN THREAT TO ALBANIA» IS A VIVID CHRONICLE, BASED AND DOCUMENTED AND AN ALL-ROUND MARXIST-LENINIST ANALYSIS, OF THE HOSTILE, PLOTTING, SABOTAGING AND ENSLAVING AIMS, TACTICS AND ACTIVITIES OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS AGAINST ALBANIA AND THE LIBERATION AND REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE, ON THE ONE HAND, AND OF THE PRINCIPLED, UNSWERVING, RESILIENT AND FARSIGHTED STANDS AND TACTICS OF THE PARTY, THE GENERAL STAFF AND THE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, ON THE OTHER HAND, WHICH BROUGHT ABOUT THE COMPLETE FAILURE OF ALL THE ATTEMPTS OF THE FALSE FRIENDS AND PLAYED A DECISIVE ROLE IN ACHIEVING THE TRIUMPH OF OUR POPULAR REVOLUTION, ESTABLISHING THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE AND SETTING THE COUNTRY ON THE ROAD OF SOCIALISM.

From this point of view, Comrade Enver Hoxha's new book is of outstanding educative value for the younger generation and all the working people, enabling them to get concrete and first-hand knowledge of what enemies, overt and covert, had to be fought and what dangers, difficulties and obstacles had to be overcome in order to achieve victory. At the same time, this book constitutes one of the

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most important sources in the literature of our Party for the study of the international problems connected with that glorious epoch by the students of the history of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War of the Albanian people.

The book is written in the form of memoirs, with descriptions of events, situations and people, and vivid dialogues bringing out by contrast of revolutionary polemics the wit and fighting ardour of one people, closely

and harmoniously combined with penetrating political analyses and far-reaching historical generalizations. All this, in addition to a rich and colourful popular language full of authority, makes the book «The Anglo-American Threat to Albania» extremely interesting from the publicistic-literary aspect, accessible and very valuable not only for the specialists but also for the public at large.

In every chapter and every page of this book of Comrade Enver Hoxha's, in his analysis and generalizations of political and historical events, in his dialogues and direct clashes with the representatives of the British and American imperialists, in all the stands, tactics and measures adopted in face of the hostile, fiendish, perfidious and extremely dangerous activities of the false allies of that time, comes out forcefully the bold, resilient and farsighted, correct and consistent Marxist-Leninist class line followed by our Party, under the leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha, in the interest of our people and Homeland, of the cause of the revolution and socialism, in the interest of the great anti-fascist struggle of the people. The facts have confirmed that this line was the road of salvation for our people and the fate of the revolution

local ruling classes, the feudal landowners and the big bourgeoisie linked themselves totally with the foreign invaders and placed themselves at their service, betraying the national interests.

In conformity with this situation, the Communist Party of Albania, founded and led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, laid down clearly its foreign policy right from the beginning of its existence. The Resolution of the Meeting of the main Communist Groups of Albania for the founding of the Party stressed that, on an international scale, the National Liberation War of the Albanian people was a constituent part of the anti-fascist world war, that the Communist Party of Albania regarded the Soviet Union as the loyal and sincere ally of the Albanian people, an ally which would help them establish and consolidate their own state power in Albania, whereas in Great Britain and the USA they saw only their temporary allies in the war against the fascist states.

Our Party and people could not, nor did they ever forget the persistently hostile stand of the British governments towards our country at many moments of vital importance in the history of the Albanian people. By treating Albania as a chattel for barter and by scornfully describing the Albanian people, who had never bowed obedience to anyone and never ceased their struggle for freedom, as «a savage, barbaric and uncultured people,» the ruling circles and governments of Britain have always worked against the interests of our people and country and assisted the enemies of our people and country. At the time when the Albanian people were fighting against the Ottoman yoke Britain sided with Turkey. The British prime minister Disraeli and the chancellor of Germany Bismarck did not even condescend to receive the delegation of the Albanian League of Prizren, which went to Berlin to defend the rights of our people who had taken up arms against the Ottoman occupiers and the Serb and Montenegrine chauvinists for the autonomy of Albania and against its partition. At the London Conference of the ambassadors of the Great Powers in 1913 and at the conference of Versailles

of 1919 the British governments of that time were among the main plotters for the partition of Albania. The representatives and secret agents of the British government did everything in their power to weaken the Democratic Government of Fan Noli in 1924, while Great Britain, in concert with the other imperialist and chauvinist states, gave the despot king Zog every possible help to come to power. Together with the United States of America, the ruling circles of Great Britain were the instigators and advisers of the savage, anti-popular, criminal and obscurantist regime of Zog, a regime of the whip and the noose, which barbarously oppressed the Albanian people. Later, using Albania as a chattel for barter in the dealings amongst imperialist powers, the USA and Britain encouraged Italian penetration into Albania, and on April 6, 1939, only one day before the Italian fascist aggression against our country, the then British prime minister Chamberlain declared that Great Britain had no «direct interest» in Albania, thus giving the green lights to Mussolini for his military invasion of Albania.

During the liberation war the CP of Albania knew, and it became more and more clear about it with every passing day, that the Anglo-American «allies» were false friends and masked enemies of our people. Their aim was to sabotage the popular revolution in Albania, to organize and restore to power the reactionary and anti-popular classes, which after the war would pave the way for the economic and political dependence of the country on the British and American imperialists. This was part of the general strategy of British and American imperialists. This was part of the general strategy of British and American imperialism towards the peoples enslaved by fascism in the years of the Second World War. Whereas the Soviet Union, led by the great Stalin, was fighting not only for the liberation of its territories occupied by the Hitlerite hordes, but also for the liberation of the other peoples victims of fascist aggression, the Anglo-American imperialists, while fighting for the destruction of the Axis powers, tried to make the most of it to boost

in our country. The opposite happened in those countries where the communists fell into the snares of the Anglo-American imperialists, such as Greece, where the capitulation of Varkiza led to the defeat of the revolution, or France and Italy, where the former communist parties reduced the objectives of their struggle to demands of a merely democratic character, desisting from the revolutionary struggle for the seizure of power, being content with some formal seats in the bourgeois cabinets, thus placing themselves at the tail-end of the policy of the bourgeoisie.

One of the fundamental features of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War of the Albanian people under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania is that in it were fused into one two major historic tasks: the struggle for national liberation from the Italian and German fascist invaders and the struggle for the overthrow of the state of the anti-popular and reactionary classes and the building of a democratic Albania, where the people would be in power. It was this specific feature that imparted to this struggle the character of a deep-going popular revolution. These two aspects were fused into one also due to the fact that the

the interests of their expansionist policy, to expand their spheres of influence to the detriment of the peoples. «Britain and America,» writes Comrade Enver Hoxha in his book «The Anglo-American Threat to Albania», «wanted Germany to be smashed during the war, but they wanted to benefit from the war, wanted the Soviet Union to emerge weakened, and did not want reaction in all the countries occupied by the nazis to be liquidated by the people's forces, but on the contrary, wanted it to come out with the least possible damage and to take power after the liberation under 'cratic' and other labels, and if this proved impossible, to compel the people to share power with it by claiming that it fired a couple of shots at the eleventh hour. This was one of the main aims of the British and the Americans. That is why the British and Americans were trying in every way to get into the occupied countries, so that, on the one hand, under the disguise of giving military aid, they could create their agencies within the national liberation movements to sabotage these movements and their war, and on the other hand, to assist reaction with weapons, gold, organization and advice» (pp. 118-119).

These objectives of the Anglo-American imperialists towards our country would find their expression both in Britain, in behind-the-scenes dealings of the War Office, the Foreign Office and the Intelligence Service, as well as in Albania in all the activity of the British military missions which were dropped into the territory in the years of the Second World War, which were by no means accidental events, but part of an imperialist policy thought out well in advance. As Comrade Enver Hoxha points out in his book, the British, although they were our allies in the war against fascist Italy and Hitlerite Germany, sought to weaken the National Liberation War of our people, to liquidate, if they could, the influence of the CP of Albania, to penetrate the ranks of the Anti-fascist National

Liberation Front and the ranks of the Communist Party and recruit their agents amongst their members in order to create groups and factions and to sap these organizations from within, and thus prepare the terrain for the British officers to make the law in the partisan çetas and units and turn them into «commandos» for sabotage and information in the interests of the British Empire and to the detriment of the independence of our country, instead of allowing them to carry out a truly popular war.

That is why, considering the Anglo-American alliance as a useful and fruitful element in the context of the struggle against fascism, «it was necessary that we should never forget what the governments of the United States of America and Great Britain represented for our people, that we should never forget their savage nature as capitalists and colonialist oppressors, that we should never forget the countless wounds they had inflicted on the body of our Homeland» (p. 19).

Taking account of all this, Comrade Enver Hoxha instructed the whole Party to keep their eyes open, to take all the measures in order to smash the fascist invaders and at the same time to foil the secret plans of the Anglo-American allies and their tools — the Ballists, Zogites, bajraktars, etc. The bitter history of the past should never be repeated, this was the unswerving decision of the Party and our people, which Comrade Enver Hoxha on various occasions made clear to the British and American «allies» both when he categorically declared to the head of the British military mission, General Davies, that, «the events in our country will develop according to the will of the Albanian people, who, this time, will decide themselves by means of the rifle... Any illusion should be dispelled that the Great Powers will ever again appoint a Prince Wied or an Ahmet Zog as ruler of Albania and that the Albanian people will fall on their knees and say: 'So be it'. Anyone who knows the history of the wars of the

Albanian people through the centuries is convinced that our forebears have never bowed in submission. And we, their descendants, will not bow, either» (p. 96 and 101).

This was completely achieved thanks to the high vigilance, the principled and consistent line, the bold and far-sighted stands and resilient tactics of the Communist Party of Albania and especially its leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, which foiled all the aims, endeavours and behind-the-scenes dealings of the British and American imperialists in Albania in the years of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War of our people. In this case we have to do with an experience of great value of our Party.

First, this served to expose and reject with stern firmness the attempts of the British imperialists, through their military missions in Albania, to organize, encourage and support the internal reactionary forces, the Balli Kombëtar, Legality, the bajraktars and others, as a counter-weight to the National Liberation War of our people, in order to sabotage it, to fire a couple of shots at the eleventh hour, and then, with the blessing and under the umbrella of Great Britain and the USA, to take state power in their own hands.

Comrade Enver Hoxha put it clearly and firmly to the British «allies» and their lackeys, such as Abaz Kupa and his like, that «there can be no unity against the occupier outside the National Liberation Movement. Only this Movement represents the Albanian people. Only the national liberation councils are organs of the war and the sole power that expresses the will of the people. Any 'government' or other organization outside this Movement cannot be other than an instrument of compromise and betrayal» (p. 258).

He put a limit to the double-dealing activity of the British military missions which attached themselves both to the National Liberation Army and to the gangs of the Balli Kombëtar and Legality, facing them with the clear-cut and unequivocal alternative: either

with us or with them! And when the Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti switched to open collaboration with the German occupiers against the National Liberation Movement, Comrade Enver Hoxha warned the Allied Mediterranean Command of the official decision of the General Staff of the Albanian National Liberation Army that if the British officers attached to the Ballist and Zogite bands were killed in the fighting intended to wipe out these traitorous forces, our side accepted no responsibility: «If we capture your officers, we shall not hand them over to you, but will hold them as prisoners of war and hand them over to the partisan court for trial as war criminals who have collaborated with the enemy» (p. 285).

The Communist Party of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha laid bare the dangerous and cunning attempts of the British who sought to bring about conciliation and collaboration with the Balli Kombëtar and Legality, allegedly for the sake of the common war against the Italian and German occupiers. In the same manner it condemned the treacherous compromise of Mukje as a capitulation before internal and external reaction, which spelt defeat for the National Liberation Movement of our people. Comrade Enver Hoxha instructed the party committees and the partisan commands that the British should by no means be allowed to meddle in our internal affairs. Giving a firm reply to the ultimatum of the Allied Mediterranean Command, which demanded cessation of the military operations of the 1st Division of the National Liberation Army in the North against the mercenary bands of Abaz Kupi and other reactionary chiefs, otherwise the Anglo-Americans would stop their aid to the national liberation war of our people, the Anti-fascist Council, on the proposal of Comrade Enver Hoxha, wrote to General Wilson: «We do not accept orders from anybody about liberating our Homeland from the occupiers and traitors. Albania is our

Homeland and the people are the masters of it. If Britain has friends, these must be from our side; those who are with the Germans are our enemies and enemies of our allies, therefore we shall fight them to the end» (p. 277).

Emphasizing the outstanding contribution of our people, under the leadership of the communists, to the great anti-fascist war of the people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, confronted these pressures from the Anglo-Americans with a number of firm demands to the «allies»: they should recognize the National Liberation Front as the only organization fighting against the occupiers in Albania; they should recognize the National Liberation Army as the people's army and the only army which was fighting against the occupier; they should recognize it as an allied army; they should stop lying and delaying the sending of weapons and other military assistance to the struggle of our people, otherwise the stay of the allied military missions in our country was meaningless; they should recognize the organs emerging from the war of the people and freely elected by them as the only lawful power in Albania, etc.

Regarding the British promises of weapons, experience showed clearly that nothing but pressures could come out of them, therefore Comrade Enver Hoxha advised the commissars and commanders: «You must cherish no illusion, no hopes, and no belief that the British are going to drop us weapons. We must have faith in ourselves, in the Party, in the people and in our National Liberation War. We must attack the enemy, smash it and capture arms, ammunition, clothing and food. This is the only way that we will ensure stores of arms. We expect nothing from heaven... They want us to fold our arms, to stop fighting and be weak, so that they can thoroughly enslave us tomorrow. Therefore... relentless fighting, correct policy, revolutionary diplomacy and vigilance, vigilance!» (pp. 300-301).

Second, our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha blocked the road to all

the attempts of the British leading circles to create an Albanian government in exile, Zogite or of other colour, which would have wrested the victory from the hands of our people. «The people themselves will decide the form of the regime... The time of king Zog is over... Today we are fighting for an independent, democratic people's Albania free from fascism... It is the people, only the Albanian people, it is we who will decide, and none else, either about the war or about the regime in the future» (p. 256). These words of Comrade Enver Hoxha at his last meeting with the agent in the pay of the British, Abaz Kupi, shed full light on the unshakeable position of the Communist Party of Albania on this vital question.

The historic decisions of the Congress of Përmet, especially its decision to create the Anti-fascist Council with the attributes of a provisional democratic government, to ban the return of Zog to Albania, to refuse recognition of any other government at home or in exile, to annul all agreements entered into by Zog to the detriment of the interests of the Albanian people, as well as its public condemnation of the attempts of the Anglo-American allies to interfere in the internal affairs of our country, foiled all the plans of the allies.

Third, the vigilance of the Party, and especially the clear-cut and principled stand of Comrade Enver Hoxha brought about the total failure of the efforts of the Anglo-Americans to undermine the Communist Party of Albania and the National Liberation Movement of our people through their direct spying agents like Mustafa Gjinishi — Tafari, opportunist and capitulating elements like Y. Dishnica, S. Malëshova, L. Gega, B. Spahiu and others, or through the interference of the leadership of the CP of Yugoslavia, with Tito at the head, which went all the length to meet the demands of its friends, the British imperialists.

Fourth, confronted with the vigorous development of the National Liberation War of our people, which was growing

more and more with each passing year, seeing that their plans were being foiled, the British «allies» did not hesitate to make indirect and direct contacts with the German occupation forces and co-ordinate with them the operations for the destruction of the National Liberation Movement in Albania. As Comrade Enver Hoxha indicates in his book, the British, through General Davies, had agreed with Balli Kombëtar and Abaz Kupa that Ballists and Zogites should «be reconciled, organized and strengthened for the sake of the future. Thus, those who would collaborate with the Germans and those who were under the direction of the British were to co-ordinate their activities in order to fight the National Liberation Movement more effectively» (pp. 247-248).

The German occupiers and the quisling government in their service, in tacit collaboration with the British, supported by every possible means by Abaz Kupa who published his own newspaper and propagandized Zog who was waiting in London for his return to Albania, formed the «Legality», recruited his bands and fought the National Liberation Movement. And on the eve of Liberation of the country, the British Major Neil, on orders from the Intelligence Service, contacted the German command in Albania, and on behalf of the British Government suggested that German troops should not withdraw before a landing of British troops took place, and a common staff for the two armies and fight jointly against the partisans was created.

However, even these dealings behind the scenes could not save the perfidious «allies» from the ignominious defeat that awaited them and the nazi occupiers, with whom they had made common cause, in Albania.

Fifth, of vital importance for the destinies of the Albanian people and their country, the liberation struggle and the popular revolution in Albania, were the unflinching stands of the Communist Party of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha in not allowing the Anglo-Ame-

rican «allies» to land their troops in Albania allegedly for operations against the Germans, but in fact for the military occupation of our country and assisting the forces of reaction to take power. The request of the USA to send American troops to Tirana and Durrës «to prevent the National Liberation Movement from denying the allies their right of the occupation of Albania,» as well as the demands of the British, through Mustafa Gjinishi or Abaz Kupa to be allowed to drop troops in Central Albania, or to land at Spile of Himara, and especially at Saranda, speak clearly of the great danger which threatened our country from the «allies». But they were compelled to back down in face of the far-sighted stand and adamant opposition of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. «Our clear decision was that,» writes Comrade Enver Hoxha in his new book, «we must resist this danger resolutely, even if this meant becoming involved in armed clashes with our 'sincere' allies... 'No foreign army, whether allied or not, will be permitted to do what it likes in our country,' was our decision» (p. 335). To the demand of the General Allied Command to be allowed to land commands of British Tommies on Albanian territory Comrade Enver Hoxha gave the clear-cut answer: «*On our soil, only the Albanian people have fought and only they will fight till the end*» (p. 338). And when those British troops, which had landed at Saranda with permission of the General Staff of the Albanian National Liberation Army for the liquidation of the German garrison there, tried to stay on and even penetrate deeper into Albanian territory, Comrade Enver Hoxha presented the Allied Mediterranean Command with the historic ultimatum: «If the British commandos are not withdrawn from Saranda by the given date, then war will break out between the partisans and the British... We are determined to defend ourselves and to defend the sovereignty of our country» (p. 346).

This is the experience of the confrontation of our Party and people with

the Anglo-American «allies» in the years of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, a confrontation which ended with the complete triumph of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary policy of the Party over the perfidious policy and tactics of the cunning British bourgeoisie and American imperialism.

The liberation of the country from fascist occupation with only the forces of the Albanian National Liberation Army, which was accompanied with the defeat of all reactionary forces like the Balli Kombëtar, Legaliteti and others, and with the establishment of the people's power in the country, dealt a shattering blow at the enslaving plans of the British and American «allies» towards our country. The war against all these enemies was crowned with victory, but it was not yet over. Internal and external reaction, including, in the first place, the leading circles of the USA and Great Britain, had not laid down their weapons. «In the course of the struggle and work to march ahead,» writes Comrade Enver Hoxha in his book «The Anglo-American Threat to Albania», «the Party and the Albanian people were bound to and did run up against internal reaction, which, in the new conditions, had placed all its hopes on the support of the Anglo-Americans, who had long been waging an undercover struggle against us through their agents and the elements whom they recruited. The Anglo-Americans themselves had not given up their plans either. What they had been unable to achieve during the National Liberation War they tried to achieve after the Liberation by fighting us in the most varied ways and with different means in the international arena and within the country, in order to deny our new state of people's democracy any support and to overthrow it» (p. 358).

But all their plans were doomed to failure. Our Party and people had already gained a long and bitter experience of the relations with the Anglo-Americans, therefore they did not

fall for the traps just as they did not submit or back down before any pressure, on the contrary, they marched unhesitatingly forward on the only road of salvation for our country, the road of socialism.

First of all, all attempts of the American and British imperialists to undermine from within and overthrow the people's power in Albania were defeated completely.

The clear, keen-sighted and firm stand of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha foiled the perfidious manoeuvres of the Anglo-Americans intended to introduce the «Trojan Horse» into Albania through the officers of the British Military Liaison or the personnel of UNRRA, in which the representatives of American imperialism made the law.

The same fate awaited the activities of the US and British missions, which were transformed into «wasps nests», centres of espionage and diversion, for the organization of all the enemies of our people — war criminals, beys and big merchants who had been hard hit by the reforms, reactionary intellectuals, spies, prostitutes and others, in order to set up «opposition» groups, legal and illegal, against the people's power and to sow political confusion in the country, to sabotage the economy and assassinate the leaders of the Party and the state, and to overthrow the regime of people's democracy in Albania by means of an armed uprising. The Party and the people's power, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, resolutely clamped down on the hostile and conspiratorial activities of American and British missions, making no concessions to them. All the enemies and foreign agents, who dared raise their hand against the people's power, whether «opposition» members or saboteurs, terrorists or armed bandits, were brought to trial and meted out the punishment they deserved, the counter-revolutionary armed uprising was defeated within a few hours, the opportunist line of S. Malëshova, a line of capitulation before the bourgeoisie

and Western imperialism, was liquidated, and new Albania set out unwaveringly on the road of the constant consolidation of the democratic people's power, of major socio-economic transformations and the construction of socialism.

Failure also awaited the attempts of the American and the British imperialists to reduce our country to its knees by means of pressure, plots and provocations from abroad, or by denying it its legitimate rights in the international arena.

While in the years of the National Liberation War the Governments of the USA and Great Britain had made declarations recognizing the Anti-fascist War of the Albanian people, after Liberation they made recognition of the Democratic Government of Albania conditional on allowing freedom of action to the overthrown reactionary forces, on honouring the enslaving treaties the regime of Zog had entered into with the imperialist powers to the detriment of the Albanian people, etc. But this pressure were rejected forthwith. The Albanian people, declared Comrade Enver Hoxha to the Anglo-American representatives Jacobs and Fultz, «have solved and are solving their internal problems as masters of their own fate and categorically do not permit anyone else, great or small, to interfere in their internal affairs» (p. 352).

As a reprisal against these firm stands which allowed them no space for interference in the internal affairs of our country, and as a means of pressure to compel Albania to submission, the USA and Great Britain vetoed the admission of Albania to the UNO, considering it a «defeated country», a «collaborator of Italy», and not an ally, and once again threatening Albania with partition, supported the absurd claims of the Greek monarchofascists on Southern Albania. But this time again they met with the resolute stand and the indomitable will of our people, who showed them that the time when others decided the fate of Albania, or its borders, had gone by for

ever: «Neither the Conference of Paris, nor the Conference of Big Four, or any other conference can discuss the borders of our country, within which there is not an inch of foreign territory. Our borders cannot be discussed and let no one dare touch them» (p. 363).

The next hostile act of the American and British imperialists against People's Albania was the denial of its right, as a country which had made an outstanding contribution to the great anti-fascist war of the peoples, to reparations from Italy and Germany. «Albania,» said cynically the British delegate to the Conference of Reparations from Germany, «should be given naught dollars.» But, although the Conference of Reparations from Germany recognized our country's right to reparations from it, they have still not been paid to our country, at a time when other countries have received them.

The anti-Albanian stand of Great Britain reached its culmination with the so-called «Corfu Channel incident», an unprecedented provocation towards our country, in which the territorial waters of Albania were violated and Albania was made responsible for the damaging of British ships, which hit mines. As the outstanding French jurist Pierre Cot, who spoke in defence of Albania's rights over this incident at the Court of the Hague, this provocation was carried out according to the formula of British reactionary circles «of teaching others to behave themselves». Confronted with the categorical refusal of Albania to pay compensation for the damages unjustly imposed upon it by the Court of the Hague, the British Government seized in a piratical manner the Albanian gold plundered by the nazis, which it still holds in flagrant violation of the international law and decisions. However, such pressure towards our country will have no success and will end up ignominiously, as always. The Albanian people are in their right and will not budge an inch from it. The time has come for the great powers «to learn to behave themselves». This firm stand is clearly ex-

pressed in Comrade Enver Hoxha's book «The Anglo-American Threat to Albania», which reads: «All the gold must be returned to the Albanian people unconditionally, together with the interest accrued in the intervening years and demurrage, because this gold represents their sweat and blood... We have publicly declared more than once that we will not enter into discussion about the establishment of diplomatic relations with Britain if that state does not return this wealth to the Albanian people. If the British Government really desires the establishment of relations with socialist Albania, in the first place, it must honour the obligations it has towards Albania and return the gold it is holding. Only after it has put an end to this arrogant, hostile, piratical stand towards us, can it expect to sit down at the round table with Albania. Otherwise we shall never agree to sit down and talk with any British Government» (pp. 426-427).

About four decades have passed from the time of the events described in the book «The Anglo-American Threat to Albania,» but its lessons remain valid to our days for the struggle waged by our Party and people in defence of their freedom, independence, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the gains of socialism in Albania.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, the Anglo-American military, civilian and «philanthropic» missions cleared away, but the struggle of the imperialists and in the first place, the American and British imperialists, against our country has never ceased. However they were and are not the only enemies of Albania. On their road, our Party and people have had to face other false friends and open enemies such as the Yugoslav revisionists, the Soviet revisionists and social-imperialists and the Chinese revisionists and social-imperialists, who, like the Anglo-Americans before them, tried without success to mislead and subdue our Party, our people and our country for their own chauvinist, imperialist and enslaving ends. All the attempts of these

enemies have ended in failure while our country has achieved magnificent victories in all fields, because our Party was never caught napping and never slept on its laurels. But the struggle is not over, it will go on for a long time yet. Therefore, Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses: «Our Party and people must always bear in mind the hostile activity from abroad and from within. This they must never forget. They must never nurture the slightest illusion that the imperialists and the capitalists change their nature, become reasonable, peaceful and relinquish their aims... The people, with the Party of the working class at the head, are and must be vigilant at every moment, must never be deceived by some 'sweet' word from reaction, must never think that the enemies 'are toning down the struggle' against us, must never be deceived by the temporary changes in international circumstances, but must take and judge them for nothing other than what they are, we must take advantage of them and will continue to do so without making any concession to enemies, to reactionary bourgeois-revisionist circles, so that our correct revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist stand is never 'liberalized'» (pp. 435 and 437).

History has taught our people that in the liberation struggle, in the revolution, in the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland the decisive factor is reliance on their own forces. Foreign aid, when it is given from correct international positions, as was the aid of the great Stalin for our country, plays a positive role, but it can never be the main factor and always is only an auxiliary factor. As for the so-called aid offered by the various imperialists and revisionists it is nothing other than a trap laid for the enslavement of the peoples in the long run. Today, imperialism and social-imperialism are trying hard to spread a psychosis of capitulation so as to push the peoples under the umbrella of one or the other superpower, to convince the so-called de-

veloping countries that they cannot march on the road of progress without the aid of the developed capitalist and revisionist countries, that socialism cannot be built outside the «socialist community» and without the aid of Soviet social-imperialism, etc. etc. It is important that the peoples reject these dangerous attempts and are clear that their fate depends on their own work and struggle. This is proved by the entire historical experience of the Albanian people under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, is proved by the example of our country, which, thanks to the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, liberated itself by its own National Liberation Army, without permitting any foreign military intervention, while now is successfully building socialism relying on its own forces, in the conditions of a total imperialist-revisionist hostile encirclement, and repelling with determination all attempts to bring it to its knees. Reliance on the people, on their revolutionary spirit, on their creative abilities and ardent patriotism, the steel unity of the people around the Party and its correct line based on Marxism-Leninism, constant strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, uninterrupted extension and deepening of socialist democracy, ever more active participation of the working masses in governing the country and guaranteeing the defence of the Homeland, creation of a powerful and independent modern economy capable of coping by itself with the many problems and tasks of the complete construction of socialism with its own forces, of successfully opposing the enemy pressure and blockade while keeping itself clear of the lethal crisis which has gripped the capitalist-revisionist world in an iron vice — this is the ground on which the great principle of self-reliance is based, this is the course of the force and invincibility of socialist Albania, this constitutes the guarantee for its independence and future. But all this has called as it still does, for struggle, work and many sa-

crifices, for high vigilance and preparedness, without ever falling into self-satisfaction and without closing our eyes to the difficulties and dangers which threaten us. «Our people must always be realistic in everything, in policy, in the economy, in investments and in expenditure. They must always keep in mind that in order to cope with this danger, measures must be taken in advance so that we are not taken by surprise. And one is not taken by surprise when he fights against euphoria, self-satisfaction and unfounded optimism» (p. 439).

Our enemies are furious at the great Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance, which our Party and people apply with consistency. They say that «Albania is isolated itself» in order to coax us into their rotten capitalist-revisionist world, where, as Comrade Enver Hoxha says, the bigger and the stronger oppresses and skins the smaller and the weaker, where the money and corruption make the law, where injustice, vice and back-stabbing triumph. However, this propaganda has never found receptive ears among our people and it never will, it can never

discourage us and make us lose our trust in socialist Albania's many true friends. Precisely because they do not submit to the pressure of the big who strive to subjugate them, precisely because they have the courage to tell them the truth in the face and to pursue an independent road, socialist Albania and the Albanian people are not alone and isolated, on the contrary, they enjoy the powerful solidarity and support of the genuine Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries, of the oppressed and exploited working masses, of the freedom-loving peoples and the honest and progressive people everywhere in the world. Together with them, they are capable of weathering all storms. The policy of our Party and country. Comrade Enver Hoxha writes in his book «The Anglo-American Threat to Albania», «is not a policy of opening the doors to friends and enemies indiscriminately. We have not allowed and will not allow the wolf to get into our sheepfold. We have disposed of the wolf with the bullet and we shall continue to do so, although they accuse us of isolating ourselves from the 'civilized world'. A party and a people

who are building socialism, who are defending a cause which is the cause of all the peoples of the world, cannot be isolated simply because they do not allow anyone to damage the freedom and independence won at the cost of their own blood» (pp. 436-437).

From the centuries-long experience of our people who «have opened the path of history sword in hand», especially from their experience over the last 40 years under the leadership of their Party of Labour, we draw the great historic lessons with which Comrade Enver Hoxha closes his book, namely, that «Life itself is struggle, and when this struggle is won life becomes beautiful and prosperous, when it is defended with struggle, it never becomes gloomy and is worthwhile living» (p. 439). This is a lesson of great spiritual strength, which inspires our people to spare nothing in order to make their invincible socialist Homeland ever stronger and more prosperous with each passing day.

All references are from the book «The Anglo-American Threat to Albania», Eng. ed.

INTERNATIONAL MONOPOLIES - TOOLS OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL EXPANSION

by **KOLË PRENGA**

The multi-national companies increase their profits continuously through the relentless intensification of exploitation of the working people, the plunder of the national assets of many different countries, the exploitation of their cheap labour force, the operation of the neo-colonialist mechanism of prices

THE CONCENTRATION OF CAPITAL TO SUCH A DEGREE — OFTEN GOING BEYOND THE BOUNDS OF ITS OWN COUNTRY, THE EXPORT OF CAPITAL, AS ONE OF THE MORE IMPORTANT ECONOMIC FEATURES OF IMPERIALISM, CREATED THE POSSIBILITIES AND CONDITIONS FOR THE MONOPOLIES OF VARIOUS COUNTRIES TO ENTER INTO AGREEMENTS AMONG THEMSELVES AND EXTEND THEIR DOMINATION OF THE WORLD PRODUCTION AND MARKET. IN HIS WORK OF GENIUS «IMPERIALISM — THE HIGHEST AND LAST PHASE OF CAPITALISM», LENIN WRITES THAT CAPITALISM HAS LONG AGO CREATED A WORLD MARKET. AND THE MORE THE EXPORT OF CAPITAL AND ALL SORTS OF FOREIGN CONNECTIONS INCREASED..., THE MORE THINGS LED IN A NATURAL MANNER TO A WORLD AGREEMENT AND THE STRENGTHENING OF THE INTERNATIONAL CARTELS.

These monopolies, as demonstrated by reality, have had and continue to have economic and political division of the world, hitching the different countries of the world to their chariot and ensuring maximum profits by sucking the sweat and toil of the working masses of these countries, as their aim.

The concentration and centralization of production and capital, which characterize the capitalist-revisionist world

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today, have stepped up the rates of socialization of production, but have not in the least altered the exploitative nature of the monopolies and imperialism. Monopoly capital, which has the extraction of maximum profit as its motto, before making its investments calculates exactly how much profit will accrue from them. Everywhere, in the Middle East, in Africa, Latin America and other parts of the globe a savage competition and struggle has broken out among the international monopolies to increase the

amount of their investments and expand their spheres of influence.

The international monopolies today resort to the most various forms in order to spread their spider's web all over the capitalist and revisionist world. Their activity extends to all the branches of the economy, banks and financial transactions, they control production, prices and markets of goods and raw materials, bringing about, as a result, the ruin and bankruptcy of many small- and middle-sized enterprises, the increase of unemployment, the lowering of real wages, the worsening of the living conditions of the working people and their impoverishment. The neo-colonialist exploitation and plunder of the undeveloped countries by foreign monopoly capital has assumed large proportions, especially in the more recent years, which subsequently deepens the backwardness and poverty of these countries. The multi-national companies and other

big monopolies of the United States, Britain, West Germany and other Western countries have squeezed more than 72 billion dollars profits out of the undeveloped countries during the last seven years. Apart from the profits they make through the export of capital, the international monopolies have also enriched themselves through the unequal trade they carry with the countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America. The foreign debts of these countries reached 450 billion dollars in the beginning of 1981. The imperialist powers, and the United States in the first place, are driving their clutches ever deeper into the huge assets of the undeveloped countries. Foreign monopoly capital controls 58 per cent of the industrial production and 45 per cent of the trade of Latin America. The investments of foreign capital, and especially of American capital, keep increasing from year to year. In Latin America these debts have increased more than ten times over, as the American bourgeois review «Newsweek» has it, while they were in excess of 120 billion dollars in the end of 1980.

The monopolies and the multi-national companies are savage enemies of the proletariat and the peoples of the world, as the weapons in the hands of the superpowers in the struggle for the economic and political redivision and domination of the world. Their strategy is the strategy of imperialism and social-imperialism for the perpetuation of the capitalist exploitation of the proletariat and the working masses by the bourgeoisie. This policy is seconded by unrestrained demagogy which seeks to perpetuate the enslavement of the peoples to imperialism and social-imperialism. The scribes of the bourgeoisie and capital write about the possibility for capitalism to develop in a peaceful and organized manner, without crises, on an international scale, as a result of the spread of the international monopolies. However, the reality refutes these worthless statements. Nothing has changed in the nature of imperialism. Crises and unemployment, inflation and anarchy not only have not disappeared, but, on

the contrary, have assumed large proportions unseen before.

The reactionary cliques which have come to power in most of the undeveloped countries, have subordinated the interests of their countries to those of the international imperialist bourgeoisie so that they, too, can participate in the exploitation of the working masses of their own countries. Entering into close relations and agreements with the international monopolies and the imperialist powers, these cliques ruling in these countries have opened their doors to them and have put their territories at their disposal not only for economic exploitation, but also for political and military purposes. The imperialist powers, the superpowers in particular, export capital as «aid» to the undeveloped countries. Thus, in the Middle East the American imperialists have granted the Israeli zionists more than 800 million dollars in economic «aid», which the Tel-Aviv heads have utilized to carry out their aggressive policy against the Arab people and to turn these countries into sources of raw materials for American imperialism and the other imperialist powers. The already large investments, which they make through their monopolies, have enabled the American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists to establish their domination partially in some countries and completely in some others. For example, only during the rule of the present dictator of Haiti, 150 American companies have extended their tentacles to the economy of that country, controlling its economy and finances and mercilessly exploiting its cheap labour force. According to official data, foreign monopolies' investments in Haiti have increased more than 800 per cent over these last five years.

Apart from the profound backwardness inherited from the colonial rule, the difficult situation of whole continents, of hundreds of millions of people in **these** areas, is largely due to the savage capitalist exploitation by the multi-national companies, which operate in agricultural and livestock production, too. The multi-national companies dictate their policy on the pro-

duction, sale and processing of agricultural products, and the prices for farming machines. Twenty-one of the biggest multi-national companies of this type are American. The multi-national company «Bunk Corp» centred in New York has its branches in 55 countries of the world. Another American company — «Daniel Ludwig» in Brazil, owns over 3.6 million hectares of fertile land in plantations. About 70 per cent of the arable land of Guatemala is owned by 2 per cent of the big capitalist families and the American monopoly companies.

The bourgeois ideologists, the defenders of the capitalist order, try to paint the interference of the multi-national companies in the agriculture of the developing countries in humanitarian colours, presenting it as «aid» to boost the economy of these countries and «solve» the acute problem of the feeding of the population. But the reality gives the lie to these statements. «The agricultural multi-national companies operating in the developing countries take returns amounting to 30 per cent of the invested capital,» admit the directors of these monopolies. And they achieve this high profit rate, especially through the exploitation of the cheap labour force.

The development of production and the structure of articles in the plantations run by the foreign monopoly companies are at complete variance with the demands of the local population. Only those crops which are greater in demand on the export markets and show high profits for the monopolies are planted in the more fertile lands of the undeveloped countries, instead of the traditional crops which ensure the staple food of the local population. This one-crop structure, imposed by the foreign monopoly companies, has created great difficulties for the food supply of the local population, has impoverished it while enriching the big capitalists, the owners of the monopolies and their filials in these countries.

The development of agriculture of the more backward countries in those directions, which suit the interests of the foreign monopoly companies of the

multi-nationals, is a powerful economic and political weapon in the hands of imperialism to exercise its dictate and pressure on these countries to comply with the line of its exploitative and expansionist policy.

The multi-national companies increase their profits continuously through the relentless intensification of exploitation of the working people, the plunder of the national assets of many different countries, the exploitation of their cheap labour force, the operation of the neo-colonialist mechanism of prices. According to the Western press reports, the American trust «Occidental Petroleum» wound up the year 1980 with a profit of 810 million dollars. The profits of some companies, as for example the «General Motors», are in excess of the gross national product of several industrialized countries, whereas the profits of the American complex of car industry, oil extraction and road building are larger than the budget of any capitalist state, including the United States itself. The multi-national companies based in the United States, Britain and the other industrialized countries have put under their control 80 per cent of the total industrial production of the capitalist world, 80 per cent of the world trade and 40 per cent of the export of raw materials from Asia, Africa and Latin America. Only the American «Rockwell» group, specialized in the construction of spare parts for automobiles and planes, has 140 enterprises in different countries of the world, and employs 110 thousand workers. The «Ford» exploits 100 thousand hired workers in more than 20 plants outside the United States.

The bourgeoisie of the backward and developing countries follows an anti-popular policy subservient to the policy of the American and other imperialists. These cliques have put up for auction the national assets of their own countries and have created favourable conditions for the foreign monopolies and multi-national companies to exploit the cheap labour force and the natural resources of their own countries.

In the beginning of 1981 the capitalist world numbered about 11 thousand international corporations with 82 branches in different countries. Only from the branches outside the country they ensure a production worth more than 400 billion dollars, which represents a sum of about 40 billion dollars more than the gross national product of the countries of Latin America taken together.

The history of the plunder of the Peruvian oil is connected with the imperialist penetration into this country, which began by the end of the past century. Such monopoly enterprises as «Texas Oil», «Philip Petroleum», etc have extended their tentacles to the oil-bearing areas of the Peruvian land. Recently two other American multi-national companies operate in these oil-rich areas, covering an extent of over 59 million hectares, 50 million of which are forests, subjects to intensive, all-round exploitation. The local financial oligarchy has taken measures which favour the plunder of the oil even more.

The monopolies of the superpowers are worried by the mounting struggle of the peoples of the different countries for social justice and against imperialist domination. In these conditions the superpowers try to bring the dictatorial regimes to toe their own line, in an effort to penetrate into these countries by means of «aid», while not neglecting open pressure and blackmail against the peoples of these countries. Such is also the character of the «aid» which the American imperialists have accorded to the different countries including Chile, Guatemala, Salvador, etc through the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development. Only over the years 1970-1978 the multi-national companies have invested 42.2 billion dollars in the undeveloped countries, squeezing a total profit of 100.2 billion dollars from them.

The Soviet social-imperialists are today the fiercest rivals of the American imperialists in the struggle for hegemony and expansion on the various continents. They have always used the

so-called economic aid as a means towards imposing on the other states onerous neo-colonialist conditions under «agreements of economic co-operation», which link these countries with the Soviet companies. According to press reports until the end of 1978 the Soviet social-imperialists have signed 26 enslaving agreements with the countries of Africa. From 1960 on, the Russian monopoly capital has penetrated these countries and driven its clutches into their raw materials, which has brought about huge losses for these countries and big profits for the Soviet monopolies. Until 1978, they had robbed the African countries of 7 billion dollars worth of rare metals.

The facts show that the Soviet social-imperialists, in pursuing their neo-colonialist policy, have turned the countries of the Comecon into complete slaves, which are dependent on the Russian metropolis for many raw materials. The dependence of the Comecon countries on the Soviet revisionists and their exploitation by them are quite apparent from the fact that the Kremlin chiefs force them to enter agreements, to invest funds and material means and send labour power to the projects which the Soviet Union is building under common programs. Only in 1978, the Soviet Union signed more than 400 contracts for cooperation and specialization of production in the engineering industry with its vassal states. The Soviet social-imperialists force these countries to cut on the production of some goods, to sacrifice their own national needs and «specialize» themselves in the production of a number of goods for the needs of the Russian metropolis. Under these conditions, the policy of the Comecon, this social-imperialist monopoly, has created huge deficits among the members of this organization in their trade balance with the Soviet Union. More than half of the foreign trade of the Comecon countries is directed towards the Soviet Union. The so-called «agreements of economic cooperation», «community of equal states», advertised by the Moscow revisionists and their spokes-

men are nothing other than alliances in which the social-imperialist fist makes the law. The Comecon is altogether an inter-state international monopoly organization for the plunder and submission of the East-European countries.

The ventures, set up jointly by the Soviet Union with the Western monopolies, operate in the so-called third world, besides the companies on mixed capital with some of the developed countries which carry on their activities in the most backward countries of the third world. Soviet capital in the joint companies operating in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, accounts for 50 per cent and, in special cases, even 60 per cent of the total capital of these companies.

In order to step up their exploitation of these countries, and their expansion into them, the Soviet social-imperialists are making large use of the Comecon. According to what the Soviet press itself says, the division of labour within the Comecon «is being done under the projects for a division of labour on a world scale». The imperialist activity of the economic-financial organisms of the Comecon, with the enslaving «agreements» signed by this organization with various countries, has been expanded on this basis. Through Comecon, the Soviet social-imperialists have invested their capital in thousands of economic projects in which, no doubt, they take the lion's share. Under the disguise of «aid» and advertizing it as such, the Soviet Union and the other Comecon member countries have invested their capital and are building 4,500 and more projects in the undeveloped countries. «Cooperation» is one of the main ways of limiting the dependence of the emerging countries on the imperialist countries and the multi-national companies, says the Soviet revisionist press. The ever increasing penetration of Comecon capital into the various countries is aimed, first, to ensure surplus profits for the Soviet bourgeoisie and, second, to dissimulate

Soviet neo-colonialism. According to incomplete data, over the recent 20 years the Soviet Union and Comecon have robbed the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America of goods worth 27 billion dollars purchased at prices 11-31 per cent lower than those of the world market. Trade exchanges with the undeveloped countries have increased more than 30 times over these twenty years. Not unlike the other capitalist countries, the Soviet monopolies invest their capital in those branches which ensure raw materials for the food-processing and other industries. Industrial goods from the undeveloped countries account for about 1 per cent of the total of their exports to the Soviet economy, and, furthermore, these goods come only from those enterprises and branches built on Soviet credits, which are given only for those projects the production of which is needed by the Soviet market.

The Soviet revisionists admit that the destructive influence of the multi-national companies on the economy of the undeveloped countries is something which cannot be denied. But, on the other hand, they propose to these same multi-national monopolies to invest and plunder the backward countries jointly.

Another international monopoly is the European Common Market. In the international field, the European Common Market is a great neo-colonialist power, which competes with the superpowers and, at the same time, seeks to regain the old privileges of the former colonial powers. The Common Market has special aims and expansionist interests in the Middle East. However, its aims are not limited to the region of the Middle East alone. The European Common Market has signed dozens of conventions, agreements of economic cooperation and trade with the countries of Africa, the Caribbeans and the Pacific, Canada, Argentina, Uruguay, etc in order to ensure its political and economic penetration into them. By penetrating into these countries, the West-European

monopolies have further stepped up their exploitation and enslavement. The same spirit prevails in the agreements of the European Common Market with the Soviet Union. The West-European monopolies, individually and jointly, as one organization, share together with the Russian bourgeoisie the surplus value accruing from the exploitation of the Soviet working masses. The revisionists of the different countries, such as Yugoslavia, China, etc have legalized the investment of foreign capital, moreover, they have created favourable conditions for its penetration. On their part, the Chinese revisionists try to justify the penetration of the international monopolies by talking about their peaceful character. This view is the same as that of the traitors of the 2nd International, like Kautsky and company, whom Lenin has exposed. In this context, the Chinese revisionists are eager to enter into more agreements with the European Common Market, with the other capitalist and revisionist countries. This leads to the opening of doors to the capital of the international monopolies and multi-national companies and the increasing absorption by the local and international bourgeoisie of the surplus value created by the Chinese working masses. Only during the years 1979-1980 China received about 30 billion dollars in credits and signed a number of agreements on loans from British, Canadian, West-German, Italian, Japanese and other banks. This process of penetration of Western capital into the economy of the Soviet Union, China and the other East-European countries is fraught with heavy consequences for the working masses.

The capitalist companies are stepping up their penetration into the economy of the undeveloped countries through direct capital investments or large credits, which is one of the most advantageous forms of economic expansion, a form that now has assumed unprecedented proportions as a component part of the global strategy of imperial-

ism and social-imperialism for world hegemony and domination.

The bourgeois-revisionist propaganda arsenal concocts all sorts of theories and raises a great fuss about them in order to convince people that «aid» and credits are allegedly given for the development of the backward countries, to enable them to embark on the road of progress. The fact, however, show the contrary. In 1979 the multi-national companies have ensured high rates of profit from the capital invested in the undeveloped countries. Hence, here can be no question of «aid» or economic progress, but of new chains being imposed on the backward countries and their peoples.

The Soviet revisionists talk about the concentration of capital in the capitalist countries, about the expansion of the international monopolies and multi-national companies, especially in the United States of America, but they «forget» to point out their competition with American imperialism and the other imperialist powers, «forget» to say that they are assiduous «visitors» of America and Africa to buy their raw materials at cheap prices and to sell their goods at high prices.

History has proved that the tendencies of economic cooperation between the various capitalist and revisionist countries in the form of international monopolies, not only are based on common interests opposed to the revolution and socialism, but also create profound contradictions and clashes among them in the different countries of the world. Everywhere, in the Middle East, Africa or Latin America, savage competition is going on among the monopolies of the superpowers and the other capitalist countries bent on increasing the amount and expanding the sphere of their capital investments. So, in the conditions of the deep and all-round crisis which has the capitalist and revisionist countries in its grip, their aim is to create conditions as favourable as possible to increase the profits of the corporations, multi-national companies, state and inter-state monopolies.

The international monopolies seek to make huge profits from the plunder of the working masses of the countries which enter «agreements» of «cooperation» with them. These tendencies demand more efficient use of neo-colonialism to broaden the spheres of influence in the process of the struggle for a redivision of the world. However, the realization of such a policy comes up against the savage competition and the fierce fight of the monopolies of the imperialist and social-imperialist countries to keep for themselves the right of the imperialist exploitation of other countries. The American trusts, which have extended their tentacles to foreign countries, are increasing their profits more and more. Only during 1981, these trusts, which have invested 200 billion dollars in the different countries of the world, expect to reap 41 billion dollars in profits. Huge profits accrue to them from Canada and the countries of the European Common Market. On the other hand, Japanese influence in American corporations and trusts has greatly increased recently. Japanese companies control 225 American companies totally or partly. As a result, the American car industry had to lay off more than 200,000 out of a total of 700,000 workers in 1981. In fierce competition, the Japanese sold the United States 2.4 million motor vehicles, that is 86 per cent of the American import. Japanese economic expansion and competition is being stepped up in South-east Asia, where Japanese investments have increased more than fourfold from 1973 to 1980. In this competition for penetration of their capital abroad, the monopolies of the social-imperialist Soviet Union and other countries are trying to achieve the final aim of bringing about the economic submission of other countries and peoples. The mergers and unions that are made between the monopolies are the result of this struggle, too. So, there is talk of the merger of the American group «Occidental Petroleum» with the Italian company ENI and of the setting up of a great industrial

complex both for the petrochemical and coal industries.

In open opposition to Marxism-Leninism, the bourgeoisie and revisionists consider the concentration of production and capital as a «qualitatively» new phase of imperialism. However, it must always be borne in mind that the international monopolies operating today are levers of imperialism and social-imperialism and one of the main forms of their expansion. The bourgeoisie and its lackeys sing the praises of these pillars of the political and economic expansion on a world scale.

By means of the international monopolies, the superpowers and the other imperialist powers penetrate ever deeper into the economies of the different countries, not to develop them, but to keep them under their domination, to hamper the independent development and the struggle for freedom and independence, to avert the peoples from the true road of salvation — the revolution. However, the peoples have now understood that the international monopolies are their enemies. Speaking to the 8th Congress of the Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out: «National revolutionary consciousness is mounting everywhere. This is clearly apparent in the extension of the movement of various countries and forces which are struggling for the establishment of national sovereignty over their own national assets, for re-evaluation of their raw materials and sources of energy, for equal exchanges with mutual benefit in international trade, for alteration of the international monetary system established by imperialism, for the restriction and elimination of the monopoly economic power of the multi-national companies, etc.»¹ Today the peoples have launched themselves in the struggle to shake off the colonial and neo-colonial yoke and the chain of the oppression by the local bourgeoisie, the imperialist powers and the international monopolies.

¹ E. Hoxha. Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 179, Alb. ed.

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THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLES — A GREAT FORCE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

«ZËRI I POPULLIT» — organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania

The struggle of the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, with the great number of problems it has raised for solution and the proportions it has assumed, has become today a great force against imperialism and reaction. It has hit hard the very foundations of the colonial system and set the task of liberation from the foreign yoke and for the creation of independent national states. Cases in point are the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people against the Israeli occupiers, the struggle of the people of Northern-Ireland against the centuries-old British rule and for national unification, the struggle of the Namibian people, etc. The struggle of the peoples is also spearheaded against neo-colonialism for complete political, economic, social and cultural liberation. As such it is directed against the imperialist powers, and in the first place, against the two superpowers — the USA and the Soviet Union, as the greatest neo-colonialist power of the time. These powers maintain their domination over the peoples by relying on internal reaction with which they join forces for the oppression and exploitation of the peoples. In these conditions the winning of the freedom and independence from foreign imperialist domination, the establishment of national sovereignty in all fields of life and the liquidation of neo-colonialism, are inextricably linked with the struggle against internal reaction which has sold itself to the foreigners. This is precisely what is happening today in most countries of Latin

America, like Chile, Brazil, Uruguay, Salvador, Colombia, Honduras, Guatemala, etc, as well as in the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, Oman, and other countries of Asia and Africa.

The struggle of the oppressed peoples has been stepped up and is gaining in breadth and depth. There is almost no zone or region, in which reaction rules, which is not shaken up by revolutionary upheavals. The struggle of the peoples is waged in many forms such as strikes, demonstrations, manifestations of protest and revolt of the working people, as in the case of Brazil, Chile, South Africa, Indonesia, India, etc. Along with this, in many countries a broad armed struggle is developing in various forms of organization. From sporadic armed actions this struggle has reached the stage of broad liberation movements organized in liberation fronts with regular armed forces operating according to the resilient tactics of partisan warfare. That is what is happening today in Salvador, Guatemala, Colombia, the Philippines, Thailand and other countries. The patriotic forces not only resist with success the mop-up operations launched by government troops, but even go over to counter-attacks, which result in the liberation of large areas. The Salvadorean patriotic forces already control many provinces of their country, including a number of cities. In Guatemala, the patriots have liberated large regions in the northwest of the country. The patriotic forces, which operate in the southern part of the Philippines, have repelled successive

attacks of the troops of the Marcos regime. All these movements are characterized by a large-scale collaboration of the patriotic forces in the countryside with the movement of the people's masses in the cities. In the cities of Salvador, including the capital, great demonstrations and clashes have taken place between the working people and the forces of the fascist military junta. The Arab towns occupied by the zionists have become the scene of bold actions carried out by the Palestinian guerrillas and of powerful protest demonstrations of the Palestinian population against the Israeli rule. The southern part of the African continent is on fire through the fighting actions of the Namibian and Azanian patriots, as well as the strong voice of protest raised by the African population against the racist regime. This combination of the struggle in the city with the fighting in the countryside has put the dictatorial regimes in difficulty and made the crisis inside them more profound.

Confronted with the mounting tide of the struggle of the peoples, the forces of reaction have thrown themselves into a savage attack to stamp out any spark of liberation war. At the head of this counter-revolutionary attack are the two imperialist superpowers — the USA and the Soviet Union, which are the most rabid enemies of the peoples. The peoples have a fresh memory of the brutal intervention and open aggression of the American imperialists against the Iranian revolution, its abortive attempts at propping up the Somoza regime,

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its open support for the anti-popular regimes in Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Chile, Oman, the Philippines, South Africa, and many other countries. The Soviet social-imperialists, who committed the fascist-like aggression against Afghanistan and now are using terror to maintain at all costs their domination of this country, act much on the same lines as US imperialists. Social-imperialist China, which

committed the fascist-type aggression against Vietnam, which threatens to give it «a second lesson» and which supports the reactionary regimes everywhere in the world, is going in the same direction.

However, the peoples are not intimidated by the attacks of the enemies. Development today show that they cannot put up with the twofold oppression and exploitation which imperialism, social-

imperialism and reaction try to impose on them. The peoples have already chosen their road — the road of the armed struggle, and are resolved to go it through to the end, regardless of sacrifices and difficulties. This new force is invincible. Imperialism is heading towards the abyss. It is not in a position to stem the revolutionary drive of the peoples.

MANUFACTURERS OF DEATH

«LUFTETARI», central organ of the Ministry of People's Defence of the PSRA

The United States has declared that it will increase the production of chemical weapons. The new military budget for the financial year 1982-1983 envisages a rise from 532 to 705 million dollars, or three times as much as two years ago in the funds earmarked for the production of these weapons. In a letter to the Congress over this decision, President Reagan stressed that «the production of new chemical weapons has importance for the national interests» and that this will allegedly ensure for America «a powerful means in the talks for the conclusion of a controllable agreement for banning chemical weapons».

The tactic is notorious: whenever the imperialist superpowers produce a new weapon of mass extermination or proclaim a new armaments program, they cynically declare that they are ready to enter talks with their counterpart for re-establishing the balance of banning the production of these weapons. All this is a demagogical attempt to throw dust in people's eyes and cover up the criminal

plans the superpowers hatch up against the freedom and independence of the peoples.

An international treaty banning the use of chemical weapons in war was concluded in 1925. However, the later developments have shown that this treaty has not in the least prevented the use of these weapons whenever the interests of the imperialists called for them. Evidence of this is Vietnam where the American imperialists resorted to their arsenal of chemical and biological weapons in their attempts to maintain this country under their rule.

The recent American decision for the stepping up of the production of chemical weapons is a new and dangerous escalation of the armaments race. Reagan declared that he took this step in order to re-establish «the balance» with the Soviet Union «in this field, too». For his part, the Soviet delegate to the Geneva Conference on disarmament stated in this connection that «the Americans seek to achieve a qualitative superiority in the production of new chemical weapons», leaving it to be

understood that the Soviet Union, too, would take new measures in retaliation. All this shows that in the future, too, the two superpowers will step up their competition in the field of production of mass extermination weapons. In the coming five years the United States envisages to spend 6 billion dollars for research and production of chemical weapons. For their part, the Soviet social-imperialists have built up large stocks of chemical weapons and the Soviet troops are being trained systematically in their use.

The production and stockpiling of mass extermination weapons, such as the chemical weapons, are further evidence of the unalterable criminal and warmongering nature of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. This shows that the two superpowers which already have a huge military arsenal at their disposal, are building it up and perfecting it in all respects, in their feverish preparations for a new war, which poses a grave threat for freedom and the independence of the peoples.

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IN THE WHIRLPOOL OF THE CHINESE CHANGING POLICY

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

From some public statements of Chinese top leaders it emerges that, as the Chinese vice-foreign minister has put it, «the American-Chinese relations are in a crisis,» or, as the Chinese minister of foreign affairs Huan Hua said, that these relations «may be under a cloud». In Washington people are speaking in the same language. The American secretary of state Alexander Haig in an interview with the «New York Times» pointed out that the disagreements between the two countries «are serious» and that indeed he is «in no position to foresee what will result from the efforts to tone down the disagreements».

It is worth noting that this picture is being made more complete in another direction, that is in the prospects of the Soviet-Chinese relations. At the same time with the above statements Li Hsien-nien, vice-premier of the PR of China, declares that efforts should be made towards «a normalization of Chinese-Soviet relations». On the other hand, the Soviet prime minister, Nikolaj Tikhonov, declared that «the Soviet Union seeks to re-establish relations with China on the foundations of good neighbourliness» and that «there are no problems unsolved in Soviet-Chinese relations.»

Have we to do here with another about-turn in the Chinese policy of building alliances with the superpowers? A close analysis of the situation and the logic of facts do not lead to such a conclusion for the time being. Nevertheless, all this proves what Comrade Enver Hoxha writes in his book «Imperialism and

the Revolution», «The political line of China is confused, it is a pragmatic line vacillating and changing according to the contingencies and interests of the moment.»

The Chinese declarations in connection with the present stand of China's relations with the United States are due to the dissatisfaction of the Chinese leadership at the American decision to sell sophisticated weapons to Taiwan. However, the American decision cannot be considered as surprise or something new in the relations between Washington and Taipen and, in a broader context, in the relations between Washington and Peking. The former American President Carter has publicly declared that the United States has established diplomatic relations with China without breaking its economic and cultural, and besides them, military relations with Taiwan. China has always been interested in this, because Taiwan is an important link in the American cordon sanitaire from the Indian to the Pacific Ocean, in which China wants to be present, because it thinks that it has all to gain from an American presence as a counter-weight to the Soviet Union. The question of Taiwan has frequently cropped up in the relations between China and the United States of America, but in fact it has always remained formal. In the future, too, China is greatly interested in Taiwan remaining as it is, therefore the statements of the Chinese leaders, including such figures as Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien and others, to the effect that Chinese-American relations depend on the American stand towards

Taiwan, are only Chinese fire-crackers.

According to the pragmatic philosophy, on which the whole political and social life of China rests, and according to what «Peking Information» writes, «if the policy in power does not correspond to a new situation, then a change becomes inevitable, if results are to be achieved. In fact,» the review points out, «priorities may be revised according to the conditions of the moment.» Then, it can be said that at most we have to do with a «revision of the moment» after which there are pragmatic calculations.

The United States have a tedious experience of Chinese «warnings» which years ago, although they had become «serious» and gone well into the hundreds, did not prevent the flourishing of the «great Sino-American friendship», the creation of the strategic military-political alliance between Washington and Peking. Certainly, they do not trust the Chinese policy which they know as a pragmatic policy totally devoid of principles and resting on changing circumstances. They know that the Chinese did not become their allies out of love, but because in American imperialism, as the more powerful imperialism, they saw the highest bidder. And nothing has changed in these calculations since that time. The Chinese «dragon», with its clay feet, now cannot lift its head from the American manger. This the people in Washington know only too well, and they do not worry about the «obstacle» of Taiwan. Seen from this angle, of course with relative specifications, statements

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coming from Peking and Washington are very much reminiscent of the «quarrels» between the United States and Israel, which are only a smoke-screen to prevent the Arab peoples from seeing through their real dealings. The Chinese intend to deceive the people, as well as to bring pressure to bear on the Americans to give them more at a time when Soviet-American relations are in a state of great tension.

As for the interference of the Soviet factor in Sino-American relations, it can be said that only the Kremlin has repeatedly made offers for the «normalization» of its relations with Peking. Tikhonov's declarations follow the same line. The Soviets have always left the door open for the Chinese, though without disregarding their interest, in all

this. They gamble on the great needs and difficulties China has to cope with now, the more so as the West is showing nothing of the former enthusiasm in pouring its capital to this country, sensing that the uncertain and unsteady Chinese market is not in a position to ensure the profits it wants to make. Having landed itself into mounting difficulties, discredited in the international arena as a superpower which has embarked on fascist-type aggressions against its Czechoslovak and Afghan neighbours, and threatening other countries with the same, the Soviet Union, vying with the United States in its bid for world hegemony, seeks on this occasion to advertise itself as a country following a policy «of good neighbourliness» and seeking «normal relations»

with other countries, etc. However, the Soviets know the Chinese policy well and have no illusions about it. They are well informed about the ambitions of the «Central Empire», which the present Chinese leaders have inherited from their predecessors.

It is evident that in all these conflicts of interests and positions between the imperialist superpowers — the Soviet Union, and the United States, and China which aspires to become and has already put its candidature for the position of a superpower, there can be no talk in categorical terms about the evolution of events, and their direction and impact. Many factors must be taken into account here, most of all the perfidiousness of the imperialist and social-imperialist wolves and their backstage dealings.

A COURSE OF PREPARATION FOR AN INCITEMENT TO WAR

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

In the series of declarations of the top brass of the Kremlin war staff, the chief of the General Staff of the armed forces of the Soviet Union and vice-minister of defence of the Soviet Union, N. Ogarkov, recently advertised the precision and effectiveness of fire of their weapons. He even went into detail speaking of the Soviet intercontinental missiles, which according to Ogarkov, have reached such perfection as to «hit any region of the world» with accuracy. Soviet social-imperialism threatens the whole world with its firepower. This social-fascist general speaks in the same terms

about the Soviet infantry and others which with their weapons are «in a position to destroy objectives of several dozens and even hundreds of kilometres away». He does not forget to give some tactical-technical information about the modern Soviet tanks and landing craft, etc. At the conclusion of this tirade, of course from the standpoint of the interests of Soviet social-imperialism, Ogarkov declares that «the very character of modern weapons makes a new war such as to put at stake the future of mankind». It is not difficult to see here an overvaluation, indeed absolutization, of the role of modern

weapons and military potential, and at the same time an undervaluation of and even disregard for the man factor and his potential, which is of decisive importance in the last analysis. The message of these statements is clear for everybody: mankind must either submit to the blackmail of atomic weapons which in general are the monopoly of this or that superpower, or of the two together, or its very existence would be called in question, or in other words — the fate of mankind is in the hand of the war chiefs of the White House and the Kremlin. In this manner they hold the peoples to ransom, and under blackmail and ter-

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ror, thus paving the way for invasions and aggressions to their detriment.

The Soviet social-imperialists are constantly perfecting not only the material base and mechanization and automatization of their armaments, transport means, etc., but also the means of psychical and moral influence, as well as the programs of tactical and strategic-operational training, to conform with their hegemony-seeking interests and ambitions for aggressions. «Our military science,» says the review «Komunist», the theoretical organ of the Soviet revisionists, «has worked out the theory of operations in depth, that is a new method of leading mass attacks.» The Soviet generals talk now about «the capability for resolute action of the Soviet armed forces which are in full possession not only of the art

of defensive warfare, but also of offensive operations on land, in the air and at sea». The stress laid on these matters clearly shows the offensive and aggressive character of the Soviet army. The militarization of the Soviet economy is being deepened further in keeping with this course. This same review writes that «now there is a greater need than ever for the co-ordination of the development of the armed forces with the development of the economy as a whole, especially in the use of the reserves of manpower, transport and communication means, energy resources, etc.»

The facts show that what makes the law in the Soviet Union is the strength of the Soviet army, the militarist spirit and increasing reliance on military power. Naturally, the Soviet leaders try to hide this reality, and come out

with pompous declarations and allegedly peace-loving proposals, as those Brezhnev made for a so-called «moratorium» on missiles in Europe. The peoples, however, do not go by high-flown declarations in their assessment of the reality. They see what and who stands behind them. Realistic and progressive opinion cannot fail to see that with their concrete programs and actions, the Soviet social-imperialists, bent on the political and military domination of the whole world, just as the American imperialists, are the most savage enemies of freedom and the independence of the peoples, thinking as they do that with impunity they can make the law in all world problems and force the peoples to abandon the defence of their interest and national sovereignty.

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«ALLIES» SPEAKING DIFFERENT LANGUAGES

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

It is some time now since calls are coming from the capitals of the West-European countries about «strengthening the economic and political unity of Europe», about the need for Europe to play a role different from that of the USA in the changing breezes of international situations, about a «Bonn-Paris-Rome triangle of political collaboration» in close connection with London.

The old bourgeoisie of the European continent reckons that the time has come for it to speak louder, for «united Europe» to come out as an economic, political and, later,

economic superpower rivalling the two superpowers. By now Europe has greatly increased its economic potential through the exploitation of the European peoples and the peoples of its former colonies into which it has managed to reintroduce itself. That is why Europe wants and seeks to build and carry out a policy better adapted to its interests. So Western Europe does not maintain towards the Soviet Union the stand the United States would like it to. Both Western Europe and the United States try to weaken the Soviet Union, but going by different ways. The European

bourgeoisie aims at the weakening of the Soviet Union, but without going to the extreme of confrontations from which it would emerge weakened, too. It tries to weaken the links of the Soviet Union with its East-European allies, by trying to draw them more and more towards the West, but without breaking the détente with Moscow. True, Western Europe expressed itself against the proclamation of the state of siege in Poland, but it did not join the United States in reducing its credits to the Soviet Union and its allies, whereby it thinks it will somewhat ease

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the crisis. This explains the lack of readiness of the West-European allies of America to follow Washington in this direction, and almost the same stand they maintained towards the American request for a reduction of the East-West trade links, as presented by the American under-secretary of state James Buckley.

But the stand adopted by Europe in the sphere of East-West relations is not the only different stand from that of the United States. It also wants to have its say over other current acute problems such as those of Middle East, Central America, etc. There were words about a West-European role, unlike that played by America, in the Middle East which should «exploit even the slightest occasion» to «promote European ideas and carry them

out in practice». All this rivalry is based on the quest for Arab oil. The West-European bourgeoisie tries to present a common front whenever it comes to a headlong collision with Washington, because it feels that without unity it cannot cope with American power. And this is only the first step, because later everybody will fend for himself to the detriment of his «ally».

The wily bourgeoisie of the old continent reckons that the measure of its opposition to the American dictate is matched by its real power. The armies of the «allied» countries are so deeply integrated into NATO that they can hardly be called independent national forces. The differentiated stands Europe assumes over some problems do not mean that Western Europe is

turning its back to the United States. Indeed it is repeatedly being stressed that good mutual collaboration between them is «considered as very important».

Despite all challenges to its power, the United States is interested in having a «united» and, in its essence, a pro-American Europe as a means of bringing pressure to bear on the Soviet Union. That is why in order to avoid further friction and faced with a fait accompli, such as the agreements concluded over the Siberia-Western Europe gas line, Washington is bound to make some concession to its «allies».

The capitalist world has become an arena of inter-imperialist contradictions and rivalries in which everybody tries to profit as much as possible from the sweat and blood of the peoples.

PROFITABLE BUSINESS FOR THE CAPITALISTS

«PUNA» — organ of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania

The United States of America and the FR of Germany are the countries absorbing the greatest number of migrant workers from various countries of the world. Therefore, these two countries are the most striking example of the inhuman exploitation of the so-called guest workers. But there is a new fact about the treatment of this human commodity, namely its division into legal immigrants and illegal immigrants, which is also made in official statistics. In this way, according to reports from the American press, 800 thousand people entered America legally, and about half a million found their way into

that country illegally in 1980. The number of illegal immigrants in the USA today is in excess of 6 million.

The capitalist bosses prefer the illegal immigrants, because they give them a number of advantages. The illegal immigrant can put up with any kind of job, even those entailing risk of life and which no ordinary local worker would accept. He works harder and in more difficult conditions of work, without even elementary safety, and gets minimum pay. The illegal immigrant worker has no right to strike or take part in a demonstration. The local trade-unions and the state take no

account of him. In a word the capitalist can treat the illegal immigrant like a slave of our modern times. He is interested only in the profit, whatever the form of exploitation. As for the governments which encourage the expatriation of their citizens, they do so to ease the pressure of unemployment and secure a source of foreign currency at a cheap cost. Moreover, they see in emigration an expression of their democracy and of the freedom of the individual. However, theirs is only the democracy of starvation and the freedom of tightening the shackles of oppression and exploitation on the working people.

**press
review****«ADVOCATES»
OR OPPONENTS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS!**

«BASHKIMI»

In many bourgeois and revisionist countries there is a deafening noise about human rights. However, facts show that in these countries the rights of the ordinary man, even his fundamental rights, are trampled on for nothing. The regimes in power have made this activity the fundamental element of their internal and external policies.

In the capitalist world the USA has taken the banner of the defence of human rights with great self-righteousness. However, many facts show that in reality it has taken banner of... disregarding these rights. Is the USA not the country of the Western world in which racial discrimination is most savage?

This line is even more hypocritical in the foreign policy of the USA. Was it to defend human rights that the USA carried out its barbarous aggression against Indochina? Was it what they massacred the population of that land and put it to the torch for? And who are the best friends of the USA? The fascist regimes, the most reactionary and inhuman regimes of the world: those ruling in Chile, Salvador, Israel, South Africa, etc, etc.

This does not imply that Britain lags behind the USA in regard to «respect» for human rights. The savage racial discrimination, exercised against 2 million black and other coloured people in Britain, is proof of this. Moreover, this discrimination was given its legal expression recently, with the passing of the minority bill. This self-same England, the self-styled «country of origin of democratic rights», has

always used brutal force to deny the people of Northern Ireland their right to live free. The regime existing in Ulster can be the envy of the most notorious successors of fascism. The same degree of negation of democratic rights and freedoms is more or less seen in the other capitalist countries.

The betrayal of Marxism-Leninism is the main cause which led to negation of the democratic freedoms of the masses, which has become part of the home and foreign policy of the revisionist countries. However much they try to pass themselves off as champions of human rights, the Soviet revisionists are confronted with such facts which, in their ungainly nakedness, expose the whole revisionist demagogy. About what sort of equality can there be question in the Soviet Union when a savage national oppression exists there? It is a kind of «equality» under which the Russian nationality dominates the other nationalities. The inventors of «limited sovereignty», who have brought the «socialist community» under the Soviet jackboot, cannot, of all people, be the champion of human rights. Such facts as the occupation of Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan only make their demagogy even more threadbare. One cannot be an occupier and a defender of the rights of the peoples at the same time.

The facts speak for themselves. Both in the capitalist countries and in the revisionist countries the rule is not respect for the aspirations of the ordinary man, but total

disregard for them. Things being as they are, which are the motives for all this vociferous campaign for human rights on the part of the East and the West demagogues? All the noise is made for propaganda purposes and definite aims.

Freedom, equality, and democracy are the sacred aspirations of the masses in these countries. But the ruling regimes have in fact deprived them of these rights. With the noise they raise about them they try to make the masses believe that in the existing conditions a great part of their aspirations and rights are ensured, that everything is being and more will be done in order to realize all their aspirations. Only the masses should stay out and not call for changes.

The image of champions for human rights, which these regimes strive to create for themselves, is meant only to further their plans both at home and abroad. Many of these regimes cherish far-reaching expansionist ambitions, especially towards the undeveloped countries. The more credibility they give this image the easier the way to realizing their ambitions becomes. It is the sheep's skin under which is hidden the wolf which tries to plunder the peoples under the mask of «aid».

The imperialist powers raise a hue and cry about human rights for another ulterior aim, namely, to justify their intervention wherever their interests are at stake. For decades on end the Shah of Iran killed and massacred, mercilessly oppressing and exploit-

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ing, the Iranian people. However, the USA never raised its voice against these crimes. On the contrary, it had built strong ties of friendship with the Shah. In the same manner, it supported Somoza in Nicaragua in spite of the fact that he was at the head of a most savage and inhuman regime, even by Latin-American capitalist standards. And now that the peoples of these countries carried out their revolution and toppled the tyrants, the USA is shouting itself hoarse that human rights are being trampled down in these countries. It threatens that it will intervene militarily to establish these «rights». Why?

Because those who now are in power are not their criminal servants, through whom they did whatever they liked in these countries.

The Soviet propaganda is not motivated by nobler sentiments, either, when it «condemns» the USA for trampling the rights and freedoms of the peoples of Central America. This it does only to put up the Soviet Union in the role of the defender of the rights of the peoples, while presenting the American rival as the sworn enemy of these rights. As for the «aid» the Soviet Union pretends that it gives these countries, it is nothing

but a trick to ensure that by the time American imperialism has been driven out by the popular revolution in these countries, it can step in under the disguise of the «friend».

However sophisticated and deafening it may be, the imperialist and revisionist hypocrisy about human rights has been worn threadbare. The facts, which irrefutably show who are the opponents of human rights, are overwhelming. The broad masses of every country are growing more and more aware that their rights are not ensured by the demagoguery of their rulers, but by their own resolute struggle.

The Albanian choreographic art is achieving ever new successes in the enrichment of its content and form. Photo: Scene from the ballet «Shota and Azem Galica».



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